



**Spatial Demonstratives
in English and Chinese**

Yi'an Wu

Spatial Demonstratives in English and Chinese

Pragmatics & Beyond New Series

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University of Zurich, English Department
Plattenstrasse 47, CH-8032 Zurich, Switzerland
e-mail: ahjucker@es.unizh.ch

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Spatial Demonstratives in English and Chinese: Text and Cognition
by Yi'an Wu

Spatial Demonstratives in English and Chinese

Text and Cognition

Yi'an Wu

Beijing Foreign Studies University

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To beautiful Cambridge

Table of contents

Preface	IX
Introduction	XI
Acknowledgements	XIII
List of tables	XV
The figure	XVI
Conventions and abbreviations	XVII
CHAPTER 1	
Introduction	1
1.0 Introductory remarks	1
1.1 Defining spatial demonstratives	3
1.2 The scope of the study	4
1.3 Typological features of the Chinese language	6
1.4 Research methodology	22
CHAPTER 2	
The nature of spatial demonstratives	27
2.0 The preliminary	27
2.1 A linguistic view of spatial demonstratives	29
2.2 A cognitive view of spatial demonstratives	39
2.3 The conceptual framework	52
2.4 Features of the present study	56
CHAPTER 3	
Spatial demonstratives in real space	59
3.0 The preliminary	59
3.1 The design	59
3.2 The findings	63
3.3 Discussion	69
3.4 Summary	74

CHAPTER 4

Spatial demonstratives in displaced contexts: Similar trends of extension 77

- 4.0 The preliminary 77
- 4.1 The data 78
- 4.2 Overview 82
- 4.3 Transfer in the nature of referents 86
- 4.4 Transposition of the deictic centre 92
- 4.5 The effect of deictic force 99
- 4.6 Cancellation of asymmetry: the generic use 125
- 4.7 Metaphorical extensions 127
- 4.8 Summary 136

CHAPTER 5

**Spatial demonstratives in displaced contexts: Structural constraints
on the similar trends of extension 141**

- 5.0 The preliminary 141
- 5.1 The data and the procedure 143
- 5.2 Structural constraints on the use of the demonstratives for discourse
reference 145
- 5.3 Language structure and reconceptualisation of spatial distance 171
- 5.4 Language structure and pragmatic strengthening 182
- 5.5 An observation 199

Concluding remarks 201

- Notes 205
- References 211
- Appendix 225
- Name index 229
- Subject index 231

Preface

Yi'an Wu's study explores the nature and use of spatial demonstratives in English and in Chinese. If simply described in terms of the two linguistic systems, the spatial demonstratives used to refer to entities or locations in the two languages look remarkably similar, despite the languages under discussion being typologically so different. The impression of similarity also extends to use when experimental subjects co-operate in a procedural task. However, when their use in parallel narrative contexts is examined, striking differences emerge.

Most discussions of demonstratives and their deictic qualities are illustrated by familiar types of invented examples, or by decontextualised examples abstracted from corpora to illustrate a particular point. Yet demonstratives rank among the most self-expressive and subjective of forms, which are irrevocably bound to the location and point of view of the speaker/writer. To achieve a better understanding of their semantics and functions, we need detailed information about the meanings that speakers and writers in well-defined contexts use them to convey. The originality of Yi'an Wu's study lies, in part at least, in the detailed comparison of the meaning and use of spatial demonstratives in the two languages in two well-differentiated genres of naturally-occurring discourse. To begin with, pairs of English or Chinese school-children work together to complete a locational task identifying objects on a cline of proximity vis-à-vis the speaker as opposed to the listener. One member of the pair gives instructions to the other who can query or confirm an instruction in a co-operative spoken interaction. The choice of proximal/non-proximal demonstrative forms is shown to be quite similar in both languages, with a somewhat variable point of change from proximal to non-proximal across subjects but, overall, with a preponderant use of non-proximal forms in both languages: given a row of 12 rather similar objects stretching away from you, only those few within easy reach are characterised as proximal.

The second, written, genre consists of four extended texts: a children's narrative in English and one in Chinese (the English text is *Winnie the Pooh*) and a translation of each text into the other language. In these texts, demonstrative forms in both languages are used in a much wider range of contexts than in the

spoken task to enable the reader to access the projected world, first through the eyes of the individual character central to the story, and then of each speaker who participates in a conversation within the narrative. In this genre, the possible use of demonstrative forms is constrained by wider issues of syntax and of how the structure of information is organised in each language. This leads to a strikingly different distribution of proximal/non-proximal forms: in English, predictably, non-proximal forms predominate, whereas in Chinese proximal forms predominate. Yi'an Wu gives a wide-ranging and convincing account of why these differences occur, based on her systematically developed view of 'deictic force' as being stronger the more proximal the referent is to the speaker, and on a well-articulated appreciation of the effects of subjectivity, building on a foundation ultimately derived from such scholars as Benveniste and Lyons. This scrupulously methodical and scholarly study makes a valuable contribution to the discussion of the nature of spatial demonstratives and how they can be used to express the speaker's perspective in discourse.

Gillian Brown
Cambridge, 2004

Introduction

This study examines the similarities and differences of the spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese as they are used in real space and in displaced contexts. Drawing on earlier works in linguistic and cognitive semantics, a cognitive-linguistic conceptual framework is formulated, in which the uses of the demonstratives in displaced contexts are seen as cognitively motivated extensions of their basic, deictic use. The theoretical notion of deictic force is developed which is shown to hold the key to much of the divergent behaviour of the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives of both English and Chinese in their basic and extended usages. The conceptual framework accommodates the role of language structure in contributing to the possible differences between English and Chinese in the behaviour of the demonstratives.

The research methodology features the use of empirical data and data from selected parallel corpora. It appeals to the discourse analysis approach to the data which emphasises the analyst's modelling of the discourse participants' joint endeavour to access the realities of a projected world by means of the linguistic forms available in text and their linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge.

The study shows that remarkable similarities mark the use of the English and Chinese spatial demonstratives in real space and their five trends of extension in displaced contexts. Differences between the two languages in syntactic structure and information structuring in discourse, however, constrain the otherwise similar trends of extension. They lead to differences in the distribution, and in the syntactic and functional behaviour of the demonstratives of the two languages. They constrain the opportunities due to the reinterpretations of spatial distance in different manners for English and Chinese, and are, in a sense, responsible for the reverse preference patterns found in their selection of the proximal and non-proximal entity-referring demonstratives for signalling discourse reference. They affect the ways in which subjectivity finds expression in language use by means of the demonstratives.

The study illuminates such issues of interest in linguistic theory as the subjectivity of language, language as a representational system and a vehicle of communication, the interface between form and function, and the role of context in discourse comprehension.

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List of tables

Table 1.1	English spatial demonstratives	4
Table 2.1	English and Chinese spatial demonstratives by semantic property	31
Table 3.1	A-role subjects' use of the entity-referring demonstratives	64
Table 3.2	Frequency of <i>this</i> and <i>that</i> in jigsaw task	65
Table 3.3	Frequency of <i>zhe</i> and <i>na</i> in jigsaw task	65
Table 3.4	B-role subjects' use of the entity-referring demonstratives as compared with A-role subjects' use	66
Table 4.1	Frequency of English spatial demonstratives	83
Table 4.2	Frequency of Chinese spatial demonstratives	83
Table 4.3	Frequency of entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives in English and Chinese	83
Table 4.4	Frequency of <i>this</i> and <i>that</i> in pronominal and non-pronominal usages	100
Table 4.5	Frequency of <i>zhe</i> and <i>na</i> in pronominal and non-pronominal usages	100
Table 4.6	Frequency of <i>this</i> and <i>that</i> for discourse reference	129
Table 4.7	Frequency of <i>zhe</i> and <i>na</i> for discourse reference	129
Table 5.1	Frequency of <i>this</i> and <i>that</i> for discourse reference by head and modifier roles	144
Table 5.2	Frequency of <i>zhe</i> and <i>na</i> for discourse reference by head and modifier roles	144
Table 5.3	Frequency of pronominal <i>this</i> and <i>that</i> for DR and their RP in Chinese	146
Table 5.4	Frequency of pronominal <i>zhe</i> and <i>na</i> for DR and their RP in English	146
Table 5.5	Frequency of determiner <i>this</i> and <i>that</i> for DR and their RP in Chinese	148
Table 5.6	Frequency of determiner <i>zhe</i> and <i>na</i> for DR and their RP in English	149

Table 5.7	Frequency of pronominal <i>this</i> and <i>that</i> in text by grammatical role	153
Table 5.8	Frequency of pronominal <i>zhe</i> and <i>na</i> in text by grammatical role	153
Table 5.9	Frequency of <i>this</i> and <i>that</i> for temporal reference	172
Table 5.10	Frequency of <i>zhe</i> and <i>na</i> for temporal reference	172

The figure

Figure 3.1	The setting of the jigsaw puzzle task	61
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Conventions and abbreviations

Notes on conventions

The spatial demonstratives under discussion that appear in text and examples are italicized.

All Chinese examples are written in the *pinyin* system of romanisation with the tone-indicating symbols suppressed. Each example is followed by two English versions, the first a word-for-word literal gloss and the second a translation of meaning.

In each paragraph of the text, for every first occurrence of a Chinese demonstrative in *pinyin*, the English equivalent is given in single quotation marks.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations follow Li and Thompson (1981, p. xxiii) with slight adaptations.

Abbreviation	Term
ADP	adverbial particle (function word)
AP	auxiliary particle
BA	preposed object marker <i>ba</i>
CL	classifier
CRS	current relevant state <i>le</i>
DUR	durative aspect marker <i>zhe, zai</i>
EXP	experiential aspect marker <i>guo</i>
EXT	existential <i>you</i>
GEN	genitive <i>de</i>
IJ	interjection
MM	modifier marker <i>de</i>
NG	negation word
NOM	nominaliser <i>de</i>

PFV	perfective aspect marker <i>le</i>
QN	quantifier
QS	question particle
TT	translated text
VC	verb complement
1sg	first-person singular pronoun
1pl	first-person plural pronoun
2sg	second-person singular pronoun
2pl	second-person plural pronoun
3sg	third-person singular pronoun
3pl	third-person plural pronoun

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1. Introductory remarks

This study examines the similarities and differences of the spatial demonstratives in standard English and Chinese, otherwise known as Mandarin Chinese, as they are used in real space and in displaced contexts. The rationale for the exploration derives from an interest in “the phenomenon of *deixis*” in language (Levinson 1983: 53), which rests on the belief that deixis, spatial deixis in particular, offers rich implications for insights into language (Bühler 1990 [1934]; Lyons 1977) and that a comparative approach lends itself to unveiling such implications.

As a subject of universal appeal, demonstratives have been studied extensively by researchers from a variety of disciplines: philosophy, diachronic and synchronic linguistics, psychology, language acquisition, language typology, etc. Contrastive studies of English and Chinese demonstratives have, over the years, formed a cumulative process, constituting a tidy sub-area of English-Chinese contrastive linguistics (e.g. Sun & Jin 1975; Qian 1983; Xu 1987, 1989; Zhang 1991). This body of literature has enriched our understanding of the behaviour of the demonstratives in natural English and Chinese.

What marks the present study as distinct from earlier studies is that the present exploration is set in a cognitive-linguistic framework and that it features a parallel corpora-based, discourse analysis approach. As the study demonstrates, such a conceptual framework is well suited to the cross-language study of demonstratives, illuminating the nature of their basic meaning and use, the connections between their basic and extended use, and the mechanisms that govern their trends of metaphorical extensions. The parallel corpora on which the study bases itself place the English and Chinese demonstratives under discussion in comparable discourse contexts and processes, which necessarily facilitates the location of the similarities and differences sought. They, in particular, also provide an “ecological” environment for the observation of how the behaviour of the demonstratives fits into the respective structural and discourse systems of the two languages. Through

discourse analysis, a link is mapped out between the semantic and functional characteristics of the spatial demonstratives on the one hand, and relevant features of the two language systems on the other.

The study contributes to the subject at two levels: descriptive and theoretical. At the descriptive level, a systematic comparative analysis is offered concerning the semantic properties, the structural and functional roles, and the functional load of the spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese in their basic and extended uses in narrative. As can be expected, the approach adopted necessarily involves an examination of the English and Chinese language systems, especially those subsystems of which the demonstratives form a part. It facilitates an exploration into the question of how the demonstratives fit into the two language systems and how extended usages have emerged in the context of the typologically different grammatical systems in which they are found. With the demonstratives being the central concern, the necessary radial exploration into the relevant subsystems of the languages concerned provides an understanding of such systems.

At the theoretical level, a cognitive-linguistic conceptual framework is formulated which offers a plausible approach to the similar and versatile behaviour of the spatial demonstratives, and, presumably, to the deictic category in general. The theoretical notion of deictic force is developed which is shown to hold the key to much of the divergent behaviour of the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives of English and Chinese in both their basic, situational use and their trends of extension as they are used in displaced contexts. The explorations into the demonstratives illuminate such issues of interest in linguistic theory as the subjectivity of language, language as a representational system and as a vehicle of socio-expression, the interface between form and function, and the role of context in discourse comprehension.

The study also contributes to research methodology: it shows that handled properly, parallel corpora can be fruitfully exploited in comparative/contrastive studies; it demonstrates how two typologically different languages can be brought together for comparative purposes through a discourse analysis approach.

The book consists of five chapters. Chapter 1, an introductory chapter, defines spatial demonstratives, sets the scope of the inquiry, presents the typological features of the Chinese language relevant for the study, and outlines the research methodology. Chapter 2 explores the nature of spatial demonstratives and develops, on the basis of the explication, the cognitive-linguistic conceptual framework for the study. Chapter 3 examines the behaviour of the English and Chinese spatial demonstratives as they are used in real space.

Chapters 4 and 5 examine the behaviour of the demonstratives as they are used in displaced contexts, with Chapter 4 focused on the similar trends of extension found in the two languages and Chapter 5 on the dissimilarities between them within the largely similar trends of extension identified. The book concludes with brief remarks encapsulating major findings of the study.

1.1 Defining spatial demonstratives

The term “demonstrative” used in the present study does not necessarily equate with a word class or a grammatical function. Rather, it stands for a semantically based category. Members of the category, the demonstratives, all encode a sense of pointing, or demonstrativeness, as an essential feature of their linguistic meaning. Structured in these expressions is the speaker’s ego, her point of view as it were, which relates the speaker directly to the important aspects of a speech context: the participant(s), the place and/or the time of utterance (Fillmore 1971, 1975). An utterance of a demonstrative would naturally guide the addressee to perceive an aspect of the speech context from the speaker’s point of view. As such, the demonstratives are seen to have an inbuilt, egocentric orienting potential that allows them to perform a primarily deictic function in verbal communication. It is this potential that renders demonstratives a primarily deictic category. Grammatically, both English and Chinese demonstratives cut across word classes and assume various syntactic roles (Quirk et al. 1985; Wang 1987a; Lü 1985) and in language use they perform versatile discourse functions in the universe-of-discourse (Lyons 1977; Lü, *op cit.*).

Spatial demonstratives form a sub-category of demonstratives. Distinct from temporal and personal demonstratives, they typically encode the speaker ego in relation to the spatial aspect of the context of utterance from the speaker’s point of view. On hearing the English spatial demonstrative *this*, for example, one would search for the referent in what one perceives as the speaker’s vicinity, while an English *that* would direct one’s attention to areas beyond what is perceived as the speaker’s vicinity. Spatial demonstratives, and indeed the demonstrative category in general, are considered a language universal (e.g. Benveniste 1965; Wierzbicka 1996). Languages, however, vary in the complexities of their demonstrative systems, for example, in the number of expressions included in their respective spatial demonstrative sub-categories, the variety of contrast built into them, and in their morphological structures (Anderson & Keenan 1985; Diessel 1999).

The deictic nature of the demonstrative category renders the relationship between language and the context of utterance into a referential one. This may be understood in view of the fact that natural languages have evolved for their basic use in face-to-face interactions and are designed in important ways to exploit that circumstance (Lyons 1977; Levinson 1983). Language, however, is also capable of freeing itself from the bonds of the immediate spatio-temporal situation. A central design feature of language is its context-independence, in the sense that displaced, symbolic use of language can dispense with the immediate, real-world physical context of situation (Hockett 1963). Spatial demonstratives provide convincing evidence for the immediate situational and displaced modes of language use.

1.2 The scope of the study

Contemporary English spatial demonstratives encode a two-way contrast in terms of spatial distance from the egocentric, deictic centre: proximate and non-proximate. As referring expressions, they also encode a qualitative distinction related to their referents as entities or as places: entity-referring and place-referring. Table 1.1 presents the English spatial demonstratives by semantic categorisation.

Table 1.1 English spatial demonstratives

	PROXIMITY		NON-PROXIMITY	
Entity- Referring	(singular) <i>this</i>	(plural) <i>these</i>	(singular) <i>that</i>	(plural) <i>those</i>
Place- Referring	<i>here</i>		<i>there</i>	

Contemporary Chinese spatial demonstratives must be presented in relation to the Chinese demonstrative system, which draws a distinction between *prototype* demonstratives and demonstratives by sub-type (Wang 1987a: 34ff, 1987b). Prototype demonstratives consist of *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ and their plural forms *zhexie* ‘these’ and *naxie* ‘those’, wherein — *xie* is a suffix marking plurality for the demonstratives.¹ They are entity-referring demonstratives, as can be seen from the following dictionary definitions.

zhe (plu.: *zhexie*): used to point at a relatively close person or thing

na (plu.: *naxie*): used to point at a relatively remote person or thing²

(*Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* 2002 [The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary, Chinese-English Edition])

The other members of the demonstrative system are *zhe-/na-*compounds which fall into four sub-types (Wang 1987a: 42ff):

- (1) Indicating spatial location:
zheli or *zher* ‘this place, here’
nali or *nar* ‘that place, there’
- (2) Indicating temporal location:
zhehuir ‘now, at this moment’
nahuir ‘then, at that moment’
- (3) Indicating manner:
zheyang, *zheme*, or *zhemezhe* ‘this way, like this, so, such’
nayang, *name*, or *namezhe* ‘that way, like that, so, such’
- (4) Indicating degree:
zheme, *zhemege*, *zheyang*, *zhedeng* ‘this, like this, so, such’
name, *namege*, *nayang*, *nadeng* ‘that, like that, so, such’

Notice that *zheyang/nayang* and *zheme/name*, like the English *so* and *such*, can be used to modify terms of both manner and degree.

Compared with the demonstratives in the sub-types, *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ are prototypical in three senses. First, morphologically *zhe* and *na* are the stem morphs, the root forms of all demonstratives. The other members of the system are all derived from them by suffixing a bound morph to them (Liu et al. 1983: 48). Second, semantically it is the deictic ingredient and the proximity vs. non-proximity contrast encoded in *zhe* and *na* respectively that make the sub-type members of the system qualified members of the demonstrative category. What the suffixes contribute to the meaning of the derivatives is a sense of spatial location, temporal location, manner, and degree for the four sub-types respectively. Third, grammatically, *zhe* and *na*, being proforms, determine the word class of the others in the sense that all the members of the Chinese demonstrative system are considered to be in one nominal word class. In addition, *zhe* and *na* are ontogenetically prior to the sub-types (Lü 1985; Wu 1991). It may thus be claimed that *zhe* and *na* are the prototype members of the Chinese demonstrative system.

The Chinese spatial demonstratives, as can be seen, consist of (1) the entity-referring demonstratives *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’, which may be considered comparable, i.e., in a general sense, to the English entity-referring

demonstratives *this* and *that*, and (2) the place-referring demonstratives *zheli/zhèr* ‘here’ and *nali/nàr* ‘there’, which are comparable to the English place-referring demonstratives *here* and *there* in meaning, but not in word class, nor in their relation to the entity-referring demonstratives.

Given the above understanding, the major focus of this study will be the entity-referring spatial demonstratives of the two languages: *this* and *that* in English and *zhè* ‘this’ and *nà* ‘that’ in Chinese, with their respective plural forms taken into account. The place-referring demonstratives of the two languages, being less versatile in grammatical and discourse functions and far less frequent in occurrence, will also be discussed where necessary.³ The study will explore the meanings and behaviour of these demonstratives as they are used in real space and in displaced contexts.

1.3 Typological features of the Chinese language

Of the two languages under examination, English has been well studied whereas Chinese is largely under-explored. The descriptive treatment of the two languages, accordingly, need not be balanced. More space will be allocated to the description of Chinese, and in general it is only when comparison of the two languages is at issue that English will be described briefly. The description of English in the study generally follows Quirk et al. (1985), unless otherwise specified.

An outstanding typological feature of Chinese is that it is an isolating or analytic language, in the sense that the basic graphic unit in Chinese, the character (*zì*), is largely coterminous with the morpheme, which cannot be further analysed into components (Norman 1988: 154). This feature of Chinese determines that in many ways Chinese is different from a less-isolating, less-analytic language, such as English. For example, there is a general lack of inflectional morphological marking and change which can distinguish words in different classes. Instead of an essentially fixed correspondence between word class and grammatical role as is found in English, Chinese presents a less fixed, one-to-several correspondence between the two for its major word classes such as the noun, the verb and the adjective. A verb, for instance, can assume the grammatical role of the predicate, subject, object, or attribute of a sentence, with its graphic form remaining unchanged (Lu 2003: 9–10). In addition, there is no finite and non-finite verb form distinction in Chinese and the rules for forming sentences hold in general for forming phrases. As a result,

for example, Chinese allows subject-predicate phrases. This is taken to lead to the fact that given sentence intonation, a phrase can readily become a sentence. Consider English, where in general a finite verb is a necessary member of a sentence but is never allowed in phrases. While English phrases are legitimate constituents of sentences, generally they cannot become sentences. The subject-predicate structure is one that marks a sentence but not a phrase in English (op cit.: 11). Grammatical relations in Chinese cannot, in general, manifest themselves by means of morphological changes within the word itself, but are often shown by word order and by the use of grammatical particles. This, presumably, has led to the rather broad traditional division of words into *shici* ‘full words’, words with concrete meaning, and *xuci* ‘empty words’ or ‘function words’, words lacking in concrete meaning but capable of signalling grammatical relationships (Li & Lu 1980; cf. Lyons 1995: 65ff).⁴ Word classes, crucial for grammatical analysis and cross-linguistic comparison, can be set up for Chinese words as they have been, but with the understanding that what are essentially nouns, for example, may, under certain conditions, be used as verbs, adjectives, or adverbs. The dividing line between full words and function words, accordingly, has never been very clear on the edges in terms of word classes. As Wang (1987a) and Lü (1990 [1942]) observe, members of the function word category exhibit relatively different degrees of affinity with the full or the function nature of the categories. Some lean more towards the full word end; some more towards function words.⁵

In what follows, only those features of Chinese are presented which are considered relevant to the present study, with English held in contrast. The contrast, however, cannot be absolute. Logically, “carrying out any piece of language typology involves making certain assumptions about language universals” (Comrie 1989: 35). In theoretical terms, “linguistic relativity presupposes linguistic universals” (Clark & Clark 1978: 228). With respect to Chinese and English, the contrast concerning the features to be described is indeed relative, a matter of dominance for one language and sporadicity for the other, in almost all the features, the only exceptions being the English article system and the tense system, which are not shared by Chinese. The differences are therefore seen largely as a matter of typological emphasis.

1.3.1 A topic-prominent language

A persisting problem for language typology scholars comparing English and Chinese is the lack of a workable grammatical framework which can

accommodate both languages. This is largely because the fundamental principles that govern the intra-sentential relations for the two languages respectively are at variance. In English, there are “purely syntactic relations contracted between a noun phrase and its predicate” (Comrie 1989: 65), as reflected in such concepts of grammatical relations as “subject” and “object”. Word order and intra-sentential relations are thus largely determined by syntactic structure.

In Chinese, however, it is far less straight forward and even controversial how far word order is syntactically governed. Li and Thompson (1981), for example, claim that purely syntactically governed relations seem to be lacking. Factors other than grammatical relations seem to have an important role in determining the order of major constituents with respect to the verb. Within a linguistic framework, Li and Thompson (1976, 1981) suggest that such factors are semantic and pragmatic considerations. LaPolla (1990: 2), drawing on Lambrecht’s theory of information structure (1994), the focus structure in particular, has arrived at a similar conclusion, as he claims that in Chinese, word order largely reflects the flow of information and that “aside from a semantic rule that the actor of a verb, if expressed, must precede that verb, it is pragmatic relations (information structure) that are the main determinants of word order” (LaPolla 1995: 297).⁶ From the point of view of “cognitive grammar” (Langacker 1987, 1990), which sees grammar as a symbolic representation system reflecting human conceptualized reality and thus as inherently rooted in and motivated by cognition, Chinese word order may perhaps be taken to record Chinese imagery, converging images taken in the Chinese culture on the universally available “scenes”, i.e., situations, processes, events, etc. (Hsieh 1989). What the three perspectives share can be captured as a functional view of the syntactic structure of language: that syntax is dependent, rather than autonomous, in the sense that its formal properties can be traced to features of the explanatory parameters that motivate its shaping (Givon 1979: 82, 1984). It is quite obvious that while English grammar can well fit into the main stream syntactic theories, it has yet to be shown that these theories are capable of handling Chinese grammar with equal adequacy.

To accommodate the basic principles of construction in languages such as Chinese, Li & Thompson (1976: 460), challenging the established word order typology set up by Greenberg (1963), propose that “some languages can be more insightfully described by taking the concept of topic to be basic” and that Chinese exhibits a predominant topic-comment relationship in sentence construction and is therefore a topic-prominent language. English, they further claim, is a subject-prominent language in the typology they propose.

The notion of topic, along with the notion of comment, can be traced to Hockett (1958: 201–203), who proposed a distinction between the topic and the comment in sentence description. In a sentence, according to Hockett, the speaker announces a topic and then says something about it. Chao (1968) employs the notion of topic in his analysis of the Chinese sentence and distinguishes it from the grammatical notion of subject. In the Chinese sentence, Chao claims, what often fills the subject position is “literally the subject matter to talk about, and the predicate is what the speaker comments on when a subject [i.e., topic] is presented to be talked about” (p. 70). More often than not, topic-comment in Chinese does not present the actor-action relation which subject-predicate normally predicts in English. It is, however, through the influential work on topic and subject which Li (1976) edited and Li & Thompson’s proposal of their new language typology that the notion of topic has received wide attention and, accordingly, varying but not necessarily conflicting interpretations.

What consistently relates many of the works produced ever since is their shared departure from earlier works in their treatment of topic as essentially a discourse, rather than a grammatical, notion. With topic, the speaker sets a spatio-temporal, or individual frame of reference within which the subsequent stretch of discourse is interpreted (Chafe 1976). Thus, it is speakers, not sentences, nor texts, that have topics (Brown & Yule 1983: 94). Topic-comment reflects the speaker’s discourse strategy (Li & Thompson 1976: 465), or her way of packaging information as discourse is being unfolded. The notion of topic may therefore be seen as located in the locutionary agent’s and the addressee’s knowledge structure (Brown & Yule 1983: 77–94; Zubin & Li 1986: 293). Although it is chiefly the locutionary agent’s mental constructs that govern discourse production, to achieve successful communication, she has to constantly estimate the addressee’s knowledge structure and ensure that the addressee is brought to share her mental constructs by constantly modifying his own. A convenient device or strategy offered by language for both parties to lean upon is the topic-comment strategy. The locutionary agent relies on the strategy in packaging her thought into linear, linguistic signals, and the addressee in interpreting them.

The above understanding of the notion of topic suggests that a discourse-based approach is plausible for a fruitful exploration of important structural properties of the Chinese language. Further, as the notion of topic also applies to English and indeed to languages in general, the problem of inconsistency in the principles underlying the intra-sentential construction for English and

Chinese, which may threaten the validity of a comparative study, can be resolved by conducting the comparison on a discourse basis.

The discussion thus far, however, still leaves two relevant questions undetermined. First, is topic also a grammatical notion, in addition to a discourse notion? If it is, does it perform a syntactic function of its own? Second, in an essentially discourse approach to Chinese text analysis, is the notion of subject applicable?

As Givón observes, “most languages retain both topic and subject constructions” (1979: 85). English and Chinese are no exceptions. Indeed, studies conducted on Chinese over the past decade or so lend support to the assumption that Chinese, like English, has both topic and subject as separate grammatical notions and the two can be found in the same sentence (e.g. Tsao 1990; Li 1990; Xu & Liu 1998; Shi 2000; Pan & Liang 2002), though their identification in Chinese, unlike that in English, is shown to involve semantic and discourse criteria in addition to syntactic criteria. Specifically, it is argued that “the topic-comment construction in Chinese is a grammatical device used to fulfill certain discourse functions and it is derived from basic sentence structures via syntactic operations” (Shi 2000: 386). What distinguishes topic from subject is that the former constitutes a grammaticalised discourse function whereas the latter a grammaticalised semantic/thematic role (Xu & Liu 1998: 282). Subject invariably has a syntactic function of its own, but not topic (cf. Shi, *op cit.*). This, however, does not preclude the frequent topic function in discourse performed by subject.

Subject, accordingly, is a necessary notion in analysing the structural system of a language, which may be seen as the fabric of discourse. It may have been noticed, for example, that Li & Thompson (1981), among others, also treat both subject and topic as a sentential entity. This seems necessary from the point of view of the possible affinity between topic and subject in diachrony. It is also seen as congenial from the point of view of a comparative study, wherein the constituent structure at the sentence or clause level is of interest. In the present study, while the notion of topic is taken to be couched in discourse, both the notions of topic and subject are appealed to in analyzing sentence and clause structures for comparative purposes.

Discourse in English and Chinese is known to have a broad variety of genres. Relatively frequently studied in both languages are the narrative, the expository, and perhaps the journalistic styles. Of late, the colloquial, conversational genre has received increasing attention (Sacks et al. 1974; Sacks 1992). The features of Chinese discourse I shall be concerned with below are assumed

to have wide applications to at least these discourse registers. Demonstratives being a primarily deictic category, all the features to be described are necessarily related to the referential nature and, in a broader sense, the indexical function of language.

1.3.2 The zero anaphora phenomenon

Two very comprehensive empirical studies of the Chinese reference-tracking system available were conducted by Chen (1984, 1986), who claims that the system consists of three referential categories (cf. Xu 2003). These are the nominal category, the pronominal category and the zero anaphora category, in the order from the least to the most frequent (1986: 118). Chen's study is based on an elicited narrative corpus from the well-known 20 pear stories (Chafe 1980). Based on an elicited narrative corpus from the same 20 pear stories, Clancy (1980) finds that the English reference-tracking system consists of mainly the nominal and pronominal categories, the latter being predominant (cf. Bolinger 1979; Fox 1987).⁷

The fact is well known that in Chinese there is widespread zero anaphora (Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1979, 1981; Lü 1980; Foley & van Valin 1984; Chen 1984, 1986; Xu 2003). Widespread, in the sense that it not only occurs rather frequently, but also notably at the clause subject and object positions, a feature not shared by languages such as English, whose reference-tracking systems, though allowing zero anaphora, are not, however, marked by the phenomenon.⁸ What is of concern to the present study is the kind of zero anaphora which occurs at the clause subject position in topic constructions. For, as we shall see (Chapter 5), the Chinese entity-referring pronominal demonstratives *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' normally occur in these positions, but rarely in object positions (cf. Lü 1980: 585).

The discourse nature of topic, i.e., that it sets the spatio-temporal or individual framework of reference within which the subsequent discourse fragment is interpreted, determines that topic is not "an atomic, discrete entity" (Givón 1983: 5). Often in discourse, the frame of reference which a topic sets is found to extend its scope across several or even more clause boundaries. To employ Li & Thompson's term, we may refer to this as a "topic chain", "where a referent is referred to in the first clause, and then there follow several more clauses talking about the same referent" (1981: 659). What marks Chinese as distinct from English is that within the same topic chain, the co-referential entities to the topic often occur in zero form, whereas in English they normally

are overtly coded in pronouns. Subject constructions in English “are typically used when the topic maintained is the SAME, that is, when it is reasonably easy to identify, and topic constructions are typically used when the discourse topic is CHANGED, that is, when it is harder to identify” (Givon 1979: 85). In Chinese, on the other hand, as Chen shows, “referents low in inherent or plot saliency, i.e., high continuity of the referents concerned usually receive ZA [zero anaphora] encoding if their identity can be easily established through linguistic and extralinguistic information available in the discourse” (1986: 194). The topic frame of reference, its linguistic coding and the speaker and addressee’s coordinated knowledge structure which underlies the coding, is thus regarded as embodying the required linguistic and extralinguistic information which allows the addressee to arrive at the meant referents without difficulty.⁹

The above account of the rather frequent absence of third-person pronouns for reference in Chinese discourse is coupled with structural, socio-linguistic, and historical reasons which are believed to have led to their infrequency of occurrence. Structurally, Chinese, unlike English, has a third-person pronoun system which does not encode such distinctions as those between the male and the female, the animate and the inanimate except in grapheme terms:

	CHINESE	ENGLISH
male singular	他 /ta/	he
female singular	她 /ta/	she
neuter singular	它 /ta/	it
male plural	他们/tamen/	they
female plural	她们/tamen/	they
neuter plural	它们/tamen/	they

As can be seen, all three Chinese singular third-person pronouns receive the identical phonological encoding /ta/. So do all three Chinese plural third-person pronouns, as the plurality is expressed by adding the suffix *-men /men/* ‘plurality for person’ to the singular pronoun morpheme. The identical phonological encoding in both the singular and plural third-person pronouns respectively poses a practical problem: much confusion would result in face-to-face interactions and in speaking in general. Historically, there used to be only one grapheme *ta* ‘he’ (他), for reference to the male and the female and the inanimate. Female *ta* ‘she’ (她), and neuter *ta* ‘it’ (它), were a later development, and so were the plural third-person pronoun morphemes (Lü 1985: 25). Further back in ancient Chinese, there used to be no third-person pronoun to start with for the subject position, so that for anaphoric reference an NP was

used if the position had to be filled. This and the fact that sentence subjects in Chinese are often allowed to be absent seem to have resulted in the infrequent use of especially neuter *ta* ‘it’ and *tamen* ‘they’ in the subject position (cf. Lü, op cit.: 27; Li & Thompson 1981: 35). Socio-linguistically, as well as historically, honorific terms, instead of *ta*, have long been used for reference to one’s seniors (Lü, op cit.), and the norm is still observed by many people today. These facts offer important clues for the behaviour of the third-person pronouns in Chinese, apart from the discourse constraint discussed earlier.

1.3.3 The independent classifier phrase as a reference-tracking category

One more Chinese grammatical category, which English shares but to a much lesser extent (cf. Lehrer 1986), seems also to be a candidate member of the Chinese reference-tracking system and this is the independent classifier phrase. A classifier (CL) is a word that encodes the sortal/categorical belonging of the noun. Distributionally, a Chinese classifier must co-occur with a quantifier (QN) or a demonstrative (DM) or both and this combination is referred to as the classifier phrase (Li & Thompson 1981: 104), the exception being that the quantifier can be left out when it stands for *one*. A classifier phrase generally forms a component of an NP and appears before the noun it modifies. The selection of a classifier is determined by the noun related to it.

- (1.1) (QN + CL + N)
 san zhang zhuozi
 QN (three) CL desk
 three desks
- (1.2) (DM + CL + N)
 zhe ke shu
 this CL tree
 this tree
- (1.3) (DM + QN + CL + N)
 na ji jian yifu
 that QN (a few) CL garment
 those garments

Although a classifier phrase typically occurs before the noun it modifies, it can stand alone in discourse for an NP, when the NP occurs in the preceding context. Hence, *the independent classifier phrase*. An important function of the independent classifier phrase in discourse is that it can be used anaphorically

marking referentiality and definiteness (cf. Lyons 1977: 460ff, 675; Downing 1986; Lu 1988). When so used, it may substitute and index the NP whose sortal belonging it encodes.

- (1.4) Jintian ni chi de yu, *yi tiao* (1) shi liyu, *yi tiao* (2)
 today 2SG eat MM fish, QN CL be carp, QN CL
 shi jiyu.
 be crucian carp
 Of the two fish you had today, one is a carp and the other is a crucian
 carp. (From Lu 1988: 172)

In (1.4), the semantic function of the two classifier phrases, *yi tiao* (1) and *yi tiao* (2), is to bear the identity of the NP, *yu* ‘fish’. In terms of discourse function, they are, like pronouns, used anaphorically for referential purpose. The referential function of the classifier phrase and its general semantic property of being sortal and ontological about the entity in question further determine that their referential scope can be rather wide, and, like pronouns, their referent sometimes can only be inferred from the context in which they occur. For example,

- (1.5) TT: “That won’t do, my treasure! That’s not reasonable. We don’t behave like that in our society.”
 “I don’t know anything about your society,
 wo mei xue guo *na yi tao*.”
 1SG NG learn EXP that QN CL
 I haven’t been taught any of that stuff.” [my translation]
 (Baohulu: 81)

From the context provided in (1.5), the classifier phrase *na yi tao* can be inferred to stand for “that stuff” in the society in question, which is seen as located in the addresser’s and the addressee’s mind at the time of speaking. While the discourse function of the demonstrative determiner *na* is indexical, the identificational, referential function of the classifier phrase *yi tao* is obvious.

In this connection, an NP with a classifier phrase in it is invariably a referential NP; a non-referential NP never takes a classifier phrase (Li & Thompson 1981: 130). It is thus suggested that in Chinese discourse, independent classifier phrases may be considered an addition to the referential categories discussed in Chen (1986), constituting a component of the Chinese reference-tracking system.

That a Chinese NP containing a classifier phrase is always referential may lead one to suspect that non-referential NPs can be identified to be those NPs

without a classifier phrase. But this may not be the case, for referential NPs can also occur without a classifier phrase. The difficulty in distinguishing a referential and non-referential NP in Chinese presumably arises from the fact that, unlike English, Chinese does not have an article system. Bare nouns can be both referential and non-referential, and definite and indefinite, i.e., when they are referential. The referentiality and definiteness normally carried by the English definite article is not shared by any single Chinese grammatical category, except the demonstrative category which English also has. Functionally speaking, the classifiers are perhaps the closest to the English definite article in that it is a mark of referentiality, but to signal definiteness at the same time, they sometimes need to co-occur with a determiner, such as a demonstrative, i.e., if the context in which it occurs does not make their status as (in)definite clear. In Chinese, to determine whether an NP is referential or non-referential, definite or indefinite if it is referential and whether a classifier phrase is definite or indefinite, one often needs to resort to pragmatic inferencing drawn on the context in which it is located.

1.3.4 Parataxis in clause-linkage

The third typological emphasis of Chinese discourse is parataxis in clause-linkage. In Halliday & Hasan's work (1976) on cohesion in English, English is described as a language which largely relies on overt, linguistically-signalled devices for text cohesion. Among such devices are conjunctions whose function lies in clause-linking. In English, a great deal of subordination is clearly marked by conjunctions such as *if*, *although*, *because*, *when*, *in order to*, *so*, and *so that*. Chinese does not lack linguistically-coded conjunctions, but it departs from English in that in discourse, co-ordination and subordination are often expressed without resorting to conjunctions. Semantically related propositions are often placed together without their relationships signalled explicitly. This difference between English and Chinese is identified by some linguistic scholars to be a contrast between hypotaxis which they claim marks English discourse and parataxis which is seen as characteristic of Chinese discourse (Liu 1994; Wu 1994). In Lü's work (1980), three categories of functional words are identified which may account for where in Chinese discourse the alluded parataxis lies. These are the personal pronouns, conjunctions, and prepositions in the order of their likelihood for omission in discourse from the more frequent to the less often. The first two categories are of particular concern for the present study. A few examples will suffice in illustrating the difference.

(1.6) Wo si le, ni zui hao zai jia.
 1SG die PF 2SG most good again marry
When/If/After I die, you'd better marry again.

(1.7) Wo you shijian, yiding lai kan ni.
 1SG have time definitely come see 2SG
When/If I have time, I'll definitely come to see you.

(Li & Thompson 1981: 642–643)

In the above two examples, while English needs to employ a conjunction to indicate the semantic relationship of the clauses concerned, such a relationship can be inferred for Chinese, without relying on overt linguistic codings.

1.3.5 Function words as devices of indexicality

As Lyons (1977: 99–109) points out, the term “indexicality” and the related terms “index” and “indexical” date back to the American philosopher C. S. Peirce’s influential work on semiotics, in which indices form a main category of signs. These terms, as applied to linguistics, have received varying interpretations. Indexicality as applied to the present study implies two senses. One pertains to what Lyons (1995: 305) refers to as the indexical or deictic function of natural utterances, as can be seen from his following remarks: “Most utterances (i.e., utterance-inscriptions) in all languages are indexical or deictic, in that the truth-value of the propositions that they express is determined by the spatio-temporal dimensions of the deictic context”. The other, captured by Lyons in the same work, distinguishes indexicality as a kind of deixis, i.e., “as deixis in so far as it is relevant to the determination of the propositional meaning of utterances” (p. 303). Such a distinction seems to suggest that there are two types of indexicality. With the first type, following Nunberg (1993), “an expression [a deictic] picks out a contextual element that serves as a pointer to the interpretation” (p. 36). With the second type, the discourse context provides elements that can anchor or bind the expressions in utterances (*ibid.*). Discourse contextual and situation contextual uses (deictic use) of expressions are thus both accommodated in the two-level notion of indexicality. For the present study, I draw on Lyons’ work (1977, 1995) and take the rather broad interpretation that the term covers.

Within the above framework, many of the Chinese function words, for example, pronouns and conjunctions, are expressions of indexicality in the discourse contextual sense of the term. Of particular interest here is a subcategory of adverbs, which I label as ADPs (adverbial particles). Unlike the

adverbs which have a rather fixed meaning, these ADPs may not have a particular, consistent meaning of their own and their being in the language is largely discourse functional or grammatical (cf. Lü 1990). There is no deictic component in these adverbial particles, yet they function to anchor an utterance (or a proposition) to the context of another, thus performing an indexical function of various sorts in discourse. The function word *jiu* will be used to illustrate the point.

- (1.8) Ye Ying mei deng huida, zhuan shen *jiu* zou.
 Ye Ying NG wait response, turn body ADP leave
 Without waiting for a response, Ye Ying turned and left.
- (1.9) Mei you pingdeng, *jiu* mei you youyi.
 NG exist equality, ADP NG exist friendship
 Without equality, there is no friendship.
- (1.10) Xiao Wang ming jiao Wang Chunsheng, chuntian
 Xiao Wang name call Wang Chunsheng (spring:born), spring
 Xiao Wang' name is Wang Chunsheng. As he was born
 sheng de, ta ma *jiu* jiao ta Chunsheng.
 born NOM, 3SG mother ADP call 3SG Chunsheng
 in spring, his mother named him "Spring-born".
- (1.11) Ta xiang liaojie yixia zhanshi de qingxing,
 3SG want find out ADP soldiers MM conditions
 He wanted to find out about the soldiers,
jiu gen zai tamen houbianr zou qilai.
 ADP follow at 3PL behind walk start
 so he started to follow them.

(Wang 1992: 181–188)

In (1.8), *jiu* signals indexicality of a temporal kind. The swiftness with which Ye Ying left is indicated through the use of *jiu* by anchoring the action of his leaving to the context provided by the proposition of the first clause. That is, in between the time he is assumed to have posed a question and the time he would get a response, which in a normal interaction should be an extremely short interval. The fact that he did not even wait for as short as the time taken for an answer to be given before he left bears out the swiftness of his action of leaving. In (1.9), *jiu* anchors the proposition 'there's no friendship' in the second clause to the propositional context provided in the first clause. That is, the proposition 'there's no friendship' is valid only in the context in which the proposition 'there is no equality' holds. *Jiu* in this utterance signals indexicality

of a conditional type. *Jiu* in (1.10) anchors the proposition ‘his mother named him Spring-born’ in the second clause to the propositional context ‘he was born in spring’, suggesting a causal link between the propositions. *Jiu* here is thus a signal of indexicality of a causal nature. In (1.11), *jiu* anchors the proposition ‘he started to follow them’ to the propositional context ‘he wanted to find out about the soldiers’, which suggests the purpose of the action of his following the soldiers. This *jiu* therefore signals indexicality of a purpose kind. In all the four examples, *jiu* is obligatory in indicating the semantic relationships between the clauses concerned.

In the broad interpretation of indexicality proposed in Lyons (1977, 1995), linguistic signs may be employed to index individual involvement of the locutionary agent. This is possible, for in Peirce’s sense of the term, an index is anything that “focuses the attention” or “startles us” (Peirce 1940, in Lyons 1977: 106). Still with *jiu* as an example, I shall show that Chinese ADPs are used to perform the indexical function of an individual, attitudinal nature, i.e., they are employed to index the locutionary agent’s state of mind.

(1.12) “*Wo jiu bu qu, ni neng ba wo zenyang?*”
 1SG ADP NG go, 2SG can BA 1SG how
 “I am not going. What can you do to me?”

(1.13) *Dajia bing* meiyou piping ta, ta jiu ku le.*
 people ADP NG criticise 3SG, 3SG ADP cry CRS
 Nobody criticised her and she cried.

**Bing* is a function word used here to reinforce the negative statement.

(Wang 1992: 186–187)

In (1.12), *jiu* adds resolution and strong emotion to the otherwise factual statement *Wo bu qu* ‘I am not going’, expressing the speaker’s state of mind. In (1.13), *jiu* exhibits a two-fold indexicality. It anchors the proposition *ta ku le* ‘she cried’ in the second clause to the context of the proposition ‘Nobody criticised her’ in the first clause. The use of *jiu* creates a relationship between the two otherwise loosely related clauses, which seems to be that in the speaker’s view what occurs earlier does not create adequate conditions to justify what occurs later. The implied meaning is ‘She should not have cried, for nobody criticised her’, with an undertone of disparagement at the fact that she cried. It is through the use of *jiu* that a closer semantic relationship is created between the two clauses and the speaker’s undertone expressed.

As can be seen, the ADP function word category, as a sub-category of adverbs, which is rather pervasive in colloquial Chinese, is not as widespread in

English. As the English translation texts in examples (1.8) to (1.13) show, ADPs can hardly find equivalents in English.

1.3.6 Directional verb complements

Like English, which has a pair of deictic-directional motion verbs *come* and *go*, Chinese has *lai* ‘come’ and *qu* ‘go’. Unlike English, however, *lai* and *qu* in Chinese also typically occur directly after other verbs of motion. When they do so, they perform the function of verb complements.

- (1.14) Zhe shihou Wang ariyi qiaoqiao di zou lai
 this time Wang aunt quietly ADP walk come
 At this moment Aunt Wang walked (to him) quietly, (and put a wool hat on his head).

(From Liu 1998: 53)

- (1.15) Wo xiang ge shazi side pao qu jian le Yuan xiansheng.
 1SG like CL fool similar run go see PFV Yuan Mr
 Like a fool, I rushed over to see Mr Yuan.

(Op cit: 69)

As can be seen, as verb complements, *lai* and *qu* retain their deictic semantic ingredient. In (1.14), for example, it is obvious that the writer aligns his deictic center with that of the character *him* and speaks/writes from the character’s point of view. Notice that the empathy expressed gets lost in the English translation. In (1.15), the writer takes the point of view of the first-person protagonist and the direction of movement is away from the *I*.

In addition, *lai* ‘come’ and *qu* ‘go’ occur directly after the other nine directional verbs of motion in Chinese, all non-deictic, and with them form 17 compound deictic-directional verbs, performing the function of complements to verbs or adjectives. Below is a list of all the 28 directional verbs in Chinese.

<i>lai</i> ‘come’		
<i>qu</i> ‘go’		
<i>shang</i> ‘up’	<i>shanglai</i>	<i>shangqu</i>
<i>xia</i> ‘down’	<i>xialai</i>	<i>xiaqu</i>
<i>jin</i> ‘enter’	<i>jinlai</i>	<i>jinqu</i>
<i>chu</i> ‘exit’	<i>chulai</i>	<i>chuqu</i>
<i>hui</i> ‘return’	<i>huilai</i>	<i>huiqu</i>
<i>guo</i> ‘pass’	<i>guolai</i>	<i>guoqu</i>
<i>qi</i> ‘rise’	<i>qilai</i>	

<i>kai</i> 'open'	<i>kailai</i>	<i>kaiqu</i>
<i>dao</i> 'arrive'	<i>dao...lai</i>	<i>dao...qu</i>

When the nine monosyllabic non-deictic directional verbs combine with *lai* 'come' and *qu* 'go' to form compound directional verbs, all of these, with the exception of the *qi*- and *kai*-compounds, keep the deictic semantic ingredients of *lai* and *qu*. The indexical function is thus performed in the employment of the deictic directional verb compounds in discourse.

- (1.16) Qing Li Laoshi *huilai!*
 please Li Teacher return-come
 Teacher Li, please return!

(Liu 1998: 263)

- (1.17) Zhe tiao he tai kuan, wo you bu *guoqu*.
 this CL river too wide, 1SG swim NG pass-go
 The river is too wide. I can't swim across.

(Op cit.: 302)

As can be seen from (1.16) and (1.17), the deictic function of the compounds is retained, whereas in the English versions it is lost. As a matter of fact, this group of deictic directional verbs of motion, both single and compounds, has been found to have developed various extended meanings and very complex functions, as verb complements (Liu 1998).¹⁰ Many still retain their indexical function and some have lost it in their extended usages. Space does not allow me to probe into them.

1.3.7 The expression of temporality

Unlike physical space which is three-dimensional and relatively static, physical time is generally conceptualised as linear and fluid (Bennett 1975: 95). It is further conceived as consisting of the present, the past, and the future, constituting a time-line in our memory. As time flows, however, the present never stays at one point on the ever-progressing time-line. The past and the future, too, are thus made relative. What is at one moment present becomes past the next moment. What is at the moment future may be present the next moment. Owing to the fluid nature of time, the edges between what is considered present and past and what is considered present and future cannot be clear-cut (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 175).

Linguistic time, as distinct from physical and chronological time, is the linguistic expression of physical time (Benveniste 1965). Or rather, it is the

coding in language of our mental representation of time and temporal relations in the real or an imaginary world. Like physical time, it can be conceptualised as consisting of the present, the past and the future. To enable us to represent time and temporal relations of events in the real or an imaginary world in discourse, however, the system of linguistic time must from time to time anchor the events in a time-line. Possible ways to achieve this consist of anchoring them (1) in a time-line with the speaker, i.e., the moment of her utterance, as the reference point; (2) in relation to one another by means of temporal expressions; (3) in relation to calendrical time (Traugott 1975; Lyons 1977: 781ff). The linguistic mechanisms employed, according to Comrie (1985: 8), can be (1) lexically composite expressions, (2) lexical expressions, and (3) grammatical categories. Languages may share and/or vary in their sub-systems of linguistic time and the linguistic mechanisms employed. For example, English and Chinese both employ temporal sequencing, the anchoring of events in relation to one another by means of temporal expressions. But consider the mechanism of tense, which is “grammaticalised expression of location in time” (Comrie, *op cit.*: 9) and a deictic category. While it is an important mechanism for expressing temporal relations in English, the anchoring of events in a time-line with the speaker’s moment of utterance as the reference point is not linguistically coded into a grammatical sub-system in Chinese. Chinese, with no markers of tense, has not grammaticalised time reference and therefore does not have a tense system.

But on the other hand, there are about 130 adverbs of temporality, constituting almost 30% of the total number of adverbs in Chinese (Lu & Ma 1985: 106). Chinese sentences are known to typically contain aspectual markers, which, though related to time, chiefly indicate how a situation is viewed with respect to its own internal makeup. The state or result of an action is made explicit through such aspectual markers as the perfective *le* and perfectivising expressions, the durative *zai*, and *-zhe*, the experiential *-guo*, and the reduplication of verbs (Li & Thompson 1981: 184ff.). Consider also word order. The mechanism of word order in Chinese shows, to a noticeable extent, an iconic relationship with event sequence, and therefore is considered indicative of temporal relations (Tai 1985, 1993).¹¹ This is far less obvious in English.

The affinity between spatial and temporal expressions in languages is well documented in the literature (e.g. Lyons 1977: 718ff; Traugott 1978). As we shall see, both English and Chinese employ the spatial demonstratives for expressing temporality, though the extent to which and the ways in which they are exploited vary with the two languages.

1.3.8 Observations

In this section, I have outlined seven typological emphases of Chinese, all from a discourse perspective, with English held in contrast in varying degrees. Two observations may be developed at this point. First, at the structural level, Chinese and English share certain grammatical categories, for example, third-person pronouns and conjunctions, whose primary function in language is indexical. In language use, however, these categories may not be given equal opportunities in the two languages. Second, Chinese does not share the English article category and tense system; nor does English seem to share the ADP functional category of Chinese. These categories, however, may all be employed for signalling indexicality. This suggests that the indexical function of language, though universal, is not necessarily carried in Chinese and English by the same linguistic mechanisms.

I have so far presented various indexical mechanisms for the two languages, which are by no means exhaustive. One other important indexical/referential category, the noun phrase (NP), will surface repeatedly in the exploration into the demonstratives. As the difference in the internal structure between the English and Chinese NPs requires examples for illustration, I shall reserve it for Chapter 5 where I address the differences in the use of the demonstratives between the two languages (cf. 5.2.5).

Finally, Chinese, like any other language, is in a constant state of change. However, the drastic social changes that have marked the very recent history of China and the rapidly increasing contact with the West in the recent past, the English-speaking world in particular, are believed to have speeded up the process of change beyond the normal tempo. A direct consequence for a synchronic study such as the present one would be that what could perhaps be rather neatly captured when the language was relatively stable may now be subject to challenges with counter-examples which have cropped up in the trends of change.

1.4 Research methodology

The research methodology was necessarily informed by the nature of the study, i.e., its aims and scope, by what was already known about the subject matter under investigation, and by methods employed in relevant studies. It was also subject to constraints, notably, for example, of available time and resources. As any research methodology, however sound, may be flawed in the process of its

implementation, great care was taken to make sure that the procedures of inquiry would hold. Details concerning the implementation of various procedures will be reported in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, before the relevant findings are presented and discussed respectively.

1.4.1 Sources of the data

Three considerations went into determining the sources of the data for the study. First, the situational, deictic use and the displaced use of the demonstratives both being of interest, it would be necessary for the language sample selected to include adequate instances of use of both kinds. Second, considering the versatile extended usages of the demonstratives in discourse, it would be necessary for the sample to provide as great a variety of their syntactic and discourse behaviour as possible. Third, for comparative purposes, it would be preferable to have parallel samples from the two languages investigated. Underlying the three considerations is the belief that as deixis is rooted in language use, only through observing natural language use can we hope to understand the behaviour of the demonstratives in question.

To compare the basic semantic properties of the spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese, a language task was used to elicit their production. This is the jigsaw puzzle task, which was designed to create a canonical speech situation where the subjects interacted face-to-face while manipulating the jigsaw pieces.

To examine the versatile behaviour of the demonstratives in displaced contexts, selected, parallel corpora were set up, which consisted of two children's books of the narrative genre, one in English and one in Chinese, and their respective translated texts (TT) in the other language.

1.4.2 The approach to the data

The approach adopted in analysing the data is the discourse analysis approach, as it is defined and explored in Brown & Yule (1983: 20–26), and Brown (1995a).¹² The key to this approach lies in its insistence on treating text as discourse in process and on seeing language as used by us, locutionary agents and recipients, to engage our mental realities in a largely co-operative manner. In this approach, linguistic expressions are seen as providing cues for accessing meaning; the meaning of linguistic expressions and larger linguistic units cannot be successfully accessed without appealing to the context that embeds them. Context is thus an essential notion in this approach.

Context, as Brown (1995b) points out, though often discussed in terms of the aspects that constitute it, is in fact an amalgamation of the contributing aspects, each indetachable from the others. As discourse unfolds, context represents an abstraction of the integrated aspects, for example, the external physical context, the social context, and the discourse context, as Brown (op cit.: 118–119) defines them (cf. Givon 1989: 207; Duranti & Goodwin 1992), and is typically located in the minds of those involved in communication in the form of mental representation. Owing to the on-going, dynamic nature of discourse, context necessarily assumes fluidity and requires constant updating (Brown 1995b: 121; Clark 1996). In a sense, language production and comprehension involve a process for the locutionary agents and recipients to constantly negotiate and update their respective contexts in the expression of and search for meaning. Common ground (Clark 1992), as it were, is seen in the first place as shared contexts as a result of the negotiating process (Brown 1995a: chap. 7).

In the present study, the meaning and function of the demonstratives are sought by appealing to the context in which they occur. Repeated co-occurrence of a demonstrative and a type of context is seen as indicative of a tendency in meaning and function.

In appealing to context, the approach features the analyst's modelling of the discourse participants' joint endeavour to access the realities of a projected world by means of the linguistic forms available in text and of their linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge (Brown 1987, 1995a). For the particular study, more emphasis is put on analysing discourse production of the demonstratives in the corpus, though processing need constantly enters into consideration in justifying and supporting the analyses made from the point of view of discourse production. This is because discourse-pragmatics, as we shall see, cannot be fruitfully discussed without considering the intentionality of communication.

The discourse approach to the data combines a qualitative and quantitative treatment. The essentially qualitative nature of the study is informed by its goals of finding and comparing what the demonstratives of the two languages do in the universe-of-discourse, which does not depend on quantification. Even one or two occurrences of a particular use, i.e., regular usages but not simply slips of the tongue or performance errors, can be established as a category of use, on a par with a category supported by hundreds of occurrences in the same corpus (Brown 1995a: 1). Quantification, however, is called for as support for claims of general tendencies in the respective ways of extensions of the basic deictic use of the demonstratives in English and Chinese, which is also a goal of the present study.

1.4.3 Translation as a research source

The use of translation in linguistic research is not a recent endeavour (Malmkjaer 1994). Using parallel texts for cross-linguistic studies, however, has been largely cast in disfavour. First of all, this is because it is generally recognised that the influence of source language on target language in translations is a fact of life (Gellerstam 1996). Among other possible disadvantages, there is the translator factor or variable, which renders each version of a translated text idiosyncratic of the particular translator. We are thus warned that one should refrain from using translation corpora in linguistic research (ibid.; Lauridsen 1996).

The stance taken in the present study is that while great caution should be taken with using translations in cross-linguistic studies, translation need not be totally abandoned as a linguistic source. For essentially it is the research goal and focus that should determine the research methodology and the selection of research resources and techniques. In the present study, a direct goal is to find out the similarities and differences in the behaviour of the spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese discourse. Parallel texts have the advantage that the discourse contexts in which the demonstratives under examination are supposed to occur are largely controlled. This is because in the parallel texts the two languages are used to operate similar or identical propositional contents. Any disparity found cannot in general be text-induced or due to discourse contextual bias. The influence of the target language on translations, which is indeed found in the corpus, is believed to be largely alleviated by using the original texts and the translated texts of both the original English and Chinese texts.

The translator factor/variable does pose a problem of which translated text to use if there are more than one text. The solution seems to lie in the sound judgement of the quality of the translations. With the present study, the two translated texts are the only ones available. The quality of these is judged reasonably good for the purpose of the study.

As will be shown, translation can be fruitfully exploited in the comparative study of the demonstratives in English and Chinese. Once the possibility of its fruitful exploitation is established, the question that remains concerns *how* one can achieve the intended result. More generally, translation as a source for cross-linguistic studies deserves further exploration.

Comparable factors concerning the demonstratives under investigation also point to the plausibility of using parallel texts for the present study. Both English and Chinese have a two-way contrastive system of spatial demonstra-

tives, which is employed both for situational and displaced use. Parallel texts make it possible to observe how demonstrative reference in one language is signalled in the other within basically similar or identical propositions. As parallel texts put the discourse contextual factor largely in control, the behaviour of the demonstratives can be observed and compared in a focused manner. Differences, which cannot be easily pinned down with comparable corpora (e.g. Zhang 1991), can be ideally located by studying parallel texts. Further, with the contextual factor largely under control, parallel texts lend themselves to observation of the role of language structure in constraining the use of the demonstratives and the role of discourse-pragmatics in the expression of propositional attitude by means of the demonstratives concerned.

CHAPTER 2

The nature of spatial demonstratives

2.0 The preliminary

The importance of the spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese, and presumably in language in general, can be appreciated from at least two facts. First, they are pervasive, in the sense that they rank high in the frequency counts based on large corpora studies and that they extend to the entire structure and cover a broad spectrum of language use in the two languages.¹³ Second, as was mentioned earlier, persisting interest in these demonstratives has preoccupied scholars from a variety of disciplines: philosophy of language, linguistics, psychology, language acquisition, cultural anthropology, cognitive science, etc. These, while warranting explorations of the demonstratives, nevertheless pose a potential problem: that the perspectives which could be taken are many. To name the noticeable ones that have been taken, the ontogenesis of language (e.g. Lyons 1991, 1977), semantic theory and pragmatics (e.g. Kaplan 1989a, 1989b; Levinson 1983), the representational nature of language (e.g. Bühler 1990; Greenberg 1985), indexicality and the referential function of language (e.g. Peirce 1932; Halliday & Hasan 1976; Lyons 1977, 1995; Donnellan 1978; Nunberg 1993; Brown 1995a), subjectivity and the social-expressive function of language (e.g. Lyons 1977, 1982, 1995), language and context (e.g. Fillmore 1971, 1975, 1981; Levinson 1983; Brown 1995a), language and cognition (e.g. Linde 1979; Miller 1982; Lakoff 1987), language, typology, and culture (e.g. Fillmore 1982; Weissenborn & Klein 1982; Hanks 1990, 1992; Levinson 1992; Senft 1992; Bickel 1994), and language acquisition (e.g. E. Clark 1978, 1993).

From the above listing, which is by no means exhaustive, the inter-disciplinary nature of the explorations into the demonstratives is obvious. Equally obvious are its implications: that language is a multi-faceted object of study which lends itself to examination from different but related perspectives, and that spatial demonstratives, being a universal category, offer an ideal site for such examination. To quote a Chinese folk adage, “*Maque sui xiao, wuzang ju quan.*” (“Although the sparrow is small, it has all the vital organs.”). By

analogy, the study of spatial demonstratives can be expected to lead to a better understanding of the vital mechanisms of language at work and the nature of language at large. No less crucial are the ways in which the “sparrow” is dissected. By another analogy, the perspectives taken and the methods of investigation adopted play an essential role in making sure that the “vital organs” are accessed.

The present study is construed to be an applied linguistic exploration of a comparative/contrastive nature. Applied in the sense that instead of seeking to establish a theory of a sort, efforts are made to bring sound theoretical insights to bear upon the comparative analysis of the spatial demonstratives as they are used in English and Chinese discourse. The role of theory formulation and that of analytic work are seen as complementary in the journey towards an improved understanding of language. Analytic work cannot possibly be undertaken in a theoretical vacuum; theoretical postulations must be subject to tests against analysis of natural language data and be furnished by insights gained from such analysis (cf. Garcia 1975).

The study grounds itself in natural language data at two levels. First, at an intuitive level (cf. Popper 1999), i.e., for a user of English and Chinese, much understanding is abstracted from a knowledge of the spatial demonstratives acquired from experience with them in the two languages. Second, at an analytic level, where selected language samples are analysed and where intuition, though still at work, largely gives way to informed analysis which leads to understanding. What bridges the two levels is a process of giving meaning and structure to the otherwise rather disorganised, though familiar, data. Such a process involves a critical evaluation of the existing theoretical and pre-theoretical claims concerned against one another and, often, against the intuitive level of understanding and the data concerned, and on the basis of this the construction of an informed understanding of the phenomena under examination. At the analytic level, the informed understanding provides guidance to a meaningful approach to the data of the selected language sample. It is at this level that further insights, theoretical and pre-theoretical, are developed which feed back on existing theoretical postulations and pre-theoretical understanding.

What has been presented above seems to be a linear progression of the research process: from the intuitive level of understanding based on experienced language facts randomly encountered, to informed understanding of the subject matter, to informed analysis of data from the selected language sample, and eventually to findings. My experience, however, features an integration of all these key links of the process and mutual feedback between any two of them.

The focus of this chapter is the formulation of an informed understanding of the spatial demonstratives under examination. I start with an exploration into the semantics of the demonstratives. On the basis of this, I formulate the conceptual framework of the study. In the final section, features of the present study are outlined, which mark it as distinct from earlier studies of spatial demonstratives based on one language or of a comparative nature. In the course of the discussion, major usages of the demonstratives are categorised and relevant terms introduced and defined.

One final point. For comparative work that involves English, a language that has been most meticulously analysed and thoroughly formalised wherever possible, and Chinese, a typologically different language for which formalised analysis has been sparse, there seems to be little choice than to draw on available theoretical and pre-theoretical insights generated from the analysis of English and/or other, similar Indo-European languages in formulating an informed understanding of the subject matter. In conceiving such an understanding, available existing work on the facts and systems of the Chinese spatial demonstratives is also consulted and relevant intuition incorporated. Until the data from the language sample are analysed, however, the understanding arrived at cannot be thoroughly validated or amended to accommodate the behaviour of the demonstratives of both languages.

2.1 A linguistic view of spatial demonstratives

The concept of semantics as it is adopted in this study, following Lyons (1995: Preface 1.3), accommodates a rather broad view of meaning. Such a view, though fully alert to the distinction that can be drawn between traditional semantics and what has become known as pragmatics, gives due recognition to the frequent inseparableness of them. Linguistic semantics in this view rests, in particular, on the understanding that the subject-matter of semantics is “meaning as it is systematically encoded in the vocabulary and structure of language” (Lyons 1995: xii). Spatial demonstratives, in this view, are seen as a component of the linguistic system. Considering the affinity between philosophical semantics and linguistic semantics in the Indo-European tradition of scholarship and the interest shown in philosophical semantics in demonstratives, the discussion that follows will involve the philosophical approach to the semantics of spatial demonstratives where it is seen as relevant.

As is mentioned in 1.1, spatial demonstratives form a sub-class of the deictic category. Deixis and description, as Bühler (1990: 101) points out, “are two different acts and must be distinguished from each other” and “deictic words and naming [descriptive] words are two different word classes that must be clearly separated”.¹⁴ While deictic words are *signals*, or *indices* in Peirce’s terms (1932: 162), entailing “directing intention” (Kaplan 1989b) and therefore individuality, descriptive words are *symbols*, marked by the conventionality and arbitrariness of the relationship between words and their signification (Lyons 1977: 100ff.). As we shall see, in analysing the semantics of the spatial demonstratives, the deixis phenomenon calls for its own approach to meaning. Essentially, the approach is informed by the fact that as a linguistic category, the semantics of deictic words is deeply rooted in language use and in human cognition. Language use and human cognition are seen to be intrinsically related. To put it in the simplest way, they both involve the user, who uses language to express what is there in her mind. But for clarity of presentation, I shall start with a linguistic analysis of the semantics of the spatial demonstratives. This will be followed by a cognitive approach to the demonstratives under examination.

2.1.1 The basic semantic ingredients

As is briefly outlined in 1.1, spatial demonstratives encode the speaker ego in relation to the spatial aspect of the context of utterance, the key aspects of the context in a canonical speech situation being the participants, the place and time of utterance. To spell this out in terms of the basic semantic ingredients, these demonstratives incorporate an ego element, a pointing element, and a target element in space. The following schematic representation is used to capture the semantic composition of spatial demonstratives, where E stands for the ego, the arrow for the pointing, and Tg in S for the target in space.

E -----> Tg in S

The target in space can be further distinguished between entity in space and location in space, wherein entity is taken to subsume person. This holds for English and Chinese, and the distinction is encoded in the two languages as a distinction between what are known as the entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives (cf. 1.2). To incorporate the distinction, the schematic formula introduced above can be modified as

E -----> (Tg): ET/LC in S,

which means Pointing (---->) to Entity (ET) or Location (LC) in Space (S) with the Ego (E) as the anchoring point.

In English and Chinese, the target element in space can also be further distinguished by its relative distance from the ego. This distinction is encoded as a distinction between the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives. Thus the two languages each have a proximal and non-proximal entity-referring demonstrative pair and a proximal and non-proximal place-referring demonstrative pair. Table 2.1 below summarises the encodings into the two languages of the semantic ingredients discussed so far.

Table 2.1 English and Chinese spatial demonstratives by semantic property

Target in space	PROXIMITY		NON-PROXIMITY	
	English	Chinese	English	Chinese
Entity-Referring	<i>this, these</i>	<i>zhe, zhexie</i>	<i>that, those</i>	<i>na, naxie</i>
Place-Referring	<i>here</i>	<i>zheli/zher</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>nali/nar</i>

The distinction between the entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives in English and Chinese must not be taken as absolute and water-tight. This is because both being spatially orientational there is a semantic affinity between them. As Lyons (1991: 142) observes, “there is an ontological distinction to be drawn between entities and places” and “places (as distinct from spaces) are ontologically secondary, being identifiable as such by virtue of the entities that are located in or near them”. The semantic affinity manifests itself in an overlapping in the semantics of the entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives, in the sense that the entity-referring demonstratives in the two languages encode relation to both entity and location in a broad sense from the speaker’s point of view. This can be seen, for example, from the paraphrase of the English phrase “this/that house” which is “the house near to/not near to the speaker” or “the house here/there”. Empirical evidence for the overlapping is documented that in English entities are often used to indicate locations (Brown 1995a). In fact, in an NP composed of an entity-referring demonstrative and a noun in English, or a classifier and a noun in Chinese, i.e., an entity-referring demonstrative in its adjectival/determiner use, while the noun identifies an entity, the demonstrative invariably signals its location in terms of nearness or farness in relation to the speaker’s position. The proximal entity-referring demonstratives can even be conceived as embodying a first person, a proximal location in space and time. Being semantically more embracing, the entity-

referring demonstratives are seen to be generally responsible for the complexity of the demonstrative phenomena found in the two languages.

The semantic ingredients proximity vs. non-proximity as they are encoded in the spatial demonstratives are relative, in the sense that what is proximal and non-proximal is dependent on how the speaker perceives the distance involved. Given, for example, the spatial configuration in which a speaker is to point to the fifth of a row of white tulips lying away in front of her, while Speaker A may refer to the tulip with a proximal entity-referring demonstrative, Speaker B may well refer to it with the non-proximal entity-referring demonstrative (cf. Chapter 3). It is often the speaker's perceptual preference in a given circumstance, rather than the actual spatial distance involved, that is essential for the selection of the demonstratives to be used.

2.1.2 Speaker, reference, and context

As can be seen, the basic semantic ingredients of the spatial demonstratives, the ego, the pointing, the spatial distance relative to the target in terms of entity or place, are all in a sense related to a potential *speaker*. The ego is the potential speaker herself. The pointing is directional with the potential speaker as the source. The relative physical distance to the target is distance as perceived by the potential speaker and from the position of the potential speaker at the moment of her utterance. The concept of speaker simply cannot be dispensed with in the discussion of even the most basic semantics of the spatial demonstratives. Language has encoded the concept of a subjective self into its structure, through the demonstratives and indeed the deictic category. This fact, as we shall see below, has important implications not only for arriving at the semantics of these demonstratives but also for semantic theory more generally.

Together with the other two semantic elements of pointing and entity (subsuming location) in space, the potential speaker is involved in the potential act of pointing. What the basic semantics of the spatial demonstratives presents is, in visual terms, “the arm and finger gesture of man”, or the familiar “signpost” which “imitates the outstretched arm”, commanding and directing our attention (Bühler 1990: 93). With an utterance of a spatial demonstrative, similarly, what the real-life speaker does is to command and direct the attention of the addressee to the spatial aspect of the physical context they share wherein a *referent*, the intended target — an entity or a place — is to be found by means of a distinction in physical distance between proximity and non-proximity from the speaker's position, known as the deictic centre. For the referent of each

demonstrative heard, the addressee has to exploit the relevant context and the locating act is invariably aided by the semantic clues provided by the demonstrative used. The basic semantic ingredients thus serve as crucial pointers facilitating the locating process (Nunberg 1993: 19–20). It is obvious that encoded in the spatial demonstratives is an orientational feature, which provides clues for locating the referent concerned. *Reference*, as Lyons (1995: 294) points out, “is a relation that holds between speakers (more generally, locutionary agents) and what they are talking about on particular occasions”. Notice that reference is only held to be *successful* if the addressee identifies the intended referent.

Spatial demonstratives thus represent the deictic aspects of language marked by their egocentric and orientational features which relate the speaker to parameters of the context of utterance and which turn the relation between language and context into a referential one (Fillmore 1966: 220; Lyons 1968: 275; Levinson 1983: 54). The necessary, unavoidable involvement of such concepts as speaker, addressee, utterance, reference, context, etc. firmly place us in the realm of language use. Spatial demonstratives thus present us with an ideal case of the inseparableness of structural properties of language from language use. They are seen as a matter of linguistic system as well as a matter of language use (Fillmore 1982: 36).

From the point of view of language use, the basic semantic ingredients of the spatial demonstratives justify a deictic interpretation. Such interpretation or reinterpretation spells out the internal semantic properties of the demonstratives in terms of what these properties signal and what they entail. The ego element is thus viewed as signalling speaker egocentricity, which derives from the fact that the speaker’s position at the moment of utterance serves as the deictic centre. The element of pointing from ego is reinterpreted as speaker pointing from the deictic centre, which generates and thus signals demonstrativeness, or what may be referred to as deictic force. Egocentric demonstrativeness therefore lies at the core of the semantics of the deictic category. The relative distance from ego is seen as relative spatial proximity or non-proximity from the deictic centre, i.e., as perceived from the position and point of view of speaker. While egocentricity and demonstrativeness mark the essential semantic properties of all demonstratives and indeed the primarily deictic expressions in general, the spatial distance parameter in addition marks the spatial demonstratives as distinct from all the other demonstratives.

Analysed as such, the semantic components of the spatial demonstratives have rich semantic entailment, the term “entailment” being originated in logical semantic theory (Kempson 1977; Palmer 1982) and used here in a

similar sense. To begin with, a dual sense of subjectivity is entailed. First, each occurrence of a demonstrative involves, in Kaplan's words, a "directing intention", which differentiates its intended 'meaning' (referent) from another occurrence of the same demonstrative (1989b: 568). The referent to be located is context-dependent and changes with every speech act. Such change derives from the directing intention involved. Second, subjectivity is presupposed in the sense that the use of these demonstratives always involves a subjective point of view, the anchoring point of which is the body of the speaker at the moment of utterance (cf. chap. 3). As we shall see, the sense of subjectivity involved allows for individuality and an involvement of speaker intentionality in language use.

Related to egocentricity and demonstrativeness is the entailment of the deictic reference-signalling property. It is this property that makes the semantics of the deictic category function in a different way from that of the descriptive category. It is also this property that marks the deictics as a special category of language. In truth-conditional terms, in evaluating the truth value of a proposition expressed by a sentence which contains a deictic expression, it is the referent that contributes to the truth value. The semantics of the deictics thus does not in general contribute directly to the meaning of the sentence in which they occur, but largely serves to provide clues in aiding the searching process which leads to the location and identification of the referent concerned (Nunberg 1993). The deictic reference-signalling property that is intrinsic to the semantics of the deictic category is essential in accounting for their reference-introducing and reference-tracking behaviour in language use and the referential property/function of language. It also marks the category as different from the other reference-tracking systems, for example, the NP.

For the spatial demonstratives, relative proximity and non-proximity from an egocentric point of view entail a sense of contrastiveness. Proximity is seen as contrastive against non-proximity in the sense that there is no proximity to speak of without contrasting it with non-proximity, and vice versa. As was mentioned earlier, proximity and non-proximity in real space and for the same speaker can only be relative, since there is no explicit, physical cutting line for one to determine the boundary which separates the space concerned in a speech situation into one of proximity and non-proximity. From a language acquisition perspective, contrastiveness constitutes a necessary semantic entailment of the spatial demonstratives. English children, for example, are found to take quite some time to acquire the contrastiveness of the two spatial demonstrative pairs after they have had the lexemes in their lexicon (E. Clark 1978).

Also related to the directing intention and demonstrativeness, a sense of definiteness is presupposed. With each utterance of a demonstrative, the directing intention guarantees the uniqueness of reference and that an intended entity or place cannot be indefinite (cf. Lyons 1977: 647).

It should be mentioned at this point that the fact that deixis is deeply seated in language use has made it possible for the spatial demonstratives to develop non-deictic usages, in addition to their primarily deictic usages (Fillmore 1982; Maclaran 1980; cf. 4.6 of this book). As the non-deictic usages are not the focus of the present study, they are not discussed unless necessary.

2.1.3 The challenge to formal semantic theory

The subjective, referential characteristics of the spatial demonstratives poses considerable difficulty for formal semantic theory, which holds that the intensions of expressions determine the corresponding extensions in every set of circumstances (Kempson 1977: 13; Palmer 1982: 190ff). In logical terms, the “conceptual sign” must have the property that it is used as a symbol for the same object regardless of who says it (Bühler 1990: 119). The intensions of the spatial demonstratives, however, cannot be expected to function in the same manner. The subjective, orientational nature of these demonstratives determines that potentially all the entities/locations in the world could be candidates of their extensions. Take for example the English utterance “Look at *that!*”. Uttered by John, *that* would be an entity of John’s designation, say, a rainbow in the sky, away from John’s location at the time of John’s utterance. Uttered by another person, or even by John himself, in another place at another time, the entity referred to with the utterance of *that* could be a single blooming rose in sight against a background of green. The extension of a spatial demonstrative is thus context-dependent, in the sense that it has to be known who says it, where and when, for the addressee to be able to arrive at an identification. The extension is speaker determined, rather than intension determined.

The subjective orientation intrinsic to the spatial demonstratives, it follows, also determines that their intensions play a different role. They do not contribute to utterance meaning in the way that descriptive expressions do. Instead, they figure largely in the process in which the addressee searches for the referent by providing clues as to whether the referent to be identified is an entity or place and whether the search field is relatively close to or far from the speaker, together with the general clue that the search should be conducted in

the immediate speech context concerned. The truth value of the proposition in which a demonstrative is involved is evaluated by considering its referent in the relevant context. To insist on a mapping relation between the intension and extension of the spatial demonstratives would be in principle impossible. To simply abandon them because such relation is lacking, as is the case with modern formal logic, would be to miss a great deal of insight into how natural language works, how the human mind functions, and how language relates to the world.

A valuable attempt to meet the challenge was made by the American philosopher David Kaplan. In his effort to accommodate the unique, deictic nature of the semantics of the indexicals, of which spatial demonstratives form an essential component, he develops the concepts of *character* and *content* to distinguish between what he sees as two aspects of meaning, which he believes a semantic theory should handle. “Character applies only to words and phrases as types, content to occurrences of words and phrases in contexts” (Kaplan 1989a: 524 [1977]).¹⁵ Character may be seen as the linguistic meaning of a language unit, or the linguistic knowledge of the native speaker. It is not sensitive to context. Content, on the other hand, as it is context-related, may be seen as the proposition which a linguistic unit expresses. It is sensitive to context. “The relationship of character to content is something like what is traditionally regarded as the relationship of sense to denotation, character is a way of presenting content” (ibid.).

What makes the spatial demonstratives and the entire deictic category different is that their characters share a potentially variable meaning component, as is suggested by their semantic property of subjective orientation. This meaning component of character determines the different role which these deictics play in the interpretation of the utterances containing them. It is so criterial and determinative that it renders their characters potentially variable and their contents vacuous. This allows their characters to map onto different extensions in different contexts. Kaplan employs the term “direct reference” to capture this important feature of the deictic category. “Direct”, he remarks, “means unmediated by any propositional component”. “Whatever rules, procedures, or mechanisms there are that govern the search for the referent, they are irrelevant to the propositional component, to content” (1989b: 569). By contrast, descriptive expressions share the feature of having invariant characters which largely determine their extensions. Only their contents may pick out variable extensions in varying circumstances.

Kaplan's contribution is attractive from a theoretical point of view, for his theory maps out a plausible account for the broad distinction in the intensional and extensional semantics between deictic and descriptive expressions.¹⁶ Broad, in the sense that the construal of the dual aspects of meaning captures the difference which the deictic element of meaning makes in the semantics of deictic and non-deictic expressions. Broad, also, in that it brings truth-conditional semantics out of its narrow confines and enables it to come to grips with contexts of use. For the present study of the spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese, Kaplan's theory satisfactorily accounts for both the constant meaning and the potentially variable meaning of the spatial demonstratives and their context-dependent nature. What is of concern, however, is Kaplan's strong assertion about the complete irrelevance of the meaning of the deictic expressions to the utterance (sentence) meaning concerned. The entity-place distinction in the semantics of the spatial demonstratives, for example, can be seen in a sense to figure in the semantics of their referents. Further, as Levinson (1994: 854) points out, much of the vocabulary may well be quasi-indexical, requiring contextual information for interpretation (cf. Fillmore 1982: 35–36). This seems to leave the characters of many non-deictic expressions not so invariant as they appear to be.

Being a treatise couched in the scholarship of philosophy of language, Kaplan's exploration into the semantics of the demonstratives and the whole indexical category is essentially related to such important themes of philosophy as logic, metaphysics and epistemology, as the title of his 1989a essay suggests. It does not take upon itself to address that part of the semantics of the demonstratives which involves an encoded point of view and the conceptualisation of physical distance into a distinction between proximity and non-proximity, and which is seen to control both the basic and extended usages of these demonstratives in language use. Nor does it concern itself with the deictic phenomenon itself, or how the demonstratives behave in natural discourse and the possible motivations and mechanisms that lie behind the observed behaviour.

2.1.4 Interim summary

The above discussion of the semantics of the spatial demonstratives from a linguistic perspective leads me to the following observations. First, being part of the linguistic system, the basic semantics of the spatial demonstratives

consists of an egocentric point of view, an element of demonstrativeness, and an element of spatial distance. The semantic elements of an egocentric point of view and demonstrativeness firmly place these demonstratives in the grammatical category of deictic expressions. Spatial demonstratives are prototypically deictic and being deictic they are seen as a source of subjectivity of language. As deixis is a phenomenon of language use, explorations of the semantic properties of the spatial demonstratives are necessarily rooted in language use.

Second, that the deictic elements of an egocentric point of view and demonstrativeness are built into the semantic structure of these demonstratives determines that their role in meaning construction for larger language units is different from that of words whose basic semantic structure is devoid of the elements of egocentricity and demonstrativeness. Instead of indicating the *type* of referent at issue, spatial demonstratives offer a *route* to the identification of the intended referent. They are relational rather than descriptive. Their role in presenting meaning is that of reference-signalling. In signalling reference, they are imbued with an ego-perspective, which is fundamental to their meaning.

Third, as discussed earlier, built into the semantic structure of spatial demonstratives are the deictic elements of egocentricity and demonstrativeness. This, in addition, has the effect of illuminating the connection between language structure and use on the one hand and the inseparableness of semantics and pragmatics on the other. It thus provides firm ground for linguistic semantics to undertake the study of meaning as it is systematically encoded in the vocabulary and grammar of language as consistently proposed in Lyons (1977, 1995). The narrow confines of formal semantic theory, including the rather influential truth-conditional semantics, cannot cope with the complex realities of spatial demonstratives and indeed of the entire deictic category. Kaplan's theory of demonstratives marks a contribution in this regard, but with limitations. As Levinson (1983: 61) points out, however, the philosophical approaches and, I would add, the existing linguistic approaches as well, hardly do full justice to the complexity and variety of behaviour of the spatial demonstratives and the entire deictic category. Yet, these linguistic elements are pervasive in natural languages.

Fourth, the element of spatial distance in the semantics of spatial demonstratives must be qualified as distance from the deictic centre, i.e., distance as perceived by the potential speaker. Proximity and non-proximity as they are encoded in the English and Chinese demonstrative pairs are thus relative, depending on the perceptual preference of the potential speaker/perceiver.

Into the semantics of these demonstratives are thus brought further subjective involvement, a perceiving and conceptualising ego. This leads us to the domain known as cognitive semantics. It is believed that much of the spatial deictic phenomenon appeals to a cognitive interpretation.

2.2 A cognitive view of spatial demonstratives

Cognitive semantics rests on the recognition of the psychological foundations of language and the conceptual basis of meaning. In Langacker's terms, meaning is identified with *mental experience* or *conceptualisation* in the broadest sense of the term, in that "a lexeme's meaning comprises a network of related senses, some being schematic relative to others, and some constituting extensions vis-a-vis more prototypical values" (1994: 591). Cognitive semantics is *encyclopedic* in scope, and no sharp distinction can be motivated between semantics and pragmatics, nor between linguistic and extralinguistic knowledge (*ibid.*). A direct implication for the present study is that a cognitive exploration into the spatial demonstratives necessarily addresses meaning in the context of language use, essential to which is the user. As we shall see, this approach is especially congenial for the examination of the spatial demonstratives in their extended deictic usages.

The cognitive view of the spatial demonstratives as it is applied in the present study is informed by such works on language and cognition (or thought) as Bühler (1990), Langacker (1985, 1987, 1990, 1994), Jackendoff (1983, 1990), Talmy (1983, 1988), Fauconnier (1994 [1985]), Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and Lakoff (1987), but does not claim allegiance to any particular theory or formalisation of cognitive semantics advanced in these works. It is developed to handle the perceptual and conceptual aspects of the semantics of spatial demonstratives, which are seen as important towards an understanding of the semantics of these expressions. In what follows, I shall first discuss the cognitive basis of spatial language in general and spatial demonstratives in particular. Following that, I shall examine the properties of the spatial demonstratives which find a cognitive motivation.

2.2.1 The cognitive basis of spatial demonstratives

The language of space and spatial relations has an obvious perceptual basis, the object of perception being the physical world. This physical world may be

conceived, in the first place, as full of geometrical entities: squares, rectangles, spheres, triangles, perpendiculars, etc., which may be sketched as various arrangements of lines in space: vertical, horizontal, circular, etc. Human cognition renders such geometrical entities into prototypical representations, none of which, however, exactly mirrors the entities that come into view. Even when our eyes catch, for example, a square table, we do not normally see it as literally having a square top. Different people may perceive variant shapes out of the square top. What lies behind such phenomena is taken to be that our perception is invariably mediated and that we always take a particular point of view and we always tend to give saliency to certain features of entities, our attention often being driven by our immediate interest. Yet, we know that the table has a square top. This is most probably because what we perceive matches the prototypical representation of a square table in our mind.

Human cognition also organises the geometrical entities into relations with one another, which may be static or in motion. We see a mug on a desk, or a bicycle against a wall, or a dog swimming across a stream. Again, whatever spatial relations we render between entities cannot be random; nor can they be free from the particular point of view we take and the saliency we give to certain features of the entities involved (Talmy 1983; Herskovits 1986, 1988). It seems that “one cannot perceive the ‘real world as it is’” (Jackendoff 1983: 26). As Bartlett (1961: 16 [1932]) and Miller & Johnson-Laird (1976: *passim*) observe, our ability to perceive is invariably mediated by an enormously complex conceptual structure of the mind; the input for perceiving is subject to conceptual processes and cannot be what is conceptualised and represented. Space and spatial language are firmly put on the conceptual basis, for the simple reason that “potentially vast areas of our experience are due to the mind’s contribution, even though the experience is of things ‘out there in the real world’” (Jackendoff 1983: 26).

Space, being a basic element in the human universe, may be seen as deeply seated in the human cognitive construction. As Kant remarks, “space is not an empirical concept which has been derived from outer experiences. ... Space is a necessary *a priori* representation, which underlies all outer intuitions” (1933: 68 [1787]). Spatial organisation is of central importance in human cognition (Miller & Johnson-Laird 1976: 375). Language, representational of thought (Bühler 1990: *passim*; Bickerton 1990: *passim*), manifests this construct of human cognition with pervasive expressions of space and spatial relations found in natural discourse. In fact, natural utterances invariably anchor themselves in space and time (Lyons 1977). Further evidence is obtained, as a spatial

line, a time line as well, is always found to thread through actual language use locating entities, events and thoughts in space and keeping the discourse coherent (Quirk 1986). Spatial demonstratives, being a sub-category of the spatial language available to us, are thus seen as conceptually based.

Spatial demonstratives encode the conceptualisation of the perceived spatial relation between an entity (which subsumes place) in the physical space and the perceiver as seen from the perceiver's point of view. The egocentric point of view involved renders the relationship between the perceiver and the entity perceived and conceptualises it into one between the observer and the observed (cf. Langacker 1985). The inherent conceptual structure in terms of such a relationship figures in the semantics of spatial demonstratives. With each utterance of a spatial demonstrative, the locutionary force comes into play when an observer, the speaker, spatially relates the observed to herself, indicating to the addressee that to locate the entity he needs to take the speaker's body as the reference object, the anchor as it were. Spatial demonstratives thus encode an essential way in which we relate ourselves to the spatial world. It reflects an "egocentric viewing arrangement", which "accommodates the natural interest that most people have in themselves and in the relations they bear to the entities around them" (Langacker 1985: 122). It features, in Talmy's terms, "the figure-ground spatial conceptualisation" that man imposes on what he perceives, with his own body as the ground and the entity he observes as the figure (Talmy 1983; Fillmore 1983).¹⁷ Given the universal nature of human cognition and the largely shared spatial world, it is conceivable that languages generally encode this way of spatial conceptualization.¹⁸ There is reason to believe that spatial demonstratives represent that part of language which maps onto the innate properties of human cognition. Thus the essential semantic properties of spatial demonstratives belong to the "rather deeply seated, innate properties of the human organism and the perceptual apparatus, properties which determine the way in which the world is conceived, adapted, and worked on" (Bierwisch 1967: 3, in Clark 1973).

2.2.2 Asymmetry in the semantics of the spatial demonstratives

Both English and Chinese encode a two-way contrast in their spatial demonstrative pairs. This two-way contrast is one of physical distance: proximity vs. non-proximity, as is seen from the speaker's point of view. The encoding of the speaker's point of view relates both proximity and non-proximity to the same reference point, i.e., the speaker's body, and necessarily results in asymmetry in

the basic semantics of the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives.

Asymmetry is in the first place shown in the relative distance of the perceived entity from the perceiver/speaker. With each utterance of a spatial demonstrative, what the speaker is involved in mentally is to set up a perceptual boundary, with herself at its commanding position, to distinguish the proximal and non-proximal area within the reach of her eyesight. In the space within the boundary, proximal demonstratives are used, whereas beyond it non-proximal demonstratives are used. Accordingly, the proximal demonstratives, in addition to proximity, further denote a sense of being within the boundary of, and therefore of being under the eyes of, the speaker. Also denoted is a sense of being within the focus and therefore control of the speaker. Their non-proximal counterparts, on the other hand, denote a sense of being beyond the boundary and therefore a sense of being beyond the immediate focus and control of the speaker.

The asymmetry may also be seen as one of specificity or explicitness with which a referent is signalled. In other words, the degree of specificity in signalling the location of the referent as related to the deictic centre varies with these demonstratives. What is within the boundary and the immediate control is referred to by means of the proximal demonstratives, for example, *this* and *here* in English. *That* and *there* are, in a sense, simply not directly related to the reference point and the domains they indicate may be construed as being beyond the boundary and therefore beyond specification. The proximal demonstratives thus entail a higher degree of specificity, whereas the non-proximal ones entail a lower degree of specificity. From the addressee's point of view, the higher specificity of the proximal demonstratives serves as a facilitating factor in locating the referent. The lesser degree of specificity in the non-proximal demonstratives would generally require the paralinguistic means of a gesture for the addressee to achieve the same purpose. Moreover, the area for searching could typically be as far as what the speaker can currently see.

The contrastiveness, as mentioned earlier (2.1.2), that holds between the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives cannot be symmetrically spread in them. Being within the perceptual boundary and therefore more specific and higher in focus and control, the proximal demonstratives are seen to carry with them a stronger sense of contrast in the sense that they can be taken to imply, again with the English *this* and *here* for example, "not that" and "not there" respectively. The use of the non-proximal demonstratives, on the other hand, does not necessarily imply a contrast spelt out as "not this" and "not here" for *that* and *there* respectively (Lyons 1977: 651; Brown 1995a: 110).

From a chronological perspective, as Lyons (1977: 648ff) argues, the contrastive demonstrative system could well have developed from a single demonstrative which is quasi-referential. Language acquisition data lend support to the claim by showing that the child starts with one deictic element and that the contrastive pairs are a later development (E. Clark 1978: 95ff).¹⁹ It is thus reasonable to postulate that whichever demonstrative is acquired later is developed as contrastive to the already existing, non-contrastive demonstrative.

I have presented three aspects of asymmetry encoded in the semantics of the spatial demonstratives essentially based on English. As can be seen, they are the result of man's egocentric, figure-ground way of conceptualising space and spatial relations. There could be just one demonstrative in languages for spatial reference, but most languages have developed a more-than-one-way spatial demonstrative system to fulfill the function (Anderson & Keenan 1985). Owing to the encoded egocentric point of view and the figure-ground way of man's conceptualisation of space and spatial relations, members of these demonstrative systems are likely to have developed asymmetry of a sort in their semantic entailment, though the details of the asymmetry may vary from language to language.

2.2.3 From physical entities to textual entities and discourse representations

I have so far been discussing the basic semantics of spatial demonstratives, i.e., semantics rooted in the use of these demonstratives in canonical speech situations for reference to entities or locations in real space. I have shown the cognitive basis of their semantics. As was mentioned in 1.1, spatial demonstratives are known to occur pervasively also in displaced contexts, in spoken and written discourse. In such contexts, the demonstratives are typically used to point to entities in the relevant text or entities as they are located in memory as discourse representations. We may refer to such usages of the spatial demonstratives as extended usages, as against the basic, situational deictic usage. In extended usages, elements mentioned or implied, or to be mentioned or implied, in the running text serve as their potential objects of reference. With each demonstrative encountered, the addressee's/reader's searching is confined to the context of the running text, which is linear and composed of linguistic entities. The potential object of reference, spoken or written, once encountered, takes the form of either a linguistic entity in the text, a text chunk, or a mental representation, otherwise known as discourse

representation, located in the memory of the addressee or reader. The following are examples of a text chunk and a mental representation as are indexed by the spatial demonstratives under discussion.

- (2.1) “Now listen all of you,” said Rabbit when he had finished writing, and Pooh and Piglet sat listening very eagerly with their mouths open. *This* is what Rabbit read out:

PLAN TO CAPTURE BABY ROO

1. *General remarks.* Kanga runs faster than any of Us, even Me.
2. More general remarks: Kanga never takes her eye off Baby Roo, except when he’s safely buttoned up in her pocket.

...

(Pooh: 86)

- (2.2) “I was just beginning to think,” said Bear, sniffing slightly, “that Rabbit might never be able to use his front door again. And I should hate *that*.”

(Pooh: 26)

In (2.1), the object of reference by means of *this* is the text chunk in print spelt out as “PLAN TO CAPTURE BABY ROO” and the plan in written form that follows. In (2.2), the referent by means of *that* is the situation wherein “Rabbit might never be able to use his front door again” represented in the memory of the speaker Bear.

As Lyons has repeatedly (e.g. 1977, 1991) pointed out, the deictic use of the spatial demonstratives is ontogenetically prior to their extended use. This argument suggests an evolvement of meaning of the demonstratives from the physical and concrete to the mental and abstract. Such a conception is in line with the postulation of the unidirectional movement of meaning from the concrete propositional to the less concrete textual to the abstract expressive that marks the main stream grammaticalisation literature (e.g. Traugott 1982, 1988). Moreover, it finds support from the cognitive approach to semantics as it is employed in the present study.

A cognitive approach further sees the extended usages as resulting from the human conceptualising capacity at work. For “we typically conceptualise the non-physical in terms of the physical — that is, we conceptualise the less clearly delineated in terms of the more clearly delineated” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 59). Verbal pointing can be easily conceived of in terms of physical pointing, the image of whose icon the utterance of a spatial demonstrative readily incurs. Likewise, verbal pointing to entities in mental space can be readily conceived of in terms of verbal pointing to entities in real space. The underlying operating mechanism is seen as the human conceptual capacity for

analogy and association (Bartlett 1961 [1932]). Verbal pointing to discourse representation is believed to involve, in this conceptualisation, a mapping process from verbal pointing to entity in real space, which is symbolic of physical pointing. The mapping, as can be seen, “is not random, but motivated by analogy and iconic relationships” (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 77).

The mapping process that occurs in verbal pointing to text chunks and discourse representations, it should be pointed out, does not necessarily alter the nature of pointing which applies to verbal pointing to physical entities in discourse. The pointing acts we mentally perform on mental space with the spatial demonstratives are as deictic as those which we perform on real space (cf. Bühler 1990). The deictic centre for the pointing acts performed on entities as text chunks and discourse representations in mental space is the locutionary agent at the moment of her discourse production, just as the deictic centre for the pointing acts performed on physical entities in real space is the speaker at the moment of speaking. It follows that the locating acts involved, from the viewpoint of the discourse recipient, the addressee or the reader, are not different in kind either from those performed in real space. The distinction lies in the nature of the entities referred to with the use of the demonstratives: physical objects vs. text chunks vs. discourse representations. The deictic nature of the referring is, however, identical whether the pointing is directed to physical objects, text chunks, or discourse representations.

To represent the distinction in the nature of the entities pointed to, I shall employ the terms *situational deixis* for pointing to entities in the physical situation of a canonical speech interaction, *textual deixis* for pointing to textual entities, often in the form of literal text chunks in print, and *discourse deixis* for pointing to discourse representations in mental space, all of course by means of the spatial demonstratives.²⁰ As all three kinds of deixis share the deictic feature of signalling reference, I shall rephrase my earlier distinction between deictic use and extended use as a distinction between *basic* or *situational deictic use* and *extended deictic use*. While basic (or situational) deictic use involves only situational deixis, extended deictic use accommodates both textual deixis and discourse deixis.

It should be mentioned at this point that the major concern of the present study lies in situational deixis and discourse deixis, for reasons which will be apparent in the course of the discussion. Textual deixis will be dropped from the discussion henceforth, unless its involvement is seen as necessary. As has been mentioned, the demonstratives under examination are also capable of non-deictic use. This is again not within the focus of the present study.

Both situational deixis and discourse deixis occur in both canonical and non-canonical language use situations. Examples of spatial demonstratives from English are presented below for illustration.

(2.3) [John and Mary are engaged in a jigsaw-puzzle game.]

John: Take *that* piece. (pointing at a piece with his arm stretched forward.)

Mary: *This* one? (pointing at a piece close to herself.)

(2.4) [John and Mary engaged in a face-to-face conversation.]

John: Did you read the paper?

Mary: Yes. He won the medal.

John: But *that's* not what I am interested in. He hurt himself badly.

(2.5) ..., when the balloon was blown up as big as big, and you and Pooh were both holding on to the string, you let go suddenly, and Pooh Bear floated gracefully up into the sky, and stayed *there* — level with the top of the tree and about twenty feet away from it.

(Pooh: 11)

(2.6) ... there he was, sitting in his chair with his feet in the water, and water all round him!

He splashed to his door and looked out....

“*This* is Serious,” said Pooh. “I must have an Escape.”

(Pooh: 122)

As can be seen, the demonstratives used in (2.3) present examples of situational deixis and *that* in (2.4) presents an example of discourse deixis, both in canonical speech situations. (2.5) and (2.6) are taken from *Winnie-The-Pooh*, which leads us to a projected, fictional world, full of non-canonical language use situations. *There* in (2.5) is used to refer to “the sky”, mentioned in the previous co-text and is represented in the memory of the story teller and his addressee/reader. It is a discourse deictic use. *This* in (2.6) is uttered to refer to what met Pooh’s eyes when he looked out. It can be taken to be a situational deictic use for Pooh at the time of utterance. For the addressee/reader, however, it could be simultaneously a discourse deictic use, pointing to the discourse representation of the earlier co-text, which describes the flood scene in the animal world concerned. With this type of use, it seems that the addressee/reader is left to create the doubleness of the deictic phenomenon: the demonstratives can be interpreted as indicating both situational and discourse deixis. The addressee/reader can have his independent view, which leads to yet another deictic phenomenon created with the use of the spatial demonstratives in indicating discourse deixis.

2.2.4 Projected transposition of deictic center

In 2.2.3, I suggest that what links the extended, discourse deixis to the basic, situational deixis is a conceptualisation process of mapping, motivated by analogy and iconic relationships. Specifically, mapping typically occurs when discourse representations in mental space are analogised to physical entities in real space. When such mapping takes place, the deictic centre for discourse deixis remains located with the locutionary agent, as can be seen from examples (2.4) and (2.5), and perhaps (2.6).

With the spatial demonstratives, the conceptualisation process of mapping also applies to the deictic centre, for both situational deixis and discourse deixis. Bühler characterises this as the imaginative mode of deixis or “imagination-oriented deixis”, as distinct from his “ocular mode” and the “anaphoric mode” of deixis (1990: 94–95), which may be identified with the situational and discourse (and textual) deixis respectively. What occurs with this mode of deixis is that in indicating situational deixis, the locutionary agent typically projects a transposition of the deictic centre from her own position at the moment of discourse production to that of the addressee or to a projected location. In indicating discourse deixis, the locutionary agent typically projects herself into the position of somebody else concerned, and in the narrative genre, very often into the position of the character concerned.

The mapping of one’s own position as the deictic centre in discourse production to a projected position away from it, not unlike the projection of physical entities in real space in situational deixis to entities represented in mental space in discourse deixis, is seen as motivated chiefly by iconic relationships. When such mapping occurs, one can imagine, in her mind’s eye, a transposition of her location away from where she is at the moment of discourse production to a projected location. I shall refer to the mapping process as a *deictic centre projection* and the outcome of the process as a *deictic centre shift* (Galbraith 1995). Below are some examples of deictic centre projection with the use of spatial demonstratives.

- (2.7) (A tourist guide is explaining the route and activities to tourists with the help of a map)

See this sign (pointing at the sign on the map)? It stands for a coffee shop (pointing at the sign). We shall have a break *here* for a quarter of an hour after the bishop’s summer residence.

In this face-to-face interaction, *here* cannot be where the guide is at the moment of speaking. In uttering it and interpreting it, the guide and his audience need to project themselves in their mental space or imagination into the place which is being described (cf. Linde & Labov 1975; Brown 1995a). A deictic centre shift occurs in this case in a canonical speech situation in which an extended deictic use is involved.

- (2.8) There was a small spinney of larch-trees just *here* [where Pooh and Piglet went], and it seemed as if the two Woozles, if that is what they were, had been going round *this* spinney; so round *this* spinney went Pooh and Piglet after them; ...

(Pooh: 34)

In (2.8), the proximal demonstratives *here* and *this* (used twice) cannot be employed to refer to a location and entity close to the narrator at the time of narrating. As is indicated by the past time tense forms and the discourse context, the event takes place at a time and place removed from the narrator's here and now. What occurs with the choice of the proximal demonstratives is a deictic centre shift, which enables the narrator to project himself in the position of the characters in the story, Pooh and Piglet. In other words, the deictic centre shift occurs when the narrator projects the transposition of his deictic centre and aligns it in his mental space with the characters' deictic centre. In this case, the deictic centre shifts in a non-canonical language use situation in which discourse deixis is involved.

Levinson notes that the various kinds of usage of deictic expressions "is a source of considerable potential confusion to the analyst" (1983: 67). In an attempt to categorise the usages, Fillmore (1975: 40ff [1971]) draws a three-way distinction of spatial deixis: gestural, symbolic, and anaphoric. Levinson, based on Fillmore's categorization, keeps the distinction between the gestural and the symbolic, but proposes a non-deictic category, which in addition involves a further anaphoric and non-anaphoric distinction (op cit.: 67–68). Data such as those shown in (2.5) would pose a challenge to their systems of categorisation, for the use of *here* in the utterance is at the same time symbolic and gestural. The cognitive approach to the semantics of the spatial demonstratives, as it is adopted in the present study, enables us to deviate from the above categorizations, which are seen as unable to incorporate a proper treatment of what Bühler calls imagination-oriented deixis, which involves the deictic center shift phenomenon discussed in the present study. By the same approach, anaphora is seen as deictically based and therefore deictic in nature

(Lyons 1977: 657, 1991: 165). This would make its placement in the non-deictic category problematic.

As we shall see, the projected manoeuvrability of the deictic centre adds complexity to the behaviour of the spatial demonstratives under examination. Specifically, it allows for further degrees of subjectivity in employing the demonstratives to signal reference.

2.2.5 Reconceptualisation of spatial distance

As is discussed in 2.1.1 and 2.2.2, the basic semantic ingredient of distance encoded in the spatial demonstratives must be seen as conceptualised physical distance from the deictic centre by the locutionary agent. With prototypical situational deictic use, conceptualisation of spatial distance has an obvious perceptual basis. Proximity and non-proximity from an egocentric point of view reflect the perceptual preference of the perceiver and the two-way contrast in the English and Chinese spatial demonstrative systems is marked by features of asymmetry and relativity.

Unlike space which is three-dimensional, discourse production and text as product are linear. The question naturally arises which concerns the place of the contrastive spatial demonstratives in their extended deictic usage. Language does not in general lack referential devices for indexical purposes in discourse, as has been shown in Chapter 1, with Chinese (and English) as an example. One may legitimately think that there is no particular need for these demonstratives in discourse in which referring can be achieved in non-deictic ways (cf. Fillmore 1971). The rather pervasive phenomenon of anaphora in English and other languages attests to the legitimacy of the query, and languages with less overt anaphora, Chinese for example, do not lack mechanisms for discourse reference to be signalled successfully (Xu 2003; cf. 1.3.2 to 1.3.5). In the former type of language, is deixis just an alternative to anaphora when deictic terms are not used to refer exophorically? In the latter type of language, what is the place, if any, for these terms for endophoric reference in discourse, wherein even mechanisms of anaphora are far from being fully appreciated for the purpose? Further, even though there is a place for spatial demonstratives for signalling endophoric reference, it might well be postulated that because of the linear nature of discourse production and of text, one demonstrative alone would be adequate for the purpose.

The fact with English and Chinese is that both the proximal and non-proximal demonstrative pairs enter into discourse with pervasiveness. What is

of interest then is: Is there a division of labour between the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives in the two languages to indicate discourse deixis? If there is, what is it?

The challenge these questions involve may be seen from the variety of suggestions offered within only a few available studies. Roughly, they fall along three lines. In terms of the locutionary agent's subjective involvement, the proximal entity-referring demonstrative is associated with empathy and current interest of the locutionary agent, whereas the non-proximal entity-referring demonstrative is associated with emotional, social distancing and non-current interest (R. Lakoff 1974; Xu 1987, 1989; Zhang 1991). From an interactive point of view, the choice of the proximal demonstrative is determined by a high degree of attention to pay to the referent, while the non-proximal demonstrative by a lesser degree of attention to the referent (Kirsner 1979, 1993; Kirsner & van Heuven 1988; Strauss 1993). The third line addresses the question from the point of view of information status. The results indicate an association between the proximal demonstrative and foregrounding, figure, nearness, cataphora, *realis*, new information, current time on the one hand, and between the non-proximal demonstrative and backgrounding, ground, farness, anaphora, *irrealis*, shared information, non-current time on the other (Zhang 1991: 136; Kirsner & van Heuven 1988). Although the picture we get from these major empirical studies suggest that languages, genres, the research questions posed, etc. are all potential variables affecting one's rationale of explanation, a general tendency can nevertheless be detected. The basic semantic ingredient of spatial distance encoded in the demonstratives in terms of proximity vs. non-proximity can be traced in almost all the claims. Indeed, many of the concepts proposed in these studies suggest that a reinterpretation of proximity vs. non-proximity in their physical sense has taken place when the same pair of entity-referring demonstratives is employed for discourse deixis.

In discourse deictic use of the spatial demonstratives and where a deictic centre shift is involved, reconceptualisation of physical distance in terms of proximity and non-proximity can be postulated to be occurring. The process is typically marked by an interpretation of one thing in terms of another, often in the sense that concrete things get abstract reinterpretations (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Heine et al. 1991). With the entity-referring demonstratives, physical proximity and non-proximity are subject to various possible reinterpretations, all of which bear traces of nearness or farness in physical terms. In Lakoff and Johnson's terms, what is at work is our conceptual system, which "is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (1980: 5). Language is representational of

this nature of our conceptual system. The various possible reinterpretations are thus seen as a result of the reconceptualising process. They are all candidates for language to select and encode into its structure, at the lexical or grammatical level, or both. In a sense, the complexity of the demonstrative phenomenon in indicating discourse deixis reflects the complexity of our conceptual system.

As we shall see, however, complexity is not equivalent to chaos. Languages, together with users of language, have already chosen to represent in a broad sense reinterpretations of physical distance encoded in the demonstratives. Hence, the place, a rather important place in fact, for them in displaced contexts for extended deictic usages. Languages such as English and Chinese are seen to have further selected and encoded some of the possible reinterpretations into tendencies of use, leaving others still vying for inclusion and much to the care of individual users of the two languages. Owing to the affinity between the reinterpretations and the source concept of physical distance, the reinterpretations may be considered generically related. This, as we shall see from the data for the study, poses a problem at times of separating some of the reinterpretations as motivating a particular use.

Available literature has shown that at least two reinterpretations have found their way into the semantic structure of the entity-referring spatial demonstratives in English and possibly other Indo-European languages. First, spatial distance is reinterpreted in terms of temporal distance. As a result, the proximal entity-referring demonstrative is associated with temporal proximity, whereas the non-proximal entity-referring demonstrative is associated with temporal non-proximity (e.g. Lyons 1977: 718ff; Traugott 1975, 1978). This holds at least for English. Second, spatial distance is reinterpreted as distance in individual attitude (Lyons 1977: 677). Consequently, for example, rather frequently in English narrative literature, what is remote in time and location is represented by the proximal entity-referring demonstrative rather than its non-proximal counterpart, to express the locutionary agent's empathy (Adamson 1994a, 1994b, 1995).

2.2.6 A prototype analysis of the semantics of spatial demonstratives

Before I turn to the conceptual framework, it is necessary to mention the valuable contribution by Fillmore (1982) to our understanding of the semantics of spatial demonstratives within a cognitive framework.

Adopting the theoretical stance of prototype semantics (Rosch 1977, 1978; Coleman & Kay 1981), Fillmore (1982) develops six ways of realising *semantic prototypes*, two of which he applies to the demonstratives and spatial deixis. One is shown in the category “identified in terms of a *disjunction* of mutually compatible conditions”; the other is shown in the category “identified in terms of a disjunction of conditions, but one condition has a privileged status” and “other instances are seen as derivative of this primary use” (p. 32). The distance parameter of the demonstrative category can be presented as “a short distance from the Speaker” or “relatively closer to the Hearer” and can thus be identified with the first way of realising semantic prototypes. The distinction between basically deictic words which can be used non-deictically and basically non-deictic words which have some deictic uses can be identified with the “privileged disjunct” (op cit.: 34–35). With the above postulations, Fillmore’s analysis adequately accounts for (1) the semantics (the senses and uses) of primarily deictic expressions, used both deictically and non-deictically, (2) the semantics of primarily non-deictic expressions, used both non-deictically and deictically, (3) departures from prototype meanings found in spatial deixis in discourse, and (4) the two- or three-way contrastive systems of demonstratives across languages.

What are essential for the present study and for our understanding of the spatial demonstratives but are not accommodated in the above analysis concern the semantic entailments of the various asymmetries discussed above and the deictic centre shift phenomenon. In the present study, since the focus of comparison is on the deictic usages of the spatial demonstratives, emphasis is not laid on the distinction between their deictic and non-deictic usages.

2.3 The conceptual framework

The formulation of the conceptual framework for the present study is informed by the above understanding of the nature of spatial demonstratives and of the structural differences between English and Chinese, particularly in their indexical systems (cf. 1.3). The theoretical approach adopted and the key parameters of the conceptual framework are outlined below.

2.3.1 The approach

Linguistic and cognitive explorations into the semantics of the spatial demonstratives have converged on two points. First, being prototypical members of

the deictic category, [SELF] or [EGO] is structured into their semantics. The subjective involvement in the semantic structure of these demonstratives can be conceived as literal or conceptual, or an integration of the two. Subjectivity is thus seen as a criterial semantic ingredient of the semantics of the spatial demonstratives. Second, the semantics of the spatial demonstratives is deeply seated in language use and cannot be successfully approached without activating the concept of the user. The two perspectives are complementary. It is through the linguistic exploration that the basic semantic ingredients of the demonstratives are identified and the essential distinction between deictic words and description words is established. It is through the cognitive approach that the complexity of the semantics of the demonstratives and the variety of usages for which they can be deployed for reference-signalling in the universe-of-discourse are appreciated and find plausible motivations.²¹ The study of the spatial demonstratives thus requires a combination of a linguistic and a cognitive approach. Hence, the cognitive-linguistic conceptual framework for the present study.

2.3.2 Basic semantics and conceptual mappings

Specifically, the conceptual framework accommodates (1) the semantics of spatial demonstratives, in terms of their basic semantic ingredients and semantic entailments (cf. 2.1), and (2) the conceptual mappings on the basis of the basic semantic ingredients, in terms of a conceptual transfer in the nature of the entities referred to (cf. 2.2.3) and of the deictic centre (cf. 2.2.4), and in terms of reconceptualisation of spatial distance (cf. 2.2.5). These are believed to largely determine what spatial demonstratives can do in language (cf. Chapters 3 and 4).

The conceptual framework, in addition, accommodates the role of the ego (or subjectivity) as a dynamic semantic ingredient, which is seen to exercise control over the asymmetry in the basic semantics of the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives and their divergent manners of extension in the universe-of-discourse. To capture how this works, the notion of *deictic force* is developed, to which I now turn.

2.3.3 The notion of deictic force

An essential component of the conceptual framework is the notion of *deictic force*. The notion abstracts the role of the ego in the figure-ground spatial conceptualisation into a controlling force, a force which acts on the distance

factor and produces the asymmetries between the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives (cf. 2.2.2) and which governs their divergent extensions as they are employed for discourse reference.

The construct of deictic force consists of a deictic parameter and a distance parameter for the demonstrative systems. With the utterance of a demonstrative, these two parameters interact with each other and generate deictic force for directing the addressee to the referent intended. In the interaction, the deictic parameter enters as the controlling factor, providing the ego as the source of the force. Being egocentric, the parameter determines that any contrastive demonstrative system is bound to be asymmetrical in terms of the distance between the entity referred to and the deictic centre. This basic asymmetry in turn determines the asymmetrical nature of deictic force in terms of strength.

The distance parameter contributes to the asymmetry not only in terms of distance, but also in the relative strength of deictic force which resides in the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives. The asymmetries discussed in 2.2.2, namely, within or beyond the speaker's focus, the greater or lesser specificity and contrastiveness with which the reference is signalled, are seen as resulting from the deictic force at work. With each utterance of a demonstrative, it appears as if the ego is capable of exerting a force of a kind, so that the further away the referent is from the ego, the weaker the force that can reach it, and the weaker the control that the ego can exercise. Determined by human perceptual properties, stronger deictic force is related to a smaller search field and generates greater focus and saliency for the addressee. In addition, stronger deictic force is also related to ease of demonstration by the speaker's pointing, which facilitates the location of entities in proximal space.

The notion of deictic force can be expected to provide a plausible account for the basic semantic difference that holds between the proximal and non-proximal members of a two-way contrastive demonstrative system. The notion can also be postulated to account for the fact that it is the non-proximal demonstratives, *that* and *there* in English for example, that tend to extend into usages where they are more or less free from the bond of the deictic centre. They are functionally more versatile than their proximal counterparts. Here again it can be postulated that the deictic force is at work: the weaker the deictic force, the weaker the control from the ego at the deictic centre as it were, and the greater opportunity for more performance roles to be developed. Deictic force is seen as governing the divergent extensions of the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives as they are used for signalling reference in discourse (cf. Chapter 4).

Being essentially developed from the basic semantics of the spatial demonstratives, the notion of deictic force may be used to predict that English and Chinese are likely to have developed similar situational deictic use of the spatial demonstratives. It may also be used to predict largely similar trends of development in the extended use of these demonstratives, i.e., the non-proximal demonstratives of English and Chinese may be expected to have developed a greater variety of grammatical and discourse functions than the proximal demonstratives. Along the same line, the non-proximal demonstratives may also be expected to be more ready to accommodate pragmatic strengthening (Levinson 1983; Traugott 1988).

2.3.4 The role of language structure

The comparative/contrastive nature of the present study requires that the role of language structure be accommodated in the conceptual framework. From a cognitive perspective, although the operation of the human conceptual system is seen as largely universal, it is also postulated to be culturally sensitive (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Given the rich reinterpretations available of spatial distance (cf. 2.2.5), languages may choose to represent the reconceptualised asymmetry in different manners. Some may tend to highlight the asymmetry in certain ways rather than others; others may tend to neutralise the asymmetry in certain ways rather than others. One important source of the possible differences is seen as the structural differences between languages, i.e., differences in grammatical and discourse structure. Such differences may impose different contextual environments in which the demonstratives occur and this may have an impact on the way the demonstratives behave in performing their discourse deictic functions. In the same vein, a particular language, being in a sense a cultural heritage, is bound to bear the birthmarks of that particular culture, which may be taken to contribute, in very subtle ways, to the shaping of the conceptual system.

From the point of view of subjectivity, language structure is seen to produce an impact on the ways in which some of it may be represented in particular languages. As my earlier discussions suggest, the subjective involvement that marks the semantics of the spatial demonstratives allows for a range of self-expression, for example, self-expression of epistemic commitment or non-commitment, of positive or negative attitude or emotion. In a functional-semantic model of language, which posits a propositional component (resources for talking), a textual component (resources for creating cohesive

discourse), and an expressive component of language (resources for expressing personal attitude), delexicalisation as a grammaticalisation process typically represents a shift from the propositional to the textual to the expressive (Traugott 1982: 247–248). This is taken to suggest that individual attitude is among the last to be structured into language. Determined by the socio-expressive function of language, however, individual attitude invariably vies for expression in language. A leeway for individual attitude to penetrate language use is through discourse-pragmatics. There is evidence to the fact that pragmatic strengthening of individual attitude does occur in the use of the spatial demonstratives in both English and Chinese. Cross-linguistically, however, as research in translation suggests, “languages tend to be similar at the ‘core’ — where they cover basic reference and predication — but to differ around the ‘edges’ — where attitudes are dealt with” (Malmkjaer 1996). The forms pragmatic strengthening of individual attitude takes may be expected to vary from language to language. Typological differences are likely to force discourse-pragmatics to make different inroads into different languages.

2.4 Features of the present study

In this concluding section of the chapter, I reiterate the key features of the present study, i.e., features that mark it as distinct from earlier explorations of spatial demonstratives.

The cognitive-linguistic conceptual framework developed for the present study makes it possible to unify the basic, situational deictic use of the spatial demonstratives and their extended, displaced deictic use. Underlying both kinds of use is the deictic act performed by the locutionary agent. The three modes of pointing as were initially identified in Bühler (1990: 94–95), the ‘ocular’, the ‘anaphoric’, and the ‘imagination-oriented’, are all deictic in nature (cf. Lyons 1977: chap. 15.3). In cognitive terms, the development from the basic, situational use to the extended, displaced use involves conceptual mappings of various kinds. Underlying such mappings is the general human conceptual tendency to reinterpret the abstract in terms of the concrete. The same tendency and the egocentric figure-ground spatial configuration produce asymmetries in the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives in the two languages in both kinds of use.

While appreciating the cognitive motivations in the semantics of the demonstratives, the conceptual framework is alert to the possible impact on the

use of the demonstratives in natural discourse of existing language structure, at both discourse and grammatical levels. In this respect, the conceptual framework accommodates the role of the typological differences found in English and Chinese in accounting for the possible differences in the use of the spatial demonstratives.

Earlier descriptive frameworks for cross-linguistic comparison available, namely, the ones respectively advanced by Fillmore (1982), Hanks (1992), and Bickel (1994), fall short of providing an adequate treatment of some of the extended, displaced usages of spatial demonstratives which is pervasive in natural language and therefore miss some of the insight into language offered by the demonstrative deictic phenomenon in displaced contexts. This brings me to a reiteration of the goals and methodology of the present study.

The descriptive goal of the study is to explore the similarities and differences of the spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese as they perform deictic functions in real space and displaced contexts. Determined by the complex nature and behaviour of the demonstratives in natural discourse, the immediate goal necessarily leads to the more attractive, underlying goal of gaining further insights into the nature of language.

Methodologically, the study chooses to examine two languages in depth, in the belief that an in-depth, comparative approach using empirical and translation data of two typologically divergent languages would lead to findings which may not be available to studies adopting a single language approach, or a comparative approach using comparable rather than parallel corpora.

CHAPTER 3

Spatial demonstratives in real space

3.0 The preliminary

In this chapter, the English and Chinese spatial demonstratives will be compared as they are used to indicate situational deixis in real space. The purpose is to look into the basic semantic properties of the demonstratives from a comparative point of view. Accordingly, an experimental task was set up to elicit their situational deictic use in the two languages. In 3.1, the design of the task will be presented. In 3.2, the findings will be reported. 3.3 and 3.4 will discuss the findings and summarise the chapter respectively.

3.1 The design

In conceiving the experimental task, what was already known of the spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese informed the way in which they could best be elicited and examined. As is explicated in 2.1, the universal semantic properties of spatial demonstratives are identified as egocentricity and demonstrativeness. English and Chinese spatial demonstratives further share an additional semantic ingredient, namely, spatial distance in terms of proximity and non-proximity as these are respectively encoded in their two two-way contrastive pairs (cf. Table 2.1). As these demonstratives evolved in face-to-face interactions to fulfil the purpose of referring to sensory stimuli in the physical world (Bühler 1990: chap. 6; Lyons 1977: 637–638), it was believed that their basic, situational deictic use could be elicited in an experimental task which met the following two requirements: (1) A canonical speech situation must be created, which involves ideally two subjects who interact face-to-face; (2) The subjects must work with concrete physical entities.

3.1.1 The task

The mundane game “The Jigsaw Puzzle” was selected and adapted for the purpose of the study. Instead of having one person solve a jigsaw puzzle quietly

on her own, as is normally the case, two subjects were invited to complete the task together, with one assigned the A role of the instructor and the other the B role of the performer. The A-role subject's task was to inform the B-role subject regarding which jigsaw piece to pick up each time and where to put it according to the picture of the completed game she had been given. The B-role subject, who was denied access to the picture, had to perform according to the instructions received from the A-role subject.

It was believed that this manipulation of the game provided two important features found in a canonical speech situation: the subjects involved interacted face-to-face, and the asymmetrical roles of the two subjects led to the creation of an information gap between them, one of the motivating factors for natural verbal interactions to take place in general. It was also believed that this adaptation of the original jigsaw puzzle game was necessary and even preferred for the establishment of a close-to-ecological speech environment (cf. Brown 1995a: chap. 1), so far as it was still a game in its true sense and appealed to the subjects involved, as was always the case in the experimental sessions.

By minimising unwanted pragmatic effects on language use, the task made it possible to observe the basic semantic properties of the spatial demonstratives in the two languages and how their basic use was related to the perceptual and conceptual operations of the subjects. With both English and Chinese subjects involved in the task, the intended comparison could be made.

In sum, the task was designed as such that successful elicitation of the prototypical usage of the spatial demonstratives was expected. Such usage would enable us to observe the basic semantic properties of the demonstratives in English and Chinese.

3.1.2 The pilot studies

A 20-piece jigsaw puzzle set was chosen for the first pilot study. The pieces were arranged to lie in two rows on a table in front of the two subjects who sat apart on the same side but at each end of the table. The pilot study was conducted among 4 pairs of 10- to 12-year-old native English-speaking school children in Cambridge, Britain, and 6 pairs of 11- to 12-year-old native Chinese-speaking school children in Beijing, China. The aim was to find out whether the task was workable for children around 10 years of age from different cultures and speech communities. The result was that it was workable on the whole. But to prevent loss of information on the researcher's part, a simpler design with fewer jigsaw pieces involved would suit the purpose better. Accordingly, in-

stead of 20 jigsaw pieces arranged in two rows, it was decided that 12 pieces all arranged in one line would be adequate.

Two more sessions of experiments were then run among 7 pairs of English school children of comparable age range, who performed the 12-piece jigsaw task with the jigsaw pieces arranged in one row. Native Chinese-speaking children were not invited at this stage for two reasons: it was not considered necessary, and there were so few of them to be found locally that it was thought that they should be reserved for the experiment proper. It was discovered in these sessions that control of body posture on the part of the A-role subjects was necessary for valid results. Accordingly, with a further modified design, the experiment proper was conducted.

3.1.3 The setting-up of the task

In the experiment proper, the 12 jigsaw pieces, all numbered at the back, were arranged in a row down the length of a rectangular table, with a space of approximately 2 inches between each two of them. Parallel to each of the jigsaw pieces, about 2 inches away, was a row of numbered 1.5" by 2" self-stick note paper, for the researcher to identify the corresponding jigsaw pieces. While the A-role subject was required to stand at the head of the table facing the row of jigsaw pieces stretching in front of her from close to distant, the B-role subject was told to sit at the end of the long side of the table with the row of jigsaw pieces stretching away before him to his right-hand side. Relative proximity and non-proximity of the jigsaw pieces were thus created with respect to the A-role and

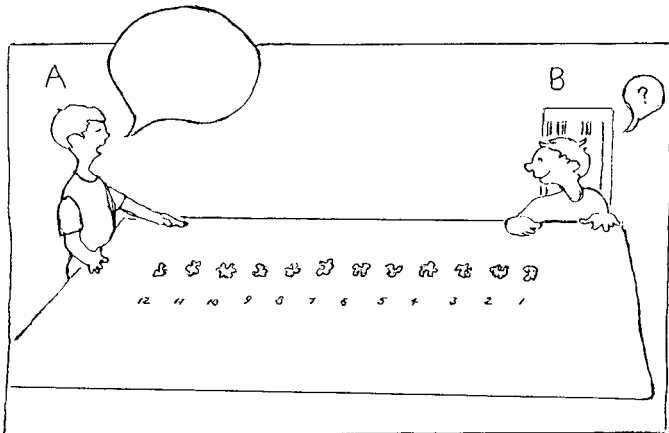


Figure 3.1 The setting of the jigsaw puzzle task

B-role subjects. The standing position of the A-role subject allowed her to see all the jigsaw pieces, and to observe the performer putting them together. This setting provided us with an opportunity to examine the behaviour of the demonstratives investigated. Figure 3.1 is a sketch of the setting of the task. The researcher and an assistant sat opposite the B-role subject with the row of jigsaw pieces lined up in front of them from the left to the right.

The fact that the jigsaw pieces had to be picked up one at a time resulted in an automatic manipulation of the physical context as the game went along. With each piece taken away, the A-role subject might find it necessary to readjust her perceptual representation of the physical context to the altered configuration of the jigsaw pieces. This, in addition, offered us an opportunity to observe how the selection of the demonstratives was controlled by the subjects' cognitive activities.

3.1.4 The subjects

For comparative purposes, native speakers of English and Chinese were invited to play the game using their own languages respectively. The English subjects were 4 pairs of 11- to 12-year-old pupils, 5 boys and 3 girls, all from the same class of a community college in Cambridge. The Chinese subjects were 4 pairs of 9- to 13-year-old pupils of primary or secondary schools, 2 boys and 6 girls, from different local schools/colleges in Cambridge. While most of the Chinese subjects speak English, their native language is Chinese and their command of its spoken mode was considered more than adequate for the purpose of the study. The age range was set as it was for two reasons: pupils within this age range have long mastered the spatial demonstratives of interest (cf. E. Clark 1978), and they were young enough to find the simple game interesting, which yielded natural performance as had been expected.

3.1.5 The procedure

The subjects chose the A or B role on a voluntary basis. Immediately after the roles were determined, the A-role subject was given the jigsaw pieces and the key picture for practice until he/she felt confident in playing the instructor role. In the meantime, the B-role subject was kept away from the game by being invited into a friendly conversation with the researcher. When the A-role subject was ready, the researcher explained the rules of the game as follows.

The A-role subject was told (1) to anchor himself/herself firmly at the head

of the table and to keep the body straight and immobile, (2) to use gestures when necessary, but (3) not to use descriptive terms such as colour words, numbers, or phrases concerning the spatial relations between the jigsaw pieces, (4) nor to bend over the table when giving instructions or move from his/her anchoring position. The B-role subject was instructed to put the jigsaw pieces together into a meaningful picture following the instructions of his/her A-role partner and was encouraged to interact with the A-role instructor whenever necessary.

It would have been ideal to cam-record the experimental sessions, but practical conditions at the time did not permit this to be done. As an alternative, the subjects' verbal interactions were tape-recorded with their approval. At the same time, the researcher and an assistant each took down one subject's selection of the deictic terms and the number(s) of the jigsaw piece(s) involved in each move on a pre-prepared record format. The subjects' bodily movements which were believed to affect their performance, though not all, were also recorded or made a mental note of for later recording. The sound recordings were transcribed promptly.

3.1.6 The data

The data consisted of the tape-recordings, the transcripts of the subjects' verbal interactions, and the record sheets (See Appendix for a sample of the transcripts).

The data yielded were necessarily constrained by the nature of the experimental task and the way the subjects' performance was recorded. The basic deictic use of the spatial demonstratives, especially of the entity-referring demonstrative pairs of the two languages, however, was successfully elicited.

3.2 The findings

The results of the jigsaw puzzle task will be reported in four steps: (1) the A-role subjects' use of *this* and *that* in English and *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' in Chinese, (2) the B-role subjects' use of *this* and *that* in English and *zhe* and *na* in Chinese as compared with the A-role subjects' use of these expressions, (3) the respective syntactic structures of the utterances of the A-role subjects containing *this* and *that* in English and *zhe* and *na* in Chinese, and (4) the English subjects' use of *here* and *there* and the Chinese subjects' use of *zher* 'here' and *nar* 'there'.

3.2.1 The A-role subjects' use of the entity-referring demonstratives

Table 3.1 below presents the results concerning the A-role subjects' use of the entity-referring demonstratives in English and Chinese. For notational reference, the figures in bold stand for the 12 jigsaw pieces each as they were numbered and arranged in the experimental sessions with the piece numbered 12 closest to the A-role subject and the one numbered 1 closest to the B-role subject. JPs is short for jigsaw pieces, EP for English Pair, CP for Chinese Pair, and A for the A-role subject. A pointing gesture is recorded as *ptg* and *des* stands for a descriptive term used. The figures in italics record the sequence in which each of the pieces was indicated by the A-role subjects. In the table, the forms "this" and "that" are used to stand for the pronominal or determiner use of the English proximal and non-proximal entity-referring demonstratives respectively. The forms "zhe" and "na" are used for the pronominal or determiner use of the Chinese proximal and non-proximal entity-referring demonstratives respectively.

Table 3.1 A-role subjects' use of the entity-referring demonstratives

JPs		12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
EP1	A	this	this	this	this	this	this	this	that	that	that	des	that
		5	3	4	7	11	8	10	2	6	9	12	1
EP2	A	this	this	this	this	this	this	this	this	this	that	that	that
		8	6	7	3	12	9	11	5	2	10	4	1
EP3	A	this	this	this	that	this	des	this	this	that	this	this	that
		8	4	6	10	11	12	3	7	9	5	2	1
EP4	A	this	this	this	that	this	this	that	that	that	that	that	ptg
		12	8	7	9	10	11	5	3	4	6	2	1
CP1	A	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	na	zhe	na	na	na	na	na
		3	12	5	11	9	1	7	6	4	2	10	8
CP2	A	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	na	na	na
		11	10	4	8	7	5	3	6	9	1	2	12
CP3	A	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	na	na	na	des	na	des	na
		12	10	9	4	2	3	7	11	5	8	1	6
CP4	A	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	zhe	na	zhe/na	na	des	na
		6	3	4	8	10	9	7	5	2	11	12	1

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 below present the frequency counts of the occurrences of the demonstratives by each pair of the English and Chinese A-role subjects respectively.

Table 3.2 Frequency of *this* and *that* in jigsaw task

	English	
	<i>this</i> (n)	<i>that</i> (n)
EP1-A	7	4
EP2-A	9	3
EP3-A	8	3
EP4-A	6	5
Total	30	15

Table 3.3 Frequency of *zhe* and *na* in jigsaw task

	Chinese	
	<i>zhe</i> (n)	<i>na</i> (n)
CP1-A	6	6
CP2-A	9	3
CP3-A	5	5
CP4-A	7	3
Total	27	17

As can be seen from Tables 3.2 and 3.3, the total numbers of occurrences of the proximal and non-proximal entity-referring demonstratives respectively are quite close for the English and Chinese A-role subjects: 30 for *this* and 27 for *zhe* ‘this’, and 15 for *that* and 17 for *na* ‘that’. This is taken to suggest that the prototypical usage of the entity-referring demonstratives was largely shared by the English and Chinese subjects. Specifically, the general tendency can be observed from Table 3.1 that both the English and Chinese A-role subjects used the proximal entity-referring demonstrative for the jigsaw pieces relatively close to them and the non-proximate entity-referring demonstrative for the pieces relatively far from them. Irregularities occurred, but only rarely. They are accountable and therefore do not flaw the observation of the general tendency. I shall address the apparent irregularities promptly.

3.2.2 The B-role subjects’ use of the entity-referring demonstratives

Determined by their rather passive role in the game, the B-role subjects were not expected to use a demonstrative with all the jigsaw pieces they took and this was indeed what occurred with all the B-role subjects. When they did use one, it was often for clarification or confirmation. Although the B-role subjects’ use of the demonstratives was recorded and transcribed, the records of their performance were not complete. Only a few of their bodily movements, in most cases standing up and reaching for a jigsaw piece at the other end of the table, were recorded. These movements most likely affected their selection of the demonstratives as they are believed to have boosted the use of the proximal demonstratives. Table 3.4 below presents the B-role subjects’ verbal performance together with the A-role subjects’ performance. The same notational reference as has been used in Table 3.1 applies. In addition, B is used for the B-role subject. An “*” mark suggests that a bodily movement was involved and

recorded. Although the overall impression from the on-the-spot observation was that the B-role subjects had the same criterion for their selection of the demonstratives as the A-role subjects, given the incompleteness of the data, it would not be feasible to make claims solely on the basis of the B-role subjects' performance. The obtained results from their performance are thus treated only as supportive data.

For the B-role subjects, the number of demonstratives used varied from subject to subject. From what has been recorded, it seems that while the data from the English subjects provide supporting evidence for the claim made based on the A-role subjects' performance, the data from the Chinese subjects do not contradict the same claim. The prevailing use of the proximal *zhe* 'this' by the Chinese B-role subjects was observed to be accompanied by their bodily movement in an attempt to reach the piece indicated.

Table 3.4 B-role subjects' use of the entity-referring demonstratives as compared with A-role subjects' use

JPs		12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
EP1	A	this	this	this	this	this	this	this	that	that	that		that
	B	that	that		that	that	that	that	that	that	this	that	this
		5	3	4	7	11	8	10	2	6	9	12	1
EP2	A	this	this	this	this	this	this	this	this	this	that	that	that
	B								this	this			
		8	6	7	3	12	9	11	5	2	10	4	1
EP3	A	this	this	this	that	this		this	this	that	this	this	that
	B								this*		that	that	this
		8	4	6	10	11	12	3	7	9	5	2	1
EP4	A	this	this	this	that	this	this	that	that	that	that	that	ptg
	B			this*				that	that	that	this	this	this
		12	8	7	9	10	11	5	3	4	6	2	1
CP1	A	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	na	<i>zhe</i>	na	na	na	na	na
	B								<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>
		3	12	5	11	9	1	7	6	4	2	10	8
CP2	A	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	na	na	na
	B								<i>zhe</i>		<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>
		11	10	4	8	7	5	3	6	9	1	2	12
CP3	A	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	na	na	na		na		na
	B			<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	
		12	10	9	4	2	3	7	11	5	8	1	6
CP4	A	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>	na	<i>zhe/na</i>	na		na
	B								<i>zhe</i>	na			<i>zhe</i>
		6	3	4	8	10	9	7	5	2	11	12	1

3.2.3 The syntactic structure

For the English A-role subjects, the instruction utterances concerning which piece to pick up took 6 syntactic forms, with the conjunctions, hesitations, and repetitive utterances omitted. The notations used are: V = verb, DP = demonstrative pronoun, P = pronoun/proform, CL = classifier, DA = demonstrative adverb, DD = demonstrative determiner, n = frequency count of occurrences. Altogether a total of 45 instruction utterances were examined, not counting those occurring in clarifications, which contained the demonstratives in question. For each of the six syntactic forms given below, an example from the data is given with the source quoted in parentheses.

- (1) (you) V + DD + P + DA
 (you) get *that* one *there* (EP2-A: Line 11)
 n=8
- (2) V + DD + P
 pick *this* one (EP1-A: Line 5)
 n=2
- (3) V + DP
 take *that* (EP1-A: Line 1)
 n=1
- (4) DD + P + DA
this one *here* (EP2-A: Line 3)
 n=2
- (5) DD + P
that one (EP3-A: Line 27)
 n=31
- (6) DP
that (EP1-A: Line 13)
 n=1

A total of 45 Chinese instruction utterances of the A-role subjects were examined, which yielded the following 4 syntactic forms. Note that in the examples given, the phonetic forms *zhei* and *nei* are used for *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' respectively to record how they were literally pronounced by the subjects. Note also that the *-ge* in *zheige* and *neige* is treated as an empty suffix instead of a classifier (cf. Note 2).

- (1) (2SG) + v + DD + CL
(ni) na zhei kuai (CP4-A: Line 5)
(you) take this CL
(you) take this piece
n=23
- (2) v + DP
na zheige (CP1-A: Line 10)
take this
take this
n=12
- (3) DD + CL
zhei kuai (CP2-A: Line 27)
this CL
this piece
n=10
- (4) DP
neige (CP1-A: Line 1)
that
that
n=1

As can be seen, the syntactic forms containing the demonstratives employed by the English and Chinese A-role subjects were rather similar. Differences, however, were found in that (1) in English the entity-referring demonstratives *this* and *that* can co-occur with the place-referring demonstratives *here* and *there* respectively (See English example 4), whereas in Chinese this is not normally the case, and (2) in English a DD is followed by the generic proform “one”, while in Chinese a DD is followed by the classifier “kuai”.

3.2.4 The place-referring demonstratives

The place-referring demonstratives, both *here* and *there* in English and *zheli/zher* ‘here’ and *nali/nar* ‘there’ in Chinese, occurred with a much lower frequency in the data than the entity-referring demonstratives. For the A-role subjects, only one English subject consistently used the *this one here/that one there* construction. Otherwise, these expressions were used to relate to the location of the jigsaw pieces in the layout of the picture. The observation was that no contrary evidence was found regarding our understanding that *here*

and *zher* were for a piece relatively close to the speaker at the moment of utterance and *there* and *nar* for a piece relatively far from the speaker.

3.3 Discussion

The discussion of the findings will focus on the A-role subjects' use of the entity-referring demonstratives in the two languages. As the findings in 3.2 suggest, the English and Chinese subjects used the demonstratives in much the same way: in general, the proximal demonstratives were employed for the jigsaw pieces relatively close to them and the non-proximal demonstratives for the pieces relatively far from them. This leads me to a unified discussion of the semantic properties of these demonstratives of the two languages as they are used to indicate situational deixis.

3.3.1 Demonstrativeness and egocentricity

In performing the instruction role, all the A-role subjects employed the gesture of pointing as they verbalised the entity-referring demonstratives in their respective languages. Each utterance of a demonstrative, together with the pointing gesture, commanded the attention of the addressee, such that the B-role subject had to search and locate the jigsaw piece intended for him/her to pick up. Demonstrativeness is thus shown to be a basic semantic ingredient of the demonstratives. This demonstrativeness is directional, in the sense that all the demonstrations were issued by the A-role subjects from where they were standing and directed at the jigsaw pieces lying away from them. The demonstratives were therefore selected from an egocentric point of view. Egocentricity is thus shown to be another basic semantic ingredient of the demonstratives. It is obvious that definiteness and intentionality are entailed in these demonstratives (cf. 2.1.1).

3.3.2 Relative proximity vs. non-proximity

The subjects' performance also showed that encoded in *this* and *zhe* 'this' is the sense of relative nearness from the deictic centre and encoded in *that* and *na* 'that' is the sense of relative farness from the deictic centre. This distinction was borne out by the fact that there was an obvious tendency for both the English and Chinese subjects to use *this* and *zhe* respectively for the jigsaw pieces

relatively close to them and *that* and *na* for the pieces relatively far away from them (cf. Table 3.1).

Specifically, for six out of the eight A-role subjects, EP1-A, EP2-A, EP4-A, CP2-A, CP3-A, and CP4-A, spatial distance of the jigsaw pieces from their body was clearly the criterion for their selection of the demonstratives for the jigsaw pieces. For these subjects, the closer pieces were referred to by uttering the proximal demonstrative plus a pointing gesture, and the less close pieces were referred to with the non-proximal demonstrative and an accompanying gesture of pointing. This is seen as capturing the most basic, dictionary meaning of the pair of demonstratives, identical in English and Chinese. The same criterion for selection also held for the remaining two subjects, EP3-A and CP1-A, though the decision-making process seemed more complex than that for the 6 subjects mentioned above. To justify this claim, it is necessary to analyse in-depth the A-role subjects' use of the demonstratives and the nature of the sense element of proximity/non-proximity involved.

For the six subjects, there seemed to be a perceptual boundary which separated the jigsaw pieces into two groups, those within the subjects' immediate boundary of perception and those beyond. The former group were referred to as *this* or *zhe* 'this' and the latter as *that* or *na* 'that', irrespective of where in the sequence each piece was indicated and picked up. This is taken to suggest that for these subjects there was one and only one perceptual configuration of the overall arrangement of the jigsaw pieces throughout the game, and this configuration can be taken to have been conceptualised once and for all, most likely before the game started. What varied for these subjects was where they each set the perceptual boundary. EP2-A and CP2-A, for example, both had the nine pieces that were relatively close to them within the boundary and the other 3 beyond, whereas EP1-A and CP4-A both had seven pieces within their perceptual boundary. EP4-A and CP3-A had six and five respectively. Here is a case wherein while physical nearness or farness governed the choice of the demonstratives, it was mediated by each individual's perceptual tendency to set a limit regarding how close a jigsaw piece was to his/her body and therefore could be related to with a demonstrative of proximity or non-proximity. Viewed in this light, even subjects EP3-A's and CP1-A's use of the demonstratives, which I will address presently, showed a selection of the demonstratives based on relative spatial distance to the speaker's body, though the perceptual and conceptual mediation of the distance semantic element was shown to be of a more complex nature.

In CP1-A's performance, jigsaw piece (JP henceforth) 7 was referred to as *na* 'that' and JP6 as *zhe* 'this', though the former was physically closer to the A-role subject than the latter. I see two possibilities here. One is that like the six subjects mentioned above, CP1-A viewed the 12 JPs as constituting one overall situation and held its configuration throughout the game. The perceptual boundary for him was not an absolute, accurate line, but a fuzzy conceptualisation of such a line, allowing for moderate manoeuvre or adjustment. It is this fuzzy conceptualisation that is believed to have been responsible for the slight variation in the use of the demonstratives from the norm: *zhe* for physical proximity and *na* for physical non-proximity.

The other possible account is contextual in the physical sense. In this case it is postulated that for CP1-A the boundary was as clear as for the 6 subjects, in between JP8 and JP7, when the game started. As JP7 was beyond the boundary from CP1-A's point of view, *na* 'that' was selected. However, with each of the JPs removed by his B-role partner as instructed, the physical configuration of the remaining JPs altered slightly, causing a contextual change for the remaining JPs. Up until the completion of the 6th move, the slight alterations had accumulated resulting in a configuration (illustrated below, with each + standing for a JP already taken away) noticeably different from the one at the start of the game. It could have amounted to a marked contextual change for JP6, which is believed to have worked on CP1-A's perception in such a way as to induce a resetting of boundary.

JPs	+	11	+	9	8	+	6	+	+	+	2	1
		<i>zhe</i>		<i>zhe</i>	<i>zhe</i>		<i>zhe</i>				<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
		12		11	9		7				10	8

As a result, JP6, which had been beyond the earlier boundary and would have been referred to as *na* 'that', was now within the reset boundary and therefore was referred to as *zhe* 'this', contrasting with JP2 and JP1 at the other end, both of which must be well beyond the boundary. Here the contextual effect on the choice of *zhe* or *na* was considerable in that it caused a conceptual change, so that in certain circumstances *zhe* could be used to refer to a relatively more distant entity and *na* to a relatively closer entity. This, however, does not flout the principle of spatial proximity vs. non-proximity for the subjects' selection of the demonstratives.

This second account may also explain the seemingly inconsistent performance of EP3-A. Out of the 12 JPs, three, namely JP1, JP4, and JP9, were referred to as *that*. When the game started, the boundary could be taken to be

set between JP2 and JP1, and out of the 12 JPs, only JP1 was beyond the boundary. This boundary seemed to hold till the completion of the 7th or 8th move. The 9th move, which concerned JP4, was likely conceived with the following configuration.

JP	+	+	+	9	8	7	+	+	4	+	+	+
				that	this	last			that			
				10	11	12			9			

Here the physical context was likely to have altered from a line of twelve equally spaced JPs to a line of two blocks from EP3-A's viewpoint, one big and containing 3 JPs and the other small with only JP4 in it, separated by an obvious space. The space between the big block and the speaker, however, was now even bigger with JP12 taken away as the 8th move. This configuration is believed to have triggered a perceptual boundary resetting for EP3-A either between JP4 and JP7 or between JP9 and his own body. Accordingly he referred to JP4 using *that*, even though the piece was physically closer to him than JPs 2 and 3 for which *this* had been used. Resetting the boundary between JP9 and himself would result in his selection of *that* for the 10th move for JP9. This was most likely the case, for the instructions concerning the 9th and 10th moves involving JP4 and JP9 respectively were given in succession with hardly any pausing, as the tape-recording indicated. For the 11th move for JP8, the subject was faced with yet another configuration, illustrated as follows.

JP	+	+	+	+	8	7	+	+	+	+	+	+
					this	last						
					11	12						

His use of *this* for JP8, which followed a substantial pause when the performer-subject fiddled with where to put JP4 and JP9, is taken to suggest another resetting of the boundary beyond JP7.

In summary, the jigsaw puzzle task revealed the relative nature of proximity and non-proximity as encapsulated by the deictically used demonstratives. It showed that proximity and non-proximity to the speaker, being a semantic ingredient encoded in the English and Chinese demonstrative pairs, is nevertheless not an absolute notion. Perceptual adjustment occurred, which caused re-configuration of the physical context in which each JP was to be indicated. With these demonstratives, perceptual adjustment was shown to be capable of producing a direct effect on language use (cf. Miller & Johnson-Laird 1976). The data also suggest that perceptual adjustment accounted for individual

differences with respect to where to set the boundary for an overall, lasting configuration and resulted in “irregular” use of the demonstratives for speakers of both languages. All along, however, the principle of proximity vs. non-proximity held. It was the changed physical contexts which resulted from perceptual adjustment that were responsible for the relativeness of proximity vs. non-proximity from the anchoring point of the speaker.

While the principle of proximity vs. non-proximity was held by all subjects throughout the game, individual differences were found in their perceptual tendencies and therefore in their selection of the demonstratives concerned. It would be interesting to find out if differences of the kind found are patterned individual differences which reflect the ways people operate on spatial information using demonstratives (cf. Levelt 1982).

3.3.3 Contrastiveness

Related to the perceptual construct of boundary is the conceptualised notion of contrastiveness as a sense entailment of the demonstratives. In a sense, the task was so constructed that contrastiveness may be seen as built into its design. A proximal demonstrative was always used as against the background of a presupposed beyond-boundary non-proximity. Similarly, a non-proximal demonstrative was invariably used as against the background of a presupposed within-boundary proximity. The sense of contrastiveness is so pervasive that even when all the JPs were referred to by means of the same demonstrative, be it proximal or non-proximal, contrastiveness could still be posited to be conveyed in the expression. A typical example of this was provided by an English A-role subject in one of the pilot sessions, wherein she used *that* for all the 12 jigsaw pieces. But with each utterance of *that*, she was seen to be drawing her body backward, creating a distance from the JPs, and while pointing she would draw her right forearm as far back as possible, again creating a distance between the JPs and her hand.

The contrastiveness entailed in the demonstratives is of a deictic nature, i.e., the contrast is a deictic contrast which cannot be interpreted independently of the deictic centre. The relationship between the contrastive pairs is not one typical of a binary opposition (Lyons 1977: 270ff), but one of mutual dependence in the sense that proximity is meaningful only in the context of non-proximity, and vice versa. This is not unlike the relationship between figure and ground (cf. Talmy 1983), in the sense that without ground there is simply no figure to speak of, and vice versa. The data from the jigsaw puzzle

task documented many instances of the use of the demonstratives used in a contrastive way. Not only was it shown that all the A-role subjects handled the demonstratives contrastively (cf. Table 3.1), but also in many cases the same jigsaw piece was referred to contrastively by the A-role and B-role subjects in the same pair (cf. Table 3.4). On the sense of contrastiveness, hinges relative-ness of proximity and non-proximity, for whether an entity is close or not depends on where other relevant entities are against which it is contrasted. In this sense, we may say that contrastiveness must reside in the mental lexicon of the speaker when she employs the demonstratives as situational deictics. It is when both the proximity and non-proximity demonstratives are used in the same deictic context that the contrast is shown most clearly (cf. Lü 1985). The setting of the experimental task was such that it lent itself to bringing this contrastiveness to the surface nicely.

The nature of the task seems also to lend itself to the interpretation of the contrastiveness embedded in the demonstratives used in terms of attention to the JP pointed to as contrastive against all the others in view.

3.4 Summary

The findings from the jigsaw puzzle task thus lead to the claim that the English and Chinese spatial demonstratives under examination share the following semantic properties: they encode demonstrativeness, egocentricity, and relative proximity or non-proximity. Their primary function in face-to-face interactions such as the ones looked at here is that of spatial reference-signalling from an egocentric perspective, wherein the prototypical referents are sensory stimuli, preferably a concrete physical entity, in the speech situations. In performing the reference-signalling function, these demonstratives are shown necessarily to entail a sense of definiteness with which the entity is signalled, a sense of intentionality as to which entity is to be the intended referent, a sense of contrastiveness with which the relative distance from the ego is handled, and therefore a sense of relativity for the distance parameter. All the semantic ingredients and entailments involved in the semantics of the spatial demonstratives in their situational deictic use point to the underlying subjectivity, subjectivity in terms of intentionality and point of view, subjectivity as the source of contrastiveness and relativity in the perceived distance involved, as the source of individual differences in the situational deictic use of the demonstratives.

The jigsaw puzzle task created a paradigmatic canonical speech situation in which the most basic deictic use of the demonstratives in English and Chinese was elicited and compared. The results pointed to the predominant similarities in the way the demonstratives were used, which enabled us to see the shared basic semantics of the spatial demonstratives of the two languages and the rather similar syntactic structures in which these expressions occurred.

But the differences revealed in the data, however seemingly trivial, must not be allowed to evade our attention, given the tightly controlled nature of the task. Already, we notice the difference in the syntactic role of the place-referring demonstratives of the two languages: the English *here* and *there* can co-occur with *this* and *that* respectively, whereas the Chinese *zheli/zher* 'here' and *nali/nar* 'there' cannot co-occur with *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' in the same way. If consideration is further given to the fact that English and Chinese are two typologically different languages and the fact that natural English and Chinese discourse, spoken and written, is full of these demonstratives and their behaviour is versatile, the question arises logically of whether the behaviour of the demonstratives of the two languages diverges when they are used to perform functions other than pointing to concrete sensory stimuli in the immediate physical situation shared by the interlocutors, and if it does, what is their respective behaviour. This will be the issue to be addressed in the next two chapters where written discourse in English and Chinese will be examined and their use of the spatial demonstratives compared.

CHAPTER 4

Spatial demonstratives in displaced contexts: Similar trends of extension

4.0 The preliminary

Having established the basic semantic similarities of the spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese, especially those of the entity-referring demonstratives, in their basic deictic use, the issue that remains to be resolved is: How far do these demonstratives extend into the universe-of-discourse? Does the basic use extend in a similar manner, or does it fall apart in its extension for the two languages? To be able to answer the questions, it is necessary to study the behaviour of the demonstratives in the type of discourse where displaced contexts prevail.

As is indicated in 1.4.1, a sample of the universe-of-discourse was selected for the purpose. The results yielded suggest that while English and Chinese broadly share similar trends of development in the extended use of the demonstratives, they have also developed dissimilar extended usages under the identified similar trends. Dissimilarities are typically embedded in the largely similar trends of extensions. For ease and clarity of exposition, however, it seems necessary to treat them separately.

The focus of this chapter is on the similar trends of extension in the extended use of the spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese. Such similarities can be traced to the similarities of the basic semantics of the English and Chinese demonstratives as they are used to indicate situational deixis in real space. They reflect the workings of the human mind in exploiting existing linguistic mechanisms for novel performances (Heine et al. 1991).

Five similar modes of extension are identified in the corpora. First, with a mapping of an analogical nature, the situational deictic function which the demonstratives are used to perform in real space extends into textual and discourse deictic functions for reference in discourse. In such extension, while the deictic-ness remains intact, a transfer occurs in the properties of the referents of the demonstratives used, i.e., a transfer from physical entities to textual entities and mental representations of discourse respectively. Second,

with a projection of the deictic centre, deictic centre shift occurs, and the basic deictic function extends into the empathetic deictic function in discourse. Third, deictic force is found to remain in control of the manners of extension, and asymmetry marks the scope of the extended usages of the proximal vs. non-proximal demonstratives in English and Chinese in largely similar manners. Fourth, when the proximal and non-proximal members of each of the demonstrative pairs are allowed to occur side by side in the same utterance, the asymmetry inherent in them gets cancelled and the deictic force residing in them diminishes to the minimum, resulting in their essentially non-deictic, generic usage. Finally, with conceptual transfer of a metaphorical nature occurring, spatial proximity and non-proximity have received largely similar reinterpretations in the extended use of the demonstratives in the two languages.

It is necessary to note that these five modes of extension do not always apply equally to the entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives, nor, for the entity-referring demonstratives, to demonstrative pronouns and determiners. Details in this respect will be given when each trend of extension is discussed separately.

In addition, it is important to note that the trends of extended usages identified should not be regarded as totally separate from one another.

4.1 The language sample and the data

In this section, the language sample selected for examination (cf. 1.4.1) will be described and initially evaluated, following which the data for analysis will be defined.

4.1.1 The parallel corpora

As is stated in 1.4.1, the language sample selected for the present study consists of the following two parallel corpora:

The English texts:

Winnie-The-Pooh (145 pages)

The Magic Gourd (Translated text, TT hereafter, of *Baohulu de Mimi*, 121 pages)

The Chinese texts:

Baohulu de Mimi (100 pages)

Xiaoxiong Wenni Pu (Translated text of *Winnie-The-Pooh*, 135 pages)

While the whole book of *Winnie-The-Pooh* and its Chinese translation were studied, for *Baohulu de Mimi* ‘The Magic Gourd’, 23 of its 41 chapters, which cover 100 pages, and their English translation were analysed. The decision to use only part of the Chinese book was necessary, in order to balance the length of the English and Chinese texts. The 23 chapters studied were the first 25 chapters from *Baohulu de Mimi* excluding two chapters. Chapter 21 has not been translated into English and Chapter 22 was not used for stylistic reasons. Accordingly, the English translation examined was the translation of the 23 chapters, 135 pages, from which the data for the Chinese demonstratives were obtained.

The two original books *Winnie-The-Pooh* and *Baohulu de Mimi* ‘The Magic Gourd’ are popular children’s classics in the respective English and Chinese cultures, both by established writers. The English book consists of story episodes told in the third person to a single “you”, a 6-year-old boy who is both a character in the story and the listener, intended to be read aloud or retold to young children. Adults are found attracted by the charm of the stories no less than children. The Chinese book consists of story episodes which unfold in a long dream of the protagonist. Written in the first person, the stories are meant to be told to or read by a general “you”, children around the age of 10. The book enjoys a wide readership among children and adults alike. An important common feature of the two books is that both books contain imaginary story episodes presented in colloquial register with extensive conversations between the characters embedded in the narrative.

What the two original books do not share involves ideology, in addition to the contents, the levels of vocabulary used and the persons in which they are told. These differences were not a deliberate preference in the planning stage of the research. The choice, however, has turned out to be not without its advantages. As the two English texts and the two Chinese texts are treated as parallel components of the corpora, the coverage is naturally expanded in terms of the contents and language phenomena involved, providing richer data for the exploration of the demonstratives in question. To a considerable degree, the above-mentioned differences in the original books are believed to be cancelled by the use of their translated texts.

The translated texts for both books are the only versions found in print. They are considered adequate for the present study, in the sense that they are generally faithful to the original texts, which meets the prerequisite for the comparison. Like other works of translation, inadequacies are found, most probably owing to what Lyons refers to as “the impossibility of translation”

(1979: 235), and/or to the influence of the source text structure and diction. But instances of these are limited in number and they were handled with caution throughout the study.

The primary considerations for selecting a sample of language for the corpus are that the sample should provide adequate instances of the demonstratives under examination and that it should ideally cover as wide a range of usages of the demonstratives as possible. The story-telling genre of children's literature is found to better meet the requirements than, for example, adult fiction, drama, newspaper or expository writing. First, written for children, much of the texts is situated in the fictional characters' here-and-now and appears as face-to-face interactions, yielding instances of situational deictic use of the demonstratives in the fictional worlds created in the stories. Moreover, ideologically, they cater for a dual audience of both children and adults.²² This sometimes calls for more sophisticated language use in which discourse deixis is embedded. Second, conversational and narrative genres exist side by side in these stories. As such, they exhibit a fairly good concentration of the demonstratives used in face-to-face conversations and in narrative, which is interwoven with conversations, all in displaced contexts. This makes it possible to observe the extended usages in both styles. Free indirect style is found embedded in the narrative, especially in the Chinese narrative, where language is used to express what is going on in the minds of the characters concerned, often through the manipulation of various deictic categories. Third, the choice is also informed by the ontogenesis of the demonstratives from situational to discourse deixis (Lyons 1991), in the course of which discourse deixis in face-to-face interactions is assumed to precede discourse deixis in writing. In this light, children's literature in the story-telling genre is believed to be illustrative of basic tendencies in at least the two languages concerned. Thus, the corpora set for the study provide reasonably good data in view of the research purpose.

The question naturally arises of how far fictional language resembles language in real world speech. It seems that on the one hand, although experience of the fictional world is in a sense different from experience of the real world, language does not actually provide a correlate for such difference. This is taken to account for the occurrences of displaced situational deictic use of the spatial demonstratives in the books. But on the other hand, as Leech & Short (1981: 155) observe, although in fictional speech language is used to simulate rather than to report and indeed what is there is like the real thing, fiction writers, literary writers in particular, "aspire not so much to realism, as to a superior expressiveness of the kind which we do not ordinarily achieve in real

life". To this may be added their intuitive consideration of their potential readers who have to experience fictional speech in the form of written text. It should be reasonable to assume that language in stories for children, marked by orality, resembles everyday, real-world colloquial speech at large. But at the same time, being written texts for silent reading and for reading aloud to children, the language may be expected to deviate from the real thing in two ways. First, generally, the texts are more or less free from what Leech & Short refer to as features of "normal non-fluency" (op cit.: 164; cf. Quirk 1955). Secondly, more demonstratives seem to be used than would perhaps be necessary in face-to-face conversations, most probably to compensate for what is lacking in speech in real-life situations, and/or for stylistic reasons. This observed "overuse", it is believed, is a matter of frequency of use and does not affect the data qualitatively.

4.1.2 Defining the data

In order to observe how far the basic, situational deictic use extends into the language structure of English and Chinese and compare the extended usages of the demonstratives of the two languages, every occurrence of the forms of the spatial demonstratives in the parallel corpora, whether such occurrence indicates a deictic or non-deictic use, contributes to the overall data.

On the other hand, as the focus of the comparison is on the extended, deictic usages of the spatial demonstratives and entity-referring demonstratives in particular, only that portion of the data concerning such usages of these demonstratives will be subject to a meticulous analysis.

4.1.3 Stylistic conventions for quoting data in text

The following shorter terms will be used henceforth in examples for the full names of the books and their translated texts which appear on the right side of the colons respectively.

- Pooh: *Winnie-The-Pooh*
 Pooh [C]: The Chinese translation of *Winnie-The-Pooh*
 Baohulu: *Baohulu de Mimi* 'The Magic Gourd'
 Baohulu [E]: The English translation of *Baohulu de Mimi*

When it is necessary to give the co-text of an utterance which contains a spatial demonstrative from the Chinese texts, the co-text is given in English following

a “TT:”, which indicates that what follows is taken from the translation text. Where the utterance in which the demonstrative occurs is written in Chinese *pinyin*, a word-for-word glossary is provided in English, followed by the English translation of the utterance. The English translation, unless noted otherwise, is taken from the English text in the corpora.

4.2 Overview

In this section, an overview of the distribution of the demonstratives in the corpora will be given, along with their general grammatical and discourse functions.

4.2.1 Overall distribution

By overall distribution is meant the total frequency of all the tokens of each of the spatial demonstratives investigated (cf. Table 2.1 in 2.1.1) in the corpora. It follows that the result of the frequency count for each demonstrative does not discriminate between deictic and non-deictic usages, nor between the grammatical roles with which the usages are related. The overall distribution will give us an idea of the extent to which the spatial demonstratives extend into the language of displaced contexts in the language sample.

Table 4.1 and Table 4.2 present the total frequency of occurrence for each of the spatial demonstratives in English and Chinese respectively.²³ DM stands for demonstrative.

As can be seen from Tables 4.1 and 4.2, the two total numbers of occurrences of the demonstratives under examination, 1,178 for English and 1,118 for Chinese, are considerable considering the rather small size of the parallel corpora. These numerous instances of textual occurrence may be taken to suggest that the basic, deictic use of the spatial demonstratives does extend into displaced contexts in both languages. It is necessary to point out at this point that, however, while the corpora for the present study document a great variety of frequently occurring extended usages of the demonstratives, as we shall see, it cannot be claimed that these usages are exhaustive.

The tables also indicate that comparatively speaking, the entity-referring demonstratives occur far more frequently than the place-referring demonstratives in the two corpora. Table 4.3 below presents the frequency of occurrence of these two pairs of demonstratives in English and Chinese.

Table 4.1 Frequency of English spatial demonstratives

DM	English (n)
<i>this (these)</i>	299
<i>that (those)</i>	625
<i>here</i>	58
<i>there</i>	196
Total	1178

Table 4.2 Frequency of Chinese spatial demonstratives

DM	Chinese (n)
<i>zhe (zhexie)</i>	566
<i>na (naxie)</i>	413
<i>zheli (zher)</i>	67
<i>nali (nar)</i>	72
Total	1118

Table 4.3 Frequency of entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives in English and Chinese

DM	English (n)	Chinese (n)
Entity-referring	924	979
Place-referring	254	139
Total	1178	1118

Table 4.3 documents an obvious disparity in the number of occurrences of the place-referring demonstratives between English and Chinese in the corpora. Chinese is recorded to have used far fewer place-referring demonstratives than English. This discrepancy is largely due to the fact that out of the 254 instances that go under the English place-referring demonstratives, existential *there* amounts to 98 instances. In Chinese, the same concept of existence is encoded in a different lexeme, *you*, rather than in a demonstrative.

4.2.2 Functions in discourse

The functions of the demonstrative expressions in both English and Chinese discourse are found to be structural, indexical, and socio-expressive.

In general, these demonstrative expressions penetrate into the structure of discourse, assuming membership of various grammatical classes: as demonstrative pronouns and determiners, complementisers, conjunctions, interjections, and/or as necessary constituents of set expressions. Demonstrative pronouns, in particular, serve predominantly as discourse topics in topic-comment constructions, contributing substantially to information structure and flow of discourse (cf. 5.2.2).

These demonstrative expressions largely perform an indexical function with varying degrees of deictic-ness involved. They index textual entities or, predominantly, mental representations of discourse and contribute to discourse coherence by anchoring one proposition to another or others. With deictic-ness, they also contribute to discourse coherence by providing the point of view from which context can be accessed and interpretation facilitated. Given that discourse coherence is seen as a function of context (Brown 1995b) and as located in the mind of the locutionary agent and recipient, the demonstratives serve as coordinates of the numerous contexts in the language sample studied. They act like discourse glue (Schiffrin 1987: chap. 10), without which discourse fragments would fall apart and coherence of discourse would be inconceivable. In fictional narrative, the deictic properties of the demonstratives, and indeed the whole deictic category, serve to cohere conversation and narration and signal shifts of points of view, appealing to empathy and contributing substantially to fictional narrativity.²⁴

The fact that subjectivity is inherent in the deictic-ness of the demonstrative expressions makes it possible for subjectivity to penetrate into language structure. Data for the present study also show that the same deictic-ness opens up possibilities for another kind of subjectivity, i.e., the speaker's individual self-expression of her attitudinal or emotional involvement, which cannot be pre-planned but is generated along the interactions of the on-going discourse (Clark 1996). The demonstrative expressions thus contribute to the socio-expressive function of language and socio-expressiveness of language use in discourse (cf. 4.7.3, 5.4).

4.2.3 Deictic functional load and grammatical roles

A legitimate question that may arise is: Are the identified functional extensions accompanied by formal extensions, i.e., extensions in the grammatical roles which the demonstratives are used to perform? My observation is that they are and they are not. In general, when these demonstratives are employed to function deictically in displaced contexts, indicating textual, discourse, or

empathetic deixis, they continue to assume the same syntactic roles as when they are used to function deictically in real space. The English entity-referring demonstratives and the Chinese entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives function either as a pronoun/proform, a determiner, or occasionally an adverb of manner or degree; the English place-referring demonstratives function as place adverbs in general. In their diminished deictic functions, however, the demonstratives concerned tend to extend into other grammatical roles. The only exceptional case is perhaps the generic use of the demonstratives in which the demonstratives perform an essentially non-deictic function but still assume the same grammatical roles as they do when used deictically (cf. 4.6). The data indicate that the behaviour of the demonstratives in discourse registers a close interface between form and function, which will become clear throughout the following exposition.

A ready indication of the interface can perhaps be seen from the entity-referring demonstratives in their pronominal and determiner roles. They are distinguished not only in the sense that demonstrative pronouns are postulated to be the source from which various other grammatical and discourse roles are developed (Lyons 1977: 656–657), but also in the sense that they vary in the functional load they bear.

Structurally, while demonstrative pronouns alone can be the equivalent of an NP, the same demonstratives in their determiner role cannot. They are a constituent of an NP. Compare the two uses of *that* in the utterances by A and B respectively after hearing L's description of what actions to take next.

A. "*That's* fabulous."

B. "*That idea* is fabulous."

For the addressee/reader, the *that* in A indexes the mental representation of the whole description concerning the actions to be taken. The same mental representation, however, is indexed by the utterance of *idea* in B, while the role of the determiner *that* is confined to that of directing the addressee/reader's attention to the immediately previous utterances. In terms of topicalisation, *that* in A captures the propositional content of the previous utterances concerned and topicalises it, whereas in B it is essentially *idea* that captures and topicalises this propositional content. *That* in B locates the propositional content and links it to *idea*. It is therefore argued that even though the pronominal *that* in A and the determiner *that* in B are both deictic, the deictic strength residing in the determiner use is seen to be weaker, for part of its indexical function is borne by the head noun *idea*.

The above brief overview may be seen as general findings. What follows in 4.3 to 4.7 will address specifically the similar trends of development in the extended use of the demonstratives under discussion.

4.3 Transfer in the nature of referents

The figures presented in Tables 4.1 to 4.3 testify to the extensive use of the spatial demonstratives in displaced contexts of the languages provided by the corpora. In this section, I shall explore such extensive usages as motivated by a direct mapping from the use of the demonstratives to refer to physical entities in real space to their use to refer to entities in text and mental representations of discourse in displaced contexts. The result of the mapping is the use of the entity-referring demonstratives to indicate textual deixis and the extensive use of both entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives to indicate discourse deixis in English and Chinese discourse. These two extended usages are as deictic as the basic, situational deictic usage. Their difference lies essentially in the properties of the referents to which the demonstratives are employed to refer. As will be seen, the grammatical roles the demonstratives assume in performing the textual and discourse deictic functions remain the same as those they assume in performing the situational deictic function.

4.3.1 Textual deixis

The first type of extended deictic usage identified is textual deixis, i.e., verbal pointing to text chunks (cf. 2.2.3.). As text chunks are entities, in the corpora, only entity-referring demonstratives are found to have developed this extended deictic use. (4.1) which repeats (2.1), (4.2), and (4.3) present examples of this usage.

- (4.1) “Now listen all of you,” said Rabbit when he had finished writing, and Pooh and Piglet sat listening very eagerly with their mouths open. *This* is what Rabbit read out:

PLAN TO CAPTURE BABY ROO

1. *General remarks.* Kanga runs faster than any of Us, even Me.
2. *More general remarks:* Kanga never takes her eye off Baby Roo, except when he’s safely buttoned up in her pocket.

...

(Pooh: 86)

- (4.2) So he sang *Cottleston Pie* instead:
 Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie.
 A fly can't bird, but a bird can fly.
 Ask me a riddle and I reply:
 "Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie."

That was the first verse. (Pooh: 67)

In (4.1), *this* is used to point to the text chunk which spells out the 11-point plan for capturing Baby Roo. In (4.2), *That* is employed to point to the four-line verse written out in the previous co-text. Both referents are text chunks, entities in print on the page, as is shown in the samples.

- (4.3) TT: I opened my satchel and got out a notebook. In it I wrote:
 "Monday, 2:55: borrow *Science Pictorial*."

Wo zai *zhe* xiamian hua le yi dao hong xian, biao shi
 1SG at this under draw PFV QN CL red line show
 zhongyao.
 importance

I underlined this in red to show that it was important.

TT: After one look I made the red line thicker because so many other notes were underlined in red and this was the only way to show that this was more important.

You qiao le qiao, wo jueji zai *na* xiamian zai jia yi dao
 again look PFV look 1SG decide at that under again add QN CL
 lan xian.
 blue line

After another look I added a line in blue. (Baohulu: 53)

In (4.3), *zhe* is used to point to the line of words in quotes, a text chunk, in the previous co-text. The *na* in the second sentence is used to point to the same text chunk, signalling textual deixis.

It should be noted that there could be other readings of the *na* in (4.3), i.e., that *na* is used to refer to both the content of the text chunk and the thick red line under it or just the mental representation of the thick red line. In either case, the *na* could be seen to index a mental representation for discourse deixis. This and the earlier possible interpretations alert us to the fact that the boundary drawn between textual deixis and discourse deixis can sometimes be blurred, depending on how the addressee/reader tends to interpret the referential relations involved.

In indicating textual deixis, the proximal entity-referring demonstratives in the two languages are used for both anaphoric and cataphoric pointing in discourse. The non-proximal entity-referring demonstratives, however, are used only anaphorically for textual deixis.

The discourse function of the demonstratives in indicating textual deixis is obvious. In general, they index a chunk of text, and by doing so they call the attention of the addressee/reader to it, as if saying “Listen to/Read what comes next” or “Look! I am alluding to what has just been produced”.

4.3.2 Discourse deixis

Distinct from textual deixis, discourse deixis is concerned with the use of these demonstratives to index mental representations of discourse (cf. 2.2.3). In the corpora, discourse deixis occurs in conversational discourse and narrative discourse. Both entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives are capable of this extended usage. (4.4) and (4.5) below present examples of entity-referring demonstratives used discourse deictically.

(4.4) [In conversation: English]

“I was just beginning to think,” said Bear, sniffing slightly, “that Rabbit might never be able to use his front door again. And I should hate *that*.”

(Pooh: 26)

(4.5) [In conversation: Chinese]

TT: “Do you mind speaking more plainly. What sort of things? What do you call fun?”

“Aiya, lian* zhe ye* yao wen!”

gracious me even this ADP want ask

“Gracious me, don’t you even know that!”

**Lian* ... *ye* is a functional collocation used here to mean “even”.

(Baohulu: 77)

In (4.4), Pooh uses *that* to refer to a represented situation in which Rabbit might never be able to use his front door again, as is indicated in his previous utterance. In (4.5), *zhe* ‘this’ is used to index the proposition “fun from the point of view of the protagonist ‘I’”, as can be inferred from the earlier utterances over which the magic gourd is puzzling at the moment of utterance.

(4.6) [In narration: English]

... they came to a place where the banks widened out at each side, so that on each side of the water there was a level strip of grass on which they

could sit down and rest. As soon as he saw *this*, Christopher Robin called “Halt!” and they all sat down and rested. (Pooh: 108)

(4.7) [In narration: Chinese]

TT: Every time granny wanted me to do anything, she had to tell me a story.

Zhe shi women de guiju.

this be 1PL GEN rule

That was our rule.

(Baohulu: 1)

The referent of *this* in (4.6) is the place as is described in the previous co-text and represented in the mind of the locutionary agent and recipient. The *zhe* ‘this’ in (4.7) points back to the proposition of “rule” as is spelt out in the foregoing text.

As can be seen, what the demonstratives are used to index are entities established by other portions of the same discourse, in conversation or narration. The entities so established can be persons or things, events or processes or state of affairs, or abstract entities such as propositions (cf. Lyons 1977: 443–444). As such, the referent is considered to exist crucially in the utterance context, in the form of a mental representation of the relevant discourse fragment, located in the memory of the locutionary agent and the recipient as the intersubjective experience of their shared knowledge. The process of formation of the mental representation from the linguistic forms concerned often involves a process of inferencing. What is represented may not always have a linguistic correlate in the text concerned. For example,

(4.8) “Christopher Robin, Christopher Robin!” cried Piglet. “Tell Kanga who I am! She keeps saying I’m Roo. I’m *not* Roo, am I?”

Christopher Robin looked at him very carefully, and shook his head.

“You can’t be Roo,” he said, “because I’ve just seen Roo playing in Rabbit’s house.”

“Well!” said Kanga. “Fancy *that!* Fancy my making a mistake like *that.*”

(Pooh: 96–97)

In (4.8), the referent of each *that* cannot be any of the previous utterances or all of them as a whole, nor the propositions involved *per se*. It is, instead, located in the context of these utterances in the sense that they provide propositions which Kanga draws on for the inference she appears to have arrived at (note that Kanga is perfectly aware of the switch between Roo and Piglet before this bit of conversational exchange). The referent of the first *that* is a mental representation which can be spelt out as “I should have all the time taken Piglet

for Roo” and the referent of the second *that* as “taking Piglet for my Roo”. Both are inferences which Kanga has drawn from what she hears in the previous dialogue between Christopher Robin and Piglet as recorded above. Similarly in Chinese, for example in (4.9) below, the referent of *na* ‘that’ can only be inferred from the previous co-text/context as being “my guess that the *Science Pictorial* must be yours”.

- (4.9) TT: “I think there is something the matter.”
 “Eh?”
 “I’d say carelessness is the matter with you.” He nodded slowly.
 “Isn’t your name Wang Pao?”
 “Yes.”
 “*Na jiu shi le, ne!*”
 that ADP be CRS here
 “That’s right, then. Here you are!” (Baohulu: 62)

These examples show that it is what is represented in the memory of the locutionary agents that the demonstratives are used to index in discourse and that the linguistic forms concerned serve only to trigger the mental representations in question, very often through an inferencing process.

I now turn to the place-referring demonstratives in English and Chinese as they are used to indicate discourse deixis. (4.10) to (4.13) below document such usage.

- (4.10) [Pooh and Piglet are tracking down what they thought might be Woozles.]
 Piglet said that anyhow he had nothing to do until Friday. So off they went together.
 There was a small spinney of larch-trees just *here*, ... (Pooh: 34)
- (4.11) And running along, and thinking how pleased Eeyore would be, he didn’t look where he was going ... and suddenly he put his foot in a rabbit hole, and fell down flat on his face.
 BANG!!!!??*!!
 Piglet lay *there* wondering what had happened. (Pooh: 74–75)
- (4.12) TT: They were climbing very cautiously up the stream now, going from rock to rock, after they had gone a little way they came to a place
Zai zheli, he’an xiang liang bian kuozhan,
 in here river bank towards two sides widen
 where the banks widened out at each side, (Pooh [C]: 100)

(4.13) TT: Yang Shuan-erh told me that he was playing truant from school — nobody knew this, ...

...

He said he had been studying properly until — two days before — he started envying my way of life.

ta kejiu zai ye bu yuanyi zai *nali* dai xiaqu le,
 3SG really any more ADP NG want in there stay on CRS
 Now he didn't want to stay in that school any more,

(Baohulu: 108)

In (4.10), *here* is used to point to where Pooh and Piglet have reached in tracking down what they suspect to be Woozles. In (4.11), *there* is employed to index where the rabbit hole is, where Piglet fell. *Zheli* 'here' in (4.12) and *nali* 'there' in (4.13) are used to point to the place the characters have reached on their expedition and the school Yang Shuan-erh goes to respectively. In these examples, the place-referring demonstratives in English and Chinese are used to index a place mentioned previously in their respective co-texts as represented in the memory of the locutionary agent and recipient. Their function is one of discourse deixis.

It should be pointed out, however, that compared with the entity-referring demonstratives whose discourse deictic use is pervasive, the place-referring demonstratives in the corpora occur only sparsely for discourse deixis. An overwhelming majority of their occurrences are found in the conversations in both the English and Chinese texts, where they are used to indicate situational deixis in displaced contexts. In addition, among the several instances of discourse deictic use for each of these place-referring demonstratives, some extend to index referents in terms of their location in discourse rather than in space (cf. 4.5).

To sum up, I have shown in this section that the spatial demonstratives of both English and Chinese have extended their basic deictic function of pointing to perceptual stimuli in real space to that of pointing to text chunks and to mental representations of discourse in mental space. In performing the textual deictic function, their use is rather similar to that in performing the situational deictic function. In performing the discourse deictic function, however, they typically set off, for the recipient of the locution concerned, a searching process for arriving at their referents. This often involves integrating what is represented by the linguistic cues in text, spoken or written, with existing encyclopaedic knowledge. The integration can be relatively straightforward, when what is represented by the linguistic cues maps directly onto the existing

encyclopaedic knowledge of the discourse recipient, as is the case in examples (4.4) to (4.7). Or, when what is represented by the linguistic cues has no direct correlates in the existing encyclopaedic knowledge of those involved, such as is the case in examples (4.8) and (4.9), the searching is typically marked by a complex inferencing process. The degrees to which what is represented by the linguistic cues concerned matches existing encyclopaedic knowledge may vary from case to case. But to capture the nature of deictic reference-signalling in discourse in general, I suggest that the referents of the demonstratives used to indicate discourse deixis are located in the contexts of utterances and represented in the memory of the locutionary agent and recipient as their intersubjective experience of shared knowledge (cf. Lyons 1977).

Also in this section, I have pointed out that the discourse deictic functional extension for the entity-referring demonstratives is far more pervasive than that for the place-referring demonstratives for both English and Chinese, as is found in the corpora. This is seen as due to the fact that the entity-referring demonstratives are ontologically prior to and semantically more embracing than the place-referring demonstratives (cf. 2.1.1).

4.4 Transposition of the deictic center

Still another type of deictic usage identified from the data involves a deictic centre projection and deictic centre shift from the point of view of the locutionary agent and the recipient (cf. 2.2.4). In such usage, both parties, in producing and interpreting the demonstratives used, typically project themselves in the position of the characters of the narrated stories, aligning their own deictic centre with that of the characters. The effect is a kind of personal or subjective involvement in the characters' experience, or generally speaking, one of empathy. Hence, *empathetic deixis* (Lyons 1977: 677). In the corpora, empathetic deixis is found in the representation of direct speech and thought. It is also found in what is generally known as SIL, short for *style indirect libre*, which covers the representation of free indirect speech and thought (Leech & Short 1981: 118ff; Adamson 1994b).²⁵

4.4.1 Empathetic deixis in direct discourse

In the corpora is documented the rather frequent use of the demonstratives in representing direct speech in face-to-face interactions, in monologues, and in

representing direct thought. Examples (4.14) to (4.19) below present their use in representing direct speech in face-to-face interactions.

- (4.14) The first thing Pooh did was to go to the cupboard to see if he had quite a small jar of honey left; and he had, so he took it down.
 “I’m giving *this* to Eeyore,” he explained, “as a present. What are *you* going to give?” (Pooh: 70)
- (4.15) TT: “Hullo, have you been fishing?” He suddenly saw the bucket I was carrying.
 “Who else went?”
 “Nobody else! I didn’t see a soul.”
 “Name *zhe* dou shi ni diao shang de?”
 then this all be 2SG catch up NOM
 “Did you catch all these, then?” (Baohulu: 34)

The excerpt in (4.14) creates, for the locutionary agent and the recipient, a mental representation of a speech situation in which there are two interlocutors, “I” and “you”, involved in a face-to-face interaction, in a room that has a cupboard on which is a small jar of honey. Before the verbal interaction starts, the “I”, Pooh, has taken down the jar, which is presumably in his hands as he speaks. When he utters *this*, he is calling his interlocutor’s attention to the jar of honey he must be holding. *This* can thus be taken to refer deictically to an entity in the speech situation, a perceptual stimulus from the point of view of the “I” and “you”. Its employment, it follows, is an indication of situational deixis, except for the fact that every entity in the situation, including the situation itself and the participants, exists in the form of a mental representation and is located in the memory of the locutionary agent and the recipient.

Compare the speech situation with an identical, but real-space canonical speech situation in which we are physically experiencing the interaction between a real-life “I” and “you”. Most likely, the conversation would be essentially the same (cf. 4.1.1), but as a recipient, our arrival at the referent of *this* would take different routes for the two speech situations. In the real-space speech situation, the jar of honey, takes the form of a physical object and would be literally perceived by our eyes, whereas in the displaced speech situation, it is a mental representation formulated with the knowledge of a jar of honey triggered by the linguistic cue “jar of honey” in the previous co-text, and perceived through our mind’s eye. To distinguish the two kinds of situational use, I shall label the situational deictic use of the spatial demonstratives in displaced contexts as *displaced situational deixis*.

(4.15) presents another case of displaced situational deixis, this time by means of a spatial demonstrative in Chinese. Without the linguistic cues in the previous co-text, the referent of *zhe* ‘this’ in the conversation could be taken for anything whose linguistic correlate collocates with *diao*, anything that can be hooked up or hoisted up, for in Chinese although these actions are encoded in different verbs, the verbs happen to be homophones. Following are examples of the non-proximal entity-referring demonstratives and the place-referring demonstratives from the corpora employed for displaced situational deixis.

(4.16) “Pooh,” he said, “where did you find *that pole*?”
Pooh looked at the pole in his hands. (Pooh: 113)

(4.17) TT: “... I can’t suddenly produce a new plot of land on top of someone else’s.”
“But there is a site. That land behind our school.”
“Ai, *na shi xuexiao de di ya*.
IJ that be school GEN land AP
“That belongs to your school. (Baohulu: 28)

(4.18) [Owl was sent by Christopher Robin to find out whether Pooh was all right.]
In a little while he was back again.
“Pooh isn’t *there*,” he said.
“Not *there*?”
“He’s *been there*. He’s been sitting on a branch of his tree outside his house with nine pots of honey. But he isn’t *there* now.
“Oh, Pooh!” cried Christopher Robin. “Where *are* you?”
“*Here* I am,” said a growly voice behind him.
“Pooh!”
They rushed into each other’s arms.
“How did you get *here*, Pooh?” asked Christopher Robin, when he was ready to talk again. (Pooh: 127–128)

(4.19) TT: I opened a drawer and found *Science Pictorial*. On top of it lay a single chess-man.
“Ha, *nage ma yuanlai zai zher!*”
IJ that knight turn out in here
“So the knight has been here all this time!” (Baohulu: 71)

Notice that in (4.16), the referent of *that pole* cannot be located until we have read the following co-text “Pooh looked at the pole in his hands”. Notice also that in (4.18), the referent of the first and third *there* is most probably the tree

branch outside Pooh's own house on which he has been found sitting, rather than inside his house. In both cases, the referent is to be found in the co-text that follows instead of in the previous co-text.

What these examples of displaced situational deixis share is that the linguistic cues seem indispensable for the recipient of the locution to arrive at the referents of the spatial demonstratives employed. This renders the relationship between the demonstratives used and their referents, which invariably take the form of mental representations, into one of a discourse nature. It is in this sense that these spatial demonstratives may be regarded as indicating discourse deixis, i.e., from a discourse analyst's objective point of view (cf. 2.2.3.). I shall return to this point again presently.

For these demonstratives, the extension from real-space situational deictic use to displaced situational deictic use is seen to serve at least two discourse functions. First, in such usage, the spatial demonstratives, the temporal demonstratives as well, perform an indexical function. By indexing what is represented through elements of the narration, they serve to coordinate the narration and the conversation, knitting them together into a coherent piece of discourse and thus creating coherent narrativity. Second, in coordinating the narration and the conversation, they invite the addressee/reader to transpose his deictic centre from the time and place of receiving the verbal input to the time and place of the narrated events and to share the experience of the narrated characters. The transposition takes place when the addressee/reader aligns his deictic centre with that of the characters. Empathy is thus developed on the part of the addressee/reader, whose point of view is shifted from his own to that of the narrated characters, as a result of the locutionary agent's appeal to shared experience. This is exactly what fictional writers, story tellers included, aspire to achieve in creating fiction (cf. Leech & Short 1981: 166).

I shall not take up space by giving examples of the demonstratives used for empathetic deixis in representing speech in monologue and direct thought, for the same producing and interpreting processes apply to the demonstratives in these. The same effect is produced and the same discourse functions are performed as well.

4.4.2 Empathetic deixis in free indirect discourse

In the above discussion of empathetic deixis in representing direct discourse, I suggest that the process of locating the referents which the demonstratives are used to signal necessarily involves a deictic centre shift for the addressee/

reader and that the effect is one of empathy on the part of the addressee/reader, of sharing, with the locutionary agent, the characters' experience as if it were his own.

A similar effect is created by the use of the demonstratives in representing free indirect discourse. Let us examine a few examples.

- (4.20) TT: I picked up an apple and took a big bite out of it, then munched it carefully. Ah, it was sweet, fragrant and crisp. Could *this* be a make-believe apple? ... Nonsense.

(Baohulu [E]: 120)

In (4.20), *this* occurs in an utterance of free indirect thought, a thought the narrated "I" is experiencing at a time and place removed from the narrating "I" at the time and place of narrating. The utterance of *this* produces the effect of taking the narrating "I" and the receiving "you" from their spatio-temporal location at the moment of narrating and receiving back to the event time and location, wherein while eating the apple, doubts about its genuineness arise in the narrated "I"'s mind. For the locutionary agent, the narrating "I", what occurs is seen to be a shift from objective narrating into subjective experiencing. For the recipient of the locution, it is a shift from receiving into subjective experiencing. The empathy thus created brings both parties to share the experience of the narrated character, and this process is marked by a deictic centre shift which results in a deictic centre alignment with that of the character for both the locutionary agent and recipient. Below are more examples of empathetic deixis in free indirect speech (4.21) and thought (4.22, 4.23).

- (4.21) TT: "Won't you admit the possibility that the carp in the river might change? ... They might go on changing till they turned into goldfish. ..."
 "That's impossible, because...."
 "Why is it impossible?"
 "It just couldn't happen that way?"

Tingting! *Zhe ke zhen zaogao, jierlia jing taigang!*
 listen this ADP really terrible sister brother all the time argue
 Just listen! Wasn't this terrible, sister and brother going at it hammer and
 tongs! (my translation) (Baohulu: 40)

- (4.22) TT: "I want a house! ... Hey, wait a bit!" I changed my mind. "Let me think this over again."

Where would I put the house? Not *here* by the river surely?

(Baohulu [E]: 28)

(4.23) So they went on, feeling just a little anxious now, in case the three animals in front of them were of Hostile Intent.

Xiao Zhu duome yuanyi yeye zai zher a!

Piglet how very want grandpa in here AP

How Piglet wished that his grandpa were here! (my translation)

(Pooh [C]: 28)

It may have been noticed that all these examples of SIL involve the use of proximal demonstratives in a context spatio-temporally removed from the narrator's here-and-now at the time of narration. As Lyons (1977: 677) observes in his discussion of empathetic deixis, "it frequently happens that 'this' is selected rather than 'that', 'here' rather than 'there', and 'now' rather than 'then', when the speaker is personally involved with the entity, situation or place to which he is referring". This is exactly what occurs with the use of the demonstratives in these examples. By involving herself personally with the situation depicted, the speaker is at the same time inviting the addressee to share her involvement and to experience the situation as she does.

It should be pointed out at this point that the demonstratives are among a range of linguistic devices that can be used to create empathy in SIL. According to Fleischman (1990: 228, quoted in Adamson 1994b: 193), such devices include "direct quotations, exclamations, fragments, repetitions, deictics, emotive and conative words, overstatements, colloquialisms", which are all features of direct speech but which are "reported in the fashion of indirect speech without the characteristic formulas" such as 'x said/thought that ...' and 'y wondered why ...'. Further, an SIL can dispense with demonstratives, for it seems that the essential mechanism of an SIL lies in the semantics of subjectivity or intersubjectivity, the secure location of which is in the relevant context, and textual context is one contextual parameter. But once the demonstratives are used, they facilitate the identification of an SIL and they appeal to one's empathy and invite the subjective involvement of those concerned.

The rather frequent use of the proximal demonstratives in SIL as it is found in the corpora must not be taken to imply that the non-proximal demonstratives are totally excluded from such use. For what takes place in SIL is a shift of point of view of the narrating self to that of the narrated self and it follows that logically proximity and non-proximity should be a distinction available for the narrated self, and the narrating self as well. It is the here-and-now nature of SIL that calls for the rather frequent use of the proximal demonstratives. Below is an example of a non-proximal demonstrative from the Chinese corpus, which is used to represent free indirect speech.

(4.24) TT: I was in the most extraordinary position — afraid to meet any good people. They would worry about me and try to help me, just adding to all my troubles.

That's what Hsiao-teng was doing.

Qiao, *na* bushi ta lai le?

look that_{NG} 3SG come CRS

Look, there he was, coming.

Ta shou li duan zhe yi da bei retengteng de kai

3SG hand inside hold DUR QN big CL steaming hot MM boiled

shui,

water

Holding a big mug of steaming hot boiled water,

yibenzhengjing de wang zhebian zou lai.

seriously MM towards here walk come

he was walking towards here, looking serious. (my translation, which in this case seeks faithfulness to the original rather than quality of English)

(Baohulu: 62–63)

As can be seen, the non-proximal *na* 'that' is necessary in this instance of free indirect speech from the point of view of the narrated "I", and the narrating "I" as well.

It is perhaps necessary to point out again that the location of the referents of the demonstratives used for empathetic deixis in general appeals, in the first place, to the linguistic context created by the relevant co-text. The process of arriving at the location is not different in kind from that of the same demonstratives used for discourse deixis, the only disparity being that while empathetic deixis involves a deictic centre shift, discourse deixis does not. In this sense, empathetic deixis may be considered a sub-category of discourse deixis from a discourse analyst's perspective. But in terms of their functions in discourse, a distinction can be readily made between the two kinds of deixis. Consider the genre of academic exposition, which may well be free from demonstratives used for empathetic deixis but which often cannot dispense with demonstratives for discourse deixis. Consider also the rather frequent displaced situational deictic phenomenon in fictional narrative, especially in children's fictional narrative, as is exemplified by the corpora of the present study. A functional distinction is seen as useful and necessary.

As a matter of fact, the deictic centre shift phenomenon through its deictic category, as will be seen in 4.7 and 5.4, not only allows language users to exploit

language to represent consciousness at a variety of levels (Bühler 1990: *passim*; Fludernik 1993: *passim*; Chafe 1994: *passim*), but also gives us the licence to exploit it for social-expressive purposes. Subjectivity, in such exploitations, often finds its way into language structure and language use through the channel of discourse-pragmatics.

4.5 The effect of deictic force

As was suggested earlier, that both members of the demonstrative pairs are employed for reference-signalling in the linear text and discourse production naturally leads to the postulation that there must be a division of labour between the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives. This is indeed the case for English and Chinese. Moreover, the ways in which these demonstratives extend into the structure of discourse can be traced, to a noticeable extent, to the asymmetry in the basic semantics of the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives. In this connection, I suggest that the notion of deictic force offers the explanatory key to much of the asymmetry of the behaviour of the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives in discourse for both languages.

Specifically, as compared with the proximal demonstratives, the non-proximal demonstratives, with relatively weaker deictic force residing in them, seem to be more ready to break loose from the control of the deictic centre and develop essentially non-deictic and diminished deictic extended usages on the one hand and more versatile grammatical and functional roles on the other. In this respect, the effect of the deictic force is more marked for the English demonstratives than for the Chinese demonstratives. The proximal demonstratives have also developed extended usages, but, with stronger deictic force residing in them, the extent to which they break loose from the deictic centre control, as it were, is in general more restricted than the non-proximal demonstratives.

4.5.1 Asymmetry in entity-referring demonstratives

For the entity-referring demonstratives of both English and Chinese, the extended functional and grammatical roles are seen to have developed from these demonstratives in their pronominal use. The determiner use of the entity-referring demonstratives will not be considered in this section. Also excluded here are occurrences of the demonstratives in their generic use,

which will be discussed in 4.6, though in this function the demonstratives are used pronominally.

To start with, I shall report, in Tables 4.4 and 4.5 below, the results of the frequency counts of occurrences of *this* and *that* in the English texts and *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in the Chinese texts in their pronominal and non-pronominal (also non-determiner/adjectival) grammatical roles. In the tables, DM stands for demonstrative; Pron. and Non-pron. stand for pronominal and non-pronominal respectively.

Tables 4.4 and 4.5 show that in both English and Chinese, the proximal entity-referring demonstratives largely keep to their pronominal role in discourse in displaced contexts. The non-proximal demonstratives, on the other hand, have developed, to a considerable extent, other grammatical roles. In terms of discourse roles, generally, these demonstratives perform a deictic function in discourse when used pronominally. When used non-pronominally, they perform an indexical function in discourse, and, in performing the function, depending on the contexts in which they occur, they present a range of deictic-ness from the rather strong to the very, very weak.

4.5.1.1 *This* and *that*

In the English texts, all instances of pronominal *this*, except those in their generic use (cf. 4.6), are instances of deictic usages. Whether it is employed to indicate

Table 4.4 Frequency of *this* and *that* in pronominal and non-pronominal usages

DM	English (n=688)	
	<i>this</i> (n)	<i>that</i> (n)
Pron	167	293
Non-pron	0	228
Total	167	521

Table 4.5 Frequency of *zhe* and *na* in pronominal and non-pronominal usages

DM	Chinese (n=393)	
	<i>zhe</i> (n)	<i>na</i> (n)
Pron	191	105
Non-pron	5	92
Total	196	197

textual, discourse, or empathetic deixis, *this* generally assumes the syntactic role of a demonstrative pronoun in its non-determiner or generic use.

Like proximal *this*, non-proximal *that* assumes the syntactic role of a demonstrative pronoun when employed for textual, discourse, or empathetic deixis. Unlike *this*, it has developed (1) essentially non-deictic, conjunctive usages in a variety of grammatical contexts, which *this* does not share, and (2) deictic usages in set, idiomatic expressions, in which *this* would be seen as inappropriate.

That in conjunctive usages

First, I shall consider the conjunctive usages, in which the term “conjunctive” is used loosely to suggest the clause-linking functions which the English and Chinese non-proximal entity-referring demonstratives are employed to perform.

In the English texts, 228 instances of such conjunctive use of *that* are identified, which occur in 10 different structural contexts.²⁶ An illustration of the 10 contexts is presented below with excerpts from the English corpus.

- (4.25) [Linking a verb complement to a transitive verb (vt.).]
 “I have discovered *that* the bees are now definitely Suspicious.”
 (Pooh: 13)
- (4.26) [Linking a noun complement to a noun.]
 “I have just remembered something *that* I forgot to do yesterday and sha’n’t be able to do to-morrow.”
 (Pooh: 36)
- (4.27) [Linking an appositive clause to a noun.]
 I had the feeling *that* he winked as he left, but I couldn’t swear to it.
 (Baohulu [E]: 44)
- (4.28) [Linking an adjective complement to an adjective.]
 “I am very glad,” said Pooh happily, “*that* I thought of giving you a Useful Pot to put things in.”
 (Pooh: 79)
- (4.29) [Introducing a predicative.]
 Pooh’s first idea was *that* they should dig a Very Deep Pit. (Pooh: 53)
- (4.30) [In *so/such ... that* or *so/such that* construction, linking a consequence clause to a main clause.]
 Then Piglet saw what a Foolish Piglet he had been, and he was *so* ashamed of himself *that* he ran straight off home and went to bed with a headache.
 (Pooh: 64)

- (4.31) [In cleft construction.]
... and *it was* at that moment *that* Piglet looked down. (Pooh: 63)
- (4.32) [In anticipatory *it*-construction.]
I must make *it* clear, though, *that* I'm not a fairy or ogre or anything.
(Baohulu [E]: 1)
- (4.33) [In *now that* construction, introducing something as given.]
Piglet said that, *now that* this point had been explained, he thought it was a Cunning Trap. (Pooh: 54)
- (4.34) [In *not that* construction, short for *it is not that* in which *that* introduces a cause.]
Don't you know who Su Ming-feng is? He's our group leader. *Not that* there's anything so marvellous about him — he can't beat me at ping-pong. But he's always finding fault. (Baohulu [E]: 6)

As can be observed, the 10 contexts in which *that* occurs are grammaticalised contexts in the sense that they are fixed sentence constructions wherein only *that*, not *this*, can occur and that they may be seen as structural mechanisms of the English language. The *thats* in these contexts share a very weakly indexical function, directing the recipient of the locution concerned to the clause that follows. The indexicality they signal is so weak that in most of these contexts they can be dispensed with without affecting in the least the propositional content of the utterance. Where they optionally occur as in (4.25) to (4.32) and where they are compulsory as in (4.33) and (4.34), they occur as a structural element of a sentence construction. As such, their function in discourse is seen as more of a structural, rather than an indexical, nature. It seems that the *thats* in the 10 contexts, though very weakly indexical, are essentially not used deictically.

The relation between the conjunctive usage of *that* and its basic, deictic usage can perhaps be seen from an analysis of *that* in the most frequently occurring context of the ten illustrated above. (4.35) below, which repeats (4.25), provides the context.

- (4.35) "I have discovered *that* the bees are now definitely Suspicious."
(Pooh: 13)

In (4.35), *that* is used as a conjunction, or a complementiser in Brown and Miller's terms (1991), to link the main clause and the subordinate clause, the latter being an object clause of the main verb of the main clause. The English corpus for the present study records 139 instances of the vt. + *that* + object sentence construction, and it is a known fact that in this construction *that* can

be omitted without affecting the propositional content of the sentence/utterance concerned. The syntactic role of *that* in this construction, that of a complementiser, as well as in the other constructions of its conjunctive use, is no longer that of a pronoun or a determiner, as it is when employed for situational, textual, discourse, and empathetic deixis. What, then, is the connection, if any, between the pronominal, deictic *that* and the conjunctive, essentially non-deictic *that*?

It seems that the basic semantic feature of the demonstrative *that*, namely, pointing and a rather weak one at that, still holds and its discourse function of referring, however weak, remains unchanged (Davidson 1984), for

the use of *that* is generally held to have arisen out of the demonstrative pronoun pointing to the clause which it introduces. Cf. (1) He once lived here: we all know that; (2) That (now this) we all know: he once lived here; (3) We all know that (or this): he once lived here; (4) We all know that he once lived here ...

(The Oxford English Dictionary: 253)

Indeed, the clause-linking *that* invariably invites us to look for what comes up next for meaning. What distinguishes the clause-linking *that* from the discourse deictic *that* is that the former has lost its deictic force, as its use does not involve a point of view. There is no deictic anchoring point to speak of from which the pointing is issued when a conjunctive *that* is used. The egocentricity and contrastiveness which mark a deictic use are missing in the use. Having been bleached of such features, *that* in the conjunctive use has been objectivised into a structural entity in the English grammar system, though the remaining sense of pointing still enables it to perform a secondary discourse role of referring. With the vt. + *that* + object clause construction, the semantics of the vt. invariably creates an expectation of an object complement on the part of the addressee/reader. This quasi-indexical nature of the vt. can be taken to render the discourse role of referring of *that* redundant. As the vt. is a compulsory constituent of the construction, *that* has become optional when it occurs after the vt. in the main clause + object clause construction. It is thus reasonable to assume that the conjunctive function of *that* can be traced to the deictic function of *that*, which, being phylogenetically and ontogenetically prior, is the source for all reference by means of *that* (Lyons 1991: chaps. 8, 9).

That in set expressions

For the occurrence of *that* in set expressions, let us first examine some examples.

- (4.36) “Do go and see, Owl. Because Pooh hasn’t got very much brain, and he might do something silly, and I do love him so, Owl. Do you see, Owl?”
 “*That’s all right,*” said Owl. “I’ll go.” (Pooh: 127)
- (4.37) Pooh sat down, dug his feet into the ground, and pushed hard against Christopher Robin’s back, and Christopher Robin pushed hard against his, and pulled and pulled at his boot until he had got it on.
 “And *that’s that,*” said Pooh. “What do we do next?” (Pooh: 101)
- (4.38) “You mean like telling her a little bit of poetry or something?”
 “*That’s it,*” said Rabbit. (Pooh: 88)

In (4.36) to (4.38), *that* occurs in short, conversational utterances. Like conversational formulae, these utterances are essentially set ways of saying things, which may be taken as conversational chunks. But unlike conversational formulae, *that* in each of these utterances allows variant content, to adopt Kaplan’s terminology (1989a; cf. 2.1.3). It is normally the previous co-text that determines its content. It follows that *that* typically indexes what is represented in the previous co-text from the locutionary agent’s viewpoint, i.e., treating the previous co-text as removed from her here-and-now. *That* in these set expressions is thus used deictically. From a different perspective, presumably the reason why these expressions have evolved with *that* is probably because of the non-proximal reference, i.e., it involves the infiltration of individual commitment of a kind. Hence this use is of a deictic flavour.

Occurring in the initial, subject position, *that* topicalises what is expressed in the relevant co-text and introduces a comment on it. With a prosodic stress, it is used to capture the attention of the addressee and guide it to what immediately precedes it and relates it to the comment introduced by *that*. Rather frequently, individual involvement of one kind or another is found in such use, be it of an opinion or attitude. The English corpus provides quite a number of instances of such use: “*That’s funny*”, “*That’s what it is*”, “*That’s all there is to it*”, “*That’s how it is*”, etc. It seems that these expressions present a range in terms of their idiomaticity and analysability: some have been accepted as idiomatic usages and cannot be further analysed into parts; others are less idiomatised and partially analysable and substitutable.²⁷

4.5.1.2 *Zhe* and *na*

The asymmetry found between the Chinese *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in their extended usages is, to a considerable extent, rather similar in kind to that found between *this* and *that* in English, though not necessarily in details. While instances of extended usages of *zhe* are predominantly deictic usages with *zhe*

assuming the grammatical role of a demonstrative pronoun, *na* has extended into functional and grammatical roles not shared by *zhe*. First, *na* has developed its conjunctive usage in conditional utterances in discourse. Second, it has developed its deictic usage in set, idiomatic expressions. Third is its employment for euphemism. In addition, there are two other extended usages of *na*, which are, to a certain extent, shared by *zhe*. These are its pragmatic marker use in non-conditional utterances and its use as an interjection.

There are, in the corpus, seven instances of *na* ‘that’ and four instances of *zhe* ‘this’ used as pragmatic markers, all in non-conditional utterances, and five instances of *na* and one instance of *zhe* in their interjective use. As will be seen, although *zhe* and *na* in these usages assume identical grammatical roles, a distinction can be made between them in their functional roles, i.e., in the nature of the properties they are used to index. Comparison of the two usages of *zhe* and *na* will follow the discussion of the extended usages of *na* which are not shared by *zhe*.

Conjunctive na in conditional utterances

In this usage, *na* has assumed the syntactic role of a conjunction, introducing the apodosis of a conditional sentence construction with an overt conditional marker in the protasis (See examples (4.39) and (4.40) below). Or it occurs initially in an independent, simple sentence construction with an implied protasis. *Na* in this construction may be taken to assume the role of a conditional marker (See (4.41) and (4.42)). Where *na* occurs in conditional utterances, be they explicitly marked or not, the relevant data present a range regarding the strength of deictic-ness in it.

- (4.39) “Jiaru ni zhen ken zuo wo de zhuren,
 supposing 2SG truly willing be 1SG GEN master
 “If you really want to be my master and
 rang wo zuo ni de nupu,
 let 1SG be 2SG GEN slave
 let me be your slave,
 na wo yiding ting ni de shihuan ...”
 then 1SG certainly obey 2SG GEN order
 I shall certainly do everything you say ...” (Baohulu: 17)
- (4.40) Yaoshi yur shua jiaohua, bu lai shang ta de gou,
 if fish play cunning NG come rise to 3SG GEN hook
 If the fish are too cunning to take his bait,

na ta *jiu** you *benshi* gen ta haoshang,
 then 3SG ADP have ability with 3SG dawdle
 he knows how to wear them out -

**Jiu* is an adverbial particle that often co-occurs with *na* in hypothetical or conditional sentences to indicate what naturally follows given a certain condition or supposition. (Baohulu: 34)

In (4.39) and (4.40), *na* ‘that’ occurs in the initial position of the apodosis of an overtly marked conditional sentence structure. When spoken, it normally receives no stress, and is pronounced as /ne/. Syntactically and semantically, it is an optional constituent of the utterance, which, without it, remains grammatically correct and propositionally intact. But when it *is* used, it may be taken as a weak linking device, joining the protasis and the apodosis. Specifically, it seems to be used to refer backwards to the supposition or condition abstracted from the protasis and to signal the consequence that is likely to follow if the supposition or condition holds. *Na* used this way may thus be seen as performing a referring and therefore an indexical function. This extended use of the Chinese *na* is rather similar to that of the English *that*, in the sense that both serve as a clause-linking device and both remain weakly indexical. A difference between them is the grammatical contexts in which they occur. Another, it seems, is that in *na* the residual deictic-ness is more readily detected, for its use in conditional utterances is invariably associated with epistemic modality and therefore a form of subjectivity, which is not shared by *that*, nor by *zhe* ‘this’.

Consider (4.41) below, in which *na* occurs at the initial position of an independent, simple sentence structure.

- (4.41) TT: “I thought you were asleep,” I said rather crossly. “Say, Magic
 Gourd, do you know what I am thinking?”
 “Yes.”
 “*Na* ni you shenme yijian?”
 then 2SG have what comment
 “Well, what do you think?” (Baohulu: 24)

From the previous co-text, the *na* ‘that’ in (4.41) can be taken to suggest an implied given condition, which can be spelt out as “given that you know what I am thinking”. Prosodically, *na* can receive no stress or a weak stress, but unlike the *nas* in (4.39) and (4.40), it seems to be a preferred, though non-compulsory, constituent in the utterance. It is preferred, from the point of view of

discourse coherence. Without it, the utterance would sound a bit abrupt, as if lacking the necessary lubricant for the relevant text to run smoothly. It is non-compulsory, in the sense that without it the utterance is grammatically faultless and propositionally complete. Obviously, *na* is used to perform a discourse role: that of indexing what is stated in the immediately previous discourse fragment, thus making it explicit that what is stated is taken as given. *Na* in this use is clearly referential. Is it deictic? It seems that the very utterance of *na* reiterates the proposition stated in the immediate previous co-text as assumed, which may be taken as an investment of the speaker's attitudinal commitment. Interpreted as such, I would suggest that deictic-ness is involved.

Still another variant of the conjunctive use of *na* 'that' in conditional utterances is found in the example given below.

- (4.42) TT: When the boys in my form tried to see who could grow the best sunflower, mine came up long and thin with a miserable little flower, the worst of the lot. The idea of a magic gourd came up again: [my translation of the second sentence]

“*Na*, wo dei yao yi ke zuihaozuihao de xiangrikuei,”
 then, 1SG must ask QN CL best best MM sunflower
 “If I had a magic gourd, I'd wish for the very best sunflower,”

(Baohulu: 4)

In this utterance, what is expressed by *na* 'that' can only be inferred from the discourse context created by the previous co-text. As the English translation aptly shows, *na* is used here to stand for “if I had a magic gourd”, an implied condition or supposition. What follows can be taken as the apodosis of a conditional sentence whose protasis is not overtly encoded with a conditional marker, but is expressed by the use of *na*. It seems obvious that this *na* is not omissible without affecting the completeness of the proposition concerned. Leaving it out would render the utterance lacking in coherence with the previous co-text and fluent processing on the part of the addressee/reader would be hampered. As a necessary constituent of the utterance, *na* receives a stress on it and must be pronounced as /na/. Its discourse status is rather like that of the topic of a topic-comment construction, and its discourse function is clearly one of indexicality, which is of a deictic nature.

In fact, the conjunctive use of *na* 'that' in conditional utterances may be seen as grammaticalised: *na*, instead of *zhe* 'this', typically occurs initially in the apodosis of an overt conditional sentence construction or an independent, simple sentence construction with an implied condition. When it occurs in an

overtly encoded conditional sentence construction, with an encoded conditional marker such as *ruguo* ‘if’, *jiaru* ‘supposing’, etc., *na*, being optional both structurally and semantically, is used to perform only a weak referential function. This is because part of its indexical function is taken over by the conditional marker. When it occurs initially in an independent, simple sentence construction, its referential function is more obvious, anchoring the utterance in which it appears to the previous proposition. Its use is thus preferred or compulsory, depending on the contexts in which it occurs. In such cases, *na*, I would suggest, may perhaps be seen as a conditional marker, which indexes and topicalises a hypothesised or given condition. I would also suggest that in such uses of *na*, the deictic-ness which resides in the *na* in its pronominal use remains. Furthermore, the fact that *na* ‘that’, instead of *zhe* ‘this’, consistently occurs in conditional utterances is not seen as accidental. As conditional utterances invariably involve subjective involvement in terms of the speaker’s attitudinal commitment to the propositions concerned, a primarily deictic demonstrative is likely to become the candidate for fulfilling the role. The non-proximal *na*, being under a comparatively weaker control of the deictic centre, is likely to extend to assume the role of a vehicle for carrying such subjectivity. The sense of non-proximity which is encoded in the demonstrative *na* is seen to be abstracted into non-proximity in terms of modality, in the sense that *na* is used to index a hypothesised proposition, a condition or supposition of a kind, which has some distance from facts and reality. Subjectivity has thus entered into the conditional structure of the Chinese language by means of *na*. I shall have more to say concerning this point in 4.7.

It is necessary to point out that grammaticalisation involves a dynamic process of language change. One important manifestation of the process is that “lexical items in the course of time acquire a new status as grammatical, morphosyntactic forms, and in the process come to code relations that either were not coded before or were coded differently” (Traugott and König 1991: 189). Accordingly, a diachronic perspective is necessary in examining language phenomena synchronically. As will be seen, the inseparability of *na* ‘that’ as a pronoun and a conjunction as is found in instances of *na* in the Chinese corpus provides an example of the process of the grammaticalisation of *na* from a pronoun into a conjunction. The same seems to apply to the occasional inseparability of conjunctive and interjective *na*. *Na*, in this sense, seems to defy water-tight grammatical categorisation.

Examples (4.40), (4.41), and (4.42) above present the conjunctive use of *na* ‘that’ in Chinese conditional utterances with a range of strength in its tie with

its respective previous co-texts, i.e., indexicality, from the weakest to the strongest and along with it a range of deictic strength. More examples are found in the corpus which can be placed at various points in the range, overlapping with or clustering around those represented in the three paradigmatic cases. What all the instances of *na* in these examples share is the referential function which it is employed to perform in discourse and which can be traced to the basic notion of deixis.

As a matter of fact, at the deictic end of the range is the necessary use of *na* ‘that’ as the topic of the apodosis in an explicitly marked conditional utterance, as is documented in the following excerpts.

- (4.43) Yaoshi he tongxuemén yikuair diao,
 if with classmates together fish
 If I were fishing with the others,
 yaoshi tamen dou diao zhao le xuduo yu,
 if 3PL all catch VC PFV many fish
 and they all caught lots of fish,
 wo you shi yi tiao ye mei diao shang,
 1sg again be one CL ADP NG catch up
 while I didn’t catch one,
na ke mei yisi ne.
 that ADP NG fun AP
 that wouldn’t be much fun. (Baohulu: 8)

- (4.44) TT: Sometimes I’d be sitting staring at a sum, not knowing how to do it,
 and the figure “8” would remind me of the magic gourd -

jiaru wo you zheme yi ge -
 supposing 1SG have such QN CL
 ah, if only I had that!
 “*Na* ke jiu* shengxin le.”
 that ADP (surely) ADP save worry CRS
 “That would save heaps of trouble.”

*When *jiu*, a function word, is used in the second clause of a complex sentence, it indicates that the first clause is a supposition, condition, cause or purpose. Its function is invariably indexical. In this particular context, *jiu* also implies that the condition involved, i.e., “if I had the magic gourd”, is sufficient to achieve the purpose, “to save worry”, and nothing else is needed. (Baohulu: 3)

In (4.43) and (4.44), *na* ‘that’ is a necessary (or preferred) constituent of the apodoses. In fact, it is the topic of the topic-comment construction of the apodoses. It topicalises the suppositional proposition in the protasis and introduces an attitudinal or evaluative comment. This use of *na* often blurs the grammatical distinction between *na* as a pronoun and *na* as a conjunctive, as the English translations of *na* suggest. In (4.44), for example, the agent of *shengxin* ‘save worry’ can only be the narrated “I”, the speaker of the utterance in quotes. *Na*, may be spelt out as something like “in that case”, “in that circumstance”, etc. In (4.43), it is again the locutionary agent who feels “fun” or “no fun” in the given situation. *Na* is used to capture the imagined circumstance, which is spelt out in the protasis and to introduce the speaker’s individual response to it. There is, however, no mistaking that *na* serves as the topics of the utterances, with a prosodic stress on it in the spoken mode. Here, we are invited to a glimpse of the affinity between pronominal *na* and conjunctive *na*. It seems that pronominal *na* has developed into *name* ‘in that case, in that way’ (cf. 1.2), which has further evolved into the shortened conjunctive *na*, essentially in speaking.

Given that the conditions are clearly stated in the protases and that in Chinese a subject position zero anaphora is often allowed (cf. 1.3.2), the *nas* ‘that’ in (4.43) and (4.44) seem to be semantically redundant. But I have suggested that they are necessary or preferred constituents. The *na* in (4.43) is preferred or even necessary, because the suppositional condition involves three related propositions, “to fish with others”, “others all catch fish”, and “I catch none”, and its use captures all the three propositions, suggesting the relatedness in them. The use may also be seen as necessary from the point of view of discourse strategy, i.e., it contributes to discourse fluency and coherence. The *na* in (4.44) is necessary, because its use guarantees that the transition from the free indirect thought “if only I had a magic gourd” to the direct thought “that would save heaps of troubles” would not cause unnecessary burden in processing for the reader/addressee. We may thus see the use as is called for by the structuring of the discourse concerned.

Consider the following excerpt in which a pronominal *na* ‘that’ occurs.

(4.45) TT: “Your slave will have done them, so of course you’ll get the credit for them.” I wondered:

“*Na* bu heshi ba?”

that NG right QS

“Is that right?”

(Baohulu: 80)

A distinction can be made between the *na* ‘that’ in (4.45) and the *nas* in (4.43) and (4.44). While the *na* in (4.45) is both the topic and the subject of the utterance which contains it, the *nas* in (4.43) and (4.44) serve as the topic but not the subject of the respective utterances in which they occur, with the subjects being in zero form. As the conditional protases, like topics, are generally regarded as given, which provide the frame of reference with respect to which the comments in the apodoses are developed (Haiman 1978: 564; Sweetser 1990: 132), the conjunctive *nas* are rendered redundant semantically. As has been suggested, their occurrence is seen as a function of discourse structuring or discourse strategies. But once they are used in the conditional utterances, they serve as topics of the apodoses and perform a discourse deictic function.

It should be noted that the conjunctive use of *na* ‘that’ essentially occurs in the colloquial, spoken mode of Chinese. As a clause-linking device, it has derived from *name* or *nayang* ‘then, in that case, in that circumstance’, a conjunctive proform which normally occurs clause-initially and is separated from the clause it introduces by a comma in writing and a pause in speaking, and shares its indexical function and meaning (cf. Lü 1985: 7.6.4). But being one syllable shorter, the use of *na* results in a closer tie between the propositions it serves to link, and its development may be seen as a response to the more imminent nature of the time constraint that marks face-to-face interactions and the availability of the prosodic mechanisms in spoken language. Both *name* and *na* in their conjunctive usage, as has been pointed out (cf. 1.2), can be traced to the demonstrative *na* in form and function. This lends support to Traugott’s observation of the affinity that holds between the conditional markers that mark something as known or given and demonstratives (1985: 291–292).

Na in set expressions

Second, like the English *that*, *na* ‘that’ has also developed usages in set expressions into which *zhe* ‘this’ does not fit.

- (4.46) TT: “You agree with me then, Magic Gourd?”
 “*Na dangran*,”
 that of course
 “Of course,” (Baohulu: 49)
- (4.47) TT: Had I never done anything of the kind before?
 “*Na ye buran*.”
 that ADP not so
 “Well, not quite.” (Baohulu: 34)

- (4.48) “Winnie-the-Pooh wasn’t quite sure.” said Christopher Robin.
 “Now I am,” said a growly voice.

TT: “*Na* hao, wo jiu wangxia jiang le.”

that good 1SG ADP go on tell AP

“Then I will go on.”

(Pooh [C]: 3)

In these excerpts, the expressions in which *na* ‘that’ occurs are more or less accepted as idiomatic expressions. To replace *na* with *zhe* ‘this’, the utterances would sound awkward. Like the English *that* in idiomatic usages, *na* in these expressions topicalises the propositional content of the previous utterances and performs an obvious indexical function. Also like *that*, *na* directs the attention of the addressee to the topicalised proposition and introduces the comment component, which often expresses an opinion or attitude of the locutionary agent. Subjectivity is thus involved, which is clearly a feature of deixis, in the sense that the set expressions in which *na* occurs are seen as having encoded and conventionalised the speaker’s individual involvement. It is not accidental that in both English and Chinese, it is the non-proximal entity-referring demonstrative, rather than their proximal counterparts, that is found more ready to avail itself to individual expression. The looser control from the deictic centre, as it were, not only enables more functional and grammatical roles to have evolved for the non-proximal demonstratives, but also provide broader channels for subjectivity.

The Chinese corpus also provides quite a number of similar short, colloquial topic-comment utterances. For example, *Na na xing!* ‘I can’t.’, *Na you hebi ne!* ‘Why should you?’. It seems that some are more acceptable as set expressions than others. Similar to the English set expressions in which *that* occurs, they present a range of idiomaticity and analysability.

Proximal *zhe* ‘this’ can also be used in a similar way for individual involvement. What distinguishes it from *na* ‘that’ is that in the corpora, first, *na* occurs more frequently in short, idiomatic utterances of individual involvement and, second, whereas *zhe* in such utterances can normally be replaced by *na*, the reverse is not always the case.

Euphemistic na

The third extended usage of *na* ‘that’ which the Chinese corpus registers is the euphemistic use of *na* ‘that’, invariably in the form of *nage* (cf. Note 1), a usage not shared by *zhe* ‘this’.

(4.49) TT: A lot of our form learned fishing from him, including me.

Keshi wo de chengji zong bu da *nage*, ...

but 1SG GEN result always NG quite “nage”

But my result had always been quite — you know what I mean, ...

TT: In fact, somehow or other, the whole fish world seemed to have a grudge against me. (Baohulu: 34)

The *nage* ‘that’ in (4.49) is used as a euphemism for “good”, which is not said but can be inferred from the context. In this extended usage, *nage* can stand for any expression which one finds embarrassing to verbalise, irrespective of its syntactic category. As can be seen, *nage* in this euphemistic usage is referential, for it is used to stand for an entity, quality, process or an action whose encoding, though not always overtly available in the text, can nevertheless be unmistakably arrived at from the context. (4.50) below provides a case of *nage* whose referent has an overt encoding.

(4.50) TT: Had I never done anything of the kind before? Well, not quite. If I think hard, I believe there had been times, especially when I was very small. But that was because I didn’t understand and so I bragged without thinking. It wasn’t like this time —

Zhe yi hui jianzhi shi chengxin *nage*.

this QN time simply be deliberately “nage”

This time I simply did it (bragged) with my eyes open. (Baohulu: 35)

It may be justly felt that the euphemistic extension removes *nage* ‘that’ quite some distance away from the deictic demonstrative *na*. Yet, this usage can still be traced to the basic, deictic use in that the sense of pointing is still retained and so is the cohering function in discourse. Physical non-proximity is, in the euphemistic usage, abstracted into a kind of attitudinal, emotional distance, a reluctance to come to terms directly with whatever is involved. The subjectivity that underlies this usage tinges euphemistic *nage* with a clearly deictic flavour.

Pragmatic marker na and interjective na

In the Chinese corpus, two other related usages of *na* ‘that’ are recorded. One is its use in non-conditional utterances as a pragmatic marker and the other is its use as an interjection. The excerpts below demonstrate these usages.

(4.51) TT: “How the fellow loved asking questions! — ‘How did you become so handsome? What do you feel like now that you’ve become goldfish? ...’ He went on and on, asking this, that and the other.”

I couldn't help butting in again:

“*Na* nimen zenme dafu ta de?”

(?) 2_{PL} how answer 3_{SG} AP?

“And how did you answer?”

(Baohulu: 48)

- (4.52) TT: What a nuisance! I had not foreseen this at all. Actually, though, this sort of thing was always happening.

Youqi shi hao shu, *na* jianzhi lun bu guolai*.

especially be good book (?) simply turn NG come over

For good books, especially, you had to wait ever so long.

**Guolai*, a complementiser here, is used to indicate the insufficiency of quantity in this utterance.

(Baohulu: 54)

Na ‘that’ in (4.51) is optional from a structural point of view. Its use here can be taken to signal a turn-taking and in this function it serves to cut short the interlocutors, several fish in this instance, without really sounding abrupt. Moreover, it ties the utterance which it introduces to the foregoing conversation, carrying with it the sense “given all the questions”. It is rather similar to and could be replaced by *name* ‘in that case’, another member of the Chinese demonstrative system in its conjunctive usage (cf. 1.2). The deictic-ness can be detected, as *na* points to the mental representations of the earlier utterances on the part of the speaker. The *na* ‘that’ in (4.52) can be dispensed with without affecting in the least the propositional content of the utterance. However, with it, subjective involvement can be readily detected, with the rhetorical effect of adding to the convincing force of the utterance. What may be considered the residual of deictic force is its use to index the individual emotion. Being at the initial position of the comment component of the topic-comment construction, it facilitates the transition from the topic to the comment, thus performing a linking function. Yet, the obvious emotional involvement it carries seems to give it some flavour of an interjection.²⁸ As can be seen from the two examples above, the dividing line between a conjunctive, a pragmatic marker and an interjective *na* gets blurred sometimes. Below is an example of what is seen as an unequivocal interjective use of *na*.

- (4.53) TT: “If you want something, just order it. You don’t have to ask me if it’ll work or not.”

“*Na - na -*” wo tiao le qilai,

(?) (?) 1_{SG} jump AP up

“Well, then -” I jumped up,

xingfen de* xiongtang li dou yangyang de.
 excite AP chest inside even tingle AP
 fairly tingling with excitement.

**De* is an auxiliary particle performing a structural function. It is used in between a verb or adjective and its complement of result or degree.

(Baohulu: 24)

In (4.53), the *nas* ‘that’ carry with them the speaker’s obvious emotion: he is so excited that he has lost his words at the very instance of speaking. That interjections are indexical can be seen from the fact that they are contextually bound: they are a response to an emerging context. In the case of (4.53), for example, it is on learning that his interlocutor, the magic gourd, has promised to make all his wishes come true that the speaker becomes excited. The *nas* in this utterance are used to index the speaker’s here-and-now emotion at the moment of utterance and tie the emotion to the previously expressed proposition which has ignited it. We feel a trace of deixis here (cf. Wilkins, 1992: 132). *Na* is thus used as an index, charged with the speaker’s emotion (cf. Peirce II 1932). An undertone of “given what you say”, however, can still be detected, which gives a trace of the conjunctive *na*.

That interjections are indexical is seen as uncontroversial in the literature. Linguists discuss them under the category of pragmatic markers, which, according to Schiffrin (1987), serve as a kind of discourse glue or lubricant. Blakemore (1987), working within Sperber and Wilson’s relevance theory (1986), sees them as expressions used to indicate how the relevance of one discourse fragment is dependent on another, expressions which “impose constraints on relevance in virtue of the inferential connections they express” (p. 141). Wilkins (1992) further argues for the claim that interjections are not only indexical, but are also “complex predicational deictics which contain basic deictic elements in their semantic decomposition” (p. 133). These analyses point to the affinity between interjections as a grammatical word class and pragmatic markers as devices of discourse strategy. Our analysis of the indexical function of *na* is informed by these points of view and in turn support them empirically.

To sum up, I have cited excerpts (4.39) to (4.53) to show that the Chinese non-proximal demonstrative pronoun *na* ‘that’ has developed a range of extended usages, other than those discussed in 4.3 and 4.4, and along with these, fresh functional and grammatical roles in discourse. These usages carry with them a range of deictic-ness in terms of its strength and can all be traced to the

basic, deictic use of *na* in real space. They also exhibit a shift in the nature of the properties indexed, from the locutionary agent's mental representation of discourse to her individual attitudinal/emotional involvement. I have indicated that some of the usages have been grammaticalised or conventionalised, others are more related to discourse structuring, and still others are highly context-bound and may be seen as discourse-pragmatics oriented. With these various motivating factors at work, boundaries between grammatical categories as regards where a use of *na* belongs are at times blurred and therefore hard to draw. I have also suggested that compared with proximal *zhe* 'this', *na* enjoys a higher degree of freedom in its functional and grammatical manoeuvre and the explanatory key lies in the notion of deictic force. It is the relatively weak control from the deictic centre and consequently the relatively weak strength of deictic force residing in *na*, as compared with *zhe* 'this', that allows it the relative ease with which it breaks loose from the deictic centre, which results in the ease of departure from the basic, deictic usage.

Pragmatic marker and interjective usages of zhe

Finally, to home in on this last point, examples of the pragmatic marker and interjective usages of *zhe* 'this' are given below, with which I hope to show that even though *zhe* shares these grammatical and discourse roles/extensions of *na* 'that', the usages are not the same in terms of the nature of the properties they index, i.e., in the nature of their discourse functions.

(4.54) TT: Granny would catch me and say the water was exactly right, neither too hot nor too cold. There was no getting out of washing.

Zhe wo zhihao rangbu.

(?) 1SG have to give in

I would have to give in.

(Baohulu: 2)

The *zhe* 'this' in (4.54) may be spelt out as *zhexia* or *zheyang* 'in this/such circumstance' (cf. 1.2). It is not a necessary constituent of the utterance in the sense that the proposition would remain complete without it. However, it has an obvious discourse function to perform. It indexes the proposition of the immediately previous co-text, a factual premise in this case, and links it to the consequence that follows. Its discourse function and grammatical role appear identical with those of *na* 'that' in (4.51). The *zhe* in (4.54) and the *na* in (4.51), however, are not interchangeable. The difference between them, I would suggest, lies in the properties of the entities they are used to index respectively. While, in all four of the instances of the pragmatic marker use of *zhe* found in

the corpus, *zhe* is associated with a proposition of a known and factual nature, *na* is often associated with a proposition of a less certain, less known, or hypothetical nature.

(4.55) TT: “You won’t let on what you are, I realise that.” He patted me heartily on the back.

“Keshi zanmen* gerlia- *zhe, zhe!*” -

but 2PL two brothers (?) (?)

“But between brothers like us” -

TT: He made a funny face and twitched his eyebrows — “you gave yourself away so slightly just now. You must be a regular wizard, for not even I saw you at it. I admire you — what more can I say? That’s the truth.”

**Zanmen* ‘we, us’ is the inclusive plural first person pronoun, while *women* ‘we, us’ can be both inclusive or not inclusive, depending on the context in which it occurs. (Baohulu: 111)

(4.55) documents the only interjective use of *zhe* ‘this’ in the Chinese corpus. From the context, *zhe* seems to encode the speaker’s hesitation and awkwardness: he knows what he wants to say, but stops short and quickly switches the topic for he feels insecure with the possible response from his interlocutor, whose trust he knows he has not won. His awkwardness must have arisen from the already uttered bit, which sounds far too intimate for a relationship in which the trust is only one way, but not mutual. Compare this use of *zhe* with the use of *na* ‘that’ in (4.53). Both are used as interjections, indexing the speaker’s attitudinal involvement, yet they are not interchangeable. The difference, it seems, is again one between the known nature of the proposition *zhe* is associated with and the less known nature of the proposition with which *na* is associated. These examples are seen to lend further support to the postulation that the asymmetry in deictic force between proximal *zhe* and non-proximal *na* remains all the way through the extended usages so far discussed. So does the dichotomy between proximity and non-proximity, which have evolved into proximity and non-proximity abstracted and reinterpreted in the extended usages. Again, it is seen that it is the notion of deictic force that holds the key to the dichotomy in the extended usages of the demonstratives under discussion, and the underlying process of the abstraction and reinterpretation is taken to involve a reconceptualising process, which will be the focus of discussion in 4.7 below.

4.5.2 Asymmetry in the place-referring demonstratives

The corpora show that the asymmetry between the English proximal and non-proximal place-referring demonstratives is quite obvious. It is essentially *there* that has developed a variety of non-deictic and diminished deictic usages. In Chinese, in addition to the extended usages discussed in 4.3, one more extended usage found in the data is that *zheli* ‘here’ and *nali* ‘there’, when occurring before a verb of duration, tend to lose their definiteness and specificity as place markers, but retain a weak sense of deictic-ness.

4.5.2.1 *Here* and *there*

For proximal *here*, the basic syntactic function is that of a place adverb (See Example (4.10) in 4.3.2). As a discourse deictic, it is sometimes also used to refer to a point made in discourse, as is the case in the following excerpt.

- (4.56) “For instance, if you play chess with Yao Chun and lose your temper, it doesn’t matter if you jump up and knock him over or kick the table over too. That doesn’t count as anything wrong. There’s no question at all *here* of right and wrong, good and bad.” (Baohulu [E]: 114)

The *here* in (4.56) is used to index the described behaviour encoded in the previous conditional utterance. It is related to a domain of behaviour being discussed in the discourse fragment. *Here* in this use suggests “where we are concerned”, anchoring the behaviour to the speaker’s here-and-now, as if saying “Where we are concerned, there’s no question at all of right and wrong, good and bad”. It is a discourse deictic usage.

Here is also found available for the presentative function in utterances.

- (4.57) “It’s a Useful Pot,” said Pooh. “*Here* it is.” (Pooh: 78)
 (4.58) “Oh, Pooh!” cried Christopher Robin. “Where *are* you?”
 “*Here* I am,” said a growly voice behind him. (Pooh: 127)

Presentative *here* is used to draw the addressee’s attention to the presence of an entity (person included) in the speaker’s here-and-now. In the corpora, it invariably occurs to indicate displaced situational deixis in the fictional world (cf. 4.4).

Still another extended use of *here* is documented in the excerpt below.

- (4.59) “Hallo, are you stuck?” he asked.
 “N-no,” said Pooh carelessly, “just resting and thinking and humming to myself.”

“*Here*, give us a paw.”

Pooh Bear stretched out a paw, and Rabbit pulled and pulled and pulled.... (Pooh: 24)

The *here* in (4.59) may perhaps be taken as an interjective *here*. It is used to direct the attention of Pooh to the speaker, Rabbit, or/and to what the speaker is going to say. The use is obviously deictic in nature, producing an attention-catching effect on the addressee.

Both the presentative and interjective usages have become set usages of the English language. In both usages, *here* is employed to indicate situational deixis in real space, or in displaced contexts, and when it is used for situational deixis in displaced contexts, as excerpts (4.57) to (4.59) show, it does not differ in any way from when it is used for real-space situational deixis (cf. 4.1.1).

As can be observed from the excerpts quoted above, *here* remains essentially deictic in its extended usages in discourse (exceptional, of course, is the generic use of *here*, which will be discussed in 4.6). As such, it invariably draws the addressee’s attention to the locutionary agent’s here-and-now. It, however, deviates from the basic, deictic demonstrative use in that it does not explicitly designate a location in space. Location in space is still relevant, but existence and presence as in the presentative *here* and attention-catching as in the interjective *here* seem to be equally crucial semantic ingredients of *here* in these usages respectively. What seems to have occurred is perhaps a process of grammaticalisation/lexicalisation in which these semantic ingredients have been respectively incorporated into the usages. In the presentative usage, the deictic-ness still remains while the more concrete spatial location bit partially gives way to the more abstract existence and presence ingredients, which presume location. In the interjection usage, the semantics of *here* seems to have undergone an even higher degree of abstraction, so that we can hardly speak in terms of semantic ingredients, but need to resort to the effect such usage produces on the addressee. But attention-catching by verbal means is itself not different in kind from attention-catching by means of a visual stimulus such as a road sign (cf. Bühler 1990). With its interjective use, *here* draws the addressee’s attention to the speaker’s next utterance from her here-and-now.

What is common to the extended usages of *here* as illustrated above is that they all remain deictic in their discourse function.

I now turn to *there*, and start with the typical contexts in which it occurs in the corpus.

- (4.60) a. *There* were four animals in front of them! (Pooh: 35)
 b. “Well, either a tail *is there* or it isn’t *there*.” (Pooh: 41)
 c. I was always eating different kinds of cakes, biscuits and sweets — all supposed to be things I had wished for. I’m not greedy, you know, but since all those things were *there*, why should I waste them?
 (Baohulu [E]: 88)

The three excerpts which are put together in (4.60) share one thing in common, i.e., the *there* used is existential in nature. They vary, in the degree of deictic implication involved. (4.60a) is a grammaticalised existential sentence construction, in which *there* is existential but not deictic. The sense of location in it is missing, and without the locative prepositional phrase, “the four animals” were nowhere to be located. The *there* in (4.60b) is essentially existential, but seems to involve location in the sense of “where it should be”. Although what the speaker, Eeyore, has in mind at the time of speaking, is his own tail, he is here nevertheless making an objective generalisation, which in effect creates a distance and calls for the use of *there*. Within the given context, its utterance readily triggers, on the part of the addressee, a mental representation of where a tail is supposed to be for animals with tails. A deictic implication is thus seen as embodied with this usage. The *there* in (4.60c), in addition to existence, suggests “out there in the world” or, more specifically, “where my wish surfaces in my mind”, which is unlikely to be the speaker’s here-and-now. It can be interpreted as capable of a weak deictic function. Consider the two excerpts in (4.61) below.

- (4.61) a. *There* I was, working so hard that my nose was beaded with sweat, yet he kept blaming me for this, that and the other.
 (Baohulu [E]: 6)
 b. Two days later, *there* was Pooh, sitting on his branch, dangling his legs,
 (Pooh: 122)

In both (4.61a) and (4.61b), *there* occurs in an existential sentence construction, indicating existence. But at the same time, it is clearly used deictically. In (4.61a), the narrator relates to the narrated “I” at a time and place removed from his here-and-now. In (4.61b), Pooh is where he is, spatio-temporally removed from the narrator’s here-and-now.

- (4.62) a. Balancing on three legs, he began to bring his fourth leg very cautiously up to his ear. “I did this yesterday,” he explained, as he fell down for the third time. “It’s quite easy. It’s so as I can hear better . . .

- There*, that's done it! Now then, what were you saying?" He pushed his ear forward with his hoof. (Pooh: 76)
- b. "Don't open the mouth, dear, or the soap goes in," said Kanga.
 "There! What did I tell you?" (Pooh: 95)

(4.62a) and (4.62b) indicate that the spatial demonstrative *there* has now assumed the role of an interjection, an attention-catching device in discourse. In (4.62a), the utterance of *there* produces more or less the same effect of the utterance of "Look!". A very weak sense of existence can still be detected. Deictic-ness in terms of location is, however, largely missing. Even though all the movements involved are manipulations of the speaker's own body (Eeyore's), non-proximal *there* is used. What can still be traced to the deictic-ness of the spatial demonstrative *there* is the attention-catching quality of the interjective *there*. In (4.62b), in addition to the attention-catching quality, *there* is seen to encode the speaker's attitudinal involvement, with an obvious scolding tone, which is brought to surface by the discourse context. This distancing effect is seen to tinge the use with an obvious deictic flavour.

- (4.63) a. ... and you went home for your umbrella.
 "Oh, *there* you are!" called down Winnie-the-Pooh as soon as you got back to the tree. "I was beginning to get anxious...." (Pooh: 13)
- b. "And if anyone knows anything about anything," said Bear to himself, "it's Owl who knows something about something," he said, "or my name's not Winnie-the-Pooh," he said. "Which it is," he added. "So *there* you are." (Pooh: 43)
- c. "I'm not complaining, but *There It Is*." (Pooh: 67)

In (4.63a), (4.63b), and (4.63c), *there* occurs in set, idiomatic usages. The contexts in which *there* is embedded suggest that, similar to the *there* in (4.62b), encoded in these usages is individual attitudinal involvement. In (4.63a), it is relief. In (4.63b), it is self-complacency. In (4.63c), it is self-righteousness. Also depending on the contexts, the *there* in (4.63a) avails itself of a deictic interpretation, though the deictic force involved is not strong. With the *theres* in (4.63b), and (4.63c), however, very weak deictic-ness, if any, is more associated with the act of drawing one's attention to the attitude and emotion expressed.

The picture we now have of *there* shows a range in the degree of deictic-ness. If the basic, deictic use of *there* is taken to involve a maximum deictic function, at the opposite end of the range, with certain usages, the deictic

function is reduced to the minimum, as is the case in (4.60a) in which an existential usage of *there* occurs. In between, the employment of *there* is shown to indicate varying degrees of egocentric demonstrativeness, and varying degrees of existence. Such functional variation is found in the main to be coupled with variation in structure.

There is reason to believe that even the typical existential use of *there* as in (4.60a) is genetically related to its typical deictic use. As Lyons suggests (1977: 723), existential constructions are of locative origin, for “existence is but the limiting case of location in an abstract, deictically neutral, space” (cf. Lakoff 1987: 470). As existence presupposes a spatio-temporal location, it must have the capacity of potentially directing one’s attention, though, being non-specific, it cannot be employed to refer to an ostensible location. In terms of information structure, existential *there* invariably introduces new information, which, presumably, is not previously the focus of attention (Allan 1971: 16). A very mild referring function can thus be assumed of the existential *there*, which directs the addressee/reader’s attention to the new information that immediately follows. But like the typical conjunctive/complementiser *that* as in (4.25), the existential *there* is deictically neutral and its deictic force is essentially missing.

The fact that in certain contexts the employment of *there* allows for the expression of individual involvement of an attitudinal nature is interesting and should perhaps not be taken as arbitrary. Being removed from the control of the deictic centre, like non-proximal *that*, it has developed diminished deictic and essentially non-deictic usages and, along with these, fresh grammatical roles. At the same time, I would argue, being essentially indexical in all its roles, its indexicality may also show a wider range of applications. Just as concrete spatial locations can be indexed by means of *there*, so can abstract, non-specific existence. The same applies to the even more abstract emotions. In this connection, the extended use of the English non-proximal *that* and the Chinese *na* ‘that’ in idiomatic, set expressions which is found to index an individual involvement of opinion or attitude, as is presented and discussed in 4.5.1.1 and 4.5.1.2 respectively, is seen to be similarly motivated. It is the relatively weak control of the deictic centre that leaves room for such pragmatic infiltration and that it is the context in which the demonstrative concerned occurs that normally facilitates its pragmatic interpretation. Such extensions are not as readily available to the proximal demonstratives. Again deictic force seems to offer the key to the explanation.

4.5.2.2 *Zheli* and *nali*

The Chinese corpus records rather few extended usages of *zheli* ‘here’ and *nali* ‘there’. Asymmetry can be detected between them, but is not as marked as that between the English *here* and *there*.

Like the English *here*, *zheli* ‘here’ is found to be used discourse deictically, not to refer to the discourse representation of a location in space in the previous co-text, but to index a point in the running discourse.

(4.64) TT: Now he didn’t want to stay in that school any more. He felt it was too boring.

Ta jiang dao *zheli* jiu xingfen qilai*, shengyin ye tigao le.
3SG speak till here ADP excite ADP voice also raise CRS
He became quite excited [at this point] and raised his voice a little.

**Qilai*, a function word, is used here with the sense of “start” or “become”.

(Baohulu: 108)

In (4.64), *zheli* ‘here’ can be spelt out as “at this point”. It is used to indicate a location in discourse, which can be interpreted as an abstract location of a temporal nature. Its use is seen to produce the effect of bringing the locutionary agent and recipient to the spatio-temporal location of the narratee, “he” in this case. It is an extended, discourse deictic usage.

A similar, but more abstract extended discourse deictic use of *zheli* ‘here’ is found in the following example.

(4.65) TT: This is the sort of work a girl would be good at.

Er wo ne, qiaqiao bu shi nuhair. Wenti jiu zai *zheli*.
but 1SG AP by chance NG be girl question just at here
The trouble is I’m not a girl.

(Baohulu: 5)

The use of *zheli* ‘here’ in (4.65) indexes a represented situation and calls the addressee/reader’s attention to that situation as the identified source of the problem. It is a discourse deictic use, in which the locational sense of *zheli*, though retained, is nevertheless abstracted into one where abstract properties such as a problem are the concern.

The use of *zheli* ‘here’ in both (4.64) and (4.65) involves a deictic centre shift. *Nali* ‘there’ would be inappropriate in them.

The non-proximal *nali* ‘there’ in Chinese rather repeatedly occurs in a grammatical context as in the following.

(4.66) TT: I didn't listen carefully to granny — she always fusses over me.

Ta sihu zai *nali* cui wo chifan.

3SG seem DUR there urge 1SG eat

She seemed to be urging me to eat something.

(Baohulu: 42)

(4.67) Wo zhe cai zhidao, yuanlai Yang Shuar

Wo just only know it turn out Yang Shuar

Only now did I discover, Yang Shuar

yizhi zai *nali* zhuyi zhe wo de chengjiu.

all along DUR there observe DUR 1SG GEN achievement

had all along been observing my achievements.

(Baohulu: 109)

In (4.66) and (4.67), the syntactic context in which *nali* 'there' occurs is *zai* + *nali* + verb (of duration). The *nali/nar* in this context is normally used not to pick out a definite spatial location. Without it the propositional content of the utterance would remain unchanged. One view of its role is that it indicates that the verb that follows denotes an action in progress (e.g. Ding et al. 1980: 154). In this view, *nali* has been grammaticalised into a function word, indicating the durative aspect. It occurs in the context described above to signal the durative nature of the action that the verb following it denotes at the time of its encoding. But it appears ambiguous whether it is *nali* or the *zai* (DUR) that precedes it that is responsible for marking the action concerned as durative, for with *nali* removed, the remaining *zai* can be construed as a durative aspect marker (Beijing Daxue Zhongwenxi 1955, 1957 Ji Yuyan Ban [The 1955, 1957 Linguistics Groups of the Department of Chinese, Beijing University] 1982: 529). Given this position, the question logically arises of whether *nali* has a place at all in the utterance that contains it. I suggest that it encodes a point of view, or the speaker's egocentric perspective, indicating that the action is taking place away from the locutionary agent's here-and-now of the utterance. With the stress normally suppressed in speaking, *nali* may be regarded as weakly deictic, vaguely pointing to an unspecified area conceived by the locutionary agent as non-proximal.

The plausibility of the above position can be seen from the similar use of proximal *zheli* 'here' in the same grammatical context.

(4.68) TT: ... Before I could even start thinking, a piece of paper would appear on the table with the neatly copied problems and their answers. I don't know how you'd have felt. I was half pleased, half worried -

Laoshi shuo, wo shengpa wo shi zai *zheli* zuomeng.
 honestly say 1SG fear 1SG be DUR here dream
 The fact is, I was afraid I must be dreaming. (Baohulu: 73)

In (4.68), without *zheli* ‘here’, the propositional content of the sentence remains the same as with it, for *zheli* is not really used to indicate a location. The grammatical context in which *zheli* occurs is very similar to those in which *nali* ‘there’ occurs in (4.66) and (4.67). The only difference that the use of *zheli* or *nali* makes is seen as one in point of view. *Zheli* brings the narrator “I” to transpose his deictic centre and to align it with that of the narrated “I”. *Nali*, on the other hand, suggests a removal of the spatio-temporal location of the narrator “I” from that of the narrated “I”. Both *zheli* and *nali* are used in a rather abstract sense of spatial location: they encode an egocentric perspective without specifying a location.

It should be pointed out that although *zheli* ‘here’ and *nali* ‘there’ share this extended deictic usage, asymmetry is found in the frequency of their use. The Chinese texts record 15 instances of the usage for *nali*, but only 2 instances for *zheli*. This discrepancy could be postulated as related to deictic force: being freer from the control of the deictic centre, non-proximal *nali* is more ready to abstract away from its basic, deictic use in which the referent is a concrete location in space and to develop extended usages which are marked by diminished deictic-ness and a higher degree of abstraction of physical space, a rather vague pointing to somewhere over there or here. But the amount of data obtained concerning this usage is too small. A firm claim must await its confirmation by an adequate amount of attested data.

4.6 Cancellation of asymmetry: The generic usage

At the minimum end of the range of egocentric demonstrativeness, there is, in both English and Chinese, the generic use of the entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives, as can be seen from the following examples.

- (4.69) ..., but when they came to the stream, and had helped each other across the stepping stones, and were able to walk side by side again over the heather, they began to talk in a friendly way about *this* and *that*,
 (Pooh: 52)

(4.70) TT: But he's always finding fault.

Ta yimian* gan zhe ta ziji de na fen gongzuo,
3SG ADP do DUR 3SG OWN GEN that CL job

While he was doing his own job,

yimian* hai dei** qiaoqiao zhege***, qiaoqiao nage***.
ADP also must look this one look that one
he kept looking round at the rest of us.

**Yimian* ... *yimian* is a functional structure used to indicate that two events happen simultaneously.

***Dei* here carries an ironic undertone in the utterance.

***Almost always, when *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' must occur in an object position following a verb or a preposition, *zhege* and *nage* are used.

(Baohulu: 5)

(4.69) and (4.70) show that in both English and Chinese, members of the entity-referring demonstrative pair can occur together in an utterance and that when they do, they are used generically for things in general allowed by the particular discourse context in which they are used. *This* and *that* in (4.69) are used to refer to anything that came to Pooh's or Piglet's mind while they were walking side by side over the heather. *Zhege* 'this' and *nage* 'that' in (4.70) are used to refer to any person working together with "he" in the school that Sunday morning when the event took place. It is obvious that the entity-referring demonstrative pairs are used referentially, but their referents are of an indefinite nature. These demonstratives, when so used, no longer involve egocentricity. Such usage is therefore regarded as non-deictic. The corpora provide similar usages of the place-referring demonstrative pairs in the two languages.

(4.71) "Balloon?" said Eeyore. "You did say balloon? One of those big coloured things you blow up? Gaiety, song-and-dance, *here* we are and *there* we are?" (Pooh: 77)

In this excerpt, *here* and *there* are used not to index definite places, but to indicate that they would move here and there all over where they would have fun with singing and dancing. So used, *here* and *there* still indicate location, but no longer encode definiteness, nor egocentric demonstrativeness. The asymmetry inherent in them in terms of distance in their basic, deictic usage is cancelled in this usage, and along with it the deictic-ness.

(4.72) TT: There were fish of every description swimming there. Some of them I recognized and some I didn't.

You ji tiao xiao jiyu huobo jile,
 EXT some CL small bream lively extremely
 There were some lively little bream

chuansuo side wang zheli yi* zuan, wang nali yi* zuan.
 shuttle like towards here ADP dart towards there ADP dart
 darting to and fro.

**Yi* is a function word used here to suggest the swiftness of the action which the verb following it encodes. (Baohulu: 19)

The place-referring demonstratives in (4.71) and (4.72), like the entity-referring demonstratives in (4.69) and (4.70), are used in their generic sense. They are referential, but non-definite. Their referents could be anywhere within the locative contexts set by the relevant co-texts. For the *here* and *there* in (4.71), it is where the characters would have fun together and for the *zheli* ‘here’ and *nali* ‘there’ in (4.72), it is within the water in the bucket. It is obvious that these demonstratives are used non-deictically, though still associated with locations in a general area, which must be indefinite.

The non-deictic usage of the demonstratives discussed above can be seen as genetically related to their basic, deictic usage in two ways. First, in such use the basic semantic ingredient of pointing is still retained, so that the demonstratives so used are still referential in nature, performing a rather general indexical function. Second, the entity-referring demonstratives remain entity-referring; the place-referring demonstratives remain place-referring. What is believed to occur in the non-deictic discourse usage is that when the proximal and the non-proximal demonstratives are placed side by side within the same utterance, the distance element is neutralised and the definiteness and contrastiveness which are entailed in the demonstratives in their deictic use are gone, so is demonstrativeness. The fact that these demonstratives in their non-deictic usage may still be regarded as referential, in the sense that they are either entity-referring or place-referring, is taken to suggest that the non-deictic usage may still be traced to the basic, deictic usage.

4.7 Metaphorical extensions

In 4.5, where I compared the Chinese *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ (cf. 4.5.1.2), I touched upon the topic of reinterpretations of spatial distance. I also showed that *zhe* and *na* receive different reinterpretations in their extended, discourse

marker (in non-conditional utterances) and interjective usages. Within the cognitive-linguistic conceptual framework of the present study, such reinterpretations are seen as a result of the workings of the general capacity of human cognition to understand and experience one kind of thing in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 5). The reinterpretations can be traced to the basic semantic ingredient of spatial distance as is controlled by the ego in terms of proximity vs. non-proximity.

In a strict sense, there is no physical spatial distance to speak of in the use of the demonstratives in displaced contexts, where spatial distance must be imagined spatial distance in mental space. Imagined spatial distance is then a kind of reconceptualisation of real-space physical distance. A distinction, however, can be made between imagined spatial distance and the kind of reconceptualisation of physical distance discussed in 2.2.5. In terms of mental processing, imagined spatial distance is seen as involving a direct mapping of the real-world physical distance to mental space. Reconceptualisation of physical distance, on the other hand, sets off a metaphorical process in which the concrete is reinterpreted into abstractions. In terms of language correlates, the demonstratives seem to be used in essentially the same way for imagined spatial distance as they are for real-world physical distance (cf. 4.4). Similarities can be expected to dominate for English and Chinese in the situational deictic use of the demonstratives in displaced contexts, i.e., unless a metaphorical reinterpretation occurs, which often involves empathy or distancing.

For signalling discourse reference, however, metaphorical reinterpretations of physical distance present a far less transparent picture. As more than one reinterpretation is possible (cf. 2.2.5), reconceptualised interpretations are likely to enter into competition for a place in the linearly organised discourse. Contextual factors, structural, discoursal, and pragmatic, enter as important determinative factors affecting the selection. As a consequence, the deployment of the demonstratives for discourse reference presents a very complex picture. Differences between English and Chinese are expected to feature.

The data show that various reinterpretations of physical distance generally occur with the English and Chinese entity-referring demonstratives in their discourse deictic usage. Place-referring demonstratives of the two languages get abstract reinterpretations too (cf. 4.5.2). But as their number of occurrences for discourse deixis is markedly small and their potential for reconceptualisation is limited, they will not be examined. Also excluded are instances of the generic use of the demonstratives and of the English conjunctive/complementiser use of *that*. *That* is excluded because with the basic semantics of the

demonstrative *that* more or less bleached out of it, it has been reduced to essentially a structural entity, which does not lend itself to the reconceptualisation process. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 below show the sample size for the examination of the reconceptualisations of spatial distance for the English and Chinese entity-referring demonstratives respectively. In the tables, DR stands for discourse reference.

Table 4.6 Frequency of *this* and *that* for discourse reference

For DR	English		Total (n)
	<i>this</i> (n)	<i>that</i> (n)	
	261	370	631

Table 4.7 Frequency of *zhe* and *na* for discourse reference

For DR	Chinese		Total (n)
	<i>zhe</i> (n)	<i>na</i> (n)	
	452	389	841

Notice that the term “discourse reference” is used to cover, especially for Chinese, discourse deixis and all the other usages which vary in their strength of deictic-ness. These other usages include the conjunctive, euphemistic, and interjective use of the demonstratives and demonstratives as pragmatic markers. As was pointed out earlier, although the term “discourse deixis” is used in the sense as it is defined in 2.2.3, these other usages share an important feature of discourse deixis in terms of mental processing. They are all used as devices for discourse reference.

An examination of all the instances of these demonstratives suggests that reinterpretation of spatial distance occurs in their use for both the situational and non-situational deixis in English, but for only non-situational deixis in Chinese. For the establishment of a reinterpretation, I had in mind the repeated occurrence of a discourse deictic entity-referring demonstrative associated with a repeated occurrence of a type of context in which the referent of the demonstrative is found. In other words, there is a correlation between the discourse use of a demonstrative and the nature of the context in which its referent can be located. The nature of the context concerned that calls for the use of a certain demonstrative is invariably associated with the basic concept of distance, which is not physical, but is, rather, distance metaphorically reinter-

preted. Reconceptualisation of physical distance also occurs with the use of the demonstratives for situational deixis in real space and displaced contexts, especially when psychological distancing is expressed.

As is evidenced by the data, tendencies to reconceptualise physical distance associated with the demonstratives largely fall into three broad types. First, physical distance is abstracted in association with modality. Second, physical distance is temporally reinterpreted. Third, physical distance is reinterpreted in terms of the locutionary agent's individual, attitudinal involvement. These tendencies are found in both English and Chinese, forming still another similar trend of development in their extended usages of the entity-referring demonstratives.

In addition, a fourth type of reinterpretation has been documented for Chinese in a contrastive study of the entity-referring demonstratives of English and Chinese (Zhang 1991). In this study, adult fiction, academic writing and journalistic writing were examined and it was found that physical distance is reinterpreted as textual distance between the demonstrative used in text and the original expression referring to the same referent measured in terms of the number of clauses. The shorter the textual distance, the stronger is the tendency to use *zhe* 'this' for discourse reference, and *na* 'that' is reserved for longer-distance discourse referents. For English, on the other hand, "the discourse use of the demonstratives is usually governed by the speaker oriented discourse distance", i.e., by such semantico-pragmatic considerations as the speaker's interest or intention to distance himself from the thing concerned (pp. 44–45). One difficulty with the measurement is that not infrequently the referent of a given demonstrative is not necessarily encoded in one expression or even a clause, but must be inferred from the relevant co-text, as examples (4.8) and (4.9) show. Also, intuitively, the textual distance reinterpretation of physical distance can hardly be supported by the data for the present study. In my corpora, owing to the colloquial style in which the stories are told and the density of conversational language between personified animals and between children, long-distance referents are rather uncommon. Indeed, as Fillmore (1981: 156) alerts us, "samples of discourse that differ in significant pragmatic ways will be structured according to different sets of syntactic and semantic principles". Differences in language use in different genres pose a problem of generalisability for findings of discourse analysis exclusively based on frequency counts applied to a selected corpus. Only with the accumulation of studies of a wide variety of discourse types will we be able to arrive at more secure generalisations for "discourse" in general (cf. Brown & Yule 1983: 172).

Physical distance reinterpreted in terms of textual distance is thus not pursued in the present study.

In what follows, I shall use examples to expound the three reinterpretations of spatial distance identified in the parallel corpora. As quite often is the case, the use of a demonstrative finds more than one reinterpretation. The examples selected are those in which one reinterpretation can be clearly isolated as the dominant motivating consideration. The clear cases should not cause us to lose sight of the inter-relatedness of the reinterpretations generated and the complexity in the extended usages of the demonstratives.

4.7.1 Modality

Opinions vary among linguistic scholars concerning the territory of modality (See Palmer 1986: Chapter 1 for an encapsulation of the major views). Modality, in Palmer's terms (*op cit.*: 16), is "concerned with subjective characteristics of an utterance" (*cf.* Lyons 1977: 797; Palmer 1990: Chapter 1). In the present study, along with Palmer's very broad encapsulation, epistemic modality, *i.e.*, the degree of commitment by the speaker to what he says, and modality through which the speaker's attitudinal involvement is expressed will be treated separately in different sections. This is because while the former has found its way into the language structure of both English and Chinese, the status of the latter kind of modality in the languages concerned seems much less secure, so that it is expressed through discourse-pragmatic means. This at least applies to the entity-referring demonstratives under discussion. Mention should be made at this point that the data from the corpora suggest that the same demonstrative can be used to express both types of modality in the same utterance.

The term modality, as it is employed in this section, is concerned with the locutionary agent's commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed by his utterance (Lyons, *op cit.*). Modality in this sense finds expression in the language structure of both English and Chinese, though the degree to which they grammaticalise it varies. For example, English makes grammatical distinctions between conditionals involving the reality and the imaginative, the latter of which could be further distinguished between the hypothetical and the counterfactual, through manipulations of its verb and auxiliary verb systems. Chinese, on the other hand, has no such grammatical distinctions (Li & Thompson 1981: 646ff). But the fact that both English and Chinese have conditional sentence constructions shows that modality does find its way into the structure of the two languages.

A broad distinction is drawn, for the purpose of the study, between propositions that are factual and certain, and propositions that are suppositional, less certain, or imaginary from the point of view of the locutionary agent. The data show that in both English and Chinese, a tendency can be observed for the non-proximal demonstratives to be associated with non-factual, less certain, or hypothetical propositions. Thus, in their discourse deictic use, spatial non-proximity as encoded in the non-proximal demonstratives is reinterpreted as indexical of epistemic modality. Specifically, in this reinterpretation, the hypothetical, the imaginative and the less certain are conceptualised as far and removed, for which the non-proximal demonstratives are likely to be the candidates for signalling discourse reference. For evidence, I shall start with the English *that*.

(4.73) “I shall try to look like a small black cloud. *That* will deceive them.”
(Pooh: 11)

(4.74) “Christopher Robin, you must shoot the balloon with your gun. Have you got your gun?”
“Of course I have,” you said. “But If I do that, it will spoil the balloon,” you said.
“But if you *don’t*,” said Pooh, “I shall have to let go, and *that* would spoil *me*.”
(Pooh: 16)

In (4.73) and (4.74), *that* is used to index a not yet realised plan and an imagined situation respectively. Note that both the propositions indexed involve events in the future from the speaker’s here-and-now. In English, as in other Indo-European languages, “reference to the future, unlike reference to the past, is as much a matter of modality as it is of purely temporal reference” (Lyons 1977: 816), and “the so-called future tense may be used to express various kinds of subjective epistemic modality including inference, supposition and prediction” (op cit.: 817). The English *shall* and *will*, which are traditionally identified as markers of future tense, as Palmer (1986) points out, seldom refer simply to future time (p. 216).²⁹ The association between *that* and the suppositional and predictive nature of the propositions which it indexes can be seen from the fact that in (4.73) and (4.74), *this* would be inappropriate in the place of *that*.

For Chinese, the modality reinterpretation of physical distance seems more marked than for English. In fact, as has been shown throughout 4.5.1.2, part of this reinterpretation is grammaticalised, as the non-proximal *na* ‘that’,

not *zhe* ‘this’, occurs in Chinese conditional utterances. Owing to the hypothetical nature of the stories in the Chinese book for this study, the use of *na* for reference to a hypothetical proposition gets highlighted: 80 instances occur in explicitly encoded or implied conditional utterances. In non-conditional utterances where *na* is used pronominally, the tendency is also rather obvious that it is the preferred choice for indexing the less certain, suppositional propositions. For example,

- (4.75) TT: I went home and sulked for a while. I wanted to go back to school and see how they were getting on,
 keshi ... *na* guai bieniu de.
 but that rather awkward AP
 but ... I’d have felt a fool. (Baohulu: 7)
- (4.76) TT: From now on, I would be a different boy. I could do whatever I wanted.
 “Why, that means I can do any kind of work. I can be a big help to everybody.
 Ni xiang, *na* hai* liaodeqi!”
 2SG think that ADP marvellous
 Just think, wasn’t that marvellous!”
 **Hai*, a function word here, is used as a rhetorical device strengthening the convincing effect of the utterance. (Baohulu: 19)

In (4.75), *na* ‘that’ occurs in an utterance of free indirect thought. It is used to index an idea of what to do next which has just flashed across the locutionary agent’s mind and which he quickly dismisses as untenable. In (4.76), *na* is used to index a proposition of future possibility. *Zhe* ‘this’ in the place of *na* in these utterances would perhaps not be considered wrong, but would sound less natural and not be preferred. It can be seen that *na* in these utterances encode a distance from factuality, suggesting a sense of “if that should happen”. In this usage of *na*, physical distance is seen as reinterpreted in terms of epistemic modality, as distance from reality and certainty.

At this point, a question that is likely to be asked is whether the proximal English *this* and Chinese *zhe* ‘this’ are used to index factual propositions for discourse reference as logic might indicate. As the answer is not straightforward and would lead to differences between the two languages, I shall reserve the discussion for Chapter 5.

4.7.2 Temporality

The affinity between spatial and temporal expressions in languages is well documented in the literature. In general, the relationship is seen as directional: temporal expressions are believed to have evolved from spatial expressions (Lyons 1977; Traugott 1978). From another perspective, “temporal expressions define a one-dimensional ‘pseudospace’, the well-known time-line” (Jackendoff 1983: 189). This is probably because, as Miller & Johnson-Laird (1976) point out, spatial organisation is of central importance in human cognition. From the point of view of grammaticalisation, an object-space-time-quality process is postulated, supported by evidence from different languages (Heine et al. 1991). In the present study, the temporal abstraction of spatial distance is found in the extended usages of the entity-referring demonstratives, which is seen again as reflecting the workings of human cognition in reconceptualising one thing in terms of another. Specifically, time can be conceived and even measured in terms of space, as this is exemplified in such phrases as “in three miles’ time”.

The corpora record three ways of temporally reconceptualising spatial distance by means of the spatial demonstratives under discussion. First, non-proximal *that* and *na* ‘that’ are found to be employed for past-time reference. Second, proximal *zhe* ‘this’ and occasionally *this* are used for past-time reference. Third, the use of non-proximal *that* for temporal interpretation of English discourse. As the second and third usages concern the differences between the two languages, they will be addressed in Chapter 5. Now examples of the first usage.

- (4.78) “You gave him – don’t you remember – a little – a little –”
 “I gave him a box of paints to paint things with.”
 “*That* was it.” (Pooh: 79–80)
- (4.79) TT: “Oh, he was all right by and large. It was only in maths that he once got such bad marks.”
 Ke *na* ye* bu lai ta, yinwei ...”
 But that ADP NG blame 3SG because
 But that wasn’t his fault because....
 **Ye*, a function word, is used in this utterance to moderate the assertive tone of the utterance. (Baohulu: 52)

In (4.78), *that* is used to index the proposition “Christopher Robin gave Eeyore a box of paints”, an event temporally removed from the speaker’s here-and-

now at the moment of speaking. The *na* ‘that’ in (4.79), similarly, is used to refer to a past event from the speaker’s viewpoint at the moment of speaking. The predominant consideration for the selection of the non-proximal demonstratives in both utterances is seen to be of a temporal nature. *This* and *zhe* ‘this’ in their places would be inappropriate or not preferred.

In addition, the entity-referring demonstratives of both English and Chinese typically co-occur with time morphemes and constitute a necessary component of the time phrases thus formed (cf. 5.3). In English, for example, there are *this time*, *by this/that time*, etc. and in Chinese, *zhe shihou* ‘at this moment’, *na shihou* ‘at that moment’, *zhe cai* ‘only just’, *zhe jiu* ‘right away’, etc. More will be said about this in Chapter 5.

4.7.3 Individual attitude

By individual attitude is meant the speaker’s expression of her own attitudinal commitment or emotion by means of the demonstratives. Individual attitude conceived as such was briefly touched upon in 4.5.1.1, 4.5.1.2, and 4.5.2.1. Generally, both the English and Chinese entity-referring demonstratives can be used as carriers of individual attitude and emotion. The reconceptualisation process involved is, as the corpora show, that while spatial proximity is often abstracted in terms of emotional and attitudinal affinity, spatial non-proximity is often reinterpreted as attitudinal and emotional distancing.

- (4.80) And it was on the morning of the fourth day that Piglet’s bottle came floating past him, and with one loud cry of “Honey!” Pooh plunged into the water, seized the bottle, and struggled back to his tree again.
 “Bother!” said Pooh, as he opened it. “All *that* wet for nothing.
 What’s *that* bit of paper doing?” (Pooh: 123)

The repeated use of non-proximal *that*, instead of *this*, in (4.80), first for the speaker’s own body and then for the bit of paper in the bottle which he must be holding in his hand, carries with it the speaker’s attitudinal stance. He is very disappointed, for the bravery with which he plunged into the water was solely motivated by the idea of honey, yet the bottle has turned out not to have any honey in it. His getting wet was thus not worthwhile. The bit of paper is totally unexpected and alien, leaving him puzzled. The two *thats* thus convey the speaker’s disappointment and alienation respectively.

(4.81) TT: Yes, all this was quite fantastic. If I just used my brain and thought a bit about it....

“All these things are incredible and impossible!” My magic gourd completed my thought.

“*Na-na-*” wo shi’erfen chijing, bu zhidao gai zenme shuo le,
 (?) (?) 1SG extremely surprised NG know shouldhow say CRS
 “In that case....” I was so amazed, I didn’t know what to say.

(Baohulu: 49)

The two successive *nas* ‘that’ in (4.81) are interjections. Given the context, they may have two readings. They may be taken to index the utterance of the magic gourd as given. The fact that *na* is repeated and not immediately followed up may be taken to suggest a mental search for what to say next. The *nas* then express the speaker’s mental state of unpreparedness and hesitation, i.e., given that, what he has just heard has left him stunned. A further reading, however, concerns the emotionally charged use of *na*: he is too amazed to know what to say. The *nas* thus carry with them the amazement of the speaker at the moment of their utterance. Spatial non-proximity, in this case, is seen as reinterpreted as not understanding, not knowing, not being ready: the speaker at the very moment of utterance is quite some distance from his normal self.

4.8 Summary

In this chapter, five similar trends of extension have been established in the use of the English and Chinese spatial demonstratives in displaced contexts. First, in both English and Chinese, the entity-referring demonstratives are employed to indicate textual deixis, and both the entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives are employed to indicate discourse deixis. With textual deixis, the referents specified are textual entities or chunks of text; with discourse deixis, the referents are seen as mental representations of discourse, located in the memory of those concerned. The demonstratives involved in these two types of extended usage are as deictic as they are when they are used to indicate situational deixis in real space. What marks the difference between situational deixis on the one hand and textual deixis and discourse deixis on the other, is the extension from physical entities indexed for situational deixis to textual entities and mental representations of discourse indexed for textual and discourse deixis respectively. Underlying the extension is the human capacity for

mapping of an analogical nature, which results in a transfer in the properties of the referents to which the demonstratives are used to point.

Second, both the English and Chinese entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives are used for empathetic deixis in direct and free indirect discourse. This use of the demonstratives in fictional narrative involves, for the locutionary agent and the recipient, a projection of the deictic centre, which results in a deictic centre shift. The realignment of the deictic centre with that of the narrated character(s) creates empathy and turns reporting and receiving the stories being narrated into experiencing together with the characters the events or thoughts concerned. The demonstratives used for empathetic deixis contribute to the coherent interweaving of the conversational genre and the narrative genre which embeds different modes of indirect discourse. As such, they contribute ultimately to fictional narrativity.

Third, the asymmetry in deictic force, which originally derives from the interaction between the egocentricity and distance parameters of the basic semantics of the proximal and non-proximal spatial demonstratives, is found to remain in their extended usages. It manifests itself, in particular, in the scope of extensions of the demonstratives: non-proximal demonstratives have in general developed more extended usages, which involve more functional and grammatical roles than proximal demonstratives. In terms of deictic-ness, barring their shared generic use, while the extended usages of the proximal demonstratives are primarily of a deictic nature, those of the non-proximal demonstratives exhibit a range of deictic-ness from strong to weak. It is suggested that the notion of deictic force holds the key to the explanation of such asymmetry. The relatively weaker deictic force residing in the non-proximal demonstratives allows for more freedom for them to break loose from the control of the deictic center, as it were. Consequently, more versatile functional and grammatical roles are developed and more opening up is available for the expression of subjectivity in terms of individual attitude and emotion. This similar tendency of extension for the demonstratives of the two languages also points to a metaphorical process at work, a process of reconceptualising concrete, physical distance in terms of abstract individual attitude and emotion.

Fourth, the asymmetry in deictic force is cancelled when proximal and non-proximal demonstratives occur side by side within the same utterance. This results in their generic use, wherein the demonstratives are employed indexically but not deictically.

Fifth, the English and Chinese entity-referring demonstratives receive largely similar reinterpretations in their extended usages. Spatial distance in these

reinterpretations is abstracted in terms of epistemic modality, temporality and individual attitude and emotion, and it is again the non-proximal (entity-referring) demonstratives that are found to be susceptible to marked reinterpretations. Specifically, both English *that* and Chinese *na* 'that' show a tendency to signal reference of non-factual modality, of past-time temporality, and of psychological distancing. What underlies the reinterpretations is the metaphorical process of reconceptualising the concrete in terms of the abstract. As regards the proximal entity-referring demonstratives, the picture is far from being straight-forward as far as similarities are concerned and differences between the two languages are found to surface. The data suggest that it is often the case that more than one reinterpretation can affect the selection of a demonstrative in a certain context. The eventual selecting act is seen also to be constrained by structural factors of the two languages.

My discussion of the five similar trends of extension indicates that the behaviour of the demonstratives in the extended usages can all be traced to the basic semantics of the demonstratives as they are used to indicate situational deixis in real space. Lyons' classic claim (1991: 165) that deixis is the source of all other forms of reference is thus substantiated with data from at least English and Chinese. My discussion also indicates that what bridges usages of the demonstratives in displaced contexts and their basic, deictic usage in real space are the various cognitive processes at work, essential to which are conceptual mappings of an analogical nature. The similar tendencies of extension as identified thus testify to the validity of the combined cognitive and linguistic approach conceived for the study to the nature of the spatial demonstratives, and, largely, of the conceptual framework laid down on the basis of such an approach (cf. Chapter 2).

Throughout the repeated analysis and reanalysis of the instances of the demonstrative usages, fuzzy cases were encountered wherein more than one possible interpretation is available for a particular instance, though most of the cited instances appear rather clear-cut. This has indeed posed problems for neat classification sometimes. But on the other hand, it may be taken to suggest that extensions in meaning from the basic to the extended and the pragmatically inferred may have arisen historically, with the aid of bridging contexts, as indeed is the case with at least some of the members of the Chinese demonstrative system (Lü 1985). This legitimately leads to the question of whether the polysemous feature of the spatial demonstratives from a synchronic perspective is in any way related to language change as is seen from the same demonstratives. In terms of historical change, the movement follows a unidirectional sequence

from propositional to textual to expressive meanings, i.e., from the concrete to the abstract (Traugott 1982). From a synchronic perspective, I have argued throughout the book that a similar route of movement, i.e., from physical pointing to textual and discourse deixis to emotional deixis, applies to the semantics of the demonstratives. As Sweetser (1990: 9) cogently observes, “synchronic polysemy and historical change of meaning supply the same data in many ways” and this should not be seen as an accidental coincidence. What unites the two is believed to be the human conceptual system, the mechanism of conceptual metaphor in particular for the demonstratives under discussion. Although a historical investigation of the semantic change of the spatial demonstratives is beyond the scope of the present study, the cognitive approach adopted necessarily favours a unification of synchronic and diachronic analysis.

In the course of my illustration and explication of the similar trends of extension, I alluded to several issues of general linguistic interest. To start with, the development of fresh functional roles of the demonstratives is often coupled with the evolution of corresponding fresh grammatical roles. For example, both the English *that* and the Chinese *na* ‘that’ have developed the clause-linking function in their extensions and the accompanying grammatical role of a conjunction. Even the distinction between the entity-referring demonstratives as pronouns and adjectives/determiners signals a distinction in the difference in the functional load they respectively carry (cf. 4.2.3). The interface between form and function as is shown in the use of the demonstratives in English and Chinese discourse may provide insight for our understanding of language change in general and the process of grammaticalisation in particular (cf. Bolinger 1977: 120ff).

The deictic phenomenon is found related to the packaging of information in discourse. More often than not, demonstrative pronouns, in Chinese in particular and less so in English, being at the maximum end of deictic strength, topicalise the propositional content of their referents, occur at the clause-initial position of utterances, and receive a prosodic stress. It would be interesting to further pursue the question of whether the syntactic position of a demonstrative is in any way correlated with the strength of its deictic-ness, i.e., when they are used as a necessary constituent of the utterances.

The theme of subjectivity has surfaced from time to time throughout the discussion. That deixis encodes subjective involvement is an uncontroversial position. What the study substantiates is the postulation that there is a dual level of subjectivity involved concerning the demonstratives. At the structural level, subjectivity enters into the fabric of language by means of the grammatical/

lexical category of demonstratives. In their deictic usages, however weak the strength of the deictic-ness involved, a point of view is invariably encoded. Demonstratives for empathetic deixis may be seen as a conventionalised usage in oral story-telling as well as in fictional narrative and the subjectivity involved is inherent in the structure of these genres. At another level, as my analysis has shown, the use of the demonstratives, the entity-referring non-proximal demonstratives in particular, leaves open a channel, however narrow it is, through which expression of the locutionary agent's moment-to-moment feeling filters into the on-going discourse. If the kind of subjectivity that enters into the fabric of language and narrative discourse structure can be called *objectified subjectivity*, in the sense that it lends itself to one uniform interpretation, I would like to label the other kind of subjectivity *individualised subjectivity*. The term "individualised" suggests "not generalisable", i.e., the interpretation of the subjective feeling or attitude involved has to be sought in the context in which the demonstrative concerned occurs. As far as the demonstratives are concerned, it is largely through individualised subjectivity that the socio-expressive function of language is performed and socio-expressiveness is conveyed in discourse.

This last point leads me to an observation concerning the contribution of context to understanding. The analysis of the data suggests that the higher the degree of individualised subjectivity involved in the use of a demonstrative, the more dependent the interpretation is on the discourse context in which it occurs (cf. 4.5). It follows that a differentiating view of the role of context in discourse comprehension seems plausible.

CHAPTER 5

Spatial demonstratives in displaced contexts: Structural constraints on the similar trends of extension

5.0 The preliminary

In the course of establishing the five trends of extension shared by the English and Chinese demonstratives in Chapter 4, I indicated that dissimilarities between the English and Chinese demonstratives are expected to feature in their extended usages and that they are seen as differences within the similar trends of extension. In this chapter, I shall identify the dissimilarities and show that these dissimilarities reflect, in one way or another, impacts of the structural constraints of the two language systems on the identified similar trends of extension. I shall concentrate on the entity-referring demonstratives. Place-referring demonstratives will enter the discussion where relevant.

Three broad types of mismatches were found following a comparison of the data from the English and Chinese texts. First, demonstratives that appear in the texts in one language do not necessarily appear as demonstratives or even referring expressions in the parallel texts in the other language. Second, when they do, they are not necessarily represented by the comparable demonstratives in the other language. Third, a good proportion of the discourse reference which is indicated by means of the demonstratives in the Chinese texts is signalled in the parallel English texts by neuter *it* or the definite article *the*-introduced NPs. These mismatches will serve as clues to the exploration of the differences in the behaviour of the English and Chinese demonstratives in their extended usages.

Of the three types of mismatching, I shall not in particular address the first type, i.e., the use of the demonstratives in one language vs. the non-use in the other, for such mismatching is generally expected to occur even in generically closely related languages (Faerch 1980) and the causes could range from genre-related, idiom-related, to structure-related, and/or to translator-related factors. My data, in addition, show that more often than not demonstrative reference in

one language is fulfilled by demonstratives or other referring expressions in the other (cf. Tables 5.3 to 5.6).

The term “structural constraints”, as would be expected, includes syntactic constraints. In a study based on an examination of natural discourse, however, the syntax of the token clauses in any given corpus is bound to be subject to discourse constraints to a certain extent. The sources of such constraints could be related to the genre involved, the preferred way of packaging information, and/or pragmatic variables. To put it another way, what appears to be a syntactic phenomenon, for example, zero subject in Chinese sentences or marked word order in English, often gets recognised and established only through examining natural discourse.³⁰ In this sense, the term “structural constraints” necessarily alludes to the effect of discourse structuring. A third allusion which the term readily makes concerns the structural units of the two languages, their discourse reference-tracking systems in particular, which bear a close relation to both syntax and discourse structure.

With English and Chinese being typologically distinctive (cf. 1.3), structural constraints conceived as such are found to produce an effect on the behaviour of the demonstratives in their extended usages. They interact with the identified similar trends of extension in English and Chinese established in Chapter 4, so that dissimilar behaviour of the comparable demonstratives in the two languages results within these similar trends. Specifically, while all the investigated entity-referring demonstratives feature rather prominently in indicating discourse reference, a distinction can be made between the English and Chinese demonstratives in the functional load they each carry in their respective reference-tracking systems. Second, while spatial distance, a basic semantic ingredient of the demonstratives, is reconceptualised largely in similar manners in the two languages, their different structural properties is found to constrain the expression as well as to allow the highlighting of different reinterpretations. Third, while individualised subjectivity finds its way into both the English and Chinese languages by means of their demonstratives, constrained by their distinctive structural properties, the ways in which such pragmatic factors filter into their respective language use are found to differ.

The rest of the chapter consists of five sections. In 5.1, the relevant data for the chapter will be defined, the procedure of data analysis reported, and the results in terms of distribution presented. 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4 will address the three areas of dissimilarities mentioned above. 5.5 will conclude the chapter with a brief observation.

5.1 The data and the procedure

For the purpose of this chapter, the two English texts and the two Chinese texts, were treated as semantically parallel texts and examined side by side (cf. 1.4.3). It is assumed that the narrators in both languages were telling the same stories and that the referential tasks in which they involved themselves were essentially identical (cf. Clancy 1980: 132). What is left to be seen is whether the tasks for demonstrative reference in one language are fulfilled with the employment of demonstratives in the other, and vice versa. If they are, is it always the case that the comparable demonstratives in the other language are employed? If not, what alternatives are offered in one language to fill the gaps of demonstrative reference in the other? The findings concerning these questions will serve as clues for the exploration into the dissimilarities in the behaviour of the demonstratives of the two languages.

5.1.1 Defining the data

As was mentioned earlier, only the entity-referring demonstratives of the two languages will be examined. Further, only those entity-referring demonstratives which are used to signal discourse reference constitute the data for study in this chapter. For the English entity-referring demonstratives, all instances of their discourse, textual, and displaced situational deictic use (cf. 4.3, 4.4) contribute to the data. Instances of the conjunctive use of *that* (cf. 4.5.1.1) will be excluded, for the simple reason that with the basic semantics of a demonstrative missing, it is no longer used to signal discourse reference. For the Chinese entity-referring demonstratives, all instances of their use for discourse reference will be examined, which consists of their discourse, textual, and displaced situational deictic use on the one hand, and their euphemistic, conjunctive, and interjective use on the other. This latter group are included, because they are, to varying degrees, deictic usages (cf. 4.5.1.2). What underlies all these usages is that they are all used to signal discourse reference and they all encode subjectivity of a kind. While instances of these usages will form the bulk of the data for this chapter, one more set of data will also be examined, especially in 5.3, which addresses the issue of reconceptualisation of physical distance. This set consists of all the instances of the entity-referring demonstratives of the two languages used for temporal reference. Finally, all instances of the generic use of the entity-referring demonstratives (cf. 1.6) will also be excluded for examination.

For the purpose of the presentation and discussion of especially 5.2, a further distinction is made between the demonstratives as heads and as modifiers, with the two terms taken from Halliday & Hasan (1976: 38). In English, the head role is generally fulfilled by the demonstrative pronouns and the modifier role by the demonstrative determiners which occur in NPs. Both grammatical roles are correlated with the indication of discourse, textual, and displaced situational deixis. In Chinese, the head roles, in addition, subsume the conjunctive and interjective roles of the demonstratives, which have evolved from the pronominal use and are at times difficult to distinguish from it solely on the basis of formal features (4.5.1.2). The modifier role generally covers the determiner use of the demonstratives in NPs.

As will be seen, the presentation and discussion of the dissimilarities in 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4 will respectively appeal to certain portions of the data base defined above. This is seen as largely caused by the versatile trends of extended usages which the demonstratives have developed in displaced contexts.

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 below record the frequency of occurrence of the English and Chinese entity-referring demonstratives for discourse reference respectively. Gr. stands for grammatical; Mod. stands for modifier.

Table 5.1 Frequency of *this* and *that* for discourse reference by head and modifier roles

Gr. role	English		Total (n)
	<i>this</i> (n)	<i>that</i> (n)	
Head	167	293	460
Mod.	94	77	171
Total	261	370	631

Table 5.2 Frequency of *zhe* and *na* for discourse reference by head and modifier roles

Gr. role	Chinese		Total (n)
	<i>zhe</i> (n)	<i>na</i> (n)	
Head	196	197	393
Mod.	256	192	448
Total	452	389	841

Tables 5.1 to 5.2 provide us with potentially useful information. For example, overall, for essentially identical tasks of discourse reference, English employs fewer entity-referring demonstratives than Chinese does. Further, English uses proximal *this* less often than non-proximal *that* ($z = 6.1, p < 0.01$) for discourse

reference, whereas Chinese uses proximal *zhe* ‘this’ more often than non-proximal *na* ‘that’ ($z = 3.1$, $p < 0.01$), a result consistent with those from comparatives studies of the English and Chinese entity-referring demonstratives (e.g. Sun & Jin 1975, quoted in Xu 1989: 33; Zhang 1991).³¹ Also, there is a marked difference in the frequency of occurrence of determiner use of *this* and *that* in the English texts on the one hand and that of *zhe* and *na* in the Chinese texts on the other. The Chinese determiner *zhe* and *na* by far outnumber the English *this* and *that* respectively (*zhe* vs. *this*: 256 vs. 94, $z = 12.17$; *na* vs. *that*: 192 vs. 77, $z = 9.83$, $p < 0.01$). The information provided may serve as useful clues as to what and where to explore further. To be able to interpret the disparities such as those listed above, however, it is necessary to conduct an instance-to-instance comparative analysis.

5.1.2 The procedure

For each of the entity-referring demonstratives, *this* and *that* in English and *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in Chinese, a frequency count was conducted of all instances of their use for discourse reference first in their head roles. For comparative purposes, how each instance of demonstrative reference is fulfilled in the other language was examined. Categories were established for the representations.

Further, a separate frequency count was conducted of instances of the determiner use of *this* and *that* in English and *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in Chinese. As with the demonstratives as heads, how each of these instances of discourse reference signalled by NPs containing demonstrative determiners is represented in the other language was examined, and categories were established for the representations accordingly.

As the presentation and discussion of each of the following three sections will be based on its own portion of data all from the data base, the distributions will be reported in these sections where they are seen as relevant.

5.2 Structural constraints on the use of the demonstratives for discourse reference

To be able to identify the different structural impact of the two languages on the similar usages developed of the demonstratives for discourse reference, it is necessary to examine their comparable usages for signalling identical discourse reference. For this reason, the 94 instances of the conjunctive, interjective, and

euphemistic use of the Chinese *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ will be excluded from examination. So will the two instances of adverbial use of *that* in English found in the English corpus. The focus of the comparison in the section, then, is the pronominal and determiner use of the entity-referring demonstratives for signalling discourse reference.

5.2.1 The distribution

Tables 5.3 to 5.6 present the result of an instance-to-instance comparison of how identical referential tasks are fulfilled by the use of the entity-referring demonstratives in English and Chinese.

Table 5.3 reports the result of an instance-to-instance comparison in which how demonstrative reference by means of pronominal *this* and *that* in English is signalled in Chinese was examined. Table 5.4 presents the result of an instance-to-instance comparison which examined how demonstrative reference signalled by pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in Chinese is represented in English. In the two tables, DR stands for discourse reference and RP for representation. In the “RP in Chinese” column of Table 5.3, *zhe/na* subsumes pronominal *zhe/na*, determiner *zhe/na*, and *zhe/na*-compounds.³² In the “RP in

Table 5.3 Frequency of pronominal *this* and *that* for DR and their RP in Chinese

RP in Chinese	English		Total (n)
	<i>this</i> (n)	<i>that</i> (n)	
<i>zhe</i>	114	92	206
<i>na</i>	3	65	68
pron.	0	1	1
other	50	135	185
Total	167	293	460

Table 5.4 Frequency of pronominal *zhe* and *na* for DR and their RP in English

RP in English	Chinese		Total (n)
	<i>zhe</i> (n)	<i>na</i> (n)	
<i>this</i>	59	2	61
<i>that</i>	47	41	88
pron.	52	31	83
other	33	29	62
Total	191	103	294

English” column of Table 5.4, *this/that* occurs only in their pronominal role. In both tables, “pron.” is used for neuter *it* (*they*) and occasionally other forms of pronouns.³³ “Other” stands for zero or forms not mentioned in the tables.

Potentially meaningful information that can be obtained from Tables 5.3 and 5.4 consists of the following.

First, for identical discourse referential tasks, English employs more pronominal demonstratives in total than Chinese does (460 vs. 294; $z=8.5$, $p<0.01$).

Second, Table 5.3 shows that while demonstrative reference by means of proximal *this* in the English texts is rarely signalled by non-proximal *na* ‘that’ in the Chinese texts ($n=3$), a good proportion of the demonstrative reference signalled by non-proximal *that* in the English texts is signalled by proximal *zhe* ‘this’ in the Chinese texts ($n=92$; $z=7.4$, $p<0.01$). Table 5.4 shows further that a good proportion of the demonstrative reference by proximal *zhe* in the Chinese texts is signalled by non-proximal *that* in the parallel English texts ($n=47$). On the other hand, demonstrative reference by means of non-proximal *na* in the Chinese texts is rarely signalled by means of proximal *this* in English ($n=2$) ($z=4.8$, $p<0.01$). This provides supportive evidence to the earlier observation from Tables 5.1 and 5.2 that overall, English employs more *that* than *this* for discourse reference whereas Chinese employs more *zhe* ‘this’ than *na* ‘that’ for the same purpose. These consistent results suggest a reverse preference pattern in the use of the entity-referring demonstratives for discourse reference in English and Chinese. While non-proximal *that* is found to be the preferred expression for discourse reference in English, in Chinese the preferred expression is found to be proximal *zhe* in the same role. More will be said about this in 5.3.

Third, as is indicated by the notational observations, when the demonstrative reference signalled by pronominal *this* and *that* in the English texts is signalled by *zhe* ‘this’ or *na* ‘that’ in Chinese, it is sometimes the case that a determiner *zhe* or *na*, or a *zhe-* or *na-*compound, is used in Chinese. The reverse, however, does not hold. When Chinese pronominal *zhe* and *na* are matched by English *this* or *that* for discourse reference, *this* and *that* invariably fulfil pronominal but not other roles. This difference is seen as contributive to the marked disparity in the frequency of occurrence between the English and Chinese demonstratives in their modifier/determiner roles (cf. Tables 5.1 and 5.2).

Fourth, as Tables 5.3 and 5.4 show, while demonstrative reference by means of *this* or *that* is very rarely signalled in Chinese by means of other pronouns ($n=1$), a good proportion of the demonstrative reference by means

of *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in the Chinese texts is signalled by means of the English neuter *it/they* and occasionally by relative pronouns in the English texts ($n=83$: 52 for *zhe* ‘this’ and 31 for *na* ‘that’) ($z=11.8$, $p<0.01$).

Fifth, for both English and Chinese, demonstrative reference by means of the proximal demonstratives has a greater opportunity to be signalled by demonstratives (and the neuter *it/they* in English) in the other language (117/167 for *this* and 158/191 for *zhe* ‘this’). Their non-proximal counterparts, on the other hand, have a much smaller opportunity to be represented by demonstratives (and the neuter *it/they* in English) in the other language (158/293 for *that* and 74/103 for *na* ‘that’). The proportional differences found between members of both the English and Chinese demonstrative pairs are statistically significant (English: $z=3.3$, $p<0.01$; Chinese: $z=2.0$, $p<0.05$). This result is taken to suggest a role of deictic force in the sense that the greater strength of the force residing in the proximal demonstratives would presumably call for demonstrative reference in the other language.

I now turn to the distribution of the entity-referring demonstratives in their modifier roles. Demonstrative determiners in the two languages generally occur as members of the NPs which contain them. Table 5.5 below reports the result of an instance-to-instance comparison which examined how discourse reference signalled by determiner *this*- and *that*-introduced NPs in English is represented in Chinese. Table 5.6 presents the result of an instance-to-instance comparison which examines how discourse reference by means of NPs containing determiner *zhe* ‘this’ or *na* ‘that’ in Chinese is represented in English.³⁴ In the two tables, DR stands for discourse reference and RP for representation. In the “RP in Chinese” column of Table 5.5, *zhe/na* subsumes determiner *zhe/na* and occasionally *zhe/na*-compounds. In the “RP in English” column of Table 5.6, *this/that* subsumes determiner *this/that* and occasionally pronominal *this/that*. “Pron.” stands for neuter *it/they* predominantly, and relative pronouns and personal pronouns sometimes.³⁵

Table 5.5 Frequency of determiner *this* and *that* for DR and their RP in Chinese

RP in Chinese	English		Total (n)
	<i>this</i> (n)	<i>that</i> (n)	
<i>zhe</i>	76	23	99
<i>na</i>	2	33	35
pron.	0	0	0
other	16	19	35
Total	94	75	169

Table 5.6 Frequency of determiner *zhe* and *na* for DR and their RP in English

RP in English	Chinese		Total (n)
	<i>zhe</i> (n)	<i>na</i> (n)	
<i>this</i>	85	2	87
<i>that</i>	29	28	57
<i>the</i>	33	81	114
pron.	39	23	62
other	70	58	128
Total	256	192	448

Potentially meaningful information that can be obtained from Tables 5.5 and 5.6 is summarised as follows.

First, the postulation of the reverse preference patterns found in the use of the English and Chinese demonstratives in their head roles for discourse reference is supported by the results concerning their modifier use. Thus, as Table 5.5 shows, when determiner *this*- or *that*-introduced NPs in the English texts are matched by NPs and other phrases containing *zhe* ‘this’ or *na* ‘that’ in signalling identical discourse reference, proximal *this* in the English texts rarely matches non-proximal *na* in the Chinese texts ($n = 2$). A notable proportion of non-proximal *that* in the English texts, however, is replaced by proximal *zhe* in the Chinese texts ($n = 23$) ($z = 5.0$, $p < 0.01$). As can be seen from Table 5.6, while a proportion of the Chinese proximal *zhe* is rendered into the non-proximal *that* in English ($n = 29$), only rarely is the Chinese non-proximal *na* rendered into the English proximal *this* ($n = 2$) ($z = 3.4$, $p < 0.01$).

Second, as Table 5.6 shows, a good proportion of the discourse reference signalled by NPs containing determiner *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in the Chinese texts is signalled in the English texts by the definite article *the*-introduced NPs ($n = 114$, out of a total of 448 instances, 25.4%). This is taken to partially account for the markedly high frequency of occurrence of the Chinese demonstratives as modifiers, as compared with their English counterparts.

Third, also indicated in Table 5.6 is the fact that a notable proportion of the discourse reference signalled by NPs containing determiner *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in the Chinese texts, is signalled in the English texts by other pronouns or NPs containing other pronouns ($n = 61$, out of 448 instances, 13.6%). As can be observed from Table 5.6, the reverse does not hold. Discourse reference signalled by determiner *this*- and *that*-introduced NPs in the English texts is not signalled in the Chinese texts by other pronouns or pronoun-introduced NPs in Chinese in the data. This may also be taken to account partially for the

preponderance of determiner *zhe* and *na* in the Chinese texts, as compared with their English counterparts in the English texts.

The observed differences presented in 5.2.1 is seen to suggest that, for identical discourse referential tasks, while English employs *this* and *that* in both their pronominal and determiner roles, the neuter *it* (and occasionally other pronouns) and the definite article *the*-introduced NPs, Chinese employs *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in both their pronominal and determiner roles, and *zhe*- and *na*-compounds such as *zhe/name*, *zhe/namezhe*, etc. Specifically, two generalised schematic representations of this are given below, first with the English *this* and *that* as the source expressions and then with the Chinese *zhe* and *na* as the source expressions. The expression “generalised” is used here in the sense that the categorisation used in the schematic representation is not always 100% water-tight. For example, in the “pron.” category while neuter *it/they* is the predominant expression used, other types of pronouns are also found to occur, as Notes 33 and 35 indicate. But as these instances of other types of pronouns constitute a small minority and do not form a trend on their own, they will not be separately represented in the schematic representation. Nor will they be the focus of the discussion in 5.2. In the representations, DP stands for demonstrative pronoun, and DA for demonstrative determiner.

ENGLISH	----->	CHINESE
(1) <i>this/that</i> (DP)		a. <i>zhe/na</i> (DP) b. NP containing <i>zhe/na</i> (DA) c. <i>zhe/na</i> -compound
(2) <i>this/that</i> -introduced NP		a. NP containing <i>zhe/na</i> (DA) b. <i>zhe/na</i> -compound

Schematic Representation 1

CHINESE	----->	ENGLISH
(1) <i>zhe/na</i> (DP)		a. <i>this/that</i> (DP) b. <i>it</i>
(2) NP containing <i>zhe/na</i> (DA)		a. <i>this/that</i> (DP) b. <i>this/that</i> -introduced NP c. <i>it</i> d. <i>the</i> -introduced NP

Schematic Representation 2

Underlying the observed differences between the English and Chinese entity-referring demonstratives in signalling discourse reference, it is found that there are five structurally related differences between the two languages at work. First, the difference in the opportunities given to the demonstratives as objects

of verbs and prepositions by the two languages. Second, the difference in the opportunities given to the third-person pronouns by the two languages for discourse reference-tracking. Third, the difference in the availability of the definite article for the English definite NPs and the unavailability of a definite article in Chinese. Fourth, the difference in the internal structure of English NPs and Chinese NPs. Finally, the difference in the composition of the English and Chinese demonstrative systems (cf. 1.2).

These structural differences are seen not only to produce an impact on the distribution of the demonstratives as is recorded in Tables 5.3 to 5.6, but also on the functional load they carry, a direct consequence of which is the subtle difference in the rhetorical effect on the narrative of the identical stories told in the two languages.

5.2.2 Pronominal *this/that* vs. *zhe/na*-introduced NPs and *zhe/na*-compounds

As Schematic Representations 1 and 2 show, for the identical discourse reference, where English uses pronominal *this* and *that*, Chinese uses (a) pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’, (b) NPs introduced by determiner *zhe* and *na*, or (c) *zhe*- and *na*-compounds. Below are excerpts from the corpora to illustrate the point.

- (5.1) “All right, then, I’ll give him a balloon. I’ve got one left from my party.
I’ll go and get it now, shall I?”

“*That*, Piglet, is a *very* good idea.”

TT: “Xiaozhu, *zhe* ke zhen shi ge hao zhuyi.”

Piglet this ADP really be CL good idea (Pooh: 71, [C]: 61)

- (5.2) ... and so he wouldn’t see the Very Deep Pit until he was half-way down,
when it would be too late.

Piglet said that *this* was a very good Trap.

TT: Xiaozhu shuo, *zhe* dao shi yi ge ting hao de xianjing.

Piglet say this ADP be QN CL very good MM trap
(Pooh: 53, [C]: 44)

In (5.1) and (5.2), the reference signalled by pronominal *that* and *this* in English is signalled by Chinese pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ (or *na* ‘that’). Notice that the demonstratives used all occur in the clause-initial position.

- (5.3) “What have you decided, Pooh?”
“I have decided to catch a Heffalump.”

Pooh nodded his head several times as he said *this*.

TT: Pu shuo *zhe hua* de shihou, naodai dian le hao ji
 Pooh say this word MM time, head nod PFV quite several
 xia.
 time (Pooh: 52, [C]:43)

In (5.3), the pronominal *this* in the English utterance is translated into an NP in Chinese, in which *zhe* ‘this’ is used as a determiner to specify the noun *hua* ‘word’. In this case, the NP *zhe hua* ‘these words’ is used to refer back to the proposition of Pooh’s utterance “I have decided to catch a Heffalump” just as *this* is used to refer back to the same proposition. The Chinese utterance would sound odd, if the noun *hua* ‘word’ were deleted.

(5.4) PLAN TO CAPTURE BABY ROO

(This is followed by the 11 points of which the plan consists.)

Well, Rabbit read *this* out proudly, and ...

TT: Tuzi shenqishizu de nian le *zhe fen fang’an*,
 Rabbit proudly MM read PFV this CL plan

(Pooh: 87, [C]: 78)

As in (5.3), the pronominal *this* in (5.4) is rendered into an NP in Chinese, composed of the determiner *zhe* ‘this’ + the classifier *fen* ‘a CL for documents, newspapers, etc.’ + the noun *fang’an* ‘plan’. Leaving out the classifier and the noun, the utterance would be anomalous. The addressee/reader would likely take more time to figure out the referent of *zhe* or find it hard to process. Notice that in both utterances, the *zhe*- or *na*-introduced NPs occur in the object position. Now two more examples.

(5.5) TT: This is the sort of thing a girl would be good at. The trouble is I’m not a girl.

Keshi Su Ming-feng jianzhi kan bu dao *zhege wenti*.

but Su Ming-feng simply see NG VC this point

But Su Ming-feng simply didn’t see *that*. (Baohulu: 5, [E]: 6)

(5.6) TT: What was I going to say to Elder Sister?

What a nuisance!

Wo zuotian wanquan meiyou yuliao dao *zhe yi dian*.

1SG yesterday completely NG foresee VC this QN aspect

I had not foreseen *this* at all. (Baohulu: 54, [E]: 65)

In both (5.5) and (5.6), *zhe* ‘this’ is used as a determiner to introduce an object

NP. Pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ would be inappropriate. In the English text, for the same reference, pronominal *this* and *that* are employed. Determiner *this*- and *that*-introduced NPs can be used, but would not be necessary.

The structural difference at work is that while English allows pronominal *this* and *that* to occur at both the subject and object positions, Chinese prefers to have pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ only at the subject position. Where a demonstrative is needed in an object position, it is usually a determiner *zhe*- or *na*-introduced NP that fills the role. Pronominal *zhe* and *na*, as a rule, are not preferred in the post-verbal position in Chinese discourse (cf. Lü 1985). Tables 5.7 and 5.8 below list the number of instances of pronominal *this* and *that* in English and *zhe* and *na* in Chinese in the corpora by grammatical roles.

Table 5.7 Frequency of pronominal *this* and *that* in text by grammatical role

Gr. role	English		
	<i>this</i> (n)	<i>that</i> (n)	Total (n)
Subject	93	214	307
Object	74	79	153
Total	167	293	460

Table 5.8 Frequency of pronominal *zhe* and *na* in text by grammatical role

Gr. role	Chinese		
	<i>zhe</i> (n)	<i>na</i> (n)	Total (n)
Subject	181	101	282
Object	10	2	12
Total	191	103	294

As Table 5.8 indicates, out of a total of 294 instances of pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in Chinese, only 12 occur in the object position of clauses. A case by case examination reveals that of these 12 instances, 11 appear in the form of *zhe/nage* ‘this/that (one)’, *zhe/naxie* ‘these/those’, or *zhexiege* ‘these/those ones’, in which *-ge* is a suffix/classifier for singular reference, *-xie* a suffix/classifier for plural reference, and *-ge* a suffix to *xie* respectively (cf. Notes 1 & 2 of Chapter 1). The only one pronominal *zhe* which occurs in the object position appears in a prepositional phrase and in the non-clause-final position. The data are therefore taken to suggest that Chinese imposes a constraint on the grammatical role which pronominal *zhe* and *na* are used to play for discourse reference. *Zhe* and *na* do not in general occur as the object of verbs, nor at the clause-final position. Where their involvement is necessary, they occur in NPs or classifier phrases (cf.

1.3.3), wherein their grammatical role is one of a modifier/determiner (cf. Lü, *op cit.*). As Table 5.7 shows, the same discourse structural constraint does not apply to the English pronominal *this* and *that*, which perform the grammatical roles of both a pronoun and a determiner. This structural difference between English and Chinese is believed to contribute to the more frequent occurrence of pronominal *this* and *that* than *zhe* and *na*.

An instance-to-instance comparison also documents a small number of cases in which demonstrative reference by means of pronominal *this* and *that* in English calls for the use of *zhe*- or *na*-compounds ‘this- or that-compounds’ in Chinese (cf. 1.2).

(5.7) “I wish you would ..., and say ‘Tut-tut, it looks like rain.’

I think if you *did that*,

Wo xiang ni *zheyang yi** *gao*,

1SG think 2SG this way ADP do

it would help the deception which we are practising on these bees.”

**Yi* is a function word used here to indicate the swiftness of the action denoted by the verb that follows it. The second clause gives the result of the action. (Pooh: 13, [C]: 9)

(5.8) Balancing on three legs, he began to bring his fourth leg very cautiously up to his ear.

“I *did this* yesterday,”

“Wo zuotian hai *zheyang zuo* le,”

1SG yesterday only this way do CRS

he explained, as he fell down for the third time. (Pooh: 76, [C]: 67)

In the Chinese translations of (5.7) and (5.8), *zheyang* ‘this way, like this’, a demonstrative of manner, is used to qualify the verbs, indicating that the actions involved should be and were performed in such manners as are described in the respective previous co-texts. Here are more examples of a similar kind from the Chinese original text.

(5.9) TT: I was sure Su Ming-feng would catch me up and make me go back. But the others stopped him, telling him to let me go.

Zhemezhe wo jiu geng shengqi.

In this way 1SG ADP more angry

This made me angrier.

(Baohulu: 7, [E]: 9)

(5.10) TT: "... Let's not have any more talk about credibility and possibility. Study other questions if you like, but don't study me. If you do, it won't do you any good."

Ta zheme yi jiang, cai ba wo sixiang nao qingchu le.

3SG like this ADP say ADP BA 1SG mind make clear CRS

That helped to set me straight.

(Baohulu: 50, [E]: 60)

In both (5.9) and (5.10), where Chinese employs a *zhe*-compound 'this-compound' or a clause containing a *zhe*-compound, English uses pronominal *this/that*. The *zhe*-compounds in these excerpts concerned are used deictically, indexing a series of related propositions, which often present a situation as in (5.9) or cover complex statements as in (5.10) or a series of actions as in (5.7) and (5.8). It would be difficult to replace the *zhe*-(*na*)-compounds by pronominal *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' without producing rather awkward utterances for (5.7) and (5.8), and utterances in which the referents are hard to identify for (5.9) and (5.10). Here, a distinction is seen in the functional load which pronominal *this/that* and *zhe/na* respectively carry. *This/that* is able to cover a bigger range of reference than *zhe/na*. Part of the range of reference which *this/that* covers, as can be seen, must be handled by members of the Chinese demonstrative system other than by pronominal *zhe/na*, i.e., if demonstrative reference is required. As *zhe/na*-compounds of manner and degree are not within the scope of the present study set in 1.2, how demonstrative reference indicated by means of these compounds is signalled in English was not examined on an instance-to-instance basis. For their frequency of occurrence in the Chinese corpus, see Note 23.

5.2.3 Pronominal *zhe/na* and *zhe/na*-introduced NPs vs. neuter *it*

As can be seen, Schematic Representation 2 also indicates that some of the demonstrative reference by means of pronominal *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' and *zhe*- and *na*-introduced NPs in the Chinese texts needs to be signalled by neuter *it* or other forms of pronouns in the English texts. Tables 5.4 and 5.6 document 83 and 62 such instances respectively, which form a tendency that must not be overlooked. Before we look at a few examples, it is in point to mention that Table 5.3, on the other hand, records only one instance of pronominal use of *that* in English which is rendered into *ta* 'it' (pron.) in Chinese. As this instance does not constitute a tendency of usage, it will not be discussed here.

- (5.11) TT: She said changes in the animal world were not like conjuring tricks.
Put a fish in a bucket and one, two, three! — it changed!
“*Zhe* dei you ge xiangdang de guocheng,”
this must involve CL considerable MM process
“*It* has to go through various stages,” (Baohulu: 42, [E]: 50)
- (5.12) TT: “How?” I cut in. “Fine in what way? What’s fine about me?”
It said I was fine in every way. I agreed, but I wanted it to go into details.
“*Na* zenme shuo de* chu?”
that how say ADP out
“How can I put *it* into words?”
**De* is a particle used here between the verb and its complement to express capability. (Baohulu: 14, [E]: 15)
- (5.13) “I have just remembered something that I forgot to do yesterday and sha’n’t be able to do to-morrow. So I suppose I really ought to go back and do it now.”
“We’ll do *it* this afternoon, and I’ll come with you,” said Pooh.
a. “*It* isn’t the sort of thing you can do in the afternoon,” said Piglet quickly.
TT: “*Zhe* bu shi xiawu neng ban de shi,”
this NG be afternoon can do MM thing
b. “*It*’s a very particular morning thing, (that has to be done in the morning,)”
TT: “*Zhe* shi yi jian hen teshu de shi,
this be QN CL very special MM thing (Pooh: 36, [C]: 30)
- (5.14) Some hours later, just as the night was beginning to steal away, Pooh woke up suddenly with a sinking feeling. He had had that sinking feeling before
and he knew what *it* meant.
TT: Ta zhidao na shi shenme yisi.
3SG know that be what meaning (Pooh: 58, [C]: 48)

In each of the cases of (5.11) to (5.14), for signalling the same reference, while pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ or *na* ‘that’ is used in Chinese, neuter *it* is used in English. This difference between English and Chinese is seen again as structurally motivated.

In the discussion of the zero anaphor phenomenon in Chinese discourse in 1.3.2, attention was drawn to the rather frequent absence of third-person

pronouns for discourse reference in Chinese and the reasons behind it. The restrictions manifest themselves in two ways. First, within the same topic chain, the co-referential entities to the topic often occur in the zero form. Second, neuter *ta* 'it' (*tamen* 'they') is not preferred in the clause subject or topic position. As a contrast, the pronominal category is predominant in the English discourse reference-tracking system.

Now with the structural and socio-linguistic constraints placed on the Chinese third-person pronouns and the opportunities given to the English third-person pronouns, the Chinese third-person pronouns, neuter *ta* 'it' (*tamen* 'they') in particular, have a much smaller opportunity to appear in Chinese discourse than their English counterparts. The chances are that either zero forms occur in their places, or, when zero forms are not preferred, their roles in discourse are performed by some other grammatical or lexical mechanisms. And this is indeed the case suggested by the data. A proportion of the Chinese pronominal *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' or NPs containing determiner *zhe* and *na* find as their equivalents in the parallel English texts neuter *it*. Examples follow of *zhe*/*na*-introduced NPs vs. neuter *it* for indicating the same discourse reference.

- (5.15) TT: He said he had decided to fish with me next Sunday at the same place, and asked Elder Sister if she'd care to go too -
 buguo *zhe jian shi* dei baomi.
 however this CL thing must keep secret
 on condition that she kept *it* a secret (Baohulu: 39, [E]: 47)
- (5.16) TT: Should I have agreed or not? If you'd been Wang Pao, what would you have done?
 Wo ne, wo ke mei you gongfu haohao kaolü *zhege wenti*,
 1SG AP 1SG ADP NG have time carefully think this question
 I had no time to think *it* over carefully, (Baohulu: 18, [E]: 20)
- (5.17) ..., and he ran as fast as he could so as to get to Eeyore before Pooh did; for he thought that he would like to be the first one to give a present, just as if he had thought of *it* [to give a present]
 TT: hao rang ren juede *zhe jian shi* shi ta ziji xiangdao de
 to make people feel this CL thing be 3SG self thought of NOM
 without being told by anybody. (Pooh: 74, [C]: 65)
- (5.18) "Nothing, Pooh Bear, nothing. We can't all, and some of us don't. That's all there is to it."
 ...

“I’m not complaining, but There It Is.”

Pooh sat down on a large stone, and tried to think this out.

It sounded to him like a riddle,

TT: *Naxie hua ta ting qilai dou xiang shi miyu*
 those word 3SG hear ADP all like be riddle

(Pooh: 67, [C]: 57)

Notice that in all four Chinese clauses in (5.11) to (5.14), pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ occur in the topic or subject position. The fact that Chinese does not generally prefer a topical or subject *ta* ‘it’ for reference, especially to inanimate entities, is seen to make it necessary for *zhe* or *na* to be used for fulfilling the referential role. It would not be possible to replace the Chinese *zhe* and *na* in these utterances by *ta* ‘it’ without producing awkward utterances. On the other hand, a replacement of the *its* in the English utterances by *this* or *that* would carry slightly more emphasis — precisely on the proximal/non-proximal axis which is not conveyed at all by *it* within the given contexts. This is taken to suggest that pronominal *zhe* and *na* in Chinese and *it* in English share certain discourse referential roles, which are not necessarily shared by *this* and *that*. It also suggests that when *ta* ‘it’, being a pronoun, is not preferred for the discourse function of reference-tracking at the clause-subject position in Chinese, *zhe* and *na* are allowed to take over the role (cf. Lü 1985).

In examples (5.15) to (5.18), for indexing the same referent, English employs *it* and Chinese has a *zhe*- ‘this’ or *na(xie)*- ‘that/those’ introduced NP. This indicates that for signalling identical referents, there are cases in which where *it* will do in English, a *zhe*- or *na*-introduced NP is required in Chinese. In these NPs, *zhe* and *na* are determiners and the nouns they specify normally spell out “the speaker’s categorical, or ontological, assumptions about the entity in question” (Lyons 1995: 308), i.e., whether it is a *thing/question* as in (5.15) to (5.17) or *words* (vs., for example, *thoughts, events, etc.*) as in (5.18). This matching of English *it* with a Chinese NP containing determiner *zhe* or *na* is again seen as structurally motivated. As Chinese does not encourage neuter *ta* ‘it’ (or *tamen* ‘they’) to occur as clausal topic or subject, the referent signalled by neuter *it* (or *they*) in English in either the clause subject or object position must be indexed by some other devices in Chinese when they occur in the clause initial position. Examples (5.15) to (5.18) indicate that one device available is determiner *zhe*- or *na*-introduced NPs, another, as my data indicate, being the independent classifier phrase (cf. 1.3.3).

As can be seen, the structural constraints imposed on the use of neuter *ta* ‘it’ and other forms of third-person pronouns in Chinese discourse and the

opportunities available for their counterparts in English discourse are believed to have produced an impact on the behaviour of the entity-referring demonstratives in the two languages. Functionally, it can be seen that the Chinese *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ are used to both focus the attention of the addressee on its referent and to sustain it, whereas the English *this* and *that* are normally employed for the former function, leaving the latter essentially to the neuter *it* and other forms of pronouns (cf. 5.2.5 below). This accounts for the frequent use of these pronouns in English for discourse reference, which in Chinese often requires the use of the demonstratives.

5.2.4 Determiner *zhe* and *na* vs. the definite article *the*

Schematic Representation 2 also shows that demonstrative reference by means of *zhe*- ‘this’ and *na*- ‘that’ introduced NPs in the Chinese texts can be signalled in English by the definite article introduced NPs. Table 5.6 records 114 instances of such matching, constituting 25.4% of the total instances of demonstrative reference under examination. Further, non-proximal *na* is more prone to this tendency than proximal *zhe* (42.2% vs. 12.9%).

(5.19) TT: Exactly! This showed that my doubts were justified.

Wo shi yong kexue taidu lai* kandai zhege wenti de.
 1SG be take scientific attitude AP view this problem NOM
 I had looked at *the problem* in a scientific light.

**Lai* is an auxiliary particle used here to link the verbal phrase *yong kexue taidu* ‘take scientific attitude’ and the verb *kandai* ‘view’.

(Baohulu: 32, [E]: 38)

(5.20) TT: “Magic Gourd, do you still live in a dragon’s palace?”

“Bah, who builds dragon palaces nowadays?”

- *Na shengyin zhende shi cong he xin de*
 that voice really be from river centre MM

- *The voice* was really coming from the river.

shuimian shang fa chulai de.

water surface on send out NOM (Baohulu: 10, [E]: 12)

(5.21) Christopher Robin was sitting outside his door, putting on his Big Boots.

As soon as he saw *the Big Boots*, Pooh knew that ...

TT: Pu yi kanjian zhe shuang da xuezi, jiu zhidao

Pooh ADP see this CL big boots ADP know

(Pooh: 101, [C]: 92)

(5.22) So he began to climb *the tree*.

TT: Ta xiang zhe, shuo zhe, jiu kaishi pa na ke shu le.

3SG think DUR talk DUR ADP begin climb that CL tree CRS

(Pooh: 4, [C]: 3)

In each of (5.19) to (5.22), for signalling the same discourse reference, both English and Chinese employ an NP. The difference is that while English has *the* to define and specify the noun concerned, Chinese employs *zhe* ‘this’ or *na* ‘that’ for the same purpose. These examples indicate that in Chinese there is a sub-section of NPs whose composition in terms of constituents is

zhe/na + {QN} {CL} + N,

in which the elements in {} are optional and that the English equivalent of such an NP can be an NP introduced by *the*. Notice that in all the four examples of (5.19) to (5.22), as in many other *zhe*- and *na*-introduced NPs in the Chinese corpus, *zhe* or *na* is a necessary constituent of the utterances concerned from the point of view of discourse coherence. This suggests that when the definiteness and specificity of an NP need to be overtly coded, for lack of an article system, Chinese would resort to *zhe* or *na* to perform this function.

In both Lü (1985) and Li & Thompson (1981), it is suggested that Chinese, lacking an article system, has a tendency to use its entity-referring demonstratives, *na* ‘that’ in particular, in the way the English definite article is used. The data from the present study lend empirical support to the postulation.

The article use of *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in Chinese is seen to have combined features of the demonstratives for discourse deixis and the definite article. On the one hand, the distinction in proximity vs. non-proximity encoded in *zhe* and *na* is still there, providing a point of view of a kind, which is absent in the definite article. On the other, the deictic-ness residing in *zhe* and *na* seems rather weak, so that the definiteness and specificity entailed in them seem rather prominent from a functional point of view.

The fact that English *the* and Chinese *zhe* ‘this’ or *na* ‘that’ match in these NPs suggests that they share similar discourse functional roles. They are similar in that they all specify and index the referent, while the head noun involved identifies it. But as *the* does not encode the semantic ingredient of distance, which *zhe* and *na* do, be it physical or conceptual, a difference in the rhetorical effect they create can be expected. *Na* still creates a distance of a kind and *zhe* a closeness, as can be felt in (5.19) to (5.22), wherein the English *the* is neutral in terms of the distance sense.

5.2.5 Determiner *zhe* and *na* in NPs

The very high frequency of occurrence of determiner *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’, as compared with their determiner counterparts *this* and *that*, is seen as due to yet another structural difference between English and Chinese. This is the difference in the internal structure of their respective NPs. The syntactic contexts that a Chinese NP offers allow much room for determiner *zhe* and *na* to occur, whereas in English the occurrence of determiner *this* or *that* in an NP is subject to its structural constraints.

Note that in this section our major concern about an NP is what Quirk et al. refers to as “complex noun phrase” (1985: 245, 1238). A simple noun phrase in English consists of the definite article and the head (op. cit.: 245). In Chinese, a simple noun phrase can consist of the head noun alone. Any noun phrase with a more complex structure is considered a complex noun phrase for both languages.

The major constituents of an English NP consist of the head noun (N) around which all the other constituents cluster. What can occur before or after N is however not a matter of choice. Determinatives of various kinds and adjective phrases (AP) occur before N whereas prepositional phrases (PP), non-finite clauses, relative clauses, and complements of various kinds occur after N (Quirk et al. 1985: 1238ff). Determiner *this* and *that*, being determinatives, occur only before N and, as we shall see, there are restrictions on their co-occurrence with certain pre-N categories. In contrast, a Chinese NP has all the constituents on the left side of the head noun. Restrictions concerning the use of *this* and *that* in NPs in English do not apply to *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in NPs in Chinese. As *this* and *that* only occur before N, what is compared involves mainly the pre-N (or the left side of N) + N part of the NP, which in Chinese amounts to the whole of the NP. The following descriptive analysis will focus on the Chinese NP, which involves more complex use of determiner *zhe* and *na*. In the course of the presentation, I shall allude to where Chinese and English differ when relevant.

In a Chinese NP containing determiner *zhe/na* ‘this/that’, in between *zhe/na* and the head noun, there can be a classifier.

- (5.23) *zhe* shu
 this book
 this book

- (5.24) *zhe ben shu*
 this CL book
 this book

Further, in between *zhe/na* and the CL, if necessary, there can be a quantifier.

- (5.25) *zhe san ben shu*
 this QN CL book
 these three books

Notice that in (5.25) it is the quantifier *san* ‘three’ that encodes the plurality of *shu* ‘book’, and in such cases singular *zhe* ‘this’ or *na* ‘that’, instead of their plural forms *zhexie* ‘these’ or *naxie* ‘those’, co-occurs with plural entities.

Zhe ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ can also co-occur with proper names, just as they co-occur with common nouns. English *this* and *that*, on the other hand, do not normally co-occur with proper names.

- (5.26) TT: “Who is it?” I looked up crossly. “Oh, Yang Shuan-erh!”
Bu cuo, jiu shi nage Yang Shuan-erh -
 NG wrong ADP be that Yang Shuan-erh
 That’s right, it was Yang Shuan-erh. (Baohulu: 105)

Zhe ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ can also co-occur with various attributive modifiers of the head noun in an NP, which include possessive pronouns, time and place phrases, appositives, adjectival phrases, verb phrases, subject-predicate phrases.

- (5.27) [Possessive pronoun]
Wo ke zui bu xihuan ta zhege xiguan.
 1SG ADP most NG like 3SG this habit
 - a detestable habit it had. (Baohulu: 79)

Note that *ta* ‘it’ in (5.27) is equal to a possessive *ta* with the possessive marker *de* (GEN) suppressed. In English, personal pronouns and demonstratives cannot co-occur with one directly following the other (Quirk et al. 1985: 245). The closest English structure for the Chinese *ta zhege xiguan* should be “that (this) habit of his”, which sounds/reads rather marked as compared with the English translation quoted above.

- (5.28) [Place phrase]
 TT: “Hey! Just look at our Wang Pao!” they would cry.
Zhege fengmian shang de zhaopian bu jiu shi ta me?”
 this cover on MM photo NG ADP be 3SG QS
 Isn’t that his photograph on this cover?” (Baohulu: 51)

When *zhe* ‘this’ or *na* ‘that’ co-occurs with a locative phrase in qualifying the head noun in an NP, it can either precede or follow the locative phrase. The difference in position is that whichever is placed at the initial position of the NP gets a stronger qualifying power. *Zhege* ‘this’ in *zhege fengmian shang de zhaopian* ‘this photo on the cover’ is stronger in its demonstrativeness than in *fengmian shang de zhege zhaopian* ‘the photo on the cover’ (cf. Lü 1985: 214). In other words, when *zhege* is placed before the locative phrase in qualifying the head noun, it claims greater attention from the addressee/reader than when it is placed after the locative phrase for the same purpose.

(5.29) [Time phrase]

TT: “A model is only a model, not a real building.

Keshi *wo zhehuir zhege liwu— ke hao ne.*”
 but 1SG this moment this present ADP good AP

But this present of mine is something big and important. (Baohulu: 26)

The corpora indicate that the co-occurrence of a time phrase and a demonstrative in qualifying the head noun of an NP is not shared by English.

(5.30) [Appositive phrase]

TT: Don’t you know who Su Ming-feng is? He’s our group leader.

Qishi *ta zhege ren bing* buzenmeyang,*
 the fact is 3SG this person ADP not up to much
 Not that there’s anything so marvellous about him.

**Bing* is an adverbial particle here, which, when used before a negative form, means “actually” and implies that the fact is not as one may think or expect.

(Baohulu: 5)

In this excerpt, *ta* ‘he’ and *zhege ren* ‘this person’ enter into an appositive relation. It may have been noticed that the employment of *zhege ren* appears redundant in that it does not add to the propositional content of the utterance: *zhege ren* is *ta* ‘he’ and *ta* is *zhege ren*, both being the person named Su Ming-feng. Its use, however, is seen as serving discourse-functional purposes. The use of the proximal *zhe* (*zhege*) ‘this’ here brings the locutionary agent and recipient to the event scene. To replace *zhe* (*zhege*) with the non-proximal *na* (*nage*) ‘that’ here would take them both to a scene of removed spatio-temporal location. The employment of *zhege ren* here is also taken to add strength to the tone of disdain in the utterance. This appositive use of the entity-referring demonstratives is again not found in the English corpus.

(5.31) [Adjectival phrase]

Suoyou *zhexie ke'ai de dongxi*,

all these lovely MM thing

All these lovely things

dou zhuang zai gezi de xiao koudai li.

all put at each own GEN small pocket inside

were in little pockets of their own.

(Pooh [C]: 133)

(5.32) [Verb phrase]

Wo peng zhe *zhege zicheng baohulu de baohulu*, ...

1SG hold DUR this call oneself magic gourd MM magic gourd

Holding this magic gourd which frankly admitted it was a magic gourd,

...

(Baohulu: 14)

Notice that in the co-occurrence of *zhe* 'this' or *na* 'that' and a verb phrase, the demonstrative can occur before or after the verb phrase. Like that in (5.28), its position produces a fine-tuning effect on its functional properties in reference-signalling.

(5.33) [Subject-predicate phrase]

Wo zuo *de zhege lingjian*,

1SG make MM this part

The part I was doing

shi women quanbu gongcheng limian zui zhongyao de yi bufen.

be 1PL whole project in most important MM QN part

was the most important job of our whole project. (my translation)

(Baohulu: 5)

As can be observed from (5.26) to (5.33), when *zhe* 'this' or *na* 'that' co-occurs with another phrase in qualifying the head noun in an NP, its sole discourse role is that of referring. The role of identifying the referent is mainly performed by the other qualifying phrase(s) and the head noun itself. As identifying itself often involves locating, the demonstrativeness residing in the demonstrative so used is necessarily weakened.

There is one more context in which determiner *zhe* 'this' is found to occur in the Chinese corpus:

(5.34) ..., *zhe xiang shenme jiu you shenme*—...

this think what ADP have what

this business of having whatever you thought of happen — ...

- youshihou ke ye* nao de** ren shizai bu fangbian.
 sometimes however ADP make AP one truly NG convenient
 - could sometimes be most inconvenient.

**Ye*, a function word, is used here to soften the tone of the negative result.

***De*, a structural auxiliary particle, is often used between a verb or an adjective and its complement of result or degree. Here, it introduces a consequence. (Baohulu: 103–104)

In (5.34), instead of the head noun in an NP, the determiner *zhe* ‘this’ introduces a topic-comment construction, which serves as the topic of the whole utterance. The topic-comment construction which *zhe* qualifies consists of two verb phrases, one being the topic and the other the comment, and which presents a state of affairs or a situation in which one finds oneself. The function of *zhe* is hardly that of indexing a particular discourse representation abstracted from a particular chunk of the previous discourse. Rather, *zhe* is more likely used here to index the representation of a particular situation in the locutionary agent’s mind, which he must have abstracted and generalised from accumulated (discourse) experiences and which he believes his addressee/reader shares if she has been following his locution. With this particular utterance, the accumulated experiences can be traced to large chunks of previous discourse, spread over the earlier text. They concern the fact that from time to time the narrated character’s wishes come true by the magic of the magic gourd, so that the situation in which the character finds himself can be abstracted and generalised as *xiang shenme jiu you shenme* ‘having whatever you think of happen’ by a process of inferencing, shared by the locutionary agent and recipient. This use of *zhe* seems indefinite and unspecified in terms of the represented experiences, for it is the accumulation of similar experiences that leads to the abstraction and generalisation. But it is seen as indexical, in the sense that it indexes the inferred abstraction and generalisation in the form of a definite and specific mental representation from the viewpoint of the locutionary agent. It brings a focus to the otherwise very general statement. Consider, for example,

(5.35) *Na shang che bu mai piao, bing bu chang jian.*
 that get on bus NG buy ticket ADP NG often see
 It is quite uncommon that you take a bus without buying a ticket.

The *na* ‘that’ used in (5.35) can be taken to suggest a spatio-temporal distance of the situation described from the locutionary agent’s here-and-now.

I have, in this sub-section, provided a descriptive analysis of the syntactic contexts in which both determiner *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ are found to occur in

the Chinese texts. As can be seen from the examples and the analysis, much of the complexity derive from the complex internal structure of the Chinese NP, of which determiner *zhe* or *na* is a constituent. The type of phrase with which *zhe* and *na* co-occur, the position they occupy in the NP in question, and the discourse context in which they occur, may all produce a fine-tuning effect on their functional properties in their employment to refer. In the behaviour of these demonstratives, is seen the interface between form and function: while a difference in form may induce a moderation in the strength of demonstrativeness residing in a demonstrative used, as is shown in (5.28) and (5.32) and their analysis, a functional motivation may lead to an alteration in form, as can be observed in (5.30) and the analysis that follows.

The descriptive analysis shows that Chinese determiner *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ are offered a large range of opportunities for occurrence in NPs. English determiner *this* and *that*, on the other hand, are subject to structural restrictions of various kinds within the NP. The analysis suggests that differences in the internal structure of NPs in the two languages contribute to the disparity in the frequency of occurrences between determiner *this* and *that* in English and *zhe* and *na* in Chinese (cf. Tables 5.5 and 5.6).

In Lü’s pioneering work (1985), mention is sometimes made concerning whether the proximal *zhe* ‘this’ or the non-proximal *na* ‘that’ is more frequent in some of the co-occurrences discussed above. As there is no quoted statistical support, the claims can hardly be assumed. Owing to time constraint, the issue is not pursued in the present study.

5.2.6 Discussion

In 5.2.2 to 5.2.5, five areas of structural differences between English and Chinese are identified as contributive to the differences reported in Tables 5.3 to 5.6 and specified in the exposition following these tables. First, the discourse restriction in Chinese of the opportunity for pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ to occur in the object position has led to the fact that a portion of the discourse reference signalled by pronominal *this* and *that* in English needs to be signalled by determiner *zhe*- or *na*-introduced NPs or *zhe/na*-compounds in Chinese. As is shown in Tables 5.7 and 5.8, English discourse does not place such a restriction on its pronominal *this* and *that*.

Second is the difference in the opportunities given to the third-person pronouns by the two languages for reference-tracking in discourse. While much of the opportunity is suppressed in Chinese discourse, it is readily

available in English discourse. As a consequence, where discourse reference signalling calls for the use of pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ or *na* ‘that’, or determiner *zhe*- or *na*-introduced NPs in Chinese, for the same referential duties, English often employs its third-person pronouns, neuter *it* in particular (cf. Tables 5.4 and 5.6).

The third difference concerns the availability of the definite article for the English definite NPs and the lack of it in Chinese. Related to this structural difference is the fact that much (25.3%) of the demonstrative reference by means of determiner *zhe*- ‘this’ and *na*- ‘that’ introduced NPs in the Chinese texts is signalled by *the*-introduced NPs in the English texts. This suggests that Chinese determiner *zhe* and *na* may assume the role of the English *the* in defining the noun they introduce. Like *the*, determiner *zhe* and *na* inform the addressee that some specific entity is being referred to. But unlike *the*, which is deictically neutral, determiner *zhe* and *na* provide locative information and therefore involve a point of view.

Fourth, the difference in the internal structure of the English and Chinese NPs has resulted in a difference in the opportunity given to the demonstratives in their respective NPs by the two languages. While the Chinese NP structure allows the occurrences of demonstrative determiners at various positions, the English NP structure imposes restrictions on similar occurrences.

Finally, the difference in the composition of the English and Chinese demonstrative systems is also found to be partially responsible for the differences identified in their use. Although the demonstrative compounds of manner and degree are not within the scope of the research, they are necessarily involved in the comparative study at times. As Schematic Representations 1 and 2 indicate, certain demonstrative reference by the English *this* and *that* is indicated in Chinese by the use of these demonstrative compounds as proforms. This is taken to lend support to the earlier postulation that the referential scope of the English *this* and *that* is wider than their Chinese counterparts *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’. Notice that demonstrative compounds for reference to location in time and space (cf. 1.2) are not considered in 5.2. Reference to location in time by means of demonstratives will be discussed in 5.3.

Schematic Representation 3 below summarises the referential categories involved for signalling the identical discourse reference concerned in the two languages. The Representation excludes cases in which a demonstrative reference in one language is not matched in the other by a demonstrative or the other referential categories which are beyond the scope of the investigation.

English	Chinese
a. <i>this/that</i> (DP)	a. <i>zhe/na</i> (DP)
b. <i>this/that</i> -introduced NP	b. NP containing <i>zhe/na</i> (DA)
c. <i>it</i>	c. <i>zhe/na</i> -compounds (of manner and degree)
d. <i>the</i>	

Schematic Representation 3

As can be seen, within the data examined, for the same discourse reference, whereas Chinese invariably employs its demonstratives, including demonstrative compounds (of manner and degree), English, in addition, involves its neuter *it* (occasionally other pronouns) and the definite article.

This disparity may perhaps be viewed from a diachronic perspective. As Lyons (1977, 1991) observes,

English might have developed (as it did in fact develop) from a system in which there were no third-person personal pronouns, as such, and no definite article, but a set of two demonstratives, each of which had three genders and each of which could be used either pronominally or adjectivally. Looked at from a diachronic point of view, then, the definite article in English is a demonstrative adjective uninflected for gender and number, and the third-person personal pronouns are demonstrative pronouns, distinguished with respect to gender and number, but, like the definite article, unmarked for proximity (1977: 647).

Parallel with this observation is an observation by Lü (1985: 5), who addresses a similar theme:

Chinese in ancient times did not have an independent third-person pronoun. *Zhi* [proximate], *qi* [non-proximate], and *bi* [distal] were originally demonstratives, which were also used as third-person pronouns. But their pronominal use was subject to major restrictions. As a matter of course, *ta* 'he' evolved from an alternative source in post-Han-Wei years [around 300AD] and became the third-person pronoun (cf. *ibid.*: 187). [my translation]

It seems that, for English and Chinese, the concept of pointing evolved prior to the concept of third-person (cf. W. Bang, in Lü, *ibid.*). Both languages seem to have first developed a demonstrative system, which, when the concept of third-person first evolved yet without ready language correlates for their expression, served for a time as third-person pronouns. Both languages then further developed their own third-person pronominal systems. What distinguishes the two languages is that while the Chinese third-person pronouns are subject to major discourse and socio-linguistic restrictions (cf. 1.3.2, 5.2.3), their English counterparts are not. Also, English has further developed a definite article from

its non-proximal demonstrative adjective/determiner *that* (Lyons 1977: 646ff). Chinese, on the other hand, has further elaborated its demonstrative system on the basis of its spatial demonstratives, so that it embraces demonstrative compounds covering reference to location in time and space, and manner and degree. The latter two sub-groups of demonstrative compounds are essentially associated with actions denoted by verbs, qualities denoted by adjectives/adverbs, or propositions involved in whole chunks of discourse. The matchings and mismatches in the behaviour of the English and Chinese entity-referring demonstratives for discourse reference are seen to reflect the consequences of the parallel as well as divergent developments of the demonstrative systems in the two languages.

As has been shown in 5.2.2 to 5.2.5, coupled with the structural differences are functional differences in the use of the demonstratives for discourse reference.

First, from the fact that a proportion of the same discourse reference is signalled by the use of *it* in English but by pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ or *na* ‘that’ in Chinese, it can be seen that *zhe* and *na* are employed to fulfil the discourse function which in English is fulfilled by *it*.

In English discourse, there is a certain division of roles between *this* and *that* on the one hand and *it* on the other. Theoretically, as Lyons points out (1977: 673),

deixis is more basic than anaphora. Anaphora presupposes that the referent should already have its place in the universe-of-discourse. Deixis does not; indeed deixis is one of the principal means open to us of putting entities into the universe-of-discourse so that we can refer to them subsequently.

Empirical studies of the English *that* (*this*) and *it* generally suggest that a distinction can be made between them in their discourse functions in their unmarked usages. From the point of view of information packaging, Schiffman (1985) examines the types of referents they are used to index and finds that *it* is more highly presupposing than *that* and that both antecedent type and syntactic coordination distinguish them. Zhang (1991) distinguishes between *it* as a referential device to signal topic continuity and *that* to signal topic discontinuity/change. Viewed from a processing perspective, Linde (1979) distinguishes between *it* for focusing the addressee’s attention and *that* for reference out of focus: i.e. for reference across discourse nodes. Ehlich (1982) characterises the distinction as one between “achieving focusing of the hearer’s attention towards a specific item which is part of the respective deictic space (*Deiktischer Raum*)” (p. 325) for deictic expressions such as *this* and *that* and “having the

hearer continue (sustain) a previously established focus towards a specific item on which he had oriented his attention earlier” (p. 330) for anaphoric expressions such as the third-person pronouns. Zhang (op cit.) distinguishes between *it* used for entities in focus and *that* for activated entities. Strauss (1993) distinguishes between high and medium focus for *this* and *that* respectively and low focus for *it*, wherein focus is the degree of attention appropriate to the referent. In spite of the differences in the terminologies employed by these researchers, a consensus can be seen regarding the claim that there is indeed a functional distinction to be made between them and the distinction can be captured from the point of view of the nature of the referent they are used to index, or information structure, or processing, or from a dual perspective of information structure and processing.

It would thus be plausible to suggest that pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ can assume the functional role of *it* in discourse reference signalling. In this role, they serve as anaphors capable of sustaining the addressee’s attention and indicating topical continuity. Also in this role, I would suggest, they form a component of the reference-tracking system in Chinese discourse, the other components having been identified as the zero form, the pronouns, and the NPs (Chen 1984, 1986).

Second, the article use of the demonstrative determiners *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in Chinese NPs confirms the anaphoric role they can be used to fulfil together with the noun they qualify. In this role, as the identifying function is mainly borne by the noun, the functional load which determiner *zhe* and *na* carry is reduced to that of referring. In this sense, they are no different from the definite article: both are used to refer anaphorically. What distinguishes them from the definite article, as well as the pronouns, is that being deictic in nature, they encode proximity/non-proximity of a kind and necessarily entail a point of view. This is bound to lead to differences in rhetorical effect.

Third, as my presentation and discussion in 5.2.2 suggest, pronominal *this* and *that* are found to be able to cover a wider range of reference than pronominal *zhe* and *na*. Part of the range of reference which *this/that* covers, it is discovered, must be handled by determiner *zhe/na*-introduced NPs, or members of the Chinese demonstrative system other than pronominal *zhe/na*, if demonstrative reference is required. The data provide evidence for such disparity when the referential distance is comparatively great, a finding consistent with Zhang’s (1991), and when the referent requires complex inferencing steps to pin down.³⁶

Finally, my analysis of the data throughout the section suggests that the grammatical role the demonstratives assume, the clausal position they occupy,

and the local syntactic context in which they occur are all observed to make a difference, however slight, in the deictic function they perform. Demonstrative pronouns in the topic/subject position, for example, is believed to carry greater deictic force than those in other clausal positions. Therefore, they command greater attention from the reader/addressee. Conjoining an identifying function with a referring function, they also seem to bear greater deictic strength than demonstrative determiners in general, which essentially perform a referring function only (cf. 4.2.3). The local syntactic contexts in which the Chinese demonstrative determiner *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' occur in NPs may also have an effect on the strength of deictic force and the qualifying power of the demonstrative used (cf. 5.2.5). The interface between form and function thus finds powerful expression in the use of the demonstratives in natural discourse.

5.3 Language structure and reconceptualisation of spatial distance

There is yet another distributional difference which the five structural differences identified in 5.2 do not seem to account for. This is, as Tables 5.1 and 5.2 indicate, that while non-proximal *that* is more preferred than *this* for discourse reference in the narrative genre in English, proximal *zhe* 'this' is more preferred than *na* 'that' for the same purpose in the same genre in Chinese (Qian 1983; Xu 1987, 1989).

In this section, the difference will be explored in the light of the relation between language structure and reconceptualisation of spatial distance. It is postulated that although similar metaphorical reinterpretations of spatial distance apply to both English and Chinese (cf. 4.7), they do not all apply in the same manner, nor all to the same degree. While English is found more sensitive to the temporal reinterpretation, Chinese seems to prefer to exploit more of the modality reinterpretation. This difference is believed to be related to the structural difference of the two languages that English has a tense system whereas Chinese does not.

As Lyons points out (1977: 668), the conditions which govern the selection of *this* and *that* with reference to the utterance context are quite complex. The same applies to the selection of *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' in Chinese. For example, there are instances of the demonstrative usages in the corpora for which both the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives are found equally appropriate, though the effect on the interpretation created may not be identical by the choice of one rather than the other. This is probably because in its discourse

deictic use, a particular demonstrative may find more than one reinterpretation of physical distance associated with its use, which seems to be a reflection of the common source of the reinterpretations at work.

5.3.1 Temporal sequence and spatial distance

As was suggested in 4.7.2, both the English *that* and Chinese *na* ‘that’ are employed for past-time discourse reference. Logically, as both the English and Chinese stories involve essentially events in the past as seen from the narrating time, it might be expected that the non-proximal demonstratives would be the preferred choice. However, this is not found to be the case with at least the Chinese narrative: *zhe* ‘this’ in both its pronominal and determiner roles is more common than *na* in the same roles (cf. Tables 5.4 and 5.6). The relation between temporal reference and the choice of the demonstratives is not always as straightforward as excerpts (4.78) and (4.79) show. First, in the corpora, both the English *this* and Chinese *zhe* are used for reference to past-time events. Second, the predominant use of *that* in the English narrative is also seen as related to the temporal interpretation of discourse in English.

5.3.1.1 *This and zhe for reference to past-time events*

One manifestation of the temporal interpretation of spatial distance is that the entity-referring demonstratives of both languages co-occur with time morphemes and become part of the time expressions thus formed. Tables 5.9 and 5.10 document the frequency of occurrences of such time expressions in the corpora.

Table 5.9 Frequency of *this* and *that* for temporal reference

	English (n)
DM	
<i>this</i>	30
<i>that</i>	19
Total	49

Table 5.10 Frequency of *zhe* and *na* for temporal reference

	Chinese (n)
DM	
<i>zhe</i>	107
<i>na</i>	17
Total	124

As is shown in Tables 5.9 and 5.10, the Chinese entity-referring demonstratives are used for temporal reference far more frequently than their English counterparts (124 vs. 49).³⁷ Further, obvious preponderance is shown of (a) the Chinese proximal *zhe* ‘this’ over its English counterpart *this*, and (b) the Chinese *zhe* over the non-proximal *na* ‘that’ in time expressions.

A case by case scrutiny of the 30 instances of *this* reveals that 11 instances of *this* occur in the time expression *this time*, a time adverbial, and that 14 instances of *this* in time expressions involve a deictic centre shift in direct or free indirect discourse, or in narration. Only 5 instances of *this* are relational, indexing a past-time discourse referent. Examples follow.

- (5.36) “You didn’t exactly miss,” said Pooh, “but you missed the balloon.”
 “I’m so sorry,” you said, and you fired again, and *this time* you hit the
 balloon, (Pooh: 17)

This time in (5.36) is a punctum time expression used adverbially to qualify the utterance which follows. With the use of the proximal *this*, a contrastive effect is brought to the proposition of the utterance containing it, setting it against the earlier attempt which failed to work. Here, the contrastive effect is seen as the greater strength of deictic force residing in proximal *this* at work, as compared with *that*. *This time*, rather than *that time*, then, is seen as a marked use which achieves a strong empathetic effect.

- (5.37) “I generally have a small something about now — about *this time* in the
 morning,” and he looked wistfully at the cupboard in the corner of Owl’s
 parlour. (Pooh: 46)
- (5.38) Wouldn’t it be better to pretend that he had a headache, and couldn’t go
 up to the Six Pine Trees *this morning*? (Pooh: 62)

In (5.37) and (5.38), the proximal time expressions are used discourse deictically. Their use involves a deictic centre shift in direct speech and indirect thought respectively for the locutionary agent and recipient.

- (5.39) [Pooh had eaten too much and Rabbit’s front door was too narrow for
 him now.]
 “I can’t do either!” said Pooh. “Oh, help *and* bother!”
 Now, *by this time* Rabbit wanted to go for a walk too, and finding the
 front door full, he went out by the back door, (Pooh: 24)

In (5.39), *this time* anchors the time of one past-time event, “Rabbit wanted ... and went ...”, to the time of Pooh’s utterance. Here, *this time* can be

replaced by *then* or *that time*, with a rather more distant, less emphatic and contrastive effect.

- (5.40) On the morning of the fifth day he saw the water all round him, and knew that for the first time in his life he was on a real island. Which was very exciting.

It was on *this morning* that Owl came flying over the water to say “How do you do?” to his friend Christopher Robin. (Pooh: 126)

In (5.40), *this morning*, together with the deictic verb *came*, brings the locutionary agent and recipient to share the characters’ experience. In fact, in all the cited excerpts from (5.36) to (5.40), with the use of the proximate time expressions, a deictic centre shift is involved; so is empathy on the part of the locutionary agent and recipient. An effect is created, which is why the proximate, instead of the non-proximate, time expressions are employed. They are thus instances of marked use.

Of the 107 instances of proximal time expressions in the Chinese texts, there are 14 instances of *zhe hui/zhe yihui* ‘this time’. This usage is rather similar to the English time adverbial *this time* as it is used in (5.36), implying a contrast against what is usually the case.

- (5.41) TT: “Now then, be careful.... They want to see how good you are.”

Zhe yi hui wo dique hen chenzhuo:

this CL time 1SG really very careful

This time I really took care.

(Baohulu: 67)

Similar to the English proximal time expressions used in (5.37) and (5.38), 20 instances of Chinese proximal time expressions involve a deictic centre shift. (5.42) and (5.43) provide examples of such use in direct speech and indirect thought respectively.

- (5.42) TT: I was whistling — ... — and striding round the corner.

“Steady on!” I stopped abruptly.

“*Zhehuir* jiu huijia me?”

Now ADP go back home QS

“Is this home already?”

(Baohulu: 102)

- (5.43) Well, he was humming this hum to himself, and walking gaily along,

Ta xiang, *zhege shihou*, dajia dou zai gan shenme ne?

3SG think this time others all DUR do what QS

wondering what everybody else was doing.

(Pooh [C]: 16)

In the narration of the Chinese texts, there are also 53 instances of proximal time expressions used to indicate discourse deixis. Unlike the English proximal time expressions in their discourse deictic usage as is illustrated in (5.40), the use of Chinese proximal time expressions does not in general involve a deictic centre shift on the part of the locutionary agent and recipient.

- (5.44) TT: But the children were exclaiming in delight, admiring the model.
One of them said he was amazed that anyone could make such a fine thing.

Zhe shihou wo huran ganjue dao xinli
at this moment 1SG suddenly feel VC heart inside
yangyang de,
tingle CRS
I was very tempted

TT: to crawl out from under the bed and surprise them all,

(Baohulu: 100)

- (5.45) TT: “If you want something, just order it. You don’t have to ask me if it’ll work or not.”
“Well, then -” I jumped up, fairly tingling with excitement. “Here’s what I want....”

Zhe shihou simian dou jing ji le,
this time four sides all quiet extreme CRS
All around was absolutely still,

TT: as if waiting to hear my orders.

(Baohulu: 24)

In (5.44), *zhe shihou* ‘at this moment’ anchors the time of the past event that the narrated “I” felt tempted to crawl out from under the bed to the time that one child uttered something. In (5.45), *zhe shihou* ‘at this time’ anchors the time of the past event “All around was absolutely still” to the time of the character’s utterance. Both of the proximal time expressions are used to indicate the temporal relation of the events concerned, which are removed from the time of narrating. In producing and interpreting the utterances, no deictic centre shift is involved. A replacement of *zhe shihou* by the non-proximal *na shihou* ‘at that time/moment’ would make the utterances sound awkward. It is perhaps relevant to mention here that this is exactly where English learners of Chinese often produce errors, according to my own observation.

In the Chinese texts, only four instances of *na shihou* ‘at that time/moment’ occur, which turn out to indicate a duration of time rather than a point of time.

- (5.46) TT: Had I never done anything of the kind before? Well, not quite. If I think hard, I believe there had been times, especially when I was very small.

Keshi *na shihou* zhi shi yinwei wo hai bu dongshi,
 but that time only be because 1SG still NG sensible
 But that was because I didn't understand

TT: and so bragged without thinking (Baohulu: 35)

In (5.46), *na shihou* 'at that time' points to the past time frame when the narrated "I" was small. The expression may be considered as representative of the unmarked use of the non-proximate demonstrative for future and past reference. But the rarity of its occurrence in the data and the restriction of its use only to duration of time may well rule it out as the preferred temporal discourse deictic time expression. Given its much higher frequency of occurrence and its indexical capacity of locating events in temporal relation with other events, the proximate *zhe shihou* 'at this time' is the unmarked, preferred choice of the two entity-referring demonstrative expressions as a temporal discourse deictic for past time reference in discourse. This explains why its use does not normally involve a shift of point of view, which is exactly where it differs from its English counterpart.

What further distinguishes *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' for temporal reference in the Chinese texts is that *na* is more restricted in co-occurring with time morphemes. In addition, *zhe* consistently co-occurs with two adverbial particles (ADP, function words) to indicate temporal reference: *cai* and *jiu*. *Zhe cai* means "only now", implying the locutionary agent's undertone of lateness, and a sense of contrast; *zhe jiu* means "right now", implying a sense of immediacy. The two combinations may be seen as grammaticalised ways of indicating temporal reference.

- (5.47) TT: I had practically all my time on my hands and didn't know what to do. ... I felt — how do you say it? — I felt bored.

Wo *zhe cai* qinshen tihui dao – ai,
 1SG now only personally experience vc well [a sigh of regret here],
 Only now did I realise — well,

TT: how uncomfortable it is to have too much time on your hands.
 (Baohulu: 82)

- (5.48) TT: I changed my mind suddenly about going home. I was longing to show someone the fish in my bucket.

Wo *zhe jiu* xiang hou zhuan.

1SG right away towards back turn.

So I turned back again.

(Baohulu: 32)

In (5.47), *zhe cai* ‘only now’ anchors the time of the narrated “I”’s realisation to the time when he felt bored. A feeling of lateness in the realisation is involved. So is a sense of contrast. In (5.48), *zhe jiu* ‘right away’ anchors the past action of turning back to the time when anxiety to show someone his fish developed for the narrated “I”. A sense of immediacy is implied. Notice that in both utterances, proximal *zhe* ‘this’ is used to signal temporal reference to past-time events, without introducing a deictic centre shift. For the chunks of discourse concerned, the spatio-temporal framework is set as the topic frame is set. The use of *zhe* within the framework set does not necessarily involve a shift of point of view. *Na* ‘that’ cannot replace *zhe* in collocation with *cai* and *jiu*.

The rather consistent use of *zhe* ‘this’ + time morphemes/ADP of time for past-time temporal reference in discourse, as is found in the Chinese data, is not shared by its counterpart *this* in English. As a case-to-case comparison shows, English does not need to spell out the temporal relations involved in many cases, employing the spatial demonstratives. This is most likely because English relies on its tense system to anchor the events in the time-line concerned, aided by its temporal conjunctions such as “when”, “as”, etc. Chinese, on the other hand, lacking a tense system and frequently employing parataxis (cf. 1.3.4), needs to specify the temporal relations of events by other mechanisms. Demonstratives are found to be one choice. The fact that proximal *zhe* instead of non-proximal *na* is the preferred demonstrative for past time temporal reference is seen as related to the lack of a codified tense system in Chinese, in the sense that a combination of *zhe* with a time-neutral verb would not result in semantic anomaly. In English, on the other hand, a similar combination may present a problem. For example,

(5.49) “... I thought you were saying how sorry you were about my tail, being all numb, and could you do anything to help?”

“No,” said Pooh. “*That* wasn’t me.”

(Pooh: 115)

To replace *that* with *this* in (5.49), the utterance would sound marked.

It is thus suggested that the presence of a tense system in English and the lack of a codified tense system in Chinese make a difference in the employment of the entity-referring demonstratives in the two languages for past time temporal reference in discourse. In fact, as compared with *this*, the high

frequency with which *that* is used for discourse reference in the narrating of past-time events may be seen as a co-ordination of features of the English tense system and the reconceptualisation of spatial non-proximity in terms of temporal removal from the here-and-now scene.

It is necessary to mention at this point that a cursory look at some academic writing, i.e., papers in *Working Papers in English and Applied Linguistics* Vol. 2, 1995 by the Research Centre for English and Applied Linguistics, University of Cambridge, suggests that past tenses are rarely used and that *this* has a far higher frequency of occurrence than *that*. This is taken to support the postulation made above concerning the role of the tense system in the choice of the demonstratives in signalling discourse reference. It also suggests that variation in the distribution of the demonstratives is likely to be genre-specific.

5.3.1.2 *Temporal interpretation of discourse in English*

The linear nature of discourse production may lead to another plausible way of temporal reconceptualisation of the spatial demonstratives. In this reconceptualisation, the locutionary agent is the temporal deictic centre as she speaks/writes and the flow of discourse can be compared to a time-line, wherein time is considered to have an inherent orientation due to its motion. The temporal deictic centre moves as discourse flows, and as it moves events are positioned as points seen either as behind or ahead relative to the present, the temporal deictic centre. As English speakers are said to view the future in front and the past behind when they project themselves as the reference point (e.g. Clark 1973; Yau 1988), the parallel discourse flow would be divided in such a way that what is already said is behind and what is going to be said is in front with the moment of utterance as the temporal reference point. Accordingly, what is behind is removed and accordingly calls for the use of the non-proximal demonstrative and this applies also to what is far ahead.

How Chinese speakers project the flow of time has received controversial reports in the literature. For example, Traugott (1975: 226) claims that it is universal of language for the time-line to be conceived running from future to past with future lying in front. But Yau (1988) counter claims that Chinese speakers, those born before W.W.II in particular, are reported to conceive the time-line to be running from past to future with future lying behind.

As my data show, conceptualization which is at work with the English language does not necessarily apply to Chinese. Along this line, English speakers have been noted to prefer the use of the non-proximal *that* in responding to their interlocutor's remark in normal conditions (Halliday & Hasan 1976;

Zhang 1991), an observation supported by my data. For reference to their own previous speech, *that* is also found to be the unmarked expression of choice.

- (5.50) “I’m giving this to Eeyore,” he explained, “as a present. What are *you* going to give?”
 “Could I give it too?” said Piglet. “From both of us?”
 “No,” said Pooh. “*That* would *not* be a good idea.” (Pooh: 70–71)
- (5.51) “It doesn’t do them any Good, you know, sitting on them [thistles],” he went on, as he looked up munching. “Takes all the Life out of them. Remember *that* another time, all of you. ...” (Pooh: 109–110)

In the Chinese translation, the *that* in (5.50) is rendered into *zhe* ‘this’ and the one in (5.51) into a zero form, which could be replaced by *zhege* ‘this’. *Na/nage* ‘that’ would sound odd in these utterances.

As compared with Chinese, English is seen to have rather thoroughly exploited the temporal reinterpretation of spatial distance in its use of *this* and *that* for discourse reference to past-time events. *That* is believed to be the unmarked expression for reference to past-time events; *this* often encodes additional connotations, such as contrast, saliency, immediacy, etc. These additional connotations can, as a matter of fact, be traced to the concept of deixis and the basic semantics of the proximal demonstrative (cf. Lyons 1977). The English tense system seems to exert a constraining effect, in the sense that it has pre-set a conceptualised frame of temporal relations into which the temporal reinterpretation ideally fits.

Chinese, on the other hand, has been shown not to have exploited the temporal reinterpretation in the same manner, nor to the same degree. The absence of a codified tense system, the absence of past tenses in particular, seems to have left an opening for proximal *zhe* ‘this’ to be used not only to indicate the temporal relationship of part-time events, but also for reference to past-time events. *Zhe* is in fact the preferred demonstrative for discourse reference in Chinese narrative. When *na* ‘that’ is used, it often involves extra connotations. This leads me to the modality reinterpretation of spatial distance.

5.3.2 Modality and spatial distance

As was suggested in 4.7.1, the modality reinterpretation of physical distance is more marked for Chinese than for English. What was not discussed there is the question of whether *zhe* ‘this’ is used essentially for indexing factual propositions in discourse. The answer is in the affirmative. While 41 out of 87 instances

of pronominal *na* ‘that’ indicating discourse deixis are used to index propositions of a hypothetical nature, out of the 125 occurrences of pronominal *zhe* indicating discourse deixis, only six are found to be used to index suppositional propositions ($z=7.1$, $p<0.01$). The others are consistently employed for propositions of a factual nature.

- (5.52) “Wo shi baba de erzi, *zhe* shi shishi.
 1SG be father GEN son this be fact
 ‘I’m my father’s son, *that*’s a fact. (Baohulu: 97, [E]: 111)
- (5.53) TT: “You must be a regular wizard, I admire you — what more can I say?
Zhe shi zhen hua.”
 this be true word
That’s the truth.” (Baohulu: 111, [E]: 129)
- (5.54) TT: I had never expected to run into him. Still I was rather pleased.
Zhe zong bi mei banr hao.
 This after all than NG company better
This was better than being alone. (Baohulu: 106, [E]: 122)
- (5.55) TT: ... when I wanted to borrow it, I couldn’t. It was being lent to Su Ming-feng ...
 Qishi *zhe* shi changchang hui you de qingxing.
 Actually this be often would occur MM situation
 Actually, though, *this* sort of thing was always happening.
 (Baohulu: 54, [E]: 65)

As can be seen, in each of (5.52) to (5.55), *zhe* ‘this’ is used to index a factual proposition. For the same referent, English does not consistently use *this*. In (5.52) and (5.53), *this* could be used, but *that* is obviously preferred, probably because a temporal interpretation of the discourse sequence is being applied here. What is uttered earlier is regarded as removed from the temporal deictic centre of the current utterance. *This* in (5.54) may be taken as a marked use, for the utterance records a free indirect thought. So may the *this* in (5.55), which is used for immediacy and saliency. The choice of the demonstratives in these examples is seen to suggest that English and Chinese do not operate according to the same principles. While English is often found to highlight the temporal reinterpretation, Chinese is discovered to appeal to the modality reinterpretation.

In my discussion of similar trends of extension of the demonstratives in English and Chinese in Chapter 4, the tendency is identified that the non-

proximal entity-referring demonstratives *that* and *na* ‘that’ are associated with non-factual, less certain, or hypothetical propositions. To save space, see (4.75) and (4.76) in 4.7.1 for examples of *na* for indexing less certain, suppositional propositions.

If suppositional modality is taken to be semantically marked and factual modality to be semantically unmarked, the use of *na* ‘that’ in association with suppositional modality to indicate discourse deixis can be considered the marked use, whereas the use of *zhe* ‘this’, which normally relates to factual modality, is taken to signal the unmarked use. Given that the semantically unmarked modality is the more basic modality with which we engage the realities of our physical and mental worlds through language, *zhe* is believed to be the unmarked, preferred, entity-referring demonstrative for Chinese discourse deixis.

It is perhaps necessary to mention at this point that the concept of markedness used in this study draws on work on typology. In his recent publication, Croft (1990: chap. 4), drawing on the work of Greenberg and later researchers, presents his criteria of markedness as consisting of a structural, a behavioural and a frequency component. The behavioural and frequency criteria in particular, he claims, have broad applications and thus offer the fundamental manifestations of markedness (p. 92). Two observations are seen as relevant in this connection. First, the Chinese data from earlier and the present studies yield inconsistency as regards the behavioural and the frequency criteria. In distributional terms, the Chinese non-proximal entity-referring demonstrative *na* ‘that’ has developed more versatile distributional behaviour than the proximal *zhe* ‘this’. In terms of frequency, it is the proximal *zhe*, rather than the non-proximal *na*, that enjoys a higher frequency. The phenomenon described poses a challenge to the claimed consistency and inter-relatedness of the criteria concerned. Second, in my treatment of the concept of markedness, a functional (semantic) dimension is included and seen as crucial (cf. Croft, *ibid.*: chap. 7), in the sense that this dimension overrides the distributional behaviour criterion and joins forces with the frequency criterion in accounting for the Chinese data.

5.3.3 Discussion

As spatial distance can be reconceptualised in a variety of modes, the resulting reinterpretations may enter into competition for representation in discourse. Also, other factors, structural as well as pragmatic, may all be causal for the

selection of the demonstratives in discourse. These force us to talk, with a slightly speculative flavour, only in terms of tendencies. Firm claims can be made only on the basis of more studies involving a much larger data base.

The emerging tendency for English to prefer the non-proximal demonstrative to the proximal one in signalling discourse reference and the reverse preference pattern for Chinese, as is identified above is consistent with similar claims in the literature (e.g. Halliday & Hasan 1976; Qian 1983; Xu 1989; Zhang 1991). Where the present study goes a step further is that it suggests that the difference in the preference pattern between English and Chinese is found to be associated with the different emphasis they each place on the broadly similar reconceptualisations of spatial distance found in both languages. And whichever reinterpretation gets highlighted is seen to be subject to the structural properties of the two languages. The English tense system, its past tenses in particular, is believed to constrain the discourse deictic use of the proximal *this* for reference to past-time events in the narrative genre. Since Chinese lacks a tense system, the proximal *zhe* 'this' is seen to be relatively free from such a constraint. The less grammatically/formally bound utterances of Chinese is taken to leave openings for modality to be expressed by means of the demonstratives as a tendency. The modality reinterpretation, it follows, gets exploited to a considerable extent in the Chinese colloquial, narrative discourse.

In this perspective, the behaviour of the demonstratives in natural discourse sheds light on the cognitive motivation of language use and the structural interference in it. It seems that until a certain conceptualisation succeeds in working its way into language structure and joins forces with existing language structures in playing a constraining role, language use is constantly at the interface of powerful motivations of various kinds and the equally powerful existing structural framework. Viewed in this light, the preference patterns concerning the distribution of the demonstratives for discourse reference in English and Chinese is seen as a reflection of such interfaces.

5.4 Language structure and pragmatic strengthening

In 4.7.3, it was shown that when spatial distance is reinterpreted in terms of individual involvement, the entity-referring demonstratives can be used as carriers of individual attitude and emotion. This kind of individual involvement was then identified in 4.8 as individualised subjectivity. As individualised subjectivity, which is distinct from objectified subjectivity, has not yet worked

into the structure of language, it finds expression in language use, often by means of pragmatic strengthening. Pragmatic strengthening through the use of the entity-demonstratives occurs in both English and Chinese, but, as will be seen, owing to their structural differences, the modes in which individualised subjectivity filters into language use differ between the two languages.

5.4.1 Pragmatic strengthening

“Pragmatic strengthening” is a term borrowed from the grammaticalisation literature wherein it is seen as a motivating force involved in the early stages of grammaticalisation as against semantic bleaching (Traugott 1988). It involves a strengthening of informativeness, made necessary in the process of solving problems of communication. It refers to “most especially strengthening of the expression of speaker involvement” (p. 407). Pragmatic strengthening in the present study is used in a similar sense, but from a synchronic perspective. It reflects how, in natural discourse, language is used for the expression of the extra-linguistic realities of the world, the social world and the inner world of the individuals involved in communication. In particular, it pertains to such speaker involvement as speaker belief, attitude, viewpoint, and emotion. In his discussion of Grice’s conversational implicature, Levinson (1983) suggests that the maxim of quantity proposed by Grice fails to predict a kind of speech situation which requires the addressee to go beyond what the maxim allows. To amend this deficiency, Levinson proposes that there

seems to be an independent principle or maxim, which we may call the **principle of informativeness**, that in just some circumstances allows us to read into an utterance *more* information than it actually contains — in contrast to Quantity, which only allows the additional inference that (as far as the speaker knows) no stronger statement could be made [bold and italics in the original] (p. 146).

Pragmatic strengthening, viewed in this light, would result in language use which would require the speaker and addressee to exploit to the maximum Grice’s conversational implicature, i.e., following the principle of informativeness. In particular, it would result in language use for speaker self-expression, which the addressee is invited to ponder upon, to be able to appreciate the intended perlocutionary force (used in Austin’s original sense, 1962) of the speaker’s utterances.

This leads me to the distinction which Lyons (1995, 1977) draws between descriptive (or propositional) meaning and non-descriptive (or non-propositional) meaning, which a linguistic theory of semantics (and pragmatics) is

expected to cover. Descriptive meaning “is factual in the sense that it can be explicitly asserted or denied and, in the most favourable instances at least, it can be objectively verified” (1977: 50). Non-descriptive meaning, on the other hand, is less ready to be defined. It subsumes, for one important component, “expressive meaning — i.e., the kind of meaning by virtue of which speakers express, rather than describe, their beliefs, attitudes and feelings” (1995: 44). While descriptive meaning has been considered central by philosophers and linguists alike, the importance of non-descriptive meaning, the expressive meaning in particular, cannot be overemphasised. For

human beings are social beings with socially prescribed and socially sanctioned purposes. They may not always be consciously projecting one kind of self-image rather than another; they may not be deliberately expressing the feelings and attitudes that they do express in order to manipulate the hearer and achieve one goal rather than another. Nevertheless, it is impossible for them to express their feelings and attitudes in language, however personal and spontaneous these attitudes and feelings may be, otherwise than in terms of the distinctions that are encoded in particular language systems (Lyons 1995: 45).

Pragmatic strengthening, seen in this light, is considered to have contributed to the diachronic shaping of certain grammatical and lexical mechanisms of particular language systems (Traugott 1988; Sweetser 1988). It also contributes to the expressive function of language. The demonstrative and pronoun systems of English and Chinese have both encoded elements of self-expression or subjectivity. The tense system and a large part of the grammatical category of adverbs in English also encode the expressive function of language (cf. Crystal 1979; Quirk et al. 1985). The numerous function words which are pervasive in natural Chinese discourse often encode no less speaker involvement and their employment equally contributes to the expressive function of language (cf. 1.3.5). This suggests that different languages choose similar and/or different grammatical and/or lexical means to encode self-expression. Synchronically, pragmatic strengthening is a means that speakers constantly employ for conscious or unconscious self-expression. What is of particular interest here is that given the already available grammatical and lexical mechanisms for self-expression and given the structural constraints in the English and Chinese language systems, how pragmatic strengthening finds its way into language use, as exemplified by the use of the demonstratives in the two languages.

5.4.2 Deictic insertion in Chinese

Pragmatic strengthening presents itself in the Chinese data in four types of structural environments in which the demonstratives are used. First, it can occur when pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ are in the topic position of a topic-comment construction.

(5.56) TT: “Why take it so seriously? My! They’re all plants, anyway.

buguo shangmian lia zir shaowei hunleyihun,
only on (the label) two word slightly mixed
na you shenme guanxi ne?”
that have what significance qs

TT: What does *it* matter if they’re a little mixed?” (Baohulu: 95, [E]: 109)

As is mentioned earlier, the Chinese discourse structuring often allows a referential expression in the subject and object position to appear in zero form when the addressee is estimated to be able to arrive at the referent through inferencing processes. In (5.56), *na* ‘that’ could be suppressed, for it is structurally optional. This suggests that the use or non-use of *na* here is not controlled by the structural properties of the Chinese language at the sentence. Rather, it has its motivation elsewhere and I would suggest that this lies in discourse-pragmatics. In terms of discourse, the use of *na* adds to the cohesiveness of the two clauses by topicalising what is expressed in the preceding co-text, thus drawing the addressee’s attention to the following evaluative predication. Pragmatically, the use of *na* is seen to produce an effect of adding strength to the speaker’s attitudinal stance: that of trivializing the fact that he confused the plant names and caused trouble for the addressee. Prosodically, given a stress as it would normally be given, it reinforces the propositional attitude expressed in the rhetorical question.

(5.57) TT: But now I’d become someone quite out of the ordinary: now I had a magic gourd.

Xianzai, wo jiu* dei you yi tao
now, 1SG ADP must have QN CL
yuzhongbutong de teshu fangfa lai** li zhiyuan,
different from others MM special method ADP decide career
zhe cai heshi.
this ADP (for emphasis) right

TT: It was only right that I should decide on a career in a different way from other people.

**Jiu* is a function word used here to connect the proposition in the previous co-text to what follows. Used in this way it never suggests a contrastive relationship, but a premise/condition-consequence relationship between the clauses it is used to connect.

***Lai*, a function word in this usage, connects two verbs/verbal phrases, the second of which often indicates purpose.

(Baohulu: 51, [E]: 62)

The *zhe* ‘this’ in (5.57) can be dispensed with in the particular discourse environment without affecting the prepositional content of the utterance. Like the *na* ‘that’ in (5.56), its employment is seen to serve two functions. By topicalising what is expressed in the previous co-text, it directs the addressee’s attention to the evaluative comment that follows, thus reinforcing the cohesiveness of the text concerned. Pragmatically, *zhe*, with a prosodic stress, carries with it an explicit contrastive undertone, which singles out “the different way” as the only right way, thus strengthening the force of the propositional attitude expressed in the comment. In this sense, *zhe* connotes self-expression. The effect that could be produced on the addressee/reader is obvious.

Second, pragmatic strengthening can occur in Chinese conditionals, which may be introduced by conditional markers such as *ruguo* ‘if’, *jiaru* ‘supposing’, etc. in the protasis and/or marked by an adverbial particle (ADP, function word) in the apodosis. Chinese conditionals may also dispense with formal markers, when the discourse context makes the antecedent-consequence relationship clear (cf. 1.3.4, 4.5.1.2). As has already been shown, *na* ‘that’ is essentially optional in the Chinese conditionals. When it occurs, however, it always has a role to perform.

From the perspective of discourse, *na* ‘that’ often pronominalises the antecedent in the protasis, thus setting, for the speaker and addressee, the framework of shared knowledge against which the consequence in the apodosis is introduced.³⁸ The cohesiveness of the text concerned is accordingly strengthened. For pragmatic strengthening, the role of *na* can be best discerned in the sub-class of the conditionals with the protasis implied.

(5.58) TT: What! Cut my nails? Certainly not! I would start to run away, barefoot. But granny would catch hold of my arm. There was nothing I could do.

Still I would make the same condition:

“*Na*, feidei jiang gushi.”

in that case, must tell story

“Then, you must tell a story.”

(Baohulu: 2–3)

In (5.58), *na* ‘that’ pronominalises a condition which is not explicitly coded but can be securely inferred, i.e., “If you insist on cutting my nails”. What the utterance is saying is “Ok, I’ll let you cut my nails, but don’t think you can get away with it for nothing. You must tell a story”. *Na* carries with it an obvious undertone of the speaker’s unwillingness to reconcile himself to a helpless situation in which he is caught. Uttered by a child to his granny, *na* seems also to carry a subtle tone typical of a spoiled child in bargaining with his loving granny into doing things in his favour in the Chinese culture.

Sweetser (1990: 113ff), in her discussion of English conditionals, proposes three semantico-functional distinctions of these as content conditionals, epistemic conditionals, and speech-act conditionals. These generally pertain to Chinese conditionals. Chinese, however, does not share the grammatically coded distinction between the real, the imaginative, and the counterfactual moods to which the conditionals are attached (cf. Li & Thompson 1981). In Chinese, the distinction can often be drawn through the relevant context. This lends support to Sweetser’s claim that pragmatic context can sometimes overrule verb-forms in determining the hypotheticality of the factuality concerned (Sweetser 1990: 114).

The third and more obvious type of use of the demonstratives for self-expression is found in their interjective use. For an example, (4.53) is repeated as (5.59) below.

(5.59) TT: “If you want something, just order it. You don’t have to ask me if it’ll work or not.”

“*Na-na*” wo tiao le qilai,

(?)-(?) - 1SG jump PFV up

“Well, then –” I jumped up,

xingfen de xiongtang li dou yangyang de.

excited AP chest inside even tingling AP

fairly tingling with excitement.

(Baohulu: 24)

In (5.59), the repeated *nas* ‘that’ can receive two readings. They can be taken to have pronominalised a condition: “Given what you said”. In this sense, the fact that *na* is repeated and not followed up can be taken to suggest a mental search for what to say next. As the offer must have been unexpected, the *nas* are then

an expression of the speaker's unpreparedness or hesitation. More crucially, however, they are charged with the speaker's emotion: his uncontrolled excitement over an offer he has craved but has been doubtful of getting, as the context of the utterance suggests (See also the analysis for (4.53) in 4.5.1.2).

English interjections are also used to carry the speaker's emotion, but the English entity-referring demonstratives do not avail themselves to the interjective use.

Fourth, pragmatic strengthening can find its way into Chinese when the demonstratives co-appear with a personal pronoun in an NP.

- (5.60) TT: Don't you know who Su Ming-feng is? He's our group leader. Not that there's anything so marvellous about him — he can't beat me at ping-pong. But he's always finding fault.

Ta yimian gan zhe ta ziji de na fen gongzuo,

3SG while do DUR 3SG OWN GEN that CL job

While he was doing his own job,

yimian hai dei qiaoqiao zhege, qiaoqiao nage.

simultaneously also need look this one, look that one

he kept looking round at the rest of us. (Baohulu: 5)

In (5.60), which repeats (4.70), the NP *ta ziji de na fen gongzuo* 'his own job' would signal the same referent as *ta de gongzuo* 'his job', i.e., with *ziji* 'self, own' and *na fen* 'that + CL meaning portion' suppressed. *Ziji* is used to emphasise the fact that he has his own job to occupy himself, and *na fen* is seen to add to the already emphasised fact the idea that his portion of the work is cut out for him as is everybody else's, with the possible undertone that he should really mind his own business. Within the particular context, I see the use of *na fen* as pragmatically motivated. The indiscreteness of Su Ming-feng, as seen through the eyes of the speaker, gets strengthened. *Na fen* is thus used here to help articulate the speaker's attitudinal stance.

- (5.61) TT: In the flash of an eye three more paper bags appeared, with all the things I had been wishing for.

...

Bingqie, wo zhege ren de sixiang ting huoyue de,

Actually, 1SG this person GEN mind rather active AP

As a matter of fact, I've a good imagination

TT: and one thing easily makes me think of another. (Baohulu: 22)

In (5.61), *zhege ren* ‘this person’ stands in an appositive relation with *wo* ‘I’, which appears to render *zhege ren* redundant. But this repeated use in the corpus in a self-appraisal context is observed to have a pragmatic effect. Both *zhege ren* ‘this person’ and *ting* ‘rather’ are there to soften the very positive view the speaker has about himself: a boy with a rich imaginative power, which the utterance would carry were these expressions suppressed. *Zhege ren* used in this context, in addition, also is sensed to imply a tinge of self-complacency. The message one gets is that the speaker is pleased with what he considers to be a very positive quality of his, but is alert not to show it off. But being a young teenager, he is not yet capable of completely suppressing the feeling that he is pleased with himself. This rather complex, subtle psyche is brought out with the aid of *zhege ren* and *ting ... de* in this particular utterance. Compare the following three utterances the first two of which are variations of the utterance under discussion:

- a. Wo sixiang huoyue.
1SG mind active
- b. Wo sixiang *ting* huoyue *de*.
1SG mind rather active AP
- c. Wo *zhege ren* sixiang *ting* huoyue *de*.
1SG this person mind rather active AP

Although a, b, and c are similar in the basic proposition they carry, the assertiveness with which the proposition is conveyed varies in reduced degrees from a to c. In b, the *ting ... de* construction tones down the assertiveness of a, which is further tuned down by the use of *zhege ren* in c, which in the given context also encodes an undertone of complacency. The *zhege ren* in (5.62) below is used in a similar way.

(5.62) TT: I was very tempted to crawl out from under the bed and surprise them all, then hear them laugh and shout and call Wang Pao a true aeronautical engineer. Then I could say modestly –

Wo *zhege ren* zong shi ting qianxu de –
1SG this person always be rather modest AP
I am always very modest –

TT: “This doesn’t amount to anything. ...” (Baohulu: 101)

It may be observed that all the pragmatic strengthening discussed so far exploits the structural properties of the Chinese language, in particular the

structural flexibility it offers in discourse. The speaker's self-expression, by means of the entity-referring demonstratives, filters in where a slot is and can be exploited in the structure of discourse. The corpus provides at least four such slots: the topic (sometimes also the subject) slot of a topic-comment construction, the initial position of the apodosis of a conditional, the initial position of an utterance, and within an NP. Hence, deictic insertion. Exactly what sort of self-expression is involved in each case, however, is shown to be contingent on the context in which the demonstrative in question occurs. Or rather, it is the interaction of the demonstrative expression and the discourse context in which it occurs that makes it possible to pin down the self-expressive reading of the demonstrative involved. The supportive role of context in aiding us to arrive at our interpretation of language, of individualised subjectivity in particular, looms large in these examples. In this sense pragmatic strengthening may be seen to reside, in terms of linguistic manifestation, in the discourse context concerned. Without appreciating the role of context, the search for pragmatic meaning is likely to be doomed.

Given that structural flexibility allows the expression of pragmatic strengthening in Chinese discourse, it would appear that English, which has comparatively rather fixed grammatical relations between sentence constituents, would presumably not give much opportunity for this sort of pragmatic strengthening to take place. Notice that in (5.62), and similarly in (5.63) hereafter, the English translation texts fail to bring out the undertones implied. But social and cognitive motivations of language use are universal and should equally qualify and penetrate the use of language by English native speakers. As we shall see, while this is indeed the case, the channels English exploits for the same purpose are not the same.

5.4.3 Deictic realignment in English

Given the relative structural inflexibility of English as compared with Chinese, pragmatic strengthening in English is expected to have to channel its way in a manner different from that in Chinese. Support of this postulation is found in the English data, where pragmatic strengthening presents itself in the form of deictic realignment.

- (5.63) [Piglet had just recovered from a bad fall, which burst the big balloon he had planned to give to Eeyore as a birthday present.]

“Well, that’s funny,” he thought. “I wonder what that bang was. I

couldn't have made such a noise just falling down. And where's my balloon?

And what's *that* small piece of damp rag doing?"

Zhe yi xiao kuai shi de po bu shi gan ma yong
 this QN small CL wet MM ragged cloth be do what business
 de?"

NOM

(Pooh: 75, [C]: 66)

The picture (5.63) presents to us is of a bewildered Piglet finding it hard to relate facts and events logically right after the fall. Not realising that he has burst the balloon, which has been reduced to a small piece of rubber, he refers to it as a “damp rag”, thus alienating himself from it. The choice of *that* for a physically close object (See illustration in *Pooh*: 74) is a marked use which adds to the sense of alienation, and obvious dislike, and contrasts against the lovely, big balloon he had for Eeyore as a birthday present and had carried all the way until he fell. Here, we have again a choice of the demonstrative motivated by self-expression. Notice that in the Chinese translation, the proximal *zhe* ‘this’, instead of *na* ‘that’, is used and in the given situation *zhe* is the normal choice, which encodes physical proximity. The expression of empathy in the English utterance gets lost in the Chinese translation.

(5.64) “Bother!” said Pooh, as he opened it. “All *that* wet for nothing. What’s *that* bit of paper doing?”

He took it out and looked.

“It’s a Message,” he said to himself, “that’s what it is. And *that* letter is ‘P’, and so is *that*, and so is *that*, and ‘P’ means ‘Pooh’. ...”

(Pooh: 123, [C]: 114)

The five italicized *thats* in (5.64) are all used in relation to entities very close to the speaker or to the speaker himself. The first *that* directs our attention to the speaker’s own body, the second *that* to the bit of paper in his hand at the moment of speaking, and the following three *thats* to the words written on the paper he is holding. It is the psychological distance that is believed to have motivated the choice. The first *that* encodes a sense of disappointment and perhaps regret; the others a sense of alienation. Such self-expression, of feelings as it were, cannot be conveyed by *na* ‘that’ in Chinese in the particular contexts involved (cf. Zhang 1991: 53). If demonstratives are used at all, it has to be *zhe* ‘this’ and this is indeed the case in the translation text for most of the *thats* in this excerpt. This finding is in line with claims in R. Lakoff (1974) and Maclaran (1980), both of whom address the emotional use of the entity-referring demonstratives in English.

Indirect support from the data for the claim is found in the English translation of all the Chinese examples presented in 5.4.2. As has been pointed out, the English translation texts in general fail to bring out the attitudinal undertones the original Chinese texts carry as a result of pragmatic strengthening by means of the demonstratives. This suggests that some of the channels through which pragmatic strengthening filters into Chinese language use are not open to English.

One other form of deictic realignment found in the English corpus concerns the use of deictic and other subjective expressions or means in the narrative to represent speech, thought, or perception (cf. Leech & Short 1981: 318ff), “to create an image of selfhood or the illusion of events as experienced rather than reported” (Adamson 1994a: 57). Specifically, such transfers “occur quite commonly, for example, whenever the act of encoding a message is separated from the act of decoding it, or whenever the message itself makes reference to disparate spatiotemporal zones” (Adamson 1994b: 197). They signal a transfer of self-involvement from the narrator orientation to the character orientation. Compared with the egocentric deictic use in the same utterance, the transposed, empathetic deictic use may be considered the marked use, invariably implying the speaker’s self-involvement. Distinct from the kind of deictic realignment illustrated in (5.63) and (5.64), this kind of empathetic deixis involves objectified subjectivity and has entered into the structure of discourse, of the narrative genre in particular (cf. 4.7). I shall not discuss this except to point out that in Chinese discourse, *zhe* ‘this’ is the preferred demonstrative expression for narrative discourse reference. It can be used to indicate past temporal relationship or reference to past-time events and quite often its employment in narrating past-time events does not necessarily involve empathy. This results in subtle differences between Chinese and English in the effect created by the employment of the demonstratives under examination.

For a different view, see Xu (1987: 146), who claims that “in English the distinction in proximity is often interpreted in terms of actual spatial, temporal and textual distance, whereas in Chinese this distinction is made on both psychological and factual ground” and that the imbalance is mainly due to that fact that the use of the demonstratives is psychologically motivated to a greater extent in Chinese than in English (1989: 38). These claims are seen to over-generalise and lack necessary empirical support.

5.4.4 Discussion

In the present study, I treat the various empathetic, attitudinal usages of *this* and *that* in English and *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' in Chinese as a manifestation of pragmatic strengthening. This is first of all because the kind of subjective involvement in the use of the demonstratives concerned suggests language external factors at work, the motivating force of which has been shown to lie in the speaker's conscious or unconscious self-expression. It is also because the nuances of meaning involved are found to vary with each use and the interpretation heavily depends on the context in which a demonstrative occurs. Conditions determining such use, as Lyons (1977) points out, are hard to specify with any degree of precision. Pragmatic strengthening, seen from this light, involves the kind of subjectivity in language use which is not yet fully encoded and established in language systems.

Examples from the corpora indicate that there are at least two basic, but alternative modes in which pragmatic strengthening filters into language use by means of the demonstratives. I characterise them as deictic insertion and deictic realignment respectively. The former refers to pragmatic strengthening by exploiting the relative structural flexibility of language, which may be found in the phrasal, sentential, and/or discourse structuring of particular languages. As my Chinese data show, such flexibility allows the insertion of linguistic units of self-expression, deictics or indexicals in particular, as single-word or phrasal expression. Presumably, pragmatic strengthening through deictic insertion is likely to occur in languages with a more flexible word order and phrasal structure such as Chinese. Unlike pragmatic strengthening through deictic insertion, pragmatic strengthening through deictic center realignment occurs only within deictic expressions when a certain mode of self-expression is imposed on a deictic to signal individual attitude rather than to mean what the particular lexical expression normally denotes. Such usage often signals a realignment of the deictic field of the locutionary agent herself with that of the addressee or the subject of her narration. It may be predicted that this kind of pragmatic strengthening is likely to occur in languages which allow for less structural flexibility.

This line of argument suggests that structural constraints are more basic in that they not only have a determinative role in affecting the functional load and referential scope of the demonstratives in the two languages but also in affecting how pragmatic strengthening can filter into language use. As I indicated earlier, however, the study of demonstratives cannot be fruitful without

at the same time taking a chronological perspective. In this perspective, language structure is constantly subject to the impact of pragmatic forces in one fashion or another, which, in the long term, gives rise to structural changes in language, and pragmatic strengthening has been shown to be one such powerful force active in the early phase of grammaticalisation (Traugott 1988). Seen in this light, it is the interaction between the existing language system and the ever prevalent discourse-pragmatics that is responsible for the differences in the use of the demonstratives in English and Chinese.

Second, in my illustration of pragmatic strengthening in both English and Chinese, I constantly drew on the context created by the on-going discourse concerned in working out the content of self-expression involved in the instances of demonstrative use concerned. Compared with the basic, more straight-forward use of the demonstratives (cf. chap. 3) and their extended, but unmarked use as discourse deictics (cf. chap. 4), interpretation of the demonstratives of pragmatic strengthening has to be relatively more dependent on the context which the relevant discourse creates. Specifically, while in the unmarked and marked use, the discourse deictic meaning element of the demonstratives would presumably require the same amount of processing of the context for the addressee to locate the referent, the self-expressive meaning ingredient embedded in the demonstratives needs to be worked out by resorting to the context concerned, which would require extra processing effort. This is because in pragmatic strengthening the conventional meaning encoded in the demonstratives partially gives way to the freshly infused self-expressive meaning element. Yet, the infused meaning is seen in the control of the speaker as to whether or not to infuse it and when, if infusion is considered. Being individualistically motivated, the addressee is not, presumably, expected to know when an infusion occurs, though his experience with his native language may well have prepared him for the self-expressive meaning infusion, all in default. Brown (1995b), in her discussion of relevant context identification in discourse interpretation, draws our attention to the privateness of thoughts in each of us and to the necessity for us to “use language to establish discursal common ground on a moment by moment basis” (p. 121; cf. Clark 1996). It follows that for the addressee to arrive at the infused self-expression through the use of the demonstratives, the speaker needs to prepare him by providing necessary discourse context that would facilitate him in arriving at the intended meaning. In this sense, the meaning of the demonstratives used for pragmatic strengthening is context-dependent. The interactive nature between language and context as well as the fluid nature of discourse context (Brown, *op cit.*) can be seen from the

fact that in the present study, while the infused meaning relies on the context for its interpretation, pragmatic strengthening invariably modifies the propositional content of the utterances concerned, thus constantly feeding the on-going discourse with accordingly modified contexts.

From the viewpoint of speech act theory (Austin 1962), the gap between the illocutionary force of the utterances concerned, reinforced or brought out by the use of the demonstratives of pragmatic strengthening on the one hand, and the perlocutionary effect on the other can be bridged only through the speaker providing the necessary context and the addressee resorting to it to secure a successful uptake. The importance of context cannot be overestimated in discourse production and comprehension.

The fact that the corpora for the present study consist of children's literature written in colloquial, interactive narrative style suggests that this style readily allows pragmatic strengthening to filter into language use. Indeed, the discourse conjunctive use of *na* 'that' in Chinese is recognised to be a marker of colloquial language (Lü 1985), and so is, intuitively, the use of the demonstrative determiner in personal pronoun introduced NPs in Chinese. Likewise in English, the emotional, marked use of *that* for a physically close referent has so far been documented to occur mostly in face-to-face interactions. Although SIL, or empathetic narrative, is of interest largely among literary circles and claimed by some leading literary critics to be the exclusive product of literary writing (e.g. Banfield 1982), recent empirical studies have shown its origin in colloquial speech and non-literary writing (e.g. Adamson 1994a & b). Instances of empathetic narrative documented in my corpora provide evidence of their use in young and teenage children's story telling. It is thus suggested that pragmatic strengthening is likely to occur in colloquial style and in conversations. Study of language confined to its formal style or written form is likely to lose insights into the kind of pragmatic strengthening under discussion (cf. Quirk 1965; Crystal 1979).

Finally, a few observations on subjectivity. In his exploration of the nature of language, Lyons (1968, 1977, 1982, 1995) has consistently expounded what he believes to be the much neglected expressive function of language. This function concerns "the selection by the speaker of elements which make the utterance appropriate to his attitude towards, or his emotional involvement in, what he is talking about" (1977: 583). A central notion related to the expressive function of language is subjectivity, which pertains to "the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and of his own

attitudes and beliefs” (1982: 102). Thus, language structure and use lend themselves to subjectivity, which underlies the expressive function of language.

The use of the English and Chinese entity-referring demonstratives in my corpora, among other primarily deictic expressions, is seen to epitomise the subjectivity of utterances and thus the expressive function of language. That a subjective meaning ingredient is embedded in the structure of language can in the first place be seen from the fact that an ego, or an egocentric point of view, is encoded in the basic semantics of the demonstratives. In the jigsaw puzzle game (cf. Chapter 3), for the same referent, a jigsaw piece, both the English-speaking and Chinese-speaking subjects As and Bs, separated by physical distance, were often shown to use different members of the demonstrative pair. Where As chose to use *this/zhe*, Bs often used *that/na*, and vice versa. It is the built-in subjective point of view that made it necessary for the physically distanced subjects to identify only the jigsaw pieces which they perceived to be close to themselves by means of the proximal demonstratives. The rest were referred to by means of the non-proximal demonstratives. The result of the game empirically testifies to the validity of the subjective semantic ingredient encoded in the demonstratives investigated.

In 4.7 and 5.3, it was shown that the perceptual property of relative physical distance from the speaking ego receives reconceptualised interpretations of physical distance in terms of modality, temporality, and personal attitude. Notice that what appears to remain stable in the semantics of the demonstratives in all the reinterpretations is the egocentric point of view, which makes all types of reconceptualised proximity vs. non-proximity accountable with the speaker as the source factor. Notice also, however, that the egocentric point of view also receives a transformation from a perceptual angle taken in the physical world to one taken in the conceptual world. And it is in the conceptual world that what may be conceived as the physical-*I* as existence gets transformed into what may be seen as the thinking-*I*, the *I* that imbues physical distance with the metaphorical readings found in the present study. It would follow that the speaker’s individual evaluative view, as it were, in terms of modality, temporality, or attitude regarding the referent concerned, becomes determinative in her selection of the demonstratives used. In the case of the demonstratives, the subjectivity involved in their use, as well as the expressive function of language as seen through their use, may thus be seen as rooted in our ability and tendency to reconceptualise and in our reconceptualising processes (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: chap. 27; Lakoff 1987: chap. 17). Seen in this light, subjectivity is regarded as a property which reflects essentially the

representational nature of language (cf. Bühler 1990; Benveniste 1965) in that “our sense perceptions of the world are mapped onto a conceptual representation, and then this conceptual representation is mapped onto a linguistic representation” (Bickerton 1990: 13).

The narrative, interactive nature of the texts used in the study brings out yet another aspect of the nature of language and this is the social, interpersonal aspect of language use. Subjectivity, as my discussion of pragmatic strengthening suggests, is a property of language which also underlies the social, interpersonal nature of language. In his step-by-step demolition of what is known as the descriptive fallacy, Austin (1962) repeatedly draws our attention to the distinction between meaning and force, the former of which he identifies with an act *of* saying something and the latter with an act *in* saying something (p. 94ff). In communicating by means of language, we invariably perform an act *of* saying something which necessarily entails an act *in* saying something. That the act *in* saying something is inevitable is seen as determined by the fact that communication is purpose-bound. We invariably engage in communication to transmit information and/or to establish common ground (Brown & Yule 1983: 1–4). This often subconscious purpose-boundness is perhaps best captured in Grice’s theory of meaning (1957, 1968), wherein he distinguishes speaker-meaning and sentence-meaning and homes in on the intentionality of communication and the intentional view of speech act. As is expounded by Levinson (1983: 16),

communication consists of the ‘sender’ intending to cause the ‘receiver’ to think or do something, just by getting the ‘receiver’ to recognize that the ‘sender’ is trying to cause that thought or action.... In the process of communication, the ‘sender’s’ communicative intention becomes mutual knowledge to ‘sender’ and ‘receiver’.... Attaining this state of mutual knowledge of a communicative intention is to have successfully communicated.

The various forces to which an act of saying something can potentially lend itself may thus be seen as couched in the intentionality of communication and at the disposal of the speaker. The many instances of use of the demonstratives in my corpora for pragmatic strengthening indicate that subjectivity, the speaker’s self-expression, constitutes an important force underlying the intentionality of communication. For the demonstratives so used are actually signals sent to the addressee, inviting him to share the empathy of the speaker/narrator, and the emotional affinity or distancing, feelings of indignation, denigration, etc. of the characters involved.

As my presentation and discussion in 4.7 and 5.3 also indicate, the reconceptualisation processes which underlie the use of the demonstratives find expression in both language structure and use. The rather frequent occurrence of the proximate demonstrative *zhe* ‘this’ in Chinese for discourse deixis in narrating past events and the rather frequent employment of determiner *zhe* and *na* ‘that’ in definite NPs in Chinese may be safely considered structural features of Chinese narrative discourse. Likewise, the fairly consistent use of the non-proximate demonstrative *that* in English for discourse reference is a reflection of the structural features of English narrative discourse. In addition, both English and Chinese have developed the non-proximal demonstrative *that/na*-introduced idiomatic expressions. Subjectivity by means of the demonstratives thus resides in the structure of the two languages. The effect on language use is that any deictic use of the demonstratives, be it situational or discursal, entails a subjective involvement. As a feature of language use, subjectivity is, in addition, expressed through the channel of pragmatic strengthening by means of the demonstratives. Here, the reconceptualisation processes have been observed to be guided by individual attitudes of all kinds, not easily captured in conventional terms, but exhibiting a more sporadic nature of individual language use, and the illocutionary force involved in each case must be worked out through the relevant context. It is thus claimed from my study of the demonstratives that subjectivity underlies the representational nature and social-expressive function of language, and it penetrates language structure and use. Moreover, subjectivity is shown to offer a key link in our understanding of the relationship between language change and discourse-pragmatics. Considering the universal nature of the demonstrative category (Bühler 1990: 121; Benveniste 1965; Lyons 1982; Wierzbicka 1996), it would not be far-fetched to claim that the findings of the present study concerning subjectivity may well have wide cross-linguistic applications.

In his discussion of subjectivity, Lyons (1982: 106) poses the question of “whether different natural languages differ in respect of the degree of subjectivity that they impose upon their users” and proposes that the answer is in the affirmative. The findings of my study suggest that since subjectivity underlies the representational nature and social-expressive function of language in general, all languages possess the property of subjectivity and have ways of expressing it. But as subjectivity penetrates language structure and languages vary in structure, the ways in which subjectivity finds expression in languages are expected to be different. This has been shown to hold at least with English and Chinese in terms of the subjectivity involved in the use of the demonstratives.

Structurally, in the Chinese texts, the co-occurrences of *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ with referents in epistemic modality is to a noticeable extent conventionalised into its structure, whereas in the English texts, the temporal basis on which *this* and *that* are selected for discourse reference enters largely into the structure of the language. Discourse-pragmatically, subjectivity is also shown to filter into language use in different ways in the two languages. What all languages share, as can be predicted, are the two modes of expression of subjectivity, i.e., in the structure and in the use. There is evidence to the claim that where subjectivity fails to enter into the structure of a language, it tends to work its way into language use. In this connection, it is also important to see that “subjectivity in so far as it is manifest in language — locutionary subjectivity — is situationally and stylistically differentiated. So too, demonstrably, is the degree of subjectivity that is expressed in different styles and in different situations” (Lyons 1995: 340).

I mentioned earlier the question of rhetorical effect and it is clear from comparing the English and Chinese parallel texts that where subjectivity is involved, difference in rhetorical effect is likely to loom large.

5.5 An observation

Although the focus of this chapter has been to show the dissimilarities between English and Chinese in their extended usages of the demonstratives in the narrative discourse, i.e., within the identified similar trends of extension in the earlier chapter, and to show that the dissimilarities are due to the different structural constraints which the two languages impose on such similar trends of extension, it must not be assumed that the view taken of language structure is a static one. On the contrary, the dynamic, versatile behaviour of the demonstratives under investigation necessarily leads to a view of language structure as constantly eroded and modified by forces of cognition and social-expressive impact, from which it is seemingly independent, but at the same time it is seemingly hard to separate.

Concluding remarks

The study shows that remarkable similarities mark the use of the English and Chinese spatial demonstratives in real space and their trends of extension in displaced contexts. Five similar trends of extension have been established in the study. First, in both English and Chinese, the entity-referring demonstratives are employed to indicate textual deixis, and both the entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives are employed to indicate discourse deixis. Second, both the English and Chinese entity-referring and place-referring demonstratives are used for empathetic deixis in direct and indirect discourse in narrative. Third, the asymmetry in deictic force remains in the extended usages of the demonstratives in both languages: the non-proximal spatial demonstratives have developed more extended usages, which involve more functional and grammatical roles than the proximal demonstratives. Fourth, for both English and Chinese, the asymmetry in deictic force is cancelled when proximal and non-proximal demonstratives are used side by side with the same utterance. This results in their generic use, wherein the demonstratives are employed indexically but not deictically. Finally, spatial distance in the basic semantics of the English and Chinese entity-referring demonstratives receives largely similar reinterpretations in their extended usages, i.e., in terms of epistemic modality, temporality and individual attitude and emotion. It is again the non-proximal demonstratives that are found to be susceptible to marked reinterpretations. Dissimilarities between the two languages, however, occur in the extended usages of the demonstratives. The major underlying cause of the dissimilarities is identified to be the structural differences between English and Chinese, which subsume differences in syntactic structure and in information structuring in discourse. Structural differences are found to constrain the otherwise similar trends of extension in three ways. They lead to differences in the distribution, and in the syntactic and functional behaviour of the demonstratives of the two languages. They constrain the opportunities due to the reinterpretations of spatial distance in different manners for English and Chinese, and are, in a sense, responsible for the reverse markedness patterns found for the two languages in the selection of the proximal and non-proximal entity-referring demonstratives for signalling discourse reference in narrative.

They affect the ways in which individualised subjectivity finds expression in language use by means of the demonstratives in the two languages.

Major findings of the study suggest that a fruitful exploitation into spatial demonstratives, and presumably the entire deictic category, requires a linguistic as well as a cognitive perspective. Without the former, the basic semantics of the demonstratives cannot be accessed and the cognitive processes involved would lose the sources on the basis of which they operate. Without the latter, the extended usages cannot be adequately explicated and a unified conceptual framework can hardly be constructed. The findings also suggest that for a comparative/contrastive approach, the structural properties of the languages concerned are a necessary independent variable for examining the possible differences in the use of demonstratives between languages.

Deictic force, as an important notion developed within the cognitive-linguistic framework, underlies the divergent behaviour of the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives in both English and Chinese, and the similar trends of their divergent extension. As an epitome of the semantics of subjectivity, it is shown to be a vigorous notion for predicting the trends of extension of the demonstratives as they are used in displaced contexts.

As has been expected, the exploration into the similarities and differences of the demonstratives of English and Chinese illuminates certain issues of central interest in linguistic theory.

The theoretical claim that subjectivity finds its way into both language structure and language use (Lyons 1977, 1995) is substantiated. A distinction is further postulated between objectified subjectivity, which has worked its way into language (discourse) structure, and individualised subjectivity, which finds expression essentially in the dynamic process of discourse production of particularly a colloquial and interactive nature. The comparative/contrastive approach adopted in the study further leads to the uncovering of the fact that languages may differ in where in their respective structures objectified subjectivity is allowed to enter and in the ways in which individualised subjectivity filters into language use.

Through the study of the spatial demonstratives in natural discourse, language is shown to be both a cognitively motivated representational system and a vehicle of socio-expression. To emphasise one to the negligence of the other side of language would result in an unbalanced view of language.

The interface between form and function of language has surfaced time and again throughout the descriptive analysis. Differences in form are coupled with differences in function in one way or another and vice versa.

The role of context in discourse comprehension calls for a differentiating view. A demonstrative which encodes individualised subjectivity has been shown to be more context-dependent than one which does not for their respective interpretation.

Methodologically, the study shows that handled properly, the use of parallel corpora can produce fruitful results in a comparative/contrastive study such as the present one and that discourse analysis offers immense potential for our understanding of how natural language works. It would be interesting to find out if an approach shown to illuminate the use and distribution of English and Chinese spatial demonstratives also illuminates our understanding of the spatial demonstratives of other languages.

Notes

1. In Wang's work (1987a: 34), *zhege* 'this' and *nage* 'that' are also included as alternative members of the entity-referring demonstrative pair. This is most probably because the *-ge* in *zhege* and *nage* may be considered an empty suffix (Lü 1985: 198) and *zhe* and *zhege* have the same linguistic meaning, as do *na* and *nage*. *Ge*, however, is also a classifier with the broadest applications and the most frequent use (Li & Thompson 1981). This sometimes distinguishes *zhege* and *nage* from *zhe* and *na* respectively in language use. For example, *zhege* and *nage* more readily occur in object positions when used to refer in discourse and when they do, the *ge* may be aptly interpreted as a classifier denoting the sortal belonging of the NP with which it is used co-referentially (Lü, op cit.: 199). In the present study, unless a distinction occurs and is relevant, *zhe* and *na* will be taken to subsume *zhege* and *nage*.
2. In spoken Chinese, when *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'that' are used alone or followed directly by a noun, they are pronounced as *zhe* and *na/ne* respectively. When they are followed by a classifier or a numeral plus a classifier, their respective phonetic variants *zhei* and *nei/ne* are used (Xiandai Hanyu Cidian 2002 [The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary, Chinese-English Edition]). For ease of exposition and processing, *zhe* and *na* alone will be used throughout the book, unless otherwise notified, as in Chapter 3.
3. See frequency counts from the Lob Corpus (Johansson & Hofland 1989) and the Beijing Yuyan Xueyuan (BYX) Corpus compiled by the Language Teaching & Research Institute, Beijing Languages College (1986). Frequency counts from my corpora for the present study also support the observation (See Tables 4.1 and 4.2 of chap. 4).
4. In a recent dictionary of function words (Wang 1992), a total of 971 entries are included, which are composed of 572 adverbs, 147 conjunctions, 59 prepositions, 47 particles, 43 interjections, 67 set structures formed of two function words with other words inserted between and after them, and 36 compounds-compounds, idiomatic phrases mostly comprising three characters and functioning grammatically as a word. A function word may have more than one grammatical function, for example, as a pronoun and an adverb and a conjunction.
5. See Li & Lu (1980) for a brief account of the division of full words and function words in the Chinese linguistic scholarship.
6. While the rule seems to hold at a theoretical level, caution should be taken in its interpretation. First, as Chao (1968: 70) points out, the proportion of applicability of the actor-action meanings is low, "perhaps not much higher than 50 per cent". Second, the rule is far from being as water-tight as it is claimed to be, especially when colloquial, spoken discourse is taken into consideration. See Lu (1993: 2) for a documentation and discussion of what he calls "the position switch phenomenon", i.e., the left dislocation phenomenon,

which is rather prevalent in colloquial, spoken Chinese. It applies not only to the actor-verb relation, but also to relations between various other constituents.

7. Here the term “zero anaphora” does not apply to the syntactically controlled null elements, which are found in English as well. For example, in “He promised 0 to come tonight”, the agent for ‘come’ is not explicitly coded and therefore is a null element, which in this case is syntactically controlled.

8. Clause, as a unit of speech for analysis, is preferred to sentence in the present study, partly because a Chinese sentence is not necessarily the equivalent of an English sentence and partly because the corpora used for the study are full of colloquial, spoken language for which clause is a more suitable unit of utterance for analysis.

9. For a full account of conditions that trigger the use of zero anaphors in Chinese discourse, see Chen (1986: 143ff) and Xu (2003: 91ff). Huang (1994), applying the neo-Gricean theory of conversational implicature, offers a theoretical account of the same phenomena, using Chinese as his basic data source.

10. See Y. Liu (1998): *Quxiang Buyu Tongshi* ‘A complete survey of directional verb complements’ for a classification and a fully developed exploration of these verb complements.

11. In addition, word order in Chinese also gives expression to such relevant concept as definiteness, as can be shown in an often quoted example: (1) *Keren lai le*. ‘guest come’ (2) *Lai le keren*. ‘come guest’. Whereas in (1) ‘guest’ is definite, in (2) it is not (Xu 1995).

12. For alternative, but not necessarily conflicting approaches, see Schiffrin (1994), van Dijk (1997a, 1997b), and Gee (1999).

13. Frequency counts from the Lob Corpus indicate that *this* and *that* rank 22nd and 7th respectively, with 5,287 tokens for *this* and 11,188 tokens for *that*. They both occur in all the 15 types of text included in the corpus (Johansson & Hofland 1989). Chinese pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ rank 12th and 37th respectively in frequency of occurrence, with 10,375 tokens for *zhe* and 4,044 tokens for *na*. They both occur in all the four genres of text included in the BYX Corpus (Language Teaching and Research Institute 1986).

14. There is a third class, the class of proper names. As it is not directly relevant to the present study, it is not discussed here.

15. Kaplan uses indexicals in the narrow sense of the term, i.e., what is known as deictics or deictic expressions in the linguistic literature. In the present study, I follow the linguistic tradition and use deictics or deictic expressions for indexicals in Kaplan’s sense. As is mentioned earlier, the term indexicals is reserved for use in its broad sense, which subsumes deictics or deictic expressions (Lyons 1977: chap. 4; cf. 1.3.5 of this book).

16. For criticism from a linguistic point of view, see Levinson (1994). For criticism from a psychological point of view, see Miller (1982).

17. The figure-ground spatial conceptualisation perhaps explains why in languages in general the demonstrative system presents a more-than-one-way contrast, with the proximal demonstrative as the semantic universal (See Note 18 below). For a discussion of the encoding in the Chinese language of the figure-ground configuration, see N. Liu (1994). For how Chinese expresses spatial relations, see Liao (1983, 1989).

18. Bühler (1990: 121) remarks, “There is at least one deictic mode of which it can hardly be imagined that it should be completely lacking in any human language: this-deixis”. According to Wierzbicka (1996: 41), “despite occasional claims to the contrary, careful examination of the available cross-linguistic evidence suggests that all languages have a clear and unproblematic exponent for THIS”.
19. Language acquisition data from English, Bulgarian, Dutch, German, and Japanese support the claim (E. Clark 1978: 95). Whether the acquisition sequence applies to Chinese is, to my knowledge, not yet explored. Whatever is the case with Chinese should not affect the claim about the asymmetry in the degree of contrastiveness entailed in proximal and non-proximal demonstratives, for the asymmetry is seen as cognitively motivated.
20. The terminology employed concerning the types of deixis deviates from that employed in Lyons (1977, 1995), whose works are referred to frequently in the study. The term discourse deixis is preferred for reference to mental representations, because the concept of discourse, as distinct from text, implies a dynamic language production and comprehension process, and as such it better accommodates the fact that very often no particular linguistic cues can be identified as directly generating the discourse representation arrived at. Examples from the corpora forthcoming.
21. For a critique of the prototype theory, see Barsalou (1989) and Aitchison (1987: 60ff).
22. See Hunt (1994: 112–115) for a discussion concerning the audience of *Winnie-The-Pooh*. The Chinese book, *Baohulu de Mimi* ‘The Magic Gourd’, has an obvious morally didactic undertone from an adult point of view.
23. Separate frequency counts were also conducted of the forms of the Chinese demonstratives of manner and degree (cf. 1.2). The results are that the proximal and non-proximal forms occur 210 times and 124 times respectively in the Chinese texts.
24. The term “narrativity” is employed to refer to the often rather obvious feature of the fictional narrative genre that the function of reportative forms of discourse is aligned with their narrative mode of existence (Fludernik 1993: 31). It should be noted that this feature, as Fludernik points out, is not uniquely tied to fictional narrative only.
25. There is a huge, controversial literature on SIL. A brief summary of the various key positions is found in Galbraith (1989) and Fludernik (1993). For the present study, apart from Lyons (1977, 1982), I mainly draw on the rather broad, neutral approach of Leech & Short (1981), Adamson’s stance derived from the semantics of subjectivity (1994a & b, 1995) and Galbraith’s approach marked by an integration of linguistic subjectivity and the phenomenology of language (1989, 1995).
26. The traditional term “conjunctive” or “conjunction” is used here, because it covers a broader functional range and can accommodate the Chinese clause-linking *na* ‘that’ as well, i.e., it serves the comparative purpose of the present study (cf. Quirk et al. 1985).
27. See Sinclair (1991: 110ff) for a discussion of the features of idiomatic usages, i.e., what he refers to as “the idiom principle”, and its prominent role in language use.
28. See Wilkins (1992) and Wierzbicka (1992) for their respective definitions and discussions of interjections. The understanding of what constitutes an interjection for the present study follows the traditional definition (Quirk et al. 1985: 853). The affinity between the

Chinese pronominal *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ and interjective *zhe* and *na* as is found in the present study lends support to Wilkins’ claim that interjections are deictics.

29. For example, Palmer (1986: 216) goes on to list seven connotations of *will*, none of which is used to indicate purely future reference. These are “volition”, “power”, “habit”, “in conditions”, “implicit condition”, “planned action”, and “epistemic modality”.

30. See Garcia (1979) and Givon (1979) for their data-supported discussions on the relationship between syntax and discourse.

31. The statistical procedure used is the test of the difference between proportions (Ferguson 1959: 146 & 169; Woods et al. 1986: 182–184). For the present study, the more conservative formula by Woods et al. is used for obtaining all the z-scores, which record the standardised difference between two proportions. The obtained z-score is statistically significant with $p < 0.05$ when $z > 1.96$ and with $p < 0.01$ when $z > 2.58$. A software programme of the test designed by Alastair Pollitt greatly facilitated the computation.

32. Although the scope of the comparison for the chapter is confined to the entity-referring demonstratives of both languages, owing to the complexity of the Chinese demonstrative system, especially the affinity between the Chinese entity-referring demonstratives and demonstratives of degree and manner (cf. 1.2), demonstrative compounds are necessarily involved in the English-to-Chinese instance-to-instance comparison. The excerpt below will illustrate the point. Piglet said that, now that this point had been explained, he thought it was a Cunning Trap.

Pooh was very proud when he heard *this*.

Pooh ting le Xiaozhu *zheme* shuo, gandao hen deyi.

Pooh hear PFV Piglet in this way say feel very proud

(Pooh: 54, [C]: 44)

As the excerpt shows, the demonstrative reference signalled by *this* in the English utterance is signalled in its parallel utterance in Chinese by a demonstrative compound, *zheme* ‘in this way, like this’, a demonstrative of manner, which modifies the verb *shuo* ‘say’.

33. Of the total of 83 instances of English pronouns, 80 are neuter *it* (*they*). The remaining 3 instances are made up of the relative pronouns *which* and *as* (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1115–1116).

34. In a Chinese NP which contains a modifier/determiner *zhe* ‘this’ or *na* ‘that’, *zhe/na* may or may not occur in the initial position, although the data show that a great majority of such NPs are introduced by *zhe* or *na*.

35. Of the total of 62 instances of pronouns, there are 46 instances of neuter *it/they*, 8 instances of relative pronouns and 8 instances of personal pronouns.

36. Zhang measured the referential distance between the entity-referring demonstratives in English and Chinese and their respective referents. She found that the average referential distance for *this* and *that* in English is significantly greater than that for *zhe* ‘this’ and *na* ‘that’ in Chinese for all three genres investigated (academic, journalistic, and fictional writing) (1991: 127). This disparity may account for the difficulty that Chinese learners of English have been found to encounter with finding the right referent of pronominal demonstratives.

37. The 107 instances of *zhe* + time morpheme include 9 instances of the Chinese demonstrative compound *zhehuir* ‘now’, which, like *nahuir* ‘then’, is a temporal demonstrative developed from the spatial entity-referring demonstrative *zhe* and is found mainly in the spoken mode of the Chinese language (cf. 1.2).

38. For the analysis of the discourse function of *na* in the conditionals, I draw on Haiman (1978), who proposes that a conditional protasis can be seen as a topic marker, and Sweetser (1990), who critically supports Haiman’s claim with alternative arguments.

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Appendix

Sample transcripts of the recorded verbal interactions of the subjects performing the jigsaw puzzle task

Notations used:

CP: Chinese pair

EP: English pair

Q: in the tone of a question

C: in the tone of a clarification

– : a short pause

+ : a longer pause

++ : an extended pause

??? : unclear

Transcripts

EP1 (English)

Line Subject A

Subject B

1 take – *that* 1

2

this one 1

3 yeah ++ then + + *that* one 5

4

(pick up 5)

5 then – pick *this* one 11

6

that one 11

7 and – *this* one 10 ++ put it next to the one

8

(picking up 10) oh *here*

9 yeah – and + + *this* 8

10

(taking the wrong one)

11 no – eh – *this* one 12

12

that goes *there* 12

13 yes – then ++ erm + *that* 4

14

that goes *there* 4

15 then take *this* one 9

16

that goes on the side 9

17

somewhere doesn't it (Q)

18 *that that* goes next to the one you've just put

19

this one

20 no – at the top

21

oh

- 22 then + erm *this* one 7
 23 and *that* goes *here* 7 (C)
 24 yes ++ then + *that* one 3
 25 *this* one 3 (C)
 26 yeah ++ (???)
 27 then – *this* one 6 goes on the (???)
 28 yeah right
 29 then *this* one 8 goes – on top of the one just put
 30 last one 2
 31 *that* one goes *here* 2
 32 yeah

CP1 (Chinese)

Line Subject A

Subject B

- 1 *neige* 7 – xian na *neige* 7
 that – first take that
 that 7 – take that one 7 first
 2 fang nali (Q)
 put where: LS
 where to put it (Q)
 3 xian fang – xian fang neikuair
 first put – first put there
 first put – put it there for the moment
 4 ranhou zai na + *neige* 3
 then then take + that
 then take that one 3
 5 *zheige* 4 (C)
 this
 this one 4 (C)
 6 bushi – shi houmian *neige*
 no – be behind that
 no – the one behind
 7 *zheige* 3 (C)
 this
 this one 3 (C)
 8 dui + fang zai *neige* 7 xiatou
 yes + put at that below
 yes + put it below that one 7

- 9 xiamian
below
below
- 10 dui ++ zai zai na zheige 12
yes ++ then then take this
yes ++ then take this one 12
- 11 (???)
- 12 neige + dui neiyang fang zai you zuobian
well + yes like that put at right left side
well + yes put it on the left like that
- 13 shuzhe qilai fang you zuobian + mm
upright rise put right left + mm
set it upright and put it on the left + mm
- 14 zai na neige 4
then take that
then take that one 4
- 15 zheige 2 (Q)
this
this one 2 (Q)
- 16 neige 4
that
that one 4
- 17 zheige 4 (C)
this
this one 4 (C)
- 18 dui – fang zai zui shangtou
yes – put at most top
yes – put it on the upper most
- 19 neige tuolaji shangtou
that tractor above
above that tractor
- 20 mm zai na zheige 10 + fang zai zuo xiamian
mm then take this 10 + put at left bottom
mm then take this one 10 + put it on the bottom left
- 21 mm zai na neige 5
mm then take that
mm then take that one 5
- 22 zheige 5
this
this one 5

- 23 fang zai – shang – fang zai zuobian de zhongjian
 put at – above – put at left MM middle
 put – above – put it on the middle left
- 24 zai na ++ zheige 6 + fang zai zui youbian
 then take ++ this + put at most right
 then take ++ this one 6 + place it on the very right
- 25 zai na + neige 1
 then take + that
 then take + that one 1
- 26 *zheige 2 (C)*
 this
 this one 2 (C)
- 27 zui shang – zui toushang
 most above – most end
 (slip of tongue) – the one at the very end
- 28 ah dui – fang zai zuo shangbian
 ah yeah – put at left upper
 yeah – put it at the upper left (corner)
- 29 dui + mm zai na zheige 8
 yes + mm then take this
 yes + mm then take this one 8
- 30 nn shuqilai fang zai – youbian
 nn stand upright put at – right
 nn put it on the right in the upright position
- 31 zui youbian – shuqilai – dui – mm
 most right – stand upright – yes – mm
 the very right – stand it upright – yes – mm
- 32 zai na neige 2 – fang zai you shangmian
 then take that – put at right upper
 then take that one 2 – put it at the upper right (corner)
- 33 zai ba zheige 9 fang zai zhongjian shangmian
 then BA this 9 put at middle upper
 then put this one in the upper middle
- 34 na zheige 11
 take this
 take this one 11

Name index

A

Adamson 51, 92, 97, 192, 195, 207

B

Bartlett 40, 45

Benveniste 3, 20, 197, 198

Brown, G. 9, 23, 24, 27, 31, 42, 48, 60, 84,
130, 194, 197

Bühler 1, 27, 30, 32, 35, 39, 40, 45, 47, 48,
56, 59, 99, 119, 197, 198, 207

C

Chen 11, 12, 14, 170, 206

Clark, E. 27, 34, 43, 62, 207

Clark, H. 24, 41, 84, 178, 194

Clark & Clark 7

Croft 181

F

Fauconnier 39

Fillmore 3, 27, 33, 35, 37, 41, 48, 49, 51,
52, 57, 130

G

Givón 8, 10-12, 24, 208

Greenberg 8, 27, 181

Grice 183, 197

H

Haiman 111, 209

Hanks 27, 57

Herskovits 40

Hockett 4, 9

Hopper 45

Hsieh 8

K

Kant 40

Kaplan 27, 30, 34, 36-38, 104, 206

Kempson 33, 35

Kirsner 50

L

Lakoff 27, 39, 44, 50, 55, 122, 128, 191, 196

Langacker 8, 39, 41

LaPolla 8

Leech & Short 81, 92, 95, 192, 207

Lehrer 13

Levinson 1, 4, 27, 33, 37, 38, 48, 55, 183,
197, 206

Li, A. 10

Li, C. 7, 9

Li & Thompson 7-11, 13, 14, 16, 21, 131,
160, 187

Liao 206

Liu, N. 15

Liu, Y.-H. 5, 19, 20

Lu, J. 6, 14, 205

Lü 3, 5, 7, 11-13, 15, 17, 21, 74, 111, 138,
153, 154, 158, 160, 163, 166, 168, 195, 205

Lyons 1, 3, 4, 7, 14, 16, 18, 21, 27, 29-31,
33, 35, 38, 40, 42-44, 49, 51, 56, 59, 73,
79, 80, 85, 89, 92, 97, 103, 122, 131, 132,
134, 138, 158, 168, 169, 171, 179, 183,
184, 193, 195, 198, 199, 202, 206, 207

M

Malmkjaer 25, 56

Miller & Johnson-Laird 40, 72, 134

N

Norman 6

Nunberg 16, 27, 33, 34

P

Palmer 33, 35, 131, 132, 208

Peirce 16, 18, 27, 30, 115

Q

Quirk 41, 81, 195

Quirk et al. 3, 6, 20, 161, 162, 184, 207,
208

R

Rosch 52

S

Shi 10

T

Tai 20, 21

Talmy 39–41, 73

Traugott 21, 44, 45, 51, 55, 56, 111, 134,
139, 178, 183, 184, 194

Traugott & König 108

W

Wang, H. 17, 18, 205

Wang, L. 3–5, 7, 205

Wierzbicka 3, 198, 207

X

Xu, J. 11, 49, 206

Xu, L. 206

Xu, Y. 1, 50, 145, 171, 182, 192

Xu & Liu 10

Y

Yau 178

Z

Zhang 1, 26, 50, 130, 145, 169, 170, 179,
182, 191, 208

Subject index

A

- ADPs (adverbial particles) 16–19
- analogy 45, 47
- anaphora 11, 12, 48, 49, 169
 - zero 11, 12, 110, 126
- apodosis 105–107
- article category 22
- aspectual markers 21
- association 45, 50, 130, 132, 181
- asymmetry 41–43, 49, 53–55, 78, 99, 104,
117, 118, 123, 125, 126, 137, 201, 207
- attention-catching 119, 121
- attitudinal commitment 107, 108, 135

B

- bare nouns 15

C

- canonical speech situation 23, 30, 48, 59,
60, 75, 93
- cataphora 50
- character (*zì*) 6
- character 36, 37
- Chinese
 - conditionals 186, 187
 - demonstrative system 4, 5, 138, 155,
170, 208
 - third-person pronoun system 12
- chronological perspective 43, 194
- classifier phrase 13–15
 - independent 13, 158
- cognitive basis of spatial language 39
- cognitive-linguistic conceptual framework
2, 53, 56, 128
- common ground 24, 194, 197
- conceptual metaphor 139

- conjunctive *na* 105, 110, 115
- content 36, 104
- contrast 3–5, 41, 73, 74, 174, 179, 206
- control 26, 42, 53, 54, 78, 99, 108, 112,
116, 122, 125, 137, 194
- current
 - interest 50
 - time 50

D

- deictic
 - center 32, 33, 38,
 - center shift 47, 48, 78, 92, 98, 137
 - force 33, 53–55, 78, 99, 116, 117, 125,
137, 173, 201, 202
 - insertion 185, 190, 193
 - realignment 190, 192, 193
 - directional motion verbs 19
 - deixis
 - discourse 45–47, 50, 88, 90–92, 98, 129,
136, 175, 207
 - displaced situational 93–95, 118, 144
 - empathetic 92, 95–98, 137, 140, 192
 - imaginative mode of 47
 - situational 45–47, 59, 119, 136, 138
 - spatial 1, 48, 52
 - textual 45, 86–88, 136
 - demonstrativeness 3, 33, 38, 69
 - discourse
 - representation 45
 - pragmatics 24, 26
 - discourse analysis approach 23
- ## E
- egocentricity 33, 34, 69, 137
 - empty words 7

- endophoric reference 49
 epistemic conditionals 187
 euphemistic *na* 112
 existential *there* 83, 122
 extension 35, 36
 extension(s)
 divergent 54, 202
 manners of 53, 78
 similar trends of 77, 136, 138, 139, 142, 180, 201
 extensional semantics 37
- F**
 fictional narrativity 84, 137
 figure-ground 41, 43, 56
 focus 42, 54, 165, 169, 170
 focus structure 8
 foregrounding 50
 formal semantic theory 35, 38
 frame of reference 9, 11, 12, 111
 free indirect
 discourse 95, 96, 137
 speech 92, 96–98
 thought 96, 110, 133, 180
 full words 7, 205
 function of language
 expressive 184, 195, 196
 indexical 11, 22
 referential 27, 34
 representational 212
 social/socio-expressive 27, 56, 84, 140, 198
 function words 16, 184, 205
 functional
 load 84, 85, 139, 142, 151, 155, 170
 role 99, 105, 139
- G**
 generic usage 78, 125
 grammatical
 particles 7
 relations 7, 8, 190
 role(s) 84–86, 99, 100, 105, 112, 137, 139, 144, 153, 154, 201
 grammaticalisation 44, 56, 108, 119, 134, 139, 183
- H**
 human cognition 30, 40, 41, 128, 134
 hypotaxis 15
- I**
 iconic relationship(s) 21, 45, 47
 illocutionary force 195, 198
 immediacy 176, 177, 179, 180
 indexicality 16–18, 22, 102, 107, 109, 122
 individual attitude 51, 56, 135, 138, 182, 193, 198
 information structure 8, 84, 122, 170
 intension 35, 36
 intentionality 24, 34, 69, 74, 197
 interface between form and function 85, 139, 166, 171, 202
 interjections 84, 115, 117, 136, 188, 207
 interjective
 here 119
 na 108, 113, 114
 there 121
 irrealis 50
- J**
 jigsaw puzzle task 23, 61, 72, 74, 75
- L**
 language
 of space 39
 typology 7, 9, 27
 linguistic
 relativity 7
 semantics 29, 38
 time 20, 21
 universal 7
- M**
 mapping 45, 47, 77, 86, 128
 conceptual 53, 56, 138
 markedness 181, 201
 mental representation 21, 24, 43, 44, 77, 85, 89, 93, 120, 165

of discourse 84, 86, 88, 91, 116, 136
 mental space 44, 45, 47, 48, 128
 metaphorical 50, 78
 extensions 1, 127
 process 128, 137, 138
 readings 196
 modality 108, 130–132, 179, 182
 epistemic 106, 131–133, 138, 199, 201
 factual 181
 non-factual 138
 suppositional 181
 mutual knowledge 197

N

narrative genre 47, 137, 171, 182, 192, 207
 new information 50, 122
 non-current time 50
 non-deictic usages 35, 122

O

ontogenesis 27, 80

P

parallel corpora 1, 2, 23, 78, 81
 parataxis 15, 177
 perceptual
 adjustment 72, 73
 boundary 42, 70–72
 configuration 70
 preference 32, 38, 49
 representation 62
 tendency/tendencies 70, 73
 perlocutionary effect 195
 philosophical semantics 29
 philosophy of language 27, 37
 physical time 20, 21
 point of view 3, 74, 84, 95, 103, 124, 125,
 160, 167
 egocentric 34, 38, 43, 69, 196
 encoded 37
 shift of 97, 176
 subjective 34, 196
 pragmatic
 marker(s) 105, 113–116, 129

strengthening 55, 56, 183–186, 188–
 190, 192–195, 197, 198
 presentative *here* 118, 119
 principle of informativeness 183
 protasis 105–107, 110, 186
 prototype
 demonstratives 4
 semantics 52

R

realis 50
 reconceptualisation
 of physical/spatial distance 49, 50, 53,
 128–130, 143, 171, 182
 temporal 178
 reconceptualised asymmetry 55
 reference
 -signalling 34, 38, 53, 74, 92, 99
 -tracking 11, 13, 34, 142, 157, 170
 reinterpretation(s)
 metaphorical 128, 171
 modality 132, 171, 179, 180, 182
 temporal 171, 179, 180
 representational
 nature of language 27, 197
 system 2, 202
 reverse preference pattern 147, 182
 role of context 2, 140, 190, 203

S

saliency 12, 40, 54, 179, 180
 self-expression 55, 84, 183, 184, 186, 190,
 191, 193, 194, 197
 semantic
 entailment 33, 34, 43, 52
 properties 2, 23, 33, 38, 41, 59, 60, 69, 74
 structure 38, 51, 53
 semantics of subjectivity 97, 202, 207
 set expressions 84, 103, 104, 111, 112, 122
 shared information 50
 SIL (*style indirect libre*) 92, 97, 195, 207
 speaker belief 183
 specificity 42, 54, 118, 160
 speech act theory 195

structural constraints 141, 142, 145, 154,
158, 161, 184, 193, 199

subject-prominent language 8

subjectivity 27, 34, 49, 53, 55, 74, 84, 97,
99, 106, 108, 112, 113, 137, 139, 193,
195–199, 202

 individualised 140, 142, 182, 183,
 190, 202, 203

 objectified 140, 182, 192, 202

 of language 2, 38

symbolic 4, 8, 45, 48

synchronic polysemy 139

T

temporal

 non-proximity 51

 proximity 51

 reference 132, 143, 172, 173, 176, 177

temporality 20, 134, 138, 196, 201

 adverbs of 21

tense system 7, 21, 22, 171, 177–179, 182,
184

textual entities 43, 45, 77, 84, 136

topic 8–12, 84, 107, 109–112, 114, 165,

169, 171

chain 11, 157

continuity 169, 170

-comment 10, 84, 107, 110, 112, 114,
165, 185, 190

frame 177

strategy 9

topicalisation 85

transfer 53, 77, 78, 86, 137, 192

truth value 34, 36

truth-conditional semantics 37, 38

typological emphasis 7, 15

typology 1, 7–9, 27, 181

U

universe-of-discourse 3, 24, 53, 77, 169

V

verbal pointing 44, 45, 86

W

word

 class 3, 5, 6, 7, 30, 115

 order 7, 8, 21, 142, 193, 206

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