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On the usage of the medial demonstrative *O*-series in Colloquial Sinhala.

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1 . Introduction

Colloquial Sinhala has four series of demonstratives, each series beginning with *m*- (near the speaker) *o* (near the hearer) *a* (away from the speaker) and *e* (anaphor) followed by morphemes indicating syntactic and/or semantic categories¹⁾. Gair (1991) and Kan (1996a, 1996b) have investigated Sinhala demonstrative expressions regarding their deictic and anaphoric usage. Among the four series of demonstratives, it is difficult to characterize the *o*-series, since it has very complicated properties in regard to the domain it refers to and the way of referencing in linguistic and extralinguistic discourse contexts involving the speaker's information processing. In regard to the *o*-series, Gair (1991:458) says, 'Very commonly, second Proximal forms²⁾ involve a considerable amount of inference in their linkage to the hearer, and refer to something that the speaker has inferred from the hearer's previous statement, i.e., that he assumes to be true from the hearer's perspective.' In terms of discourse functions, the *o*-series is used to orient the immediate discourse towards the addressee and performs the interpersonal function of addressee-orientation³⁾. In this paper, I will explicate the discourse functions of the *o*-series by analyzing the reference linked to the hearer in the use of the *o*-series and this shows the way the relationship between the hearer and the immediate discourse is constrained.

2 . Usage of the *o* - series

The *o*-series has the following types of usage: the usage of reference to the hearer's domain, the usage of reference to middle-distance and the usage of vague reference.

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(1) Reference to the hearer's domain

A: meekə mokak də?

this-one what Q

'What is this?'

B: ookə kehel geɕʰiyak.

that-one banana-IND

'That is a banana.'

(2) Reference to middle-distance

[A passenger asks a taxi driver to stop the taxi.]

otənə nawattannə.

there stop-IMP

'Stop there.'

(3) Vague reference

a. [A daughter asks her mother where her father is.]

A: taatta ko?

father where

'Where is my father?'

B: ohee æti.

somewhere may be

'He may be somewhere.'

b. A: kohomə də?

how-manner Q

'How are you?'

B: ohee innə wa.

there exist

'I'm just fine.'

In dialogue, the *o*-form is used in referring to an object near the hearer, as illustrated in (1) in referring to a place neither near the speaker and the hearer nor away from them, as in (2) in referring to an unspecified place where the entity in question, *taatta* 'father', exists and implies the speaker's indifference toward him, as in (3 a) In (3 b)

B describes his condition by his statement. The expression *ohee* 'there' does not refer to any particular place. The usage of vague reference is observed in expressions with *o*-representing location, but not in expressions with *m*- and *a*- denoting location (See Kano:1996b) In what follows, I will focus on the usage of reference to the hearer's domain and of reference linked to the hearer.

3 . Reference to the hearer's domain

As shown in(1) the typical usage of reference to the hearer's domain is the reference to an entity near the hearer at the time of speech. The *o*-series is also used to refer to something that is directly related to the hearer. It is a special case of the use of reference to the hearer's domain. Examples (4) and (5) illustrate the reference to the hearer's activity and something the hearer is working on. In (4) *oyð giitðyð* 'that music' is interpreted as 'the music you are playing'. In (5) *ookð* is interpreted as 'what you are doing'.

(4) aa. *dæn ehenaŋ oyə widihaŋə oyə gollo oyə giitəyə waadənəyə kərannə.*
 ah now then that way that people that song-DEF play do-IMP do-IMP (MADH:91.6.25)
 'Ah. So play the music in the way you are doing.'

(5) *ookə nawatwəla bonnə.*
 that-one stop-PPT drink-IMP
 'Stop it and have a drink.'

Example(6) is a case where the referent of *oyð* is something that is directly related to the hearer. B acknowledges *bayð gatiyð* 'terror' is directly related with A, triggering the use of *oyð*. Thus it is not appropriate to use *ee* instead of *oyð*.

(6) [A is frightened by a bad dream.]
 A: *ammoo maha bayaanə kə hiinə yak maŋ oyə ættoo gænə dække.*
 oh great terrible dream-IND I that person about saw-FOC
 'I had a very terrible dream about you.'
 B: *aa! mee waturə [ikə biila innə. etəkəŋə oyə (# ee) baya gatiyə magə hareewi!*
 oh this water little drink-PPL stay-IMP then that/that terror-DEF road turn-OPT

(MADH:92.10.15)

'Listen. Drink a cup of water and stay. And your terror will go away.'

Observe this complicated example (7)

(7) [Two boys are trying to break the light on a telegraph pole by throwing pebbles, and a woman gives a warning to them.]

A: æyi mallila oyə balb ekə kəɸannə hadanne?

why brothers that bulb DEF break-INF try-FOC

'Why are you trying to break the bulb?'

ookə hari apəraadəyak nee. epaa ookə kəɸannə.

that-one very useless-IND TAG don't that-one break-IMP

That is completely useless, eh. Don't break it.'

B: akkee. akkaɸə æti rudaawak nə nee. akka yannə.

sister-VOC sister-DAT exist pain-IND not TAG sister go-IMP

'You aren't suffering from it, are you? Go away.'

meeəkə æwilla apee wəɸak akka. (LAN:94.8.2)

this-one come-PPL our work-IND sister

'This is none of your business.'

In the above example, the physical distance from the speaker or hearer to the referent is not relevant in using the *o*-form, because whether or not the speaker is physically nearer to the referent than the hearer and even if the distance from the speaker and the hearer to the referent is the same, the speakers A and B can use the *o*-form and the *m*-form, respectively. What is crucial in using the *o*-form in A is not distance, but the fact that the boys are affecting the referent (i.e. the light) by throwing pebbles and the woman isn't affecting it. Note that in A and B, the *a*-form cannot be used in place of the *o*-form and the *m*-form, respectively, illustrated in (8) since the *a*-form cannot be used by the boy to refer to the entity which he is affecting, even if it is far from him, and the *a*-form cannot be used by the woman either to refer to the object which the hearer, the boy, is affecting even if it is far from her.

(8) a. #arəkə hari apəraadəyak.

DIST-one very useless-IND

b. #arəkə kaḍannə apee wæḍāk.

DIST-one break-INF our work-IND

In the usage of reference to the hearer's domain, the factor that the referent is something the hearer is working on, or processing and is perceptible to the hearers are necessary for the use of the *o*-series.

In this section, I have discussed the typical and special usage of reference to the hearer's domain. In the following sections, I will analyse the use of reference linked to the hearer.

4 . Usage of bringing something to attention

The *o*-series is used for attracting the hearer's attention to the entity the speaker refers to. In (9) *kaar ekə* 'the car' modified by *oyə* is not near either the speaker or the taxi driver. The physical distance is not relevant in using *oyə* in (9) and (10) By using it, the speaker wants the taxi driver to focus his attention on the car the speaker is following. In (10) by using *ooka* 'that fellow', the speaker intends to focus the passerby's attention on the thief she is running after.

(9) [A person is speaking to a taxi driver]

tamuse *oyə* yanə kaar ekə foloo kərənəwa. (MADH:92.7.7)

you that go-ADJ car DEF follow do

'Follow that car!'

(10) [The speaker has her pocket picked. She is running after the pickpocket and asking passerby for help.]

poəkəṭ kaarəyek! allənəwa...allənəwa! *ooka* horek!" (MADH:92.2.25)

pickpocket-IND catch catch that-fellow thief-IND

'Pickpocket! Catch him. Catch him. He's a thief.'

What is common in the above examples is that the entities referred to are present in the immediate speech situation and are perceptible to the hearers. By using the *o*-series, the speakers are explicitly making their hearers involved in the entities in the physical situation. It functions to foreground the entity in question and put it into high focus.

Observe the following example (11) where the referent is not present at the time of speech, unlike in (9) and (10). Although the referent *kella* 'the girl' is not in their sight at the time of speech, she is referred to with *oyə*. This can be attributed to the fact that B has just met her and A also has seen her just before the dialog. The immediate context motivates the use of *oyə*. It functions to make the hearer A involved in the referent *kella* 'the girl'.

(11) [A is a gatekeeper and B a landlord. After having met B, the girl has left.

She is not in their sight.]

A: mahe] mahattəya, annə arə misii a^hɕə a^hɕa yannə giya.

Mahesh gentleman DIST-there DIST Ms. crying crying go-INF went

'Mr. Mahesh, the girl has gone crying.'

B: miiɕə passe oyə kella aawot ehemə gee[ɕuwen ætuləɕə

this-DAT after that girl-DEF come-CND that-manner gate-ABL inside

gannə epaa.

take-INF don't

'If she comes again, don't let her inside the gate.' (MADH:91.10.15)

5 . Reference to the most relevant entity in the immediate discourse

The *e*-form is a neutral anaphoric expression and is used to refer to the entity which has been explicitly introduced into the discourse. Observe (12) where *eekeð* is used to refer to the entity, *kaar ekak* 'a car', linguistically introduced by speaker A.

(12) A: mamə iiye kaar ekak gatta.

I yesterday car IND bought

'I bought a car yesterday.'

B: eekeð lassənə də?

that-onebeautiful Q

'Is it beautiful?'

If the referent has not been introduced into the discourse, it cannot be referred to with the *e*-form. In (13) speaker A cannot begin a sentence using *eekeð* to refer to the element near himself, because it has not been appropriately introduced into the discourse.

(13) A: meekə (# eekə) kiiyadə?

this-one how much-Q

'How much is this?'

B: ookə rupiyal pansiiyay.

that-one rupy 500

'It's 500 rupies.'

Even if the entity has been explicitly introduced into the discourse, there is a case when the use of the *e*-series is not appropriate for referring to speaker A's statement as just mentioned in (14) It can be interpreted as referring to his statement prior to this dialog. It results in losing its cohesion in the current discourse. In contrast, the form *ookə* is used to refer to the referent which is most relevant in the immediate discourse context.

(14) A: mamə oyaage mahattəyaʈə waɖaa oyaʈə aadərey ɖaaliŋ.

I your husband-DAT than you-DAT love darling

'I love you more than your husband does, darling.'

B: oyaage noonat ookə (# eekə) may apee mahattəyaʈə kiyəla

your wife-also that-one EMPH our husband-DAT QUOT

tiyenne. (MADH,92.10.6)

exist-FOC

'Your wife also told my husband the same thing.'

Something that has been inferred from the current discourse context is referred to with the *o*-series not with the *e*-series, illustrated in (15) The expression *aasree* 'the relationship' with *oyə* has been inferred from A's own direct experience that she witnessed her daughter riding on her boyfriend's motorcycle and B's previous utterance. The form *oyə* cannot be replaced by *ee*, because *ee* turns out not to refer to the relationship in question but to another relationship like an old relationship she had with someone else before. The expression *aasree* 'the relationship' with *ee* loses its relevance to the immediate context. This example also shows the difference of relevancy in the *o*-series and *e*-series.

(15) [A is B's mother. A is complaining that her daughter B comes home late.]

A: wenədaa enne pahaʈə. moʈəbayisikal ekəkə enə

the other day come-FOC 5o'clock motorcycle DEF-LOC come-ADJ
 hinda də parakku wenne?

because Q late become-FOC

'You used to come home at 5 o'clock. You are late home, because you came home by motorcycle?'

B: moʃəbayisikal ekak?

motorcycle IND

'Motorcycle?'

A: ow.

yes

'Yes.'

B: ammaʃə pissu də?

mother-DAT stupid Q

'Nonsense!'

A: maʃə tamay pissu. kaudə kiyaapaŋ ee miniha.

I-DAT EMPH stupid who-Q say-IMP that man

'Am I stupid? Tell me. Who is that guy?'

B: monə miniha də? amma monəwə də mee kiyanne?

what man Q mother what Q this say-FOC

'What! Mom, what are you talking about?'

A: wæŋʃiyə kæægahannə epaa. taattaʃə tawəmə mamə

more shout-INF don't father-DAT yet I

meeə kiwwe nəæ. adə u^mbə maakaʃ ekə la^gədii

this-one said not today you market DEF near

mooʃəbayisikaləekə nəgəla giya. kaudə ee miniha?

motorcycle-DEF-LOC ride-PPT went who-Q that man

'Don't shout. I haven't told your father about this. I saw you getting on the motorcycle near the market. Who's that guy?'

B: eyaa apee ofis ekee mænəejar kenek.

he our office DEF-LOC manager person-IND

'He's a manager at my office.'

A: koccərə kaaləyək wenəwa də oyə (# ee) aasree? (YASH:69)

how long time-IND become Q that relationship-DEF

'How long have you had a relationship with him?'

Examples (16) and (17) illustrate the contrastive function in the use of the *o*-series and *e*-series. They show the contrast in relevancy regarding the immediate discourse context. It is derived from the factor that whereas the *o*-series refers to something which is most relevant in the immediate discourse context, the *e*-series refers back to something which is linguistically introduced into the discourse. The topic in (16) is that B gives his students a class after school. It is foregrounded and put into high focus by using *oyð*. In B's utterances, the expression *oyð wageemð* 'just like that' refers to the same kind of class he gives at his current school. In contrast, the expression *ee widiyðTðmð* 'in the right same way' refers to the way he did them at his prior school.

(16) [A is a school principal and B a school teacher. A is talking about the fact that B gives the poor students a class after school.]

A: eekə naŋ hari apuuru wæɖək misʃar balədeewə.
 that-one if very wonderful job-IND Mr. Baldeev
 misʃar balədeewə wagee oonæəkəməkin wæɖək kərənə guruwarun ʃə
 Mr. Baldeev like necessarily work-DEF do-ADJ teachers-DAT
 mamə harimə kəmətiy. udaw kərannat mamə lææsitiy.
 I very like help do-INF-also I ready
 mokədə mee wagee wæɖək kərannə hituwe?
 what-Q this like work-IND do-INF thought-FOC
 'You're doing a very wonderful job, Mr. Baldeev. I love teachers like
 you who work with good intentions. I'm ready to help you. Why are you
 doing this?'

B: mamə balaŋgoɖə innə kaalet oyə wageemə paŋtiye
 I Balangoda be-ADJ period-also that like class-LOC
 durwələ lamayinʃə iskoolen passe pəyak witərə nəwəttila
 weak children-DAT school-ABL after 1 hour about stop-PPL
 paɖəŋ kiyəla dunna. itiŋ mee paŋtiyet innəwa durwələ
 study teach-PPL gave so this class-LOC-also be weak
 lamay hayə denek witərə. ee lamayinʃat
 children 6 person about that children-DAT-also

ee widiyətəm kiyəla dennə oonææ kiyəla hituwa. (YASH:75)

the same way teach-PPL give-INF must QUOT thought

'When I worked at the school in Balangoda, I taught students who were poor at academic subjects for about an hour after school. Well, in my class also, there are about 6 students who are poor at academic subjects. So I thought I should teach them in the same way I did before.'

In (17) the expression *oyð wageemð* 'just like you' refers to the woman he is looking at. The expression *ee wageemð* 'just like that woman' refers to his wife who is at his home linguistically introduced into the discourse. The form *oyð* puts the woman present in the sight of the speaker into high focus.

(17) [The speaker is out of his hometown and now at Puttalam. He sees a woman coming and says]

maʃat gamee innəwa oyð wageemə gææniyak.

I-DAT-also village-LOC be that like woman-IND

maʃ hituwe nææ, puttələmet ee wageemə gæænu

I thought-FOC not Puttallam-LOC-also that like woman-PL

innəwa kiyəla. (SLJK, vol.1, 66)

exist QUOT

'My wife is just like that woman. I never thought that there would be a woman like my wife in Puttalam also.'

To sum up, the *o*-series is used to refer to the element which is most relevant in the immediate discourse context and functions to direct the hearer to focus attention on it, while the *e*-series is used to identify the element introduced into the discourse. The difference is that they have different properties, reflecting the different behavior in discourse.

6 . Reference to general knowledge

There are cases where the *o*-series is used to refer to something that has not been linguistically introduced into the discourse. The referent with the *o*-form is part of common knowledge and general cultural knowledge. In this usage, the *o*-series functions

as an aid in activating general knowledge in the hearer's knowledge base and orienting the information towards the hearer.

In (18) the expression *kaDen* 'from the shop' has not been explicitly introduced into the discourse. The expression *oyð kaDen* 'from that shop' is not interpreted as a particular shop but a shop in general and implies that the medicine B bought is not from a doctor but a shop. The implication is lost when the expression *kaDen* 'from the shop' without *oyð* is used. The form *ee* cannot be used instead of *oyð* because it turns out to refer to a particular shop, which has been introduced into the discourse. The form *ee* functions to accredit the identity of the entity mentioned in linguistic discourse.

(18) A: taattage kakulə aayit ammaru də?

father-GEN leg again difficult Q

'Is your leg aching again?'

B: ow baŋ. meekə aayit idimuna. rææ tisse kækkumə.

yes this-one again swollen night during ache

'Yes. It's swollen again. It hurts all night.'

A: kohendə mee beet ganne?

where-Q this medicine take-FOC

'Where did you buy this medicine from?'

B: kohenwat neweyi oyə (# ee/) kaŋen morəwəkə teel

from where not-FOC that shop-ABL a kind of oil

kuppiyak gatta.

small bottle-IND took

'Not from any place. I bought it from a pharmacy.' (GAHANU: 293)

In (19) *oyð baswðlð* 'those buses' refers to buses in general not particular buses. The form *ee* cannot be used, because it refers to the particular buses in the discourse. The expression *baswðlð* 'buses' without *oyð* can be used, but it does not play a role in orienting the information towards the hearer.

(19) A: kawudə baŋ a^aduranne mamə oyə giyaa[ə?]

who-Q know-FOC I that went-DAT

'Who will know me, if I go outside?'

- B: ee wunaa [ə amme... oowə aaraŋci wenəwa.
 that became-DAT mother-VOC that-PL news become
 'But, mom. Everybody will know you.'
- A: nææ baŋ. mamə oyə (# ee/) baswələ u^mbee pintuura
 no I that bus-PL-LOC you-GEN picture-DEF
 wə[unu pattərə hemə minissu kiyəwənəwa dækkamə
 appeared-ADJ paper-PL etc. people read saw-TEM
 nodannəwa wəge innəwa. (GAHANU: 233)
 not-know like stay
 'No, if I see people reading about or looking at pictures of you on the
 bus, I will pretend I don't know you.'

Example (20) illustrates that *oyə* is used to refer to *karaaTe-maraaTe* 'Karate', which is part of general knowledge. It also functions as an aid in activating *karaaTe-maraaTe* 'Karate'. The form *ee* cannot be used to refer to *karaaTe-maraaTe* 'Karate', since it has not been linguistically introduced into the discourse. The expression *karaaTe-maraaTe* 'Karate' without *oyə* can be used, but it does not play a role in orienting the referent towards the hearer.

- (20) oyə mahattəya oyə (# ee/) karaa [e-maraa [e ho'də [ə dannəwa.
 that gentleman that Karate well know
 'That gentleman is very good at Karate.'

In the examples mentioned above, the *o*-series does not accredit the identity of the referent mentioned but serves as an explicit signal to the hearer to activate common knowledge and general knowledge and functions to orient the referent towards the hearer. In contrast the *e*-series only functions to accredit the identity of the referent introduced into the discourse.

7 . State of knowledge

In (21) the speaker B does not know the Sunil that A saw, cannot identify him and asks A who he is. In this context, not *oyə* but *ee* is used for a name whose value cannot be identified. That is, *ee* can be used metareferentially, whereas *oyə* cannot be used. The

utterance *oyð kaudð?* 'who is that?' can be used in the context where there is a person in sight of B and B does not know who the person is. That is to say, the referent must be accessed by direct experience in using *oyð*.

- (21) A: *iye mamə sunil dækka.*
yesterday I Sunil saw
'Yesterday I saw Sunil.'
B: { *ee/ # oyə* } *kaudə ?*
that /that who-Q
'Who is that?'

In (22B) the expression *oyð sunil* 'that Sunil' is not appropriate to use for a name whose value cannot be identified. As paraphrased in (23) however, it can be used to mean which Sunil you are talking about. Thus (22B) can be more acceptable when B knows Sunil but is not yet sure that the Sunil A saw is a person whom he knows personally. The form *oyð* is used to refer to the name Sunil that A has introduced into the discourse. To refer to the name Sunil whose value cannot be identified, *oyð* + the adjectival form *kiyəñə* 'saying' is used, as illustrated in (24)⁴.

- (22) A: *iye mamə sunil dækka.*
yesterday I Sunil saw
'Yesterday I saw Sunil.'
B: *# oyə sunil kaudə?*
that Sunil who-Q
'Who is Sunil?'
- (23) *oyə sunil koy/kohee sunil də?*
that Sunil which/where-GEN Sunil Q
'Which Sunil are you talking about?'
- (24) *oyə kiyəñə sunil kaudə?*
that say-ADJ Sunil who-Q
'Who is Sunil?'

The *a*-series is used to refer to something when the speaker assumes that the hearer also knows it, as illustrated in (25) and (26) In other words, it is used to retrieve and refer to elements stored in episodic memory⁵). In the use of the *a*-series, the existence of the referent must be established.

- (25) A: me, arəkə gænə kiwwa də ?
 this DIST-one about said Q
 'Um, did you tell him about that matter?'
 B: ow, kiwwa.
 yes said
 'Yes, I told him.'

- (26) [monolog] arəyaa monowədə kiwwe maʃə matəkə nəæ.
 DIST-person what-Q said-FOC I-DAT remember not
 I don't remember what he said.

The use of *oyð* in (27) shows that the speaker does not know whether or not there is any cloth in his house, but he has an assumption that every family has a piece of cloth at home. The assumption is assumed to be shared by the hearer and motivates the use of *oyð* to refer to old pieces of cloth. The use of *oyð* is appropriate when the existence of the element in question is inferred from general knowledge. The form *arð* cannot be used instead of *oyð*, since the existence of the referent is not established in episodic memory.

- (27) [A and B have bought a new chair. They think it should be covered with something so as not to get dirty.]
 A says to B: næddə oyə (# arə) parənə redi dekak. (YASH:118)
 isn't that DIST old cloth-PL two
 'Don't you have two pieces of old cloth?'

8 . Conclusion

In this paper I have examined the uses of the medial *o*-series in Sinhala. The *o*-series functions to constrain the relationship between the hearer and the immediate discourse. It performs both a linking function to the hearer and a cohesive function in local discourse,

as well as reflecting referential information. The findings in this paper are as follows:

- (28) The *o*-series is used to refer to the element which is most relevant in the immediate discourse context and functions to direct the hearer to focus attention on it, while the *e*-series is used to refer to the element introduced into discourse.
- (29) The *o*-series does not accredit the identity of a referent but serves as an explicit signal to the hearer to activate common knowledge and general knowledge and functions to orient the referent towards the hearer. In contrast the *e*-series functions to accredit the identity of the referent introduced into discourse.
- (30) The use of *oyð* is appropriate when the existence of the element in question is inferred from general knowledge, whereas the use of the *a*-series is appropriate when its existence is established in episodic memory.

Abbreviations

ABL = ablative; ADJ = adjectival; CND = conditional; DAT= dative; DEF = definite; DIST = distal; F = feminine; FOC = focusing; GEN = genitive; IMP = imperative; IND = indefinite; INF = infinitive; LOC = locative; M = masculine; OPT = optative; PL = plural; PPL = participle; Q = question particle; SG = singular; TAG = tag question; TEM = temporal; VOC = vocative

Sources of data

GAHANU = Gahanu Lamayi, written by Karunasena Jayalat, Pokunuvita:

Amarajaya, 1977.

LAN = Lankaadiipa, a daily newspaper, Colombo.

MADH = Madhura, a weekly comic magazine, Colombo.

SLJK = Sri Lankave Jana Kata, vol.1. Kotte: Participatory Development Forum.

YASH = Yashoravaya, screenplay by Prakrama Nirialla. Nugegoda: Dipani, 1989.

Notes

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1) The paradigm of the demonstrative expressions in Colloquial Sinhala is given as follows:

	m-	o-	a-	e-
Adjective	mee	oyə	arə	ee
Thing SG	meeə	ookə	arəkə	eeə
PL	meeəwə	oowə	arəwə	eeəwə
Animal 1) SG• M	meeə	ookə	arəkə	eeə
SG• F	meeəii	ookii	arəkii	eeəii
2) SG	muu	–	aruu	(uu)
PL	muuŋ	ookuŋ	aruŋ	ewuŋ(uŋ)
Human	meyə	oyə	arəyə	eyə
Location 1)	metənə	otənə	atənə	etənə
2)	mehee	ohee	arahee	ehee
Degree	meeə	oə	aeə	eeə
Manner	mehemə	ohomə	arəhemə	ehemə
Time	medə	–	–	edə
Direction	mehə	ohə	arəhə	ehə
Presentation	mennə	onnə	annə	–

2) Second Proximal forms mean the *o*-series here.

3) Cheshire (1996) discusses the use of that in English from the interactional perspective and shows that it has an interactive function in discourse.

4) A proper noun in bare form is not acceptable when its value cannot be identified. It needs to be followed by the quote marker *kiyanne*.

a) # sunil kaudə?

'Who is Sunil?'

b) sunil kiyanne kaudə?

Sunil say-FOC who-Q

'Who is Sunil?'

See Takubo & Kinsui (1997) for the discussion regarding the differences between Japanese, Chinese and English proper nouns and third-person pronouns.

5) Once the knowledge shared between the speaker and hearer is acknowledged, not the *a*-series but the *e*-series is used to refer to it.

a) A: me, iye api dækəpu film ekee namə maʃə matəkə nææ.

'Um, I don't remember the name of the film we watched yesterday.'

B: { eekə/ # arəkə } 'paaləmə yaʃə'.

'It's 'Palama Yata.'

After introducing an entity by the *a*-series, it is referred to with the *e*-series by the same speaker.

b) arəyaa monowədə kiwwe maʃə matəkə nææ.

{ eyaa/ # arəyaa } kiwwe hayəʃə ennə kiyəla də ?

'I don't remember what he said. Did he tell me to come at 6 o'clock?'

Examples c) and d) illustrate, however, that the *a*-form is used to confirm the entity mentioned when the entity assumed to be known by B cannot be identified.

c) A: me, arəkə gænə kiwwa də?

'Um, did you tell about that matter?'

B: arəkə?

'About that?'

d) A: oyaaʃə bærīdā apee gedərəʃə ennə.

'Can't you come to my house?'

B: monəwa. arə walawwəʃə? (MADH:92. 7 .21)

'What? To the mansion?'

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