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RE-ANALYZING THE FUNCTION OF DEMONSTRATIVE REFERENCE IN TAJIK

By

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Thesis

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts
in Linguistics

The University of Montana
Missoula, MT

May 2016

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Abstract

Bowman, Kelly, M.A., Spring 2016

Linguistics

Re-analyzing the function of demonstrative reference in Tajik

Chairperson: Dr. Irene Appelbaum

This thesis presents a re-analysis of Tajik demonstratives based on an alternative to the widely accepted framework for understanding demonstrative reference. In this framework, demonstrative reference is categorized according to two criteria: the anchor relative to which reference is made, and the number of spatial distinctions the system has for encoding distance from the anchor (Levinson 2004, O'Grady 2010). According to previous literature (Rastorgueva 1963, Perry 2005, Windfuhr & Perry 2009), Tajik has a speaker-anchored, two-way reference system. However, these criteria alone do not account for the data presented in this thesis. I therefore propose the following change to this categorization of demonstrative reference systems: the spatial distinctions made by a system are not always based on distance from the anchor. Instead they may be based on either distance or location. With a location-based distinction, a referent is indicated based on its location relative to other potential referents, rather than absolute distance from the anchor (Enfield 2003). Such a system is able to account for the Tajik data. Data presented in this thesis also call attention to a restriction on the use of the distal demonstrative not mentioned in existing descriptions of Tajik. The referent, if absent from the discourse situation, must be part of the common ground, defined as the set of shared knowledge, experiences, and beliefs common to discourse participants (Clark et al 1983). Finally, I propose a re-analysis of the semantics of Tajik demonstrative reference in terms of whether multiple demonstratives are present (Enfield 2003). In this view, Tajik has a basic demonstrative (glossed as proximal) which simply indicates a referent, regardless of distance from the anchor. Meaning distinctions, such as proximal/distal, are introduced only when multiple demonstratives are used, in order to differentiate multiple potential referents.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to acknowledge my thesis advisor, Dr. Irene Appelbaum, whose extraordinary effort, encouragement, and dedication made the completion of this thesis possible. Without her time, patience, and guidance I would not have been able to accomplish what I have. I am extremely grateful to have had the opportunity to know and to work with her.

Next, I would like to thank the members of my committee: Dr. Mizuki Miyashita, who has been especially influential to me during my time as a graduate student and has always encouraged me to have confidence in myself and my work, and Dr. Rebecca Wood, whose challenging questions were of great help in directing the revision process for this thesis.

I would also like to thank Dr. Leora Bar-el, whose course on Linguistic Field Methods gave rise to this thesis. Having gone into her classroom with no fieldwork experience, it is only with her exceptional instruction and thoughtful feedback that I was able to find the data presented in this thesis.

In addition, this thesis would not have been possible without the help of Layokat Rasulova, who was the language consultant during Dr. Bar-el's field methods course. I would especially like to thank her for her interesting and insightful comments, which often helped direct the elicitation sessions, and for her patience with being repeatedly asked numerous very similar sounding questions.

Along with all those already mentioned, I would like to thank Dr. Tully Thibeau, who taught many of my courses at the University of Montana and who was always available to answer questions whether or not they were directly related to coursework; my fellow graduate students in the Linguistics Program, especially Dannii Yarbrough, for letting me bounce ideas

back and forth with her, for telling me whether my sentences made sense, and for her genuine and honest friendship; and the Linguistics Program's undergraduate students, who displayed inspirational enthusiasm and who always allowed me to believe that I was cool.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, family, and friends. Without the influence, care, and support of all of these people, I would not be the person I am today. I leave it to them to decide whether or not that's a good thing.

List of Diagrams and Tables

DIAGRAM A	21
TABLE 1	22
DIAGRAM B	23
TABLE 2	23
DIAGRAM C	25
TABLE 3	26
DIAGRAM D	27
TABLE 4	27
DIAGRAM E	30
TABLE 5	30

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
List of Diagrams and Tables	v
Table of Contents	vi
1. Introduction	1
2. Previous Research on Demonstratives in Tajik	4
2.2 Rastorgueva (1963)	5
2.3 Perry (2005)	5
2.4 Windfuhr & Perry (2009)	7
3. Approaches to the Study of Demonstratives	9
3.1 General Approaches	10
3.2 A Location-based Approach (Enfield 2003)	14
3.3 Common Ground (Clark et al 1983)	15
4. The Use of Demonstratives in Tajik	17
4.1 Diagrams A and B	21
4.2 Diagram C	25
4.3 Diagram D	26
4.4 Diagram E	29
5. Analysis of Tajik Demonstrative Usage	34
5.1 Distance-Based vs Exophoric Usage	36
5.2 The Common Ground Constraint	43
5.3 One Basic Demonstrative, Meaning Contrast, and the Dual Function of <i>vaŕ</i>	44
6. Conclusions, Implications, and Issues for Further Research	49
6.1 Categorizing Systems of Demonstrative Reference	50
6.2 The Role of Common Ground in Demonstrative Reference	51
6.3 <i>In</i> as a Basic Demonstrative	53
6.4 Implications	54
6.5 Limitations and Areas for Further Research	57
References	64

1. Introduction

The most basic use of demonstratives is to indicate a referent that is within the physical context of a discourse, or the exophoric use of demonstratives (Diessel 2006, Levinson 2004, Evans & Green 2006, Coventry et al 2014). Exophoric demonstrative reference is generally described according to two criteria: (i) an *anchor*, to which spatial distinctions are relative; and (2) the *number of spatial distinctions* a language makes. The view addressed in this thesis, which appears to be widely shared (Levinson 2004, Diessel 2006, Hanks 2009, O’Grady 2010, Coventry et al 2014), is that the spatial distinctions made with demonstrative reference are universally based on distance from the anchor, and that the anchor is most often (though not always) the speaker of an utterance. Additionally, at least one alternative claim about the nature of the spatial distinction exists. Enfield (2003) proposes that, cross-linguistically, the spatial distinction made in demonstrative reference is not based on the referent’s distance from the anchor, but instead is based on the referent’s location relative to other potential referents in the discourse situation. In this thesis I use language data from Tajik to show that the commonly described distance-based interpretation of demonstrative reference is not cross-linguistically applicable because it is unable to predict the function of demonstratives in the data. Similarly, while Enfield’s (2003) location-based interpretation is able to account for the Tajik data, it is also not universally applicable and does not account for the function of demonstrative reference in every language. I propose that both interpretations of demonstrative reference, the distance-based interpretation commonly described in the literature and the location-based interpretation described by Enfield (2003) should be considered alternatives to each other; any given language

can be categorized as either distance-based or location-based. This additional consideration, I argue, constitutes a third criterion for the classification of demonstrative reference systems.

Additionally, the data presented in this thesis show that, contrary to the existing descriptions of demonstrative reference in Tajik, there is a non-spatial restriction on the use of one of the Tajik demonstratives for referents that are absent from the discourse situation. In such a case, the referent must be part of the common ground shared by the discourse participants. Common ground refers to the collection of knowledge, information, beliefs, and experiences mutually shared by the discourse participants. Restrictions on the use of demonstratives based on common ground are not unique to Tajik. While common ground is not mentioned in many of the general works on demonstrative reference in Tajik, it is described as a factor that affects demonstrative reference in some other languages (Clark et al 1983).

The data presented in this thesis were collected as part of a semester-long course on Linguistic Field Methods at the University of Montana in Spring 2015. The data were collected during seven elicitation sessions over a period of approximately eight weeks. The data were generated from a single consultant - an adult female native speaker of Tajik from Tajikistan, who is also a fluent non-native speaker of English.

This thesis is organized as follows. In Chapter Two, I introduce the Tajik language and present existing descriptions of Tajik grammar in English. In particular, I describe the explanations of demonstrative reference in each source and show that those descriptions are inadequate. In Chapter Three, I discuss existing notions of the use of demonstrative reference cross-linguistically. I will present one very widely held view of how systems of demonstrative reference work, as well as an alternative view which I argue better describes the data collected for this thesis. In Chapter Four, I present the linguistic data on Tajik demonstratives I collected in

2015, which supports my central claim that the widely accepted interpretation of demonstrative reference (described in Chapter Three) is not able to account for the function of Tajik demonstratives. In Chapter Five I discuss in more detail the failure of the widely held interpretation of demonstrative reference to account for the Tajik data, and show that an alternate view of demonstrative reference (also presented in Chapter Three) better accounts for the Tajik data. Finally, in Chapter Six, I use the analysis from the previous chapter to draw three main conclusions that are supported by the Tajik data. Also in Chapter Six, I propose implications of these conclusions within the field of Tajik language description as well as the field of linguistics as a whole. I conclude Chapter Six with a discussion of the limitations faced while conducting this research and ways in which further research could effectively build on the data collected for this project.

2. Previous Research on Demonstratives in Tajik

2.1 Introduction

Tajik (also called Tajiki or Tajiki Persian) is an Indo-European language belonging to the Persian branch of Southwestern Iranian. It is spoken mainly in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan by approximately 7.8 million speakers (Ethnologue). It is sometimes described as a dialect of Persian¹. The canonical word order of Tajik is subject-object-verb. Since subjects are marked by verb agreement and objects can be contextually implied, both subjects and objects may be omitted (Windfuhr & Perry 2009). Tajik verbs have person, number, tense, aspect, and mood inflections as affixes on the verb (Windfuhr & Perry 2009). According to Perry (2005), spoken Tajik began to develop separately from the variety of Persian spoken in Iran in the sixteenth century, while written Tajik remained unchanged until the early 1900s (Perry & Windfuhr 2009). In 1928 the standard orthography of Tajik was switched to a system based on Latin characters rather than Arabic, and this was again changed in 1939 when Cyrillic script became the standard.

This chapter provides a brief description of the three published English-language grammatical descriptions of Tajik, which were consulted during the data elicitation process and while writing this thesis. They are: Rastorgueva (1963), Perry (2005), and Windfuhr & Perry (2009). Each of these Tajik grammars describes demonstrative reference, but none in much detail.

All three of these sources provide the same general characterization of the system of demonstrative reference in Tajik. Tajik demonstrative reference is described as making a **two-**

¹ In this work, I treat Tajik as an independent language.

way spatial distinction, encoded in the proximal demonstrative *in*, and two forms of the distal demonstrative, *on* and *vaŕ*. It is also described as being a **speaker-anchored system**, in which the choice of demonstrative is made based on the referent's distance from the speaker.

Beyond these two generally agreed-upon features of Tajik demonstrative reference, the three sources vary somewhat in their description of this phenomenon. Most of this variation has to do with the level of descriptive detail found in each work. A summary of the description of Tajik demonstrative reference according to each author is presented below.

2.2 Rastorgueva (1963)

Rastorgueva (1963) provides a very short and very basic description of demonstrative reference in his sketch of Tajik grammar. According to Rastorgueva (and according to Perry 2005, see below), definiteness is expressed using demonstratives.

2.3 Perry (2005)

Perry (2005) briefly mentions “familiarity” or “known”-ness as a relevant feature similar to what was described by the Tajik consultant in this thesis. This feature seems to be similar to the concept of “common ground” as described by Clark et al (1983). This feature, according to Perry (2005), plays a role in the interpretation of adjectival demonstratives, which are the focus of this thesis. Specifically, Perry (2005) states that the referent of the proximal form in the phrase *in pīsar* ‘this boy’ is “‘old information’ to both the speaker and the listener” (p. 67). This finding is not reflected in the data I collected for this thesis. Moreover, the data presented in this thesis suggest that it is in the determination of the referent of the distal form, *vaŕ/that*, not the referent of the proximal form, *in/this*, that common ground plays an important role.

Demonstrative reference in Tajik as described by Perry (2005) is a speaker-anchored system of reference which makes a two-way spatial distinction. The Tajik demonstratives mentioned by Perry are *in*, glossed as the English demonstrative *this* and used for proximal referents, and *on* or *vaŋ*, both glossed as the English *that* and both used for distal referents.

According to Perry (2005), *vaŋ* is used only in the spoken language, and its use can be considered identical to the use of *on*. The two are said to be used interchangeably. Perry (2005) also addresses the metaphorical use of Tajik demonstratives to refer to something at a specific point in time, stating that the proximal demonstrative *in* ‘this’ is generally used to refer to something in the present or future, and the distal demonstrative *on* ‘that’ is generally used to refer to something in the past.

Finally, Perry states that proximal *in/this* tends to refer to something “specific and actual”. He provides an example of this using the phrase, *to this person, who has rendered you great assistance*, noting that this phrase is used as a referential expression, meaning that it indicates a specific person. Similarly, he states that *on/that* tends to be used to refer to something nonspecific or hypothetical, providing the example of *one who/he who/whoever* constructions, which are attributive expressions, meaning that they are nonspecific in that they indicate their referent based on a description rather than indicating a specific referent. The referent of such an expression is whichever entity matches the description contained within the expression. My data, by contrast, seem to show that *vaŋ* does not behave in the same way as *on* in this case. According to my data, the referent of *vaŋ* must be an entity that is specific and that is within the common ground of the speaker and listener.

2.4 Windfuhr & Perry (2009)

Much of the information included in Windfuhr & Perry's (2009) description of Tajik is identical to that presented in Perry's (2005) description. However, this description as a source also serves to bring attention to the classification of Tajik by some authors as a dialect of Persian. Detailed descriptions of the system of demonstrative reference in Persian seem to be similarly rare². While this thesis does not make any attempt to argue for or against Tajik being a separate language or a dialect of Persian³, the classification of Tajik by some authors as a dialect of Persian could explain the rarity of background literature pertaining specifically to Tajik.

Tajik demonstrative reference as described by Windfuhr & Perry (2009) makes a two-way distinction that is speaker-anchored. This source also describes the *in* and *on/vaĭ* uses in approximately the same way that it is described in Perry (2005), but in slightly less detail. They also state that *in* and *on* are "weak demonstratives" and "function virtually as definite articles" (Windfuhr & Perry 2009). While this characterization of the Tajik demonstratives seems to be compatible with Rastorgueva's (1963) description of the Tajik demonstratives as functioning purely to indicate definiteness, in this thesis I argue against this characterization.

While there are a few grammatical descriptions of Tajik, they do not go into great detail on the use of demonstrative reference. Moreover, a number of the claims made in these grammars are in conflict with the findings presented in this thesis.

² Descriptions of Persian and Tajik that are written in English are rare. This may or may not be the case for descriptions written in other languages.

³ While I treat Tajik as an independent language, it is not the purpose of this thesis to make any argument on that point.

3. Approaches to the Study of Demonstratives

In a broad sense, *deixis* refers to contextual aspects of a discourse situation that influence how a speaker's utterance is understood by the listener. According to Hanks (1992) this can include "any aspect of utterance form whatsoever," (p. 46) including not only spatial or temporal details of the discourse situation, such as the time of utterance or the relative positions of the discourse participants and any surrounding objects to each other, but also factors such as the speaker's accent or intonation. Deictic expressions pick out a referent based on its position within the discourse context.

Demonstrative reference refers to a set of deictic expressions, including demonstratives such as *this* and *that*, pronouns, and adverbs. These expressions refer to objects or entities by describing them in terms of some relative aspect of the discourse context. This means that expressions of demonstrative reference refer to an entity by describing its relative position within the discourse situation. A referent can be described according to its relative physical position, such as the physical location of the referent relative to the speaker or listener or some other relevant entity. This is most often interpreted to be the referent's distance from the speaker or listener. Or a referent can be described according to its relative metaphorical position (Diessel 2006, Evans & Green 2006). This can include the referent's temporal position relative to the time of utterance or relative to the time of some other event relevant in the discourse. Demonstrative use can also be influenced by the relative importance of the referent (according to the speaker) within the discourse. (Leonard 1982, Kresin 1998)

3.1 General Approaches

Evans & Green (2006) describe the function of demonstrative reference by focusing on the deictic center and its influence on a listener's perception of an utterance, rather than on any direct physical relationship between an utterance and its referent. The deictic center is the central spatial or temporal point to which all deictic expressions are relative. It is often identical to the location of the speaker at the time of utterance (Diessel 2006). However, the deictic center can vary in size (from including only the space occupied by the speaker, to including the space of a room, a single building, an entire city, a country, etc.) and can also be established by the speaker to be some other point in space and/or time that does not include the speaker or the listener and is independent of the immediate discourse context (Maienborn et al 2012). Additionally, in a language in which the system of demonstrative reference considers the location of the listener as well as the location of the speaker, the deictic center may be assumed by a speaker of that language to include the listener, either with the speaker or without the speaker, in cases when the use of a deictic expression is anchored to the listener.

According to Diessel (2006), demonstratives have two basic functions, which are related: 1) to make direct reference to some particular entity based on its physical location relative to the deictic center, and 2) to direct the joint attention of all participants in a discourse. Diessel (2006) and Coventry et al (2014) both describe the spatial use of demonstratives to refer to physical, tangible entities by indicating their location in terms of distance from the deictic center (what Diessel calls the "exophoric" use of demonstratives) as "prototypical" (Levinson 2004, as cited in Diessel 2006) and "basic" (Coventry et al 2014). Diessel additionally notes that the exophoric use of a demonstrative is often (and in some languages necessarily) accompanied by some sort of indicative gesture, such as pointing to or gazing at the referent, which provides a visual cue to

direct the attentional focus of the listener. Both further describe metaphorical, non-spatial, and non-physical uses of demonstrative reference as “extensions” of (Diessel 2006) or “derived” from (Coventry et al 2014) the original, basic, exophoric use. Evans & Green (2006) also support the idea that non-physical and non-spatial uses of demonstratives are extended or derived by suggesting that such uses are simply metaphorically, rather than physically, “pointing to” some entity or some portion of a prior utterance on which the speaker wishes the listener to focus their attention.

Hanks (2009) describes demonstrative reference as consisting of three parts: an object (the referent that is picked out), an origo (the entity relative to which a referent is picked out), and the relation between the referent and the origo (which is often described as the physical distance between the two). According to what Hanks (2009) calls the “egocentric” understanding of spatial deixis, the origo or deictic center is the speaker and the relation is based on the referent’s physical distance from the origo. The egocentric version is one way that demonstratives can be used, but Hanks also describes demonstratives as “sensitive” to many other factors, including common ground and ownership.

Pederson et al (1998) describe different frames of reference used for deixis, including absolute reference, which is fixed based on contextual information about the discourse situation independent of the discourse participants (such as cardinal directions); relative reference, based on the referent’s position relative to some other point (the deictic center, which they state as most often being egocentric); or intrinsic reference, including languages in which there are no separate terms to describe spatial positioning (languages in which there may be terms for things such as *left hand* and *right hand* in the same way that there are terms for any other body part, but in which there are no separate terms for *left* or *right*). They categorize languages as being intrinsic,

absolute, relative, or mixed. Despite common arguments that the relative frame of reference with a human body as its center, often the speaker, is linguistically universal (Clark 1973, Lyons 1977, and Miller & Johnson-Laird 1976, all as cited in Pederson et al 1998), the results of Pederson et al's (1998) cross-linguistic study of spatial reference suggest that this is not the case, with more than half of the thirteen languages included in the study being categorized as mixed (using both relative and absolute reference).

In language grammars, demonstratives are generally described as composing a system for making spatial distinctions based on distance. Spatial demonstratives do not share exactly the same characteristics or the same usage conventions across all languages. A specific language's system of demonstrative reference can be categorized based on two criteria, as described by Levinson (2004) and O'Grady (2010): the number of spatial or distance distinctions made in the language, and on what basis those distinctions are based or anchored. Languages commonly use proximal/distal two-way distinctions or proximal/medial/distal three-way distinctions. Other systems are also attested, such as the speaker-proximal/listener-proximal/speaker- and listener-distal system used in Japanese. The anchor is typically the location of the speaker (speaker-anchored), the location of the addressee (addressee-anchored), or the locations of both speaker and addressee (speaker/addressee-anchored) (Levinson 2004). In particular, Levinson (2004) specifies that while two-term systems are only speaker-anchored, systems in which there are three or more terms can be speaker- or speaker/addressee-anchored. Below is an example of a comparison between a system with a speaker-anchored, three-way distinction (Spanish) and a system with a speaker/addressee-anchored, three-way distinction (Japanese):

(1)	Spanish	Distance from speaker		
		-	(proximal)	<i>este</i>
		+	(medial)	<i>ese</i>
		++	(distal)	<i>aquel</i>
	(Levinson 2004)			
(2)	Japanese	Speaker distance	Addressee distance	
		-	+	<i>ko-</i>
		+	-	<i>so-</i>
		+	+	<i>a-</i>
	(Levinson 2004, O'Grady 2010)			

Despite their usage differences, these sets of terms can be glossed the same way in English: *este/ko-/this*, *ese/so-/that*, and *aquel/a-/that over there*.

The distinction between proximal and distal is based on whether or not the referent is within the anchor's proximal space or near-space. The boundary of this space is flexible in that it can be defined by the speaker of an utterance or some specific contextual aspect of a discourse. Generally, a referent within the anchor's peripersonal space is considered proximal. The peripersonal space of a discourse participant is the space within reach of the participant. The space beyond that area is the participant's extrapersonal space (Kemmerer 1999).

There are three types of spatial uses of demonstratives: adjectival (e.g., *I want to cuddle **that** puppy*), pronominal (e.g., *I can't get over **that***), and adverbial (e.g., *the puppy ran **there***) (Kemmerer 1999). The examples used in this thesis consist of adjectival uses, although the consultant noted that the answers provided during the elicitation regarding the use of the adjectival demonstratives could also be applied to the pronominal use of the same demonstratives. As an example, the consultant indicated that her answers regarding the use of the proximal demonstrative *vaŋ* (glossed by Rastorgueva 1963, Perry 2005, and Windfuhr & Perry

2009 as English *that*) in the phrase *vaŋ sag* ‘that dog’ are also applicable to the use of *vaŋ* as a third person pronoun (meaning *it*).

The problem with this approach to demonstrative reference is that it fails to predict the results of the Tajik data elicited in this thesis. While in many situations the Tajik demonstratives function in ways that this interpretation of demonstrative reference would predict, they also function in some unexpected ways. The speaker’s choice of demonstrative for a referent in a distal position, between the speaker and the listener but outside the peripersonal space of both, varies depending on other circumstances within the discourse situation. The use of the demonstrative glossed as *near* or *proximal* under some circumstances and the *far* or *distal* demonstrative under other circumstances for a referent that is the same distance away from the speaker cannot be explained by a distance-based demonstrative reference system.

3.2 A Location-basis for Demonstrative Reference (Enfield 2003)

Every language has at least two demonstratives, including a proximal and a distal. Enfield (2003) describes the basic function of demonstratives as indication, suggesting that in each language there is one basic or unmarked demonstrative word and its function is simply that it points to a referent. As Enfield (2003) states, differing arguments have been made in the literature as to which demonstrative, the proximal or distal, is typically the basic or unmarked one. It is specifically the inclusion of additional demonstratives that adds further meaning to a system of reference. This is described by Enfield in terms of determiners in Lao, *nii* and *nan*, which are respectively glossed as *DEM* (the gloss used by Enfield for the basic unmarked demonstrative) and as *DEM not here*. According to this interpretation of demonstrative reference, the basic demonstrative *nii* simply points to a referent, and the additional

demonstrative *nan* also points to a referent with the additional stipulation that the referent is absent from the discourse situation.

In addition, Enfield (2003) describes an interpretation of the spatial distinction made by demonstrative reference that differs from the one presented in section 3.1. According to Enfield (2003), the spatial distinction of demonstrative reference is not based on the referent's distance from the anchor. Instead, it is based on the referent's position in the discourse situation relative to other potential referents. In this way, according to Enfield (2003), the use of a demonstrative expression is not for the purpose of describing *how far away a referent is*, but instead its purpose is to describe *which entity the referent is*. The difference between these two interpretations of demonstrative reference will become the basis for part of my data analysis in Chapter Five.

3.3 Common Ground (Clark et al 1983)

Common ground refers to the body of knowledge and information that is shared by all participants of a discourse. Information in the common ground comes from multiple sources, including joint perceptual experience, jointly experienced hearsay, and membership within a particular community or in-group (which includes everything that a participant believes to be universally known or believed within that community or group). Common ground knowledge does not have to be established before a discourse takes place; for example, two complete strangers engaging in a conversation have common ground, though it may be very limited. According to Clark et al (1983), “the speaker intends each addressee to base his inferences not on just *any* knowledge or beliefs he may have, but only on their *mutual* knowledge or beliefs – their common ground.” (p. 247) This means that when a speaker utters a demonstrative expression, the listener's identification of its referent is based upon which potential referent is most salient based on the common ground they share with the speaker.

The importance of common ground in demonstrative reference will also play a role in my data analysis. I will claim that the status of the intended referent of a demonstrative phrase (as inside or outside of the speaker's and listener's common ground) plays an important role in the use and interpretation of demonstratives in Tajik. In particular, the common ground status, I argue, is important in the use and interpretation of the Tajik distal demonstrative *vaŕ*.

4. The Use of Demonstratives in Tajik

This chapter shows data elicited from a language consultant using a series of picture diagrams. The data show ways in which demonstrative use in Tajik differs from demonstrative use in English. Based on the categorization of Tajik demonstrative reference as a speaker-anchored system with a two-way distance distinction, and based on the description of Tajik demonstratives (Rastorgueva 1963, Perry 2005, Windfuhr & Perry 2009), the function of Tajik demonstratives is unexpected.

There are three demonstratives in Tajik: *in* and *on* or *vaĭ*. These are described in a number of grammar sketches of Tajik as proximal and distal demonstratives respectively (Rastorgueva 1963, Perry 2005, Windfuhr & Perry 2009). The form *in* is described as the proximal demonstrative. Both *on* and *vaĭ* are described as distal. According to Perry (2005), *on* and *vaĭ* have the same meaning and are used interchangeably. The data collected in this thesis concern *in* and *vaĭ*. My thesis does not include any data or discussion related to *on*. This is because the data elicited from the consultant over the course of this project, when asked to produce utterances in Tajik, included instances of *vaĭ*, but not of *on*. The Tajik demonstratives *in* (proximal) and *vaĭ* (distal) correspond to the English spatial demonstratives *this* (proximal) and *that* (distal) and are glossed as such, as shown in the examples below (Rastorgueva 1963).

(3) Tajik Demonstratives and English Gloss

- | | | |
|-----|------------|-------------|
| (a) | <i>in</i> | <i>xona</i> |
| | this | house |
| (b) | <i>on</i> | <i>xona</i> |
| | that | house |
| (c) | <i>vaĭ</i> | <i>xona</i> |
| | that | house |
- (Rastorgueva 1963)

According to the features of demonstrative reference described by Levinson (2004), the systems of demonstrative reference in English and Tajik can both be classified in the same way. Both systems are speaker-anchored, meaning that the speaker chooses the appropriate demonstrative to use for a particular referent based on the referent's physical location relative to the speaker. Both systems also make a two-way spatial distinction, consisting of proximal and distal terms. However, examples that I elicited show that, despite these formal similarities, the Tajik demonstratives function differently than the demonstratives of English.

The data presented in this thesis were collected from a single language consultant, who is a native speaker of Tajik and a fluent non-native speaker of English. Data were elicited using a series of picture diagrams. Each of the diagrams presented to the consultant depicted a discourse situation involving a speaker, a listener, and up to three dogs. In each diagram, the dogs were positioned at various distances from the speaker and from the listener, while the speaker and the listener were always positioned in the same places. The speaker and the listener were both represented by a humanoid figure and consistently labeled as "speaker" and "listener" respectively. The three dogs were consistently represented by different clip art dogs. In meta-discussion with the consultant, the speaker, listener, and dogs depicted in the diagrams were consistently described as being positioned within a "room". Each of the dogs appeared in the same position in any diagram in which it was depicted. Dog 1 was always positioned near the speaker, Dog 2 was always positioned approximately halfway between the speaker and the listener, and Dog 3 was always positioned near the listener. However, each dog was not depicted as being present in every discourse situation. The consultant was instructed to assume that any of

the three dogs not depicted in a given diagram was nevertheless a dog within the common ground of the speaker and the listener.

Each dog may be considered proximal or distal based on its position within the diagram. Dog 1 is considered proximal to the speaker because it is depicted as being within the speaker's peripersonal space, as described by Kemmerer (1999), and is distal from the listener because it is not within the listener's peripersonal space. Similarly, Dog 3 is considered proximal to the listener and distal to the speaker because it is depicted as being within the listener's, but not the speaker's, peripersonal space. Dog 2 is outside of the peripersonal space of both the speaker and the listener and is considered distal to both.

The consultant was shown each diagram independently of the other diagrams. While looking at each diagram, the consultant was asked to listen to four individual sentences in Tajik⁴. After listening to each sentence, the consultant was instructed to suppose that the figure in the diagram labeled "speaker" had uttered that sentence to the figure in the diagram labeled "listener". The consultant was then asked to indicate which of the dogs represented in the diagram, if any, the speaker would be referring to when uttering that particular statement. When viewing diagrams in which not all three dogs were depicted, the consultant was instructed to suppose that the dog or dogs not shown in the diagram were still part of the speaker's and listener's common ground, and that they may be considered as potential referents in any cases in which the referent of a particular sentence can or must be an entity not present in the immediate physical context of the discourse.

⁴ A fifth sentence, *in dodzad (he barked)*, was introduced alongside the third diagram that was presented to the consultant. This fifth sentence was presented to the consultant alongside the original four sentences and was then included for all subsequent diagrams, but due to time constraints the fifth sentence was not tested with the first two diagrams that were shown to the consultant.

Because the four sentences that accompanied the diagrams were constructed by me as a non-speaker of Tajik, each sentence was produced for the consultant before introducing the diagrams in order to confirm that it was grammatical. Because *in* and *vaī* also function as third person singular pronouns, the data discussed here will only concern the results indicated by the consultant for sentence 2 and sentence 3 in (4) below, in which *in* and *vaī* are being used as adjectival demonstratives.

- (4)
1. *sag dodzad*
dog barked
A dog barked.
 2. *in sag dodzad*
this dog barked
This dog barked.
 3. *vaī sag dodzad*
that dog barked
That dog barked.
 4. *vaī dodzad*
that barked
He barked.

The goal of these elicitations was to identify the speaker's range of use for the demonstratives *in* and *vaī*. The speaker had repeatedly referred to a constraint on the use of the distal demonstrative *vaī* in the meta-discussion during prior elicitation sessions, based on what she described as speaker and listener "knowledge" or "familiarity" of the referent. This elicitation technique was used in order to test the application of that constraint for potential referents that were known to both the speaker and the listener as part of their common ground, but which were absent from the physical discourse situation. The speaker had stated during previous elicitation sessions that *vaī* could only be used for a referent if it was familiar to the speaker and the listener, but had not previously been asked about referents that were not

physically present with the speaker and listener in the discourse situation. This technique was also intended to test the speaker's use of *vaT* against her use of the proximal demonstrative *in* for potential referents at different physical distances from the speaker.

4.1 Diagrams A and B

In this section I will consider data from two diagrams, which show that the referent of *in* 'this' must be present in the discourse situation and that the referent of *vaT* 'that' may be absent from the discourse situation only if it is part of the common ground. The consultant was shown Diagram A, which depicts a speaker and a listener standing on opposite ends of a background with two dogs present. One was labeled Dog 1 and was positioned next to the speaker. The second was labeled Dog 3 and was positioned next to the listener. The consultant was instructed to assume that another dog, Dog 2 was an existing dog that was absent from the discourse situation but was part of the common ground between the speaker and the listener. The consultant was asked which dog in Diagram A the referent of the demonstrative phrases in sentences 2 and 3 was. Table 1 shows her responses.

DIAGRAM A

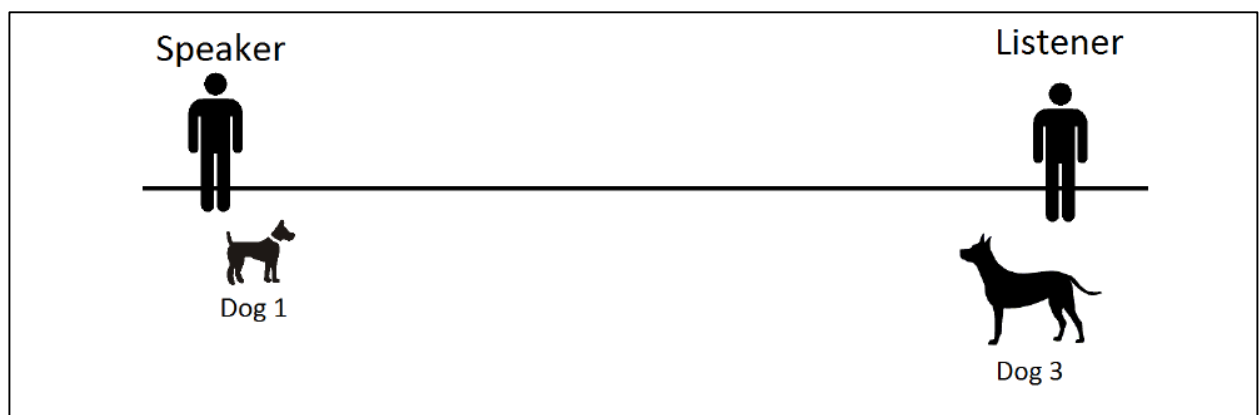


TABLE 1	Sentence			Consultant Response
2	<i>In</i>	<i>sag</i>	<i>dodžad</i>	Dog 1
	This	dog	barked	
3	<i>vaŕ</i>	<i>sag</i>	<i>dodžad</i>	Dog 2 (absent), Dog 3
	that	dog	barked	

For Diagram A, the consultant responded that the referent of *vaŕ* in the sentence *vaŕ sag dodžad / that dog barked* could be either Dog 3 (positioned distal to the speaker and proximal to the listener) or Dog 2 (absent from the discourse situation). The consultant made the additional qualifying remark that the sentence could refer to the absent dog only if it was “a dog that you and the listener already know” or “the particular dog that you and the listener know”. In this situation, Dog 1 (positioned proximal to the speaker and distal to the listener) is not a possible referent of *vaŕ sag / that dog*.

Diagram B depicts a speaker and a listener with two dogs present. One is labeled Dog 1 and is positioned next to the speaker. The other is labeled Dog 2 and is positioned at the approximate midpoint between the speaker and the listener, in the foreground. The consultant was instructed to assume that Dog 3, absent from the discourse situation, was an existing dog and part of the speaker’s and listener’s common ground. Table 2 shows the consultant’s responses for which dog in Diagram B the referent of the demonstrative phrases in sentences 2 and 3 was.

DIAGRAM B

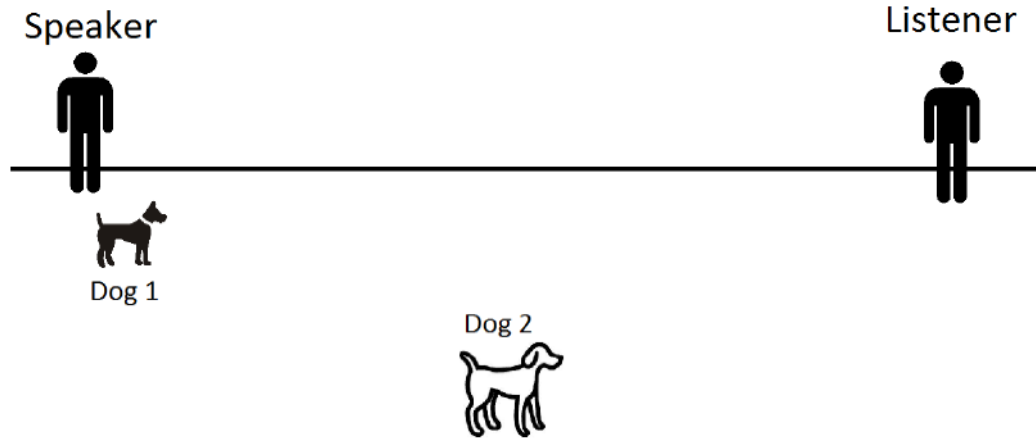


TABLE 2	Sentence			Consultant Response
2	<i>in</i>	<i>sag</i>	<i>dodžad</i>	Dog 1
	this	dog	barked	
3	<i>vaĪ</i>	<i>sag</i>	<i>dodžad</i>	Dog 2 (absent), Dog 3
	that	dog	barked	

For Diagram B, the potential referents of the sentence *vaĪ sag dodžad / that dog barked* include Dog 2 (distal to speaker, distal to listener) and Dog 3 (absent from the discourse situation). Additionally, the common ground restrictions applied to the absentee dog in Diagram A (which was Dog 2) applies here to Dog 3, the absentee dog in Diagram B. That is, in order for *vaĪ sag* to refer to the absent Dog 3, Dog 3 must be part of the common ground. As with the situation shown in Diagram A, these things are all also true of the equivalent English phrase *that dog*. In both cases, an English speaker using the phrase *that dog* can be referring to either Dog 2 or Dog 3, provided that the referent, if absent, is part of the common ground; but the referent of *that dog* is never Dog 1 (the dog positioned proximally to the speaker in both cases).

These data show that the use of *vaĪ* is limited by a non-spatial constraint. All of the possible referents of *vaĪ* are positioned far from the speaker, and in both cases the referent of *in*

'this' is positioned near to the speaker. However, in addition to identifying the referent of $va\hat{T}$ within the situation shown in the diagram, when asked about these situations the consultant explicitly stated that it is important for the referent of $va\hat{T}$, if absent, to be an entity that both the speaker and the listener are familiar with, or part of their common ground.

This was also emphasized in several meta-statements made by the consultant, in which she was specifically asked about the nature of the constraints on the use of $va\hat{T}$, and whether there is a constraint based on physical distance. The consultant responded that the physical distance of the referent from the speaker is important, but that there is additionally a constraint based on common ground. When a referent is present in the discourse situation, it can be referred to using $va\hat{T}$ even if it was not previously part of the common ground between the speaker and the listener. This is because the speaker can use an accompanying gesture to indicate which one the intended referent is. The consultant was asked how a listener would identify the referent of $va\hat{T}$ when the potential referents are a distal referent that is present but not part of the common ground, and a second referent, absent from the discourse situation, but part of the common ground. The consultant responded that if the speaker does not identify the referent present in the discourse situation in some gestural way, then the listener would assume that the correct referent was something absent from the discourse situation.

The Tajik grammar descriptions by Rastorgueva (1963), Perry (2005), and Windfuhr & Perry (2009) describe the constraints on the usage of both *in* and $va\hat{T}$ as only spatial. Along with the previous examples, these meta-statements highlight the importance of the common ground criteria for determining which demonstrative a speaker will use (or which referent a listener will choose in response to the speaker's choice of demonstrative).

4.2 Diagram C

In the third example, the consultant was shown Diagram C, which again depicts a situation including a speaker, a listener, and two dogs. This time Dogs 2 and 3 were present. Dog 2 was positioned at the approximate midpoint between the speaker and the listener, in the foreground, and Dog 3 was positioned near the listener. The consultant was instructed to assume that a third dog, Dog 1 (used in other diagrams) was an existing dog that was not present in the discourse situation, but was part of the common ground between the speaker and the listener. Table 3 lists the consultant's answers as to which dog the referent of the demonstrative phrases in sentences 2 and 3 is.

DIAGRAM C

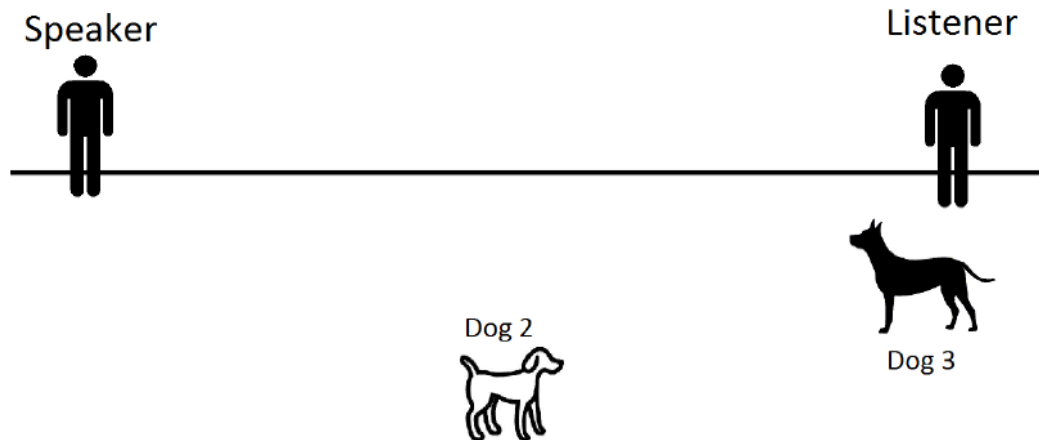


TABLE 3	Sentence	Consultant Response		
2	<i>In</i> this	<i>sag</i> dog	<i>dodžad</i> barked	Dog 2
3	<i>vaĭ</i> that	<i>sag</i> dog	<i>dodžad</i> barked	Dog 3

In the situation described by Diagram C, the consultant identified Dog 3 as the only potential referent of *vaŕ sag* (proximal to listener, distal from speaker), but not Dog 2 (distal from both speaker and listener). The referent of *in sag* in Diagram C is the closest dog to the speaker, which is Dog 2. This would not be the case if an English speaker were using the equivalent phrase *that dog* in Diagram C. In English, both Dog 2 and Dog 3 would be potential referents of *that dog*. There is no potential referent of the English phrase *this dog* depicted in Diagram C. This is unexpected because the demonstrative reference systems of English and Tajik have been categorized in the same way as both being speaker-anchored systems making a two-way distance distinction Levinson (2004).

4.3 Diagram D

In Diagram D all three dogs are depicted. Dog 1 is positioned next to the speaker, Dog 2 is positioned at the approximate midpoint between the speaker and the listener, in the foreground, and Dog 3 is positioned next to the listener. Table 4 lists the consultant's responses for which dog the referent of the demonstrative phrases in sentences 2 and 3 is.

DIAGRAM D

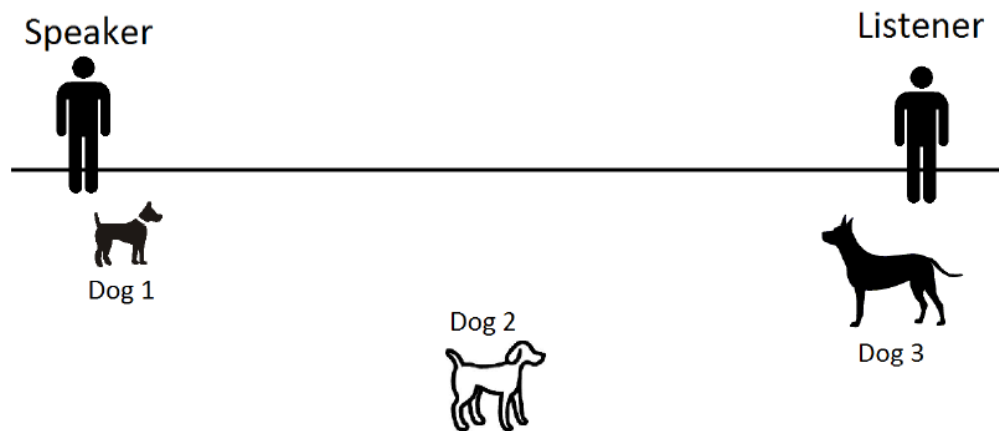


TABLE 4	Sentence			Consultant Response
2	<i>in</i> this	<i>sag</i> dog	<i>dodžad</i> barked	Dog 1
3	<i>vaĭ</i> that	<i>sag</i> dog	<i>dodžad</i> barked	Dog 2, Dog 3

In the situation depicted in Diagram D, the only referent of *in sag* ‘this dog’ was Dog 1 which is proximal to the speaker and distal from the listener. Although Dog 2, which is distal from both the speaker and the listener, was the referent of *in sag* in Diagram C, the consultant did not consider Dog 2 a potential referent of *in sag* in Diagram D. Instead, Dog 2 is a referent of *vaĭ sag* ‘that dog’, along with Dog 3 (distal from speaker, proximal to listener). These data indicate that Dog 2 is the referent of *in sag* only if it is the physically closest potential referent, as it is in Diagram C. However, when there is another potential referent present in the discourse situation and physically closer to the speaker than Dog 2 (such as Dog 1 in Diagram D) then Dog 2 cannot be the referent of *in sag*.

4.4 Diagram E

In the fourth example, the consultant was presented with Diagram E, which depicts a speaker and a listener standing at opposite ends of a background, with only Dog 2 present. Dog 2 is positioned at the approximate midpoint between the speaker and the listener. The consultant was instructed to assume that two other dogs, Dog 1 and Dog 3 (used in other diagrams) were existing dogs that were part of the speaker’s and listener’s common ground. Diagram E is shown

below and Table 5 lists the consultant's responses for which dog the referent of each of the demonstrative phrases in sentences 2 and 3 are.

DIAGRAM E

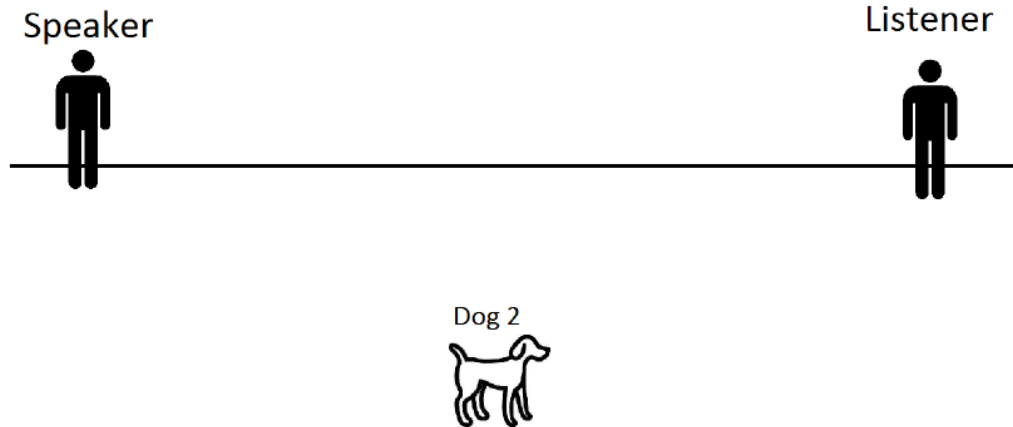


TABLE 5	Sentence			Consultant Response
2	<i>in</i>	<i>sag</i>	<i>dodžad</i>	Dog 2
	this	dog	barked	
3	<i>vaĭ</i>	<i>sag</i>	<i>dodžad</i>	Dog 1, Dog 3
	that	dog	barked	

In Diagram E, the referent of *in sag* is Dog 2 (distal from both speaker and listener). The phrase *vaĭ sag* refers to either Dog 1 or to Dog 3. But *vaĭ sag* cannot refer to Dog 2. In a language such as English, Dog 2 would be referred to as *that dog*, but would not be referred to as *this dog* because it is not proximal to the speaker. Unless the speaker adds a context to the discourse in order to redefine the boundaries of the *this-space*, *this dog* would not have a referent in Diagram E.

In the previous diagrams presented to the consultant, the referent of *vaŕ sag* could be a dog that is present in the discourse context, but a dog is never referred to as *in sag* if there is another dog positioned closer to the speaker. In Diagram E, the dog that is present in the discourse situation is not positioned within the speaker's peripersonal space, but is nevertheless referred to with the proximal demonstrative, while the distal demonstrative is used to refer to an absent dog that is part of the common ground.

It is possible that the Tajik *in* is not a proximal demonstrative, but is instead a basic demonstrative that serves an indicating function. Similarly, according to this analysis, the data show that the distal Tajik demonstrative *vaŕ* is used in situations in which there is more than one potential referent in the discourse and serves the function of adding additional information to the meaning of the demonstratives. In the case of *vaŕ*, it adds elements of meaning that are physical or spatial. According to the consultant, the referent of *vaŕ* is not positioned proximally to or “next to” the speaker, but the data show that the reverse is not true for *in*. While the referent of *vaŕ* must be distal from the speaker, the referent of *in* is not required to be proximal to the speaker. *Vaŕ* also adds meaning based on the common ground status of the referent. This common ground constraint introduced with *vaŕ* specifically applies to referents that are not present in the discourse situation. This is because a potential referent of *vaŕ* that is present in the discourse situation (which includes any potential referent of a demonstrative that is not the one most proximal to the speaker) automatically becomes part of the common ground when it is perceived mutually by both the speaker and the listener, and such a referent can easily be picked out from other potential referents through the use of gesture.

5. Analysis of Tajik Demonstrative Usage

In this chapter I analyze the central findings of the data presented in Chapter Four. The data show that demonstrative expressions in Tajik function differently from the classification based on the criteria of anchor and number of distance-based spatial distinctions, described in Chapter Three. According to these criteria, Tajik has a speaker-anchored system which makes a two-way distinction. The problem with this classification system is that it assumes the spatial distinction to be based straightforwardly on the referent's distance from the speaker anchor. However, the Tajik data elicited for this thesis show that a referent positioned distally – outside of the speaker's peripersonal space – may be referred to with either a proximal or a distal demonstrative, depending on other circumstances in the discourse situation. This requires explanation because it does not function according to the expectations set by the description of the spatial distinction as based on distance from the speaker anchor. This description leads us to expect that a referent that is distal from the speaker in Tajik should always be referred to with the distal demonstrative.

My analysis contains three main claims. First, I argue that contrary to previous work on demonstratives in Tajik (Rastorgueva 1963, Perry 2005, Windfuhr & Perry 2009), the Tajik demonstrative system ought not to be classified simply as speaker-anchored. Recall from Chapter Three that in a speaker-anchored system, the spatial distinction is made relative to the speaker's location. However, the Tajik data collected for this thesis conflict with this view. Instead, the data support the claim that the Tajik proximal and distal demonstratives describe a referent in terms of its distance from the speaker relative to other potential referents in the

discourse situation, rather than simply its position in terms of its distance from the speaker of the utterance.

My second claim concerns the role of common ground as a factor in the speaker's selection of a demonstrative and the listener's interpretation of it. As described in Chapter Three, common ground includes the set of things, entities, knowledge, and beliefs shared by the speaker and the listener in a discourse situation. While the Tajik demonstratives are consistently described in the descriptive literature on Tajik as being proximal or distal in meaning, there are constraints on the use of the distal demonstrative $va\hat{T}$ in Tajik, based on whether or not the referent of the demonstrative is part of the common ground. As emphasized in meta-statements made by the consultant during the elicitation of data, in order to be a referent of $va\hat{T}$, an entity must be part of the speaker's and listener's common ground.

My third claim is that the demonstrative system in Tajik consists of one basic demonstrative, *in*, the function of which is purely indicative, and that other elements of meaning, such as spatially proximal or distal, or the requirement that a referent be part of the common ground between the speaker and the listener, are assigned to the basic demonstrative only in contrast to those meanings being associated with the second demonstrative, $va\hat{T}$. This understanding of two-way demonstrative reference is described by Enfield (2003), who notes that the additional elements of meaning added by the use of additional demonstratives are most often interpreted as having spatial meaning, specifically as indicating a referent according to its distance from the speaker. However, in the case of $va\hat{T}$, the meaning contrast that the second demonstrative adds to the system of reference is not directly based on the referent's distance from the speaker, but instead the contrast is related to the referent of *in*'s position relative to the potential referents of $va\hat{T}$.

5.1 Distance-Base vs Exophoric

The function of demonstratives has often been described as fundamentally and underlyingly based on distance from some feature of the speech situation (Diessel 2006, Evans & Green 2006, Hanks 2009, Coventry et al 2014). This is the distance-based interpretation of demonstrative reference. The exophoric understanding of demonstrative reference describes the use of demonstratives as being simply to pick out or indicate a referent that is physically present in the discourse situation. In this usage, the demonstrative is often accompanied by the use of a gesture, such as pointing or gazing toward the intended referent. This exophoric usage is described as the original, basic and fundamental use of demonstratives. All other uses of demonstratives are described as extensions of this original and basic exophoric use. Additionally, extended or non-exophoric uses of demonstratives are described by Evans & Green (2006) as underlyingly the same as the exophoric use. Their claim is that while the exophoric use involves indicating a referent that is physically proximal to or distal from the speaker in a discourse situation, the non-exophoric uses do the same thing in an abstract sense. Extended, non-exophoric uses of demonstratives are metaphorically “pointing” to an abstract or physically absent referent in the same way that a speaker would physically point to a referent exophorically. In these cases the exophorically used demonstratives of a two-way system are described as pointing to a referent specifically based on whether it is proximal or distal to a speaker, while in the extended, non-exophoric use they are described as “pointing” to a referent based on some other abstract sense of “distance” from the speaker or the discourse situation, based on factors such as salience or importance (Leonard 1982, Kresin 1998) within the discourse, or ownership (Hanks 2009). According to this definition of their use, demonstratives can be understood as functioning to resolve the question of how far the referent is from the system’s anchor, which

will vary depending on the language: from the speaker in a speaker-anchored system, such as that of Tajik or English, from the listener in an addressee-anchored system, or from both the speaker and the listener in a speaker/addressee-anchored system, such as that of Japanese.

In the description of demonstrative reference provided by Enfield (2003), it is proposed that the basic function of demonstratives is not to make a specifically distance-based reference to an entity, as is commonly described. Instead, Enfield (2003) suggests that exophoric demonstratives indicate a referent based on its location within the discourse situation relative to other potential referents that are physically present in the situation. This is the location-based interpretation of demonstrative reference. According to this understanding of demonstrative reference, the exophoric use of demonstratives doesn't function to answer the question, *how far away is the referent from the speaker?*, as it would in a distance-based speaker-anchored system. Instead the exophoric use of demonstratives in the location-based system functions to answer the question, *which of the potential referents is the intended referent?* According to this view, the use of *in* and *vaŋ* in Tajik is based on the distance of the referent from the speaker relative to the location of other potential referents.

While in some examples of the data elicitation, it is consistent that the common interpretation of the use of exophoric demonstratives as being distance-based can be applied to Tajik, such an interpretation fails to account for the data that were collected regarding the reference to Dog 2. Dog 2 was positioned outside of the peripersonal space of both the speaker and the listener as a speaker- and addressee-distal potential referent. However, Dog 2 was not always referred to using the distal demonstrative. Whether Dog 2 was a referent of the proximal demonstrative or the distal demonstrative was dependent upon where other potential referents were positioned within the discourse situation. However, the location-based interpretation

presented by Enfield (2003) accounts for the Tajik data collected for this thesis. Nevertheless, if it is taken to be the correct interpretation for all languages, Enfield's (2003) location-based interpretation does not account for the differences in the speaker's choice of demonstrative between Tajik and English in some situations. In these cases, the use of demonstratives in English is better described according to the distance-based interpretation.

These data imply that in Tajik the same referent can be identified as either "proximal" or "distal" when it is the same distance from the speaker and the listener. For a Tajik speaker Dog 2 can be the referent of either *in*, as in Diagram C, or *vaŕ*, as in Diagram D. This would not be the case in English, and Dog 2 would consistently be referred to using the same demonstrative, *that*, in both Diagram C and Diagram D. This is because in both diagrams it is distal from the speaker assuming that the deictic center is egocentric, meaning it is centered on the physical location of the speaker (as is the case in English, and is most often the case in general, according to Pederson et al 1998, Diessel 2006, and Hanks 2009).

The fact that the demonstrative used to refer to Dog 2 when positioned distally from both the speaker and the listener differs between proximal *in* and distal *vaŕ* when neither the referent nor the discourse participants change location suggests that distance is not the only factor and not the most important factor in the selection of a demonstrative in Tajik. The classification of a referent as what we would call "proximal" or "distal" for the purposes of talking about demonstrative reference is more flexible in Tajik than it is in English, allowing the proximal Tajik demonstrative *in* to refer to the closest potential referent even if that potential referent would be considered distal under other circumstances in Tajik and even if that potential referent would be considered distal in English. In other words, Tajik demonstratives do not pick out a

referent based solely or primarily on the referent's distance from the speaker, but instead they indicate a referent based on its position relative to other potential referents.

The Tajik proximal demonstrative *in* is not used exclusively for what would usually be glossed by linguists as a "proximal" referent. In English the referent of *this* must be within a certain range of the speaker. If it is outside of that range it will be referred to using *that*. Entities located within that certain distance of the speaker will be considered proximal, while entities outside of that space are distal. For English speakers this is a fixed space. The boundary of this space does not have to be the same distance from the speaker in every discourse situation. The size of the area is defined by the context of an utterance. For example, if an English speaker is talking about *this room* then the space in which an entity will be considered proximal can extend to the boundary of the room in question. In English, if there is no potential referent located sufficiently near to the speaker as to be within the boundary of this space, then there is no referent available for the demonstrative *this*. This is why there is no referent of *this dog* in English in Diagram C. Unless the boundary of the speaker's *this*-space is redefined in the context of the discourse (such as by the speaker talking about *this half of the room* as opposed to *that half of the room*, for example), the speaker's *this*-space is assumed to be egocentric, including the space occupied by the speaker and the speaker's immediate vicinity. This consists of the speaker's peripersonal space (or near space). This describes the area physically within the speaker's reach, and can be extended if the speaker uses tools (such as a stick or a pointer) to physically extend their reach.

However, the Tajik demonstrative *in* can be used outside of what would be considered the *this*-space of an English speaker, as long as there is no other potential referent that is physically closer than the intended referent. In Tajik it does not appear to matter whether the

referent is proximal to the speaker in an absolute sense, but instead whether (a) it is present in the discourse context and (b) it is proximal to the speaker relative to other potential referents. If both (a) and (b) are true, the proximal demonstrative is used.

Together, these data suggest that the distance-based interpretation and the location-based interpretation are possible alternatives to each other and that these alternatives constitute an additional dimension for classifying demonstrative reference systems. This additional dimension allows us to capture the difference in behavior of Tajik and English demonstratives, where the traditional two-dimensional classification system does not. Specifically, while English and Tajik both have two-way, speaker-anchored systems, the data suggest that demonstrative reference in English is distance-based, while in Tajik it is location-based.

In many discourse situations, the choice of demonstratives will be identical in a distance-based system and a location-based system. Thus, in the data elicited for this thesis, there are a number of situations in which the consultant's choice of proximal or distal demonstrative was identical to what it would be for a speaker of English. The distance-based interpretation of exophoric demonstratives was able to account for the answers given by the consultant while viewing Diagrams A (p. 17), B (p. 19), and D (p. 23). This is because Diagrams A, B, and D all depict a discourse situation in which a referent (Dog 1) is positioned proximally to the speaker. i.e., within the speaker's peripersonal space, and distally from the listener. Because the system of demonstrative reference in Tajik is speaker-anchored, it is expected according to the distance-based interpretation that a referent of the proximal demonstrative *in* would be positioned proximally to the speaker. And in accordance with this expectation, it is the case that in Diagrams A, B, and D, the only entity that can be considered a potential referent of *in* is the proximal dog: Dog 1. This would also be true of any variation of the discourse situation shown in

the diagrams that includes Dog 1. However, the distance-based interpretation does not account for Diagram C (p. 22) or Diagram E (p. 27). It also fails to account for the difference in the consultant's answers to questions about what can potentially be the referent of the proximal *in* in Diagram B and Diagram C. In Diagram B the referent of *in* is the proximal Dog 1, while in Diagram C there is no proximal dog present and the referent of *in* is Dog 2, which is distal from the speaker and the listener.

Neither Diagram C nor Diagram E depict the speaker-proximal Dog 1 in the discourse situation. In a speaker-anchored system that functions according to the distance-based interpretation, only a potential referent that is proximal to the speaker would be expected to be a referent of the proximal demonstrative. This is because the listener's identification of the referent in such a system must be specifically based on the referent's distance from the speaker. In such a system, the proximal demonstrative would be used to indicate a referent that is proximal to the speaker, within the speaker's peripersonal space, and a referent that is distal from the speaker would be indicated by using the distal demonstrative, regardless of where any of the other potential referents are located. This should mean that in situations in which there is no speaker-proximal potential referent, there would also be no available referent for the proximal demonstrative. In such situations, all potential referents, being distal from the speaker, would be expected to be referents of the distal demonstrative within a distance-based system. However, in Diagram C, which shows two potential referents – one of them, Dog 2, which is distal from both the speaker and the listener, and the other, Dog 3, which is distal from the speaker and proximal to the listener – the referent of the Tajik proximal demonstrative *in* is Dog 2. Similarly, in Diagram E, which shows only one potential referent – Dog 2, which is distal from both the

speaker and the listener – Dog 2 is a potential referent of the proximal *in*, but is not a potential referent of the distal demonstrative *vaŕ*.

The distance-based interpretation by itself also fails to provide an explanation for the differences in the use of demonstratives between Tajik and English. Both Tajik and English have speaker-anchored systems of demonstrative reference. Both languages also make a two-way distinction described in the literature as a proximal demonstrative (*in* in Tajik, *this* in English) and a distal demonstrative (*vaŕ* in Tajik, *that* in English). Because of these similarities, one might expect the use of demonstratives in Tajik and English to be identical. Indeed this view seems to be generally accepted (Rastorgueva 1963, Perry 2005, Windfuhr & Perry 2009). However, the data presented in Diagram C and Diagram E contradict the expectation that the Tajik and English demonstratives have identical patterns of use.

Both of the potential referents in the discourse situation shown in Diagram C are distal from the speaker. While in English both dogs would be referred to using the distal demonstrative *that*, as would be expected according to the distance-based interpretation, the consultant indicated that in Tajik only one of the dogs, Dog 3, would be referred to using the distal demonstrative *vaŕ*. Dog 3 was shown in a position distal from the speaker and proximal to the listener. The other dog shown in Diagram C, Dog 2, was positioned approximately halfway between the speaker and the listener, outside of the peripersonal space of both. Despite not being proximal to the speaker, the consultant indicated that Dog 2 was a potential referent of *in* but not of *vaŕ*. Similarly, Diagram E shows only one potential referent: Dog 2, which was again positioned approximately halfway between the speaker and the listener, distally from both. In this situation in English, Dog 2 is a potential referent of distal *that*, but not a potential referent of proximal *this*. In Tajik, the opposite is true: Dog 2 is a potential referent of proximal *in*, but not a

potential referent of distal *vaŕ*. If the distance-based interpretation of demonstrative reference applied both to Tajik and to English, these differences in their use of demonstratives should not exist.

On the other hand, the location-based interpretation of demonstrative reference is able to account for all of the data collected in Tajik. According to the location-based interpretation, a demonstrative indicates its referent, not simply based on how far away that referent is from the speaker or listener as the anchor, but on its location relative to other potential referents.

In the case of Tajik, this means that the proximal demonstrative *in* doesn't point to a referent simply on the basis of being physically near to the speaker. Instead, if two or more potential referents are present, *in* is used in Tajik to refer to whichever potential referent is positioned nearest to (or least far away from) the speaker, without requiring that it actually be within the speaker's peripersonal space. This is why in Diagram C, *in* is used to refer to Dog 2 and *vaŕ* is used to refer to Dog 3. In Diagram C, Dog 2 and Dog 3 are both positioned distally from the speaker, but Dog 3 is positioned more distally. When there is no proximal option, *in* refers to the most proximal/least distal potential referent; in Diagram C, this is Dog 2. However, when there is another potential referent that is positioned closer to the speaker than Dog 2, Dog 2 is no longer a potential referent of *in*, even though Dog 2's physical distance from the speaker has not changed. This is the case in Diagram D which depicts Dog 1 positioned proximally to the speaker, Dog 2 positioned distally, and Dog 3 positioned more distally than Dog 2. In this Diagram, *in* is used to refer to Dog 1 and *vaŕ* is used to refer to Dog 2 and Dog 3.

This is also why in Diagram E, Dog 2, the only dog present in the discourse situation, is referred to using *in*. Despite not being positioned near to the speaker, Dog 2 is the referent of the proximal demonstrative because there is no other potential referent that is positioned more proximally to the speaker than Dog 2.

However, the location-based interpretation alone does not account for the differences between Tajik and English in their selection of a demonstrative to refer to the only potential referent present in Diagram E. This is why, while the location-based interpretation can be applied to Tajik, it cannot be assumed to be universally applicable. If either interpretation were universally applicable, demonstrative reference would be expected to share the same usage in both Tajik and English, due to their similarities in terms of the anchor and the number of distinctions. Instead, it appears to be the case that the distance-based interpretation applies to English and that the location-based interpretation applies to Tajik. So, the application of the location-based interpretation to Tajik does not show that the distance-based interpretation is a wrong or false understanding of demonstrative reference; what these data show is that the location-based interpretation and the distance-based interpretation are alternatives that exist alongside each other and can be used to describe different languages.

5.2 Common Ground Constraint

Clark et al (1983) have described the importance of common ground in the interpretation of demonstrative reference. Common ground refers to the collection of mutual knowledge, experience, and beliefs shared by the participants of a discourse. Information can be part of the common ground for a number of different reasons, including shared past experience, shared

perception, or mutual membership within a community or in-group. However, while it is possible for information to be mistakenly identified by one discourse participant as being part of the common ground, common ground information is generally known to all participants of the discourse. It is possible for one discourse participant to mistakenly believe that some piece of knowledge is part of the common ground, but information would not be considered part of the common ground by any discourse participant unless they believed it to be mutually known information between the discourse participants. Clark et al (1983) state that a listener refers to the information in the common ground that they share with the speaker in order to identify the intended referent of a demonstrative. The feature of common ground is not included in the accounts of Tajik by Rastorgueva (1963), Perry (2005), or Windfuhr & Perry (2009). However, I argue that the common ground constraint is an important element in understanding the use of the Tajik distal demonstrative *vaŋ*, based on the consultant's meta-statements during the data elicitation.

As noted in Section 4.1 above, the consultant repeatedly made reference to a constraint on the spatial use of *vaŋ* requiring that the referent of *vaŋ* must be part of the speaker's and listener's common ground. This was described during the course of the data elicitation as a requirement that the referent be "known" or "familiar" to both the speaker and the listener.

This constraint is most important when the referent of *vaŋ* is absent from the discourse situation. This is because everything that is present in a discourse situation is by default part of the common ground between the speaker and the listener by virtue of it being part of their shared experience at the time of the discourse event. While a listener may refer to the information in the common ground when identifying a referent that is present in the discourse situation, it is not technically necessary for them to do so, since the speaker is also able to (and may be considered

likely to (Diessel 2006)) physically identify the referent by gesturing or gazing toward it. In other words, the speaker points to the literal common ground to identify a figure. However, when the referent of *vaŋ* is absent from the discourse situation, the listener must rely on information in the common ground in order to identify the most likely referent (Clark et al 1983).

5.3 Basic Demonstrative, Meaning Contrast, and the Dual Function of *vaŋ*

Enfield (2003) presents the view that, rather than each term within a two-way system of demonstrative reference having an inherent meaning that contrasts with the other, every language has one basic demonstrative which functions solely indicatively, and that the contrasting meanings that are carried by the complementary demonstratives in a language are the result of additional demonstratives. These additional demonstratives, Enfield argues, are added in order to create a way to distinguish between more than one potential referent. According to this view, each language has a demonstrative that serves only the basic function of indicating a referent, and all other meanings associated with that demonstrative, such as proximal or distal, are due to the introduction of additional terms, which have contrasting meaning.

This view can be applied to demonstrative reference in Tajik in a way that is supported by the previous two claims made in this section: that Tajik uses a location-based system of demonstrative reference, and that the use of the distal demonstrative *vaŋ* in Tajik requires the referent to be part of the speaker's and listener's common ground. The same evidence, regarding the use of the proximal *in*, that demonstrates a location-based system in Tajik also supports the idea that *in* is the basic or unmarked demonstrative in Tajik because this evidence shows its distribution to be wider and more versatile than that of the distal *vaŋ*. Additionally, the fact that the common ground constraint only applies to *vaŋ* is also compatible with this view because it

demonstrates the addition of a meaning contrast alongside the inclusion of $va\hat{T}$ in the demonstrative reference system.

The location-based system of reference in Tajik was supported by several pieces of data which are related to the speaker's selection of a demonstrative in a case when the intended referent is present in the discourse situation, but not proximal to the speaker, and when there is no other potential referent positioned between the intended referent and the speaker. In this case, the intended referent, while not actually being positioned near the speaker, can be considered the "most proximal" potential referent available. In every case, the data show not only that a potential referent that is proximal to the speaker would be referred to using *in*, but also that in the absence of a proximal potential referent within the speaker's peripersonal space, the most proximal referent available would be referred to using *in*. This is also the case when there is only one potential referent available in the discourse situation, as in Diagram E (p. 27). If there was only one dog pictured in the diagram, the consultant indicated that it was the referent of *in* but was not a referent of $va\hat{T}$. This shows that in the most basic situation, when there is no need to differentiate between one potential referent and another, the demonstrative used to indicate a referent is always *in*, regardless of the referent's actual proximity to the speaker.

There are two ways in which the basic situation can be changed in order to create a circumstance under which the intended referent needs to be distinguished from some other potential referent(s) and the other type of Tajik demonstrative ($va\hat{T}$) will be used. The first way is to add additional potential referents to the physical discourse situation. This was the case in most of the diagrams presented to the consultant, that is, most included more than one dog. The other way is to include additional potential referents that are not present in the discourse situation. These are the only two circumstances in which there is a potential referent for $va\hat{T}$.

There are two meanings associated with *vaŋ* which make it a contrasting term of *in*. Both meanings were explicitly identified by the consultant during the elicitation sessions. The first meaning of *vaŋ* is spatial in nature, and it is a distal meaning. In the meta-linguistic discussion, the consultant described the use of *vaŋ* as limited to referring to an entity that is “not next to [the speaker]” or “away from [the speaker]”. *Vaŋ* is then correctly glossed as a distal demonstrative. However, *in* is not a proximal demonstrative in this case; it simply refers to a proximal referent in situations when it is used to distinguish between a referent of *vaŋ* and a proximal entity.

The other meaning associated with *vaŋ* has to do with the common ground. The consultant stated that the referent of *vaŋ* must be part of the common ground, or must be “something in common that [the speaker] and the listener have or know”. This common ground constraint becomes important for the speaker to consider when the referent of *vaŋ* is absent from the discourse situation. This is because any potential referent that is present in the discourse situation is automatically in the speaker’s and listener’s common ground. Because they are in a situation with the potential referent, it becomes part of their mutually shared experience, and in that case *vaŋ* can be interpreted as simply having the spatial function of being distal from the speaker. It is only when the intended referent of *vaŋ* is absent from the discourse situation that it becomes necessary for the referent to have already been established within the speaker’s and listener’s common ground.

Both of these meanings only apply to *vaŋ*. Only *vaŋ* specifies that its referent is distal, in the case of a referent present in the discourse situation, and only *vaŋ* specifies that its referent is part of the common ground of the discourse participants, in the case of a referent absent from the discourse situation. When a speaker uses *in* in a situation such as that in Diagram E, when there is only one potential referent, *in*’s function is simply to indicate or “point to” that potential

referent. When a speaker uses *in* in any other situation, its function is not to specify a referent that is proximal, or even a referent that is most proximal. Instead the function of *in* is to specify that its referent is the potential referent that is not *vaĪ*. The meanings of *vaĪ* are “distal” or “absent but part of the common ground”, and the meaning of *in* is “not *vaĪ*”, which can be specified as “not the one that is distal” and “not absent but part of the common ground”.

In this chapter, I have interpreted the data presented in the previous chapter as implying that (1) Tajik uses a location-based system of demonstrative reference, not a distance-based system; (2) the demonstrative glossed as “distal” in Tajik, *vaĪ*, does not refer only to a referent that is physically distal from the speaker, outside of their peripersonal space, but also requires its referent to be part of the common ground between the discourse participants; and (3) the location-based meaning and the common ground constraint only apply to *vaĪ*, while the function of *in* is simply to indicate a referent. This interpretation allows us to provide an analysis that accounts for all of the data elicited from the consultant for this project. Interpreting the data as I have done also provides an explanation for the differences between English and Tajik choices of demonstratives in identical discourse situations, despite their both being two-way speaker-anchored systems.

6. Conclusions, Implications, and Issues for Further Research

The principle claim of this thesis is that the description of demonstrative reference in the existing literature on Tajik does not adequately describe the use of demonstratives in Tajik. The systems of demonstrative reference in Tajik and English are very similar, and this is why the existing descriptive literature on Tajik describes demonstrative reference in such a way that it seems to work exactly the same way in both languages. In the descriptive literature on Tajik, the two types of demonstratives are described as proximal (*in*) and distal (*on* and *vaŕ*) and are glossed as the English counterparts ‘this’ and ‘that’ respectively (Rastorgueva 1963, Perry 2005, Windfuhr & Perry 2009). Without additional, specific, or more detailed information about the use of demonstratives provided in the descriptive literature on Tajik, demonstrative reference in Tajik appears to be done in exactly the same way that it is in English, in which the speaker’s choice of demonstrative is based on the referent’s distance from the speaker. However, the data presented in this thesis show a significant difference between the selection of a demonstrative in Tajik and in English for the same referent in some identical situations. The common factor shared between these situations in which Tajik and English are contradictory is the lack of a potential referent that is proximal to the speaker. In English, when all of the potential referents are distal from the speaker, the speaker will use the distal demonstrative *that* to refer to any potential referent. In Tajik, on the other hand, when all of the potential referents are distal from the speaker, the speaker will use the proximal demonstrative *in* for whichever potential referent is least distal, and the distal demonstrative *vaŕ* for any other potential referents that are more distal than the referent of *in*.

6.1 Categorizing Systems of Demonstrative Reference

The common general descriptions of demonstrative reference provided in the literature are also insufficient to differentiate between the demonstrative reference systems of Tajik and English. This can potentially cause confusion about the differences between Tajik and English. In addition, using the overly broad categorization found in much of the existing literature on Tajik could further cause potential confusion about the differences in demonstrative reference between any two languages. This could lead to incorrect conclusions being drawn about Tajik, based solely on information in the available literature, and incorrect conclusions being drawn about demonstrative reference in general, based on the commonly used classification criteria being applied to insufficient information about the use of demonstrative reference in any particular language.

Based on the commonly described features of demonstrative reference in terms of anchor (speaker, addressee, or both) and the number of distance-based spatial distinctions made (two, three, or more) (Levinson 2004, O'Grady 2010) Tajik and English may be expected to be grammatically identical in terms of their use of demonstratives. Described according to those two features, both languages have a speaker-anchored system that makes a two-way distance distinction. Because the spatial distinction is based on the referent's distance from the speaker, this system does not account for the differences between Tajik and English discussed above. According to a distance-based classification, a referent that is distal from the speaker should be referred to using the distal demonstrative whether it is the most or least distal potential referent. This is the case in English. However, the data show that it is not the case in Tajik. Applying the location-based interpretation of demonstrative reference as described by Enfield (2003) to Tajik accounts for this by interpreting demonstrative reference in a way that is not based on the

referent's distance from the speaker, but instead on the referent's location relative to other potential referents. Instead of using the distal demonstrative for all distal referents because of how far away those referents are from the speaker, a Tajik speaker uses the proximal demonstrative for the least distal potential referent because of where the other potential referents are located. Similarly, a Tajik speaker uses the distal demonstrative for all potential referents that are more distal than the least distal one.

However, the location-based interpretation provided by Enfield (2003) does not account for demonstrative reference in every language. A location-based understanding of demonstrative reference explains the behavior of demonstratives in Tajik, but is not able to account for the behavior of demonstratives in English. Instead, the use of demonstratives in English can be accounted for by the more commonly described distance-based interpretation. This means that neither interpretation by itself can account for demonstrative reference in all languages, but that an individual language may be categorized as either distance-based or location-based. Rather than assuming that only one of the two interpretations -- a distance-based system or a location-based system -- is correct, allowing for both types as possible alternatives to each other accounts for these differences between Tajik and English.

6.2 The Role of Common Ground in Demonstrative Reference

The specific details of the use of *vaŕ* in Tajik require certain common ground constraints to be met by its referent. In the existing literature on Tajik, *vaŕ* is glossed as the English *that* and is described as a distal demonstrative. However, simply stating that *vaŕ* is used for a referent that is positioned far away from the speaker does not accurately describe the use of *vaŕ* by the Tajik speaker. According to the data I collected, this is an inaccurate characterization of *vaŕ*'s use.

This is not only because of the previously mentioned differences between Tajik and English due to the distance-based vs. location-based distinction. It is also because *va*̂ carries an additional meaning that is unrelated to the physical position of its referent. In order to be a referent of *va*̂, the entity in question is required to be part of the common ground. This is easily resolved for referents that are present in the discourse situation, and could be easily overlooked in such situations because any potential referent that is present in the discourse situation is automatically a part of the speaker's and listener's common ground. If every potential referent is present, then every potential referent is part of the common ground and the common ground constraint on the use of *va*̂ is unimportant. In such situations the only distinction that needs to be made to differentiate between potential referents is the location-based spatial distinction. However, in situations that include a referent that is absent from the discourse situation, the common ground constraint becomes important. An absent referent can be referred to using *va*̂ if it is already part of the common ground, or if it is immediately introduced to the common ground when it is referenced. This is not unique to Tajik - it is also the case in English - but it is not mentioned in any of the literature on Tajik.

6.3 *In* as a Basic Demonstrative

The conclusions drawn in the previous two sections also support the idea that Tajik behaves according to the way Enfield (2003) describes demonstrative reference systems, as consisting of a basic or default demonstrative that has a purely indicative function, as well as a number of additional demonstratives (depending on the number of distance- or location-based distinctions made by the language in question). These additional demonstratives carry additional

meanings adding a meaning contrast to the system in situations when the additional demonstratives are used. According to this view, the contrasting distance-based meaning is carried by the non-basic additional demonstrative. The second, non-default demonstrative in Tajik is *vaġ*. Because the data show the common ground constraint applying only to *vaġ*, and because the consultant repeatedly made specific mention of this constraint's application to *vaġ* but never mentioned this constraint with regard to the other demonstrative, *in*, it seems to be the case that the common ground constraint only applies to *vaġ*. This is because, while *in* can only be used to point to a referent that is present in the discourse situation (and is therefore automatically part of the common ground), *vaġ* can be used for a referent that is absent. The specific requirement that the referent be part of the common ground is part of the meaning of *vaġ*, which can be used to point to absentee referents only if they are part of the common ground. But such a requirement does not apply to *in*, nor does it contribute meaning to *in*, which only functions as an indicative word which simply points to a referent.

6.4 Implications

Because Tajik is an understudied language, the available literature on Tajik is minimal. In the most general sense, this work adds to the small existing body of work written about Tajik in English. Additionally, this work contributes a detailed description of the use of demonstratives in Tajik, which is not present in any of the existing descriptive literature on the language. In contributing a detailed description and proposing an analysis of demonstrative reference in Tajik, this work also calls attention to potential shortcomings of available descriptions of demonstrative reference in general. It additionally highlights the need for more research to be performed regarding the systems of demonstrative reference with data from specific languages, and the ways in which languages can be categorized according to their demonstrative reference systems.

While there are existing publications that discuss and explain demonstrative reference, the ideas presented on demonstrative reference are generally not applied to language description. This can lead to confusion or incorrect use of language in pedagogical situations and to incorrect claims when basing academic work on information obtained from a reference grammar. Using existing published descriptions of Tajik, there would be no way to reach the same conclusions shown by the data in this thesis, and one would instead be likely to assume that Tajik demonstratives are distance-based, as English demonstratives are. Similarly, while the concept of common ground is present within the background literature on demonstrative reference in general, it is not addressed in the literature on Tajik. The common ground constraint as it applies to Tajik may or may not apply to other languages as well.

6.5 Limitations and Areas for Further Research

The circumstances of this research included a number of limiting factors. As a result, the evidence represented in this work consists of a relatively small number of examples. In order to strengthen the conclusions drawn in this work, a number of specific factors should be considered, which would need to be addressed in further research on this topic.

This project took place over a relatively short span of time with a relatively small number of elicitation sessions, with only a single language consultant. The data used for this work were collected over a period of eight weeks as part of a course on linguistic field methods. During that period of time, there were seven joint elicitation sessions conducted (either with a small group of fellow students or during class time, observed by the entire class) that were relevant to this

project, and approximately twenty minutes of each of the seven hour-long elicitation sessions were specifically devoted to collecting the data for this project.

In order to solidify the conclusions drawn by this work, further research would need to be performed with a wider variety of Tajik speakers. Ideally, such a group would include speakers with various characteristics, most importantly including both male and female participants, and participants of various age groups.

Additionally, the original goal of this research was not specifically about the use of demonstrative reference. Because of this, data items related to the original topic included very few instances of demonstratives being used by the consultant. By the time the data showed promise for revealing facts about demonstrative reference, there was very little time left to work with the consultant. It was only for the last two data elicitation sessions that the data elicited for this project consisted entirely of items relevant to demonstrative reference. Even following a similarly limited time frame, conducting a similar research project while devoting the data elicitation session time purely to the topic of demonstrative reference might yield more robust data and lead to stronger conclusions.

Conducting the data elicitation required careful selection of the diagrams to be shown during the elicitations. This is why only a very limited set of five separate diagrams were shown to the consultant. In order to make the best use of the time available to further investigate demonstrative reference, the situations shown in the diagrams presented to the consultant were constructed with the intention of eliciting the most useful or interesting results, while avoiding elicitation of redundant information. When performing further research on this topic, it would be worthwhile to include a similar set-up involving diagrams depicting various discourse situations,

including all potential configurations of all three potential referents in the speaker-proximal, medial, and listener-proximal positions used for the original research.

In addition, including diagrams involving more and different potential referents could also yield useful results. For example, one could perform similar data elicitation research using potential referents that are of the same type or category as the others (such as all dogs), but which differ significantly in terms of physical size. Additionally, one could perform this type of research while adding details to the discourse situation, such as a table or a doorway, that might act as a boundary of some sort between two potential referents.

Testing similar situations on a smaller scale could also strengthen the conclusions drawn by this work. This might include using some similar configurations of small items as potential referents (one speaker-proximal, one approximately at the midpoint between a speaker and a listener, and one listener-proximal) on a table with a speaker and a listener on either side of the display of objects. Similarly, one might then test the same potential referents similarly placed in various configurations on a table for a speaker and listener who are both positioned near each other, such as on the same side of or along the same edge of the table.

This work also did not include any questions about the third Tajik demonstrative, *on*, and did not address it in any way. *On* is described by Rastorgueva (1963), Perry (2005), and Windfuhr & Perry (2009) as a distal demonstrative, the use of which is identical to that of *vaŋ*. According to the background literature on Tajik, *on* and *vaŋ* can be used interchangeably. The main reason for the exclusion of *on* in this project was because the responses elicited from the consultant for the entire duration of the eight weeks over which the elicitation sessions took

place never included any usage of *on*. Further research might test whether *on* can be substituted for *vaġ* in the situations where the consultant for the present research used *vaġ*.

Doing the same type of project in other languages would also provide additional data about demonstrative reference in general. According to the data collected for this project, the categorization and general behavior of demonstrative reference in Tajik appear to be very different in their actual use than what could be predicted based on the background literature. There is no existing description of Tajik grammar written in English that sufficiently explains its system of demonstrative reference and no data examples were provided that would lead a reader to question its categorization as distance-based.

It is possible that this is also the case in other languages. Because demonstrative reference is rarely addressed specifically in any great amount of detail in grammatical descriptions, it is possible that demonstratives as described in a given language are assigned distance-based meaning in the absence of sufficient data and examples to support the distance-based interpretation, or in absence of sufficient data and examples to specifically rule out the location-based interpretation for that language. In many cases, demonstrative reference is not even mentioned in that amount of detail, and the distance-based interpretation is not well explained, if at all; demonstrative reference is instead described in grammatical descriptions simply by glossing the demonstratives as their nearest and most accurate English equivalent.

Glossing demonstratives makes sense for the purposes of translation, but doing so in absence of a full explanation of the system of demonstrative reference in a given language can lead to confusion on the part of the reader, such as misuse or ungrammatical use of the language (in pedagogical situations), or drawing erroneous conclusions about the use of demonstratives or categorization of demonstrative reference based on the information presented in a grammatical

description. This potential for error and confusion supports the validity and necessity of performing the type of research presented in this paper, in order to minimize the possibility of such situations.

Finally, the current thesis is focused on data elicited from a consultant that was exclusively about spatial demonstrative reference. In all of the discourse situation diagrams presented to the consultant, the potential referents were depicted as physically tangible entities that were present in the discourse situation with the speaker and the listener. However, demonstrative reference is not exclusively spatial or limited to referents that are physically present in the discourse situations, as demonstrated by the Tajik data relating to the common ground constraint for reference to entities absent from the discourse situation. Further research related to the use of demonstrative reference for abstract or intangible entities, in Tajik or in any language, could further support conclusions about the categorization of that language's demonstrative reference system, or could lead to alternative analyses about the use of demonstratives within a language.

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