

Spatial deixis in Lithuanian: demonstrative pronouns

Telpiskās attieksmes lietuviešu valodā: norādāmie vietniekvārdi

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This article deals with spatial deixis in Lithuanian (the issue of demonstratives). Spatial deixis is lexicalized by different parts of speech in different languages: by adverbs of place (e.g., *here* and *there*), verbs (*come* and *go*) and demonstratives. The demonstratives *this* and *that* are usually considered to be spatial deictics in their basic use. For instance, *this house* and *that house* indicate closeness to and distance from the speaker. *This* is called a proximal deictic and *that* – a distal deictic. Some languages have demonstratives with 3 and 4 way distinctions on the proximal-distal dimension. According to some Lithuanian authors, the Lithuanian language is among them and has a ternary system of demonstratives (deictic pronouns): *šis* is a proximal deictic, *anas* – distal, however *tas* can be used to indicate both – a proximal ('near the speaker') and distal ('not near the speaker') object in Lithuanian. The aim of this research is to verify whether the Lithuanian system of demonstratives is ternary as it is stated or whether it has changed. This paper deals with two problematic cases. Therefore, first, psychological distance is considered in spoken Lithuanian and, second, frequency of usage of the pronoun *tas* in face-to-face communication to indicate an object that is not close to the speaker instead of *anas* is evaluated.

Keywords: binary system; exophoric demonstratives; experiment; Lithuanian; spatial deixis; spatial opposition; ternary system.

1. Introduction

According to „Lietuvių kalbos gramatika” (*A Grammar of Lithuanian*) (Ulvydas 1965), the demonstrative pronouns *šis* 'this', *tas* 'that' and *anas* 'that' refer to known things in the speaker's respect. The demonstrative pronoun *tas* 'that' distinguishes a more or less distant known object (Ulvydas 1965, 678–679), e.g.:

- (1) *Tie* *grūdai,* *kuriuos* *tėvas* *uždirbo*
that.NOM.PL.M grain.NOM.PL.M that.INSTR.PL.M father.NOM.M earn.PST.3
vasarą *kasdamas* *griovius,* *pasibaigė.*
summer.ACC.F dig.PTCP.M ditch.ACC.PL.M end.PST.3
'Those grains, that the father earned by digging ditches during the summer, are used up.'

The demonstrative pronouns *šis*, *šitas* ‘this’ distinguish a very close object to the speaker in perspective of space and time (Ulvydas 1965, 679), e.g.:

- (2) *Išgerk, išgerk, broleli, šitą, ipils,*
 drink.IMP.2 drink.IMP.2 brother.VOC.M. this.ACC. pour.FUT.3
ipils seselė kitą.
 pour.FUT.3 sister.NOM.F. another.ACC
 ‘Drink, drink, the little brother, **this** one, the little sister will pour, will pour another one.’

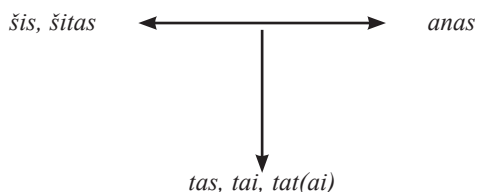
The demonstrative pronoun *anas* ‘that’ distinguishes the most distant thing (from the speaker) in perspective of space and time (Ulvydas 1965, 679), e.g.:

- (3) *Atameni anąjį berniuką, kuriam buvo*
 remember.PRS.2 that.ACC.M boy.ACC.M who.DAT.M be.PST.3
žadėję po diržą rėžti už
 promise.PTCP.3 following belt.ACC.M strike-INF for
kiekvieną netinkamą atsakymą?
 every.ACC.M wrong.ACC.M answer.ACC.M
 ‘Do you remember **that** boy who has been promised to be belted for each wrong answer?’

As *šitas*, *šis* and *anas* indicate the most distant things from each other in perspective of space and time, they are usually opposed in different contexts (Ulvydas 1965, 679), e.g.:

- (4) *Duok man aną, šito nenoriu.*
 give.IMP.2 me.DAT that.ACC this.GEN NEG.want.PRS.2
 ‘Give me **that** one, I do not want **this** one.’

According to Albertas Rosinas (1988, 50–51; 1996, 57–59), the Lithuanian system of demonstratives (deictic pronouns) is ternary (see Scheme 1):



Scheme 1. The Lithuanian system of demonstratives according to Rosinas.

He states that the pronoun *šis* is a proximal deictic, *anas* – distal, however *tas* can be used to indicate both – a proximal (‘near the speaker’) and distal (‘not near the speaker’) object in Lithuanian (Rosinas 1996, 58–59), e.g.:

- (5) *Rimdžius (...)* *kratė* *viską* *tiesiai* *turgaus*
 Rimdžius.NOM.M shake.PST.3 everything.ACC right market.GEN.M
vidury *ir* *aiškino,* *kad (...),* *kad*
 middle.LOC.M and explain.PST.3 that that
šitas *štai* *įtaisymas* *gerai* *ima*
 this.NOM.M here equipment.NOM.M good take.PRS.3
šeškus, *o* *šitas* – *žebenkštis,* *nuo*
 ferret.ACC.PL.M and this.NOM.M weasel.ACC.PL.F from
šito *štai* *neišsisuks* *kiaunė.* *O*
 this.GEN.M here NEG.turn.FUT.3 marten.NOM.F. and
štai *tas* *paims* *ir* *lūšį,*
 there that.NOM.M grip.FUT.3 and bobcat.ACC.F
ir *patį* *tigrą.*
 and itself.ACC.M tiger.ACC.M

‘Rimdžius (...) shook out everything right in the middle of the market and explained that (...), that **this** equipment is good for ferrets, and **this** – for weasels, and a marten won’t escape from **this one**. Meanwhile **that one** will grip a bobcat and a tiger itself.’

- (6) *Kunigaikštis sako, rodydamas į vaikus.*
Ši *mano* *žmona,* *o* *tie* *jo*
 this.NOM.F my.GEN wife.NOM.F and that.NOM.PL.M he.GEN.M
broliai.
 brother.NOM.PL.M
 ‘The Duke says while pointing at the children. **This** is my wife, and **those** are his brothers.’

In the example (5) the pronoun *tas* is used as a synonym for the pronoun *šitas*, while in the example (6) the proximal-distal opposition is maintained.

After researching the semantic structure of pronouns *šis*, *tas* and *anas*, Rosinas concludes that all three Lithuanian pronouns can be described as follows:

šis: ‘deictic’, ‘unemphatic’, ‘identical’, ‘demonstrative’, ‘direct’, ‘distant’, ‘proximate’.

tas: ‘deictic’, ‘unemphatic’, ‘identical’, ‘demonstrative’, ‘direct’, ‘non-distant’;

anas: ‘deictic’, ‘unemphatic’, ‘identical’, ‘demonstrative’, ‘direct’, ‘distant’, ‘non-proximate (far)’.

Thus, the pronoun *tas* is a ‘non-distant’ demonstrative according to the listed semantic features. Literally it means that *tas* does not indicate neither a close nor distant referent. The electronic dictionary „Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas” (*Dictionary of Modern Lithuanian*) (Keinys 2011) gives precisely the same explanation: ‘1. Points at the object which is discussed’. Examples do not show distance either (Keinys 2011):

- (7) *Prašyk* *tõ* *žmogaus*.
ask.IMP.2 that.GEN.M man.GEN.M
'Ask **that** man.'
- (8) *Tasaĩ* *medis* *gerai* *auga*.
that.NOM.M tree.NOM.M good grow.PRS.3
'**That** tree grows well.'
- (9) *Kaip* *tau* *tõji* *mergina* *patinka?*
how you.DAT that.NOM.F girl.NOM.F like.PRS.3
'How do you find **that** girl?'

According to „Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos gramatika” (*A Grammar of Modern Lithuanian*) (Ambrazas 2006), demonstrative pronouns usually refer to a definite thing (person, phenomenon): *tas, ta* ‘this’, ‘that’, *šis, ši, šitas, šitą/šita* ‘this (one here)’, *anas, ana* ‘that (one)’ (Ambrazas 2006, 262). They exhibit/express contrast between the ‘near’ (*šis, ši, šitas, šitą/šita*) and ‘distant’ (*anas, ana*) reference (Ambrazas 2006, 263). *Tas, ta* are the neutral members of the near-distant opposition: they can be contrasted both to *šis, ši, šitas, šitą/šita* and *anas, ana*. They are also used when no contrast between the near and distant reference is implied.

Concluding everything that has been said, several issues should be discussed. Firstly, the data reveals the ternary system of demonstratives in Lithuanian. However, the system is treated differently. According to „Lietuvių kalbos gramatika” it consists of three members: ‘near the speaker’ (*šis, šitas*), ‘not near the speaker’ (*tas*), ‘not near the speaker, at the longest distance from the speaker’ (*anas*). According to Rosinas and „Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos gramatika”, the system consists of the opposition ‘near the speaker’ (*šis, šitas; tas*) / ‘not near the speaker’ (*anas; tas*).

These differences inspired the aim of the current research, which is, by means of experiment, to determine the meaning of the pronoun *tas* in current spoken Lithuanian and to verify whether the Lithuanian system of demonstratives is ternary. An affirmative answer would lead to the next step, which is to review, how the spoken Lithuanian system of demonstratives has changed.

The paper consists of several parts. First, a brief overview of the theoretical background is presented. Next, the analysis and results are discussed. Finally, conclusions are drawn.

2. Theoretical Background

Spatial deixis. Spatial/space deixis or place deixis is one of the main kinds of deixis, when the lexical means refers to a place or places in respect of participants of actual speech act (Huang 2006, 132). Demonstratives are used to encode deictic information in a language. English demonstratives *this* and *that* are usually considered to be spatial deictics in their basic use. For instance, *this house* and *that house* indicate closeness and distance from the speaker. Other tools in languages

are adverbs of place (like English *here* and *there*). In some languages, such as English, German or Italian, it can also be expressed by deictic verbs (like English *come* and *go*, German *gehen* and *kommen*, Italian *andare* and *venire*).

Charles Fillmore describes spatial deixis as ‘that aspect of deixis which involves referring to the locations in space of the communication act participants; it is that part of spatial semantics which takes the bodies of the communication act participants as significant reference objects for spatial specification’ (Fillmore 1982, 7).

Deictic words which indicate location can be classified in various ways. The most common way is to group them according to the distance from the deictic centre – the speaker.¹ Following this, deictic structures are classified into proximal and distal (*physical distance*). The first one indicates referents near to the speaker, the second one – not near/far away from the speaker (Yule 1996, 9–10). On this basis, the world’s languages are classified into single-member, binary, and trinary systems of demonstratives (as referred in the beginning of this paper, the Lithuanian language belongs to the group of languages that have a three-membered system of demonstratives).

Classification of demonstratives within a ternary system. From the point of view of the deictic centre (in this paper – the speaker) systems of demonstratives can be binary or ternary. Some languages have demonstratives with 4 and 5 way distinctions on the proximal-distal dimension (Huang 2006, 154–156). A binary system consists of proximal and distal pronouns, e.g.: English *this* (close to the speaker) and *that* (at a distance from the speaker). A ternary system has a proximal member, a medial member and a distal member. In this system the medial member locates a place, related to the deictic centre (mostly the speaker) (Huang 2006, 152–154). For example, according to John Lyons, the Turkish ternary system has these members: *bu* ‘close to the speaker’, *şu* ‘not close to the speaker’, *o* ‘at a distance from the speaker and from the listener’ (Lyons 1977, 669) (see Figure 1).

¹ In the Anglo-American tradition (Fricke 2007, 17–53) the speaker considers himself as a deictic spatiotemporal *zero-point* (Lyons 1977, 638) in the moment of utterance and relates everything to his viewpoint: ‘The canonical situation-of- utterance is egocentric in the sense that the speaker, by virtue of being the speaker, casts himself in the role of ego and relates everything to his viewpoint. He is at the zero-point of the spatiotemporal coordinates of what we will refer as the deictic context’. The European tradition, in the line of Karl Bühler (1934), defines deixis as *origo* dependency and considers deictic expressions as obligatory *origo*-relative (Fricke 2007, 17–53). Conceptually it is understood as the origin of a coordinate system of subjective orientation (Bühler, 1934/1982a, 102), which is used to organize the personal, spatial, and temporal structure of utterances. Bühler (1990, 117) assumes one single *origo* for all dimensions, a mutual coordinate starting point for personal, local, and temporal deixis.

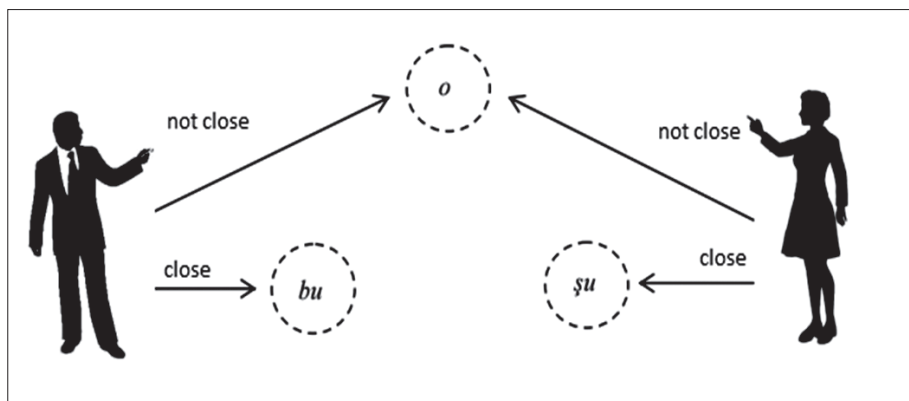


Figure 1. The Turkish ternary system of demonstratives.²

As it was already mentioned (see 1. Introduction), the Lithuanian pronoun *tas* is ‘deictic’, ‘unemphatic’, ‘identical’, ‘demonstrative’, ‘direct’, but ‘non-distant’. From this point of view, the demonstrative *tas* has a neutral meaning in respect of distance. There are some languages across the world where demonstratives can also be distance-neutral (Churchward 1953, 150–152). In the case of distance-neutral demonstratives, the distance of the referent from the speaker is expressed by adding demonstrative adverbs to the neutral form. For instance, in German, demonstrative adverbs *hier* ‘here’ and *da* ‘there’ are added to the neutral forms *dieser* and stressed *der*, *das*, *die* (Diessel 2005):

- (10) *Das* *Bild* *hier* *gefällt* *mir*
 this.NOM.N picture.NOM.N here like.PRS.3 I.DAT
 besser *als* *das* *da*.
 better than that.NOM there
 ‘I like this picture better than that one (over there).’

Exophoric and endophoric use. The use of demonstratives can be divided into exophoric (situational) and endophoric (textual) (Halliday and Hasan 1976). A demonstrative is used exophorically when the speaker refers directly to something that is physically evident in his surroundings. A demonstrative is used endophorically when it refers to a referent that exists in the ongoing discourse (in written text or spoken language).

Gestural deixis. The combination of language and gesture is especially characteristic of the exophoric use, in which demonstratives refer to specific entities in the surrounding situation (cf. Levinson 2004). Different methods of research classify gestures differently; however, four main types of gestures can be distinguished: *iconic gestures*, *metaphoric gestures*, *deictic gestures*, *beats gestures*

² Drawn by Darius Stanevičius.

(McNeill 1992, 78–81). The prototypical deictic gesture is an extended ‘index’ finger, but almost any extensible body part or held object can be used (e.g. hand, eyes, head, chin, etc.). Indeed, some cultures prescribe deixis with the lips (Enfield 2001). Deixis entails locating objects, subjects and actions in space vis-à-vis a reference point, which Bühler called the *origo*, and Lyons *zero-point* (McNeill 1992, 78–81). Namely, deictic gestures specify meanings of demonstratives.

Distinction based on psychological distance. According to George Yule, the truly pragmatic basis of spatial deixis may actually be psychological distance. Psychically close objects will tend to be treated by the speaker as psychologically close. Something that is psychically distant will generally be treated as psychologically distant. However, the speaker may also wish to mark something that is psychically close as psychologically distant (Yule 1996, 13). For instance, the utterance *tas namas* ‘that house’ instead of *šis namas* ‘this house’ could express the speaker’s opinion upon the object of discussion.

Hypotheses. Summarising all the insights, it is possible to raise three hypotheses:

1. The Lithuanian pronoun *anas* as an exophoric demonstrative is the marked member of the Lithuanian system of demonstratives. In the exophoric usage it is replaced by the Lithuanian pronoun *tas*.
2. If the Lithuanian pronoun *anas* in the exophoric usage is the marked member and is replaced by the pronoun *tas*, the Lithuanian system of pronouns tends to be binary rather than ternary: it should follow that the pronoun *šis* ‘this’ contrasts with the pronoun *tas* ‘that’ (*šis* ‘proximal’/*tas* ‘distal’ rather than *šis* ‘proximal’/*anas* ‘distal’; whereas the pronoun *tas* has a neutral meaning).
3. The third hypothesis of this paper is that the choice of demonstratives is not only affected by the location of the referent, but also by visual accessibility of the referent and the need for contrast. Psychological aspects are important here as well.

3. Methods

3.1 Combined methods

The data on the usage of exophoric demonstratives in ongoing interactive situations was collected via an experimental method. This approach adopted and merged the perspective of physical distance (Coventry et al. 2008) and psychological distance (Yule 1996, 13). The role play perspective (Piwek, 2008) was combined with the (free style) dialogue (Niebaum, Macha 2006, 11–50; Löffler 2003, 40–52). In addition, gestural deixis was examined. Broadly speaking, gestural deixis refers to deictic expressions whose comprehension requires some sort of audio-visual information. A simple example is an object which is pointed at and referred to as ‘this’ or ‘that’. However, the category can include other types of information than pointing, such as direction of gaze, tone of voice, and so on.

3.2 A dialogue game

According to Piwek, Beun, Cremers (2008), who researched deictic demonstratives in Dutch, one of the methods to examine the differences in use between distal and proximal demonstratives is a *dialogue game*. They have proposed to define such dialogue game in terms of four components/parameters (Piwek, Beun, Cremers 2008, 11). A dialogue game consists of:

1. A set of participants;
2. An initial state of play;
3. A joint public goal state, which the participants are supposed to achieve;
4. A role function, which assigns to each of the participants its entitlements, prohibitions and abilities to access.

In the present paper this method was applied as follows:

1. The set of participants consists of two subjects.
2. In the initial state all the participants (pairs) are separated and located in different places. They are facing the same referents to be located. One of the participants is located closer to the objects or subjects to describe, the other one is located further. The participants have been informed about their tasks in the pre-test briefing and have been given oral instructions ensuring the possibility to ask questions if necessary.
3. The goal state is achieved when all the subjects and objects around the pair are located and these locations are understood correctly.
4. One of the participants is assigned the role of an interviewer (the first speaker, further referred to as S1). The other participant is assigned the role of an interviewee (the second speaker, further referred to as S2). Both S1 and S2 can point at and observe all objects and subjects present on the researched location. They are allowed to talk with each other by using gestures.

3.3 Participants and material

In total, 11 participants (1 man, 10 women), all native Lithuanian speakers aged 20–22 took part in the experiment. All the participants were students. They were asked to talk in standard Lithuanian. One instructor explained the process and asked students to answer the questions using Lithuanian demonstratives when describing objects and persons. Students were grouped in pairs and exchanged roles. At first, one person of the pair was an interviewer, while the second one was an interviewee; then they exchanged roles. The experiment was carried out in the Cathedral Square, Vilnius, where two situations were staged: 1) the interviewer asked to localize objects seen in the Cathedral Square or around it; 2) the interviewer asked to describe all the people who were passing by or doing something in the Cathedral Square. In total 33 video films were recorded, each 1-2 minutes long (in total about 50 minutes of video material). All participants gave their consent to participate and be video-recorded.

3.4 The method of data analysis

At first unsuitable material was rejected. Videos in which participants tried to artificially use all three Lithuanian demonstratives (*šis*, *tas* and *anas*) even though it was enough to use two (*šis* and *tas*), were considered to be inappropriate material³. The collected data was decoded, transcribed and analysed. Attention has been paid to the use of demonstratives *šis*, *tas* and *anas*, the current physical place of participants, gesture use and descriptions of localization. The use of demonstratives was analysed and divided into two groups: a) demonstratives which locate objects and subjects in space (physical distance); and b) demonstratives which express the speakers' opinion upon objects and subjects.

4. The Lithuanian System of Demonstratives

4.1 Results: Physical Proximity and Distance

Physical proximity. In the majority of cases, the Lithuanian pronoun *šis* as a 'proximal' and *tas* as a 'distal' to express physical distance were used. Physical proximity was expressed in both games (locating objects and identifying people), e.g.:

- (11) *Čia* *ties* *daug* *žmonių.*
Pavyzdžiui, *šitas* *vaikas* *atrodo* *toks*
 for example this.NOM.M child.NOM.M seem.PRS.3 such.NOM.M
džiaugsmingas.
 joyful.NOM.M
 'There are so many people here. For example, **this** child seems so joyful.'

In the example (11) S1 points with a head gesture at an approaching child, who is relatively close in comparison with people standing or moving further. Therefore, physical proximity is lexicalized with the Lithuanian pronoun *šis*.

- (12) *Bet* *kokia* *graži* *ši* *pora!*
 but what.NOM.F beautiful.NOM.F this.NOM.F couple.NOM.F
 'How beautiful **this** couple is!'

In the example (12) S1 uses body movement and eye contact (see Figure 2) to locate the referent (which is an approaching beautiful couple) in this statement. Physical proximity is also expressed with the lexeme *šis*. This combination of a pronoun and a gesture helps participants to locate the subject and to share information.

³ E.g. S2 while referring to a distal subject/object chooses the demonstrative pronoun *tas*, but in a moment changes it to *anas*. Such cases were not included into the research as unclear ones.



Figure 2. Physical proximity expressed by the pronoun *šis* and a body gesture.

Physical distance. In almost all cases (except one, which will be explained further) physical distance was lexicalized with the Lithuanian pronoun *tas* and specified by different gestures.

- (13) S1: *O* *kaip* *tau* ***tas*** *bokštas?*
 and how you.DAT that.NOM.M tower.NOM.M
 ‘And how do you find **that** tower?’
- S2: ***Tas*** *bokštas* *tikrai* *atreipia*
 that.NOM.M tower.NOM.M certainly attract.PRS.3
dėmesį.
 attention.ACC.M
 ‘**That** tower certainly attracts attention.’

In the given example participants are talking about the tower of the Cathedral Square, which is quite at a distance from them. They are both using the pronoun *tas* which is followed by a hand gesture pointing to the tower to locate the object.

In the next examples (14), (15) the same hand gestures are used. In the example (14) a hand gesture is used in combination with the distal Lithuanian pronoun *tas*: S1 uses a hand gesture pointing at a bookstore (a different referent); S2 does not use any gesture as the location of the bookstore is clear after the question is asked. In the example (15) (see Figure 3) the pronoun *tas* in a combination with a hand gesture was used in the answer; the hand gesture points at the Amberton hotel and helps S1 comprehend the situation:

- (14) S1: *O tas? O tas knygyņas?*
 and that.NOM.M and that.NOM.M bookstore.NOM.M
 ‘And **that**? **That** bookstore?’
- S2: *Manau, kad to knygyno vaizda*
 think.PRS.1 that that.GEN.M bookstore.GEN.M view.ACC.M
labai gadina plakatas.
 very spoil.PRS.3 poster.NOM.M
 ‘I think that the view of **that** bookstore is spoiled by a poster’
- (15) S1: *Kokiame pastate labiausiai norėtum apsilankyti?*
 ‘Which building would you like to visit?’
- S2: *Labiausiai norėčiau apsilankyti tame viešbutyje,*
 mostly want.CON.1 visit.INF that.LOC.M hotel.LOC.M
nes ten yra labai gražu
 because there be.PRS.3 very beautiful.NOM.N
ir ten daug žvaigždžių lankosi, kiek
 and there many celebrity.GEN.PL.F visit.PRS.3 as
aš žinau.
 I.NOM know.PRS.1

‘I would like to visit **that** hotel, because it is very beautiful inside and, as far as I know, lots of celebrities visit it.’



Figure 3. Physical distance expressed by the pronoun *tas* and a hand gesture.

Sometimes the distal Lithuanian pronoun *tas* is specified by a head movement pointing at the referent, e.g. in the example (16), where S1 asks his question and turns his head to show S2 the subject of discussion:

- (16) S1: *O kaip manai, ką daro tas*
 and how think.PRS.2 what.ACC do.PRS.3 that.NOM.M
vyras su žaliu maišu?
 man.NOM.M with green.INSTR.M bag.INSTR.M
 ‘And what do you think, **that** man with a green bag is doing?’
 S2: *Fotografuoja skulptūrą.*
 ‘He is taking a picture of a sculpture.’

A binary opposition of physical proximity and distance is evident when S1 and S2 are locating different subjects in the same conversation. In the current case different Lithuanian pronouns (*šis* ‘proximal’ and *tas* ‘distal’) are chosen. After examining the next dialogue (example (17)), it is quite clear, that the choice of demonstratives is affected not only by the location of the referents (the bell tower and the building), by visual accessibility of the referents, but most importantly, by the need for contrast to perceive location of referents correctly, e.g.:

- (17) S1: *O tas baltas?*
 and that.NOM.M white.NOM.M
 ‘And what about **that** white one?’
 S2: *Tas man patinka. Bet dėmesį*
 that.NOM.M I.DAT like.PRS.3 however attention. ACC.M
vis tiek labiausiai atkreipčiau į šią
 still mostly pay.CON.2 to this.ACC.F
varpinę. Ir į tą pastatą.
 bell tower.ACC.F and to that.ACC.M building.ACC.F
 ‘I like **that** one. However, I would pay attention mostly to **this** bell tower. And to **that** building.’

As bell tower was located closer to S2 and the other building was at a distance from S2, he selects this opposition of the corresponding Lithuanian pronouns and shows contrast to S1.

Changing physical distance. The results of the current research also confirmed that the choice of demonstratives is affected by visual accessibility of the referents. The analysis showed that in some cases during the ongoing conversation the same referent is pointed at by a different pronoun. For example, when referring to an object or subject, S1 chooses the proximal pronoun *šis*, while S2 chooses the distal pronoun *tas*. Several reasons can determine the choice: 1) the choice depends on the location of the speakers (example (18)): S1 is standing closer to the referent; S2 is standing further from the referent; 2) the referent is moving at the moment of the actual dialogue (examples (19), (20)).

In the example (18) S1 and S2 are identifying the same referent which is a woman they both see. S1 stands closer to the referent and selects the proximal

Lithuanian pronoun *šita* (see Figure 4: S2 stands behind the camera, further from the referent; S1 stands in front of S2, closer to the referent). As S1 does not use any gesture, she describes the referent and uses a description *su ilga kasa* ‘with a long braid’. S2 wants to be sure about the referent, thus she tries to specify the information (uses a description *su raudonu šaliku?* ‘wearing a red scarf?’), but instead of the proximal pronoun *šita*, she uses the distal pronoun *ta*. The choice was influenced by the location of S2 – she stands at a distance from the referent in comparison with S1.

- (18) S1: *Įdomu, kurgi eina šita*
 interesting.NOM.N where go.PRS.3 this.NOM.F
moteris, su ilga kasa.
 woman.NOM.F with long.INSTR.F braid.INSTR.F
 ‘I wonder where **this** woman is going, the one with a long braid.’
- S2: *Ta moteris, su raudonu šaliku?*
 this.NOM.F woman.NOM.F with red.INSTR.M scarf-M.INSTR
 ‘**That** woman, wearing a red scarf?’



Figure 4. The referent (people) is closer to the participants.⁴

In the examples (19) and (20) the referents are moving, hence attention is paid to the movement, not to the position of the participants. In the example (19) the participants identify the same referent, which is a group of people they both see (see Figures 5 and 6). The situation is complicated due to the group changing its location (moving), and the participants want to be clear about the referent. S1 asks a question and tries to identify the location of the group by using the proximal pronoun *šiuos*. S2 answers the question and specifies her answer by moving her body to point at the referent. However, S2 chooses to use the distal Lithuanian

⁴ No pictures, where both speakers are seen, were made. These pictures are snap shots made when the video was paused. S1 and S2 change their roles which results in just one of them being seen on the screen: in case S1 is seen, S2 stands behind the camera and vice versa. This performance was taken into consideration while analysing different contexts, e.g. if S1 stands in front of S2, it means S1 stands closer to the referent, and S2 is further from the referent. The position was taken into consideration when it was needed.

pronouns *tq*, *tiedu* and *tas*, because the referent (the group) has changed its position during the actual conversation and moved forward. This example is opposite to the example (18), while according to the positions of the speakers different pronouns should be used in the example (19): S1 should have used the distal pronoun and S2 should have selected the proximal Lithuanian pronoun. The choice was influenced by the evident change of the referent's location.

- (19) S1: *Kotryna, kq manai apie šiuos žmones?*
 Kotryna.VOC.F what.ACC think.PRS.2 of this.ACC.PL
 people.ACC.PL
 'Kotryna, what do you think of **these** people?'
- S2: *Apie tq merginą juodu paltu? Graži. Bet tiedu, kur eina šalia, na, nežinau. Tas kažkoks suglebęs.*
 about that.ACC.F girl.ACC.F black.INSTR.M coat.INSTR.M
 beautiful.NOM.F but those two.NOM.DU that go.PRS.3
 side by side well NEG.know.PRS.2 that.NOM.M guy.NOM.M
 some.NOM.M flabby.PTCP.NOM.M
 'About **that** girl in a black coat? Beautiful. But the two **that** are walking side by side, well, I do not know. **That** guy seems flabby.'



Figure 5. The referent (people) is closer to the participants.



Figure 6. The referent (people) is further comparing to the previous figure.

A very similar dialogue was recorded, where a location of a different referent was identified. In the example (20) localization is also complicated due to the referent (a man) changing his location (moving): when S1 utters a sentence, the referent is approaching S1 and S2, and when S2 starts her sentence, he is moving away from the participants.

- (20) S1: *Šitas* *vyras* *į* *mus* *žiūrėjo,*
 this.NOM.M man.NOM.M to we.ACC look.PST.3
 nes mes atrodome labai keistai.
 because we.NOM look.PRS.PL.1 very weird
 ‘This man looked at us, because we look very weird.’
- S2: *Aš tikiu, kad mes atrodome keistai.*
 Tu *turėjai* *omeny* *tą* *vyrą?*
 you. NOM have.PST.2 mind.LOC.M. that.NOM.M man.NOM.M
 ‘I do agree that we look weird. You are talking about **that** man?’

The pronoun *anas*. According to Rosinas, the Lithuanian pronoun *anas* belongs to the system of direct pointing pronouns (demonstratives). It belongs to a space (spatial) deixis and enters the ternary system of demonstratives in standard Lithuanian. *Anas* is a ‘distal’ pronoun and performs as a deictic. In addition, *anas* is a member of the opposition ‘proximal’ (*šis, šitas*) / ‘distal’ (*anas*) (Rosinas 1996, 58–59).

In this experiment only one dialogue with the Lithuanian pronoun *anas* was recorded (see example (21)).

- (21) S1: *O už katedros, yra kalnas.*
 ‘And behind the cathedral, there is a hill.’
- S2: *Kuris kalnas?*
 ‘Which hill?’
- S1: *Va,* *anas.* *Tai* *ten* *yra*
 over there that.NOM.M it there be.PRS.3
 Gedimino *pilis* *viršuje.*
 Gediminas.GEN.M castle.NOM.F top.LOC.M
 ‘Over there, **that one**. There is Gediminas Castle on the top of it.’

The only case when a participant, S1, has chosen the so-called distal pronoun *anas*, was due S2 question. This dialogue shows that S2 has not identified the object as there were two hills in front of them. To be specific, S2 asks to repeat which hill is the object of discussions. Only then S1 uses the distal pronoun *anas* together with a hand gesture to point. The purpose of this usage is to draw attention, to define, to explain correctly.

Summary. To sum up, it is necessary to pay attention to the so-called distal Lithuanian pronoun *anas*. It is quite clear that in spoken Lithuanian the proximal/distal opposition is maintained by different pronouns. To lexicalize proximity native Lithuanian speakers choose the pronoun *šis, šita*. However, the first choice

to express distance in Lithuanian is the pronoun *tas*, *ta*, not *anas* as it was stated in previous studies. Second, as the choice of demonstratives also depends on the need for contrast: in some cases participants interpret themselves as one reference point in face-to-face communication.

4.2 Results: Psychological Proximity and Distance

Yule suggests classifying deictic structures on the basis of psychological distance. According to this classification, deictic words are classified into psychologically close and psychologically distant. He explains this classification as follows: a place from the speaker's perspective may be determined both physically and psychologically. Physically close objects are usually perceived as psychologically close; something that is physically distant is generally considered as psychologically distant, for example, *tas žmogus ten* 'that man over there'. However, there may be a reverse option, when the speaker is physically close to the object, but he expresses it as if it was psychologically distant, e.g. the speaker utters *man nepatinka tos kriaušės* 'I do not like those pears' while eating these pears (Yule 1996, 12–13).

Psychological proximity. The results of this study show that the participants of the experiment usually felt psychologically close to the location where action took place (the Cathedral Square). This might be the main reason why examples of psychological distance were absent in the researched material. In the example (22) S1 and S2 try to identify the buildings they see around, both of them describing the buildings at a distance by using the Lithuanian proximal pronoun *ši*, *šie* (plural) and a hand gesture (see Figure 7):

- (22) S1: *Viltė, kas visi šie pastatai*
 viltė.VOC.F what all.NOM.PL.M this.NOM.PL.M building.NOM.PL.M
aplink mus, ir ką manai
 around we.ACC and what think.PRS.2
apie šią aukštą varpinę?
 about this.ACC.F high.ACC.F bell tower.ACC.F
 'Viltė, what are all **these** buildings around us, and what do you think about **this** high bell tower?'
- S2: *Ši varpinė jau yra kiek*
 this.NOM.F bell tower.NOM.F already be.PRS.3 bit
apgriuvusi, tačiau ši varpinė
 collapse.PTCP.NOM.F but this.NOM.F bell tower.NOM.F
yra Vilniaus simbolis. Pats gražiausias.
 be.PRS.3 Vilnius.GEN.M symbol.NOM.M
 'This bell tower is already a bit aged, but **this** bell tower is a symbol of Vilnius. The most beautiful one.'



Figure 7. The referent at a distance is identified by the pronoun *ši*.

In the example (23) S1 and S2 are talking about the public toilet in a distant hotel and S2 also uses the proximal Lithuanian pronoun *šitam*. As in the example (15), a hand gesture clarifies the meaning.

(23) S1: *Kur aš galėčiau rasti viešąjį tualetą?*

‘Where could I find a public toilet?’

S2: *Iš tikrųjų pasakysiu paslaptį – va šitam*
 in fact tell.PRS.2 secret.ACC.F here this.LOC.M
viešbutyje.
 hotel.LOC.M

‘I will reveal you a secret – over here in **this** hotel.’

In the example (24) S1 and S2 are describing a bell tower, which is also at a distance comparing to their location. A hand gesture in combination with the proximal pronoun *šitas* points at the referent (see Figure 8). One of the reasons of this usage is psychological proximity, the other is a need for contrast. As the speakers perceive the location of the bell tower in comparison with other buildings behind, they might be drawing this contrast in their minds and using proximal pronouns.

(24) S1: *Kas yra šitas pastatas?*
 what.NOM be.PRS.3 this.NOM.M building.NOM.M

‘What is **this** building?’

S2: *Šitas pastatas, kiek aš žinau,*
 this.NOM.M building.NOM.M as I.NOM know.PRS.2
yra varpinė.
 be.PRS.3 bell tower.NOM.F

‘**This** building, as far as I know, is a bell tower.’



Figure 8. S2 points at a distant referent and uses the proximal pronoun *šitas*.

Summary. It is evident that psychological proximity is dominating in dialogues in comparison with psychological distance. There might be several reasons for that: 1) the participants felt psychologically close to the location where action took place, even to the city where the Cathedral Square is located (Vilnius); 2) they did not feel any negative emotions about the people and buildings they were discussing. When the demonstrative pronoun *tas, ta* gets the meaning of proximity from a psychological perspective, it becomes equal to the proximal pronoun *šis, ši* (see Table 1).

Demonstrative + gesture	Meaning
<i>Šis, ši</i>	‘proximal, distal’
<i>Tas, ta</i>	‘distal’
<i>Anas, ana</i>	‘distal’

Table 1. The meanings of demonstrative Lithuanian pronouns.

5. Conclusion

The present research aimed to verify by means of experiment whether the Lithuanian system of demonstratives is ternary as it is stated or whether it has changed. This study dealt with two problematic issues. First, frequency of usage of the pronoun *tas* in face-to-face communication to indicate an object that is not close to the speaker instead of *anas* was evaluated, and second, psychological distance was considered in spoken Lithuanian.

The research of demonstratives *šis*, *tas* and *anas* has shown that the choice of pronouns is more complex than was expected. The experiment has shown that spatial opposition does have an effect on the choice of Lithuanian demonstrative pronouns and the native Lithuanian participants try to maintain this opposition even when the distance is changing. However, distance might not be the only aspect that influences the choice of demonstratives. Psychological aspects play a very important role here as well. The occurrence of the pronoun *anas* ‘other’ just once during experiment suggests that there is no need to use it, while the pronoun *tas* in spoken Lithuanian functions as the main distal pronoun. That leads us to the raised hypotheses of this paper.

1. This study confirmed that the pronoun *anas* is very rare in face-to-face communication; as an exophoric demonstrative it is the marked member of the Lithuanian system of demonstratives. The pronoun *anas* loses its position to refer to distal objects/subjects (the meaning ‘non-proximate (far)’) and starts to get a new meaning in spoken Lithuanian which is ‘specifying’.
2. This study confirms the second hypothesis that the Lithuanian system of pronouns tends to be binary rather than ternary (see Scheme 2). The proximal pronoun *šis* is opposite to the distal pronoun *tas*, not the distal pronoun *anas*.



Scheme 2. The current system of Lithuanian demonstrative pronouns.

3. The third hypothesis was confirmed: the choice of demonstratives is affected not only by the location of the referent, visual accessibility of the referent or the need for contrast. The psychological aspect is also very important:
 - 3.1 From a psychical perspective the distal Lithuanian pronoun *tas* is neutralized by the distal pronoun *anas*. Both of them have the meaning of ‘distal’.
 - 3.2 From a psychological perspective the proximal pronoun *šis* can be neutralized by the distal pronoun *tas*. Both of them gain the meaning of ‘proximal’.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
COND	conditional mood
DAT	dative
DU	dual
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive

IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	neutrum
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
PRS	present
PTCP	participle
PST	past
VOC	vocative

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Kopsavilkums

Raksts veltīts vietas deiksam lietuviešu valodā (norādāmo vietniekvārdu gadījumam). Vietas deikss dažādās valodās tiek leksikalizēts ar dažādām vārdsšķirām: vietas apstākļa vārdiem (angl. *here* 'šeit' un *there* 'tur'), darbības vārdiem (angl. *go* 'iet' un *come* 'nākt'), kā arī norādāmajiem vietniekvārdiem (angl. *this* 'šis' un *that* 'tas'). Norādāmos vietniekvārdus *šis* 'šis' un *tas* 'tas' parasti uzskata par deiktiskiem. Piem., *šis namas* 'šis nams' un *tas namas* 'tas nams' norāda tuvumu un tālumu no runātāja. *Šis* sauc par proksimālo deiksu, bet *tas* – par distālo. Dažādās valodās ir 3 vai 4 norādāmo vietniekvārdu atšķirību veidi (pēc proksimālās-distālās dimensijas). Vairāki Lietuvas autori norāda, ka lietuviešu valoda ir starp tām, kurās ir trīsdaļīgas norādāmo vietniekvārdu sistēmas: *šis* ir proksimāls deikss, *anas* – distāls, bet *tas* tiek izmantots, lai norādītu gan proksimālo (*pie runātāja*), gan distālo (*tālu no runātāja*) objektu. Šī pētījuma mērķis ir, pamatojoties uz eksperimentāliem datiem, pārbaudīt, vai lietuviešu valodas norādāmo vietniekvārdu sistēma ir trīsdaļīga, vai tā tiek mainīta. Šajā rakstā pievērsta uzmanība diviem problemātiskiem gadījumiem. Pirmkārt, pārbaudīta vietniekvārdu *tas* un *anas* izmantošana tiešā saziņā un, otrkārt, novērtēts psiholoģiskais attālums. Pētījums apstiprina, ka vietniekvārds *anas* tiešā komunikācijā ir sastopams ļoti reti, tas sāk iegūt jaunu nozīmi lietuviešu valodā. Lietuviešu valodas norādāmo vietniekvārdu sistēma ir bināra, nevis trīsdaļīga: proksimālais vietniekvārds *šis* tiek pretstatīts distālajam vietniekvārdam *tas*, nevis *anas*. Norādāmo vietniekvārdu izvēli ietekmē arī psiholoģiskais aspekts ne tikai referenta atrašanās vieta, referenta vizuālā pieejamība un kontrasta nepieciešamība.