

LÍNGUA GESTUAL PORTUGUESA E OUTRAS LÍNGUAS DE SINAIS ESTUDOS LINGUÍSTICOS

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CELDA MORGADO
ANA MARIA BRITO

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Exclusive indefinite arguments in Turkish Sign Language (TİD) and the function of space

Meltem Kelepir

meltem.kelepir@boun.edu.tr

Boğaziçi University (Turkey)

Abstract

This paper proposes that there is clusivity distinction in indefinites in TİD, similar to clusivity distinctions in personal pronouns. In this phenomenon, exclusive, for instance, means excluding at least the addressee and also, depending on the context, other individuals. One way of expressing clusivity distinction is by the use of a lexically specified exclusive determiner *OTHER* that forms exclusive indefinite expressions. Another way is to sign indefinite expressions formed with the sign *ONE* either in the central (and low) signing space or in the lateral (and high) signing space. The former causes inclusive interpretation whereas the latter causes exclusive interpretation. I argue that these specific parts of the signing space represent restricted domains of quantification of the indefinites. Thus, they function as special spatial restrictors.

Keywords: indefinites, clusivity, exclusive, inclusive, domain of quantification.

1. Introduction

Imagine that you are at work, sharing an office with a colleague, each working at your desks, going through a relatively boring day. Your phone is on your desk next to your computer. You leave the office for a few minutes for a break. When you come back, you realize that your phone is no longer on your desk. You panic and exclaim. Your colleague asks you what is going on and you say “Somebody has stolen my phone!”.

For speakers of many languages, including English, this may create an uncomfortable situation. Your colleague may feel offended that you imply that s(he) may have stolen your phone. S(he) may even say “I swear, it wasn’t me!”. There is no sim-

ple way of saying ‘somebody’ in a case like this and avoiding being misunderstood that you may be accusing your addressee.

This is because the domain of quantification for the indefinite *somebody*, in principle, includes all individuals. Pragmatically speaking, all individuals in the given context. In all oral languages that I am aware of, the domain of quantification of a quantifier is restricted either contextually whereby *somebody* in this situation would be understood not really somebody in the entire universe but as something like ‘somebody [who has been in this room recently]’ or with overtly expressed lexical items such as ‘somebody [other than you]’.

Kelepir, Özkul and Tamyürek-Özparlak (2018) argue that Turkish Sign Language (TİD) takes advantage of the visual modality which provides the means to express the meaning ‘somebody other than you’ without actually uttering the lexical items that mean ‘other than you’. They call these indefinites *exclusive indefinites*. This meaning is conveyed by either with an indefinite that is lexically specified to function as an exclusive indefinite, OTHER, or by signing an indefinite pronoun, for instance, ONE, in the (higher) lateral. When the same sign is signed in the (lower) central signing space, closer to the body of the signer, on the other hand, the indefinite is interpreted as being inclusive, i.e. including the addressee (and possibly other salient individuals in the context). (1) illustrates these indefinites and Figure 1 shows how they are pronounced.

- (1) Context: “You leave your office to take a break from work and leave your phone on your desk. When you come back to the office, you realize that your phone is no longer there. What would you say to your office mate?”
- a. OTHER PHONE₁STEAL₃
‘Someone (other than you) stole my phone.’
 - b. ONE_{lat-high}PHONE₁STEAL₃
‘Someone (other than you) stole my phone.’
 - c. ONE_{centr-low}PHONE₁STEAL₃
‘Someone (including you) stole my phone.’

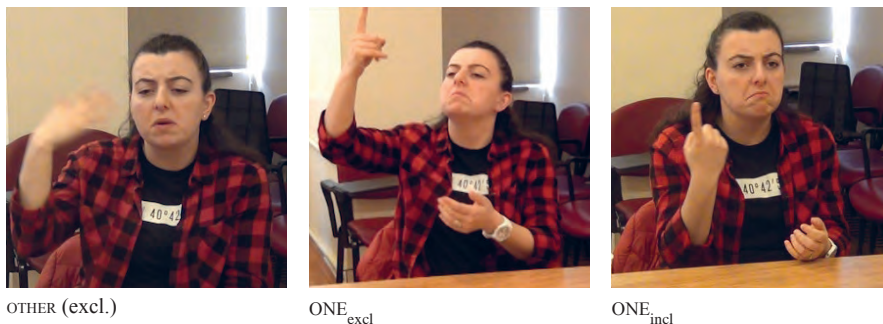


Figure 1. Exclusive and inclusive indefinite pronouns in TİD

In this paper, I build upon the findings of Keleşir et al. (2018) and argue that exclusive indefinites in TİD are existential quantifiers whose domain of quantification is restricted to the set of individuals excluding the addressee (or also other salient individuals in the context, as we will see below). Moreover, I propose that the lateral signing space represents this set. Conversely, the domain of quantification of inclusive existential quantifiers include the addressee (or also other salient individuals in the context). The central signing space represents this set.

There is growing literature that shows that signing space plays a crucial role in the interpretation of quantificational elements. Particularly, analyses of Catalan Sign Language (LSC) indefinites, and of American Sign Language (ASL) universal, existential, and negative quantifiers have shown that contrast in the height of signing (lower/neutral vs. higher part of the signing space) correlates with a contrast in the interpretation of the domain of the quantificational element.

Barberà (2012/2015, 2016) shows that in Catalan Sign Language (LSC), the part of the sign space where an indefinite such as ‘some people’ is signed determines whether or not it is going to be interpreted as specific or non-specific. In all her examples, the indefinites are signed in the lateral signing space but they differ in how high in the space they are signed. Barberà (2012/2015, 2016) argues that when an indefinite is signed in the higher part of the signing space, it is interpreted as non-specific, whereas when it is signed lower, it is interpreted as specific (see also Section 3).

Davidson and Gagne (2014, under review) argue that pragmatic intuitions are grammaticalized in ASL as overt contextual domain restrictions. They analyze some quantifiers in ASL and show that the size of the restriction of the domain of a quantifier can be expressed overtly by signing the quantifier at different heights in the signing space. When, for instance, the quantifier *ALL* is signed in the lower (neutral) part of the central signing space, it is understood to quantify over a narrow, default restricted set of individuals based on the context. This set can, for instance, be a set of individuals mentioned earlier in the discourse (Davidson & Gagne, under review, p. 22-23). When it is signed in the higher part of the central signing space (at the level of the signer’s head), however, it is understood to quantify over a set wider than the default set or even the widest possible. This set, for instance, can consist of all the individuals in the world. The authors show that this pattern holds not only for the quantifier *ALL* but also for others such as *NONE* ‘no one’ and *SOMEONE* ‘someone’ / ‘something’. They further argue that the correlation between (non)-specificity and height in ASL, which was also shown for LSC indefinites in Barberà (2015, 2016), can also be captured within their proposal, namely, that specificity indefinites, which are signed in the lower/neutral height, have narrower domains whereas non-specific indefinites, which are signed in the higher component, have wider (widest possible) domains (see also Section 3).

These two previous studies show that the contrast in the height of the locations where a quantificational element is signed corresponds to a contrast in the interpretation of the domain of quantification of these elements. What the TİD data that I discuss in the following add is that the contrast in lateral vs. central signing space also corresponds to a contrast in the interpretation of the domain of quantification: signing an indefinite in the lateral(-high) component of the signing space indicates

that the domain of quantification excludes the addressee whereas signing it in the central(-low) signing space includes the addressee. Thus, the two components of the signing space function as special domain restrictors of indefinites.

Section 2 outlines the findings in Kelepir et al. (2018) regarding the exclusive and inclusive indefinites. Section 3 builds upon these findings, highlights the fact that exclusive and inclusive personal pronouns are also distributed over lateral and central signing space areas, respectively, and argues that these signing space components function as special domain restrictors of indefinites in TİD, pointing out similarities and differences in previous works on LSC and ASL. Section 4 summarizes the discussion, discusses the implications of these findings for the role of signing space in sign languages as well as for the typology of indefinites and clusivity in general.

2. Clusivity in indefinites and function of signing space

Kelepir et al. (2018) argue that TİD has what they call “neutral indefinites”, “exclusive indefinites”, and “inclusive indefinites”. A common neutral indefinite is ONE[^]PERSON[^]C_PERSON ‘someone’. Its components ONE and C_PERSON are signed in the central signing space and PERSON is signed on the face. It is “neutral” in terms of clusivity, that is, it is like English *someone* in that its domain of quantification does not exclude the addressee.

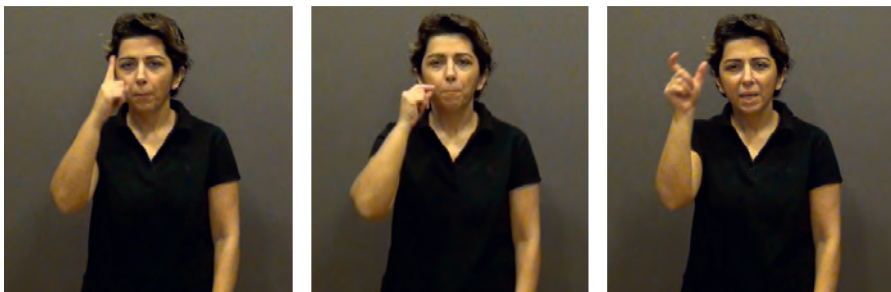


Figure 2. ONE [^] PERSON [^] C_PERSON ‘someone’
(Sara & Kelepir, 2020, Lexicon 3.7.7)

However, they also identify two ways of forming exclusive indefinites: one involves the determiner OTHER (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Exclusive indefinite determiner / pronoun OTHER ‘someone’

OTHER can function as an indefinite pronoun on its own (perhaps can be analyzed as modifying an ellided noun ‘person’) or combine with other determiners and nouns to form a more complex indefinite pronoun. One such possible combination is OTHER^ONE ‘someone’.

The authors report that their consultants find using indefinite expressions with OTHER more socially appropriate in a context described in Section 1 above. The context and the utterances are given below. ⌘ represents “inappropriate in this context”.

- (2) Context: “You leave your office to take a break from work and leave your phone on your desk. When you come back to the office, you realize that your phone is no longer there. What would you say to your office mate?”
- a. $\frac{\text{non-sp}}{\text{⌘ONE}^{\wedge}\text{PERSON}^{\wedge}\text{C_PERSONPHONE}_1\text{STEAL}_3}$
 ‘Someone has stolen my phone.’
- b. $\frac{\text{non-sp}}{\text{OTHER}^{\wedge}\text{ONE}_1\text{STEAL}_3}$
 ‘Someone (other than you and people “here”) has stolen (my phone).’

Furthermore, the consultants state that if they use the neutral indefinite in (2a), this would imply that their colleague would be one of the suspects. Since this would be socially inappropriate, they would use a form with OTHER, as in (2b).

Predictably, (2b) is not felicitous in an inclusive context where the speaker continues with a question ‘Did you take it?’

- (3) $\frac{\text{non-sp}}{\#\text{PHONE OTHER}^{\wedge}\text{ONE}_1\text{STEAL}_3}$ $\frac{\text{y/n q}}{\text{IX}_2\text{TAKE}}$
 ‘Someone has stolen my phone.’ ‘Did you take it?’

Note that the follow-up question does not only have to include the addressee to make the first utterance in (3) infelicitous. It can also include an individual who is present in the location of the utterance or whom the signer associates with the location of the utterance (“here”), such as her co-workers.

How is OTHER different from *someone else* or *another person*? To begin with, signers report that it is a common form with the meaning ‘someone’. Moreover, it can occur initially in a discourse where the excluded set has not been mentioned, which is not possible with *someone else* or *another person*. Consider the following context and compare the acceptability of the English and the TİD sentences.

- (4) Context: “I get on the bus. After a while, I decide to check my messages. I look for my phone in my purse but cannot find it...”
- a. English: # Someone else/another person has stolen my phone.
- b. TİD: $\frac{\text{non-sp}}{\text{PHONE OTHER}_1\text{STEAL}_3}$
 ‘Someone (who is not on the bus) has stolen my phone.’

It can also be an answer to a *wh*-question, without an excluded set mentioned or salient in the context.

- (5) Context: “Two women are sitting in the living room. The door rings. One of the women opens the door and returns to the room.”

Question: Who is at the door?

Answer: a. English: #Some other man/another man

b. TID: $\frac{\text{non-sp}}{\text{OTHER MAN}}$
 ‘Some man (I don’t know who).’

These contrasts in acceptability show that OTHER forms indefinites that exclude the addressee and individuals considered to be “here” but these indefinites do not have the same meaning as *someone else* or *another person*.

To summarize, we have seen that, in contrast with better-studied spoken languages, TID distinguishes between exclusive and neutral indefinite pronouns, and one way of doing it is with a special lexical item, OTHER.

The second way to form exclusive indefinites that Kelepir et al. (2018) identify is signing ONE ‘someone’ in the lateral-high component of the signing space. This is shown below.

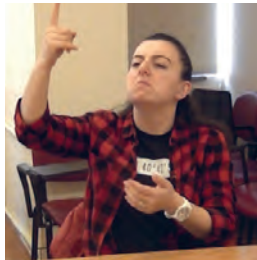


Figure 4. ONE_{lat-high} ‘someone (excl.)’

- (6) Context: A: Where did you get that? It’s really nice.
 B: My mom gave it to me...

$\frac{\text{non-sp}}{\text{ONE}_{\text{lat-high3a}} \text{ GIVE}_{\text{3b}} \text{ IX}_{\text{3b 3b}} \text{ GIVE}_1 \text{ WHO KNOW}^{\wedge} \text{NOT}}$
 ‘Someone gave it to her (my mom) and she (my mom) gave it to me. I don’t know who.’

Similar to OTHER, ONE_{lat-high} is also infelicitious in inclusive contexts.

- (7) $\frac{\text{non-sp}}{\# \text{ONE}_{\text{lat-high1}} \text{ STEAL}_3}$ $\frac{\text{y/n q}}{\text{IX}_2}$
 ‘Someone has stolen (my phone).’ ‘Was it you?’

(adapted from Kelepir et al., 2018, p. 173)

Conversely, when the signer wants to convey that “someone” is restricted to individuals who are in the inclusive setting, s/he signs the indefinite pronoun in the central signing space (Figure 5).

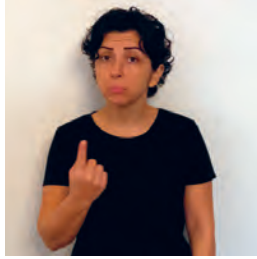


Figure 5. ONE_{centr-low}
(Sara! & Kelepir, 2020, Lexicon 3.7.7)

The context and the utterance are given below:

- (8) a. Context: “You go to the department kitchen. You see tiramisu on the kitchen counter. What do you say to your colleague?”

non-sp
ONE_{centr-low} BRING
‘Someone (from here) brought (it).’

- b. Context: “It’s your birthday. You go into the lab in the morning. You see flowers and a gift package on your desk. What do you say to your colleague?”

non-sp
FLOWER ONE_{centr-low} LEAVE
‘Someone (from here) left flowers.’

These utterances are felicitous with the inclusive follow-up questions, which we saw above are infelicitous with exclusive indefinites:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | <u>non-sp</u> | <u>y/n q</u> |
| (9) | FLOWER ONE _{centr-low} LEAVE | IX ₂ |
| | ‘Someone (from here) left flowers.’ | ‘Is it you?’ |

They are not felicitous in exclusive contexts:

- (10) Context: “You went to the lab on Sunday to work. You were alone at the department, there was nobody else. You went to the bathroom and when you came back you saw flowers at the door of the lab. You tell about this to your colleague on Monday.”

non-sp
FLOWER ONE_{centr-low} LEAVE
‘Someone (from here) left flowers.’

The contrast between lateral-high vs. central-low corresponding to the contrast in clusivity is not limited to indefinite pronouns but is observed with agreement verbs whose agent argument is indefinite, as well.

In Figure 6a below, the backward agreement verb STEAL with an exclusive indefinite agent argument ends in the lateral(-high) area whereas in Figure 6b the verb with an inclusive indefinite agent ends in the central(-low) area.



Figure 6a. ${}_1\text{STEAL}_{3\text{lat-high}}$



‘Someone (not from here) stole my phone.’



Figure 6b. ${}_1\text{STEAL}_{3\text{centr-low}}$



‘Someone (from here) stole my phone.’

The claim that the lateral signing space represents the set of individuals that exclude the addressee and may also exclude those that are associated with the location of the utterance is supported by the distribution of the exclusive and inclusive personal pronouns.

Sign languages are known to exhibit clusivity distinctions in first person plural pronouns such as WE, TWO_OF_US, THREE_OF_US etc. For example, inclusive ‘we’ includes the addressee whereas exclusive ‘we’ does not. Cormier (2005) states that inclusive first person plural pronouns are signed in the central signing space whereas their exclusive counterparts are signed in a “displaced” area in ASL. Whereas displaced WE in ASL is still signed on the signer’s torso, produced slightly left or slightly right of the signer’s midline on the chest, exclusive WE in TID (and the other first person plurals) are signed away from the torso, in the lateral signing space (see also similar examples in Italian Sign Language (LIS) in Mantovan, 2020, and in German Sign Language (DGS) in Nuhbalaoğlu & Kubus, 2020).

The following illustrates this with first person plural pronouns in TİD:

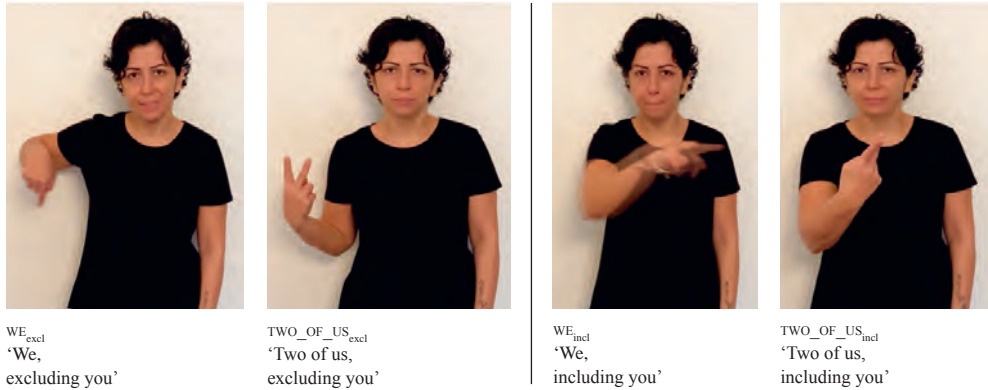


Figure 7. Examples of exclusive and inclusive first person plural pronouns in TİD

Thus, the correlation between signing space components and clusivity interpretation of personal pronouns is consistent with what we observe with indefinites in TİD.

Moreover, Cormier notes that sign language exclusive pronouns differ from spoken language ones in that the former may exclude not only the addressee but also others salient in the discourse (Cormier, 2012, p. 233). This is also consistent with the observation described above that exclusive indefinites in TİD may exclude individuals salient in the discourse, those that are associated with the location of the utterance, in addition to the addressee¹.

To summarize, following Kelepir et al. (2018) I have argued for two generalizations. One is that TİD makes a clusivity distinction in indefinite expressions, similar to clusivity distinctions in first person plural pronouns. One option to express exclusivity is to use a lexically specified exclusive indefinite determiner: OTHER. The other involves signing the indefinite manual sign ONE in different parts of the signing space. This takes us to the second generalization: lateral signing space represents exclusivity whereas central signing space represents inclusivity.

3. Components of space as representations of restricted domain of quantification

In this section, I first lay out an analysis for the role of signing space in rendering these interpretations in TİD indefinites and then discuss how this analysis is in line with and contribute to the findings in indefinite and quantifier interpretation in other sign languages.

¹ See Cysouw (2003) cited in Siewierska & Bakker (2005, p. 152) where the inclusive counterparts of these cases, i.e. pronouns that include the first, the second and a third person salient in the discourse, are attested and called “augmented inclusive”.

3.1. TID indefinites and special spatial domain restriction

Recall that the indefinite determiner/pronoun ONE has the same handshape and orientation whether it is used exclusively or inclusively. The interpretation is determined by the location of signing. Based on the observations outlined in the previous section, I propose that the reason why the contrast in the location of signing of ONE causes the contrast in clusivity is that these locations are not meaningless phonological features of different indefinite signs but rather function as representing a special set of entities that (further) restricts their domain of quantification.

It is commonly assumed that in a quantified noun phrase such as, for instance, [every woman] in (11), the bare noun complement of the quantificational determiner denotes the set of women and restricts the domain that the determiner ranges over. In other words, thanks to its syntactic complement (or semantic argument) the quantifier does not range over all entities in the universe but over a subset of it, the set of women. *Woman* in this example functions as the “explicit restrictor” of *every*.

(11) Every woman danced.

Still, however, we tend not to interpret the sentence in (11) as *it is true for every entity x in the universe who is a woman that x danced*. Usually, we further restrict the set that *every* ranges over to a set of women relevant in the context. This is pragmatically-conditioned, “implicit restriction”. A possible context may be a party that the speaker has been talking about. Thus, this further restriction may be explicitly expressed as, for instance, [who came to the party], as in (12) or implicitly understood.

(12) Every woman who came to the party danced.

For both (11) and (12) then, we can say that the domain of the quantifier *every* is restricted to the set of women who came to the party mentioned in the context.

If we treat indefinites as existential quantifiers, similar restrictions can be applied. Consider (13).

(13) Someone has spilled wine on the table.

This sentence is interpreted as *there is an x such that x is a person and x has spilled wine on the table*. However, the context may provide a restriction on the domain. If, for instance, the speaker and the addressee are at a party, the domain of the indefinite would be understood to be restricted to the set of individuals who are at the party. This may also be expressed explicitly:

(14) Someone who was at my party spilled wine on the table.

Going back to the TID indefinites, we can say that they seem to be displaying two properties regarding domain restriction that are different from those in the English examples above: (i) the domain is restricted not just to a subset of individuals in the

context (e.g. individuals who were at the party) but to a special subset: namely, to a set of individuals who the signer considers to be the set of individuals who are “here” (what “here” means is determined by the signer) and those who are not, (ii) even though this restriction is not uttered with lexical signs as in the examples in (12) and (14), it is still expressed explicitly. The location of signing functions as a sign language modality specific means of explicit restriction. More specifically, the central signing space represents the individuals that the signer considers to be “here”/“part of us”, and the lateral signing space represents the set of individuals who are “not here”/“not parts of us”. By signing the indefinite sign ONE ‘someone’ in one of these locations then, the signer signs it together with its restriction (see the discussion of a similar observation in Davidson & Gagne (in review) for ASL quantifiers below). This is why I analyze this as special explicit restriction.

The distribution of personal pronouns in lateral and central signing space components support the claim that these two components represent exclusive and inclusive sets of individuals. Recall that all personal pronouns (and agreement morphemes) that exclude the signer and the addressee, namely, exclusive first person plural and third person pronouns are signed in the lateral signing space whereas the pronouns that point towards the signer and the addressee as well as the inclusive first personal plural pronouns are signed in the central signing space (see also Barbera, 2012: 105-106) for a similar observation for LSC pronouns). The following figure provides a visual summary:

1st p. pl. (excl.)	3rd person	indefinite (excl.)	1st p. pl. (incl.)	2nd person	indefinite (incl.)
TWO_OF_US _{excl}	3rd p. sg. pronoun	ONE ‘some-one’ (excl)	TWO_OF_US _{incl}	2nd p. sg. pronoun	ONE ‘some-one’ (incl)
WE _{excl}	agr. w/ 3rd person sg.	1 _{STEAL} ₃ (excl.)	WE _{incl}	agr w/ 2nd person sg.	1 _{STEAL} ₃ (incl.)

Figure 8. Personal and indefinite pronouns, and agreement morphemes² in lateral and central signing space

² The nature of these agreement morphemes is actually controversial. I will not discuss this controversy here. However, let me point out that if we follow Fischer (1975) and Nevins (2011) in assuming that the so-called agreement morphemes are actually pronouns cliticized to verbs, the data I summarize in Figure 8 become more homogeneous.

Locations in signing space where noun phrases can be signed and then referred back to with pointing signs are called “locus/loci”. This is a sign language modality specific means to keep track of discourse referents. It has been proposed, therefore, that loci are overt instantiations of semantic indices (Lillo-Martin & Klima, 1990).

It has also been proposed that loci can realize logical variables and that sign languages employ (parts of) signing space to represent sets of individuals in the interpretation of quantificational elements (Schlenker et al., 2013, Davidson & Gagne, 2014 and in review), i.a.). Following these works and building upon the observations on TĪD discussed above, I propose that in TĪD, the central signing space represents an inclusive set of individuals (as defined in the discussion in Section 2) whereas the lateral signing space represents an exclusive set of individuals. This is schematized in Figure 9 below.



Figure 9. Central and lateral signing space and the sets of individuals they represent

When an indefinite is signed in either of these spaces, its domain of quantification is interpreted to be restricted to one of these sets. Thus, even though, the indefinite noun phrase does not contain the lexical items that would serve as the explicit restrictor, as in the English example (12), one can claim that this is still an example of explicit domain restriction if we consider the location of signing a morphological component of the indefinite form. The TĪD indefinite forms, can, for instance, be considered to be reminiscent of compound indefinite forms in English such as *someone* and *something*. The second components of these compounds function as restrictors of the indefinite determiner *some*: the first one restricts the domain to the set of human beings, the other one to the set of things³. I leave the investigation of this possibility to further research.

3.2. Role of signing space in domain restriction in other sign languages

As mentioned in Section 1, the role of components of signing space in contributing to the interpretation of indefinites and quantifiers has been observed before in other

³ See, for instance, Barberà (2012, 2015) for a detailed proposal on spatial morphemes in LSC.

languages. For instance, Barberà (2012, 2016; i.a.) shows that specific discourse referents (i.e. those that have a wide scope reading, are identifiable by the sender, and are part of a restricted set) are associated with a low referential locus in the signing space (15a) whereas non-specific discourse referents (i.e. those that have a narrow scope reading, are unidentifiable by the sender, and are not part of a restricted set) are associated with a high referential locus (15b) (Barberà, 2016, p. 27).

- (15) a.) HOUSE SOME_{low}
 ‘some of the houses’ (specific, identifiable by the signer)
- b.) HOUSE SOME_{up}
 ‘some houses’ (non-specific, unidentifiable by the signer)

The data that Barberà analyzes do not involve the exclusive-inclusive distinction, and the LSC indefinite examples she presents are signed in the (ipsi-)lateral signing space. Thus, the contrast she focuses on, namely the specific vs. non-specific interpretation, corresponds to the contrast between the lower and the higher area of the (ipsi-)lateral signing space. She argues that the central signing space is employed for non-entities such as propositions in LSC. Nevertheless, Barberà’s analysis is one of the first comprehensive proposals for the role a contrast in signing space areas (upper vs. lower) functions to express a contrast in meaning of indefinites (specific vs. non-specific).

Somewhat similarly, Davidson and Gagne (2014; under review) propose a correspondence between components of signing space to a (gradient) contrast in the interpretation of quantifiers. They analyze a number of quantifiers and indefinite forms (as well as pronouns and agreement verbs) in ASL and argue that these elements can be pronounced progressively higher or lower in signing space to signal multiple levels of widening or narrowing, respectively, of their contextual domains of quantification. The height of signing ensures unambiguous interpretation, in contrast with English quantifiers, as exemplified in (11) above.

Their data consist of two types: in one type the restriction is established with a plural index sign and that’s where the quantifier is signed later, in the second type the restriction is not established but the height of signing signals the size of the set that corresponds to the (restricted) domain of quantification. In (16) below I illustrate the second type, which is similar to the TİD data I have been discussing in that the restriction is not established with a plural index sign. In (16a) the quantifier ALL is signed in the lower (neutral height) area. In this case, ALL is understood to quantify over the smaller domain of friends who watched the movie mentioned in the context. However, when it is signed higher, as in (16b), it quantifies over a much wider domain, in this case, everyone in the world.

- (16) Context: Signer has just said, “Last night I watched a movie with my friends about vampires. Afterwards I went to bed and I dreamt that. . . “
- a.) ALL-low BECOME VAMPIRE
 (i) # ‘All of the people in the world became vampires.’
 (ii) ‘All of my friends became vampires.’

- b. ALL-high BECOME VAMPIRE
 (i) ‘All of the people in the world became vampires.’
 (ii) # ‘All of my friends became vampires.’

(Davidson & Gagne, in review, p. 3)

As mentioned above, the signer may but need not to establish the restricted set with a plural index sign pointing to plural loci in the corresponding parts of the signing space. Signers can instead make default interpretations for whole planes in space whereby “neutral/low signing space seems to represent the entirety/whole of the universe for the contextually relevant/restricted default context; a higher space seems to allow reference to a superset of this set, when the signer wants to signal a larger domain than was already being considered” (Davidson & Gagne, in review, p. 12-13). Furthermore, they formulate the phenomenon as simultaneous articulation of a quantifier with its restriction⁴.

They extend their analysis to negative and existential quantifiers in ASL, namely, NONE ‘no one’ and SOMEONE ‘someone’ / ‘something’ as well as the LSC indefinites discussed in Barberà’s work. They argue that the specificity contrast attributed to height in LSC can also be analyzed as contrast in domain sizes: non-specific interpretation corresponds to wide domain of quantification whereas specific interpretation corresponds to narrower domain of quantification.

The analysis presented in this paper on TID indefinites support the claim that parts of signing space may represent restricted domains of quantifiers and sign languages make use of spatial contrasts to express contrast in interpretation. The spatial contrast that Barberà and Davidson & Gagne identify in their works is contrast in height in the frontal plane (higher vs. lower) whereas the contrast that is argued for in this paper is contrast in different components of the horizontal plane (central vs. (ipsi-)lateral)⁵. Thus, a picture emerges where different kinds of spatial contrasts are employed to express different kinds of interpretive contrasts.

4. Conclusion and discussion

In this paper, I analyzed a number of indefinite forms in TID and showed that clusivity distinctions that we are familiar with from personal pronouns in sign languages also exist for indefinite arguments in TID. Exclusive indefinite forms exclude at least the addressee and they may also exclude other salient individuals that the signer associates with the group that includes him/her and the addressee. Inclusive indefinites, on the other hand, *include* this kind of individuals. TID has a lexically specified exclusive indefinite determiner OTHER which can function as an exclusive indefinite pronoun with the meaning ‘someone’ by itself or can combine with other items to form exclusive indefinite expressions. We have not yet observed an inclusive

⁴ See Davidson and Gagne (in review) for a detailed discussion where they propose that the higher/lower locus functions as the restrictor in the form of a pronominal argument.

⁵ See also Schlenker et al. (2013) for iconic representations of complement sets involved in the interpretation of quantifiers.

counterpart of OTHER in TİD, namely, a lexically specified inclusive indefinite determiner. This gap may be a coincidence or it may be the result of the fact that exclusive is the unmarked value of clusivity in indefinites in TİD. In her discussion on clusivity of personal pronouns in ASL, Cormier (2005: 248) argues that in contrast with what has been found in the typological studies on spoken language personal pronouns, exclusive is the unmarked value for personal pronouns in ASL, based on the fact that there are no specific inclusive forms.

The main focus of the paper has been, however, the role of signing space in expressing clusivity distinctions in indefinites. I showed that signing the indefinite sign ONE in different parts of space results in different interpretations. Similar to what has been proposed for LSC indefinites and ASL quantifiers, I argued that these different parts represent different restricted domains of quantification. Thus, I conclude that TİD data adds to the inventory of the interpretive roles of the components of signing space. While previous works on LSC and ASL showed that differences in height of signing causes differences in interpretation, TİD data show that differences in the components of horizontal signing space also causes differences in interpretation. Needless to say, in order to see whether all these contrasts exist within a single sign language and whether either of them is present across all sign languages, more research needs to be done. The parts of the signing space that can potentially contribute to expressing differences in interpretation across sign languages are summarized visually in Figure 10 below.⁶

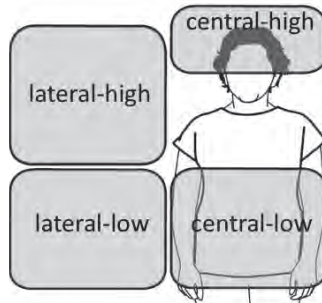


Figure 10. (Some of the) components of signing space

⁶ An anonymous reviewer raises the question whether indefinites with overt restrictions such as *some teacher* would be incompatible with the lateral signing space since that part of the signing space seems to introduce a covert (exclusive) restriction, as proposed in this paper. I haven't had a chance to investigate this question, however, the implication of the analysis here is that the covert restrictions proposed (exclusive or inclusive) induce partitive interpretations that exclude or include a salient set of individuals. In that respect, even when an indefinite has an overt restriction such as *teacher*, it is not predicted to be incompatible with either of the parts of the signing space. In other words, in principle, two different readings such as "Some teacher who is not from our current group" vs. "Some teacher who is from our current group" are possible. Whether or not TİD utilizes different parts of signing space for indefinites like these as it does with the indefinite pronouns discussed in this paper is yet to be investigated.

The same reviewer asks whether we can analyze the inclusive set represented by the central signing space as a superset to the exclusive set represented by the lateral signing space, rather than analyzing them as disjoint sets. I cannot see how that would be possible.

The findings presented in this paper are consistent with what we have been learning from sign language research about iconic and metaphoric ways of representing semantic notions using the three-dimensionality of the signing space. What has been usually categorized as neutral / central signing space, the area closer to the chest of the signer, has been consistently shown to be used to express notions that are related to what is “familiar”/ “close” to the signer: familiar sets of entities, narrow domain of quantification, specificity, inclusivity, “here”, and “now”. The area that is away from the central signing space, away from the chest of the signer, on the other hand, is consistently used to express notions that the signer would consider “unfamiliar” / “far”: less familiar entities, wider domain of quantification, non-specificity, exclusivity, “not here”/“there”, and “not now” (past or future) (see Özkul, 2020, and the references therein).

Returning to the clusivity distinction in indefinites, as far as I can tell, this distinction has not been identified in the typological studies on clusivity (Filimonova, 2005) or on indefinites (Haspelmath, 1997). Thus, if the analysis of the TID indefinites is correct (and even better, if there are other sign languages with a similar distinction), the findings of this research program may also fill a typological gap, regarding what is possible in natural languages.

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