

Studies in Chinese Language and Discourse

Analysing Chinese Language and Discourse across Layers and Genres

Edited by
Wei Wang

13

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Analysing Chinese Language and Discourse across Layers and Genres

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Volume 13

Analysing Chinese Language and Discourse across Layers and Genres

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University of Sydney

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List of contributors

Shuangshuang (Lillian) Chen is an Honorary Postdoctoral Research Fellow in School of Cultures, Languages and Linguistics at University of Auckland. Her PhD dissertation analyses null subjects in Chinese systematically, exploring their properties, distribution and resolution both at the sentence level and the discourse level within the framework of Centering Theory. Shuangshuang has gained some experience in Chinese teaching and curriculum development at undergraduate level at Jilin University and Massey University since 2013. Her research interests focus on Chinese linguistics, Chinese grammar pedagogy and theoretical linguistics.

Yuping Chen is an Associate Professor at China Agricultural University and her PhD is from the University of Sydney. Her teaching areas include audiovisual translation, translation theory and practice, and English academic reading and writing. Her research interests are Translation Studies, Discourse Analysis and Second Language Acquisition. She is the author of *Translating Film Subtitles into Chinese: A Multimodal Study* (2019, Springer). Her publications have appeared in *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, *Chinese Translators Journal*, *T&I Review*, *Translation & Interpreting: The International Journal of Translation and Interpreting Research* and other academic journals.

Shiyao He is a master candidate in comparative study of literature and literary translation at School of Foreign Languages, Hubei University of Technology. She has been an academic visitor at the University of Ruse, Bulgaria. Her research interests include comparative studies in literature and translation. Her most recent publications include “The Mirror Images and the Real Herself of Female Characters: A Review of the Subtexts in Mansfield’s Works” (2019, Journal of Hubei University of Technology) and “A Contrastive Study of the Chinese Translation Versions of *Faith in a Seed* from the Perspective of Eco-Translatology” (2019, Journal of Hubei University of Technology).

Lan Li works as an Associate Professor in the School of Humanities and Social Science at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shenzhen. She is the Fellow of Chartered Institute of Linguists, UK. She holds MPhil and PhD degrees in Applied Linguistics from the University of Exeter, UK. She has been teaching English and Linguistics at university level, tutoring undergraduates, postgraduates, and

professional trainees in the UK, Hong Kong and Mainland China. Her research interests and publications cover lexicology, lexicography, metaphor study, professional communication, corpus linguistics and sociolinguistics.

Linda Tsung is Associate Dean and Associate Professor in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, the University of Sydney, and a renowned expert in multilingual education and multilingualism, topics on which she has published extensively. She has worked as a language teacher educator at the University of Sydney and University of Hong Kong and has conducted over 20 years of research on multilingual education in China, especially mother-tongue education in some of the more remote areas in China. She has served as a language education consultant in China for the Save the Children Fund UK and has been a lead investigator reporting to the Hong Kong Government in the development of policies supporting South Asian minority students to access higher education in Hong Kong. Since 2009 she has been doing research on community language education in Australia and has been a member of the Multilingual Education Working Group at UNESCO.

Hoi Lun Helen Wan is a PhD candidate in the Department of Asian Languages and Cultures at the University of California, Los Angeles, specializing in Chinese/Cantonese linguistics and sociolinguistics. Her current research projects include discourse and gestural analyses of political debates in Hong Kong, as well as the “Leftover Woman” phenomenon in Hong Kong Press. She had taught at the Department of Linguistics for two years at the University of Hong Kong prior to her PhD programme. She also holds a B.A. in Linguistics from the University of Hong Kong and an M.A. from University College London.

Liansheng Wang is a Lecturer at the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics. Liansheng’s research concentrates on Chinese grammars, especially on VC structures. His recent publications are: ‘A Study on the Mechanism of VR constructions’ Lexicalization’ in *Chinese Language Learning* and ‘An analysis on subject-object displacement V Si structures’ in *Language Teaching and Linguistic Studies*.

Wei Wang is an Associate Professor and the Chair of the Department of Chinese Studies at the University of Sydney. He has published extensively in the fields of applied linguistics, sociolinguistics and translation studies, recently more on interdisciplinary studies of contemporary Chinese discourse. His recent books include: *Media representation of migrant workers in China: Identities and stances* (2017) and *Contemporary Chinese Discourse and Social Practice in China* (co-edited with Linda Tsung, 2015). His journal articles appear in *Discourse Studies*, *Applied Linguistics Review*, *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, *Journal of Chinese Language and Discourse*, *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, *Translation and Interpreting* and

other international academic journals. He has also published book chapters with Mouton, Bloomsbury, Routledge, Benjamins, the University of Michigan Press, Multilingua Matters, Wiley-Blackwell and other academic publishers.

Liang Xia holds a Ph.D. in Chinese Studies from the University of Sydney. His interdisciplinary dissertation deals with topics of Translation Studies, discourse analysis and media studies, as well as field research in a Chinese news agency – research that led to the publication of his monograph *A discourse analysis of news translation in China* (Routledge, 2019). Liang has taught translation theory and practice at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels at the University of Sydney since 2012. His principal research interests centre on translation studies, Chinese language education, journalism studies, and multimodality. His current project includes multimodal data analytics and the evaluation and interpretation of the results, with a focus on developing a toolkit for data analysis using statistical and machine learning algorithms.

Jiayan Xiao holds a Ph.D. in linguistics and applied linguistics from Zhejiang University, China. Currently she is a professor and a supervisor of postgraduates, chair of academic committee in School of Foreign Languages at Hubei University of Technology. She has been an academic visitor both in English Faculty, the University of Cambridge, and Translation Center, the University of Manchester, UK. Jiayan Xiao's research interests include literary translation studies, cognitive poetics and applied linguistics. Her most recent publications are: 'Translation and Modification: A case study of English translation of the characters' names in the Story of the Stone' (2016, FORUM), 'On the culturization of Ethnic economy in China' (2018, CLCWeb Comparative Literature and Culture), 'Time sequence and experiential conveyance: comparative study of English translation of Analects' (2016, Foreign Languages in China) and other over 10 publications in CSSCI-indexed journals in China. Her well-received book *On English Translation of Honglou Meng under Conceptual Metaphor: A Perspective of Cognitive Linguistics* was published by China Social Sciences Press in 2009. Jiayan Xiao has also been the chief editor of two volumes of textbooks for English majors published by Huazhong Normal University Press in 2011 and 2012. She is leading 6 research projects on researching translation and communication of *Honglou Meng* funded by the local government and the university she is working for.

Samantha Zhan Xu is a PhD candidate in the Department of Chinese Studies at the University of Sydney. Her current research project concentrates on the linguistic and semiotic landscape of Chinese restaurants in Sydney. She holds an MPhil degree in translation studies from the University of Sydney and has been teaching translation practice and theory since 2015.

Qing Yang holds M.A. of linguistics and applied linguistics. Currently she is a senior lecturer in School of Foreign Languages at Donghua University. She has been an academic visitor to the Translation Center, the University of Manchester, UK. Her research interests include corpus linguistics and translation study, applied linguistics. Her recent research projects concentrate on corpus-based English language teaching and learning (2017) and Flipped classroom teaching and assessment (2018, 2019).

Shuo Yu is currently a lecturer at Minzu University of China. She received her PhD in Linguistics at Lancaster University. Her research interests include cognitive linguistics, construction grammar and corpus linguistics, and have presented at quite a few international conferences on these areas. Shuo teaches Chinese grammar and Chinese character teaching at undergraduate and postgraduate levels for the major of teaching Chinese as a second language. She now also extends her research area into second language acquisition.

Lubei Zhang is currently a lecturer at Southwest Jiaotong University, one of the key universities in China. She obtained her PhD degree from Department of Chinese Studies, the University of Sydney in 2015 and spent one year as a post-doctorial fellow at University of California, Los Angeles in 2017. Dr Zhang's major research interests are in multilingual education and language policies for ethnic minorities in China. She has done much fieldwork in minority areas in southwest China with Tibetan and Yi students. As a principal researcher, she participated in the Chinese national social science foundation project "A comparative study of Semantic representation of the mental lexicon of Tibetan-Chinese bilingual and Tibetan-Chinese-English Trilingual based on SOA and ERP". Her publications include *Bilingual Education and Minority Language Maintenance* (Springer 2019), Tibetan bilingual education in Qinghai: government policy vs family language practice (*International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 2019).

Xia Zhang, Bai nationality, a professor level translation reviewer in Yunnan Provincial Minority Language Guidance Committee, is awarded the title of Expert with Outstanding Contributions in Yunnan Province. She has long been engaged in the studies of minority languages and cultures, especially Bai language and culture. Based on the theories and practice of bilingual (trilingual) education for minorities and the development of ethnic minority communities, she commits herself to the work of translation of Bai, Chinese and English languages and the foreign exchanges and cooperation of minority languages and cultures. Her publications include *The study of Bai dialect*, *Bai course*, *Pre-school Bai textbook*, *Teaching plan of Minority language-Chinese bilingual education*, *The practice, characteristics and laws of Bai Chinese work*, *Bai-Han Bilingual Education and its textbook Construction*, *How to*

correctly grasp the phonetics similar to Hanyu Pinyin and etc. Her research projects include a Yunnan Provincial Social Science Project: “Research on the current situation and countermeasures of the construction of spoken and written documents of endangered ethnic minorities in Yunnan”, an Educational Bureau Project: “Investigation of Yunnan minority spoken and written language”, “Language protection project of Bai” and etc.

Dongyi Zhu is a lecturer at Shaanxi Normal University. She received a Ph.D. in Foreign Languages and Literatures at Tsinghua University, Beijing. Her doctoral dissertation deals with topics of Chinese conversational narrative markers, semantic default in reference and semantic-pragmatic interface of discourse markers. Dongyi has taught foreign linguistics and modern English lexicology at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels for English majors at Shaanxi Normal University. Her principal research interests center on conversational narratives and discourse analysis. Her current project includes an interfacial semantic-pragmatic-cognitive study of conversational narrative markers, from both English and Chinese corpus.

Researching the Chinese language and discourse

Past and present

Wei Wang

The University of Sydney

Researching the Chinese language and discourse has been an academic endeavour for generations of scholars in China and beyond for thousands of years. Approximately in the 5th century BCE, China began its own grammatical tradition with philosophical discussions on the nature of names by the great philosopher Confucius (551–479 BCE). In his *Analects* (论语), Confucius highlighted the great importance of calling everything by their correct names, which was known as “recognition of names” (正名). In view of the significance of naming, he advised that the abuse of names would lead to disastrous consequences. In the Han Dynasty (around 3rd century BCE), this tradition was developed into Chinese philology, *Xiaoxue* (小学 “elementary studies”), serving as an aid to understanding classics. *Xiaoxue* came to be divided into three branches: *Xungu* (训诂 “exegesis”), *Wenzi* (文字 “script [analysis]”) and *Yinyun* (音韵 “[study of] sounds”) and reached its golden age in the 17th century CE (Qing Dynasty) (Wang and Sun 2015).

In 1898, Ma Jianzhong published *Mashi Wentong* (馬氏文通), the first textbook of modern Chinese grammar written by a Chinese, which was based on the Latin prescriptive model of morphology and syntax. This grammar book started a new era of Chinese linguistics that draws on various Western-originated linguistic theories to explore the Chinese language and discourse. Since then, Chinese linguists have closely followed the developments of modern linguistics and have involved in analysis of Chinese language forms, language meanings and language use in context.

From 1980 onwards, a variety of pragmatic, functional and cognitive approaches to language and discourse studies have steadily gained ground in Chinese linguistic research. This development, coinciding with the rapid and impressive economic success in China in the past four decades, has brought out an enormous amount of research on the Chinese language. Thus, the Chinese language and discourse have been scrutinized with a diverse range of linguistic research methods

in unprecedented scopes and depths. The research on the Chinese language has developed beyond the traditional fields of phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, dialectology, and has extended into areas of pragmatics, discourse analysis, stylistics, sociolinguistics, language and communication, historical linguistics, language acquisition, language pedagogy, corpus linguistics, bilingualism and many more. These newly developed research paradigms and approaches, together with the rapid progress in science and technology, have given rise to the great advances of Chinese language and discourse research.

The most noticeable breakthroughs in the Chinese language and discourse research in the past 40 years can be roughly subsumed into the quantitative and qualitative research paradigms. In quantitative research, thanks to the development of computer science and corpus linguistics, many Chinese language corpora have been created in China and other countries in the world. Corpus-based studies have been carried out on a grand scale to address research questions at different levels of linguistic analysis, including phonemic, lexical, syntactic, discourse, and semantic levels. Corpus analysis now becomes a common tool for linguists to identify usage patterns in large-scale corpora and explicate usage patterns in natural occurring languages. Corpus analysis also forms the base of theoretical exploration in functionally and cognitively oriented research (Jing-Schmidt 2013). In addition, due to the development of computer science, large scale surveys have been taken seriously as an important point of reference in linguistic research. Various analytical techniques and statistic tools have been made available for data collection and analysis in linguistic research. Quantitative linguistic research has provided insights in exploration of language learning, language change, as well as structure of natural languages (Yu and Wang 2018).

In qualitative research, linguists working on the Chinese language have gone beyond the analysis of forms and meanings of words and the sentence structure of the language. Among many other research directions, scholars explore the relationship between language and the context in which it occurs. The areas of research have been expanded from analysis of language *per se* to investigate the pragmatic, functional and sociocultural aspects of the language and the language in use. These fields are often called discourse analysis. This includes the study of how the interpretation of language depends on knowledge of the world, how speakers understand the meaning of utterances, and how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants of the communicative events. Discourse analysis can also look at larger units of texts such as conversational and textual organizational patterns that are typical of particular uses of language, or genres. It also looks at the way in which language constructs different views of the world and different understandings (Tsung and Wang 2015).

This book is an edited collection of papers examining contemporary Chinese language and discourse across a spectrum of linguistic layers and genres in diverse social contexts. It brings together established and junior scholars worldwide, who are working on exploring contemporary Chinese language and discourse. Most of the contributions in this volume originates as panel presentations at the 5th International Symposium on Chinese Language and Discourse, hosted by the University of Sydney in 2018. Additional papers have been included to reflect the latest development of the field of Chinese language and discourse studies. The contributions cover topics so diverse that they can hardly be categorised under an overarching theme. But the empirical orientations and overlapping interests in some subfields in language and discourse studies connect some chapters more strongly than others.

This volume examines the Chinese language and discourse with a view to making the following contributions to contemporary China studies. First, it will move studies of contemporary Chinese language and discourse from the usual focus on language *per se*, or language use in reaction to the immediate settings, to more macro-settings in relation to socio-cultural transformation in China. It does this by exploring in more depth the interdependence between language use and sociocultural contexts. Second, this volume draws on a range of linguistic approaches and methodologies, including functional linguistics, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics and different approaches to discourse analysis for examination of different *layers* of language (i.e. from lexical items and sentence structures to discourse features and discursive practices) across different *genres* of texts. This volume showcases some updated and exemplary research projects that explore connections between properties of texts and social processes and relations (ideologies, stancetaking, power relations, etc.). Thus, while taking linguistic analysis as the primary methodology, the book sets out to make visible, through textual analysis and discursive analysis including questionnaire surveys, fieldwork observations and interviews, connections between properties of texts and social practices. These connections are generally not apparent to the people who produce and interpret those texts. This book, then, takes us beyond the level of description to a deeper understanding of texts and provides some explanations on how a text is constituted and what it is aiming to do.

Structure of the book

Apart from the first introductory chapter, the remaining 11 chapters in this edited volume can be roughly separated into three sections, addressing three areas in contemporary Chinese language and discourse studies.

1. Chapters 2–6 are mainly Chinese language studies that examine some specific linguistic features such as null subjects in Chinese discourse, narrative markers, isomorphism polysemy of *v kai* and *ba* structures;
2. Chapters 7–9 are Chinese discourse studies that examine the Chinese discourse and the discursive practices in diverse sociocultural settings, such as understanding stancetaking in Hong Kong political debate and examining media representation of *Pinkunsheng* (i.e. low-income college students) in China;
3. Chapters 10–12 are three Chinese translation studies that investigate a range of topics in Chinese translation, including power relations in media translation, the issues of untranslatability and the re-narration in literary translation.

The first section ‘Chinese language studies’ (Chapters 2–6)

This section examines some specific linguistic features and structures in the Chinese language by drawing on corpus linguistics and other linguistic theories. In Chapter 2 (The distribution of null subjects in Chinese discourse: A centering approach), Chen Shuangshuang describes Chinese as a null subject language, in that the subject of a clause can be unexpressed (covert). While a large amount of previous literature has focused on null subjects in isolated sentences, this chapter employs the Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese to explore the null subjects in Chinese written narrative discourse within the framework of the Centering Theory. She examines the distribution of null subjects and their antecedents to analyse the properties of null subjects, especially the relation between the function of null subjects and centering transitions. She verifies the hypothesis that the use of null subjects strongly relates to the CONTINUE transition. Specifically, 96.48% are referential null subjects. It is also found that null subjects can occur in other transition types, particularly in SMOOTH transitions (52.59%). The difference is that null subjects in CONTINUE transitions are overwhelmingly referential null subjects (96.48%), while they are non-referential null subjects (60.66%) in SMOOTH transitions.

In Chapter 3 (Conversational narrative marker: Identification and modification), Zhu Dongyi presents a corpus-based analysis of the pragmatic identification and functional modification of the Chinese conversational narrative marker (henceforth CNM), “*ranhou*”. Adopting a three-dimensional construct from interfacial pragmatic-semantic-cognitive views of CNM, this chapter proposes that a CNM is a linking device establishing the narrator’s subjective attitude to introduce his/her narrative intent. This chapter has extracted “*ranhou*” from the author’s self-constructed Chinese conversational narratives corpus, which comprises 15 pieces of casual talks by 38 adult native speakers of Chinese. This chapter finds that (1) semantically, CNM holds the cohesion-oriented function for introducing

referential default and semantic default; (2) pragmatically, CNM dominates the interactivity between the discourse sequentiality and contextual inference demonstrating the economy of language and salience of semantic representation; (3) cognitively, the intentional cognitive cooperation between the narrator and the listener have been revealed by CNM.

In Chapter 4 (Windows of attention and the polysemy of *V-kai* 开), Wang Liansheng analyses the polysemy of the structure of *V-kai* based on windows of attention and finds that it has three different meanings, including result, result and direction, condition, which respectively include some different subordinate meanings, as the consequences of different patterns of path windowing. Concretely, *result* is the consequence of final path windowing. *Result and direction* are the consequence of medial and final path windowing. *Condition* is the consequence of initial and final windowing. Making use of mechanism of analogy, metaphor and metonymy, the structure of *V-kai* produces some different subordinate meanings. Because of economy principle of language, it is necessary for the language construction to change from one to one between form and meaning to one to more, leading to the increase of semantic capacity.

In Chapter 5 (The acceptability of *ba* 把+ subject-oriented resultatives in Mandarin Chinese), Yu Shuo examines the combination of *ba* 把+ subject-oriented resultative constructions in Mandarin Chinese, which is not always well accepted by native speakers. To examine the acceptability of 把 *ba* + subject-oriented resultatives in Chinese, based on examples in the corpora, a questionnaire survey among 71 Chinese college students was carried out with the technique of magnitude estimation, which could detect small differences in acceptability. The results suggest that the acceptability of 把 *ba* + subject-oriented resultative depends on the degree of transitivity of the sentence. In general, patterns with the interpretation of the subject making efforts to achieve something thoroughly are acceptable. The proposed cognitive explanation is that a high degree of transitivity expressed by the sentence is compatible with the function of 把 *ba* as a marker of high transitivity.

In Chapter 6 (Gender representation in Chinese language), Li Lan analyses the gender representation as one of the major differences between Chinese and Romanised languages. The Chinese language does not have inflexions in nouns, adjectives and verbs when the subject is a female. Instead, a semantic stem or the radical woman 女 (*nü*) is used in a number of characters to directly indicate femininity. This chapter takes a lexicographic and corpus approach to explore gender representations in Chinese and discusses their forms, meanings and usages. The word change of this group was also investigated. First, characters with the radical woman were discussed and classified into different semantic fields to investigate how they represent women and reflect social ideologies. Second, their representations in a classic Chinese dictionary is compared with a modern dictionary. Third,

the use of the words was checked in a mega-corpus of 287 million Chinese characters to obtain frequencies and contexts of in which woman words are used. It is found that more than 70% of the characters with the radical woman 女 (nǚ) listed in ancient Chinese dictionaries have vanished in modern society probably due to language evolution and social cultural changes such as a shift in attitudes towards women. A few characters changed their woman semantic element to a gender-neutral one. This chapter reveals that gender representation in Chinese is also reflected in Chinese idioms, the word order of male-before-female and a gendered third person pronoun. Understanding these forms can provide insights into Chinese culture and raise awareness of shifting trends within the language.

The second section ‘Chinese discourse studies’ (Chapters 7–9)

This section goes beyond the analysis of specific language features and explores the discursual features and discursive practices happened in different social contexts. In Chapter 7 (Understanding stancetaking through gestures and linguistic practices in a public political debate in Hong Kong), Helen Wan explores the political discourses in Hong Kong with the combination of discourse analysis using the Stance Triangle (Du Bois 2007) and gesture-unit analysis (Kendon 2004) to study how verbal and non-verbal activities are being strategically organized to project both affective and epistemic stances in Hong Kong political debates. This chapter examines the 2016 Hong Kong Legislative Council electoral debate and focuses specifically on an elected incumbent, Alvin Yeung, who was one of the candidates representing the Civic Party, a pan-democracy party, and investigates how he and his opponents strategically deployed linguistic forms, utterance final particles in particular, and gestures to achieve the expressive and communicative purposes in the political debates where they can not only elucidate their policy agenda but also defeat the opponents and win the votes from the public.

In Chapter 8 (Representations of *Pinkunsheng* (贫困生) in China’s university media), Chen Yuping examines the representations of *Pinkunsheng* (i.e. low-income college students) in China through examining campus newspapers (*Xiaobao*), a major print medium in China’s universities. Given that the admission rate of *Pinkunsheng* in agricultural, forestry and normal universities is relatively higher than other universities, three *Xiaobao* (i.e. 中国农大校报 (Xiaobao of China Agricultural University), 南京林业大学报 (Xiaobao of Nanjing Forestry University) and 北京师范大学校报 (Xiaobao of Beijing Normal University)) were identified as data sources. Drawing on the theory of identity centrality (Rosenberg 1979), sociocultural linguistic approach to identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, 2005, 2008), and text types (Derewianka 1991), this chapter finds that different relations

of identity in terms of sociocultural linguistic approach are employed in diverse types of text to represent disparate identity dimensions of *Pinkunsheng*, with information reports highlighting their powerlessness in economy and self-contempt in psychology, and recounts and narratives foregrounding their highly motivated and goal-oriented in psychology strength and academic endeavour. This chapter sets out to contribute to current research on the media representations of *Pinkunsheng* in China, and thereby to provide insights into the discourses of low-income college students in contemporary China.

In Chapter 9 (Language resources of Yunnan in “the Belt and Road” project), Linda Tsung, Zhang Xia and Zhang Lubei examine the language resources in Yunnan Province, China. Located in the southwest border of China, Yunnan is a thoroughfare in the ancient southern Silk Road. It is an important province in the construction of “Belt and Road Initiative”. To promote the joint construction of “Belt and Road Initiative”, it is essential to build up efficient communication between people from different ethnic groups and across country borders. As a multi-ethnic and multilingual province, Yunnan has very rich resources in the minority languages. Among the 25 ethnic minority groups, 22 groups speak 26 languages, belonging to the Tibetan-Burmese, Zhuang-Dong, Miao Yao and Meng Khmer language branches of the two major language families of Sino-Tibetan and Austro-Asiatic. The 16 cross-border ethnic groups are mainly distributed outside in Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and other countries bordering China. The languages and characters of these cross-border ethnic groups have become important language resources in Yunnan in the construction of “Belt and Road Initiative”. How to fully develop and make full use of these languages to meet the language needs of ethnic groups in these countries along the route and to achieve cooperation and win-win results under the framework of equal language and cultural identity is an urgent problem to be studied and solved by the Chinese government. This chapter makes an in-depth analysis of the current language policy in Yunnan and its efforts in the protection of cross-border language resources, in the hope of providing some ideas for the scientific protection and utilization of cross-border language resources.

The third section ‘Chinese translation studies’ (Chapters 10–12)

This section explores the applications of discourse analysis in Chinese translation studies. In Chapter 10 (Impact of power relations on news translation in China: A critical discourse analysis perspective), Xia Liang examines the translation practice of news in *Cankao Xiaoxi* (参考消息), the most read Chinese daily run by the Chinese government that collects various news or information from international media, translates and reprints them in Chinese. Global news transmission relies on

language and particularly on the services of translation. Decision making exists in every step of the translation process, for instance, from the text selection to the discursive expression, and from information transference to culture communication. This chapter draws on fieldwork observations and interviews along with textual analysis to explore various powers that underline text manipulation in this state news agency and explores the impact of power relations on both the process and the product of news translation. Combining an ethnographic approach with a critical discourse analysis of news translation, this chapter investigates the institutional contexts and human agencies involved in the news making process, which lead to the manipulation of the news production. This chapter reveals that various powers determine how to shape the already shaped news via translating and that network of power relations underlying news translation in China is hierarchical. This hierarchy of power relations affords both macro and micro-analytical perspectives on the realisation of manipulation in news translation in China.

In Chapter 11 (Translating puns in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*: A relevance-theoretic approach to (un)translatability), Samantha Xu takes a pragmatic perspective and draws upon a relevance-theoretic approach to examine how the issue of (un)translatability is addressed in English to Chinese translation, based on three Chinese translations of the English classic *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* taken from three significant periods in China's contemporary literary and socio-economic history. Pun emerges in the novel, which had been renowned for its "impossibility" to be translated, as the most outstanding type of (un)translatability. A successful translation under the relevance-theoretic framework, which views translation as a communicative act, calls for an interpretive resemblance between ST and TT rather than equivalence (Gutt 1991, 2014; Sperber and Wilson 1986). This chapter takes the translation of puns in *Alice in Wonderland*, for a case study, and employs Delabastita's (1996) typology of puns and translation methods to analyse and contrast the three translators' strategies. By assessing the degree of relevance achieved in three translations, to what extent the new relevance relates to the original one, this chapter highlights the translator's great individuality in tackling (un)translatability, from their interpretations of the source to assumption-making in producing a Chinese translation. The socio-cultural environments and the translators' own subjectivity are found to be major contributive factors in the translating process.

In the last Chapter 12 (Translation and re-narration of *Nainai*: The personal deixis in the English translations of *Honglou Meng* (红楼梦)), Xiao Jiayan, Yang Qing and He Shiyao present a case study that probes into the distinctions between English translations of *Honglou Meng* (both selected and completed versions) by either English native translators or Chinese translators. It is argued that the translators' diverse cultural stances subconsciously or consciously resulted in different

narrative perspectives and utterances in the translation by David Hawkes, the Yangs, Joly and Bonsall. This chapter aims to sort out what aspects of Chinese culture the translators have retained or intended to consolidate. It also evaluates whether the translation(s) have strengthened positive representation of the traditional Chinese culture. Based on a pragmatic study of the social and personal deictic *Nainai* as appellation in the discourse of Chapter 27 of *Honglou Meng*, this chapter discusses the reliable and unreliable narration of interpersonal relationship, social status and modification. It emphasizes that the cultural stance adopted by the translators can be the key factor in the wording, and, consequently, in re-narrating the interpersonal relationship and their social status.

In sum, this collection of papers makes a valuable contribution to the Chinese language and discourse research by drawing on a diverse range of perspectives and research methods. It will provide the Chinese language researchers and educators with a sound reference for the contemporary empirical and theoretical research pertaining to the Chinese language and discourse. This book will attract the attention of students, academics and professionals working in the fields of Chinese linguistic studies, discourse studies, translation studies, and cultural studies.

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The distribution of null subjects in Chinese discourse

A centering approach

Shuangshuang (Lillian) Chen

The University of Auckland

Chinese is described as a null subject language, in that the subject of a clause can be unexpressed (covert). While a large amount of previous literature has focused on null subjects in isolated sentences, this study is concerned with null subjects in Chinese written narrative discourse within the framework of the Centering Theory. I examined the distribution of null subjects and their antecedents to explore the properties of null subjects, especially the relation between the function of null subjects and centering transitions. My hypothesis that the use of null subjects strongly relates to the CONTINUE transition is basically supported. Specifically, 96.48% are referential null subjects. Besides, I found that null subjects can also occur in other transition types, particularly in SMOOTH transitions (52.59%). The difference is that null subjects in CONTINUE transitions are overwhelmingly referential null subjects (96.48%), while they are non-referential null subjects (60.66%) in SMOOTH transitions.

Keywords: null subject 空主语, distribution 分布, Centering Theory 向心理论, Chinese discourse 汉语语篇

Introduction

Chinese is described as a null subject language, in that the subject of a clause can be unexpressed (covert) (e.g., Jaeggli & Safir 1989; D’Alessandro 2015; Y. Huang 2000, 2015; etc.).¹ Following Barbosa (2011), I use the term “null subject” (hereafter referred to as NS) to describe the phonetically null, though syntactically present element. This definition is based on the Extended Projection Principle (henceforth,

1. The term “Chinese” in this study refers to Modern Standard Chinese (Mandarin Chinese), i.e., “Putonghua.”

EPP),² which assumes that all clauses must have a structural subject (Chomsky 1981: 38; 1982: 10). Given that the understanding of null subjects is built on the definition of subject, and the annotation of subjects in my corpus also requires a clear identification rule to ensure accuracy, I need to clarify the definition of a subject in Chinese first. It is widely accepted that both syntactic criteria and semantic criteria should play a part in defining a subject in Chinese (see Wang, 1956; Lü, 1979; Zhu, 1982; Gao, 1986 among many others). I basically agree with this view but with a slight modification, the subject in Chinese is described as a NP or nominalised phrase which typically occurs immediately before the predicate, and it has to be one of the obligatory arguments of a predicate; it cannot be an optional argument unless the obligatory argument is fulfilled by another grammatical function.

While a large amount of previous literature has focused on NSs in isolated sentences (C. T. J. Huang 1984, 1989; Y. Huang 1994, 2000; etc.), this study is concerned with NSs in Chinese written narrative discourse within the framework of Centering Theory (Grosz, Joshi and Weinstein 1986, 1995; henceforth GJW). Centering Theory is proposed to model the local component of attentional state and to examine interactions between local coherence and choice of referring expressions within a discourse segment (GJW 1995). Although CT has been employed in Chinese before (Yeh and Chen 2001, 2003, 2007; Wang 2004, 2011; Duan 2006; etc.), their focuses are usually on the (zero) anaphora resolution rather than on the properties of zero anaphor particularly in the subject position (one type of referential NS). In other words, what role does NS play in discourse coherence? In addition, it is not clear what factors determine the generation of NSs within the CT framework. This paper aims to fill these gaps by particularly examining the distribution of NSs and their antecedents in Chinese written narratives, emphasizing the distribution of NSs in terms of centering transition types to explore properties of NSs as well as the relation between the discourse function of NSs and centering transitions. Besides, I will also investigate how the grammatical function of their antecedents and clause type (main vs. subordinate) influence the choice of NS. Five

2. EPP was first formulated by Chomsky (1981). Since then, there has been a long-running dispute as to whether Chinese is an EPP-language. There are different opinions, with some, such as Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) and Fu (2008), holding the view that EPP cannot apply to Chinese; some others, such as Lin (2011) and Li (2014), argue that EPP effects exist in Chinese. Furthermore, Lin (2011) claims that the EPP in Chinese could be satisfied by a phonetically empty element such as a phonetically empty subject, since one of the functions of the EPP is to provide an edge position for semantic/pragmatic purposes (e.g., thematization; see Chomsky, 2005; Miyagawa, 2005). In addition, Li's (2014) study has shown that EPP effects exist respectively in the LvP-, TP- and CP-domain in Chinese. I agree with the second view, but discussing this issue is beyond my study; a detailed discussion can be found in Li (2014).

press editorials were collected from the Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese (henceforth, LCMC) to build my own corpus. I hypothesize that the use of NSs strongly relates to the CONTINUE transition. This appears to be a cross-linguistic phenomenon (see Di Eugenio 1998; Iida 1998). I am particularly interested in the question of whether there is a difference between the transition types signaling NSs and those signaling the overt forms.

The organization of the article is as follows. Section 2 introduces the typology of NSs in Chinese. Section 3 provides a brief overview of Centering Theory. Section 4 gives specifications of centering parameters in Chinese. In section 5, the corpus and method of the present study are introduced. Section 6 presents the results and detailed analysis, including the distribution of NSs and their antecedents. Finally, general conclusions can be found in section 7.

The typology of null subjects in Chinese

In this study, by following Y. Huang's (2000) typology of NSs on a cross-linguistic view and Lü's (1979, 1986), Rong's (1989), Shao's (1991) and Chen's (2009) classifications particularly in Chinese, I use three criteria to categorize NSs in Chinese, namely, [referential] [argumental] [lexicalized] (henceforth, [R], [θ], [L]). Firstly, I combine anaphor with pronominal for referential property. Secondly, the argumental feature here means it should be an obligatory argument of the predicate. Thirdly, the lexicalized feature implies that if the NS can be lexicalized, it must retain the original sentence meaning. Based on these criteria, I divide NSs into two major types according to the type of reference that they constitute, i.e., referential NSs and non-referential NSs.

Referential null subject

Referential NSs are coreferential with nominal entities in the discourse, and have two subtypes, i.e., anaphoric NSs and cataphoric NSs. Anaphoric NSs pick out their references from previous expressions (Levinson 1983), while cataphoric NSs find their antecedents from the following context.

Anaphoric null subject

There are two cases of this type; one case is that the content of NSs can be recovered without changing the meaning of the clauses/sentences. It is described as an anaphoric NS, and I assume that it is the default case of referential NSs. It can be written as: ([+R], [+ θ], [+L]), for example:

(1) Anaphoric NS

- a. 海部_i于10天前 大选 结束 就 确定 了 下届
haibu yu shitian qian daxuan jieshu jiu queding le xiajie
 Kabu at ten days before campaign finish then confirm PFV next
 内阁 的 首相 地位,
neige de shouxiang diwei
 cabinet MM prime minister status
 “By rights, Kabu confirmed the status of prime minister in the next cabinet
 at the end of the campaign ten days ago,”
- b. 新 内阁 班底 [SBJØ_i] 早 应 拟就,
xin neige bandi [SBJØ_i] zao ying nijiu
 new cabinet team [SBJØ_i] early should draft
 “The new cabinet should have been drafted,” (LCMC B05 <s n=“0036”>³)

As can be seen in (2), the NS in (b) is a referential NS, which refers to 海部 *Haibu* “Kabu”, the obligatory argument (also a pro-agent argument) of the verb 拟就 *nijiu* “draft”. In contrast, the noun 新内阁班底 *xin neige bandi* “new cabinet” is ranked behind the noun 海部 *Haibu* “Kabu” in the hierarchy of semantic roles (see Chen 2019: 28) since it is the pro-patient argument of the verb.

Obligatorily anaphoric null subject

Another case is that NSs can find their antecedents, but their content cannot be lexicalized; otherwise the clause will be illegal or will change its meaning. In other words, it needs to be obligatorily null. I call it an obligatorily anaphoric NS, which is distinguished from the default case. It normally occurs in several special constructions such as serial verb constructions, pivotal constructions, verb copying constructions and V-得 *de* constructions. Its absence is constrained by syntactic factors, so I will neglect them when computing transition types. It can be written as: ([+R], [+θ], [-L]), for example:

(2) Obligatorily anaphoric NS

-, 美国 要求 日本_I ([SBJØ_i] 开放 大米 市场);
-, *meiguo yaoqiu riben [SBJØ_i] kaifang dami shichang*
 America require Japan [SBJØ_i] open rice market
 “America requires Japan to open its rice market” (LCMC B01, <s n=“0062”>)

The NSs in the above example can find their antecedents but cannot be lexicalized; otherwise the above clauses are ungrammatical. In other words, this type of NS is semantically presented while being syntactically absent.

3. In the examples hereafter, (1) LCMC is the abbreviation of The Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin in Chinese, (2) B refers to category (genre) B (press editorials) of LCMC, (3) ‘s n’ is the abbreviation of ‘sentence’, (4) the Arabic numerals means the sequence of sentence in a text.

Cataphoric null subject

Based on the three criteria, cataphoric NSs can be further divided into two subtypes: cataphoric NS1 that can be lexicalized (i.e., [+R], [+θ], [+L]), and cataphoric NS2 which cannot be lexicalized (i.e., [+R], [+θ], [-L]). Cataphoric NS2 normally occurs in a relative clause, and its antecedent is the NP that it modifies. See the following examples:

(3) Cataphoric NS 1

- (a) [SBJØ_i] 从 赵一 家里 回来,
 (a) [SBJØ_i] cong zhaoyi jia li hui lai
 (a) [SBJØ_i] from Zhao Yi home come back
 (b) 彭玉泽_i 不停 地 哭,.....
 (b) pengyvze buting de ku
 (b) Peng Yvze continue AM cry

“Peng Yvze has continued to cry since she came back from Zhao Yi’s home,...”
 (LCMC K04, <s n=“0002”>)

(4) Cataphoric NS 2

- ([SBJØ_i] 正在 中东 访问) 的 美国 国务卿 贝克_i
 [SBJØ_i] zhengzai zhongdong fangwen de meiguoguowuqing beike
 [SBJØ_i] PROG the middle East visit NOM US secretary Baker
 甚至 准备 在 耶路撒冷 会见 巴基斯坦 代表。
 shenzhi zhunbei zai yelusaleng Huijian bajisitan daibiao
 even prepare in Jerusalem meet Pakistan eprentative

“US Secretary of State Baker, who is currently visiting the Middle East, is even preparing to meet with Pakistani representatives in Jerusalem.”

(LCMC B03, <s n=“0023”>)

Non-referential null subject

In contrast, a non-referential NS cannot find the specific antecedent in context, i.e., it shows the feature [-R]. Based on the two features [θ] and [L], and following Converse’s (2006) classification of zero anaphors, I can have four subtypes of non-referential NSs, namely deictic NS, inferable NS, arbitrary NS, and existential NS (expletive null subject).⁴ They can be written as ([-R], [+θ], [+L]), ([-R], [+θ], [+L]), ([-R], [+θ], [+L]), ([-R], [-θ], and [-L]) respectively. I will explain them one by one along with examples.

4. According to Y. Huang (2000: 51), non-referential non-argumental null subjects, i.e., expletive null subjects, are commonly found in existential constructions in languages like Italian and German (Platzack 1996); I assume this is the case in Chinese, but I prefer to use the term “existential null subject” in order to denote the special sentence pattern.

Deictic null subject

Deictic NS is used to describe NS which refers to events, propositions or situations in the preceding utterance. Syntactically, the antecedent for a discourse deictic null subject is generally a whole phrase or a whole utterance. In general, it can be represented by a demonstrative pronoun, like 这 *zhe* “this.” It can be written as: ([-R], [+θ], [+L]), for example:

(5) Deictic NS

(a) 海部 首相 一旦 失误，

(a) *Haibu shouxiang yidan shiwu,*

(a) Haibu prime minister once fail,

(b) [SB]Ø_{dd} 就 将 加速 日本 政局 的 动荡，.....(b) [SB]Ø_{dd} *jiu jiang jiasu riben zhengju de dongdang...*(b) [SB]Ø_{dd} then will accelerate Japan politics MM turmoil

“Once the prime minister Haibu makes a mistake, this will accelerate the turmoil in Japan’s political situation.” (LCMC, B01, <s n=“0066”>)

Inferable null subject

An inferable NS does not have an explicit (coreferential) antecedent in the discourse, but it can be inferred via logical or plausible-reasoning, from some other information that has already been given in the discourse (Prince 1981: 236) or from world knowledge about the context. It can be written as: ([-R], [+θ], [+L]), noticing that although this pattern looks the same as a deictic NS, they are different in that a deictic NS can be lexicalized as a demonstrative pronoun, i.e., a certain word, whereas the content of an inferred NS varies from context to context. For example:

(6) Inferable NS

a. 今年 前 十个月 厦门市 国有企业

Jinnian qian shi ge yue xiamenshi guoyouqiye

This year previous 10 CL month Xiamen city state-owned

出口 十六点三七 亿 美元，

chukou shiliudiansanqi yi meiyuan,

enterprises export 16.37 100 million US dollar

“In the previous ten months of this year, Xiamen’s state-owned enterprises exported 1.637 billion US\$,”

b. [SB]Ø_{infer} 增长 百分之 二十三 点 六，[SB]Ø_{infer} *Zengzhang baifen zhi ershisan dian liu,*[SB]Ø_{infer} increase 23.6%

“increasing by 23.6 percent...”

(Converse 2006: 49)

In the above example, the NS in (7b) should refer to 出口额 *chukou e* “amount of exports,” which cannot be found in the context, but it can be inferred from the given information in (7a).

Arbitrary null subject

An arbitrary NS does not refer to a single, specific entity that occurs in the text, nor can it be inferred from some other given information. In these instances, a NS could in fact be anyone, or people in general, and it could be replaced by an overt, generic expression, such as 某人 *mouren* “someone” or 我们 *women* “we.” It can be written as: ([-R], [+θ], [-L]), for example:

(7) Arbitrary NS

- a. [SB]Ø_{arb} 不能 认为 只有 贫弱 的 南方 才 依赖 北方，
 [SB]Ø_{arb} *bueneng renwei zhiyou pinruo de nanfang cai yilai beifang*,
 [SB]Ø_{arb} cannot think only weak MM south just rely north,
 “(We) cannot think that only the weak South relies on the North,”
- b. 而 北方 就 不 依赖 南方。
er beifang jiu bu yilai nanfang.
 but north then NEG rely south
 “while the North does not rely on the South.”

(LCMC, B01, <s n=“0018”>)

The NS in (8) should refer to 我们 *women* “we,” which can be inferred from the reader’s shared knowledge.

Existential null subject

An existential subject occurs before the existential verbs such as 有 *you* “to have” or the negative existential verbs such as 没有 *meiyou* “not have” or 无 *wu* “without” and 存在 *cunzai* “to exist.” It can be translated as the English existential “there are/is,” which does not refer to any particular entity. This position is normally empty in an existential sentence, and can be written as: ([-R], [-θ], [-L]); see the following example:

(8) Existential NS

- a. 今年 各 条 战线 改革 和 发展
jinnian ge tiao zhanxian gaige he fazhan
 this year each battlefront reform and develop
 的 任务 都 十分 繁重，
de renwu dou shifen fanzhong,
 MM task all very arduous,
 “The tasks of reform and development on all fronts this year are very arduous,”

- b. [SB]Ø_{ext}] 有 许多 深层次 的 矛盾
 [SB]Ø_{ext}] you xuduo shencengci de maodun
 [SB]Ø_{ext}] have many in-depth MM contradiction
 和 问题 有待 克服 和 解决’
 he wenti youdai kefu he jiejuè,
 and problem remain overcome and solve.....
 “there are many deep flaws and problems which need to be overcome and solved.”
 (LCMC, B03, <s n=“0040”>)

To sum up, there are seven types of NSs with the three-way classification. I will annotate my own corpus with these types and demonstrate their distributions later. These types are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. The classification of null subjects in Chinese

| Type | | Feature | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------|-----|--|
| | | [R] | [θ] | [L] |
| Referential NS | Anaphoric NS (ANS) | + | + | + |
| | Cataphoric NS1 | | | |
| | Obligatory ANS | + | + | - |
| | Cataphoric NS2 | | | |
| Non-referential NS | Deictic NS | - | + | + |
| | | | | <i>*demonstrative pronoun 这 zhe ‘this’</i> |
| | Inferable NS | - | + | + |
| | Arbitrary NS | - | + | - |
| | Existential NS | - | - | - |

Overview of centering theory

In this section, I will give a brief introduction concerning the key terms of the Centering Theory. The overview is based on two central detailed works on CT: GJW (1995) and Walker et al. (1998). The Centering Theory models the local component of attentional state and examines interactions between local coherence and choice of referring expressions within a discourse segment (GJW 1995: 204).

Centers

The terminology “centers” is adopted to define the entities linking that utterance to other utterances in the discourse segment that contains it. Therefore, centers are discourse constructs, i.e., semantic objects, rather than words, phrases, or syntactic forms (GJW 1995: 208). There are three types of centers in a discourse segment (DS): forward-looking, backward-looking and preferred centers (GJW 1995; Walker et al. 1998).

(9) Three types of centers

- (9.1) The set of **forward-looking centers (hereafter referred to as C_f)** in each utterance, $C_f(U_n)$ represents discourse entities evoked by an utterance U_n in a DS; the elements in $C_f(U_n)$ are ranked according to discourse salience.
- (9.2) The **backward-looking center (hereafter referred to as C_b)** is a special member of C_f ; $C_b(U_n)$ represents the most centrally concerned discourse entity in the utterance U_n which links it to the previous utterance U_{n-1} .
- (9.3) The **preferred center (hereafter referred to as C_p)** is the highest-ranked member of the set of C_f and presents a predication about the C_b of the following utterance.

As mentioned in (9.1), the ranking of C_f depends on discourse salience, which can be affected by a number of factors such as grammatical role, surface position, and thematic role, etc., among which GJW (1995) think that grammatical role is a major determinant of the C_b . Typically, subjects are taken to outrank objects, and objects outrank other entities. Thus the members of the C_f list are partially ordered (for English) in GJW’s (1995: 214) version is: SUBJECT > OBJECT > OTHERS (including prepositional phrases and adjuncts).

Transitions

There are four transition types in the Centering framework by comparing the centers of two adjacent utterances: Continue, Retain, Smooth-Shift and Rough-Shift, and they reflect four degrees of coherence. Two variables are used to distinguish the four types: whether the two utterances U_{i-1} and U_i share the same C_b or not, and whether the $C_b(U_i)$ is also the $C_p(U_i)$. The rules for computing the transition types are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Transition types in CT (Walker et al. 1998, 6)

| | $C_b(U_i) = C_b(U_{i-1})$ OR $C_b(U_{i-1}) = [?]$ | $C_b(U_i) \neq C_b(U_{i-1})$ |
|--------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| $C_b(U_i) = C_p(U_i)$ | CONTINUE | SMOOTH-SHIFT |
| $C_b(U_i) \neq C_p(U_i)$ | RETAIN | ROUGH-SHIFT |

Table 2 clearly shows that if two adjacent utterances share the same C_b , and $C_b(U_i)$ is also the $C_p(U_i)$, they should be classified as CONTINUE. If the two utterances U_{i-1} and U_i share the same C_b , but the $C_b(U_i)$ is different from $C_p(U_i)$, the transition type across them is RETAIN. In contrast, if two adjacent utterances have different C_b , the type of transition relation between the two utterances is SHIFT. This type is further divided into two subcases according to whether or not $C_b(U_i)$ equals $C_p(U_i)$, namely SMOOTH-SHIFT when $C_b(U_i) = C_p(U_i)$ and ROUGH-SHIFT when $C_b(U_i) \neq C_p(U_i)$.

Constraints and rules

In addition to the three types of centers, C_f -ranking and transitions, CT also includes a set of constraints and rules, as summarized by Walker, Joshi, and Prince (1998: 3–4) based on the work of GJW (1986, 1995) and BFP (1987).

Constraints

- (10) For each utterance U_p in a discourse segment D , consisting of utterances of $U_1 \dots U_m$:
- (10.1) There is precisely one $C_b(U_p D)$.
- (10.2) Every element of the C_f -list, $C_f(U_p D)$ must be realized in U_i .⁵
- (10.3) The center, $C_b(U_p D)$, is the highest-ranked element of $C_f(U_{i-1}, D)$ that is realized in U_i .

Rules

There are two rules listed as below:

- (11) For each utterance U_p in a discourse segment D , consisting of utterances of $U_1 \dots U_m$:

5. According to GJW (1995: 208–9), the realization is used to describe the connection between $C_b(U_{i+1})$ and $C_f(U_i)$. It includes two relations, i.e., *realizes* and *directly realizes*. As for English, C_b can be directly realized by a definite description or a pronoun, another possibility is that it is “*realized* but not *directly realized*” (GJW 1995: 217); it occurs in utterances containing NPs that are an element of the C_f in previous utterances.

Rule 1 (Pronoun rule)

If some element of $C_f(U_{i-p}, D)$ is realized by a pronoun in U_p , then the $C_b(U_p, D)$ must be realized by a pronoun also.

Rule 2 (Transition ordering rule)

*Transition states are ordered. The CONTINUE transition is preferred to the RETAIN transition, which is preferred to the SMOOTH-SHIFT transition, which is preferred to the ROUGH-SHIFT transition.*⁶ Walker et al. (1998: 4)

The combination of the constraints, rules and definitions discussed above constitute the basic framework of the Centering model.

Specifying centering parameters in Chinese

The Centering model can explain a range of variations in local coherence and can be used to form pronoun resolution algorithms. However, as noticed by many researchers (Walker, Iida and Cote 1994; Poesio et al. 2004; etc.), employing the theory on naturally occurring data of a particular language other than English brings to the surface issues that were left unspecified in Centering. Open issues in CT are, for example, the definition of utterance and discourse segment, the rule determining C_f ranking, etc., which are regarded as parameters of CT. Therefore, I have to specify the definitions of terms and revise these constraints and rules in CT in order to apply them to study NSs in Chinese discourse.

Utterance

Utterance is basically regarded as a sentence in CT (GJW 1995). However, Kameyama (1998) argues that this specification encountered problems with complex sentences which contain multiple clauses. This is also the case in Chinese, where a sentence may contain more than one null subject, which makes it difficult to locate a specific one. It not only violates the constraint 1 in CT, but also poses a big challenge to apply the centering analysis such as C_f -ranking in this study. Thus, it is better to treat a clause as the basic unit, i.e., an utterance in CT. Following Yeh and Chen's (2001, 2003, 2007), Wang's (2004) and Hu's (2008) studies, I define an utterance as an independent clause which corresponds to at least one predicate-argument structure and is demarcated by punctuation such as commas, colons, full stops, etc.

6. The distinction between SMOOTH and ROUGH SHIFT was first made by BFP, but some work in centering does not distinguish these two types of shift (Walker et al. 1998: 06).

This definition shares Kamayama's (1998) proposal of breaking complex sentences into clauses to some extent, although I do not agree with her treatment of a "tensed clause" as the basic utterance unit because whether there is a distinction between finite and non-finite clauses in Chinese has not yet been proven (see Y. Huang 1994, 2000). With this definition, an utterance can be a simple clause which contains only one predicate-argument structure, or it can be a complex one which contains a matrix clause and an embedded dependent clause such as a subjective/objective clause, relative clause, and complement clause; an independent coordinate clause or main clause and a subordinate clause.⁷

Discourse segment

According to Grosz and Sidner (1986), a discourse segment is analyzed as a group of utterances, and is recognized when it has an underlying intention associated with it. However, no particulars were provided to explain how to segment discourses into utterances or to identify the underlying intention. Hence, most corpus-based studies within CT either ignore segmentation such as Di Eugenio (1998), who applies centering between every two adjacent utterances; or consider every paragraph as a separate discourse segment, except when a pronoun occurs in subject position in its first sentence, or its argument features do not match other Cfs in the same sentence (Poesio et al. 2004; etc.). Regarding Chinese, Duan (2006) takes the whole text as a discourse segment in her study to process anaphors. However, if I follow this method of segmentation, the searching process for antecedents of NSs will be too long. In this study, I agree with the view of taking every paragraph as a discourse segment for two reasons: firstly, each paragraph normally expresses a main idea, which can be regarded as its intention; secondly, it is easy to identify a paragraph by paragraph marker <p> in the corpus.

C_f ranking

As I mentioned before, the most often used ranking criterion follows grammatical relations. However, the factors that affect the salience status of an entity may vary cross-linguistically (e.g., Walker et al. 1998). The different ordering of the C_f list for a different language is called a *C_f template* by Cote (1998). Some other criteria such

7. In this way, the special constructions in Chinese such as serial verb construction (NP1+VP1+VP2+NP2), pivotal construction (NP1+V1+NP2+V2), verb copying construction (NP1+VP1+V2+XP, V1=V2) and V-得 construction (NP1+V1+得+VP2) are regarded as being composed of a matrix clause *s-max* and a complement clause *s-comp* of V1. Thank you to one of the anonymous reviewers for addressing this point.

as topicality, empathy and animacy, etc. have also been proposed in cross-linguistic studies related to Centering. For example, in topic-prominent languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Thai, etc., the grammatical subject does not always indicate the most salient entity, and the topic is observed to rank higher than the subject as shown below (Walker et al. 1994; Han 2006; etc.):

(12) TOPIC > SUBJECT > INDIRECT OBJECT > DIRECT OBJECT > OTHERS

Most studies on Chinese zero anaphora within the CT framework have adopted the C_f -ranking above (Yeh and Chen 2001, 2003, 2007; Wang 2004; Duan 2006; etc.), and they also take some other grammatical roles into account such as pivotal object, oblique, adjunct and NP modifiers. In addition, the linear order, parallelism of grammatical roles and the hierarchy structure of clauses are considered as factors that may affect the salience status of members in the C_f list in Chinese discourse. I basically agree with the above ranking criteria for Chinese since they have been largely verified in previous studies. I mainly follow the C_f -ranking in Duan's (2006) study with minor modifications. Firstly, based on Yeh and Chen's (2001, 2007), Duan's (2006) and Hu's (2008) studies, the main/subordinate distinction will be reflected in my ranking with the entities in main/matrix clauses ranked higher than those in adverbial/embedded clauses. Secondly, as for the types of grammatical roles included in the ranking, I attempt to keep them as simple as possible, so only topic, subject and object are considered. For other grammatical roles such as pivotal object and oblique (object after preposition), I will rank them according to the surface linear order and main/subordinate distinction. To sum up, I propose two C_f -rankings in this study below:

(13) The C_f -ranking in Chinese

MAIN RANKING:⁸

MAIN (Topic > Subject > Object > Other) > SUB (Topic > Subject > Object > Other)

COMPLIMENTARY RANKING:

MAIN (Topic modifier > Subject modifier > Object modifier > Other) >

SUB (Topic modifier > Subject modifier > Object modifier > Other)

Rule 1

Rule 1 is also known as the pronoun rule, which for English states that C_b must be pronominalized if there is a pronoun in the C_f list. Since Chinese allows both zero and full pronouns in both subject and object position, I assume that both forms

8. MAIN means main/matrix clause, while SUB refers to subordinate clauses such as adverbial clauses or embedded clauses.

can be realized as C_b . But if they occur in the same utterance, C_b is expressed by a zero form. This is the case for most null subject languages such as Turkish, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Thai, etc. By following Yeh and Chen's (2001), Xu's (2006) and Duan's (2006) studies, I modified the pronoun rule for Chinese as explained below.

(14) Pronoun Rule (Chinese)

For each utterance U_i in a discourse segment U_1, \dots, U_m :

If some element of $C_f(U_{i-1})$ is realized as a null subject in U_i , and no other zero forms occupy a higher grammatical position than the null subject, then the null subject is $C_b(U_i)$. If there are no zero forms in U_i , but there is an entity realized as a pronoun in U_i , then so is $C_b(U_i)$.

It is important to note that there are utterances U_i where neither have zero forms nor pronouns, but only full NPs. The full NPs in subject positions U_i have some lexical cohesions (Halliday and Hasan 1976) with the full NPs in the C_f list (U_{i-1}). They may be synonyms, near synonyms (when they have the same reference), superordinate-subordinate, inclusive relation, part-whole/whole-part. In this case, their connections cannot be ignored. So, by following Zabala and Taboada's (2006) study, I allow for indirect realization of entities when computing the C_b of an utterance.

Rule 2

As discussed before, Rule 2 hypothesized a preference of center movement among types of transitions to measure the coherence of the discourse segment (GJW 1995; Walker et al. 1998; etc.). In addition to the four transition types, Kameyama (1998) and Poesio et al. (2004) have suggested three more transition types, i.e., Center Establishment (EST) for utterances that establish a C_b after an utterance without one; ZERO transition for a C_b -less utterance following one which does have a C_b ; NULL transition where C_b -less utterances follow other C_b -less ones. Among the three types, I will only include EST in my annotation of the corpus, since it has not yet been widely verified how NULL and ZERO transitions can measure the discourse coherence. The definition of EST is modified slightly in this study as for the utterance U_i that establishes a C_b which does not occur in the C_f list (U_{i-1}). While for the utterance U_i that establishes a C_b which can be found in the C_f list (U_{i-1}), I regard it as a Continue transition if $C_b(U_i) = C_p(U_{i-1}) = C_p(U_i)$, and I regard it as a Smooth Shift if $C_b(U_i) = C_p(U_i) \neq C_p(U_{i-1})$. Therefore, Rule 2 is tentatively revised for Chinese as given below:

(15) Rule 2 (Chinese)

CONTINUE > RETAIN > SMOOTH SHIFT > EST > ROUGH SHIFT

Corpus and method

In this study, a Centering analysis is applied to the corpus which amounts to about 10,000 words.⁹ It is composed of five texts from category B (press editorials) of The Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin in Chinese (LCMC) (McEnery and Xiao 2004). The main reason to choose press editorials for this study is that they have three characteristics that make them of particular interest. First of all, this genre is compact and concise, well organized and includes formal syntactic structures (see Christensen 2000). Second, they have not been widely considered in previous studies on NS within the CT framework. Third, they are strongly entity-centered, so the hypotheses about coherence formulated in centering are likely to play an important part in the way these texts are constructed.

The primary goal of the corpus analysis conducted in this study is to provide reliable and generalizable results concerning the behaviors of NSs in naturally occurring Chinese discourse. The coding procedure largely followed the manuals by Hadic Zabala and Taboada (2006), Xu (2006) and Hu (2008), as they provide detailed guidelines within the Centering framework. In the analysis procedure, every text was first segmented into discourse segments according to the paragraph marker <p>. In each discourse segment, utterances are identified based on the definition in 4.1, and then the three centers, i.e., C_p , C_b and C_f were coded for each utterance with the Cf ranking in 4.3. As for transition types, I basically followed Hurewitz's (1998) and Xu's (2006) coding systems. They were coded for every two adjacent clauses in the same discourse segment within the definitions in 3.2 and 4.5. The indirect realization of entities in two adjacent utterances mentioned in 4.4 will be regarded as a Continue transition if the full NPs both occur in the subject/topic position, i.e., $C_p(U_i)=C_p(U_{i-1})$, otherwise a Smooth Shift, i.e., $C_p(U_i)\neq C_p(U_{i-1})$. Besides, discourse deictic (zero) pronouns referring to the whole utterance or chunks of discourse are collapsed into the Smooth Shift category when they occur in subject/topic positions, given that they do not correspond to a particular entity in $C_f(U_{i-1})$. Since two discourse segments may have an embedding relationship, when processing the cases such as reported speech, quoted speech complements and embedded dependent clauses, I have loosely adopted Kameyama's (1998) model of Hierarchical Intransiential Centering (IC), where multiple Centering states are possible at different levels of embedding. Thus, they are regarded as embedded discourse segments and are broken down into a linear sequence of centering units if they have more than one utterance. However, there is a contrast between the

9. The size of this corpus seems very small, but it is a standard size concerning the Centering analysis in previous studies (e.g., Poesio et al. 2004). Thanks to one of the anonymous reviewers for pointing this out.

entities within reported speech, quoted speech complements and the entities within subjective, objective and relative clauses. For the former ones they are not accessible to the higher level, while for the latter ones they are.

Besides the proper centering analysis, each utterance in the corpus was also coded with syntactic information:

- (16) Position of the grammatical functions of topic, subject, object, oblique and their modifiers (when they are the antecedents of NSs).
- (17) The part of speech of C_b if the utterance has one, mainly pronoun, noun and noun phrase (NP).
- (18) The types of NSs, as already discussed in 2.2.
- (19) The types of clauses, as mentioned in 4.1; I distinguish two types of clauses, namely, independent clauses which include a simple clause, matrix clause, main clause and coordinate clause; dependent clauses which include a subjective clause, objective clause, complement clause and relative clause.
- (20) For each null subject and pronoun, it is co-indexed with its antecedent. The anaphoric relation is represented with the same index.

In order to extensively explore the properties and function of NSs in Chinese discourse, all NSs appearing in both independent clauses and dependent clauses are annotated and analyzed. Based on the above guidelines, both CT terms and syntactic information were manually coded by me but automatically generated by computer programs. The syntactic information was annotated first, and then the annotated corpus was coded in terms of CT.

Results and analysis: The distributions of null subjects and their antecedents

The quantitative data for the NSs under examination is presented in this section, with a focus on the significant contribution of NSs to discourse coherence. The results are discussed mainly from the perspective of distributions, including the distributions of NSs by typology and clause type, the distributions of their antecedents by grammatical function and clause type, and the distribution of NSs by transition type and C_b realizations (syntactic forms) by transition type.

The distribution of null subjects

There were 453 NSs identified in the corpus; they are displayed by the typology and clause types in which they occur, as shown in Table 3 and Table 4.

Table 3. The distribution of null subjects by typology

| NS type | Number | Percentage of overall NSs | NS sub-type | Number | Percentage of overall NSs |
|-----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|---------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| Referential NSs (RNS) | 351 | 77.48% | anaphoric NS (ANSs) | 218 | 48.12% |
| | | | obligatory ANS | 80 | 17.66% |
| | | | Cataphoric NS | 53 | 11.70% |
| Non-referential NSs (N-RNS) | 102 | 22.52% | deictic NS | 33 | 7.28% |
| | | | inferable NS | 39 | 8.60% |
| | | | arbitrary NS | 26 | 5.74% |
| | | | existential NS | 4 | 0.90% |
| NSs in total | 453 | 100% | | 453 | 100% |

Table 3 shows that among the total number, 77.48% are referential NSs, overwhelming in frequency of occurrence. In contrast, only 22.52% are non-referential NSs; the percentage is much smaller. Indeed, the bias toward referential NSs is not surprising due to the fact that they are able to link the current utterance to the previous one, thus building discourse coherence. Of all referential NSs, 48.12% are anaphoric. If I include obligatory ANSs, the percentage would be 65.78%. This suggests that the anaphoric NS is the main type of referential NS. Cataphoric NSs normally occur in relative clauses, and their antecedents are the NPs that they modify. Among non-referential NSs, deictic NSs and inferable NSs together account for 70.59% of this type, while arbitrary NSs, especially existential NSs are rare. This result indicates that the use of NSs in Chinese discourse is not completely free; rather, it is mainly (93.36%) constrained by the condition that it has either to find an explicit antecedent in discourse (referential NS 77.48%) or it can be inferred from the given information in discourse (deictic NSs 7.28%) or world knowledge (inferable NS 8.60%) about the context. In this way, the subject position can be empty.

In Table 4, the clause refers to the immediate clause in which a null subject occurs, no matter whether it has any other parent clause. The left part of this table shows that the occurrence of NSs is a half-and-half mixture in independent (47.90%) and dependent (52.10%) clauses. Henceforth, I cannot ignore either of the two portions of NSs in discourse. Of the independent clauses, the number of NSs occurring in coordinate clauses is the most (32.89%). It is quite conceivable given that coordinate clauses have parallel structures, and they tend to persist with the same “topic” (subject). According to Givón (1983), the most continuous topic is zero anaphora (normally referential NSs). By comparison, NSs in main clauses (7.06%) slightly outrank those in adverbial clauses (6.18%). This is because main clauses and adverbial clauses must occur in pairs, where the latter one normally precedes the former one in the corpus, giving rise to the claims that more ellipses occur in main clauses. Interestingly, the difference is not significant due to the fact

Table 4. The distribution of null subjects by clause type

| Clause type | Number of NS | Percentage of NS over clause type | Clause sub-type | Number of NS | Percentage of NS over clause type |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Independent | 217 | 47.90% | coordinate | 149 (68.66%) | 32.89% |
| | | | Simple/Matrix | 8 | 1.77% |
| | | | Main | 32 | 7.06% |
| | | | Adverbial | 28 | 6.18% |
| Dependent | 236 | 52.10% | subjective | 8 | 1.77% |
| | | | objective | 43 | 9.49% |
| | | | relative | 77 | 17.00% |
| | | | Complement | 92 | 20.31% |
| | | | oblique | 13 | 2.87% |
| | | | appositive | 3 | 0.66% |
| Total | 453 | 100% | | | |

that it must have an explicit subject in either clause. In contrast, NSs in simple/matrix are rare (1.77%), which can be explained by the observation that they are generally the initial utterance of a discourse segment, so subjects should be expressed as full NPs rather than zero forms or pronouns. The dependent clauses in which NSs occur are mainly complement (20.31%), relative (17%) and objective clauses (9.49%). This can be attributed to the factor of syntactic structure, in which subjects must be deleted, otherwise the clauses are ungrammatical.

The distribution of antecedents

Of 453 NSs in the corpus, 351 are referential and have an antecedent or postcedent. Their distributions are demonstrated under grammatical function and clause type in Table 5 and Table 6.

Table 5. The distribution of antecedents by grammatical function

| Grammatical function | Number | Percentage |
|----------------------|------------|-------------|
| Subject | 208 | 59.26% |
| Object | 81 | 23.08% |
| Topic | 8 | 2.28% |
| Oblique | 13 | 3.70% |
| Subject modifier | 17 | 4.84% |
| Object modifier | 7 | 2% |
| Oblique modifier | 9 | 2.56% |
| Spilt antecedent | 8 | 2.28% |
| Total | 351 | 100% |

Table 5 shows that the antecedents in the subject (59.26%) and object positions (23.08%) account for 82.34% of all antecedents, while the antecedents taking modifier positions only account for 9.4% of all antecedents. The number of subject positions is the most since it shares the same grammatical function as the null subject, it is preferred to be interpreted as the antecedent. In contrast, object positions take the second most antecedents primarily due to the feature of the special construction ‘NP1+V1+NP2+(NP2+V2)’ which is called the “pivotal construction” in Chinese and is identified as one type of complement clause (20.31%) in this study. In the construction, NP 2 is the object of the clause NP1+V1+NP2, while it is the subject of the clause NP2+V2. Thus, NP 2 in the bracket must be deleted, but it refers to the NP2 occurring in object position. The number of spilt antecedents is very small (2.28%), and they are composed of subject and object or oblique in the previous utterance due to the semantic meaning of predicates such as 联合 *lianhe* “unite,” 邀请 *yaoqing* “invite,” etc. Accordingly, it needs more efforts to process compared to other types. Overall, this distribution is basically consistent with the C_f ranking in 4.3, despite the number of topics being very small. This might be attributed to the definition of topic in this study, which is distinguished from the subject. Therefore, I suggest that subject should be ranked higher than topic in C_f ranking, which is modified as follows:

(21) C_f ranking in Chinese (modified)

MAIN RANKING:

MAIN (Subject > Topic > Object > Other) > SUB (Subject > Topic > Object > Other)

COMPLIMENTARY RANKING:

MAIN (Subject modifier > Topic modifier > Object modifier > Other) > SUB (Subject modifier > Topic modifier > Object modifier > Other)

Table 6. The distribution of antecedents by clause type

| Clause type | Number of antecedents | Percentage of antecedents over clause type | Clause sub-type | Number of antecedents | Percentage of antecedents over clause type |
|--------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------|-----------------------|--|
| Independent | 292 | 83.19% | coordinate | 165 | 47.01% |
| | | | simple/Matrix | 66 | 18.80% |
| | | | main | 26 | 7.41% |
| | | | adverbial | 35 | 9.97% |
| Dependent | 59 | 16.81% | subjective | 12 | 3.42% |
| | | | objective | 15 | 4.27% |
| | | | relative | 15 | 4.27% |
| | | | complement | 4 | 1.14% |
| | | | PP | 13 | 3.71% |
| Total | 351 | 100% | Total | 351 | 100% |

Table 6 shows that the number of antecedents occurring in independent clauses (83.19%) is much higher than that in dependent clauses (16.81%). This indicates that NSs in dependent clauses prefer to find their antecedents in independent clauses, which may be explained by the hierarchical structure of discourse in that independent clauses are frequently parent clauses of dependent clauses. Besides, this distribution is very different from the distribution of NSs by clause type in which the ratio of two types is almost equal, especially in the percentage of antecedents in simple/matrix clauses (18.80%) which increased significantly more than the percentage of NSs in those clauses (1.77%). This partly verifies the observation that entities in matrix clauses are more salient than those in embedded clauses (dependent clauses).

The distribution of null subjects by transition types

Now I shall turn to the results of the Centering analysis. I will discuss two primary results. The first involves the correlation between transition type and NSs denoting the C_b . The second involves the relationship between transition type and different forms (null forms and overt forms) of the referring expressions denoting the C_b .

In the first place, Table 7 below clearly indicates that the most frequent transition is CONTINUE (211), and at the other end is ROUGH (4), as rule 2 predicts. However, what contradicts rule 2 is that the second most frequent transition is SMOOTH rather than RETAIN, and the difference between the two transitions is significant (116 vs. 5). Similar results were also obtained by studies on different languages such as Greek (Miltakaki 2001), English (Poesio et al. 2004), Yapese (Ballantyne 2004), etc. Secondly, the initial assumption that the use of NSs strongly relates to the CONTINUE transition (64.84%) is basically supported. To be more specific, of all the NSs occurring in the CONTINUE transition, 96.48% are referential NSs while only 0.52% are non-referential null subjects. Therefore, I can tentatively claim that it is referential NSs that strongly signal a CONTINUE transition. See the following examples:

- (22) NS in a CONTINUE transition
 U_1 [SB]法国_i] [虽然也 出兵] [OB]海湾],
faguo suiran ye chubing haiwan
 France though also dispatch troops gulf,
 “Though France also goes to the Gulf”
 $C_b=?$, C_f {法国 *France*, 海湾 *gulf*}, C_p = 法国 *France*

Table 7. The distribution of null subjects by transition type¹⁰

| Transition type | Number | NS number | Percentage | NS subtypes Numbers | Breakdown |
|-----------------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| CONTINUE | 211 | 142 | 64.84% | Referential NSs (137) | Anaphoric NS: 132 |
| | | | | 96.48% | Cataphoric NS: 4 |
| RETAIN | 5 | 3 | 1.37% | Non-referential NSs (5) | Obligatory ANS: 1 |
| | | | | 0.52% | Deictic NS: 2 |
| SMOOTH | 116 | 61 | 27.85% | Referential NSs (24) | Arbitrary NS: 1 |
| | | | | 39.34% | Inferable NS: 2 |
| ROUGH | 4 | 2 | 0.91% | Non-referential NSs (37) | Anaphoric NS: 3 |
| | | | | 60.66% | Cataphoric NS: 4 |
| EST | 13 | 11 | 5.03% | Referential NSs (1) 50% | Obligatory ANS: 3 |
| | | | | Non-referential NSs (1) 50% | Deictic NS: 31 |
| EST | 13 | 11 | 5.03% | Referential NSs (7) | Arbitrary NS: 2 |
| | | | | 63.64% | Inferable NS: 3 |
| EST | 13 | 11 | 5.03% | Non-referential NSs (4) | Existential NS: 1 |
| | | | | 36.36% | Anaphoric NS: 1 |
| Total | 429 | 219 | 100% | | Inferable NS: 1 |

U2 但 [SBjØ_i] [力主][pp 在 联合国 决议 范围 内] [行事]°
dan [subjØ_i] *lizhu zai lianheguo jueyi fanwei nei xingshi*
 But [SBjØ_i] advocate at the United Nations decision scope in act
 “it strongly advocates acting within the framework of the UN resolution.”
 C_b =[SBjØ_i]=法国 *France*, C_f {[SBjØ_i], 联合国 *the United Nations*, 决议 *decision*, 范围 *scope*}, $C_b(U_2)=C_p(U_2)$ CONTINUE (LCMC, B03, <s n=“0007”>)

Thirdly, in addition to the CONTINUE transition, NSs can occur in other transition types, among which the SMOOTH transition is the most frequent (27.85%). Nevertheless, differing from the CONTINUE transition, non-referential NSs (60.66%), particularly deictic NSs (31/37) are more often used to indicate a SMOOTH transition. See the example below:

10. It is worth noting that not all subjects in Table 5 are included in the Centering analysis, given that the method used to process utterances excluded some null subjects (refer to Section 5).

(23) Deictic NS in a SMOOTH transition

.....

U10 因此, (s-main [SB]海部) [强调] (s-obj)[SB]Ø_{infer}] [要 建立]
 yinci, haibu qiangdiao [SB]Ø_{infer}] yao jianli
 therefore, Kabu emphaze [SB]Ø_{infer}] need build
 [OB]能 照顾 到 各派 利益的 举党 体制)),
 neng zhaogu dao gepai liyi de judang tizhi
 can look after various factions profit MM whole party system

'Therefore, Kabu emphasized that (they) need to build the whole party system which can look after the profits of various factions,'

C_b = 海部 Kabu, C_f { 海部 Kabu, 举党体制 the whole party system, 利益 profit}

' C_p = 海部 Kabu, $C_b(U_{10}) = C_p(U_{10})$ CONTINUE

U11 但(s-adv-4 [SB]Ø_{dd}] [pred实行 起来] [并非 易事])!

dan [SB]Ø_{dd}] shixing qilai bingfei yishi
 but [SB]Ø_{dd}] carry out not easy thing

'But it is not easy to put into practice.'

C_b = [SB]Ø_{dd}], C_f {[SB]Ø_{dd}], 事 thing}, $C_b(U_{11}) = C_p(U_{11})$, $C_b(U_{11}) \neq C_b(U_{10})$
 SMOOTH (LCMC B05, <s n="0068">)

To sum up, on the ground of the distribution results in Table 7, I suggest that a relaxed ranking is better than the strict hierarchy in Chinese as follows (see also Taboada 2010):

(24) The formulation of Rule 2

CONTINUE > (RETAIN, SMOOTH SHIFT) > EST > ROUGH SHIFT

Table 8. The distribution of C_b realizations by transition types

| Transition type | Number | NS number and percentage over this transition type | Pronoun number and percentage over this transition type | Full NP number and percentage over this transition type |
|-----------------|--------|--|---|---|
| CONTINUE | 211 | 142 (67.30%) | 20 (9.48%) | 49 (23.22%) |
| RETAIN | 5 | 3 (60%) | 2 (40%) | 0 |
| SMOOTH | 116 | 61 (52.59%) | 19 (16.38%) | 36 (31.03%) |
| ROUGH | 4 | 2 (50%) | 0 | 2 (50%) |
| EST | 13 | 1 (84.60%) | 1 (7.70%) | 1 (7.70%) |
| Total | | 219 | 42 | 88 |

Table 8 compares NSs with pronouns and full NPs across five transition types. It is important to note several facts in this table. Firstly, the CONTINUE transition shows the strongest preference for NSs (67.30%), followed by full NPs (23.22%), and it shows a weaker preference for pronouns (9.48%). This tendency is the same in the

SMOOTH transition, where NS (52.59%) is the most preferred referring expression, while pronoun (16.38%) is the least preferred. It is not surprising that NS is dominant (84.60%) in EST, since it means the establishment of a C_b which is mainly realized as a NS in Chinese. As far as RETAIN, ROUGH and EST are concerned, the numbers are too small to draw any definitive conclusion, so I do not discuss them further in this study. Secondly, it is striking that the full NP is used even more frequently than the pronoun in both CONTINUE and SMOOTH. This behavior is not consistent with most discourse-related models on zero forms (anaphora) such as the topic continuity model (Givón 1983), the Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski's 1993) and the accessibility theory (Ariel 1988, 1990, 1994, 2001), in which a referential full device such as full NPs has a lower degree of activation than a reduced referential device such as zeros and pronouns. This indicates that the full NP, as long as it has lexical cohesion with the entity in the previous utterance, can be used as a cohesive device (maybe a better one than the pronoun) for the making of a coherent discourse. Lastly, unfortunately, the results do not show a significant difference between the transition types signaling NSs and those signaling the overt forms, given the fact that NSs in all transition types have the highest proportion ($\geq 50\%$).

Conclusions

In this paper, I presented a corpus-based analysis of the distribution of NSs and their antecedents in Chinese written discourse within the framework of Centering approach. Firstly, among 453 NSs identified in the corpus, referential NSs are overwhelming in frequency of occurrence. The almost equal distribution of NSs in independent and dependent clauses indicates that NSs in both clause types have the equal importance. As for the distribution of antecedents, the results suggest that entities mentioned in main/matrix clauses are more salient than entities in embedded clauses, and subjects are more salient than objects and topics (see also Duan 2006). Secondly, the initial assumption that the use of NSs strongly relates to the CONTINUE transition (64.84%) is basically supported. It is compatible with previous findings that the use of null subject for CONTINUE transition is a robust cross-linguistic phenomenon (see e.g. Di Eugenio 1998). However, there is an unexpected finding that NSs can also occur in other transition types, particularly in SMOOTH transition. The difference is that NSs in this transition type are mainly non-referential NSs, while that in CONTINUE transition type are largely referential NSs. This implies that referential NSs instantiates a continuous topic whereas non-referential NSs instantiates a new topic which may be expected to persist or

not. Thirdly, the difference between transition types signaling NSs and those signaling the overt forms is not very significant, although a certain disparity of different forms in different transition types was found. Moreover, the number of NSs even outranks the number of overt forms. This indicates that the effect on discourse salience is not adequate to fully distinguish the two forms. Therefore, additional syntactic and semantic factors might be further investigated in the future work. At last, the distribution results show that the specification of CT parameters in this study is basically supported, but with slight modifications concerning C_f ranking and rule 2. It upholds the idea that CT is a parametric theory with empirical data from Chinese on the one side, and it improves the explanatory power of CT particularly on null subjects in Chinese on the other. Furthermore, the refinements might be considered as an instruction to the study null subjects in other languages within the same theoretical framework.

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Conversational narrative marker

Identification and modification

Dongyi Zhu¹

Shaanxi Normal University

This study presents a corpus-based analysis of the pragmatic identification and functional modification of Chinese conversational narrative marker (henceforth CNM). Adopting a three-dimensional design from pragmatic-semantic-cognitive views of CNM, the present study proposes that a CNM is a linking device establishing the narrator's subjective attitude to introduce his/her narrative intent. The study has extracted “*ranhou*” from the author's self-constructed Chinese conversational narratives corpus, which comprises 15 pieces of casual talks by 38 adult native speakers of Chinese. The study has found that (1) semantically, CNM holds the cohesion-oriented function for introducing referential default and semantic default; (2) pragmatically, CNM plays an interactive role between the discourse sequentiality and contextual inference demonstrating the economy of language and salience of semantic representation; (3) cognitively, the intentional cognitive cooperation between the narrator and the listener have been revealed by CNM.

Keywords: conversational narrative marker, pragmatic identification, discourse function, “*ranhou*”

本文围绕会话叙事标记在叙事新转向上的生存状态,以作者自建的自然会话叙事语料库析出的叙事标记“然后”为例,对会话叙事标记从交际建构到目的修辞的语用身份作以分析。文章指出了会话叙事标记是语用、语义、认知的互动体现,遂从此三个功能层面对其在语用定位中的叙事维度体现、语义路径中的语义缺省体现、及其认知配合模式中的意图信息体现将会话叙事标记的功能修正如下:(1)会话叙事标记在语义层面共现了叙述者所使用的语言表达式的指示性;(2)在语用层面体现了场景互动中交际者对话段细节之间的序列结构、语篇措辞方式以及语用过程的管控和推理形式;(3)在认知层面展现了叙述者在叙事过程中的意图性,即由叙述者传达、受述者接纳的交际意图、信息意图、所指意图到叙事意图的一个叙事共享认知界面。

关键词: 会话叙事标记, 语用身份, 话语功能, “然后”

1. 本文曾在“第五届汉语语言与话语国际研讨会”(5th ISCLD)(悉尼大学,2018年6月19-20日)上宣读,部分老师及与会者对本文提出了宝贵的建议,在此表示感谢。此外,本文受到中国陕西省社会科学基金年度项目“汉语会话叙事标记的语义缺省及其语用功能研究”(2019M017)的基金资助,一并致谢。

引言

会话叙事标记,顾名思义,是出现在会话叙事话语中的标记构式。和术语林立的话语标记相关但不相同,会话叙事标记的出场身份决定了它与其它后缀为“标记”(如话语标记、语用标记等)的术语之别。因此,要探讨会话叙事标记,第一要务便是述清它的使用境况。首先是会话叙事标记进入学术探讨的时间--自上世纪90年代以来,后经典叙事的研究广度和深度促使学界对日常生活叙事引起重视,日常会话叙事成为近年来叙事学研究的新转向(Bamberg 2004; Georgakopoulou 2006; 赵玉荣2014),并且其研究主题大致关涉了会话分析领域中关于故事讲述的序列组织(Jefferson 1978; Sacks 1974),讲述者和受述者对故事的共建(Duranti 1986; Lerner 1992),受述者的参与(Goodwin 1984; Mandelbaum 1987),话语行为的构建(Mandelbaum 1989),多重语境的参与/结构构建(Luke 2016)等。故事讲述的声音成为人类生活的最强音(Gregory 1995: 35);其次是会话叙事标记“入世”的准入环境--基于日常生活形成的自发的会话叙事语境,以及基于不同的社会文化因素而形成的具有个人经验特征的语境依附性(Ochs and Capps 2001; 朱冬怡2017)。目前针对会话叙事标记的研究仅见极少数的汉语叙事标记研究(Tang 2010; Xiao 2010),且多见于英语、希腊语、西班牙语、日语等的研究环境下(Scollon 1977; Schiffrin 1982; Tsitsipis 1983; Norrick 2001; González 2005)。因此,本文主要基于日常会话叙事语料,以“然后”为例,拟从语用-语义-认知三个维度对其进行概念界定和区别性特征梳理,尝试提出会话叙事标记的跨界面研究视角,期待增补学界对汉语中这一语言现象的关注与理解。

会话叙事标记的身份: 从交际建构到目的修辞

一般来说,对事物进行分类的目的在于强化和扩展人们对该事物的认识和了解。对于具有话语指引功能的话语标记来讲,它的分类多是从功能性进行划分,学界已公认语篇表达的多功能性是话语标记最为显著的特征。那么,反观会话叙事标记,我们可以将其视为平行于话语标记和语用标记的一种叙事话语标记方式,这不同于某些将话语标记视为语用标记子类的观点,如Fraser(1996, 1999)、方梅(2005)等,都强调只有连接话语单位之间或话语单位与语境之间的标记才属于话语标记,二者的共同点是都不影响所在话语的命题内容,但话语标记对话语结构的组织作用及关联构建作用是语用标记不具备的。这种观点不免又使得他们在其后的分类中陷入了如何厘清话语标记和语用标记在语义展示和言谈组织功能上的矛盾循环。

因此,在对会话叙事标记进行分类之前,我们有必要明确以下两个观点:

在句法位置上, 话语标记通常位于句段的起始位置, 语用标记多数也位于句子开端², 但也有学者认为语用标记的灵活性使得其也可置于中段或末端³, 而会话叙事标记可以出现在话题句段的开端、中段或末端。这三者的出现位置是基于不同的单位: 话语标记和语用标记以语篇为单位, 位置现于句段之间; 而会话叙事标记以语境为单位, 位置现于事件或话题的讲述之间。

在语义功能上, 话语标记强调自身在调控话语结构上的功能, 其在言谈中起引导话语结构、建立关联联系的作用; 语用标记强调自身在言语行为中对话语的制约功能, 起表现言者态度、明确信息来源的作用; 而会话叙事标记则强调自身在具体会话叙事场景中的语义认知调度功能, 兼具了调控叙事结构和展现言者所指的作用。

本文倾向于将会话叙事标记视为话语标记大类现象下的一种特定语境中的话语结构形式。因此在对会话叙事标记进行分类的问题上, 我们采取李潇辰等(2015: 18)所提起的努力寻找会话叙事标记和话语标记及语用标记的“最小公倍数”, 目的并不在于提出一个能够将前人定义大致囊括在内的定义, 而是在于为这一起步尚新的研究术语提供一个概念上有共鸣、功能上有差异、特点上有区分性的标记身份范畴。

学术研究语境中对“身份(identity)”的探讨原本见于社会学及心理学, 主要涉及社会个体属性或群体认同倾向的探讨。Brubaker & Cooper(2000)将“身份”的社会学属性总结为本质主义、建构主义和后现代主义三种, 并指出“身份”具有日常生活实践范畴的本质, 可以体现在日常生活中人们以话语行事的方式上(ibid: 4)。伴随社会语言学、会话分析以及语用学的发展, 人们对“身份”产生了新的观点, 其中主要包含了“身份”与话语实践的定型关系(Tracy 2002: 22), 以及“身份”的交际建构属性和“身份”的目的修辞属性(陈新仁2013: 27)。因而从交际建构属性和目的修辞属性来看会话叙事标记的身份, 是这一语言形式从日常语用实践到话语行事功能的言语体现, 也是其从语用层面到功能层面的转向。

下文以作者自建的自然会话叙事语料库中的一段语料为例⁴。该段语料是一段时长为1分11秒的家庭会话, M、D、J分别是时年一岁半幼儿L的祖母和父母, M在晚饭前对并不知情的D引出会话主题“L开始有记性了”, 并将发话权转移至J(3M处); J在其后第4和第6行开始就M所发起的故事序言(preface)进行故事讲述:

2. 这种看法多见于Brinton(1996), Fraser(1996)等; 以及冯光武(2005), 邱述德(2011)等。
3. 这种观点见向明友等(2016)。
4. 本语料来自于作者学位论文撰写过程中自建的总计时长为3.36小时, 语料转写字数总计为45908字的小型汉语自然会话叙事语料库CCNC(Chinese Conversational Narratives Corpus), 受研究目的和话语环境的影响, 本研究采用了以汉语为受试语言的语料采集工作, 录制语料均来自于日常学习生活中的自然会话。语料参与者共38人(其中男性13人, 女性25人), 参与者年龄从22岁至69岁不等。该语料也曾用于作者2017年对“然后”的语义缺省构建的分析中, 详情可参考朱冬怡(2017)。

(1) (语境:J向D讲述关于一岁半的孩子L吃桔子、长记性的故事会话)

01M: L现在可是有记性了呀↑

L xiànzài kěshì yǒu jìxìng le ya

02D: [啊?

ǎ

03M: [你问问J今天她都干啥了?

nǐ wèn wen J jīntiān tā dōu gàn shá le

04J: L今天吃桔子]

L jīntiān chī júzi

05D: 嗯]

en

-06J: 然后₁::吃了一个桔子以后觉得没吃够,然后₂就开始讨好我,

ránhòu chī le yíge júzi yǐhòu juéde méi chī gòu, ránhòu jiù
kāishǐ tāohào wǒ,

07 继续让我给她找桔子,我不管她,怕她吃太多了拉肚子,

jìxù rang wǒ gěi tā zhǎo júzi, wǒ bù guǎn tā, pà tā chī tàiduō
le lā dùzi,

08 然后₃我就没给她找。在那个电脑桌抽屉的板儿上,↑

ránhòu wǒjiù méi gěi tā zhǎo zài nàge diànnǎozhuō chōuti de bǎn_{er}
shang,

09 然后₄发现一个桔子,然后₅摸进去,然后₆拿出来,↑

ránhòu fāxiàn yíge júzi, ránhòu mō jìnqù, ránhòu ná chūlái,

10 然后₇被我发现了我给她一把抢过来,↑

ránhòu bèi wǒ fāxiàn le wǒ gěi tā yībǎ qiǎng guòlái

11 我说“你以为发现了就是你的?那不一定”!

wǒ shuō nǐ yǐwèi fāxiàn le jiùshì nǐde? nà bù yíding!

12 然后₈就给她没收了。

ránhòu jiù gěi tā mòshōu le

13 最后她给我(0.5)一直给我示好,给我在这儿耍赖皮,撒娇:::

zùihòu tā gěiwǒ(0.5)yīzhí gěi wǒ shìhǎo, gěi wǒ zài zhè_{er}
shuǎlǎipí, sājiāo

14 我就让她吃了一个。

wǒ jiù rang tā chīle yíge

15 然后₉,了,我又带她出去,转了一圈儿,让她知道:::

ránhòu le, wǒ yòu dài tā chūqù, zhuǎnle yīquān_{er}, ràng tā zhīdào

16 让她找到了那个吃桔子的大本营,就在那个格挡那儿(0.3)

ràng tā zhǎodào le nàge chī júzi de dà běnyíng, jiù zài nàge
gédàng nà_{er}

17 然后₁₀她吃了一个桔子以后,她第二次直接跑出去,↑

ránhòu tā chīle yíge júzi yǐhòu, tā dìèrcì zhíjiē pǎochūqù,

18 跑到门口那儿,不跑了,看着我(...)

pǎodào ménkǒu nà_{er}, bù pǎole, kànzhe wǒ

19 然后₁₁直接奔到那儿,给我说(...)

ránhòu zhíjiē bēndào nà_{er}, gěi wǒ shuō

20 然后₁₂我也不理她,假装听不懂(...)

ránhòu wǒ yě bù lǐtā, jiǎzhuāng tīngbùdǒng

21 隔了好长时间我以为她忘了,然后₁₃她没忘。

géle hǎocháng shíjiān wǒ yǐwèi tā wàngle, ránhòu tā méi wàng
她今天吃了四五个桔子。

22 tā jīntiān chīle sìwǔge júzi

23D: 嗯

en

24D: 越来越能了

yuèlái yuè néng le

该语例中J所使用的“然后”从时间(事件发生的时间)和心理顺序上(L为了找桔子所发生的事件序列)衔接了“L长记性、找桔子”的事件。方梅(2000: 466)曾提出“然后”可以被看作为话轮延续的连词,但在实际会话中,其既可表示时间顺序,又可表达说话人描述事件时的心理顺序。而王伟等(2005: 31)则推断了“然后”的语法化趋势,认为该词是语篇中保持信息流动的一个重要手段。马国彦(2010)与何洪峰等(2010)对“然后”所具有的话轮延续的言语行为功能持认可态度。由此推进到“然后”的话语功能,许家金(2013: 10)将其总结为表先后关系、列举标记和开启话题此三种功能。依循其所展现的类似功能,Wang(2018: 2)又将“然后”细化为具有话题转移标记(topic-shifting marker)功能和话轮截停标记(trail-off marker)功能,前者是指“然后”具有的逐步分离话题转移的话语功能,而后者是指“然后”所具有的引导当下话轮退场,并引发受述者回应的话语功能。以上研究从“然后”的词法或句法属性,或话语功能的探讨启发我们从会话中的故事讲述切入,寻求其作为故事入场标记所承担的语用身份。

那么,从交际建构属性来看,语例(1)中“然后₁”承接第4行,启动故事讲述,在话轮转换的起始处起到了接纳前述话轮开始故事讲述的叙事承接作用;“然后₂”和“然后₃”介绍叙事事件,和后面的“继续”、“就”两词一起保证了故事讲述的连续性和叙述者对话轮的承接;“然后₄”是叙述者在讲述过程中重启了其在叙述过程中对话题主要人物的所指省略,意即“然后(她)发现一个桔子”,此后“然后₅”和“然后₆”以叙事时间的先后关系顺承了该小故事的发展,从“然后₄”至“然后₆”,是叙述者保证叙述者在线讲述故事的身份的一种用法,叙述者期待提供故事信息的意图和以故事信息推动的交际意图交迭出现,即一系列的及物性的动作特征保证了叙述者和受述者以共同的物质过程和心理过程推进故事在会话双方的交际建构铺设和认知指称明晰。“然后”的交际建构是基于叙述者身份的即时传达和自然会话故事的可述传递而形成的,此时,“然后”的会话叙事标记身份需要借助语用实践,并从语义指示和认知识解的共同指向中得以确立,“然后”的语义也由表客观顺序发展成表主观顺序,再泛化成话语标记的一个过程(何洪峰,孙岚,2010: 15)。语例中的其他“然后”将在下文论述,此处暂不说明。

从目的修辞属性来看,会话叙事标记是在会话叙事中起到连接会话和故事讲述的语言表达式,它的性质接近于特定语用环境下话语标记所表征出的概念特征,但和话语标记不同的是,叙事标记的词汇意义独立于叙事语境,但却在会话和叙事的切换及起始过程中起到描写叙事事件的心理顺序的作用,以此标记意义的语境合成性特点才能够作用于整个会话叙事。回顾方梅(2000: 466)的语例:

(2)

- A: 贴饼子,它..它是拿这个..=玉米面,
 tiēbǐngzi, tā tāshì ná zhège yùmǐmiàn
 就是..他们叫棒子面_{JL}了……
 jiùshì tāmen jiào bàngzimiàn_{er} le
- B: 叫棒子面_{JL}。
 jiào bàngzimiàn_{er}
- A: 棒子面_{JL},
 bàngzimiàn_{er}
 他=农村的锅都很大…
 tā nóngcūn de guō dōu hěndà
- B: [嗯=[嗯]],
 en en
- A: [然后₁]他就=底下烧着火,
 ránhòu tājiù dǐxià shāozhehuǒ
 他就把玉米面磨呃…
 tā jiù bǎ yùmǐmiàn mò e
 就往这个锅壁上边_{JL}贴,
 Jiù wǎng zhège guōbì shàngbian_{er} tiē
 贴好些。
 tiē hǎo xie
- B: [嗯=[嗯]],
 en en
- A: [然后₂]里边_{JL}有一点_{JL}水呢就是有点_{JL}蒸的意思…
 ránhòu libian_{er} yǒuyīdiǎn_{er} shuǐ ne jiùshì yǒudiǎn_{er} zhēng de yìsi

此例中“然后₁”表达的时间顺序在于其前后描述的事件在发生时间上(做贴饼子时需要先放大锅,再烧火)确实有先后之别。“然后₂”却并非如此,其前后的描述没有时间上的顺序关系,只是说话人对事件进行描述时的心理顺序,且其作用仅在于保持谈话的连续性(方梅,2000: 466)体现为话语标记。

由此再回看例(1),“然后”亦是通过其在会话与故事讲述的语境切换中发挥了不同的标记作用。“然后₁”启动故事讲述,从启动故事话题描述,“然后₁”至“然后₈”的省略与否关系到J的心理叙述顺序以及话题所指,我们将其看作会话叙事标记;而“然后₉”仅作为连词承接上句的会话顺序;“然后₁₀”在此处被视为话语标记,其在不影响命题内容的情况下体现的是J对“找桔子”事件的叙述心理顺序,“然后₁₀”之后的故事事件“她吃了一个桔子以后,她第二次直接跑出去”实则并非需要话语标记“然后”来充当话题路标,同理的还有“然后₁₂”,依然是在清晰明确故事所指的情况下充当话语标记的功能;再看“然后₁₁”,在省略了故事事件所指“她”的基础上,是对前述故事“她找桔子”的话题补充,此时“然后”重新担负其叙事标记的职能;“然后₁₃”指代的是“然而、但是”之意,其标记了L“吃桔子”前后具有转折关系的事理影响,是叙事标记在叙事事件转折关系上的表达。如若叙述者此处使用的是转折关联词“然而”或“但是”等,而非“然后”,很明显其讲述过程便失去了自然口语叙事的灵活性和自然性(Szatrowski 2010: 8)。因此,“然后”作为一种“非全职”的话语标记,其

较多地出现在单个说话人个人叙述性话语内部，起到黏连前后并举的若干个项目的作⽤(许家金 2009: 10)，其表示“前后相继”的语义成分依然在某种程度上得以保留，在会话叙事语境中依循此特点表现出促使受述者晓其所指，知其所述的标记特征。下文也将对会话叙事标记与话语标记的区别性因素作以小结。

针对会话叙事中话语标记的探讨是会话叙事研究维度上的一个重要分支，叙事话语标记显示的是不依赖于词汇意义的独特的话语标记功能，在叙事常规和故事编码的序列性问题⽽仍存在许多值得我们深⼊探讨的问题(Fraser 1990: 394; Norrick 2001: 849; 朱冬怡 2017: 50)。

以会话叙事标记的话语目的修辞属性研究来看，当前国内外的研究主要呈现以下三个特点：

第一，和传统的话语标记研究开⼰于语法化研究⼀样，语法化研究也是推动会话叙事标记多维研究的启动器。Scollon (1977) 在会话叙事里针对契帕瓦语言中叙事标记的序列性进⼾的研究总结了叙事标记的连接词功能和代词化特征，这是⼀项标准的针对叙事标记的语法化兼词汇化研究。第二，话语功能研究仍是国内外学者探讨会话叙事标记的主要关注点。从影响较⼤的Schiffrin (1982) 针对叙述标记对⼝头叙事的整合观，到针对英汉标记的对比分析或汉语语料的研究，如方梅 (2000)、刘泽权等 (2009)、Tang (2010)，学者们探究了叙事标记在叙事语篇(包括⼋面语篇和⼝头语篇)中所具有的话语功能，尽管语料和研究目标各有不同，但都期待能够从此类语言形式的标记功能中深⼊了解交际者在话语生成和理解中的认知⼼理路径。

第三，会话叙事标记的语义-语⽤-认知功能研究有待成为未来研究趋势。从Tsitsipis (1983) 对会话叙事标记的叙事位置的关注开始，到Norrick (2001) 对会话叙事标记的词例表现出的语义结构和语⽤期待，再到González (2005) 对英语和西班牙加泰罗尼亚语中的叙事标记作的概念、修辞、序列和推理四个语篇维度问题，包括Xiao (2010) 对汉语会话叙事中话语标记如何标示叙述者的叙事⼼理以及其对故事可述性的影响等研究中，我们可以看出，不同研究者⼰针对叙事标记进⼾了语言⼾面交叉和扩展延伸度的探索，以此证实会话叙事标记在语义、语⽤和认知维度对会话叙事交际的功能意义影响。这也提示我们对于会话叙事标记予以的不仅仅是语法或词汇⼾面的关注，从语义-语⽤、以及认知意图性对其进⼾观照应该是今后研究的关切点。

然而，从研究视点来看，由于会话叙事标记显示出的是不依赖于词汇意义的独特的话语标记功能，从语境、对命题内容和命题意义的影响、以及对话语的真值条件意义改变与否等因素来看，会话叙事标记和话语标记具有形态的交叉性和特征的区别性。我们⼤致将其总结并从以下区别性因素进⼾对比(参见表 1)：

表 1. 会话叙事标记与话语标记的区别性特征⁵

| 区别性因素 | 话语标记 | 会话叙事标记 |
|-----------------|------|--------|
| 是否改变话语的真值条件意义 | - | - |
| 是否表达非命题意义 | - | - |
| 是否影响命题内容 | - | + |
| 是否需要语境暗示才可理解 | ± | + |
| 省略与否是否会影响语篇的完整性 | - | + |
| 是否引介指称缺省或语义缺省 | ± | + |

会话叙事标记在对命题内容的影响、语境暗示的理解、以及语篇完整性上和话语标记存在区别性特征。而从其名称来看：“会话叙事标记”所体现出的语境依附特性，可使我们从中管窥其在特定语境下所表现出的功能性和概念性的异同。因此，针对叙事标记所标记的词汇意义主要来源于对叙事语境的依赖这一观点，下文从语用-语义-认知的多维界面入手的探讨可望为汉语自然会话叙事标记正名。

会话叙事标记: 语用-语义-认知的互动体现

会话叙事标记在语用、语义和认知维度对会话叙事交际功能的推动，提示我们思考以下几个问题：会话叙事标记所出现的场合及表现形式是什么？它在命题内容、语境暗示和语篇完整性上区别于话语标记的特征透露出怎样的语义属性？在连接会话叙事语篇的过程中它又是如何被生成和识解的？以上这些问题为我们厘清会话叙事标记的微观语篇标记身份，以及其在叙事常规及故事编码的序列性问题上作出指引。以此为切入，我们从会话叙事标记在语用、语义和认知层面的互动体现对这一话语现象进行修正和补充。

会话叙事标记的语用定位及叙事维度体现

和 Lyotard (1984) 提到的“宏大叙事”这种无所不包的权威化的完整叙事模式不同，日常会话中的故事讲述是一种零散化的对生活事件的小故事所做的一种陈述活动。但这类小故事也和 Labov (1972: 363) 提起的由“完整叙事的六要素(点题-定位-进展-评价-结局-尾声)”所构成的故事原型不同，包含此六要素的故事原型主要是对过去经验进行扼要重述，用一系列子句构成的话语序列与实际发生的事件序列相匹配的一种故事讲述形式，本文谈及的

5. “+”代表“是”，“-”代表“否”。

小故事事件在叙述方法和故事规模上更细微、更具体。Bamberg (2004: 331) 和 Georgakopoulou (2007: vii) 都曾指出“小故事”是指谈话中的碎片式话轮组合而成的非典型性的叙事模式。这种模式不是以个人对过往经历为主的叙事原型的故事讲述, 而是叙事原型大框架下的一种非典型性的叙事行为, 仍然可以体现叙述者和受述者的互动身份, 包括对正在发生事件的讲述, 未来或猜想事件的讲述, 共同知晓事件的讲述以及讲述中的暗示、延迟和叙述取舍等叙事行为。这个概念和汉语情境下日常会话中出现的故事讲述特征有重合之处, 却也不尽相同。

相似之处是人们在谈话中的确常常使用碎片式的话轮组合来进行故事讲述, 会话叙事标记交叉在故事话轮与会话话轮中共同组成一段完整的会话结构, 从而起到连贯话语和互动主体间交际的作用。小故事通常结构不够完整, 叙事性话语特征也不够明显, 因此格外依赖话轮转换内部和转换处的话语交接标记, 此时这些标记便是将这些碎片式话轮组合起来连接会话语境和叙事语境的粘合剂。通过对语料的观察, 我们发现这些标记在话轮转接方式上呈现出不同的表现单位。Tao (1996: 64) 曾将汉语口语在话轮转换处的语法构建单位类型分为: 完整小句 (Full Clause/缩写为F)、非完整小句 (Ellipt Clause/Ellipt)、名词性成分 (Noun Phrases/NP)、回应标记 (Reactive Tokens/RT)、副词性成分 (Adverbs/Adv)、修饰性成分 (Attributive Adjectives/Attri)、连接成分 (Connectives/Con)、话语标记 (Discourse Markers/DM)、指代成分 (Demonstatives/Dem)、截断结构 (Truncated IU/Trunc) 和混合结构 (Mixed IU/Mixed) 等。因而在日常的会话叙事过程中, 叙述者和受述者双方在话轮转换处形成的语法构建单位呈现出有趣的现象。我们从本文作者自建的会话叙事语料库CCNC提取了共计870个话轮, 各类语法构建单位在话轮转换位置的组成如下表所示, 而话语连贯和互动成分结构却是自然会话叙事语境下除去小句之外使用频率最高的形式。此处将回应标记、话语标记、混合结构和截断结构划分至话语连贯-互动成分的结构统计中, 多是由于在会话叙事语境下, 此四种结构是语料中可被观察到的最为常见的连贯会话场景与叙事场景的转换标记类型, 并且会话叙事标记属于话语标记大类下的语言形式, 而“话语标记是就语言形式的功能而言的, 与语类并不具有对应关系, 副词、连词、感叹词和一些插入语性质的短语等也都可以具有话语标记的功能 (Schiffrin 1987: 31; 董秀芳, 2007: 51)”。因此, 类似高频复现的四种连贯-互动成分是会话叙事标记的模式来源。参看下表:

表 2. 叙事标记在话轮交接处的表现单位⁶

| 类型 | 标记分类 | 数量(单位:个) | 比例 |
|------------|--------|----------|-------|
| 小句 | Full | 368 | 42.3% |
| 524(60.4%) | Ellipt | 156 | 18.1% |
| 词类成分 | NP | 26 | 2.9% |
| 61(6.8%) | Adv | 17 | 1.9% |
| | Attri | 5 | 0.5% |
| | Dem | 13 | 1.5% |
| 话语连贯-互动成分 | RT | 123 | 14.1% |
| 285(32.8%) | DM | 112 | 13.0% |
| | Mixed | 34 | 3.9% |
| | Trunc | 16 | 1.8% |
| 合计 | | 870 | 100% |

但就过往经历所提及的故事讲述而言,汉语情境中零散化的联系标记语例并不少见,无论是添补叙述者的思维空白,还是在程序上启动新的或接续性的故事讲述事件,亦或是受述者据此所接纳的事件逻辑所指,均是出于会话中的交际参与者往往会因为即时语境的某件事情,某种物品或某个场景继而讲述一个或几个故事,此时的参与者会根据记忆经验调取具有相关性的过往经历进行讲述。故事讲述者的记忆经验层面,是以记忆碎片的形式散落在长时记忆系统中(Riessman, 1993: 9; 施铁如, 2010: 247),在被会话情景中的不同因素激发后,回忆、反思并收集起记忆中的零散信息,提领故事的可述性,以各类不同的话语连贯和互动标记启动或连接会话中正在讲述的故事。

因此,在自然的会话叙事语境下,会话叙事标记所体现的会话之叙事维度的功能主要表现在其对话语和语境的互动切换和连贯,这样的语用定位为叙事标记的语义属性和认知路径提供了语境指引。

6. 不同于Tao(1996)和乐耀(2016)的统计,此表格针对本研究的汉语会话叙事语料(CCNC)中各类话轮转换处的话轮构建单位,特别是不同种类的联系标记做了统计,除去小句和词类成分,在话语连贯-互动的成分中,回应标记(RT)、话语标记(DM)、截断结构(Trunc)和混合结构(Mixed)是构成话轮转换的主要结构标记成分,回应标记指代“嗯、哦、啊”等一系列应声回应词;话语标记指代了包括“然后、其实、结果、所以”等经由语法化而固定的话语路径指示词和结构;混合结构包含了由话语标记和不同词类成分或其它的话语标记构成的结构,例如“然后其实”或“后来就”等多没有语法关联的结构单位;截断结构是在话轮处语句未完结便被打断或叙述者意识到要改变话语内容时的一种结构成分。此表的列举说明了在自然会话叙事语境下,话语连贯和互动标记是除去小句以外的高频复现标记形式,而对具体的这四种成分结构的详例分析,可见于Tao(1996)、乐耀(2016)。

会话叙事标记的语义路径及语义缺省体现

小空间事件叙事流中每个故事中都或隐或显地包含行为者、对象和事件三个核心要素。例如在由“然后”接续的事件叙述中，它是叙述者一系列行为、想法、观点或话语的指示标记，如前述部分对例(1)中“然后”的交际建构分析显示，“然后”在即时传达叙述者身份和传递自然会话故事的可述性的过程中，逐步形成了语义层面上的指称缺省现象。叙述者以“然后”为话题所指路标，把所指的具体指示对象“桔子”由客观存在变为主观的讨论对象，但值得关注的是，这个过程语义识别是依靠叙述者和受述者在认知上达成对所指对象的认知一致而形成的关于指称的缺省识别，所指对象因而具有具体的语境意义，叙事标记也因此被此语境意义激活，进而衔接和连贯了宏观上被缺省了所指对象但无碍交际双方快速识解的叙事语篇。

Lyons (1977: 636) 曾提及人们在话语中通过使用指示词 (deictic word) 和其它话语手段，使话语与相关的人物、事物、空间、时间等发生直接关联，从而构成话语交际中人们具体谈论的实体对象。会话叙事语篇利用叙事标记与相关故事事件中的所指对象直接关联，在叙述者和受述者对叙事语境的接纳和认同中，形成了不同的逻辑语义联系，引介并促成了叙事标记语义层面的指称缺省功能。如语例(1)中“然后₈”表现的是事件中的原因和结果关系，“然后₉”和“然后₁₀”是叙述者保持讲述身份和维系话轮权力的标记，“然后₁₁”和“然后₁₂”是叙述者获取受述者注意力的标记。在故事即将结束的位置，J所使用的“然后₁₃”本身表达的是转折义，暗涵“但是”的叙事事理关系意义，其话语功能泛化为在J所讲述的连续性故事事件中，以故事退场的语义身份结束了整个故事讲述。

“然后”的叙事标记化过程显示了叙事标记与语境的互动性调度，叙述者利用叙事标记来切分、点评、补全或修正提供给受述者的叙事所指和故事信息。“然后”的语义缺省状态是话语生成平面上多种信息源互相作用的结果。Jaszczolt (2005, 2010) 强调了合并表征中多种信息的来源是意义形成的基础，对意义的研究应该反映出会话交际意义表达出的事实情况，与此同时，也应该提供一个能够表征意图性、显著性和信息首要性的分析框架。这种以合并表征为信息总和的思想促使Jaszczolt (2016) 形成了对自然会话中互动话语意义是如何并合在一起并达成双方可以识解意义的想法。依循此理，“然后”在会话叙事参与者共同推动的故事讲述中，是叙述者用以协调事件时间逻辑性的话语引导标记，其叙事标记化路径是叙述过程中句间的语用义和句外的逻辑语义互动的结果，而叙事标记在概念和序列结构上的表达具有推理成分。

会话叙事标记是在会话叙事中起到连接会话和故事讲述的语言表达式，它的性质接近于语用环境下话语标记所表征出的概念特征，但和话语标记不同的是，叙事标记的词汇意义依赖于叙事语境，因此标记意义的合成性特点才能够作用于整个会话叙事。Jaszczolt (2005) 在缺省语义学 (Default Semantics) 理论模式下曾对话语联系词 *and* 做出应用分析，她指出 *and* 在缺省语义模式下具有的两种缺省路径：一种是认知缺省中通过意图性信息所形成

的语用扩充形成的,如and then;一种是社会文化缺省中对后命题扩充信息在合并表征状态下形成的语用推理或推论捷径形成的,如and as a result等。对话语联系词或话语标记的应用型分析显示了这一理论的层次最简原则,即意义层次除非在必要的情况下,一般不会增加。然而Jaszczolt并未就不同语境下信息源与交际意图互动所产生的意义,及其针对不同交际者所产生的识解意义的过程进行进一步探讨,基于此,我们认为会话叙事标记的语义路径是语义缺省中意图性信息在交际者对标记的快速识解的制约作用过程中逐步形成的,并经历了语言表达式的五种语义路径转换:

- 标记的规约义,即该叙事标记本身所具有的常规词汇意义;
- 标记的隐含义,即该叙事标记在叙事语境下的话语联系功能意义;
- 标记的推理义,即以受述者为主体的对该叙事标记的指示推断意义;
- 由标记扩充的语用充实指向义,即以叙述者和受述者共为主体的对该叙事标记的指称、态度等的主体间意义;
- 由标记引介的认知缺省义,即叙述者认知中对该叙事标记的所指确定和受述者认知中对叙述者意图信息的指称确定,是一种快速识解的意义体现。

会话叙事标记在叙/受述者的意义识解中通常直接体现为由标记引介的认知缺省义,这是叙事标记的语义缺省和语用定位在自然会话中互为补充的体现,在识解过程中呈现了特定语境下的认知指向模式。

会话叙事标记的认知配合模式及其意图信息体现

会话叙事标记在语义缺省空间中的意义转换路径体现了交际者意图信息的指示作用。以Jaszczolt (2016: 2)提出的互动的缺省语义学为意图意义的理论指引,其旨在挖掘互动交际中意图信息的运作方式,并主张对由不同意图信息构成的意义进行整体识解,这一理论指向从本质上讲是以句法、语义、语用和认知为完整共时平面的互动识解模式,各种信息源在合并表征过程中生成了直接以经济、高效方式体现在受话者认知中所缺失和省略的缺省意义。对于会话叙事中交际者的意图而言,除了Jaszczolt (2005: 48)把交际者话语中体现的某事或某物的心理相关性归列于交际意图、内嵌在交际意图中的信息意图、以及言者对话语中物品和事件的指称意图之外,我们认为对于会话叙事中交际者的意图而言,存在此三种意图之外的另一种意图:即叙事意图,其意为为叙述中的故事事件提供叙事信息要素,从而保障会话中故事讲述的顺利进行。而对于叙事意图的启动是由当下叙述者来完成的,“意图是第一视角,即行为主体‘我’的视角”(顾日国, 2017: 320)。因此,意图信息上不同特征的意图都是以叙述者为第一视角进而启动话语进程的,而会话叙事语篇的故事话题结构则充当了会话叙事语篇中叙事意图的表现形式。此种情况下,会话叙事标记在意图信息上对叙述视角的指示索引与叙事语篇中的信息确定形成了叙/受述者之间的认知配合模式(见图 1):

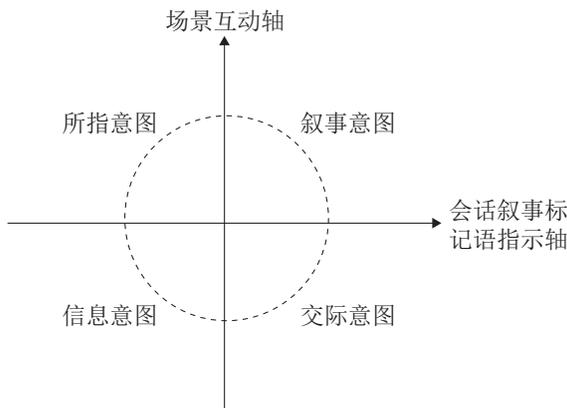


图 1. 会话叙事标记在意图性信息上的认知配合模式

四种意图形式共时出现在话语生成和识解的过程中，在叙述者认知中对叙事标记的所指确定和受述者认知中对叙述者意图信息的确定，是一种快速识解的认知缺省体现。图1中横坐标-会话叙事标记指示轴是叙事标记在会话话语中整体引导和连贯所指概念和程序的功能体现，如语料(1)中的13个“然后”，均为整体引导与连贯所指语篇的指示标记体现；纵坐标-场景互动轴是会话场景和叙事场景切换互动的作用域，语料(1)中的“然后₁、然后₂、然后₄、然后₇及然后₁₁”不仅是不同场景的切换互动标记，在场景的互动切换域中也存在不同的语义缺省状态，又如下例：

(3) (语境：D向丈夫讲述孩子有了小心思的故事会话)

02D: =是，她记事更准了。

shì, tā jìshì gèngzhǔn le

03 那个(.)我跟你讲个故事

nàge (.) wǒ gēnnǐ jiǎngge gùshì

04 昨天她在外面玩儿的时候

zuótiān tā zài wàimiàn wán_{er} de shíhòu

05 有(.)一个韩国小哥哥和小姐姐带着手套玩儿，

yǒu (.) yīgè hāngúo xiǎogēge he xiǎojiějie dàizhe shǒutào wán_{er}

06 然后，就问我，“妈妈手套”，我说“是”

ránhòu jiù wèn wǒ shuō, māmā shǒutào, wǒ shuō shì

(...)

07D: 结果晚上她就一直不睡觉，嗯，

jiéguǒ wǎnshàng tā jiù yīzhí bù shuìjiào, en

08 后来我就假装睡着，(...)

hòulái wǒ jiù jiǎzhuāng shuìzhāo

09 然后，就是躺到那儿了，躺到那儿我以为她已经睡了(.)

ránhòu jiùshì tǎngdàonà_{er} le, tǎngdào nà_{er} wǒ yīwéi tā yǐjīng shuìle

10 结果过了四五分钟就猛一下坐起来掀开枕头

jiéguǒ guòle sìwǔ fēnzhōng jiù měngyíxià zuòqǐlái xiānkāi zhěntóu

11 看看手套还在不在

kànkàn shǒutào hái zàibuzài

12 然后，看看手套还在就把枕头放下来拍拍枕头...

ránhòu kànkàn shǒutào hái zài jiù bǎ zhěntou fàngxiàlái pāipāi zhěntou

此段语料中D作为故事事件的主要叙述者,在向受述者传达故事事件的过程中“然后₁”是D指称话题逻辑的一个起点。D的讲述以“她记事更准了”开始,“她”是故事事件展开过程中的话题主旨信息,其后的细节叙述多是承前了这一话题(“她”),“然后₁”续接了“昨天她在外面玩儿的时候”这个主题,平行推进了事件的叙述发展过程,回指了话题主旨信息,是叙事标记在指示性层面的表现。和“然后₁”类似,12行处“然后₇”围绕的是“晚上她就一直不睡觉”这个主题,话题主旨信息仍然是“她”,因此也是回指话题主旨信息的一种叙事标记现象。这种“话语中的句子如果以上句的主题(topic)为本句的主题”而形成的话语结构可以被称为“平行推进评述部分(comment)”结构(陈平,1987:367),故事事件叙述沿着 $T_1+(C_1 \rightarrow C_2 \rightarrow C_3 \rightarrow C_n)$ 的方式逐步展开,话语标记更像是这个展开方式上的标引箭头,如“然后₆”,和之后的“就”组成了话语标记的衔接关系状态。叙事标记则引带着话题逻辑的指称顺序,呈现出指示性的特征,各故事事件基本上是以话题主旨信息为主推进展开。

自然会话叙事中由于故事叙述者多是在同一话轮内部围绕话题主旨进行多轮事件讲述,受述者的反馈基本上是以单一话轮呈现出来,叙述者的话题主旨信息不会轻易受到受述者的打断或改变,因此叙述话题在整个讲述过程中是连贯的。这种话题主旨单一性和叙述过程连贯性的话语结构决定了其话题链上的话语标记引带的所指对象具有主观上的连续性。也正是由于话题主旨的单一性,以及所指对象在主观上具有连续性的话语结构特征,使得叙述者在讲述过程中所提及的话题先行部分与话语标记之后所缺省的后述所指部分均对主观叙述进程形成了制约,或是说对受述者在话语理解上形成了制约。因此叙事标记之后所指对象在回指时以零形回指的形式出现则主要体现了叙述者和受述者在故事事件上较为完整的话题整合和认知配合,呈现出叙事标记互动性和意图性的表现特征。

因而会话叙事标记是会话中引导意图性信息的叙事事件、连贯会话话语的语境线索词,在传达叙事话语的叙述结构信息的同时,它标记了会话话段和叙事事件话段间的序列依存性和意图协同性,由此,会话叙事标记是不同意图性信息之于叙事话语整体识解的认知配合指引。

会话叙事标记的身份确认及其功能修正

综合上述对会话叙事标记的语用定位、语义路径和认知配合模式的探讨,我们对会话叙事标记的身份及其功能作出以下修正,提出会话叙事标记在语义层面形成的语义缺省的指示性、语用层面形成的叙事维度的互动性、以及认知层面形成的意图性的语篇衔接指向分析模式。

会话叙事标记的身份确认主要体现在以下两个方面：

首先，自然会话叙事标记是叙述者为了强调和突显主观情态，从而更好地表达其叙事意图所使用的一种话语连接手段。从功能层面来讲其主要为叙/受述者的线性思维认知提示语境逻辑，如例(1)和例(3)中用来引介故事序言的“然后₁”，并引导当下受述者在叙述者的叙事意图和所指意图方向上寻找信息意图和交际意图，对话语进行关联识解。会话叙事交际的动态性保障了叙事标记的场景切换和语义指向变化。为了更好地理解这种动态性，我们以下图说明(见图2)：

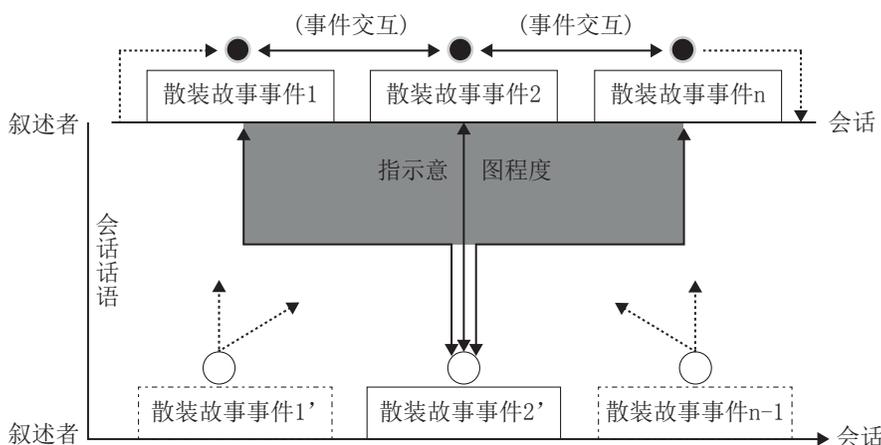


图2. 会话叙事标记的互动-指示-意图边界动态图示

在这一平面中，会话是始终向前进行的动态过程，而叙述者和受述者在会话话语过程中通过单向或轮流提供零散型的散装故事事件(朱冬怡, 2019: 57)形成会话中的故事讲述活动。叙述者会话坐标中每个散装故事事件上的实心圆球就是叙事标记可能出现的区域，我们将其假拟作圆球形状，在于叙事标记具有句法的独立性和位置可选择性的特征(它可以出现在故事事件讲述前，也可以在讲述中出现，同样可以位于话段最后做程序总结)，在叙事事件交互的过程中它们为叙述者和受述者的主观互动话语提供思维交互，从而呈现了连贯一体的会话叙事语篇。受述者在接收到零散故事事件后，能够以不同形式的叙事推理去索引叙述者的所指意图。空心圆球的位置同样不固定，在受述者的理解过程中它们为叙述者和受述者的意图信息提供指示索引。受述者会话坐标上的虚线指示箭头是会话叙事标记直接投射在交际者主观互动中的认知指向。因此，会话叙事标记的语义层面作用位于阴影的指示意图程度区域、认知层面作用于虚线标示的意图指向上、而在构成叙述者会话坐标和受述者会话坐标的整个会话话语区域内，则展现了话段间语义指示结构、语

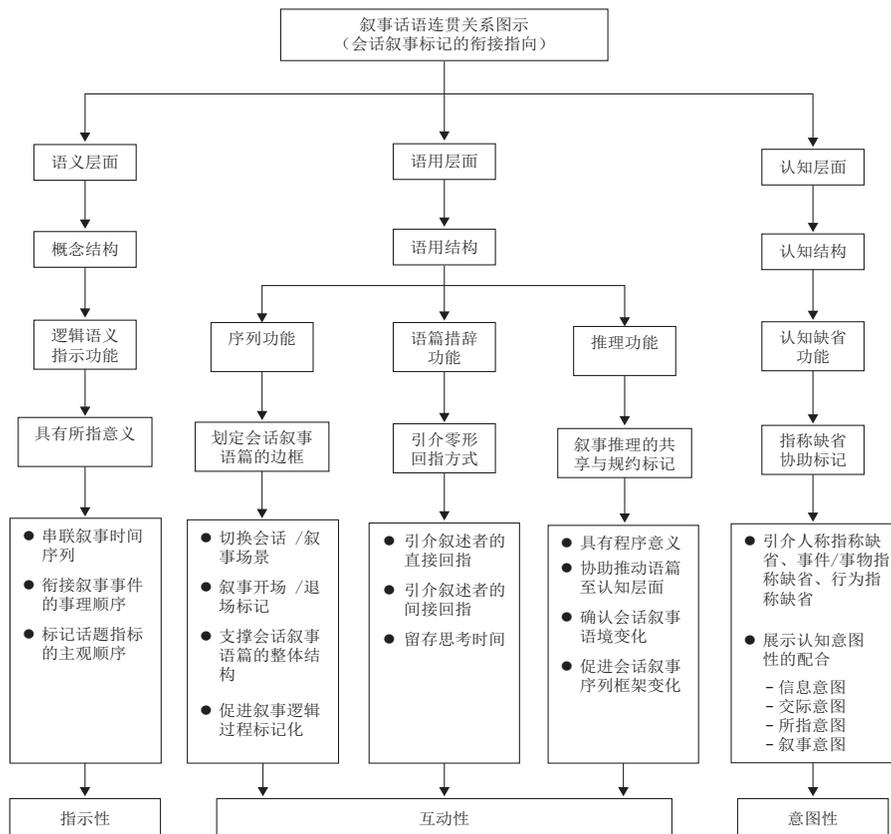
用互动方式和认知意图信息的标记语篇衔接现象。这是叙述者和受述者在故事讲述过程中无需多层解释、便能够快速识别标记所指的思维路径。

其次,会话叙事标记本身能够揭示话语字面上所缺省的指称或语用隐含信息,它们可以通过指称缺省或语义缺省重新激活叙述所指人/物/事件/行为,连通句法逻辑短路信息,维持自然会话叙事中会话与故事讲述的顺利切换与认知所指的衔接连贯。如例(1)与例(3)中,“然后”引介的会话中的故事讲述活动都有回指了会话主题的或人物,或事件的指称形式,叙事标记在语义指示性、语用互动性和认知意图性三个层面各有侧重,但每个层面的结构都对叙事标记在引介语义缺省功能、形成其独特语用价值和认知过程中具有不同于话语标记大类现象的区别性表现:

在此其中,指示性衔接指向主要体现叙事标记语义层面的结构信息,其中主要反映叙事标记的逻辑语义指示功能形成的指称缺省和语义缺省的所指缺省现象,如例(2)中缺省了所指信息的“然后₁”、“然后₇”等;互动性衔接指向主要体现叙事标记语用层面的结构信息,其中也反映了叙事标记对故事序列、语篇措辞以及叙事推理形成的语用操作的影响,如例(1)中“然后₁₀”、“然后₁₂”、“然后₁₃”等,推进了故事序列的行进,并留存了受述者在后续故事讲述中对其人物所指和会话或故事框架的思考;意图性衔接指向主要体现叙事标记认知层面的结构信息,其中也反映叙事标记在交际主体的识解过程中的语用认知心理,如例(1)中的“然后₁₋₈”,以及例(3)中的“然后₆₋₇”,在引介各种形式的指称缺省的同时,协调了叙述者在故事讲述过程中的信息意图等的铺展模式。

综合上述分析,联系González(2005)在其研究中对英语和西班牙加泰罗尼亚语中的叙事标记作的概念、修辞、序列和推理四个话语连贯维度问题,我们将会话叙事标记在自然会话故事讲述中的连贯关系修正如下。

在叙事话语的连贯关系和衔接指向上,我们发现了会话叙事标记在语义层面共现了叙述者所使用的语言表达式的指示性;在语用层面体现了场景互动中交际者对话段细节之间的序列结构、语篇措辞方式以及语用过程的管控和推理形式;在认知层面展现了叙述者在叙事过程中的意图性,即由叙述者传达、受述者接纳的交际意图、信息意图、所指意图到叙事意图的一个叙事共享认知界面。叙事标记在语义层面延伸出标记的指示性功能特征,在语用层面支撑了整个会话与叙事框架的互动性功能特征,在认知层面牵制了交际者的意图性功能特征,共同推进了会话叙事向前进展。

图 3. 会话叙事标记指示性-互动性-意图性衔接指向分析框架⁷

结束语

本文围绕会话叙事标记在叙事新转向上的现状,从“然后”说起,对会话叙事标记从交际建构到目的修辞的语用身份作以补充和说明,并从中发现了会话叙事标记是语用、语义、认知的互动体现标记形式。通过分析我们主张会话叙事标记本身是结合了语义结构中的逻辑语义指示功能、语用结构中的序列功能、语篇措辞功能和推理功能以及认知结构中的意图信息功能而形成的一种特殊语境下的话语标记现象。

从互动性,即语用层面来讲,会话叙事标记在话语序列结构、语篇措辞缺省和语境推理三个话语意义生成维度中形成了其与语境的互动性调度。叙

7. 表中符号↓表示“由...具体体现为...”。

事标记的互动性意义体现在承接故事命题和故事事件话语片断的关联关系上;其互动性功能体现在话语生成过程中。以“然后”为例,它在会话叙事过程中所表现出的时序串联和事理关系倾向性,更着重于在故事讲述的铺展过程中对事件要素进行时序或事理关系的引导。从指示性,即语义层面上,会话叙事标记在逻辑语义指示向度上形成了指称缺省的语义空间,从而让步于识解过程中零形回指的语义空位以及生成过程中线性思维的语篇空位。而从意图性,即认知层面上,叙事标记关涉的是叙/受述者在叙事程序的启动和进展过程中对缺省指称对象,即故事链条上有关人、事件/事物、行为等所述实体的过程引介或引导,显示了叙述者“散装叙事”和受述者“语用默契”的认知心理状况,例如“然后”体现了叙事者的叙述身份、叙事话题可述性和讲述连续性期待的一种认知导引功能。

综上,从以上三种结构以及指示性-互动性-意图性的衔接指向切入的分析结果,有望使我们对特定语境下话语标记大类现象的运作过程和其所具备的区别性特征具有更深刻的理解⁸。

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8. 本文所列举的语料并不一定能够反映会话叙事标记的整体使用特征,且通过作者自建CCNC语料库所析出的叙事标记分析仍属于探索式研究,在其后的研究过程中我们期待不断改进叙事标记的指示性-互动性-意图性衔接指向分析框架,以期为今后的同类研究提供一种可能的工具和研究方法。

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Windows of attention and the polysemy of *V-kai*

Wang Liansheng

Shanghai University of Finance and Economics

This paper analyses the polysemy of the structure of *V-kai* based on windows of attention and finds that it has three different meanings, including result, result and direction, condition, which respectively include some different subordinate meanings. It is the result of different patterns of path windowing. Specifically, result is the result of final path windowing. Result and direction is the result of medial and final path windowing. Condition is the result of initial and medial path windowing. Making use of mechanism of analogy, metaphor and metonymy, they produce some different subordinate meanings. Because of economy principle of language, it is necessary for the language construction to change from expressing one meaning to expressing more, leading to the increase of semantic capacity.

Keywords: *V-kai* structure, windows of attention, polysemy, mechanism, semantic capacity

引言

“V开”¹具有十分丰富的语义类型,例如²:

- (1) 把箱子打开。
- (2) 这儿裂开了一寸多宽。
- (3) 不能随便走开。
- (4) 迈开大步朝前走。
- (5) 这儿放不开四张床。

1. 本文只讨论“开”在动补结构中作补语的语义情况,状中结构不在本文的讨论范围内,“笑颜逐开”中“逐开”为状中结构,因而不在于本文的讨论范围内。感谢评审专家提出这一点。

2. 例句来自吕叔湘《现代汉语八百词》,转引自周红(2017)。

- (6) 把事情说开。
 (7) 一见到亲人他就哭开了。

上述例句中的“开”，吕叔湘(2004[1999]: 329-330)认为分别为：人或事物随动作分开、物体随动作展开一定距离、人或事物随动作分开、事物随动作展开、能不能容纳一定数量、比喻开阔/清楚、动作开始兼有放开不受约束。孟琮等(2003: 19)认为例(1)-(4)、(6)为放松、分离，例(5)为容纳义，例(7)为进入某种状态。刘月华(1998: 381-395)、王国栓(2005)、梁银峰(2007)、宋文辉(2007)认为“V开”具有趋向、结果、状态三种语义类型，例(3)是趋向义，例(1)(2)(4)-(6)为结果义，例(7)表状态义。这些分类对于研究“V开”的语义具有重要参考意义，但未能将其中的语义关联反映出来。

我们认为，从人类认知角度出发，对“V开”这一类补语的语义进行分类，辅之句法手段进行论证，或许更有助于人们理解。在认知语言学中，注意力(Attention)是其中一个重要概念，Fillmore(1982)的框架语义学(Frame semantics)、Langacker(1987)的凸显(Profiling)理论以及Talmy(2000)的图形—背景(Figure-ground)理论等都与注意力息息相关。Talmy(1975, 1988, 2000, 2006, 2007, 2010)在此基础上提出了“注意力窗口化”(Windows of attention)，他认为在语言的表达过程中，语言可以通过对某一特定情景中的有机组成部分明确提及而使其成为注意的焦点，与此同时运用省略的方法使该场景中其他组成部分处于背景部分。这一现象所涉及的认知过程即是“注意力窗口化”，而涉及的情景则是“事件框架”(Event frame)，焦点部位称作“窗”(Windows)，作为背景的部分则为“隐没部分”(Gap)(Talmy 1996; 邓宇2004; 束定芳 2008; 黄建勤，张俊强2016)。Talmy(2000)共提出了五种类型的事件框架，分别为运动、因果链、循环、参与者互动和相互关系。其中，注意力窗口化最为明显的为运动事件框架(Event frame of motion)，而运动事件框架中又以路径事件框架(Path event frame)最为典型，包括开放性路径(Open path)、封闭性路径(Closed path)和假想路径(Fictive path)三种。实际上，开放路径和封闭路径可以合并为实际路径(Factual path)，与假想路径相对，而假想路径也可进一步分为开放性假想路径和封闭性假想路径两类。

“V开”结构各意义背后均关联着路径事件框架，而其不同意义的形成，正是路径事件框架不同组成部分窗口化的结果。文章基于注意力窗口化理论，对“V开”结构的多义同构现象进行研究。具体来说，“V开”结构的意义包含结果义、结果兼趋向义和状态义，而各意义背后又包含一些不同具体义。

“V开”结构的路径事件框架

Talmy(2000)认为一个运动事件框架，至少包含焦点(Figure)、运动(Motion)、路径(Path)和背景(Ground)四个语义要素，作为其典型成员的“路径事件框架”同样包含这四个基本要素，并且路径可以进一步分为开端、中段和末端三个部分。具体到“V开”结构的路径事件框架，其详细情况如图1所示：

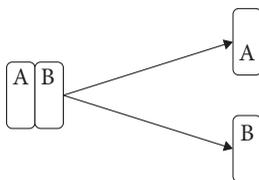


图 1. “V开”的路径事件框架

图 1中，A、B两个物体，在作用力的驱动下按照一定的方向运动，从而形成位移，最终二者发生分离。施动者的作用力可以是外向的，其驱动力作用于自身之外的其他物体，此时为外向致使；也可以作用于施动者本身，其自身既是施动者也是受动者，此时为内向驱动，为返身致使(周红2017)。在这一过程中，开端为运动前的A和B，中段为位移、位移的方向，末端则为最终分离的A和B。并且，运动的起点和终点处于空间中不同位置，未发生重合，均为开放性路径。“V开”结构结果义、结果兼趋向义以及状态义的形成，正是开端、中段和末端不同阶段路径窗口化的结果。下面，我们将对此进行详细分析。

结果义

当注意力焦点集中在运动的终点，开启“末端窗”，“V开”结构便呈现出结果义。此时，受动者A和B在作用力的驱动下运动，在物理空间形成位移，最终使二者发生分离，完成由关闭到打开的结果变化。具体情况如图 2所示(图中矩形表示注意力窗口，下同)：

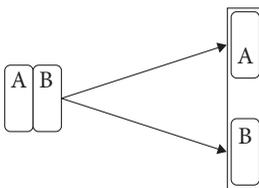


图 2. 结果义中“V开”注意力开启窗口

图2中，受动者A和B在驱动力的作用下，在空间域各自按照一定方向运动形成位移，二者发生分离，完成由关闭到打开的变化。需要指出的是，尽管同样是开启末端窗，但是因为注意力焦点关注的侧重点不同，仍会呈现出不同意义。当注意力焦点聚焦于受动者A和B由关闭到打开的变化结果，就会形成“打开”义；当关注的焦点在于A和B由聚合到分离的变化结果，就会形成“分开”义。换句话说，“打开”义强调A和B原本二者之间的闭合，“分开”义则强调A和B原本为同一物体的组成部分。并且，两个不同意义还会在隐喻、转喻和类推机制的作用下由空间域拓展到其他抽象域，形成新的意义。下面，我们将对此展开具体分析。

由关闭到打开

“打开”义

“由关闭到打开”结果义中第一个具体意义呈现为“打开”义，记作 R_{O1} ，为物理空间的实际开放性路径。此时，V主要为击打类二价动词，包括“打、推、拉、撩、踹、砸、掀、拽、撬”等，后接具体实体名词作宾语，如“门、窗、抽屉、帘子”等。例如：

- (8) 乃义在院子里故意咳嗽一声，然后掀开门帘走进了屋子。
(李文澄《努尔哈赤》)
- (9) 他们砸开铁门，冲进控制室，企图强行合闸，并控制通讯联络，见人就打，变电站五名职工被打伤住院。
(《人民日报》1993年1月)

“扩展”义

当“V开”在隐喻机制的作用下整体发生隐喻，由具体空间域映射到抽象概念域，此时“开”便呈现出第二个结果义“扩展”义，记作 R_{O2} 。在 R_{O2} 中，并未形成真实的空间物理位移运动，而为抽象域的假想性开放路径。此时，动词依然为击打类动词，后均接抽象概念名词宾语，包括“市场、眼界、思想、思路”等。例如：

- (10) 目前，丘比沙拉酱在北京已打开市场，约有100家以上的商店已经销售这种商品。
(《报刊精选》1994)
- (11) 大家敞开思想，畅所欲言，敢于讲心里话，讲实在话。(《邓小平文选2》)

“使舒畅”义

当 R_{O1} 在隐喻机制的作用下由空间域映射到状态域，“开”便产生了“使舒畅”的意义，记作 R_{O3} 。与 R_{O2} 一样，同样未形成真实的空间运动，为假想性开放路径。此时，V主要包括三类：一类为动作类一价和二价动词，包括“跑、走、吃、抹、活动、运动”等，一类为言说类二价动词，如“讲、说、解释、阐述”等，还有一类为观想类二价动词，包括“看、想”等。例如：

- (12) 刚才我看出你是被人点住了穴道，可是现在我也看出你已经把气血活动开了。
(古龙《七星龙王》)
- (13) 林先生想了半天觉得只有去找商会会长，请他去和那三位宝贝讲开。
(茅盾《林家铺子》)
- (14) 史玉柱真的想开了，我也感到轻松了。
(《史玉柱传奇》)

由整合到分离

“分开”义

在“由整合到分离”结果义中，第一个具体意义表现为“分开”义，记作 R_{S1} 。在 R_{S1} 中，原本为一个整体的A和B在作用力的驱动下由聚合发生分离³，此时运动为物理空间中真实发生的运动，为实际开放性路径。在 R_{S1} 中，均表达外向致使，动词主要由撕扯义二价动词承担，“撕、扯、拽、掰、劈、炸”等，后均接具体实体名词作宾语，包括“面包、纸、书、石头、衣服”等。例如：

- (15) 然后放下担子，在腿上掰开一块锅饼，放下一罐稀饭，罐子上的碗里还有咸鱼豆鼓。
(《作家文摘》1994)
- (16) 徽因撕开床单，将床单浸了水传递到梁上去……
(张清平《林徽因》)

“离开”义

当属于同一整体的两个部分A和B，在类推机制的作用下扩展到独立个体的A和B时，表达两个独立个体在作用力的驱动下发生分离，同时在隐喻机制的作用下由空间域映射到时间域，此时“开”便呈现出第二个结果义“离开”义，记作 R_{S2} 。在 R_{S2} 中，既可以表达返身致使，也可以表达外向致使。当表达返身致使时，动词主要由身体运动义二价动词和躲闪义二价动词充当，前者如“跑、走、蹦、滚、翻、跳”等，后者如“躲、闪、挣、让、挣脱”等。例如：

- (17) 隋文帝气冲冲地说：“你想撼动大树吗？撼不动你就走开吧！”
(《中华上下五千年》)
- (18) 安文子说着话儿，就想伸手去拉她，扈米拉忙把手一甩，躲开了。
(李文澄《努尔哈赤》)

当表达外向致使时，动词主要为搬移义二价动词和丢甩义二价动词，前者如“搬、移、抱、推、挡”等，后者如“丢、甩、扔、松、撒”等。例如：

- (19) 他们两个将路障搬开了，开着车，唱着小曲儿，终于平平安安地回了家。
(《作家文摘》1995)
- (20) 依凡瞪她一眼，抓过酒杯一仰而尽，再将酒杯随手扔开。(古灵《偷人》)

3. 需要指出的是，A和B既可以是同一个物体的两个组成部分，也可以是两个独立的物体，因为相互接触或者距离相近而被看作一个整体。例如，例(16)中“锅饼”被掰开为两个部分A和B，为第一种情况；例(17)中“走开”关涉对象为“你”和“隋文帝”，二者原本因为所处位置距离相近而被视为一个整体，而“你”的离开是以“隋文帝”所在位置为参照点，此为第二种情况。感谢评审专家指出这一点。

“区分”义

当 R_{S_2} 在隐喻机制的作用下,由时间域映进一步射到状态域,便形成了“区分”义,记作 R_{S_3} 。 R_{S_3} 同样为假想性开放路径,均表达外向致使,动词主要为分辨义二价动词,如“分、分别、分辨,区分、识别”等,既可与具体实体名词搭配,也可以搭配抽象概念名词。例如:

- (21) ...这些研究导致了三域系统的出现,将真核生物、古生菌与细菌分开。
 (22) 就跟看灾难,看暴力,本来是合乎人的本能的,但是人要把这个本能,和现实中的道德区别开... (孔庆东《金庸小说中的武功》)

例(21)中“真核生物、古生菌”等为具体实体名词,例(22)中“本能、道德”为抽象概念名词。

“容纳”义

在 R_1 中,受动者整体在驱动力的作用下,分为A和B两个部分,所以整体由A和B组成。从物体所占据物理空间角度来看,整体由A和B构成可以看成整体的空间可以容纳A和B两个组成部分所占据的空间,容纳义便由此形成,记作 R_{S_4} 。相应的作用机制为转喻机制,具体来说,整体可以容纳A和B两个物体的空间是使二者能够分开这一事件得以发生的前提条件,也是其发生的起点,可见从 R_{S_1} 扩展到 R_{S_4} ,是整体到部分转喻的结果。在 R_{S_4} 中,动词主要由与空间相关的动作义二价动词承担,如“摆、放、睡、躺、坐、站、装、盛”等,均与具体实体名词搭配。例如:

- (23) 这个椅子可以坐得开我们两个人。 (自拟)
 (24) 小屋子里早盛不开这么多烟气,呛得贾老师一股劲地咳嗽,倒背了手,在屋子地上走来走去。 (梁斌《红旗谱》)

上述诸义,无论动体是具体实体还是抽象概念,运动是发生在物理空间还是抽象域,路径是真实存在还是存在于想象中,它们都是路径事件框架开启末端窗的结果。并且,在开启末端窗时由于关注的侧重点不同,形成不同的意义,但都为“V开”的结果义。

结果兼趋向义

当注意力聚焦于末端,开启末端窗形成“开”的结果义;当注意力集中于中段,开启中段窗时“开”呈现出趋向义。而当注意力聚焦的范围进一步扩大,同时聚焦于中段和末端,开启“中段窗+末端窗”时,开端为背景成分,此时“开”兼具结果义和趋向义。具体情况如图3所示:

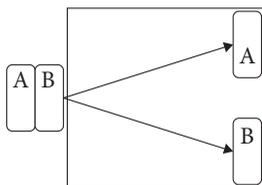


图 3. 结果兼趋向义中“v开”的注意力开启窗口

图 3 中, 受动者 A 和 B 在作用力的驱动下, 沿着一定的方向运动形成位移, 最终导致二者分离。注意力聚焦于二者运动的位移、方向和终点时, “开”便呈现出了结果兼趋向义。此时, 受动者 A 和 B 是一个物体的组成部分, 二者在外力的作用下, 以内在源点或者中轴为中心, 按照一定的方向形成位移, 从而导致受动者自身形状发生变化, 最终完成变化的结果, 在这一过程中位移、方向和终点都具有十分重要的作用。例如, 例 (25) 中“摊开地图”, 受动者“地图”在外力的作用下, 以内在源点为中心进行扩展, 按照由近及远的方向形成位移, 自身形状发生由大到小的变化, 最终完成了“地图”由叠起到打开的变化结果。而在结果义中, 位移和方向并不是重要因素, 作为一个整体组成部分的受动者 A 和 B 不是以内在源点或者中轴为中心, 按照一定的方向产生位移, 其运动的方向是随机的, 形变也不是一定会发生的, 结果的变化才是着重点。例如, 例 (15) 中“掰开一块锅饼”, 强调的是受动者“锅饼”在外力的作用下, 自身由整合到分离这一结果的形成, 自身也并未发生形变。以下, 我们将对其具体呈现的意义进行分析。

“展开”义

在“开”的结果兼趋向义中, 第一个意义具体呈现为“展开”义, 记作 RD_1 。运动在物理空间真实发生, 为实际开放性路径。在 RD_1 中, V 主要由铺展义二价动词充当, 包括“铺、展、摊、撑、抖”等, 后均接具体实体名词作宾语, 包括“伞、纸、手掌、被子、毛巾”等。例如:

- (25) 蒋介石登上竹排坐定后, 即摊开地图, 不时查问地名。
(《蒋氏家族全传》)
- (26) 还有些人带了伞, 在羡慕的眼光里, 撑开伞, 感激天气预报难得竟有报对的时候。
(韩寒《三门门》)

“扩散”义

在 RD_1 中为物理空间的驱动力产生的实际运动, 而当“开”在隐喻机制的作用下, 与其相关的路径事件框架结构由具体空间域映射到抽象概念域, “开”便

获得一种隐喻义,具体呈现为“扩散”义,记作 RD_2 。此时,并未形成真实的位移运动,而是人的注意力沿着假想路径运动,形成假想性开放性路径。在 RD_2 中,动词仍旧由铺展义二价动词充当,搭配“消息、故事、活动、内幕”等抽象名词。例如:

(27) 然而,1992年中国驰名商标评选活动刚刚在全国范围内铺开,就掀起了一股前所未有的商标浪潮。 (《报刊精选》1994)

(28) 打那以后,包拯审案的名声就传开了。 (《中华上下五千年》)

以上各个意义,无论运动是发生在具体空间域还是抽象概念域,路径是实际开放路径还是假想开放路径,都是路径事件框架开启“中段窗+末端窗”的结果。末端包含着运动产生的结果,中段包含着运动形成的位移和方向,当注意力同时聚焦于二者,便形成了“V开”的结果兼趋向义。

状态义

当注意力聚焦于运动的起点以及运动形成的位移时,此时开启“开端窗+中段窗”,末端窗为背景成分,“V开”呈现出状态义。具体来说,受动者A和B在驱动力的作用下运动,形成位移,自身发生了由静止到运动的状态变化。需要指出的是,所聚焦的中段,特指其运动所形成的位移,而运动的方向并不在焦点的范围内,所以其只具有状态义,并不包含趋向义。具体情况如图4所示:

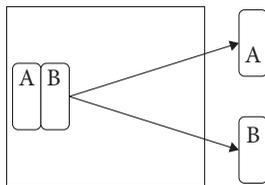


图4. 状态义中“V开”的注意力开启窗口

图4中,注意力聚焦于受动者A和B运动的起点以及运动所形成的位移,受动者在力的作用下发生由静止到运动的状态变化,并持续下去,此时终点隐没,并不关注位移产生的结果,“V开”便形成了状态义。下面,我们将分别对其具体义进行分析。

“位移的产生及持续”义

状态义的第一个具体义展现为“位移的产生及持续”义,记作 C_1 。在 C_1 中,运动为物理空间真实发生的运动,受动者在作用力的驱动下,由静止进行运动,在

物理空间产生位移,不关注位移所产生的结果,为实际开放性路径。此时,动词主要由一价位移动作类动词充当,如“跑、跳、蹦、爬、走、蹦跶”等,均表达返身致使。例如:

- (29) 那狍子逃得极不寻常,每当父女俩就要看不见它时,它就停下来,待他们举枪要射击时,它又跑开了。(《读者》(合订本))
- (30) 帝国军人的脚步只停了一会儿,便又向前走开了……(星空《苍月》)

例(29)中“跑开”表示狍子由停到跑的状态变化,例(30)中“走开”表示军人从停到走的状态变化,二者均在物理空间中留下实际位移。

“动作的开始及持续”义

当 C_1 在隐喻机制作用下,由空间域映射到时间域,表达非位移动作的开始及持续,并未产生实际位移,所形成的路径并非真实路径,而为假想性路径,“动作的开始及持续”(王宜广,宫领强2015)义便应运而生,记作 C_2 。在 C_2 中,所搭配动词主要为二价非位移动作动词,包括四类:第一类为言说义动词,如“说、嚷、喊、叫、闹、吵、唱、聊、谈、打闹、议论”等;第二类为思考义动词,如“想、盘算、琢磨、研究、打算”;第三类为吃喝义动词,如“吃、喝、尝、品”等;第四类为收拾义动词,如“收拾、拾掇、布置、办置”等。此时,均表达返身致使。例如:

- (31) 啊,那不就是舅舅吗?我老远就喊开了。(卢腾《高高的厂房前》)
- (32) 孩子还没出生,我们两个人已经开始琢磨开了。(人民日报1995)
- (33) “老外”父子俩在逛豫园商城,老爸刚买了油饼,儿子就迫不及待地吃开了。(陈惟《千年古镇美味汇豫园》)
- (34) 大家笑着收拾开了,刷碗的、扫地的、叠被子的,忙得是不亦乐乎!(木弓《帮忙》)

例(31)中“喊”为言说义动词,“喊开”表示“喊”这一动作的开始和持续;例(32)中“琢磨”为思考义动词,“琢磨开”这一整体表示“琢磨”这一抽象动作的开始和进行;例(33)中“吃”为吃喝义动词,“吃开”结构描述了具体动作“吃”的发生和持续;例(34)中“收拾”为收拾义动词,“收拾开”这一结构表达了动作“收拾”的展开和持续进行。

“新情况的出现及持续”义

C_2 表示时间域的运动关系,当其在隐喻机制的作用下进一步由时间域扩展到状态域,由此便产生了另一隐喻义,即“新情况的出现及持续”义,记作 C_3 。 C_3 同样未发生真实运动,并未形成实际位移,所形成路径为假想性开放路径。在 C_3 中,所搭配的主要为性质形容词,如“冷、热、暖、凉”等。例如:

(35) 下了两天雨,天就冷开了。 (《汉语大词典》(第5版))

(36) 夏天一到,天就热开了。 (自拟)

以上诸义,不管运动是发生在空间域还是发生在时间域或状态域,所形成路径是实际开放路径还是假想开放路径,都是路径事件框架开启“开端窗+中段窗”的结果。开端窗包含着运动的动体和起点,中端窗此时只关注运动形成的位移,方向并不在考虑的范围之内。当注意力同时聚焦于动体、起点和位移时,便形成了“V开”的状态义。

“V开”结构同构异义形成过程

根据上述研究,可以将“V开”结构同构异义形成过程和具体情况归纳为图5:

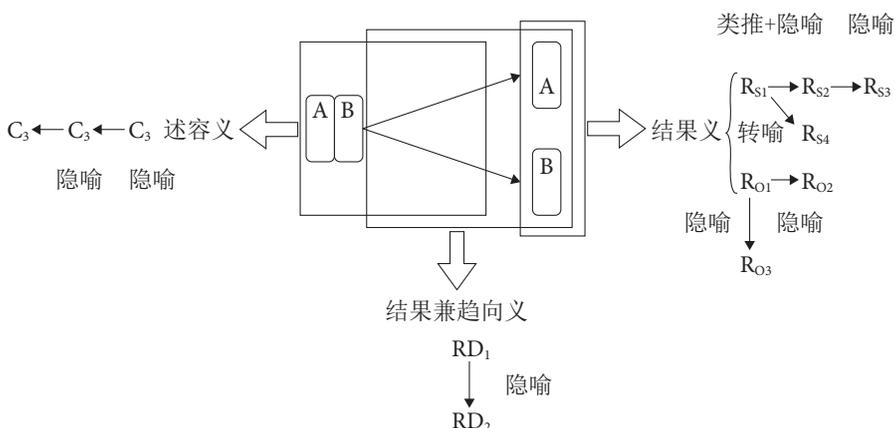


图5. “V开”同构异义形成过程与情况

具体来说,当注意力聚焦于路径事件框架末端开启“末端窗”时,此时“V开”呈现出结果义,并且根据关注的侧重点不同,又可分为“打开义” R_{O1} 和“分开义” R_{S1} , R_{O1} 在隐喻机制作用下呈现出“扩展义” R_{O2} 和“由纠结到舒畅义” R_{O3} ; R_{S1} 在类推和隐喻机制的共同作用下产生“分离义” R_{S2} ,在转喻机制的作用下扩展出“容纳义” R_{O4} , R_{S2} 则在隐喻机制作用下形成“区分义” R_{S3} 。当注意力焦点同时聚焦在中段和末端,开启“中段窗+末端窗”时,“V开”便呈现出结果兼趋向义,具体表现为“展开义” RD_1 ,其在隐喻机制作用下形成“扩散义” RD_2 。当注意力集中于运动的起点和位移,开启“开端窗+中段窗”时,“V开”表现出状态义,具体意义为“位移的开始和持续” C_1 。而 C_1 又在隐喻机制的作用下扩展到时间域和状态域,分别形成“动作的开始及持续义” C_2 和“新情况的出现及持续义” C_3 。至此,“V开”结构的同构异义体系便已形成。

需要指出的是,在同构异义中存在一种特殊情况即同形同构异义,其外部形式和结构完全一样,但是在不同的语境中,却可以表达不同意义。“V开”结构便存在上述情况,根据“开”不同义是否属于同一类,又包括两种情况:

第一种情况,“开”的不同意义属于同一类义,为不同具体义。以“展开”为例:

(37) 学生所谓一起写作业,其实就是坐在一起,展开书,手里拿着笔,嘴里叨叨个没完没了。(微博)

(38) 俄土两国同时出手,欲在叙北部展开行动:警告美军尽快撤离。(微博)

例(37)中,“展开”中的“开”为结果兼趋向义,具体义为“展开”;例(38)中“展开”的“开”同属于结果兼趋向义,具体呈现为“扩散”,二者为同一类义下的不同具体义。

第二种情况,“开”各语义不完全为同一类义,为不同类义的交叉。以“跑开”为例:

(39) “太快了!我还没有跑开就结束了!”孙雯有些遗憾地说。
(新华社2004年7月份新闻报道)

(40) 有的小男孩腼腆,特意跑来喊一声后,就羞答答地跑开了。
(人民日报1994年第2季度)

(41) 他没等发令枪响就开始跑开了。(自拟)

例(39)中“跑开”为结果义,具体表现为“由纠结到舒畅”义;例(40)中为结果义,具体义为“离开”义;例(41)中为状态义,具体呈现为“动作的开始及持续”义。例(39)(40)中的“开”同属于结果义下的不同具体义,而与(41)则属于不同类义。

它们在不同句子中表达不同意义,而不会产生歧义,得益于语境和注意力窗口化标示语的支持。其中,语境主要为“V开”结构所在句子上下文语境,可以为人们在理解的过程中提供背景支持。如例(39)中我们通过其所在句子的上下文语境“事件发生在一场赛跑比赛中,而且比赛结束得很快”,可以推知“跑开”在此表示结果义,表示“由纠结到舒畅”。而注意力窗口化标示语则是指在“V开”所在的上下文语境中,往往会存在一个词语,标示出此时“V开”结构开启的是哪一部分注意力窗口,从而让听话人快速做出判断并进行识解。例如,例(39)中的“还”与运动所产生结果的实现程度相关,标示结果义;例(41)中“开始”标示动体运动状态的变化,标示状态义。

结语

以上,我们探讨了“v开”结构多义同构现象产生的过程和作用机制。而产生同构异义的动因,则是语言经济性。由于语言经济性原则的制约,当一个结构形成之后,必然会从最初形式与意义的一一对应向一对多的方向发展转变。一个形式承担更多的意义,不仅可以使语言更加简洁,同时也会减轻人们的记忆负担,提高语言交际效率。而扩充的主要方式之一就是运用注意力窗口化,通过将注意力集中在事件结构不同部分使其突显为焦点,其他部分弱化为背景,从而呈现出新意义,达到结构语义容量扩充的目的和结果。除此之外,隐喻、转喻和类推机制也起到了十分重要的作用。在注意力窗口化的基础上,人们在认知中充分运用隐喻和转喻两种方式,将空间域的运动关系扩展到其他抽象域之中,形成新的意义,再加上类推机制的作用,容纳的语义类型得以不断增加,结构的语义容量便不断扩展。

一个结构的语义容量不断增加和扩充,便会形成同构异义的现象,甚至会形成同形同构异义的情况。而在识解的过程中,听话人会根据具体的上下文语境以及相应的标示语,迅速判断出此时开启注意力窗口的事件结构组成部分,准确定位此时该结构所对应的意义,并不会造成歧义,影响交际。而且随着时间的推移,使用频率的增加,其标示语和结构相应语义的对应越来越直接,在识解的过程中已经成为习惯性链接,不仅不会增加人们记忆和识解的负担,相反会促进语言的高效运转和交际的高效运行。

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The acceptability of 把 *ba*+subject-oriented resultatives in Mandarin Chinese

Shuo Yu

Minzu University of China

The combination of 把 *ba* and subject-oriented resultative constructions in Mandarin Chinese, which is not always well accepted by native speakers, has so far received little scholarly attention. To test the acceptability of 把 *ba* + subject-oriented resultatives in Chinese, based on examples in the corpora, a questionnaire survey among 71 Chinese college students was carried out with the technique of magnitude estimation, which could detect small but significant differences in acceptability. The results suggest that the acceptability of 把 *ba* + subject-oriented resultatives depends on the degree of transitivity of the sentence. In general, patterns with the interpretation of the subject making efforts to achieve something thoroughly are acceptable. The cognitive explanation I propose is that a high degree of transitivity expressed by the sentence is compatible with the function of 把 *ba* as a marker of high transitivity.

Keywords: Chinese resultative construction, the *ba*-construction, transitivity, magnitude estimation

Introduction

In this work I mainly focus on the acceptability of 把 *ba* +subject-oriented resultatives in Chinese. The Chinese resultative construction, exemplified in (1), is formed as verb + result XP (e.g. Shi 2008). The result XP refers to a change of state or location of an NP, while the change is caused by an action denoted by the verb.

- (1) 他 走-累-了 (CCL¹ 2.1)
ta zou-lei-le
 he walk-tired-ASP
 'He walked and as a result he was tired.'

1. The CCL is a corpus built by the Center for Chinese Linguistics PKU, which contains over 63 million words of Contemporary Chinese (in written and spoken language). website: http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/index.jsp?dir=xiandai

Chinese resultatives can be classified as subject-oriented and object-oriented based on the distinction proposed by Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2001), with the two differing in whether the result XP is predicated of the subject (see (1)) or object, as in (2).² The postverbal NP in subject-oriented resultatives is worth noticing. In the Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese (LCMC), more than half of the subject-oriented resultatives take no object (Yu 2018: 7).³ This is because the change of state is related to the subject, the postverbal NP need not occur.

- (2) 她 擦-干-了 头发 (CCL 89.1)
ta ca-gan-le toufa
 she wipe-dry-ASP hair
 ‘She wiped her hair dry.’

The combination of Chinese resultatives and the 把 *ba*-construction has been discussed in scholarship (e.g. Ye 2004; Zhao 2009). The 把 *ba*-construction is formed as NP₁ + *ba* + NP₂ + V (e.g. 3). Semantically, the 把 *ba*-construction has been analyzed as expressing disposal (Wang 1947; Li 1974; Wang 2003), causation (Guo 1999; Ye 2004), or high transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Sun 1995) in previous scholarship (see Han 2013 for an overview). More about the 把 *ba*-construction will be stated in the literature review. A crucial factor is that a post-*ba* NP (e.g. 苹果 *pingguo* ‘apple’ in 3) is always required in the 把 *ba*-construction. So normally there are no combinations of 把 *ba* and subject-oriented resultatives, since the 把 *ba*-construction requires a postverbal NP, whereas subject-oriented resultative constructions usually do not take a patient.

- (3) 我 把 那 个 苹果 吃-了 (CCL 36.1)
wo ba na ge pingguo chi-le
 I *ba* that CL apple eat-ASP
 ‘I ate that apple.’

2. Based on the examples in the corpus, it is not always the case that the subject in a subject-oriented resultative is the agent. Instead, it can be the patient (i). This article mainly focuses on the subject/agent-oriented type like (1) in the main text.

- i. 衣服 洗-干净-了 (CCL 5.1)
yifu xi-ganjing-le
 clothes wash-clean-ASP
 ‘The clothes were washed clean.’

3. The Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese (cf. McEnery and Xiao 2004), is a standard corpus as a Chinese match of the Freiburg-LOB (FLOB) of British English and Frown corpora of American English. The LCMC contains 1 million words from 15 genres in written Mandarin. In the LCMC, 55.6% of the subject-oriented resultatives do not take postverbal NPs.

Although not all subject-oriented resultatives take a postverbal NP, there are some examples found in the corpus with objects (e.g. 4/5/6/a), which provide opportunities for combining 把 *ba*. For the none-*ba* resultatives as in (4/5/6/a), an issue worth discussing is that, among subject-oriented resultatives with postverbal NP, not all sentences are equally acceptable if combined with 把 *ba*. For instance, based on my intuition as a native speaker, (4b) is acceptable, (5b) is marginally acceptable and (6b) is the least acceptable, though the examples without 把 *ba* are all fully acceptable as in (4a–6a). The acceptability of 把 *ba*+subject-oriented resultatives has rarely been discussed in the literature. Only a few examples such as (6c) with problematic explanations were mentioned (e.g. Ye 2004). More about previous studies will be discussed in the literature review. A possible explanation for this phenomenon will be proposed in results and discussion.

- (4) a. 他想-明白-了 这 个 问 题 (CCL 7.1)
ta xiang-mingbai-le zhe ge wenti
 he think-understand-ASP this CL question
 ‘He thought about this question and as a result he understood it.’
 b. 他 把 这 个 问 题 想-明白-了
ta ba zhe ge wenti xiang-mingbai-le
 he *ba* this CL question think-understand-ASP
 ‘He thought about this question and as a result he understood it.’
- (5) a. 冬冬 听-懂-了 他 的 话 (CCL 21.1)
Dongdong ting-dong-le tade hua
 Dongdong (name) listen-understand-ASP his words
 ‘Dongdong listened to his words and as a result understood them.’
 b. ?冬冬 把 他 的 话 听-懂-了
Dongdong ba tade hua ting-dong-le
 Dongdong (name) *ba* his words listen-understand-ASP
 ‘Dongdong listened to his words and as a result understood them.’
- (6) a. 人们 喝-腻-了 甜 的 (CCL 1.1)
renmen he-ni-le tiande
 people drink-be tired of-ASP sweet
 ‘People had drunk sweet (drink) so many times that they were tired of it.’
 b. *人们 把 甜 的 喝-腻-了
renmen ba tiande he-ni-le
 people *ba* sweet drink-be tired of-ASP
 ‘People had drunk sweet (drink) so many times that they were tired of it.’
 c. 我 把 游 泳 学-会-了 (Ye 2004: 37)
wo ba youyong xue-hui-le
 I *ba* swim learn-can-ASP
 ‘I learned to swim and as a result I could swim.’

As this study focuses on the acceptability of subject-oriented resultatives with and without 把 *ba*, the existence of such resultatives provides the premise for further research. Among 500 resultatives extracted from the LCMC, 54 are subject-oriented, out of which 19 are similar to the examples in (4/5/6a), whereas the others take no postverbal NP or the object is fronted before the main verb. In the 19 instances, 13 are like (4a), 2 like (5a) and 4 similar to (6a). Due to the inadequacy of examples in the corpus, I carried out a questionnaire survey among 71 Chinese college students to test the acceptability of 把 *ba*+subject-oriented resultatives in Chinese. The technique of magnitude estimation (see Bard et al. 1996) was adopted for the survey, as this can detect subtle differences in acceptability.

The results suggest that acceptability of 把 *ba*+subject-oriented resultative depends on the degree of semantic transitivity (cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980) expressed by the sentence. Resultative constructions with the interpretation that the subjects make efforts to achieve something thoroughly are acceptable when combined with 把 *ba*. The cognitive explanation I propose is that high transitivity expressed by a sentence is compatible with the function of 把 *ba* as marking high transitivity. The research fills a gap of regarding the acceptability of 把 *ba*+subject-oriented resultatives in scholarship, and it sheds light on analyzing 把 *ba*-construction as a marker of high transitivity, which casts doubt on the traditional analysis as viewing 把 *ba* as expressing disposal (Wang 1947; Li 1974; Wang 2003), or causation (Guo 1999; Xiong 2004; Ye 2004). The application of magnitude estimation in Chinese makes methodological contributions to the study of Chinese grammar in general.

The remainder of the chapter is composed of the following parts: literature review, methodology, results and discussion and a conclusion.

Literature review

The 把 *ba*-construction

As mentioned in the introduction, semantically, the 把 *ba*-construction has been analyzed as expressing disposal (Wang 1947; Li 1974; Wang 2003), causativity (Guo 1999; Ye 2004), or high transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Sun 1995), which will be discussed below.

Disposal

‘Disposal’ means “the disposal form states how a person is handled, manipulated, or dealt with; how something is disposed of; or how an affair is conducted” (Wang 1947: 160, cited by Li 1974: 200). Viewing 把 *ba* as expressing disposal is widely supported in the literature (e.g. Wang 1947; Li 1974; Song 1981; Wang 2003). For instance, as suggested by Wang (1947), (7b) is unacceptable because ‘I’ cannot handle ‘he’ and love him.

- (7) a. 我爱他 (Wang 1947: 160)
 wo ai ta
 I love he
 ‘I love him.’
 b. *我把他爱
 wo ba ta ai
 I *ba* he love
 ‘I love him.’

There are, however, some problems with this analysis. To begin with, it is not clear what kinds of actions ‘disposal’ refers to. If ‘disposal’ indicates that an object is handled, then in (8) ‘I’ did not do anything to the movie, but (8) is well accepted, which casts doubts on the disposal analysis.

- (8) 我把电影看完后 (CCL 10.1)
 wo ba dianying kan wan hou
 I *ba* movie watch finish after
 ‘After I watched this movie,’

In addition, Ye (2004: 26) proposes some counterexamples that cannot be explained by the disposal analysis. For instance, in (9) it is not appropriate to say ‘the movie disposed me’, but (9) is acceptable.

- (9) 这部电影把我看-哭-了 (Ye 2004: 26)
 zhe bu dianying ba wo kan-ku-le
 This CL movie *ba* I watch-cry-ASP
 ‘This movie made me cry.’

Causativity

‘Causativity’ means that the agent causes the patient to reach a result; see Guo (1999), Xiong (2004), Ye (2004). According to Talmy (1976), a causative situation consists of two or more events. There is a causal relation between the two events, namely the causing event and the caused event, the former causing the latter. Based

on this, Ye (2004: 27) argues that a 把 *ba*-sentence consists of two events in a causative relation, with two participants involved: a causer that motivates the causative situation (labelled A), and a causee which is affected and undergoes a change of state (could cross the two events; labelled B). VP stands for a causative situation.

For instance, Ye (2004: 27) suggests that there are two events in (10): E_1 (event 1, *(he) washed (the clothes)*), and E_2 (*(the clothes) were clean*). The causative relation between the two events is cause-effect, the latter event being the result of the former.

- (10) 他 把 衣服 洗-干净-了 (Ye 2004: 27)
ta ba yifu xi-ganjing-le
 he *ba* clothes wash-clean-ASP
 'He washed the clothes and as a result the clothes were clean.'

Furthermore, Ye (2004: 36) proposes an argument relation in the 把 *ba*-sentence. Three components are related in a causative situation, i.e. A (the causer), B (the causee), and VP (a causative relation between E_1 and E_2). In (10) 他 *ta* 'he' is the agent and 衣服 *yifu* 'clothes' the patient in the causing event (*(he) washed (the clothes)*). Meanwhile, 衣服 *yifu* 'clothes' is the agent in the caused event (*(the clothes) were clean*). But in my opinion, 衣服 *yifu* 'clothes' is more appropriately analysed as theme in E_2 . Ye (2004) argues that the two events compose a causative relation, so a new argument relation is formed in the 把 *ba*-sentence, with 'he' the causer (A) and 'clothes' the causee (B). A is always from E_1 and B is always the agent or patient (the subject) upgraded from E_2 which crosses the events. In line with this, she discusses some examples of 把 *ba*+subject-oriented resultatives, which are problematic. This will be discussed further in the section 把 *ba*+subject-oriented resultatives below.

High transitivity

The third view treats 把 *ba* as a marker of 'high transitivity' (e.g. Chao 1968; Hopper and Thompson 1980; Sun 1995). Specifically, Hopper and Thompson (1980) define the term Transitivity as "an activity 'carried-over' or 'transferred' from an agent to a patient" (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 251), which is viewed as a continuum composed of several components. They propose ten parameters encoded by languages (see Table 1). These parameters suggest how an action is transferred from one participant to another, and can be used to rank sentences as high or low in transitivity. For instance, regarding (a) participant, a sentence with two or more participants is higher in transitivity than one with only one participant (all other things being equal). All ten parameters are divided into two values scaled as high and low in transitivity as shown in Table 1: the more features a clause has in the High column for A-J, the more transitive it is.

Table 1. Parameters of transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252)

| | High | Low |
|----------------------|---|--------------------|
| A Participants | 2 or more participants A and O ⁴ | 1 participant |
| B Kinesis | Action | non-action |
| C Aspect | telic | atelic |
| D Punctuality | Punctual | non-punctual |
| E Volitionality | volitional | non-volitional |
| F Affirmation | affirmative | negative |
| G Mode | Realis | irrealis |
| H Agency | A high in potency | A low in potency |
| I Affectedness of O | O totally affected | O not affected |
| J Individuation of O | O highly individuated | O non-individuated |

Moreover, Hopper and Thompson (1980: 274) argue that the 把 *ba*-construction is high in transitivity, since “A behaves actively, volitionally, and totally upon a definite or referential O”, all of which are parameters of high transitivity. The 把 *ba*-clause must be perfective, for instance, with a perfective particle 了 *le* as in (11a), contrast to the unacceptability of (11b). 了 *le* ‘ASP’ enhances high transitivity in the 把 *ba*-construction.

- (11) a. 我把他打了 (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 274)
wo ba ta da le
 he *ba* he beat ASP
 ‘I beat him.’
 b. *我把他打
wo ba ta da
 I *ba* he beat
 ‘I beat him.’

Sun (1995) adopts the theory of Transitivity to analyze the 把 *ba*-construction. He suggests that the constraints on the 把 *ba*-construction (for instance no monosyllabic verb can occur in the 把 *ba*-construction without 了 *le* ‘ASP’) is because 把 *ba* marks a high degree of transitivity.

First, according to Sun (1995: 169), in the 把 *ba*-construction the temporal structure has to be bounded, so the aspect marker 了 *le* ‘ASP’ usually occurs. This is in line with Hopper and Thompson (1980), for Example (11a/b).

4. Hopper and Thompson (1980) follow Dixon (1979) by using ‘A’ for agent and ‘O’ for object to refer to the two participants. The object is also the patient which receives the action.

Second, Sun (1995: 172) argues that 把 *ba* also functions to mark object-boundness. 把 *ba* indicates the complete affectedness of an event on the patient, which also follows the parameter argued by Hopper and Thompson (1980). For instance, in (12a) the 把 *ba*-construction implies that he finished the soup and there was no more soup left, which suggests total affectedness on the patient. Nevertheless, there is no such an implication of finishing the soup in (12b).

- (12) a. 他把汤喝了 (Sun 1995: 169)
ta ba tang he le
 he *ba* soup drink ASP
 'He had eaten the soup.'
- b. 他喝了汤
ta he le tang
 he drink ASP soup
 'He had eaten the soup (but did not finish it).'

Third, Sun (1995: 174) proposes that since 把 *ba* marks a high degree of transitivity by indicating total affectedness of an action on the post-*ba* NP, the NP cannot have a non-specific reading (cf. Chao 1968). This is in line with the definiteness and referentiality of the parameter *individuation of O*. According to Sun (1995), the post-*ba* NP in (13a) is modified by the numeral classifiers and the aspect marker 了 *le* 'ASP' occurs, so this sentence is grammatical. In (13b), although the book is not morphosyntactically marked, the aspect marker helps add a temporally bounded interpretation and a specific reading of the post-*ba* NP 'book'. However, in (13c), due to the lack of a numeral classifier, and an aspect marker, the sentence is incompatible with the 把 *ba*-construction in terms of semantic transitivity. That is, the event of buying books is not temporally bounded, nor is the post-*ba* NP specific, which result in the unacceptability of (13c).⁵

- (13) a. 他把六本书买了 (Sun 1995: 169)
ta ba liu ben shu mai le
 he *ba* six CL book buy ASP
 'He bought six books.'
- b. 他把书买了
ta ba shu mai le
 he *ba* book buy ASP
 'He bought the book.'

5. However, Sun does not offer the corresponding counterpart of (13a) without 了 *le* 'ASP' to suggest the impact of the numeral classifier on the post-*ba* NP, which should be 'he buys six books' without 了 *le* 'ASP'. His argument still holds true for a high transitivity analysis of 把 *ba*, since the sentence above is ungrammatical.

- c. *他 把 书 买
ta ba shu mai
 he *ba* book buy
 'He bought book.'

To sum up, Sun (1995) suggests that some phenomena of the 把 *ba*-construction can be explained in terms of high transitivity, namely temporal boundeness, total affectedness of the post-*ba* NP, and definiteness of the post-*ba* NP. However, he does not mention the combination of 把 *ba* and subject-oriented resultatives, which is what I will analyze in results and discussion.

Næss (2007) also discusses Transitivity. Apart from the parameters mentioned by Hopper and Thompson (1980), she suggests that affected agent is also a feature related to Transitivity. According to her, affected agent is defined such that "the effect is the main goal of the agent's act" (Næss 2007: 56). Though prototypically the agent is unaffected (cf. Langacker 1991), there is crosslinguistic evidence for the Affected Agent argument which is predicated by a class of verbs, namely ingestive verbs, such as *eat* and *drink*. In addition, Haspelmath (1994: 160) suggests there could be an effect on the agent rather than the patient. The verbs include *eat*, *drink*, *learn*, and *see*. Therefore, the agent can be affected in an event.

According to Næss (2007: 53), eating is a typical instance of an act affecting its agent. Specifically, A in the act of eating volitionally carries out the event, but also causes itself to be affected by the event. If A eats, although food is consumed, A itself is also affected inherently, becoming full due to the action of eating. For instance, *eat* in English can be transitive (*he ate an apple*) and intransitive (*he ate in 10 minutes*). In the former, the affectedness of the patient is stated, with the apple delimited by him. In the latter, however, since there is no P, it could be construed as he becomes full by the endpoint of eating. Then we can see the affectedness on A. This not only supplements the theory proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980), but also sheds light on Chinese subject-oriented resultatives.

把 *ba*+subject-oriented resultative

As stated in the section *Causativity*, Ye (2004: 37) suggests that for 把 *ba*+subject-oriented resultatives (e.g. (14a)), B (causer) is not the subject but the object in E_2 ,⁶ which seems to violate the previous analysis that B is always the subject of E_2 . Then she argues that words like 懂 *dong* 'understand' and 会 *hui* 'can' are all predicates relevant to cognition. According to Halliday (1994), the materia process is unidirectional,

6. Ye (2004) does not mention what E_2 refers to, but I suppose it is *can swim* according to her argument.

whereas the mental process is bidirectional.⁷ So both subject (thinker) and object of the cognitive and thinking process can be a more agent-like argument. The occurrence of mental predicates such as 懂 *dong* ‘understand’ and 会 *hui* ‘can’ in a 把 *ba*-sentence may be caused by the bidirectional characteristic of these predicates. However, she does not elaborate this argument, which makes the view vague, and casts further doubt on her analysis. In addition, as mentioned in the introduction, 把 *ba*+V-懂 *dong* ‘understand’ in (14b) is not fully acceptable.

- (14) a. 我把游泳 学-会-了
wo ba youyong xue-hui-le
 I *ba* swim learn-can-ASP
 ‘I learned to swim and as a result I could swim.’
- b. 冬冬 把他的 话 听-懂-了
Dongdong ba tade hua ting-dong-le
 Dongdong (name) *ba* his words listen-understand-ASP
 ‘Dongdong listened to his words and as a result understood them.’

Zhao (2009) discusses the combination of 把 *ba*+resultative. She follows Shen (2002), Jing-Schmidt (2005) who argue that the 把 *ba*-structure is subjective disposal.⁸ Zhao (2009) suggests that this analysis offers a unified explanation for the 把 *ba*-structure, but she does not discuss how this works for all types of 把 *ba*-constructions. In addition, she does not address the differences in acceptability between (14a/b) regarding 把 *ba*+resultatives.

In general, discussions about the combination of subject-oriented resultative construction and the 把 *ba*-construction are problematic (e.g. Ye 2004; Zhao 2009) in scholarship. Second, although the high-transitivity analysis of the 把 *ba*-construction holds true for the construction on its own (e.g. Sun 1995), 把 *ba*+resultative is not discussed in this regard. Furthermore, no distinction has been made in terms of different degrees of acceptability among 把 *ba*+subject-oriented resultative constructions in Chinese, which will be analyzed in results and discussion.

7. According to Halliday (1994: 110), the material process refers to process of doing, e.g. *catch*, and the mental process means process of sensing, e.g. *like*.

8. According to Zhao (2009), the notion of subjectivity as proposed by Lyons (1977) means “a characteristic of language such that speakers tend to express their stands, attitudes, feelings towards what they say by leaving traces of their selfhood in utterances” (Lyons 1977: 739, as cited in Zhao 2009: 129).

Methodology

My methodology is two-fold, namely a corpus-based approach, and an acceptability judgement approach.

Corpus

Although there are some subject-oriented resultatives that can take postverbal NP in the corpus, the number is insufficient to do further analysis. With the help of the patterns listed in the Online Database on Verb-Resultative Constructions in Contemporary Chinese (ODVRC), data were taken from two corpora: the CCL and the LCMC.⁹

First, I went through the complements in the ODVRC and picked out the subject-oriented result XPs which could take a postverbal NP. Then based on the these examples, I searched the combinations of verb + result XP as well as 把 *ba* + such combinations in the CCL and the LCMC to obtain more examples. In addition, since not all subject-oriented resultatives that could take postverbal NP are well accepted by native speakers when with 把 *ba*, these examples are used as source for the questionnaire survey.

Questionnaire survey

Magnitude estimation

Traditionally, the grammaticality of sentences is judged by the intuitions of linguists or their close associates (Bard et al. 1996). To report their intuitions, several ways are adopted as scales for acceptability judgments. First, syntacticians usually use a binary model, which boils down to the question whether a sentence is grammatical or not (Featherston 2005: 1526). Second, terms such as acceptable, unacceptable, good and bad are also used and coded with symbols as 0, ?, *, ** (Bard et al. 1996: 32). This method can be described as an n-point scale. For instance, sentences may be judged with symbols as in (15).

- (15) a. The child ate an apple.
 b. *apple an the child ate.

9. The Online Database on Verb-Resultative Constructions in Contemporary Chinese (ODVRC; Zhan et al. 2015) is employed as a basis for the study of Chinese resultatives. It contains 25,190 verb-complement patterns comprising as combinations of 2,707 predicates/verbs and 579 adjectives or directionals can occur after verbs. Website: <http://ccl.pku.edu.cn/vc/>.

However, there are a few problems with the judgment methods mentioned above. First, who should be asked in linguistic acceptability judgements, linguists or native speakers in general? As suggested by Cowart (1997: 2), the binary model or the n-point scale is quite unstable. Sometimes there may be extreme disagreements from linguist to linguist. Consequently, a method for more people to be tested is necessary so that the acceptability judgements can be more reliable.

Second, how should acceptability judgements be reported? Bard et al. (1996: 35) suggest that a binary model or symbol/ numerical scale is not precise enough to reveal differences in sentence acceptability among various subjects. For instance, there are three sentences, Sa and its corresponding sentences Sb and Sc. Informants make acceptability judgments on a five-point numerical scale. Imagine that Sa is marked point 3. Sb is less acceptable, but not completely unacceptable, so it is judged as 2. Then what should the participants do if the acceptability of Sc is between 2 and 3? Participants are restricted by the scales set by linguists, hence not able to make judgements so as to provide enough information about sentence acceptability, which makes the traditional way of judgements not fine-grained enough.

Confronted with the problems mentioned above, Bard et al. (1996) suggest a technique developed in psychophysics for judgements of loudness or brightness which can be adapted for linguistic-acceptability judgements, namely magnitude estimation (ME). Basically the informants present their evaluation of each stimulus (a test sentence) by assigning it a number. The number given to the first sentence may be as small or as large as the participants like (as long as it is not negative). Then the subjects assign all following items scores as well, with the numbers in proportion to the other stimuli. If a sentence is judged twice as good as another one, the former should get a number twice as high as the latter.

In order to ensure that ME can elicit acceptability judgements, Bard et al. (1996) conducted further studies, namely validation studies and reliability studies. According to them, a method for accessing human judgements must be reliable, not only among but across informants. Validation studies verify reliability within subjects, whereas reliability studies test across subjects. According to Bard et al. (1996: 63), the results suggest that ME can be applied to linguistic acceptability judgements: its validity “comes from intrasubject consistency” and its reliability from intersubject consistency.¹⁰ The two tests together suggest that ME is a useful tool for linguistic acceptability.

ME addresses the problems with the traditional ways of judging acceptability. First, it is easy to obtain acceptability judgements from a large group of native

10. For more information about the two tests, see Bard et al. (1996).

speakers by using ME via questionnaire surveys. The number of participants should be more than 30 (cf. Hollmann 2013), which is much more than linguists' introspective judgements. Second, as a type of ratio scale, ME provides the elicitation of grammaticality judgments with a minimum of restrictions of scale on the informants. Subtle differences of acceptability could be detected by using ME, which will further reveal hidden phenomenon ignored by previous studies.

*Questionnaire survey about the acceptability of 把 *ba* + subject-oriented resultatives in Chinese*

Data are collected by inviting a number of participants via the format of questionnaire surveys. The questionnaire is designed as follows. As mentioned in the section *Corpus*, examples were obtained from the CCL, the LCMC and the ODVRC. Then based on these patterns, I selected a number of parameters possibly relevant for the acceptability of 把 *ba* in subject-oriented resultatives, such as with versus without 把 *ba*.

The survey is designed on the basis of seven subject-oriented resultatives that the corpus data (the ODVRC, the CCL and the LCMC) suggest may take a post-verbal NP. These patterns are divided into three groups based on my intuition in terms of compatibility with 把 *ba*, namely the acceptable group (V-明白 *mingbai* 'understand', V-会 *hui* 'can'), the marginally acceptable group (V-懂 *dong* 'understand'), and the least acceptable group (V-腻 *ni* 'be tired of', V-惯 *guan* 'be used to', V-烦 *fan* 'bored with' and V-够 *gou* 'enough'). In addition, there are two verbs used in V-明白 *mingbai* 'understand', namely 想 *xiang* 'think' and 弄 *nong* 'do', so altogether there are eight patterns as test sentences.

The relevant parameter is with or without 把 *ba*. Since 把 *ba* is analyzed as a marker of high transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Sun 1995), I added another parameter, an adverb 终于 *zhongyu*, meaning 'finally'. 终于 *zhongyu* 'finally' is construed as 'A has a purpose and accomplishes it eventually'. So adding such an adverb could increase the volitionality of the agent, and enhance transitivity of the sentence. The reason for choosing 终于 *zhongyu* 'finally' is that it is the most frequently used with 把 *ba* among adverbs regarding high transitivity in the LCMC (see Table 2).

Table 2. Adverbs related to high transitivity used with 把 *ba*

| Adverb | 终于 <i>zhongyu</i> 'finally' | 总算 <i>zongsuan</i> 'finally' | 最终 <i>zuizhong</i> 'finally' | 故意 <i>guyi</i> 'intentionally' |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Token frequency | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

In order to eliminate other factors that might affect informants' acceptability judgments, the sentences are composed such that all items take the third person singular as subject (also the agent), half masculine and half feminine; the article of the nouns are 这 *zhe* 'this' or 那 *na* 'that', for instance (16a–c), with two variables 把 *ba* and 终于 *zhongyu* 'finally' added to the survey, so altogether there are 32 test sentences.

- (16) a. 他 想-明白-了 这 个 问 题
 ta xiang-mingbai-le zhe ge wenti
 he think-understand-ASP this CL question
 'He thought about this question and as a result he understood it.'
- b. 她 听-懂-了 小 宇 的 话
 ta ting-dong-le Xiaoyu de hua
 she listen-understand-ASP Xiaoyu(name) POSS words
 'She listened to Xiaoyu's words and as a result she understood them.'
- c. 她 看-惯-了 那 种 微 笑
 ta kan-guan -le na zhong weixiao
 she see-be used to-ASP that kind smile
 'She had seen that kind of smile so many times that she was used to it.'

In order to avoid the purpose of the survey being figured out by the participants, fillers that are at least equal to the number of test items is needed (Coward 1997). The fillers are designed with a similar format to the test sentences, some with 把 *ba*, some with 终于 *zhongyu* 'finally', among which different degrees of acceptability are distributed evenly.

Taking into account all mentioned above, there are 64 sentences in total. If all these sentences were listed in one survey, it would be too much for the participants. Therefore I divided the eight patterns into two groups, 想-明白 *xiang-mingbai* 'think-understand', 听-懂 *ting-dong* 'listen-understand', 喝-腻 *he-ni* 'drink-be tired of' and 看-惯 *kan-guan* 'see-be used to' in one group (survey 1.1), 弄-明白 *nong-ming-bai* 'do-understand', 练-会 *lian-hui* 'practice-can', 听-烦 *ting-fan* 'listen-ored with' and 喝-够 *he-gou* 'drink-enough' in the other (survey 1.2). Thus, each version contains 16 test sentences and 16 fillers. In addition, participants might be happy to make judgments at the beginning, but the attention span is limited, which would affect the judgments at the later sentences. So a version with a reversed order of sentences is designed. Altogether there were 4 versions of the questionnaire survey in total.¹¹ Each survey contains the following parts in Chinese: a participant information sheet, a consent form and a questionnaire with sentences.

11. The surveys have obtained Ethical Approval of Lancaster University.

The survey was carried out among 71 undergraduate students at Minzu University of China using the technique of magnitude estimation, 35 for survey 1 and 36 for survey 2.¹² Concerning the information of the participants, a few did not reveal their age or gender on the information sheet.¹³ Among those with full demographical information, there are 6 males, 61 females, and 4 not specifying gender. The average age of the informants is 20.33 years old. Their task was to practise magnitude estimation first (cf. Hollmann 2013), and then judge the 32 sentences based on their intuition.

After collecting and normalizing the data, the statistical method I adopt is to compare the mean scores of different groups by examining the means of *p*-values obtained through *t*-tests and ANOVA, the latter comparing scores among more than two groups. To be specific, data are calculated and analyzed in terms of mean, median, and *t*-test between two groups in Excel, as well as ANOVA and post-hoc tests (multiple comparisons) among groups of more than two in SPSS. More will be mentioned in the next section.

Questionnaire survey: Results and discussion

The results are presented, and possible explanations are offered in terms of two parameters (把 *ba* and 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’) across the three groups mentioned in the previous section and within the three groups, in the sections below.

Sentences with and without 把 *ba*

Results 1

The results are demonstrated in Table 3. All examples are based on the corpora, and the scores for acceptability judgements with 把 *ba* (e.g. (17)) are listed in Table 3. ANOVA suggests significant differences among the eight patterns ($p < .05$).

12. The data were collected in two different situations and by two different people. Prof. Xiaoqun Lu handed out the questionnaires to the students at the beginning of her lecture, received 60 completed sheets and kept them for me to collect. I myself went to several classrooms at Minzu University of China, asking the native students of Chinese whether they would like to take part in the project. If so, I gave them the questionnaire surveys, and waited until they finished. I obtained 11 surveys in this way. I am confident that the results were not affected by the two ways of collecting the data, since the questionnaire was the same and the participants had the same profile.

13. According to the results, age, gender and dialects suggest no effect on acceptability judgements.

Moreover, there are differences among 1–3, 4, and 5–8, the scores decreasing from more than 90 to 75 and to lower than 70.¹⁴

- (17) 他把这个问题想明白了
ta ba zhe ge wenti xiang-mingbai-le
 he *ba* this CL question think-understand-ASP
 ‘He thought about this question and as a result he understood it.’

Table 3. Eight patterns with 把 *ba*

| | With <i>ba</i> | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| | Number | Mean | Median | Std. deviation |
| 1 ‘think-understand’ | 35 | 94.7 | 100 | 11.4 |
| 2 ‘do-understand’ | 36 | 90.0 | 100 | 20.7 |
| 3 ‘practice-can’ | 36 | 92.6 | 100 | 13.4 |
| 4 ‘listen-understand’ | 35 | 75.3 | 80 | 25.3 |
| 5 ‘drink-be tired of’ | 35 | 66.1 | 65 | 27.2 |
| 6 ‘see-be used to’ | 35 | 57.2 | 60 | 32.5 |
| 7 ‘listen-be bored with’ | 36 | 51.4 | 50 | 32.5 |
| 8 ‘drink-enough’ | 36 | 54.3 | 50 | 30.0 |
| Total | 284 | 72.7 | 72.5 | 29.1 |

ANOVA *p*-value (across resultative constructions) 1.19×10^{-21}

Recall that the questionnaire surveys were designed based on a preliminary distinction among the eight patterns such that Group 1 (G1) includes 1–3, Group 2 (G2) 4, and Group 3 (G3) involves 5–8. Therefore, further post-hoc tests within groups were carried out, and no significant differences appear within G1 and G3 respectively ($p > .05$).

The following results will be stated in terms of acceptability with 把 *ba*, namely the acceptable group (G1), the marginally acceptable group (G2) and the least acceptable group (G3). In Table 4 we can see that when combined with 把 *ba*, G1 received very high scores (mean 92.4), G2 was rated lower (75.3) than G1, and G3 had very low scores (57.2). There are significant differences among the three groups when combined with 把 *ba* ($p < 0.05$), which is verified by the post-hoc tests in Table 5.

14. As introduced in methodology, in line with ME, the participants rated the sentences without restrictions on the scores (all but negative). The score scale maybe 1–10, or 1–100, etc. After the data were collected, I normalized the number as 0–100.

Table 4. Three groups (with 把 *ba*)

| with <i>ba</i> | G1 | G2 | G3 |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|------|------|
| Mean | 92.4 | 75.3 | 57.2 |
| Median | 100 | 80 | 50 |
| Std | 15.7 | 25.3 | 28.6 |
| <i>p</i> -value (Anova) | 5.4×10^{-24} | | |

Table 5. Post-hot tests for the three groups (with 把 *ba*)

| (I) group | (J) group | Mean difference (I-J) | Std. error | Sig. |
|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 17.1 | 4.6 | .001 |
| | 3 | 35.2 | 3.0 | 1.6×10^{-24} |
| 2 | 1 | -17.1 | 4.6 | .001 |
| | 3 | 18.0 | 4.5 | 2.8×10^{-4} |
| 3 | 1 | -35.2 | 3.0 | 1.6×10^{-24} |
| | 2 | -18.0 | 4.5 | 2.8×10^{-4} |

The differences in the three groups between with and without 把 *ba* can be observed in Table 6. Provided all are acceptable without 把 *ba* (mean >90 in all three groups), the sentences in G1 remain highly acceptable with 把 *ba*, whereas the scores for the sentences decrease in the other groups: from 97.9 to 75.3 in G2, from 90.8 to 57.2 in G3. The latter two with 把 *ba* are significantly lower than their counterparts without 把 *ba* ($p < .05$).

Table 6. Three groups with vs. without 把 *ba*

| | G1 | | G2 | | G3 | |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | Without <i>ba</i> | With <i>ba</i> | Without <i>ba</i> | With <i>ba</i> | Without <i>ba</i> | With <i>ba</i> |
| Mean | 93.9 | 92.4 | 97.9 | 75.3 | 90.8 | 57.2 |
| Median | 100 | 100 | 100 | 80 | 100 | 52 |
| Std | 14.9 | 15.7 | 6.3 | 25.3 | 18.9 | 28.6 |
| <i>p</i> -value | 0.48 | | 2.7×10^{-6} | | 7.6×10^{-26} | |

To summarize, statistical analyses suggest that there is a continuum of acceptability with significant differences in the three groups. The acceptable group (G1) receives very high ratings for all the sentences (including with and without 把 *ba*). By contrast, there are significant differences between with and without 把 *ba* in the marginally acceptable group (G2) and the least acceptable group (G3), both having higher ratings without 把 *ba* than with 把 *ba*. This confirms my assumption of the different degrees in acceptability regarding subject-oriented constructions with and without 把 *ba*.

Discussion 1

Based on the analysis of the 把 *ba*-construction as a marker of high transitivity in the literature review (cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980; Sun 1995), we look at the sentences individually to see the degree of transitivity in order to explain why there are such differences when combined with 把 *ba*. According to Hopper and Thompson (1980; see Table 1), ten parameters are used to rank high transitivity. In addition, as suggested by Næss (2007), affectedness of A is also considered as a parameter.

Based on these parameters, the sentences in the three groups (see (18)–(25)) can be labelled as high transitivity with some common features, such as all those with two participants, describing actions (though some for mental like ‘think/listen’, some for physical like ‘drink’), telic (with the perfective particle marker 了 *le* ‘ASP’), affirmative, realis, A high in potency (A as third person singular). Then some features are irrelevant. Punctuality cannot be construed from these sentences, either ‘think’ in G1, or for ‘drink’ in G3. Since these examples are subject-oriented, affectedness of O will not be taken into account. However, since Transitivity is a continuum (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 254), these sentences vary in terms of some parameters, which cause differences in the degree of Transitivity.

First, regarding volitionality, according to Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252), the effect on the patient is more overt if A is stated as behaving purposefully. For instance, the action 想 *xiang* ‘think’ in (18) is carried out by the subject 他 *ta* ‘he’ volitionally, such that he thought (about the question) with the intention of understanding it. Therefore, (18) has high volitionality of the agent. In terms of 弄 *nong* ‘do’ in (19), though it means ‘do’ literally, it is interpreted as ‘think’ in (18), so it is also viewed with high volitionality of the agent. With respect to 练 *lian* ‘practice’ in (20), the action is performed by the agent purposefully (to be able to sing the song), therefore it is construed with high volitionality. In terms of (21) in G2, 听 *ting* ‘listen’ is also interpreted as A carried out the action in order to understand the principle, hence A is highly volitional. To sum up, sentences in G1 and G2 are construed as having high volitionality of the agent.

- (18) 他 想-明白-了 这 个 问 题
ta xiang-mingbai-le zhe ge wenti
 he think-understand-ASP this CL question
 ‘He thought about this question and as a result he understood it.’
- (19) 她 弄-明白-了 这 个 道 理
ta nong-mingbai-le zhe ge wenti
 she do-understand-ASP this CL question
 ‘She thought about this principle and as a result she understood it.’

- (20) 她 练-会-了 这 首 歌
ta lian-hui-le zhe chu ge
 she practice-can-ASP this CL song
 'She practised this song and as a result she could sing it.'
- (21) 她 听-懂-了 小 宇 的 话
ta ting-dong-le Xiaoyu de hua
 she listen-understand-ASP Xiaoyu(name) POSS words
 'She listened to Xiaoyu's words and as a result she understood them.'

The examples in G3, however, have low volitionality of A. For instance, in (22) though the agent 他 *ta* 'he' carried out the action 喝 *he* 'drink', he did not do it with the purpose of becoming tired of this kind of tea. Consequently, A in (22) is non-volitional. Similarly, A did not see the smile in order to get used to it (as in (23)), or listen to the words so as to be tired of them (see (24)), or drink that kind of portion to have enough of it (see (25)). Therefore, all the sentences in G3 are interpreted as non-volitional.

- (22) 他 喝-腻-了 这 种 茶
ta he-ni-le zhe zhong cha
 he drink-be tired of-ASP this kind tea
 'He had drunk this kind of tea so many times that he was tired of it.'
- (23) 她 看-惯-了 那 种 微 笑
ta kan-guan-le na zhong weixiao
 she see-be used to-ASP that kind smile
 'She had seen that kind of smile so many times that she was used to it.'
- (24) 他 听-烦-了 老 师 的 话
ta ting-fan-le laoshi de hua
 he listen-bored with -ASP teacher POSS words
 'He listened to the teacher's words and as a result he was bored with them. (He was bored with the teacher's words.)'
- (25) 她 喝-够-了 那 种 药 水
ta he-gou-le na zhong yaoshui
 she drink-enough-ASP that kind portion
 'She had drunk that kind of portion so many times that she had enough of it.'

Second, in terms of total affectedness, since these are subject-oriented, based on the argument made by Næss (2007), it is A that is affected. Regarding the result XPs in G1, 明白 *mingbai* 'understand' in (18) is interpreted as knowing something thoroughly. So after thinking, he fully understood the question. In other words, he was completely affected by the action. Therefore 明白 *mingbai* 'understand' can be

viewed as involving the total affectedness of A. The same is true of 会 *hui* ‘can’, in (20) in that she could sing the song.

Considering 听-懂 *ting-dong* ‘listen-understand’ in G2, one thing to be noted is that there is a semantic difference between 明白 *mingbai* ‘understand’ and 懂 *dong* ‘understand’. Both mean ‘understanding’, but the former is higher in degree than the latter. In Chinese, both (26a/b) are acceptable, whereas (27a) is acceptable but (27b) is not.

This can be explained by our world knowledge. In terms of cognitive process, the degree of understanding through listening and thinking differs. If one listens to something, the result of listening is not necessarily deep in understanding. However, if one thinks about something, the result of thinking is usually interpreted as understanding thoroughly. So when combined with 听 *ting* ‘listen’ as in (26), since the action of ‘listening’ does not require a deep degree of understanding, while both 明白 *mingbai* ‘understand’ and 懂 *dong* ‘understand’ have such an interpretation, (26a) and (26b) are both acceptable. However, if used with 想 *xiang* ‘think’, which is interpreted as having a deep degree of understanding, only 明白 *mingbai* ‘understand’ is compatible with such semantics, but not 懂 *dong* ‘understand’. Consequently, (27a) is acceptable, whereas (27b) is not. So 听-懂 *ting-dong* ‘listen-understand’ in G2 describes a lower degree of understanding than 想-明白 *xiang-mingbai* ‘think-understand’ in G1, hence a lower degree of affectedness of A.

- (26) a. 听-明白
ting-mingbai
listen-understand
- b. 听-懂
ting-dong
listen-understand
- (27) a. 想-明白
xiang-mingbai
think-understand
- b. *想-懂
xiang-dong
think-understand

Then regarding the patterns in G3, there are action verbs like ‘drink’ in 喝-腻 *he-ni* ‘drink-be tired of’ (see (22)) and 喝-够 *he-gou* ‘drink-enough’ (as in (23)), and mental verbs ‘see’ and ‘listen’ in 看-惯 *kan-guan* ‘see-be used to’ (24) and 听-烦 *ting-fan* ‘listen-bored with’ (25). Whether drinking, seeing or listening, A is tired of or bored with P, which is perceived as total affectedness of A cognitively.

Finally, in terms of the feature individuation of O, it refers both to the distinctness of the patient from the A, and to its distinctness from its own background

(Hopper and Thompson 1980: 253). The authors propose further properties to judge the degree of individuation as shown in Table 7. The more features to which O is linked, the more it is individuated.

Table 7. Individuation of O (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 253)

| Individuated | Non-Individuated |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Proper | common |
| human, animate | inanimate |
| Concrete | abstract |
| Singular | plural |
| Count | mass |
| referential, definite | non-referential |

Regarding the Os in sentences (18)–(25), all are common and definite (with ‘this’ or ‘that’), but inanimate. The Os in G1 are like ‘this question’ as in (28a), which is singular, count but abstract. The O in G2 is ‘words’ (see (29a)), which is countable but abstract and plural. The Os in G3 is either ‘this kind of tea’ in (30a), which is concrete, singular and countable, or ‘that kind of smile’ in (31a), singular, countable but abstract. In addition, the Os in G3 are singular in form (that kind of tea/smile), but not singular in meaning, in that they refer to that kind of tea or smile, which is plural/mass cognitively.

One issue worth noticing is that if the Os in the sentences are changed as in (28)–(31b) in terms of singular/plural, the acceptability judgements remain the same as their counterparts in (a). For instance, the plural counterpart of (28a) in (28b) is equally acceptable. Likewise, if (29a) is changed from plural to singular as in (29b), it is still marginally acceptable. As for the items in G3, there is no difference of acceptability between (30/31a) and the plural counterparts (30/31b): all are unacceptable. So we may see what matters here is whether O is individuated in an action from beginning to end. As long as O is related to a single action rather than repeated actions, it can be construed as individuated. Individuation of O in the three groups is as stated in (32).

- (28) a. 他把这个问题 想-明白-了
ta ba zhe ge wenti xiang-mingbai-le
 he *ba* this CL question think-understand-ASP
 ‘He thought about this question and as a result he understood it.’
- b. 他把这些问题 想-明白-了
ta ba zhe xie wenti xiang-mingbai-le
 he *ba* this some question think-understand-ASP
 ‘He thought about these questions and as a result he understood them.’

- (29) a. 她把小宇的话听懂了
ta ba Xiaoyu de hua ting-dong-le
 she *ba* Xiaoyu (name) POSS words listen-understand-ASP
 ‘She listened to Xiaoyu’s words and as a result she understood them.’
- b. 她把那句话听懂了
ta ba na ju hua ting-dong-le
 she *ba* that CL word listen-understand-ASP
 ‘She listened to that sentence and as a result she understood it.’
- (30) a. *他把这种茶喝腻了
ta ba zhe zhong cha he-ni-le
 he *ba* this kind tea drink-be tired of-ASP
 ‘He had drunk this kind of tea so many times that he was tired of it.’
- b. *他把这些种类的茶喝腻了
ta ba zhexie zhonglei de cha he-ni-le
 he *ba* these kind POSS tea drink-be tired of-ASP
 ‘He had drunk these kinds of tea so many times and as a result he was tired of them.’
- (31) a. *她把那种微笑看惯了
ta ba na zhong weixiao kan-guan -le
 she *ba* that kind smile see-be used to-ASP
 ‘She had seen that kind of smile so many times that she was used to it.’
- b. *她把那些种类的微笑看惯了
ta ba naxie zhonglei de weixiao kan-guan -le
 she *ba* those kind POSS smile see-be used to-ASP
 ‘She had seen those kinds of smiles so many times and as a result she was used to them.’
- (32) Individuation of O:
 G1: high; single action (singular, count, though abstract)
 G2: high; single action (count, though abstract and plural)
 G3: low; repeated actions (concrete, singular and count for ‘tea/potion’; abstract, singular and count for ‘smile’; abstract, plural and count for ‘words’)

Taking into account the parameters discussed above, all other factors being equal, Transitivity of the sentences in the three groups can be analyzed as in (33). According to Hopper and Thompson (1980: 253), the more features a clause has with the ‘high’ parameters, the more transitive it is. In (33) we can see sentences have 3 features in G1, 2 in G2, and 1 in G3. Therefore, the sentences can be ranked in terms of Transitivity as $G1 > G2 > G3$, from more transitive to less transitive. Recall that 把 *ba* is a marker of high transitivity, we can see that the more transitive a sentence is interpreted as being, the more acceptable it is when combined with 把 *ba*.

- (33) G1 volitionality: volitional
 affectedness of A: totally affected
 Individuation of O: high
 G2 volitionality: volitional
 individuation of O: high
 G3 affectedness of A: totally affected

把 *ba* + sentences with and without 终于 *zhong-yu* ‘finally’

Results 2

Another parameter tested is the adverb 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ (e.g. (34)). From Table 8 we can see that in the 把 *ba*-construction, when 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ is added, the scores rise in all three groups, which suggest higher acceptability. There are significant differences between with 把 *ba* and 把 *ba*+终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ in G1 and G2 respectively ($p < /=.05$), yet the scores do not vary much in G3, both very low.

- (34) 他 终于 把 这 个 问 题 想-明白-了
ta zhongyu ba zhe ge wenti xiang-mingbai-le
 he finally *ba* this CL question think-understand-ASP
 ‘He thought about this question and as a result he understood it finally.’

Table 8. Three groups with 把 *ba*: With vs. without 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’

| | G1 | | G2 | | G3 | |
|-----------------|----------------|---|----------------|---|----------------|---|
| | With <i>ba</i> | With <i>ba</i> and <i>zhongyu</i> ‘finally’ | With <i>ba</i> | With <i>ba</i> and <i>zhongyu</i> ‘finally’ | With <i>ba</i> | With <i>ba</i> and <i>zhongyu</i> ‘finally’ |
| Mean | 92.4 | 97.2 | 75.3 | 87.1 | 57.2 | 58.2 |
| Median | 100 | 100 | 80 | 100 | 50 | 50 |
| Std | 11.0 | 15.7 | 25.3 | 24.6 | 28.6 | 29.6 |
| <i>p</i> -value | | 0.01 | | 0.05 | | 0.78 |

If we compare the parameters together within groups, as shown in Table 9, the sentences in G1 are highly accepted with and without 把 *ba*. If 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ is added, the mean for without it is significantly different from that with it ($p < .05$), the latter higher than the former. Then there are significant differences between sentences with 把 *ba* and with 把+终于 *ba+zhongyu* ‘finally’ ($p < .05$), the mean rising from 92.4 to 97.2.

Table 9. G1: Acceptable group

| | Without <i>ba</i> | With <i>ba</i> | Without <i>zhongyu</i> 'finally' | With <i>zhongyu</i> 'finally' | With <i>ba</i> | With <i>ba</i> and <i>zhongyu</i> 'finally' |
|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Mean | 93.9 | 92.4 | 93.9 | 97.9 | 92.4 | 97.2 |
| Median | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Std. | 14.9 | 15.7 | 14.9 | 9.6 | 15.7 | 11 |
| <i>p</i> -value | 0.48 | | 0.02 | | 0.01 | |

Regarding G2 in Table 10, high ratings for the original sentences, they become less acceptable if combined with 把 *ba*, the mean decreasing from 97.9 to 75.5 with significant differences ($p < .05$). The sentences are equally acceptable with and without 终于 *zhongyu* 'finally' ($p > .05$). Nevertheless, if 终于 *zhongyu* 'finally' is added to with 把 *ba*, the score increases to 87.1 with a significant difference ($p = .05$).

Table 10. G2: Marginally acceptable group

| | Without <i>ba</i> | With <i>ba</i> | Without <i>zhongyu</i> 'finally' | With <i>zhongyu</i> 'finally' | With <i>ba</i> | With <i>ba</i> and <i>zhongyu</i> 'finally' |
|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Mean | 97.9 | 75.3 | 97.9 | 96.3 | 75.3 | 87.1 |
| Median | 100 | 80 | 100 | 100 | 80 | 100 |
| Std. | 6.3 | 25.3 | 6.3 | 12.1 | 25.3 | 24.6 |
| <i>p</i> -value | 2.7×10^{-6} | | 0.5 | | 0.05 | |

Regarding G3 (Table 11), first there is a significant difference between with and without 把 *ba* ($p < .05$): the mean of the former is much higher than the latter (90.8 vs. 57.2). If 终于 *zhongyu* 'finally' is added, the mean with 把 *ba* just rises a little, but it is still very low (from 57.2 to 58.2) with no significant difference ($p > .05$).

Table 11. G3: Least acceptable group

| | Without <i>ba</i> | With <i>ba</i> | Without <i>zhongyu</i> 'finally' | With <i>zhongyu</i> 'finally' | With <i>ba</i> | With <i>ba</i> and <i>zhongyu</i> 'finally' |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Mean | 90.8 | 57.2 | 90.8 | 74.2 | 57.2 | 58.2 |
| Median | 100 | 52 | 100 | 82.5 | 52 | 50 |
| Std. | 18.9 | 28.6 | 18.9 | 28.6 | 28.6 | 29.6 |
| <i>p</i> -value | 7.6×10^{-26} | | 2.02×10^{-8} | | 0.78 | |

To sum up, all sentences well accepted without 把 *ba*, the results suggest significant differences among the three groups when with 把 *ba*, G1 acceptable, G2 marginally acceptable, G3 least acceptable. If 终于 *zhongyu* 'finally' is added, there are significant differences between with 把 *ba* and 把 *ba*+终于 *zhongyu* 'finally' in the first two groups, but no in G3.

Discussion 2

Regarding the various acceptability judgements of the sentences between with 把 *ba* plus 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ and with 把 *ba* but no 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’, the answers also rely on the degree of Transitivity of a clause. As stated in the *Questionnaire survey* section, 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ is interpreted as having high volitionality of the agent, which can increase the degree of transitivity of a sentence. Viewed in this way, the semantics of 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ are in line with the function of 把 *ba*’ both indicating high transitivity.

With respect to the sentences in the three groups, the mean for 把 *ba* + 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ is higher than for 把 *ba* – 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ in G1 ($p < .05$). Though the sentences are equally acceptable between with and without 把 *ba*, the scores vary significantly for with and without 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ (all still well accepted). This is due to the fact that all the factors are related with high transitivity: semantics of the sentences, 把 *ba* and the adverb 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’. Although already highly acceptable, if 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ is added’ the sentences become more acceptable (rising from 93.9 to 97.9) in that 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ enhances the degree of transitivity. This is also the case for with 把 *ba*, combining 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ makes the sentences with 把 *ba* and 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ even more acceptable (the mean rises from 92.4 to 97.2; $p < .05$ in Table 10).

In terms of G2, it is marginally acceptable with 把 *ba* due to its lower degree of transitivity than G1. However, there is a certain degree of transitivity in G2, so no significant difference appears between with and without 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’. Nevertheless, since 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ can increase transitivity of a clause, after adding the adverb, the sentence with 把 *ba* and 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ becomes more acceptable (the mean rises from 75.3 to 87.1; $p = .05$). This is caused by the consistence of the semantics of 把 *ba* and 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ in term of high transitivity.

Considering G3, the mean of the sentences with 把 *ba* and 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ is still very low. This is because of the semantics of the patterns in this group (e.g. 喝-腻 *he-ni* ‘drink-be tired of’, 看-惯 *kan-guan* ‘see-be used to’). These patterns are construed as repeated actions leading to unpleasant results, therefore the interpretation that someone tries to achieve such results (e.g. trying hard to drink a kind of tea so as to become tired of it) is not common in our daily life, which makes the sentences unnatural. Actually, the mean for the patterns with 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ in G3 is relatively low compared to those without the adverb; there is a significant difference between the two ($p < 0.05$). So the low ratings for the sentences with 把 *ba* and 终于 *zhongyu* ‘finally’ in G3 are reasonable.

Conclusion

In general, resultative constructions with the interpretation of the subject making efforts to achieve something thoroughly are acceptable when combined with 把 *ba*. Specifically, the results of the questionnaire survey suggest that the acceptability of 把 *ba*+subject-oriented resultatives depends on the degree of transitivity of sentences. Although all the resultatives are viewed as having transitivity to some extent, they differ in degree as discussed in the previous section.¹⁵ The more transitive a resultative construction is construed, the more acceptable it is when combined with 把 *ba*. I argue that high transitivity expressed by a sentence (including volitionality of the agent, a high degree of affectedness of A, and highly individuated O) is compatible with the function of 把 *ba* as marking high transitivity.

The reason for the acceptability of 把 *ba* +subject-oriented resultatives endorses the analysis of viewing 把 *ba* as a marker of high transitivity in the literature. As stated in the literature review, the function of 把 *ba* has been widely discussed since 1940s from various perspectives, but no agreement has been reached until now. From the results of the questionnaire surveys and the discussion in this paper, 把 *ba* should be analyzed as marking high transitivity, and many phenomena could be accounted for in line with this analysis.¹⁶ In addition, the motivation for the combinations of the two is worth considering for future work.

The adoption of magnitude estimation is methodologically innovative in terms of Chinese. The combination of corpus and questionnaire survey is not new in scholarship, but it is the first attempt in the Chinese tradition. By obtaining certain examples from the corpus, and then carrying out questionnaire surveys based on these examples with designed parameters, the linguistic phenomena could be studied more comprehensively, not only a description in use, but also with explanations and further predictions. Moreover, magnitude estimation could detect delicate but significant differences among sentences, which deepens the research on grammar, and brings to light interesting phenomena missed by previous studies.

15. I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for valuable comments on this point.

16. As the anonymous reviewer suggests, Ye and Pan (2018) propose an antipassive-construction analysis for the 把 *ba*-construction. However, the authors do not mention *ba* +subject-oriented resultatives discussed in this paper, nor do they distinguish the differences in acceptability of the sentences. These cast doubt on the antipassive analysis, as it cannot explain the different degrees of acceptability regarding *ba* +subject-oriented resultatives.

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Gender representation in Chinese language

Lan Li

The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shenzhen

Different from Romanized languages with gender marker, the Chinese language does not have inflections in nouns, adjectives and verbs when the subject is a female. Instead, a semantic stem or the radical *woman* 女 (*nǚ*) is used to directly indicate femininity. This study takes a lexicographic and corpus approach to explore gender representation in Chinese and discusses its forms, meanings and usages. First, characters with the radical *woman* were classified into different semantic fields to see how they represent women and reflect social ideologies. Second, their representations in a modern Chinese dictionary were compared with a classic one to see the historical change. Third, the use of the words was explored in a mega-corpus of 287 million Chinese characters. It is interesting to see that more than 70% of the characters with the radical 女 (*nǚ*, woman) listed in classic Chinese dictionaries have vanished in modern society probably due to language evolution and social-cultural changes such as a shift in attitudes towards women. A few characters changed their female semantic element to a gender-neutral one. Gender representation in Chinese is also reflected in Chinese idioms, the word order and gendered third-person pronoun. Understanding these forms can provide insight into Chinese culture and raise awareness of shifting trends of their use in the language.

Keywords: language form, gender, culture, change, social functions

Background

Language is an indicator of social norms which speakers place on others and themselves. Gender markers are used in approximately one-quarter of the world's languages. Indeed, gender in language has received a good deal of scholarly attention. Hellinger and BuBmann (2002) summarised four linguistic categories for the representation of women and men in different languages: grammatical gender, lexical gender, referential gender and social gender. Grammatical gender is reflected either by articles, adjectives or by gender ending nouns. Lexical gender refers to words whose gender is not overtly seen but embedded in semantic features, such

as sister, mother and uncle. It relates to the property of extra-linguistic femaleness and maleness. Referential gender indicates a reference to 'female', 'male' or 'gender-indefinite'. In this category, the use of male nouns can be 'generic masculine' referring to both genders. A female noun could also be gender-indefinite reference in some languages. The category of social gender refers to the socially imposed dichotomy of masculine and feminine roles and character traits. Deviations from such sex-role assumptions will often require clear formal markings, as in English, female surgeon or male nurse. This practice indicates that many languages can be assumed to have a male bias, irrespective of whether the language has grammatical gender or not (Hellinger and BuBmann 2002: 9).

Gender in a language is not only grammatical but also political. It serves as a social identity that points to both cultural universality and variation, connecting the concepts of grammatical gender and political correctness, that is, whether women are treated equally in language. A comparison between English and other European languages will help to illustrate gender markers in the form of a language. Many European languages have two or three gender classes. For example, Russian and German are marked with full gender: masculine, feminine and neuter. French, Spanish and Portuguese have only two genders: masculine and feminine. Some gender assignment of nouns is solely determined by biological sex; others can be influenced by the morphology or phonology of the noun and can be arbitrary. For example, the word *girl* (*Mädchen*) in German is neuter rather than feminine. The word *computer* in Spanish (*computadora*) is feminine, not masculine, but in German it is masculine. Such inconsistencies in grammatical gender marking may provide a source of confusion for foreign learners of gender-marked languages.

In modern English, grammatical gender is mainly confined to three types: the third person singular pronouns, bound morphemes of nouns and roots of compounds. The lack of gender inflexions between nouns and modifiers in English doesn't guarantee complete gender neutrality.

The first type of grammatical gender is a noun-class system through the third person singular personal pronouns and their possessive forms. For example,

1. *If a doctor wants to announce the diagnosis of a terminal disease, he will first inform the relatives instead of turning to the patient directly.*

When it comes to an individual of unmentioned gender, the default option in personal pronouns or their adjectives is the masculine (Lackoff 1975). The above statement seems to exclude woman doctors and can be regarded as politically incorrect. In modern English, "*he or she*" and "*s/he*" are often used to include both genders. The trend is that the plural form *they* is used even more often for unmentioned gender, regardless if the precedent noun is singular or plural.

The second type of gender marker in English comprises a number of bound morphemes borrowed from other languages. Some morphemes, including affixes and roots, can carry a presumed gender. For instance, suffixes *-or* and *-ess* in words such as *actor* and *actress*, actually reveal straightforward masculinity and femininity respectively. With the advent of the feminist movement, many marked female forms have become outdated and have been replaced by male forms referring to either sex, e.g. *author*, *professor*, *actor*, *hero*, and *heir*.

The third type of gender marker in English is some solid compounds with *man* or *woman* as a root word. Gender inequality seems obvious in this group. First, only the morpheme *man* occurs in family names, such as *Whiteman*, *Bowman*, *Goldman*, *Goodman*. Second, there are much more *man*-words than *woman*-words in the language. A corpus research revealed that the former is almost five times more than the later. The most striking differences are in seen job titles or professional titles. Some jobs were typically done by men in the past, and their titles had no form for women (e.g. *fireman*, *fisherman*). Such practice has had a strong influence on the English vocabulary and generated many gender-biased words such as *congressman*, *spaceman*. These words may convey gender bias and are typically considered as politically incorrect. The author searched in a mega English corpus and found that there are much more compounds consisting *man* than *woman*. This is particularly true of words relating to professions, for example, *businesswoman*, *spacewoman*, *assemblywoman*, *Councilwoman*, *policewoman*. Women play equal roles in many fields in modern society, and so gender-specific words excluding *woman* in many professions are also changing. A gender-neutral lexical morpheme – *person*, has been used as a substitute for distinctive gender roots to include both genders, for instance, *chairperson*, *salesperson*...

The gender marking in the Chinese language is very different from these in Romanised languages. The Chinese language does not have a grammatical gender form, that is, there are no inflections in nouns, verbs or adjectives when a female is referred to. Gender marking in the language is found in three areas: word-formation, word order and semantic representation of gender in words, idiom and proverbs (Chan 1997).

The Chinese writing system primarily started from pictographic forms, but these forms gradually developed ideographic and logographic overtones through various combinations. Many Chinese characters are compound graphs with a section head known as 部首 (*bushou*, section head). The component contributes semantic meaning to the character, but this is not a hard and fast rule. The phonetic element usually adds sound value indicating the pronunciation, to some degree, of the medial and possibly final segments of the character. For example, the concept *water* shaped into the form of 氵 (*san dian shui*), is a semantic component of 江

(*jiang*, river), 河 (*he*, river), 湖 (*hu*, lake), 海 (*hai*, sea) etc. The radical *wood* 木 (*mu*) forms 桌 (*zhuo*, table), 椅 (*yi*, chair), 板 (*ban*, board) 柜 (*gui*, cupboard) and so forth.

There are different English translations for the semantic component. Most dictionaries call it 'the radical', others name it 'the signfic' (Ettner 2002: 32) or 'semantic stem' (Fan, 1996). This paper takes the term 'radical', following the practice of most Chinese English dictionaries. Another point is to clarify 字 (*zi*, character) and 词 (*ci*, word) when we study Chinese. A *zi* is a single character and can be called a monosyllabic word. Some corpus studies found monosyllabic words take about 54% of the total words in a Chinese corpus (Huang et al. 2002). The common Chinese words normally have two or more characters and are disyllabic or quadrisyllabic. The widely held (but also often challenged) assumption is that the linguistic word should be most a basic lexical unit (Hartmann 2003). A lexical unit in Chinese can contain one or more characters; therefore, a single character is also a word. In Chinese lexicography, a character (an orthographic unit and an equivalent of a conventionalized sociological word) is arranged as an entry according to the radical it contains and its conceptual classification. The entry has a broad definition in relation to the basic meaning of the radical. *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* (Modern Chinese Dictionary) (7th edition) lists 201 radicals showing semantic meanings of water, wood, person, woman, earth, plant, food, treasure, vehicle etc. When the term 'woman word' is used in this paper, it refers to a character with the radical 女 (*nü*, woman).

Tang surveyed the Chinese lexicon for words containing the radical woman 女 (*nü*) and classified woman words into four semantic categories: (1) words relating to marriage or giving birth, (2) kinship terms and terms regarding family relationships, (3) words referring to beauty, and (4) derogatory words or words with negative connotations (Tang 1988: 62). Many later studies also followed this classification (Ettner 2002; Chan 2002), but the claims had little support from real data. What is more, such a classification seems to have missed some essential nature of words with the radical *woman*. The four categories cannot adequately reflect the extensive range and meanings of this group of characters. Also, the studies on gender representation in Chinese seem to be limited in that the writers only choose part of the words with the radical *woman* to support their argumentation (Tang 1988; Chan 2002). They therefore lack a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the group. The purpose of this study is two-fold:

1. To examine how gender identity is constructed and reflected in the characters with the radical *woman*;
2. To examine how these characters have been used and changed over time as a social enterprise.

Methodology

The method to investigate gendered characters in Chinese includes a lexicographic approach and corpus approach. The lexicographic approach will look at the characters containing the female radical recorded in dictionaries to see which words were used in the past and which words are active today. It will start with orthographic and semantic analysis of the words, compare their inclusions in dictionaries, the change in their definitions, and map these woman words into different semantic groups.

Chinese dictionaries are either character-based, called *zidian* (literally character dictionary), or word-based, referred to as *cidian* (word dictionary). The dichotomy dictates the definition of lexical entries: characters are lexical entries in a dictionary of characters and words are lexical entries in a dictionary of words. In this study, two Chinese dictionaries were used. One is 汉典 (Handian, The Online Chinese Dictionary 9 (OCD9, <http://www.zdic.net/>)) and the other is 现代汉语词典 (Xiandai Hanyu Cidian, Modern Chinese Dictionary (7th edition)).

The OCD9 is probably the biggest online Chinese dictionary. It has gathered Chinese characters from a number of ancient and modern dictionaries, and includes all the characters from 康熙字典 (*Kangxi Zidian*, The Imperial Character Dictionary of Kangxi). The dictionary was named after The Kangxi Emperor of the Manchu Qing Dynasty because he ordered the compilation of the dictionary in 1710. The dictionary contains more than 47,000 characters. The dictionary was used as the standard Chinese dictionary during the 18th and 19th centuries. It is the only classic Chinese dictionary that has an online version in Unicode. An electronic dictionary tends to include more words because it has no space limit and can therefore provide a comparatively complete record of the language. The OCD9 has 1540 characters with the radical 女 (*nü*, woman), mostly from *Kangxi Zidian*. However, more than 60% of them are graphic variants or labelled as 生僻字 (*shenpi zi*, rare word) with neither meaning nor pronunciation.

Xiandai Hanyu Cidian (Modern Chinese Dictionary, MCD) is an important one-volume dictionary of Standard Chinese published by the Commercial Press, now into its 7th (2016) edition. It was compiled by top linguists of the Institute of Linguistics of Chinese Academy of Social Science in the 1980s, and has been revised regularly ever since. It is regarded as 'a historic milestone in dictionary publishing in China (Sheng 2002: i), the most authoritative Chinese dictionary in mainland China and had an accumulative circulation of 40 million by the year 2002. There are 236 characters with the radial 女 (*nü*, woman) in MCD.

The corpus approach has long been used in lexicographic studies. It provides quantitative information of a word in a large amount of authentic data and shows its collocation, colligation, semantic prosody and semantic preference (Sinclair 2004). Using corpus helps us to illustrate how the words with female radicals are actually

used in contemporary society. The data employed in the study is a mega-corpus, the *Chinese Web* by the University of Leeds in the UK. With the web claw technique, it collected over 3.8 billion Chinese characters from 5 million URLs (Emerson 2006). It is one of the most up-to-date Chinese corpora and can be searched freely on the website of Internet Corpora (<http://corpus.leeds.ac.uk/internet.html>). The on-line version of the *Chinese Web*, *Internet-zh*, has 281,660,631 tokens and 1,268,440 types or unique words. By comparing the frequencies of characters with the radical *woman*, we can get a picture of how these words are used in modern society. Table 4 lists the frequency of some words with the radical *woman*. The frequencies of the words have been normalised to occurrence in one million words, written as 'item per million' (ipm).

Findings and discussion

Corpus analysis of characters with the radial 女 (*nü*, woman)

The corpus analysis of characters with the radial 女 (*nü*, woman), or *woman* words in Chinese have shown how pervasive the words are used in modern society, and the image of women they generate. Previous studies claimed that about 20% of Chinese words containing the radical *woman* are derogative (Tang 1988; Ettner 2002), giving readers a negative impression of the words. To attest these arguments, a large amount of authentic data was explored to see if one fifth of the words with the radical *woman* are negative.

Table 1. Top 50 characters with the radical *woman* in the *China Web* corpus

| No | Item | Freq (ipm) |
|----|---------------------------------------|------------|
| 1 | 她 (<i>ta she</i>) | 3646.3 |
| 2 | 好 (<i>hao</i> , good) | 2657.9 |
| 3 | 始 (<i>shi</i> , start) | 650 |
| 4 | 妈 (<i>ma</i> , mother) | 287 |
| 5 | 妇 (<i>fu</i> , woman) | 168.3 |
| 6 | 妻 (<i>qi</i> , wife) | 99.56 |
| 7 | 婚 (<i>hun</i> , marriage) | 98.5 |
| 8 | 姑 (<i>gu</i> , patrilineal aunt) | 90.02 |
| 9 | 姑娘 (<i>guniang</i> , girl) | 90 |
| 10 | 妹 (<i>mei</i> , younger sister) | 81.66 |
| 11 | 奶 (<i>nai</i> , patrilineal grandma) | 68.25 |
| 12 | 姓 (<i>xing</i> , family name) | 62.4 |

Table 1. (continued)

| No | Item | Freq (ipm) |
|----|----------------------------------|------------|
| 13 | 娛 (<i>yu</i> , fun) | 57.8 |
| 14 | 娘 (<i>niang</i> , mother) | 45.3 |
| 15 | 娜 (<i>na</i> , name) | 38.5 |
| 16 | 姨 (<i>yi</i> , aunt) | 37.09 |
| 17 | 姣 (<i>jiao</i> , beautiful) | 31.2 |
| 18 | 嫌 (<i>xian</i> , dislike) | 28.1 |
| 19 | 委 (<i>wei</i> , | 27.7 |
| 20 | 娶 (<i>qu</i> , marry) | 26.3 |
| 21 | 妙 (<i>miao</i> , wonderful) | 24.8 |
| 22 | 嫁 (<i>jia</i> , marry) | 24.4 |
| 23 | 妓 (<i>ji</i> , prostitute) | 24.2 |
| 24 | 嬰 (<i>ying</i> , baby) | 23.5 |
| 25 | 姐 (<i>jie</i> , elder sister) | 23.37 |
| 26 | 奴 (<i>nu</i> , slave) | 22.5 |
| 27 | 娃 (<i>wa</i> , kid) | 20.7 |
| 28 | 婆 (<i>po</i> , mother-in-law) | 20.5 |
| 29 | 媳 (<i>xi</i> , daughter-in-law) | 20.1 |
| 30 | 妞 (<i>niu</i> , girl) | 19.6 |
| 31 | 娇 (<i>jiao</i> , effeminate) | 18.5 |
| 32 | 妨 (<i>fang</i> , hinder) | 17.8 |
| 33 | 嫩 (<i>nun</i> , tender) | 16.3 |
| 34 | 妖 (<i>yao</i> , demon) | 15.6 |
| 35 | 耍 (<i>shua</i> , play) | 14.8 |
| 36 | 奸 (<i>jian</i> , wicked) | 14.6 |
| 37 | 妆 (<i>zhuang</i> , makeup) | 13.81 |
| 38 | 姜 (<i>jiang</i> , name) | 13.3 |
| 39 | 保姆 (<i>baomu</i> , nanny) | 13.3 |
| 40 | 姆 (<i>mu</i> , name) | 13.2 |
| 41 | 姥 (<i>lao</i> , grandma) | 12.9 |
| 42 | 姚 (<i>yao</i> , name) | 12.7 |
| 43 | 嫉妒 (<i>jidu</i> , envy) | 11.3 |
| 44 | 娟 (<i>juan</i> , name) | 10.1 |
| 45 | 嫂 (<i>sao</i> , sister-in-law) | 9.1 |
| 46 | 婪 (<i>lan</i> , greedy) | 8.9 |
| 47 | 妥 (<i>tuo</i> , proper) | 8.77 |
| 48 | 媚 (<i>mei</i> , charming) | 8.5 |
| 49 | 婷 (<i>ting</i> , graceful) | 8.2 |
| 50 | 妨碍 (<i>fang ai</i> , hinder) | 8.1 |

The table reveals that the most frequently used character with the radical *woman* is the pronoun 她 (*ta*, she). Personal pronouns are grammatical words and always rank high in a word frequency list. The second is 好 (*hao*, good), probably the most basic adjective in many languages. A dramatic fall in frequency can be seen after the first two characters. The third character 始 in line has 650 occurrences in 281 million words, only a fourth of the second character 好 with a frequency of 2,658 ipm. Word frequency lists have long been a part of the standard methodology for exploiting corpora. Sinclair stressed the prominence of frequency lists in corpus study by pointing out “anyone studying a text is likely to need to know how often each different word form occurs in it” (Sinclair 1991: 30). Comparing occurrences of the individual words in a text provides insightful information about the importance of words in the language. The higher the frequency, the more commonly the word is used.

The frequencies of the 236 characters with the radical *woman* in *Modern Chinese Dictionary* revealed some unexpected results. 86 characters have a frequency of zero, which means they do not occur even once in the mega-corpus of 281 million words. This indicates that the number of gender-specific words in Chinese is reducing and modern dictionaries tend to exclude those words. The words with zero occurrence include those used to describe women such as 姍 (*hua*, beautiful), 姣 (*jiao*, charming), 妍 (*yan*, pretty), 媿 (*mei*, angelic), 婁 (*fu*, beautiful) 妖 (*fou*, slim), 嫵 (*chuo*, elegant), 媿 (*chuo*, clean and tidy), 媿 (*gui*, quiet and nice), 媿 (*yi*, friendly). Some gender-specific action verbs, for instance, 媿 (*chuo*, arrange), 媿 (*liao*, cherish) 媿 (*liao*, disturb) seem out of use in modern Chinese. Another striking feature of change of woman words is the change of the semantic element; the female radical has been changed to radicals without obvious gender marker. For example, 媿 (*yin*, obscene) has changed to 媿 (*yin*, obscene); its semantic component *woman* has been replaced by *water*. The word 媿 (*lan*, lazy) has lost its female gender marker and became 媿 (*lan*, lazy) with a radical *heart*. The change of semantic components may indicate some social change such as gender equality and rising social status of women. The phonetic components of these words remained unchanged; they keep the same pronunciation.

Lexicographic presentation of characters with the radial 女 (*nü*, woman)

The further exploration of woman words was done by analysing characters with the radical 女 (*nü*, woman) in the MCD and the OCD9. The etymology and applications of characters that use the semantic stem or the radical *woman* demonstrate the linguistic precedents that subsequently confirm gender inequality and the development of patriarchy (Fan 1996). Ettner (2002) believes that Chinese orthography provides interesting clues about the nature of ancient Chinese social structure, as

words, about 140 mean ‘beautiful’, showing a significant homogeneity. A limited number of characters in this group have been included in the MCD because synonyms tend to merge to reduce the redundancy in modern language.

There are also a large number of derogatory characters in the OCD9 belittling women. Most of them disappeared today because of repetitions in meaning. The sharp decrease of characters with the radical *woman* in Chinese is in line with the change of the language. The majority of the 47035 characters in *Kangxi Zidian* have vanished, with only about 6000 used today.

The characters with the radical *woman* in MCD were examined in detail. They were classified into different semantic fields.

Table 2. Classification of characters with the radical woman in Chinese

| Semantic field | No | % | Example (pinyin, meaning) |
|--|------------|------------|--|
| Kinship | 21 | 11 | 妈 (<i>ma</i> , mother), 婆 (<i>po</i> , mother in law), 姐 (<i>jie</i> , sister), 妹 (<i>mei</i> , younger sister), 奶 (<i>nai</i> , grandma), 姑 (<i>gu</i> , aunt on father's side), 姨 (<i>yi</i> , aunt on mother's side) |
| Naming (family name and women's give name) | 32 | 16.9 | 姚 (<i>yao</i>), 姜 (<i>jiang</i>), 娄 (<i>lou</i>), 姬 (<i>ji</i>), 娜 (<i>na</i>), 婷 (<i>ting</i>), 娟 (<i>juan</i>), 姝 (<i>zhu</i>) |
| Stage of women's life | 11 | 5.8 | 婴 (<i>ying</i> , baby), 妮 (<i>ni</i> , little girl), 姑娘 (<i>guniang</i> , young girl), 妇 (<i>fu</i> , woman), 姬 (<i>ou</i> , old woman) |
| Action | 36 | 19 | 嫁 (<i>jia</i> , wed), 婚 (<i>hun</i> , marry), 娶 (<i>qu</i> , marry), 娩 (<i>mian</i> , give birth to), 奸 (<i>jian</i> , rape), 嫉妒 (<i>jidu</i> , envy), 娱 (<i>yu</i> , entertain), 嬉 (<i>xi</i> , play with), 嫖 (<i>niao</i> , flirt with) |
| Appreciating | 39 | 20.6 | 好 (<i>hao</i> , good), 娇 (<i>jiao</i> , effeminate), 妙 (<i>miao</i> , wonderful), 婉 (<i>wan</i> , graceful), 妩媚 (<i>wumei</i> , charming), 婷 (<i>ting</i> , graceful), 妥 (<i>tuo</i> , proper, sound) |
| Depreciating | 13 | 6.9 | 奸 (<i>jian</i> , wicked), 嫌 (<i>xian</i> , dislike), 妖 (<i>yao</i> , demon), 婪 (<i>lan</i> , greedy), 嫉妒 (<i>jidu</i> , julous), 嫫 (<i>qi</i> , ugly) |
| Godess | 7 | 3.7 | 媿 (<i>wei</i>), 嫦娥 (<i>chang e</i> , a woman in the moon), 嫫祖 (<i>leizu</i> , god of silkworm), 嫫 (<i>di</i> , god of washroom), 媿 (<i>ba</i> , ghost of draught) |
| Gender relation with the Empora | 8 | 4.2 | 姬 (<i>ji</i>), 妃 (<i>fei</i>), 姐 (<i>dan</i>), 婉 (<i>wan</i>), 媛 (<i>yuan</i>) (Empora's women at different levels) |
| Abnormal gender relation | 7 | 3.7 | 妾 (<i>qie</i> , concubine), 姘 (<i>pin</i> , mistress) 娼 (<i>chang</i> , prostitute) 妓 (<i>ji</i> , prostitute) |
| Job title | 5 | 2.6 | 媒妁 (<i>meishuo</i> , go between), 嫫姆 (<i>baomu</i> , babysitter), 媿妲 (<i>jiayu</i> , manager of Empora's women) |
| Pronoun | 2 | 1.1 | 她 (<i>ta</i> , she), 妳 (<i>ni</i> , female you) |
| Others | 8 | 4.2 | 奴 (<i>nu</i> , slave), 嫡 (<i>di</i> , close paternal relation), |
| Total | 189 | 100 | |

Female kinship terms

“In any language, lexical gender is an important parameter in the structure of kinship terminology” (Hellingger and Bubmann 2002: 8). Chinese has traditionally drawn a sharp division between males and females and their roles in kinship relations. The Chinese society was traditionally organised by a patrilineal and patriarchal kinship system wherein the family name and family estate were handed down from generation to generation. The complex network of kinship terms is a manifestation of gender-differentiated vocabulary. It takes variables of gender, generation, and lineage into consideration; so that one differentiates one’s mother from one’s father or an older sister from a younger one, and so forth. Kinship terms take up 11% of the characters with the radical 女 in the dictionary.

Table 3. Female kinship terms

| Younger generation | Generation 1 | Generation 2 | Generation 3 |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 妞 <i>niu</i> , daughter | 姐 <i>jie</i> , elder sister | 妈 <i>ma</i> , mother | 奶 <i>nai</i> , patrilineal |
| 娃 <i>wa</i> , children | 妹 <i>mei</i> , younger sister | 娘 <i>niang</i> , mother | grandma |
| | 妻 <i>qi</i> , wife | 婆 <i>po</i> , mother-in-law | 姥 <i>lao</i> , grandma |
| | 媳妇 <i>xifu</i> , wife | 姨 <i>yi</i> , aunt on mother’s side | on mother’s side |
| | 妯娌 <i>zhouli</i> , brother’s wife | 姑 <i>gu</i> , patrilineal aunt | |
| | | 婶 <i>shen</i> , uncle’s wife | |

Female kinship terms are frequently used in everyday language. With the gender marker, the radical 女, it is straightforward to see whether a relative is male or female. The use of this group in kinship will probably remain unchanged, different from other woman words.

Action verbs

Action verbs with the radical *woman* have a limited number in Chinese, which may indicate limited roles or functions of women. The verbs relate only to marriage, entertainment, sexual acts and some emotions. The semantic mark 女 (*nü*, female) shows the logic meaning components of the word; a woman must be involved in the process. It constitutes the initial part of verbs ‘to get pregnant’ 妊娠 (*renchen*) and ‘to give birth to a child’ 娩 (*mian*). Marriage verbs in Chinese vary in line with the agent of the verb. If a woman marries to a man, the word is 嫁 (*jia*, marry). The character consists of a radical 女 (*nü*, woman) and a phonetic 家 (*jia*, home), which means to give the woman a home. When a man marries a woman, the verb 娶 (*qu*, marry) is used. The two components are 取 (*qu*, take) and 女 (*nü*, woman). The meaning is that the man takes the woman, and the man and his family are supposed to shoulder most of the cost of the marriage and provide a house and a

car for the new couple. The verb 结婚 (*jie hun*, wed) is used when the subjects are man and woman. The word formation displays the social structure and attitude of marriage in China: the woman marries the man, and the man weds the woman.

Some verbs of entertainment also have the radical *woman*, indicating that women are an essential part in amusement. For example, 嬉 (*xi*, amuse), 耍 (*shua*, play), 娱 (*yu*, entertain) 嬉 (*yao*, game). Other two verbs with a man-woman-man structure, 嫖 (*niao*, to flirt with), or a woman-man-woman form, 嫩 (*nao*, to flirt with) imply sexual activities with men and women. 媾 (*gou*, copulate), 奸/姦/姦 (*jian*, rape) are verbs for sexual acts and assaults. Most of these words are no longer used and will be discussed later in this paper.

14 out of the 36 verbs with the radical *woman* are pejorative. Mental verbs in this group mostly have negative connotations and are regarded by default as women's typical problems, for example, to envy (嫉妒 *jidu*, 媚 *mao*), to hesitate (媿 *an*), to disturb (撩 *liao*), to dislike (嫌 *xian*), and to hinder (妨 *fang*). These words reflect the traditional concept of women's behaviour in Chinese society, or rather, the remnants of Confucius idea:

唯女子与小人为难养也。

wei nuzi yu xiaoren wei nanyang ye

only woman and small person be difficult support also

Women and uneducated people are the most difficult to deal with.

Some derogative verbs describing women in the past no longer belittle women only; they can refer to any human, for example, the word 嫌 (*xian*; dislike) and 妨 (*fang* hinder). We randomly selected 100 concordance lines of the verb 嫌 (*xian*; dislike) from the mega-corpus *Chinese Web* and found that only in 25% of the sentences were women as the agents of the verb 嫌 (*xian*; dislike); the rest are men, institutions, people, even countries.

Adjectives describing women

Adjectives describing women seem to be polarised: commendatory and derogatory. In the classic *Kangxi Zidian*, over 140 single character words describing women's appearance, figure, behaviour and attitude. The MCD contains only 52 characters from this group, excluding the majority. Of these adjectives, 39 are positive and 13 negative. This finding differs from other research which claimed that more than 20% of words containing the radical 女 (*nü*, woman) are derogative (Ettner 2002; Tang 1988). It is probably because the current study comprehensively investigated every character with the radical *woman* in MCD, rather than focusing on a few selected words for a particular purpose. The words describing the beauty or virtue of women highlight different aspects. The majority describe the good appearance of women such as 姘 (*hua*, beautiful), 姘 (*jiao*, pretty), 妍 (*yan*, stunning), 姘 (*hua*,

而且她办理的业务又比较复杂时间就更长了,临走她还
 想起来,那时候我身上的味大得不得了,人家肯定是
 彭,要逃出房去。决紧紧地拉住我,说:“怎么,你
 恋爱的失败,我就再也没有什么挑剔了,只要人家不
 你说知心话吗?老吕说,说个屁!不但不说,而且还
 是够我跑一天的,可他毫不通人性地把任务交给我还
 楞歪着头上上下下地把他过滤了一遍,“那……准是
 不好,你往别房里去罢。”西门庆笑道:“我知道你
 耽。历尽打击伤害,总算知道大概。嫌我不讲穿戴,
 不大雅观吧!”李:“不差!我的老婆也为了这帽子,
 插到学校。现在我没有朋友,但在酒吧里,至少没人
 骂,今天也一样。我们呼叫着,呐喊着,奔跑着。
 用了我们的廉价智力劳动,去救死扶伤、培育人才,还
 国没太多关系,我们只要看就行了。可是我们的媒体
 也早恋。”……她不睬我了,吹了。“为什么?”“她
 伤好了吗?”“您知道的,今天上午就已经拆线……您
 回家过节去了,打来电话问候,张老大接的电话,说:
 了。”周妈妈每天来班上,都凶巴巴地骂我们这个、
 迅速汇报。类似的场景,在每个大厅都有,有人甚至
 地毯一样,而我们的草坪是则穿着厚袜子走在上面还
 吗?他不。他不能耽搁,如再穿衣服,再去接茶杯
 一下,用相当暧昧的表情看了我一眼,喊道:“你还
 腿也是同样如此,刚进去时半边脸就被打青了,后来
 在一家店里打工,一来二去认识了另外几个人,我们都
 互。共1页>一个大学刚刚毕业在宁工作的小伙子,因为
 分47 商场的自动扶梯以匀速由下往上行驶,两个孩子
 1-17 10:45 自己交的20%只有11%进了个人帐户,还
 14000元,买了一辆红色“天马”牌摩托车。因为
 事是为了报考文艺团体,有二十出头开始学风琴的,
 ,独立卫生间可淋浴,床很大,一张床能睡2人也不
 已驾驶的最大的游船了,上边足足可以放下二十人不

我就误她的时间,办的慢。其实要是到柜台就能办理也就十分
 嫌我脏。不过,管它前边后边,那时候我人生值得喜悦的事情
 嫌我脏吗,你介意我和别的女人睡过?我慌忙说:“不,我
 嫌我腿不好看、有病就行了,婚后能生一个孩子证明我的腿
 嫌我说话罗嗦……你呢?尤扬说,我孩子是个女孩儿,还行
 嫌我跑得慢,他自己试一试,他要能半天跑下来我就服气了
 嫌我这个入党介绍人资历太浅,比你还小一岁,何况还是个女
 嫌我醉了,不留我。也罢,别惹你嫌。我去了,明晚来里
 嫌我长得不够帅。嫌我个头太矮,嫌我没有气质。熊猫长得
 嫌我难看,不愿和我一同到外面去。”张:“那末,你为什么
 嫌我,至少还有人陪我。如果我离开酒吧,只怕死了都没人
 嫌我们上课死气的地理老师会想起太阳活动极大年。历史老师
 嫌我们玷污了阵营,当包袱甩出去。对方也是政治第一,排斥
 嫌我们的智力太低,怕我们吓着,给我们一个安全DEMO版看
 嫌我们穷,说她的朋友都说我长得土……”说到这里他的眼睛
 嫌我们身上有疤?“侯龙涛扶住慧烟的细腰,把她转了个身,
 嫌我们这里冷清,于是我们狂敲一通桌子。(我还吃了学校发
 嫌我们那个;不像你,每次都笑嘻嘻地讲好听的故事给大家听
 嫌手机的通话效果不佳,把座机电话都搬到了赌桌上。不同的
 嫌扎的慌。猛一看去,两边翠绿的草坪夹着我们家青黄的一
 嫌打停了,发兆的茶要顺道。左手掉了坐起来,右手伸出来
 嫌打得不够啊?”我打了个哈哈,笑道:“要是换成我以前啊
 嫌打脸难看就开始用橡皮棍打腰,隔一天打一次,打的苦不堪
 嫌打工来钱慢,就琢磨着发点邪财。我们瞄上了动贩卖机。
 嫌打扮寒碜的母亲会影响自己和女友的约会,竟然将千里迢迢
 嫌扶梯走得慢,于是在行驶的扶梯上,男孩每秒钟向上走2
 嫌拿走得太少,干脆全拿走了。为什么要等到把一大部分没
 嫌挂牌费事,再者还要花钱,所以一直拖着没挂牌。杨涛的父
 嫌指头太硬在热水里泡泡再拉,玩儿照相又“图”个什么呢?
 嫌挤,厕所有2张床,一个电视机,一张沙发,60元-人,不
 嫌挤,而且据我做知现在的滨湖公园:EN:有这么大的游船投入:

Figure 1. Concordances of the word 嫌 (*xian*; dislike) from the *China Web*

exquisite), 媵 (*mei*, angelic), 婊 (*fu*, gorgeous). Some refer to the figure as 妖 (*fou*, slim); others stress the manner 倜 (*chuo*, elegant), 妮 (*chuo*, clean and tidy), 媚 (*qui*, quiet and nice), 嫵 (*yi*, friendly), 娜 (*na*, delicate). These words may help to create the message that women are 'entirely constituted by the gaze of man' (Williamson 1985: 80). In this sense, Chinese character formations and their attendant meanings can be said to contribute to gender bias (Xia and Miller 2013). There are also some words describing the wisdom of women such as 伶俐 (*ling*, smart), 娴 (*xian*, skilful), 嫺 (*liao*, wise). The negative words describe woman's unattractiveness including 媿 (*chi*, ugly) and 媿 (*qi*, homely), or misbehaving as 妖 (*yao*, goblin), 姪 (*yin*, obscene), 嫖 (*xie*, seducing) and 奸 (*jian*, wicked). On the whole, adjectives describing women take a bigger portion of the words with the radical *woman*.

Woman in Chinese idioms and proverbs

Idioms and proverbs are rich linguistic data for the study of the cultural beliefs and social values of a particular society. Chinese sayings reflect and evaluate almost every aspect of women's lives. Previous studies inclined to criticise Chinese idioms as gender-biased (Chan 2002; Fan 1996), but we found that there are more positive idioms than negative ones. We examined all 144 four-character expressions with the word 女 (*nü*, woman) in the MCD. Table 4 displays the results:

Table 4. Classification of four-character expressions containing the character woman

| Semantic field | No | Example |
|-------------------------|----|---|
| 1. Family life | 29 | 男婚女嫁 (<i>nan hun nü jia</i> , man marry woman marry, A man should take a wife, and a woman should marry a husband. 郎才女貌 (<i>long cai nü mao</i> , man talent woman beauty, a perfect match) |
| 2. Gender relationship | 11 | 孤男寡女 (<i>gunan gua nü</i> , single man single woman) |
| 3. About children | 26 | 儿女成群 (<i>er nü chengqun</i> , son daughter become group, many children) 金童玉女 (<i>jin tong yu nü</i> , golded boy jade girl, golden couple) |
| 4. Gender bias | 14 | 男不与女斗 (<i>nan bu yu nü dou</i> , man not fight woman, Men should not quarrel or compete with women.) 男尊女卑 (<i>nan zun nü bei</i> , man superior woman inferior, Women are inferior to men.) 婆婆妈妈 (<i>popo mama</i> , mother-in-law mother, maudlin or negging) |
| 5. Description of women | 19 | 越女齐姬 (<i>yue nü qi ji</i> , yue woman qi lady, beautiful women) 女中豪杰 (<i>nü zhong haojie</i> , woman among hero, heroine) |

The dictionary does not include many negative idioms and proverbs against women. Zhang's (2002) studied a number of Chinese proverbs which echo the dominant social rules and norms concerning women's behaviors and familial roles, and proverbs emphasize the necessity of male control over women, for example:

- (1) 嫁出去的女, 泼出去的水
Jia chuqu de nü, po chuqu de shui.
marry out att daughter throw out att water
A daughter married out is like water thrown out.
- (2) 女儿是赔钱货。
Nü'er shi pei qian huo.
daughter be lose money commodity
'A daughter is a commodity on which money is lost.'

These sayings reflect the values and attitudes of China's agrarian past, and are rarely used in modern times. The rapid social change to a commercialised society and the increasing role of independent women have created some new negative expressions describing modern women, such as 拜金女 (*baijin nü*, bow to gold woman, material girl), 败家女 (*baijia nü*), 女强人 (*nü qiāngren*, strong woman). Although they have been widely used, they have not found a place in prestigious dictionaries.

The third person pronouns

Third-person pronouns in modern Chinese are also gender marked: masculine *he* (他 *ta*), feminine *she* (她 *ta*) and neuter *it* (它 *ta*), but the difference occurs only in written form. The pronunciation of the three words are exactly the same. The personal pronouns in written Chinese were historically devoid of gender distinction until the 1910s when more Western works were introduced and translated into Chinese. Liu Ban-nong, a Chinese linguist and poet in the 1920s, borrowed a female third-person singular form *she* from English and created a character 她 (*ta*, she). The gender-marked pronouns solved lexical problems in translation in the early days, and the graph was generally accepted and used extensively.

A female *you* 妳 (*ni*) was also created in the 1920s, but it did not seem to receive a wide acceptance. Indeed, it died out in mainland China, and has zero occurrence in *Chinese Web*. The character is used only in Taiwan and Hong Kong, mostly in literal works; a recent Google search has proved this. The 105 million hits of female *you* (妳 *ni*) were either from dictionaries or from literal works in Hong Kong or Taiwan. There are almost no examples of everyday use of the word. When using Chinese gendered pronouns, users do not seem to be highly sensitive about which gender a pronoun represents partially because of the same pronunciation of gendered pronouns in Chinese.

Findings from the corpus search show that the Chinese third-person pronouns have different frequencies in the data. The male pronoun *he* has the frequency of 6117.6 ipm (item per million), doubling the use of the female *she*. The non-human and inanimate *it* has the lowest occurrences as expected because it does not have the grammatical function of a formal subject or object as in English. The high frequency of the male plural form 他们 (*tamen*, they) probably includes the gender-biased cases of excluding women and can be investigated in detail. Due to the time limit, the examples will not be discussed here. Table 6 shows the details of the gendered pronouns in the corpus.

Table 5. Frequencies of third-person pronouns in the *Chinese Web*

| Pronoun | Frequency (ipm) | Rank in the corpus |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 他 (ta, he) | 6117.6 | 9 |
| 她 (ta, she) | 3646.3 | 21 |
| 它 (ta, it) | 733.3 | 114 |
| 他们 (tamen, they) | 1764.9 | 48 |
| 她们 (tamen, they) | 191.1 | 502 |
| 它们 (tamen, they) | 135.1 | 731 |

Gender agreement in Chinese only occurs in the agreement between nouns and third singular person pronouns, therefore in many cases it can be ignored, because it is common to omit the subject of a Chinese sentence or to repeat the noun in a sentence. For example:

医生在宣布不治之症时，通常会首先通知亲属而不是直接告诉患者。

Yisheng zai xuanbu buzhihzheng shi, tongchang hui shouxian tongzhi jiashu er bushi zhijie gaosu huanzhe.

Doctor announce incurable disease time, usually, first, tell near kins not directly tell the patient

If a doctor wants to announce the diagnosis of a terminal disease, s/he will first inform the relatives instead of turning to the patient directly.

The Chinese grammatical structure makes it possible to avoid the agreements between a noun and its pronoun. The subject of a sentence is always omitted when the context is the same as the first half of the sentence. Therefore, there is little need to use a gender-specific third-person pronoun. Also, Chinese is a non-inflective language, in which writers or speakers are free from worries about the subject and verb agreement or noun and gender consistence. In this way, gender-biased forms in Chinese can usually be avoided. In the above Chinese sentence, the doctor is gender indefinite. No pronoun is used therefore no gender bias is perceived.

Word order indicating gender disparity

Some authors (Tan 1990; Zhang 2002) have argued that the word-order in Chinese also indicates gender inequality in the language. The Chinese language does not have the rule of ‘Ladies first’; ‘more deeply entrenched in the language are compounds that still reflect the historical placement of males’ worth above that of females’ (Chan 1997: 45). This can be seen from the male-before-female sequence of constituents in compounds, such as *fumu* 父母 (*fumu*, father and mother), 夫妻 (*fuqi*, husband and wife), 子女 (*zǐnǚ*, son and daughter), 叔叔阿姨 (*shushuayi*, uncle and aunt) 公公婆婆 (*gonggong popo*, father-in-law and mother-in-law). More examples can be found with Chinese four-character idioms. Among the 144 idioms with the word *woman* recorded in *Modern Chinese Dictionary* (7th ed.), 56 contain both man and woman, 23 include son and daughter. All are in the order of male before female. For example:

儿女情长 (*ernü qingchang*; son daughter love long; love between man and woman)

生儿育女 (*sheng er yu nü*; produce son bring up daughter; to have children)

男女老少 (*nan nü lao shao*; men women the old the little; people of all ages and both sexes)

男尊女卑 (*nan zun nü bei*, man superior woman inferior, women are inferior to men)

男女平等 (*nan nü pingdeng*; man woman equal; men and women are equal)

善男信女 (*shan nan xin nü*; good man nice woman; good man and woman)

In these fixed phrases, the male must be placed before the female. The male-before-female order means that the male-gendered constituent proceeds the female-gendered component, and reflects woman's position in society (Ettner 2002: 38). As Malt et al. noticed, "the influence of language on thought is obligatory or at least habitual. Thought is always, or under most circumstances, guided by language" (2003: 11).

Conclusion

This paper discussed gender representation in the Chinese language. With the radical character *woman* 女 (*nü*) forming a major component of many Chinese characters, gender marking can be easily seen. The semantic analysis revealed that the meanings of these gender-marked words cover a limited range of semantic fields: kinship, naming, sexual relations, appreciating women, devaluing women. Gender disparity can also be conveyed in word order, compounds and different idioms. With drastic changes in society particularly in regard to the role of women, many female-marked words, especially negative words and naming words have become redundant. The meanings of these words are now expressed in other gender-indefinite characters.

The corpus-based study has proved the decreased use of words with the radical *woman*, especially their types. The author suggests Chinese dictionary compilers become alert to this new language reality and reduce the number of this type of gender-specific words when compiling a Chinese dictionary or a Chinese-English dictionary.

The contribution of this study lies in the extensive survey of words with the *woman*-radical and answered the question if the Chinese language is gender-biased in its form and which changes have taken place in modern Chinese. It enriches our understanding of gender profiles in the Chinese language and may also benefit Chinese learners both at home and abroad. It is also important to reflect the reason why the number of woman-related words have changed dramatically. Further research can go beyond the words with the radical *woman* 女 (*nü*) and extend the research range to other terms describing women such as 母 (*mu*, female) and 雌 (*ci*, female). It will provide more awareness of gender in the Chinese language and help to better understand the relation between social change and language change.

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Understanding stancetaking through gestures and linguistic practices in a public political debate in Hong Kong

Helen Wan

University of California, Los Angeles

Hong Kong has enjoyed partial universal suffrage in both District Council election as well as the Legislative Council election since the handover in 1997. This paper looks into the 2016 Hong Kong Legislative Council electoral debate with the combination of discourse analysis using the Stance Triangle (Du Bois 2007) and gesture-unit analysis (Kendon 2004) to study how verbal and non-verbal activities are being strategically organized to project both affective and epistemic stances by the elected incumbent, Alvin Yeung, and his opponents. The findings suggest Cantonese utterance final particles and gestures are strategically and aptly employed to achieve both expressive and communicative purposes in the political debates where they can not only elucidate their policy agenda but also defeat the opponents and win the votes.

Keywords: political discourse, Hong Kong political debates, Cantonese utterance final particles, gesture-unit analysis, Stance Triangle

Background of the study

We use languages to help project different stances, for instance, using affective tokens, “love”, “hate”, “like”, “being afraid of”, etc. to express affective stances whereas tokens such as “think”, “reckon”, “know” etc. can express epistemic stances. The use of different linguistic forms to represent one’s stance has been center of various linguistic-related research including the study of using pronouns (Scheibman 2002), or phrase like *I guess* (Kärkkäinen 2007), or the word *stance* (Englebretson 2007) itself to understand stancetaking in conversation. Biber and Finegan (1989) also look into the lexical and grammatical marking of stances such as evidentiality and affect in speech style of English. Similarly, speakers of Cantonese also project their stance through subjective expression of their mood, attitude, assessment as

well as perspective (Chor 2014). Their stance is reflected at different linguistic levels including lexical, phrasal and clausal levels (Yap et al. 2010). Cantonese, however, can also utilize utterance final particles, which are bound morphemes optionally attached to the end of an utterance, to modulate the strength of the epistemic stance (Chor 2014). There are various research working on identifying the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic functions of these Cantonese utterance final particles (Law 1990; Luke 1990; Cheung 2007, Matthew & Yip 2011). Utterance final particles can form particle clusters (Yau 1980; Law 1990, Matthews & Yip 2011, and Cheung 2007) and can be combined up to seven single particles (Leung 2005: 1–2). Some of the research focus on a particle group of particles, for example, the trio particles of *wo3*, *wo4*, and *wo5* (Matthews 1997), the focus particles of *zaa3* and *tim1* (Law 2004), the quotative particles *wo3*, *wo5* and *bo3* (Leung 2010), and the study of epistemic strength of various particles including *wo3* and *gaa3* as projecting strong epistemic stance whereas *ge2*, *gwaa1*, *zalmaa3* as projecting weaker epistemic strength (Chor 2014). Therefore, utterance final particles are perceived as a powerful grammatical system in Cantonese that they are being constantly utilized in conversations to convey various meanings in the areas of aspect, modality, evidentiality, and speaker stance (Chor 2014, 2018).

Research in political discourses have flourished cross-disciplinarily that include studies of the language of power in Critical Discourse Analysis (Wodak & Forchtner 2017), Conversation Analysis (Clayman 2011), Critical Linguistics, and Political Linguistics. This is an exciting branch of study of language because the study of politics inevitably correlates to “the socialization of humans involving the formation of coalition, the signaling of group boundaries, and all these developments imply, including the emergence of what is called reciprocal altruism” (Chilton & Schaffner 2002: 3). It thus provides us a broader horizon on how group boundaries and alliances are formed through these highly institutionalized discourse settings. There are also studies particularly looking into the strategies of questioning in campaign interview (Clayman 2011; Montgomery 2007, 2008), and new conferences (Clayman et al. 2012). Language in politics has also allowed understanding of the power relation between the interviewers and interviewees. Although there is surging popularity in studies on stancetaking in daily conversation and other political settings, research on studying stancetaking in political debates in Cantonese, a highly institutionalized discourse setting that allows both prepared speeches and unplanned exchange, remains scarce (Yap et al. 2017). Besides this, research combining the use of linguistic and non-verbal forms in political debates in the Cantonese-speaking environment is nowhere to be found. This paper, therefore, will throw new light on how both linguistic forms and gesturing are being strategically deployed to help the politicians successfully project both affective and epistemic stances in political debates and win the elections.

This paper aims to shed light on how gestures play an integral part of understanding the intended expressive and communication goals of the candidates in the political debate and overthrow the long-standing belief that gestures are merely secondary, if not being completely ignored, in conveying meaning in discourse analysis. The paper will also look into a specific linguistic feature in Cantonese – utterance final particles (UFPs in short) to investigate how they play a crucial role in stancetaking in political debates and to see the relationship between the use of utterance final particles and gestural activities in the genre of political discourse. Lastly, this paper will also suggest how the elected candidate, Alvin Yeung, manipulates his gestures and verbal cues in this political debate to secure his votes from the audience and win the election.

Methodology

Gesture analysis

The status of gestures in human interaction

Gesture analysis will be included in this paper in order to look into how non-verbal communicative practices along with verbal practices can be employed to help convey meaningful messages to the audience and the opponents. As Kendon (2004) suggests gestures can be deployed to serve various purposes, for instance, deictic references, describing objects or actions, and as a means of punctuating, marking up or showing aspects of the structure of their speech. It is crucial to investigate how gesture and speech are organized by speakers in relation to one another to help convey meanings. Similar to verbal communication, firstly, gestures can also be performative such as making a request, an invitation, and a rejection, etc. which all denote pragmatic meanings in the gestural expression. Secondly, gestures are operators that they can serve as negatives and indicate the evidential status of something that is being said. Thirdly, there are gestures that have parsing or discourse structure marking functions, for example, one of the most commonly employed gesture, called the “air quote”, indicating the quotation marks in written discourse can be expressed with two fingers (the index and the middle fingers) of each hand in the air.

In Kendon’s term (2004), utterance is used to refer to the collaborative of actions, they can be a composition of speech alone, or of visible action alone, or of speech and visible action, that counts for the speakers as a “turn” or “contribution” or “move” within the occasion of interaction in which they are engaging in. Utterances, therefore, will be used to represent both the spoken component and a gestural component in this paper. Moreover, speakers may organize their gestural

activities corresponding to the words or phrases of their speech within the same utterance. Gesture, just like speech, is also a kind of expressive resources which are available to speakers for them to produce the final product along with their speech. Therefore, gestures are not part of the processes that lead up to verbal formulation, but they are, rather, an integral part of what an interlocutor does in shaping a stance object, that is fashioned to meet the expressive and communicative purposes and requirements of an interaction. A gesture is thus being considered as a *partner* with speech in human interaction (Kendon 2004: 111).

Kendon (2004) further proposes that the units of gesture can be categorized as the *gesture phrase* and the *gesture unit* (p. 108) for gestural analysis. He states that when a person participates in gesturing the body parts, they are employed in the activity of a succession of excursions. The terms of gestural analysis will be explained in the following section.

Gesture units, gesture phrases, the phases of gestural action

The mechanism of gestural analysis includes the distinction among the terms such as gesture units, gesture phrases, and the phases of gestural actions. It can be illustrated with the forelimb gesturing, the “articulators”, i.e., the hands, are moved away from some positions of rest or of relaxation, which is also known as “home position” by Sacks and Schegloff (2002), toward a region of space, and then, eventually, the articulators are moved back again to some position of rest or relaxation. The whole excursion from the moment of articulators begin to depart from the resting position and the return to that position will be referred to as a *gesture unit*. The phase of the excursion closest to its peak is usually considered as the phase when the “expression” of the gesture, whatever its meaning may be, is accomplished. It is the phase of the excursion in which the movement dynamics of “effort” and “shape” are demonstrated with the best clarity and this phase is called the *stroke*. The phase of movement leading up to the stroke is termed the *preparation*. The phase of movement that follows, as the hand is relaxed, or is withdrawn, is referred to as the *recovery*. The *stroke* may sometimes be followed by a phase in which the articulator is sustained in the position at which it appeared at the end of the *stroke*. This has been referred to as the *post-stroke hold* (Kendon 2004). It is noteworthy that “*stroke* and *post-stroke hold* together usually bracket a semantically complete phrase of speech” (Kendon 2004: 112). Therefore, the stroke and any post-stroke hold are considered to be the nucleus of the gesture phrase. This is a critical part of the gesture phrase that it is being analyzed as part of the action that conveying meanings of the gesture phrase (p. 112). Although the *recovery* is regarded as part of the gesture unit, the recovery movement is not included in the part of the gesture phrase. Within the nucleus of the gesture phrase, there is a tendency of the gestural activity being performed at approximately the same time as the pronunciation of

the words that being uttered which together carry a semantic sense that achieves a combination of semantic coherence with one another (Kendon 2004: 124–125). It supports that when producing gestures, the speaker must have already organized it at the same time as he plans for the verbal part. Therefore, Kendon suggests that gesture and speech are planned for together and gestural expression is an inevitable integrated component of the utterance's construction. Example (1) is an extract from Kendon (2004) as a brief introduction of how the data will be transcribed:

- (1) M: He used to go down there and throw (.....) GROUⁿd rice over it

| | |
|----|-------------------------------|
| RH | ~~~~~ ***** *** ----- |
| | preparation stroke recovery |
| | [_____] |
| | GESTURE PHRASE |
| | [_____] |
| | GESTURE UNIT |

(Notes: RH right hand; ~~~ preparation, *** stroke action; --- recovery; (...) indicates a pause in speech. Length of pause in tenths of a second. Tonic syllables in SMALL CAPITALS.) (in Kendon 2004: 114)

Stancetaking and the stance triangle

The stance triangle

Stancetaking is considered to be one of the most fundamental properties of communication (Jaffe 2009). Jaffe argues that there is no such thing as a completely neutral position regarding one's linguistic production even some types of discourse and writing tend to be more stance-saturated than others, neutrality itself is a stance (Jaffe 2009). Recent research in the area of stancetaking provides new insights for the study of social positioning (e.g. Du Bois 2007; Jaffe 2009; Linell 2009). Differentiating from other approaches, Du Bois' approach is not to interpret the variety of stances into distinct types of stance, for instance, assessment, appraisal or evaluation, etc., and such a question of how many stance types is remained unsolved (Du Bois 2007). The diversity of stances, in Du Bois' words (2007), are 'simply as different facets of a single unified stance act' (p. 145). Speakers perform specific stance acts, which have particular contents and are situated in a particular dialogic and sequential context, instead of simply performing generic stance types (Du Bois 2007: 145). Du Bois' (2007) defines that:

Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, concerning any salient dimension of the sociocultural field (p. 163).

The three types of stance in Du Bois' framework, therefore, include the concepts of evaluation, positioning, and alignment. The interpretation of the stance triangle suggests that they are simply three subsidiary acts of a single central, unified stance act (Du Bois 2007: 163). How these concepts intertwine depending on three crucial roles in the triangle, two of which are the stancetakers, who are responsible for their specific stance utterances, and the last role will be the stance object which is what the stancetakers are responding to (see Figure 1).

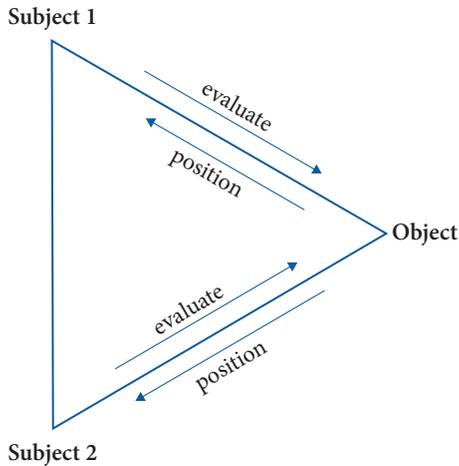


Figure 1. Du Bois' stance triangle (Du Bois 2007)

The object of stance is the entity being oriented to (Du Bois 2007: 152). Therefore, the coherent expression of the speaker's subjectivity requires both a subject and an object of stance. It also requires sociocognitive relations of objective, subjectivism, and intersubjective intentionality. As Du Bois suggests, "stance is to be understood as three acts in one, that is, a triune act, or tri-act. Evaluation, positioning, and alignment represent three different aspects of a single stance act. They are subsidiary acts of a single overarching unified stance act" (Du Bois 2007: 162). Therefore, the stance triangle is a crucial framework for this current paper to analyze the realization and interpretation of stance in this set of Cantonese data of political debates to explore how taking a particular stance is habitually and conventionally relevant to particular subject positions which associate to one's political roles or identities, or even the notion of partisanship, and interpersonal relationships that play along during the political debates.

Affective and epistemic stances

Prior to the analysis of the individual speech and political debates, it is necessary to specify that the use of affective and epistemic stances which are the focus of

this current study, as Jaffe (2009) suggests “both affective stances that represent emotional states of the speakers and epistemic stances that convey speakers’ degrees of certainty about their propositions are socially grounded and consequential” (Jaffe 2009: 7). These two stances are both sociocultural related and thus can reflect one’s identities and roles through the stancetaking activities. However, they are two fundamentally different types of stances: firstly, the affective display can not only project the emotional state of the speakers but also serve the functions of evaluation, self-representation, and positioning that are crucial in taking stances. Secondly, the affective display can index various social and moral values that they help index shared, culturally specific kinds of feelings or norms and thus, can be utilized to draw social boundaries. It is fundamental for the work of social categorization and differentiation, which is also perspicacious in partisanship. Therefore, the affective display can serve as a kind of resource for speakers to lay claims to particular identities and statuses and evaluating others’ identities and statuses at the same time (Jaffe 2009: 7). On the other hand, the epistemic stance is also culturally grounded as an interlocutor claims to know or possesses some kind of knowledge that will then index particular regimes of knowledge and authority (Jaffe 2009: 7). Epistemic stance can also be used as resources for speakers to pursue social capital that accrues to being recognized as having authentic and authoritative knowledge in certain sociocultural fields and thus, consolidate as well as legitimate their role to evaluate others’ claims. Studying the projection of both epistemic and affective stances is, therefore, a useful resource to analyze how candidates manipulate and negotiate their socio-cultural and professional roles through the application of their authoritative knowledge to simultaneously consolidate and position their political stances as well as effectively evaluate their opponents.

Data

The data comprises a televised debate hosted by the Television Broadcast Limited dated on 25th February 2016. The taped episode lasts for roughly 70 minutes. This episode was designated for a particular group of candidates for the re-election for the East New Territory Constituency. The episode first starts with an individual section where each candidate can present their agenda individually which is then followed by a debate over various political or social policy and current issues of the society. This current study includes the elected candidate, Alvin Yeung, who won the election and was selected to be the legislator for the East New Territory district and one of his opponents, Holden Chow, to see how and what strategies they deploy linguistically and non-verbally in the debate.

Findings

Individual speech

The first part of the analysis will be emphasizing the individual speech in which each of the electoral candidates was assigned 60 seconds individually to promote their agenda and to make an appeal to the audience and the voters to cast their votes to the candidates on the election day. Alvin Yeung delivers a 48-second speech illustrated as Example (2) below with gestural analysis:

(2)

01 大家好，我係楊岳橋。歡迎你收睇緊無線電視J2 Five台。

LH¹ | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ - |

'Hello everyone. I am Alvin Yeung. Welcome and you are now watching TVB Channel J2.'

02 我希望而家哩行字幕係繁體字。

RH | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ - |

'I hope the subtitle here is displayed as traditional Chinese.'

03 但係其實而家香港嘅矛盾，又豈止繁簡之爭？過去幾年梁振英上台到而家，由國民

BH | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ - |

'But is the battle of the word choice between using traditional Chinese or the simplified the only conflict we have in Hong Kong? Over the past few years since Chun-ying Leung took over the office, (there were protests against) the national education...'

04 教育、香港電視拒絕發牌、李國章事件，種種、種種嘅例子都逼到我哋透唔過氣。

'...the rejection of granting the free-to-air license to HK TV Network, the Arthur Li's incident, etc. All of these incidents are overwhelmingly suffocating for us (to handle).'

05 今個禮拜日，你，有得出嚟發聲。你要選擇嘅究竟係繼續麻木保皇定係中間騎牆，

RH | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ - |

'This Sunday, you, can make your voice heard. Are you going to keep choosing blindly and support the pro-Chinese government parties or those who are sitting on the fence,'

1. LH = left hand, RH = right hand, BH = both hands

06 要有底線有原則，定係我哋呢一種，革新之餘，有原則有底線呢？選擇權係你手上。

'(or choosing those) without bottom lines or principles? Or will you choose us who are not only revolutionary, but we also know our principles and where our bottom-line lies leh? The choice is in your hand.'

07 希望你星期日支持我，我係楊岳橋。多謝你。

'Hope you can support me this Sunday. I am Alvin Yeung. Thank you.'

The speech above contains both gestural activity and other linguistic stylistic deployments. Nonetheless, the stylistic use of the speech will not be the focus of the paper. Instead, whether the distinctive linguistic form, utterance final particles (UFPs hereafter), is being used will be discussed. UFPs are one of the most distinctive features being extensively used in conversation in Cantonese. There are more than 30 varieties in Cantonese UFPs. Not only can they act as an epistemic marker that suggests certainty, but some of them can also project emotion coloring (Matthews and Yip 2011). That being said, however, Yeung's individual speech shows rather limited use of UFPs except the one, 呢 "leh" (underlined in line 6 in Example (2)), being employed at line 6 as a question particle. This UFP is mostly used in polar questions. In Yeung's speech, he asks a question with several alternatives for the voters to choose from and ended his question with 呢 "leh" to invoke introspection from the audience. On the other hand, there are four gesture units found in the 48-second speech. It is noteworthy that two of the four gesture units are deployed to address the audience or voters who are watching the television broadcast. He directs his eye gaze and opens the palm of his hand when he delivers the message with the pronoun 'you' as if he is talking to a particular person and inviting members of audience to respond to his request especially at line 5 where he requests 'you' to respond to his requests, i.e., 'to make their voice heard' and 'to cast your vote'. This palm-opening gesture is employed at line 1 as well but it is not deployed as an act of request. In contrast, it is considered to be a way of *locking the attention of the audience* to his speech. Although it is understood that he would be the only one speaking in the individual speech, the palm-opening gesture is useful to direct the audience's attention to his speech accompanied with the sense of inclusiveness conveyed in the gesture. The gesture suggests that he is not just talking to a screen or a camera but rather, it is as if the speaker is able to look through the lens of the camera and talk directly to his audience. This makes the candidate, Yeung, appearing to be more personal and approachable. This type of palm-opening gestures is different from the index-finger pointing as the former is considered to be welcoming and inviting whereas the latter is mostly employed with an accusation tone, especially in political debates. However, not all the index-finger

pointing is accusation-loaded. The second line shows that Yeung used his index figure to point at the subtitle while he delivered the utterance ‘I hope the subtitle here is displayed as traditional Chinese (refer to screen capture 1). This pointing gesture does not carry an accusation sentiment but can be categorized as a gesture of reference which is employed to direct audience attention to a certain spot on the television screen. When he uses the index-finger pointing at line 2, his attempt is to direct the audience’s attention to the subtitle. This gesture supports Yeung to direct his audience to pay extra attention to the subtitle in screen capture 1 and guide them to his verbal message simultaneously as he delivers the rest of the message in individual speech. It can thus assume the he has already successfully secured the attention of the audience in the first two lines by the time he finished his gesture unit of pointing at the subtitle. He subsequently continues his speech with a list of conflicts that Hong Kong society has been experiencing. He uses a downward open-palm gesture (refer to screen capture 2) when he asks the question ‘but is the battle of the word choice between using traditional Chinese or the simplified the only conflict we have in Hong Kong?’ at line 3. Nevertheless, this particular gesture is not being categorized as conveying a particular meaningful message to the audience. It might instead, help us locate our attention to the lectern which is placed in front of each candidate. Other gestures that are performed with the lectern in the later part of the debate will be discussed in Section 4.2.



(Screen capture 1)



(Screen capture 2)

From the above analysis, it can be concluded that utterance final particles are not playing a particularly crucial role in individual speech. On the contrary, gestural activities are sufficiently important here to address the audience to secure their attention and thus help build on a further argument along with the speech. In the following section, the Stance Triangle is being employed to elucidate how stance-taking activity is being projected in his speech.

Analyzing the individual speech with the Stance Triangle

The Stance Triangle proposed by Du Bois is to describe how speakers project stances in their speech. It is supposed that there should be more than one speaker in the exchange to see how stance is being positioned, evaluated and projected in the interaction. It is, therefore, relatively more difficult to analyze the sociocognitive processes for the individual speech through the original stance triangle proposed by Du Bois because one of the stancetakers, the audience, is not physically present. Besides, Du Bois (2007) claims that stance is a public act which produced by the social actors and achieved dialogically through overt communicative means. However, not being physically present in the scene does not mean that the stancetaker, i.e, the audience, is not included in the stancetaking activity especially if Yeung has to make certain that his speech is meaningful to the audience and is effective in the communication. Therefore, this study attempts to assign both Yeung and his targeted audience onto the stance triangle to understand how the

sociocognitive process works within the 60-second speech for the candidate to impress his voters. Generated from the analysis in the section above, a different stance triangle is modified as follow:

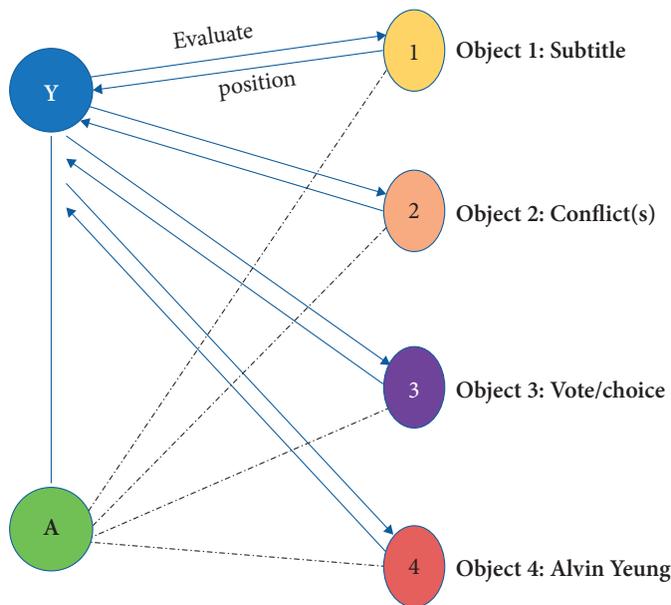


Figure 2. Modified stance triangle in individual speech

In place of being a shape of a regular triangle, the “triangle” of the Yeung’s individual speech transforms into a stance *multi*-triangle as multiple objects are being evaluated within the same speech. Although there is no overt two-way verbal interaction involved in the individual speech as it appears to be a “monologue” produced by Yeung alone, there are two stance subjects in this example, i.e., one is Yeung and the other one is the ‘overhearing’ audience who is watching the broadcast. He starts his speech by greeting and proceeds by addressing the audience with the second singular pronoun “you” in *welcome and you are now watching TVB Channel J5*. He includes a palm-opening gesture when he produces the above utterance to directly invoke the audience’s attention and invite them to join him for the stancetaking activity. The entire speech is inundated with the second singular pronoun “you” (6 times) as well as the use of the inclusive pronoun “we” which have the effect of inviting the audience to engage in the content of his speech. He also uses rhetorical questions, for instance, *but is the battle of the word choice between using traditional Chinese or the simplified the only conflict we have in Hong Kong?*, to provoke thinking or response from the audience. The entire speech is rather interactive including asking thought-provoking questions to invite the audience

in the stancetaking process to reach his ultimate purpose of the speech, i.e., to win the votes from the audience.

In addition to the stance subjects, the above modified stance triangle incorporates at least four stance objects. The first stance object he evaluates *the subtitle* of his speech by making a statement ‘*I hope the subtitle here is displayed as traditional Chinese*’ which projects a wishful thinking and he positions himself as someone who prefers the subtitle to be displayed in traditional Chinese, which simultaneously subtly projects a political identity – a pro-democracy political candidate who resists the use of simplified Chinese which signifies the ruling of the communist party, and thus projects a fairly strong political stance. Resisting the use of simplified Chinese is not just a linguistic choice but a symbolic choice of resisting the process of *mainlandization* – a term used to denote the influence of Mainland China has on Hong Kong. The second stance object is *the current conflict in Hong Kong* which he starts the evaluation with a rhetorical question that does not necessary request a response but intends to provoke profound thinking and introspection. He further evaluates the stance object with a list of political protests and events occurring in Hong Kong in the recent years which projects an epistemic stance through a list of known fact as well as indexing an affective stance when he evaluates and labels those political protests and events as suffocating. Thirdly, the stance object is *the vote/choice*. Although Yeung does not explicitly articulate the word, “vote” or “voting”, in his individual speech, the importance of voting is not at all implicit since he uses phrases like ‘*make your voice heard*’, or verbs such as ‘*choose*’ and ‘*support*’ throughout his speech. He evaluates the audience’s vote/choice by providing them the *options* that they can choose from, that includes ‘*pro-Chinese government parties or those who are sitting on the fence*’ and ‘*us who are not only revolutionary, but we also know our principles and where our bottom-line lies*’. He positions himself with the use of the inclusive pronoun “us” to indirectly index himself as a member of the Civic Party. However, choosing “us”, the Civic Party, is not the main purpose nor the focus of the speech. It is specifically, Yeung, who desires the votes from his audience. The last stance object, *Alvin Yeung*, therefore, appears at the very end of the speech which echoes with the evaluation of the previous stance. He then explicitly evaluates himself as the most suitable candidate who deserves the audience’s support and vote.

The carefully crafted speech lasts less than a minute (48 seconds) yet it is inundated with several invitations of possible convergent alignment with the audience. It demonstrates how the sociocognitive process functions when intersubjectivity is involved even the audience is not physically present. However, the audience should be considered as an ‘overhearing’ audience (Clayman and Heritage, 2002) who are the main target of the individual speech. The individual speech is specifically designed for the ‘overhearing’ audience. Although there is no apparent trace of explicit responses in the stance triangle on how they actually evaluate and position

themselves towards the stance objects, their “responses” and the stance will be explicit and be reflected upon when they cast their votes. This is the reason why the individual speech is crucial to be understood and be explained through the modified stance triangle because Yeung has to be aware of the involvement of intersubjectivity of the stancetaking act. He can thus be assumed to have strategically included his audience’s thoughts into consideration when he is crafting his speech. The flow of speech allows him to construct a favorable identity as a politician, i.e., the best candidate for the election, to attract the audience’s votes.

Interim summary for stancetaking in individual speech

Through the above modified stance triangle, it provides an understanding of how the sociocognitive process of how individual speech is being crafted carefully for Yeung to communicate with his audience in the speech. Although the frequency use of UFPs is the emphasis of the study, the content and the use of lexicon items cannot be ignored in the process of deciphering stance. The limited use of UFPs in the above individual speech indicates that UFPs are preferred only when Yeung asks rhetorical questions which is to project an epistemic stance of knowing. This phenomenon applies to the linguistic behaviors of other candidates in the same setting when the use of UFPs is rather limited in individual speeches. On the contrary, the functions of gestural activities employed by Yeung in his individual speech intend for attention-seeking and deictic references instead of projecting any obvious stances. It is thus the linguistic forms being the most important feature in the individual speech to deliver the messages and various stances whereas the gestural activities are employed to direct his audience’s gaze to the screen and secure the attention of his audience/voters. Therefore, we can conclude that although UFPs play a limited role in individual speech, they still help project epistemic stance in individual speech. In the following section, I will look closely into the interplay of gestures, verbal cues as well as UFPs to investigate how epistemic and affective stances are being projected with these communicative forms.

The debate between Alvin Yeung and Holden Chow

The extract used in Example (3) below is the one that focuses on the exchange between Alvin Yeung and Holden Chow, another candidate of the election who is also a lawyer belonging to another political party called Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (DAB hereafter), which is a pro-government political party. The main topic of their exchange involves an incident happened in early February of 2016 when there was civil unrest occurring in Mong Kok. The

Hong Kong government later labeled the civil unrest as a “riot” and the participating protestors as “rioters” whereas the media, instead, named it as a “Fishball revolution”. Yeung, as one of the candidates of the election, provided legal support and advice to the protestors during that time. The exchange between these two lawyers in this political debate suggests that the candidates can deploy different linguistic strategies to project stances. One of the most distinctive linguistic features in this exchange is the comparatively extensive use of UFPs. Take the following example as an illustration of the use of gesture and UFPs (underlined):

(3)

C: 你 可能 一支公 真 係 未必 明白, 人地
 You probably single really is not necessary understand, those people
 BH |~***
 做父母 好 心痛 架。
 being parents very heartbroken UFP(gaa)
 *****-.-|
 ‘You probably won’t be able to understand as you are single but those
 parents were heartbroken.’

The above example demonstrates the use of the epistemic stance of the speaker being marked at the end of the utterance by a UFP, 架 “*gaa*”. The UFP along with the utterance here projects the epistemic stance of “*having the knowledge of*” or “*being able to understand and relate*” to something that “you”, Alvin Yeung, the recipient of the utterance, do not have the knowledge of “being a parent”, and thus, will not be able to understand the feelings of being a parent. The speaker of the above utterance, Chow, who is married and is having his own child, is clearly establishing his epistemic stance through implicitly establishing his role as a father and then exhibiting his knowledge of being a parent in his statement as an attack towards Yeung. In other words, Chow demonstrates one of the main differences between him and Yeung is that he is able to relate his feelings to the parents of the protestors because he himself is a parent and possesses the knowledge of being a parent while Yeung is a single man, and thus, he does not have the knowledge of and the feelings of being a parent. The utterance, ‘...*but those parents were heartbroken*’ alone without the UFP, would merely appear to be a reported speech of a piece of information. Nonetheless, by adding the UFP, “*gaa*”, it turns the utterance into a projection of epistemic stance of the speaker because it adds authenticity and authoritative knowledge in the cultural domain, i.e., *being a father*, and thus, the speaker not only consolidates his own stance but also legitimates his role to evaluate Yeung’s claims later. In addition to his speech, it is also noteworthy to pay attention to Chow’s gesture when he utters a statement ‘*those parents were heartbroken*’. Here he reinforces his statement by using an upward open-palm gesture with his both hands, then changing to a cupped-palm gesture and moving his hands towards himself so that he is emphasizing his statement by pointing himself as if he was one

of the parents who were affected by the unrest. This referencing gesture reinforces the epistemic stance he is projecting because he can relate to the feelings of those affected parents as a father himself. This confirmation of his knowledge and feelings are marked by the use of UFP, “*gaa*”, which usually conveys a tone of affirmation and disapproval (Matthews & Yip 2011).

In response to Chow’s argument, Yeung made a fight-back as illustrated in Example (4) below:

(4)

01 Y: 周浩鼎, 唔係大聲就 有用 嘅。 你認為我地 一句口號可以
鼓吹

Chow not loud then useful UFP(ge) you think we single slogan can
trigger

RH (Y>C)² |~*****-.-.-|

02 人 上陣? 你 有 無 問 過 梁天琦 呀? 你覺得 我地
一句口號

people protest you have not ask VC ³ Leung UFP(aa) you think we
single slogan

RH (Y>L) |~~~*****-.-.-.-|

03 就 可以 鼓動 到 咁 多 人, 香港 就 已經 好
和諧

then can trigger VC so many people Hong Kong then already very
harmonious

04 啦。其實, 民建聯 你地 先 係 最 虛偽。 第一日 開
始, 就

UFP actually DAB you first being most hypocritical first day
start then

RH |~*****-.-.-|

05 已經 係度 話 人地 暴徒, 暴動。 跟 車 太 貼 好
危險

already here accuse people mob riot follow car too close very
dangerous

RH |~~~~~*****-.-|

06 架, 周浩鼎, 你 作為 一個 律師, 唔該 你, 睇 清楚 先
啦。

UFP Chow you being a lawyer please you observe clearly first
UFP(laa)

2. The symbol > denotes pointing, therefore, Y>C means Yeung points at Chow while Y>L means Yeung points at Leung (Leung is another candidate of the debate)

3. VC = Verbal complement

4. It is used as a trendy slang which denotes someone who judges the situation too quickly without knowing too much of the entire picture. Just like when you are driving, you usually remain an appropriate distance with the preceding car but if you get too close to the car in front of you, you are risking yourself an accident.

“Holden Chow, speaking loudly isn’t going to help. You think one single slogan from us can encourage people to participate in the protest? Have you ever asked Edward Leung (whether he was being encouraged)? If just one single slogan can spread propaganda, Hong Kong would have been a harmonious society. The fact is that (members of)DAB is the most hypocritical. You have been calling them (the protestors) mob since the first day (of the incident). It’s very dangerous to drive too close to the vehicle in front. Holden Chow, being a lawyer yourself, please, observe with all details first.”

The response from Yeung shows that he employs both linguistic strategy and gestural activity in this fight-back. The strategy Yeung employs here linguistically is, firstly, to switch the focus of an epistemic stance and social role, as a father, which he cannot take, to a professional role, as a lawyer. Secondly, there are frequent uses of UFPs in this turn. The first UFP used at line 1, 嘅 “*ge*”, can be denoted as an affirmative tone (Matthews & Yip 2011). Additionally, it also carries a tone of disdain when Yeung tells Chow that speaking loudly is not going to help. Speaking loudly in Hong Kong, especially in public space, can be perceived as a lack of proper manners. Therefore, this utterance is loaded with the affective display in its verbal content. The second UFP used in his turn includes a question particle 呀 “*aa*” at line 2 which is to indicate a polar question. The third UFP used at line 3 is 啦 “*laa*” which can be used as seeking common ground in daily conversation. On the contrary, Yeung uses the UFP, “*laa*”, to share his own point of view which conflicts with Chow’s previous statement about them encouraging the youths to protest. The “*laa*” is used in a conditional clause denoting “*if* what Chow has said was true, *then* something should have happened in a certain way” which is not the case in reality. Therefore, the use of 啦 “*laa*” is also part of the evaluation Yeung uses to assess Chow’s statement about Yeung encouraging the youths to protest against the government. Yeung’s utterance is an affective display of disdain with the use of various linguistic devices such as using affective UFP, “*ge*”, and asking a rhetorical question with UFP, “*aa*”, as well as refuting Chow’s statement through the use of the conditional clause. Yeung also demonstrates he possesses more “knowledge” about what is happening relating to the incident than Chow does in the following lines from 4 to 6 in Example (4). The second half of the turn contains two UFPs where the first UFP, “*gaa*”, is attached to a slang expression and a piece of advice. The Cantonese slang, “跟車太貼”, literally means *following too close to the vehicle in front*, is to describe a political situation when politicians are too quick to make a political judgment without providing solid evidence. As a result, it sometimes leads to an undesirable political consequence. In this context, Yeung is warning Chow not to make his unwarranted judgment before a trial by declaring the incident as a “riot” and labeling the protestors as “a group of mob”. Chow as a lawyer has to take legal responsibility for his inaccurate

accusation. The “*gaa*” at line 6 carries an affirmative tone for an epistemic stance here because what Yeung says after the utterance is relevant to both of their profession as a lawyer. This is a significant move made by Yeung as he switches Chow’s epistemic stance of being a father to an epistemic stance of being a lawyer, which is a shared professional role for both of them. By switching the roles in the debate, Yeung places himself as a role of a lawyer who seemingly possesses an authoritative role in this professional position who claims to have more legal knowledge in the incident. Yeung continues his utterance by emphasizing Chow should look for more information before making any unwarranted judgment, implying Chow being not professional in his role as a lawyer.

On the other hand, the pointing gesture being employed at line 1 in Example (4) is used to address the person the speaker directs his comment, question, or judgment to by placing the gestural stroke consistent with the pronoun “you”. On the contrary, the gesture at line 4, ‘*you have been calling them (the protestors) mob since the first day (of the incident)*’, demonstrates an emphasizing movement on lexical items including ‘*since the first day*’ and ‘*mob*’ when Yeung moves his arm upward with his palm open for both gesture units. The palm-open gesture employed here can add emphases on the superlative nature in the verbal expressions, i.e., the previous utterance is about how members of DAB is *the most* hypocritical people as they called those young protestors as mob ‘*since the first day*’, before a legal trial. The use of superlative has a strong correlation with a subjective stance. Therefore, the gestures employed subsequently can help emphasize the previous comment he made about the DAB party being the most hypocritical in an affective manner. It is also found that the use of UFPs seems not to overlap with the use of gestures. It can be argued that UFPs tend to be suppressed when gestures can help project affective stances. In other words, when gestures can project emotions, the use of UFPs will be reduced in political debates.

The second segment of the debate shows how two candidates argue against each other through overlapping speeches. Overlapping is often minimized or otherwise considered problematic in casual conversation (Schegloff 2000) but excessive overlapping talk is not uncommon in political debates. In the exchange, it is discovered that gestural activity reaches its peak especially in an overlapping exchange where UFPs are less frequently used during the overlapping. It can be illustrated by the exchange between Yeung and Chow in Example (5) below:

(5)

01 Y: 我 作為 一個 律師, 我 好 嚴正 話俾 香港人 聽, 我
不 同意

I being a lawyer I very solemnly tell Hong Kong people listen I
not agree

- 12 就係 企係 暴徒 嗰邊, 公民黨 就係 企係 暴徒 嗰邊
 then stand mob side Civic Party then stand mob side
 'There are so many people you can defend, why did you choose to defend the mob? You side with the mob! Civic party sides with the mob.'
- 13 Y: [=過去咁多 年, 民建聯 嘗試 做過 啲 乜野? 你 就 係度 協助 香港
past many years DAB try do VP some what you then here help *HK*
 (RH) |*****~*****/*
 **
 政府, 係度 破壞 香港 法治]
government here destroy Hong Kong law
 *****/*
 'What have the DAB party done over the years? You are destroying the legal system of Hong Kong with the Hong Kong government ...'
- 14 C: [= 香港 搞成 咁, 就係 公民黨 嘅 禍害, 公民黨, 害
 Hong Kong becoming this then is Civic Party PSS disaster Civic Party harm
- 15 香港, 人 盡皆知 喇!]
 Hong Kong people all know UFP
 'How Hong Kong has becoming like this now is all because of the Civic Party. Civic Party poisons Hong Kong. It's a known fact!'
- 16 Y: 周浩鼎·你 呢緊 香港人=
 Chow you lie Hong Kong people
 RH(Y>C) |~*****-.-|
 'Holden Chow, you are lying to the Hong Kong people.'
- 17 C: =你 呢 人, 豬噏
 you lie people full of rubbish
 'You liar, full of rubbish.'

In the above extract, there is no UFP found in Yeung's verbal activity whereas there are two UFPs found in Chow's. Yeung uses phrases like '*you know nothing about respecting the law*', '*you don't even know what presumption of innocence is about*' that clearly demonstrates that Yeung is projecting a very strong epistemic stance emphasizing Chow's lack of knowledge of "respecting the law" and "presumption of innocence" which is a legal term. The strategy he deploys here is to contrast Chow by highlighting his "*not knowing*" how to respect the law, then later attacks him by saying that Chow is destroying the legal system along with the government throughout the past few years. This demonstrates a relatively strong epistemic stance of Yeung through his professional role as a lawyer. It can also be explained that it is linguistically economical to not produce or utter UFPs when there is overlapping in the speech when it may take slightly more time to produce a UFP than a usual mono-syllabic word. Therefore, when the politicians are attacking each other in a heated debate filled with overlapping, it is strategically reasonable that they avoid using UFPs to make their arguments sound more solid and concrete, and most importantly, time-saving, so more arguments can be produced.

It can thus help explain why gestures are being frequently employed during the entire overlapping exchange. All of these gestures project a relatively strong affective stance, particularly anger in Example (5). The video extract displays that there are two types of gestures Yeung employs. Although these two types can be both categorized as pointing, they occur at different linguistic environments when they are conveying different meanings and representing different entities. The first type is “*pointing at the opponent*”, i.e., Chow, and it always occurs when Yeung starts the statement with the pronoun “you” (underlined in text), for instance, ‘*you are now standing right here trying to lie to the Hong Kong people*’ (refer to screen capture 3), ‘*You are destroying the legal system of Hong Kong with the Hong Kong government*’, etc. Yeung points his finger at Chow when he is accusing Chow of being an incompetent lawyer and sabotaging the legal system. Another type of gesture is “*the downward-pointing towards the lectern*” when he mentions about the Hong Kong legal system, the Hong Kong government, and the DAB party which are italicized in the example above. This group of “entities” can be categorized as a group of distant objects that Yeung intends to emphasize when they are not physically present in the political debate.



(Screen capture 3)

Therefore, he employs the downward-pointing gesture to amplify the importance of the message as well as making accusations against these distant objects including the Hong Kong government and the DAB party in this case. These two types of gestures carry an exceptionally strong accusation sentiment. It is nearly impossible to produce this type of gesture without any emotion. Therefore, combining the study of gestures and the linguistic forms together allow us to read Yeung messages in both epistemic and affective perspectives. His anger and disdain are clearly displayed

through the non-verbal cues of pointing. The affective stance is thus being projected more prominently through gestural activities, especially when it comes to pointing at the opponent and his associated party and alliance in this example. The affective stance is being amplified by the display of the pointing gestures while the epistemic stance is clearly projected in the linguistic forms and occasionally through the use of UFPs as shown in Examples (3) and (4) when overlapping is absent.

Analyzing the debate with the Stance Triangle

The stance subjects of the Stance Triangle are Yeung and Chow in the debate. The objects they are evaluating in the above extract is the incident happened in February of 2016. Yeung evaluates the incident as a lawyer and keeps emphasizing that lawyers should be cautious about how they are labeling an incident before a trial. When he evaluates the incident with an epistemic stance, Yeung usually emphasizes that he has a positive epistemic stance, i.e., he has better knowledge in relation to law whereas Chow has negative epistemic stance in terms of law because Chow fails to respect the law and wrongfully labels the incident as a “riot” and thus, he does not deserve to be called as a lawyer, according to Yeung. It can be concluded that Yeung positions himself with a relatively higher epistemic stance when he is evaluating the incident. On the other hand, the most salient stance Chow employs is also the epistemic stance but the role he takes is the identity of a father. Contradictorily though, he calls those young protestors as “mob” who caused a “riot” which implies that he takes on another role, as a political member of the pro-government party, DAB, and accuses those who caused a riot should take legal responsibility. Therefore, how Chow is evaluating the incident contradicts with how he positions himself with an epistemic stance of being a father. Chow strategically positions himself as a father to explain how he can relate to the feelings of those parents involved but he continuously calls the protestors as a group of mob, which is usually referred to those who may bear legal responsibility, before a trial. It can be argued that political candidates are actively negotiating and manipulating multiple social roles they play in order to appeal to the audience in the debate. The social roles that Chow adopts in his speech include the role of a father, a lawyer as well as a member of the DAB party whose legal and political stance is against the young protestors. Although Chow’s role as a lawyer is the main focus that Yeung brings up a few times in the debate, it is obvious that Yeung and Chow shows divergent alignment in the entire stance act as they are evaluating the incident in different points of views with different positioning even though they are sharing the same professional role. It can be challenging to understand the debate through the original stance triangle as shown in Figure 3 below. However, if it is allowed to include more nodes to be added to Chow’s as in Figure 4 to represent different sociocultural identities he is

simultaneously playing in the debate, the speech can be analyzed more comprehensively to understand what roles he takes to appeal to his voters. Combining the gestural analysis, we could see when gestures are involved, the affective stances are being intensified. Therefore, it can be argued that when gesture and verbal practices are both included in the analysis, the data as a whole is being enriched and there is no single perfect framework can illustrate how the stances are evaluated or how the stance subjects position themselves as their roles or sociocultural identities change following the flow of the debates.

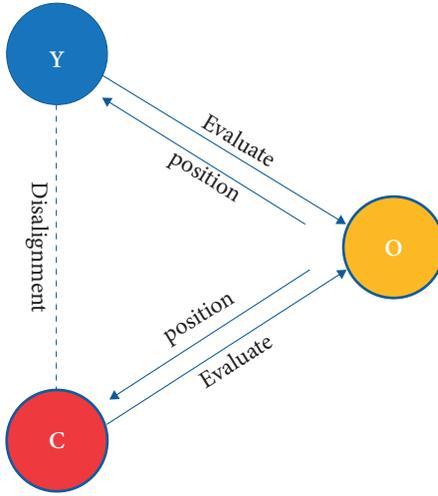


Figure 3. Simplified stance triangle for the debate

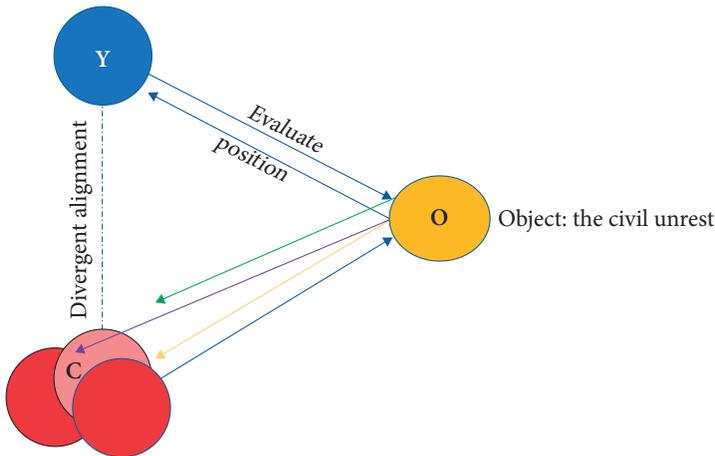


Figure 4. A modified stance triangle for the debate

Interim summary for the debate

In the above debate, the use of utterance final particles includes 架 “*gaa*” and 嘅 “*ge*”, which convey a tone of affirmation, and 啦 “*laa*” as a marker of seeking common ground, as well as 呀 “*aa*” as a question particle for a rhetorical question. Most of the UFPs employed in the debate help project an epistemic stance, except “*ge*”, such as affirming a statement by the use of “*gaa*” or “*ge*”, or providing a condition to seek common ground by the use of “*laa*”, etc. These UFPs help speakers to “claim to have the knowledge” of a certain profession, for instance, the legal profession in this debate. The use of UFPs is significantly useful in pursuing a social capital that indicates an authentic and authoritative knowledge in a certain sociocultural field and thus, helps the speaker to consolidate and legitimate his role to evaluate his opponent’s claims. Even though UFPs play a crucial role in projecting an affective stance, it is noteworthy that UFPs are nearly absent in overlapping talk between two candidates in the debate. It can be explained through the nature of the overlapping talk which always involve two or even more candidates arguing against each other with the language of accusation, for example, ‘*you are full of rubbish*’, ‘*you brought shame to your job as a lawyer*’, and ‘*you liar*’ etc. It is difficult to conclude whether the speaker possesses sufficient knowledge or evidence to project an epistemic stance to “accuse” his opponent as a liar or as a shameful lawyer but it is clear that this kind of utterances projects various degrees of affective display. Most importantly, there are intensive gestural activities involved when the overlapping talk is produced. Pointing is the main focus for this current gestural analysis which Yeung employs two main different pointing gestures. One of which is Yeung pointing at his opponent, Chow, whereas another way of pointing is “*the downward-pointing towards the lectern*”. The downward-point is deployed when he denotes some distant entities, for instance, the Hong Kong legal system, the Hong Kong government, and the DAB party, which are not physically present in the scene of the political debate. The entire overlapping speech, including the gesture and the speech, are inundated with emotional and affect displays such as anger and disdain. The affective stances are being amplified with both visual and verbal components which are critical in the political debate because the vote will be very likely to go to the candidate(s) who wins over the debate. Therefore, the more sound arguments they can deliver, the higher the opportunity they could win the vote. This paper, however, has no intention to claim that whenever there are intensive gestural activities, UFPs will be suppressed or completely absent. There are examples of which both gesture and UFPs being employed simultaneously in an utterance. However, it is rarely the case in overlapping talk. Lastly, the stance triangle in the debate can help reflect how different identities or roles a single candidate plays can affect how the stance object is being evaluated. It is always assumed that when one puts himself into

different social roles, he or she perhaps perceives the stance object with different perspectives. However, it does not seem to be the case for Chow, he evaluates the stance object, *the civil unrest*, with the same accusation sentiment even he positions himself in different roles, be it as a father, a DAB member, or an electoral candidate, whereas Yeung emphasizes his role only as a lawyer and evaluates the civil unrest with the professional role most of the time in this extract of the debate. Yeung, therefore, seems to be able to stay focused on just a single professional role in the debate and displays to be possessing more authority in his professional field and thus he has more authority to effectively evaluate Chow's claim legitimately with his professional knowledge. In this piece of an information-loaded extract of the debate, the use of UFPs can be found in expressing epistemic stance but when the debate becomes heated and filled with overlapping talk, pointing gestures come into play with intensive affect displays. The content of the discourse embeds both affective and epistemic stances. Therefore, gesture and linguistic forms both establish irreplaceable and distinctive roles in political debates to assist the speakers to project their stances appropriately.

Conclusion

From the above analysis, it can be concluded that gestural activities play an integral part in understanding the comprehensive meaning of this political genre. In the individual speech, the main functions of gestural activities employed by Yeung are to direct his audience's gaze to the subtitle of the screen, addressing them, and secure the attention of his audience/voters. This kind of attention-securing gesture is important especially the electoral candidate has only a minute to deliver his speech while the audience who are watching the debate at home may not be paying full attention. Therefore, there are different kinds of strategies needed in order to secure the audience full attention while delivering the entire message. The frequency of UFPs being used in his individual speech is fairly limited yet the role they play is display interactive nature of the individual speech to invite the audience to engage in his speech through answering or thinking about his questions and the social issues that he raises. The structure of how he organizes his speech and his thoughts reflects upon the modified stance triangle in Figure 3 where it shows that four stance objects are being evaluated within the 48-second speech. The modified stance triangle elaborates how intersubjectivity works even in an individual speech. The stancetaking activity helps Yeung to overtly index his political identity as a pro-democracy member (working in the Civic Party). However, how the audience evaluates all the stance objects that he proposes, how they position themselves, whether they convergent or divergent alignment remains unknown until the release

of the electoral results. It is because the stance of the audience is not known by the candidate, Yeung, he has to ensure that his speech is strategically organized to make himself a favorable candidate to the 'overhearing' audience or voters. The modified stance triangle thus helps us trace the sociocognitive process of the candidate and to shed light on how a successful political individual speech is being constructed with the overhearing audience being involved in the candidate's speech.

In the debate between Chow and Yeung, gestural activities reach its apex during the overlapping talk. Most of the gestural activities are loaded with affect displays, including anger and disdain. The gestures amplify and consolidate both these affective stances in political debate. In the data, the candidate projects an epistemic stance through the display of his legal knowledge and employs UFPs to carry affirmation while gestural activities are employed along with the verbal content to project affective displays to reflect disdain and anger. The synergy of gesture and verbal activities can thus project both affective and epistemic stances respectively. These findings suggest that it gives a more comprehensive picture of how different stances can come into play in the same utterance if gestures are being included in the analysis.

On the other hand, the core function of UFPs in the debate is to project epistemic stances, for instance, seeking common ground and asking questions with question utterance particles. The frequent use of question particles is not uncommon since UFPs mainly serves interactive purposes in conversation. Question particles thus help challenge opponents' knowledge and authority and affirm one's epistemic stance when it is necessary to claim to have more knowledge than the others. However, UFPs seems to be suppressed especially during overlapping talks of a heated debate. Yeung uses fewer UFPs and instead, employs a considerable amount of gestures to emphasize his affective stance while his verbal message can be heavily epistemic-loaded. It can be argued that when there is overlapping speech, candidates will not deploy extra linguistic effort, such as using UFPs to index epistemic or affective stance. Alternatively, gestures, for example, index-finger pointing, is a direct and effective method to express affective stance, e.g., a display of accusation manner, in this particular genre. Therefore, it can be suggested that gestures play an integral part in what a political candidate does in the utterance along with the verbal practices to create expressive and communicative goals in the political debate. However, more evidence is needed to see whether there is a negative correlation between the use of gestures and UFPs, especially during the overlapping talk. The role of UFPs in this study shows that they are effectively used as a projection of epistemic stance that it can help affirm the speaker's professional authenticity or checking the opponent's authority in certain sociocultural fields. Generally speaking, the modified stance triangle helps us understand how the sociocognitive process operates in the individual speech of the political discourse

when the overhearing audience is included in the analysis. Besides that, the stance triangle can also illustrate how candidates are manipulating different sociocultural and professional roles as stance subjects to take advantage of those various roles to project different stances when necessary. In this current study, it is shown that playing multiple roles by a candidate at the same time, in Chow's case, in a short exchange may not be able to deliver the messages as clearly as just playing one single powerful role at a time, for instance, in Yeung's professional role as a lawyer. This may also shed new light on how electoral candidates should negotiate various roles or identities carefully in political debates to project and consolidate one's stance without confusion to the audience.

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Representations of *Pinkunsheng* in China's university media

Yuping Chen

China Agricultural University

This paper aims to examine the representations of *Pinkunsheng* or *Jingjikunnan xuesheng* (hereafter *Pinkunsheng*) (i.e. low-income college students) in China through examining campus newspapers (*Xiaobao*), which constitute the major print medium at universities. Given that the admission rate of *Pinkunsheng* in agricultural, forestry and normal universities is relatively higher than other universities, three *Xiaobao* (i.e. 中国农大校报 (*Xiaobao of China Agricultural University*), 南京林业大学报 (*Xiaobao of Nanjing Forestry University*) and 北京师范大学校报 (*Xiaobao of Beijing Normal University*)) were identified as data sources. Drawing on the theory of identity centrality (Rosenberg 1979) and taking a sociocultural linguistic approach to identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, 2005, 2008), this paper finds that different relations of identity are employed in diverse types of text to represent disparate identity dimensions of *Pinkunsheng*. Information reports tend to highlight their powerlessness in economic terms, whereas campus-based recounts and narratives foreground their high motivation, their goal-oriented psychological strength and their academic endeavour. This study sets out to make a contribution to current research on the media representations of *Pinkunsheng* in China, thereby providing insights into the discourses of low-income college students in contemporary China.

Keywords: *Pinkunsheng*, campus newspapers (*Xiaobao*), representation, identity

Introduction

The prominence of the issues of economic background, psychological development, and academic outcome has led to an increasing interest in the study of *Pinkunsheng* or *Jingjikunnan xuesheng* (here after *Pinkunsheng*) (i.e. low-income college students) in China and research in this field has risen exponentially. A search conducted on CNKI (i.e. the most professional online publishing platform and the most comprehensive gateway to knowledge of China) shows that there were more than 20,000

publications focusing on *Pinkunsheng* up to 4 June 2018. These studies primarily focused on how national and/or university policies provide financial assistance to these students to help them out of their economic predicaments (e.g. Wu 2004; Li 2014; Xue 2013; Zhong 2010; Wang 2017; Gui 2009; Guo 2013) and how to help them to solve psychological problems (e.g. Zheng 2013; Wu and Zhang 2010; Chen et al. 2008; Wang and Du 2007; Li 2001). However, few studies have addressed the academic outcomes of *Pinkunsheng* or provided the integrated data relating to their economic background, psychological development, and academic outcomes. To redress this issue, this study focuses on the representations of *Pinkunsheng*'s economic, psychological, and academic dimensions.

Particularly, representations of *Pinkunsheng* in campus newspapers (hereafter *Xiaobao*), a very important party-affiliated college medium, have never attracted great attention.

Thus, under the rubric of sociocultural linguistics, this paper offers a discourse analysis of the *Pinkunsheng*-themed coverage in three *Xiaobao* in Beijing and Nanjing and tries to answer the following questions: (1) What identity of *Pinkunsheng* have Chinese university media outlets constructed? (2) How has the identity of these college students been produced? And (3) how does this framed identity influence the public image of *Pinkunsheng*?

Pinkunsheng and *Xiaobao*

The two terms, *Pinkunsheng* and *Xiaobao*, being of significant relevance to this paper, are explained in detail below.

Pinkunsheng

Literally, *Pinkunsheng* means poverty-stricken students, with a particular reference to poverty-stricken college students in this paper. The formal definition of *Pinkunsheng* is enrolled college students who cannot afford or have great difficulty in affording tuition fees, living expenses, and other indispensable costs in college because of their low economic background.¹

1. 教材 [1993]51号 [Finance Department of the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China] [1993] No. 51: “国家教委、财政部关于对高等学校生活特别困难学生进行资助的通知 [Notice on Financial Aids to Extremely Low-Income College Students by State Education Commission of the PRC Ministry of Finance of the PRC].” Retrieved from <http://www.chinalawedu.com/falvfagui/fg22598/21732.shtml> on 17 June 2018

The charging of tuition fee and the expansion of university enrolment in 1990s provide the backdrop for the emergence of the issue of *Pinkunsheng* at universities in China. Chinese higher education institutions began to charge tuition fee for all college students in 1997. Since then, average college tuition costs almost tripled between 1997 and 2006, rising from 1,620 Yuan to 4,500 Yuan per student per year (Cui 2007; Yu 2008). The tuition fee has been increasing since then, reaching around 5,000 Yuan per student per year.² While affordable for typical middle and upper class urban residents, four years of tuition can be more than 16 years of per capita income for rural families that are living at the poverty line (Liu et al. 2011).

Meanwhile, the expansion of university enrolments starting in 1997 considerably increased the number of college students, including those of *Pinkunsheng*. Between 1997 and 2008, the number of college students grew from 3 million to 17 million (Wang et al. 2011). Proportionally, the number of students with low economic backgrounds rose as well. A survey conducted by the China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation in 2002 released the information that the proportion of *Pinkunsheng* at some universities had surged to 25%, with this number peaking at 30% at universities specializing in agriculture, forestry and teacher education.³

Though it is inspiring to have an increasing number of low income students receiving tertiary education, the economic difficulty of these students has become an intractable issue for the whole society. Abundant research has been undertaken to investigate how to alleviate *Pinkunsheng*'s financial burden (e.g. Wang 2006; Zhao 2017; Tian 2012; Luo et al. 2010). Wang's (2006) study chronologically analysed how *Pinkunsheng* came to be a social phenomenon in Chinese society, statistically providing a financial-stricken profile of this group of college students and putting forward that government, banks, universities and social communities in China need to work together to address the issues faced by *Pinkunsheng*. Focusing on *Pinkunsheng* in agricultural and forestry universities, and referring to the financial aid policies in US, Japan and the UK, Zhao (2017) found that though a financial aid policy helps to alleviate the economic pressure of *Pinkunsheng* in Jiangxi Agricultural University, there are still some issues to be addressed and problems to be solved, such as the policy propaganda effect and the amount of the financial aid etc. Tian (2012) highlighted how the *Pinkunsheng* identification mechanism can be improved, while Luo et al.'s (2010) study specifically focused on the systematic

2. Retrieved from <https://gkcx.eol.cn/z/sfbz.html> on 12 June 2018

3. Retrieved from <http://www.huaue.com/news/200486114303.html> on 10 June 2018

scaling methods that can be adopted to decide which *Pinkunsheng* are entitled to State Grants.⁴

Apart from the severe financial burden shouldered by *Pinkunsheng*, another key issue is their psychological health. Currently a consensus has been reached that the psychological health condition of *Pinkunsheng* is generally lower than that of other university students, though this does not imply that all *Pinkunsheng* have psychological problems (Sun 2014; Xin et al. 2010).

Along with the financial difficulties and psychological issues, the third problem faced by *Pinkunsheng* is their academic background. Given the fact that the majority of them come from poverty-stricken areas where the educational standard is much lower than in big cities, this entails a lot of difficulties for *Pinkunsheng* when they start their academic year at university (Wang 2006). Some of them are able to have a very positive attitude to face these difficulties and to overcome them, but there are also others who might just be defeated and fail to get a satisfactory academic record at university.

Though the situation of *Pinkunsheng* has aroused much research interest in China, very few studies have paid attention to the representations of this group of college students in campus media, such as *Xiaobao*. As it is the major print medium in which universities exercise power over the discourse of recognition, *Xiaobao* is an appropriate data source for this study. This analysis of the representations of *Pinkunsheng* in *Xiaobao* will contribute to a deeper understanding of how the economic, psychological and academic identity of *Pinkunsheng* is constructed.

Xiaobao

As the mouthpiece of the party committee and administration at universities, *Xiaobao* is the leading media on campus. It is of great significance in strengthening ideological and political education and carrying out publicity and propaganda work at university. It also plays a crucial role in promoting the socialist advanced culture and publicising the fruitful results of the construction of China's spiritual civilization. Being a vital link to bind university staff, students, alumni, and students' parents together, *Xiaobao* is also an important medium to demonstrate the image

4. State Grants is one of the four main financial aids provided by Chinese government to *Pinkunsheng*. The other three includes: National Scholarships, Work-Study Programs and Tuition Waivers. The total amount of these four financial aids has reached 71.686 billion Yuan in 2014. Retrieved from http://www.moe.edu.cn/jyb_xwfb/gzdt/s5987/201508/t20150818_200680.html on 11 June 2018

of the university to the larger society and shape the brand of university.⁵ The main role of *Xiaobao* is to report important events on campus and deliver the opinions of leaders, teachers, students and others in the university community.

University staff and especially students are the predominant contributors and readers of narrative pieces in *Xiaobao*. Contributors to *Xiaobao* are not paid to write, but contribute to it willingly or as a responsibility. Before submitting material to *Xiaobao*, they clearly know who will read their words, i.e. students and working staff at the university. This is quite different from other mainstream media, whose contributors are professional journalists and whose readers are the ordinary public. There is no way for journalists to clearly know in advance who will read their writings. Further, those readers and reporters of mainstream media are mainly bystanders without direct or even indirect involvement in the reports. By contrast, the contributors and readers of *Xiaobao* are the direct or indirect participants of most of the events reported. Given *Pinkunsheng* is a social phenomenon specifically restricted to campus, it provides an interesting and valuable source from which to analyse how campus media represents them.

Given that the admission rate of *Pinkunsheng* to agricultural, forestry and normal universities is relatively higher than other universities, 中国农大校报 (*Xiaobao of China Agricultural University*) (hereafter *CAU Xiaobao*), 南京林业大学学报 (*Xiaobao of Nanjing Forestry University*) (hereafter *NJFU Xiaobao*) and 北京师范大学校报 (*Xiaobao of Beijing Normal University*) (hereafter *BNU Xiaobao*) were identified as the sites for data collection for this study. Specifically, the online news portals of these three *Xiaobao* are used as the data sources.⁶

The rationale behind the selection of these three *Xiaobao* is trifold. Foremost, they represent the top higher education institution in each specific field, i.e. agriculture, forestry and teacher education. They are also comprehensive universities, encompassing a wide range of specialties, though Beijing Normal University has a much stronger tradition of teacher education. This means both *Li-ke* (science and engineering track students) *Pinkunsheng* and *Wen-ke* (humanities and social science track students) *Pinkunsheng* are enrolled in these universities, which will provide a much more complete representation of them in *Xiaobao*. Furthermore, with a view to embracing a wide geographical spectrum and to minimizing regional impacts, two universities in Beijing, the north of China, and one in Nanjing, the south of China, were selected.

5. 教社政 [2005]13号 [Social Science Research and Ideological Work Department of the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China] [2005] No. 13: “教育部关于进一步加强和改进高等学校校报的若干意见 [Guides from Ministry of Education of PRC on Strengthening and Improving the Development of University's Xiaobao].” Retrieved from http://www.moe.gov.cn/s78/A13/sks_left/s6388/moe_771/201006/t20100608_88952.html on 17 June 18

6. <http://caunewspaper.cuepa.cn/>; <http://nlbbjb.cuepa.cn/>; <http://bnu.cuepa.cn/>

Theoretical foundations and framework

Several theoretical foundations, namely identity centrality (Rosenberg 1979), the sociocultural linguistic approach to identity, and genres and text types, contribute to the construction of the theoretical framework for this study.

Identity centrality and a sociocultural linguistic approach to identity

The concept of identity centrality (Rosenberg 1979) and the sociocultural linguistic approach to identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, 2005, 2008) are introduced in this section.

Identity centrality

To explore the identity of *Pinkunsheng* represented in the three *Xiaobao*, this paper adopts the theory of identity centrality proposed by Rosenberg (1979). It describes the extent to which a dimension of one's identity is important to one's self-image or definition of oneself, referring to "the chronic tendency to define or view oneself in terms of that identity over an extended period of time" (Bowman and Felix 2017: 236).

When it comes to *Pinkunsheng*, the first most significant aspect of their self-image is the economic dimension, i.e. the low economic background. This paper considers how this economic dimension of the identity of *Pinkunsheng* is represented in *Xiaobao*. Along with that economic dimension comes a second one namely emotional or psychological concerns. If college students have high student identity centrality, they should be strongly committed to exhibiting high levels of persistence towards graduation (Bowman and Felix 2017). In this vein, those *Pinkunsheng* who have high student identity centrality are expected to persist in their studies and be actively involved in college life, demonstrating positive psychological and emotional development. The third dimension establishing student identity centrality is college outcomes (Bowman and Felix 2017). Student identity centrality may actually serve to buffer students from the detrimental effects of negative experiences or a lack of positive experiences (Settles et al. 2009) and help students achieve academic success. This paper explores whether the way *Pinkunsheng* are represented in *Xiaobao* is central to their academic identity and whether they successfully make academic achievements, even when being faced with external stress from their lower financial situation.

Thus, this paper sets out to categorize *Pinkunsheng's* identity from the above-mentioned three dimensions, i.e. economic, psychological, and academic. To analyse these dimensions of identity, this paper follows the tenets of what is known as the sociocultural linguistic approach to identity.

A sociocultural linguistic approach to identity

Sociocultural linguistic perspective on identity focuses on the intersection of language, culture, and society (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, 2005, 2008). In unravelling the intricate relations between language and identity, one of the five principles that Bucholtz and Hall (2005) propose is the relationality principle, which holds that “[i]dentity [is] intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping, complementary relations, including similarity/ difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy” (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 598). These relations are further demonstrated from three pairs of dichotomic concepts, which are analysed separately in this paper, while it is to be noted that they always function in conjunction with one another in reality.

The first pair of identity relations involves adequation and distinction. Adequation emphasizes that

in order for groups or individuals to be positioned as alike, they need not – and in any case cannot – be identical, but must merely be understood as sufficiently similar for current interactional purposes. (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 599)

Distinction “focuses on the identity relation of differentiation” (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 600), depending on “the suppression of similarities that might undermine the construction of difference” (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 600). Correlating this pair of identity relations with identity centrality, this paper will set out to explore whether adequation and/or distinction is used in *Xiaobao* to represent the economic, the psychological, and the academic identity of *Pinkunsheng*.

The second pair of relations contrasts authentication and denaturalization, which are the processes

by which speakers make claims to realness and artifice, respectively... the first focuses on the ways in which identities are discursively verified and the second on how assumptions regarding the seamlessness of identity can be disrupted. (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 601)

Deploying identity centrality, this paper examines how authentication and/or denaturalization are/is employed in *Xiaobao* to represent the economic, the psychological, and the academic dimensions of *Pinkunsheng*'s identity.

The third pair of relations involves authorization and illegitimation, which relates to the structural and institutional aspects of identity formation. Authorization “involves the affirmation or imposition of an identity through structures of institutionalized power and ideology, whether local or translocal” (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 603), while illegitimation “addresses the ways in which identities are dismissed, censored, or simply ignored by these same structures” (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 603). With its focus on identity centrality, this paper looks into how

and whether the institutionalized power and ideology exerts impacts on the representation of the economic, the psychological, and the academic dimension of *Pinkunsheng* in Chinese *Xiaobao*.

With a view to clarifying the analysis, in this paper the genres and text types in *Xiaobao* are categorised as follows.

Genres and text types

Martin (1984: 25) describes genre as “a staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture”, such as involving poems, lectures, seminars, recipes and manuals etc. Bhatia (2004: 23) suggests that

genre essentially refers to language use in a conventionalized communicative setting in order to give expression to a specific set of communicative goals of a disciplinary or social institution, which give rise to stable structural forms by imposing constraints on the use of lexico-grammatical as well as discourse resources.

An analysis of the three campus newspapers under examination reveals that Chinese *Xiaobao* have three main components: firstly, Xinwen (i.e. News Report), secondly, Xiaoyuan Shenghuo (i.e. Campus Life) / Xiaoyuan Guangjiao (i.e. Campus Focus) / Xiaoyuan Shikong (i.e. Campus Time and Space) / Qingchun Ketang (i.e. Youth Class) / Xuezi Buluo (i.e. Students’ Tribe), and thirdly, Jishi (i.e. On-the-spot Story Report). Given the latter two components relate to storytelling and the former to news reports, *Xiaobao* can be said to cover two main genres, i.e. news and stories for the campus community. Drawing on Derewianka’s (1991) categorization of texts as recounts, narratives, information reports, explanations, and arguments, and taking the genres of *Xiaobao* into consideration, this paper focuses on the text types of recounts, narratives, and information reports in *Xiaobao*, with recounts and narratives mainly employed to tell stories and information reports to deliver news.

With news primarily relating to national education policies, university management, university leaders’ speech and activities, and other events taking place on campus, and stories mainly involving third person’s recounts of stories or the first person’s narratives of stories, the categorization of genre and text types in *Xiaobao* is summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Genres and text types in Chinese *Xiaobao*
(based on Derewianka 1991)

| Genres | Text types |
|---------|---------------------|
| News | Information reports |
| Stories | Recounts |
| | Narratives |

This categorization of genres and text types captures the basic forms of communication in Chinese *Xiaobao*. Information reports (news) focus on the objective transfer of information, while recounts and narratives are used to tell stories with a personal and emotive tone. The employment of third person or first person helps draw a distinction between recounts and narratives, with recounts being third person-based and narratives being first person-centred. These two ways of storytelling can also hybrid in a single story. This paper examines whether different types of text contribute differently to the representation of *Pinkunsheng* in *Xiaobao* by deploying the sociocultural linguistic approach in such a way that the integration of text types, the theory of identity centrality, and the sociocultural linguistic approach to identity are used to formulate the theoretical framework.

Theoretical framework

Given that *Pinkunsheng's* identity centrality is based on their financial burden, psychological issues, and academic outcomes, this paper sets out to deploy how the relationality principle constructs their identity centrality in Chinese *Xiaobao* from these three aspects.

The sociocultural linguistic approach (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) to identity centrality and the text types in *Xiaobao* contributes to the building up of the theoretical framework for this study as shown in Figure 1 below.

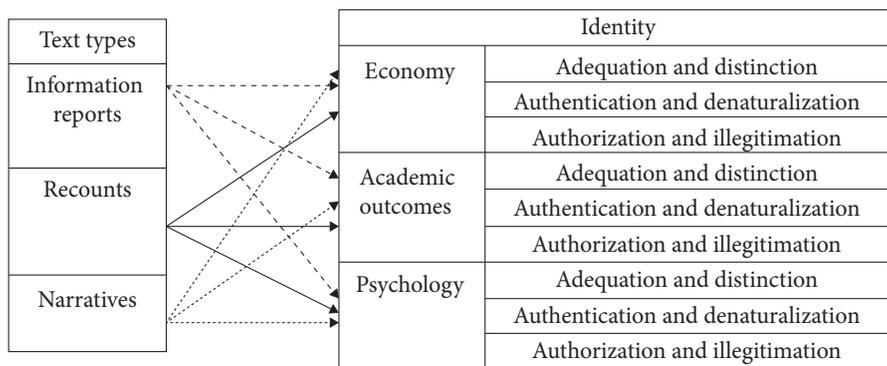


Figure 1. Theoretical framework

Three major types of texts in *Xiaobao*, i.e. information reports (news), recounts, and narratives (stories) are examined to unravel the identity representation of *Pinkunsheng* in this campus media. Drawing on the theory of identity centrality and the sociocultural linguistic perspective on identity, this paper sets out to analyse the identity representation from three dimensions, i.e. economic, psychological, and academic, in which three pairs of identity relations are respectively examined, i.e.

adequation and distinction, authentication and denaturalization, and authorization and illegitimation, with a view to identifying which relation is employed to convey different dimensions of identity centrality in different text types.

Data analysis

The details of the text types of the three Chinese *Xiaobao* selected to be analysed in this study and the identity centrality in these text types are set out below in Table 2.

Table 2. Text types and identity centrality

| Names of <i>Xiaobao</i> | Numbers of different text types focusing on disparate dimensions of identity | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--|-----------|-----------|------------------|----------|-----------|------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| | Information reports | | | | Recounts | | | Narratives | | Recounts +Narratives | |
| | E* | E*+ A† | E* +P‡ | E*+ P‡+ A† | E* | E* +P‡ | E*+ P‡+ A† | E*+ P‡ | E*+ P‡+ A† | E*+ P‡ | E*+ P‡+ A† |
| <i>CAU Xiaobao</i> | 15 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 1 | – | – | – | 2 | – | 4 |
| <i>BNU Xiaobao</i> | 12 | 1 | 1 | – | 2 | – | 3 | 1 | – | 2 | 1 |
| <i>NJFU Xiaobao</i> | 13 | – | 3 | – | 2 | 2 | – | – | 3 | – | – |
| Sub-Total | 40 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 5 |
| Total | 80 | | | | | | | | | | |

Note: “E*” stands for “Economic”, “A†” for “Academic” and “P‡” for “Psychological”

It is apparent from Table 2 that the majority of the information reports in all three *Xiaobao* focuses on the economic identity of *Pinkunsheng*. The recount-based storytellings stress both the economic and psychological identity of *Pinkunsheng*. The narrative-involved storytellings foreground all three aspects of identity centrality of *Pinkunsheng*, i.e. the economic, the psychological, and the academic dimensions.

Thus, with a view to deepening our understanding of the representation of the identity of *Pinkunsheng*, this paper will analyse the above data from the following three perspectives: from a one-dimension perspective with economic concerns as the focus mainly in the information reports, from a two-dimension perspective with economic and emotional or academic concerns as the focus mainly demonstrated in recount-based stories, and from a three-dimension perspective involving all three economic, emotional and academic concerns primarily manifested in recount-and-narrative-involved stories.

Identity: The one-dimension perspective

Drawing on data collected from all three *Xiaobao*, it is found that the majority of the information reports (news genre) have a ubiquitous key concern, i.e. the low economic background or the financial burden of *Pinkunsheng*. *Xiaobao of Beijing Normal University* reported under the headline 学生资助:为梦想撑起一片晴空 (i.e. 'Student financial assistance: A significant aid to help realize dreams') on 30 December 2012 that it has been a consistent national and university policy to provide financial aid to *Pinkunsheng* to help them complete the study in tertiary institutions. Here is the relevant section of the text:

(1) *Xiaobao of Beijing Normal University*, 30 December 2012

近年来,党和国家始终把坚持教育公益性和促进教育公平作为基本教育政策,高度重视家庭经济困难学生的资助工作。北京师范大学始终坚持“不让一名学生因家庭经济困难而失学”的工作原则,以资助为基础,以育人为导向,建立健全覆盖全体家庭经济困难学生的资助体系,实现了资助和育人的双丰收。

'In recent years, the Party and the Chinese government have consistently maintained that non-profit education and education equality are the basic educational policies in China, attaching great importance to financial aid to low income college students. Beijing Normal University has always adhered to the principle of "never letting any student be deprived of tertiary education because of family financial difficulties". Beijing Normal University has realized success in providing financial support to, i.e. the work foundation, and educating low income college students, i.e. the work direction, by virtue of establishing a comprehensive granting system.'

This extract illustrates that the Chinese government has consistently paid great attention to financial aid to low income college students, and the working principle of Beijing Normal University in this regard is in line with the national policy. The goal is not to let any low-income student be deprived of receiving tertiary education because of financial difficulties. The report drives home the point that to ensure all low income students complete their study has become a national and university responsibility. In this regard, the adequation of all low income students, i.e. being poverty stricken, is highlighted.

This feature of identity is also clearly exemplified in the extract below from another report under the headline 迎新工作周到细致受到学生和家長好评 (i.e. 'The thoughtful arrangements of welcoming new students are highly praised by students and parents') in *Xiaobao of Nanjing Forestry University* on 10 September 2009.

(2) *Nanjing Forestry University Xiaobao*, 10 September 2009

据悉, 我校今年通过奖学金、助学金、助学贷款、勤工助学和特困生补助等一系列措施, 保障贫困生能够在校顺利完成学业, 用于资助贫困生的经费超过1000万元。

学工处有关负责人介绍, 我校作为一所林业科学为特色的综合性高等院校, 贫困生的比例在20%左右。学校最主要的贫困生资助方式是助学贷款。

'It is reported that our university has allocated more than 10 million Yuan this year to guarantee *Pinkunsheng* to smoothly complete their studies by setting up various types of scholarship, grant, loan, work-study program and allowance for the neediest students.

The person in charge of the Department of Student Affairs introduced that as a university specializing in the science of forestry, the number of *Pinkunsheng* in Nanjing Forestry University has reached around 20% of all students and the main channel of supporting *Pinkunsheng* is through student loans.'

Adequation focuses on the identity relation of similarities (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). This report used the relation of adequation to effectively create an association in readers' minds between *Pinkunsheng* and financial aid, foregrounding this similarity as salient to all *Pinkunsheng*, while other differences or distinctions irrelevant to adequating *Pinkunsheng* as a group is downplayed, or even ignored.

This extract also exemplifies another relation of identity, i.e. authentication, which is the process by which speakers make claims to realness, focusing on the ways in which identities are discursively verified (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). In this extract, the specific number of financial aids and the enrolment number of *Pinkunsheng* at Nanjing Forestry University verify the authentication that this is a realistic situation for *Pinkunsheng* and financial aids are really needed to be supportive of their studies at university.

Granting financial aids to *Pinkunsheng* is a national policy in the sphere of tertiary education. Reports in *Xiaobao* are prone to the affirmation or imposition of this identity through structures of institutionalized power. This demonstrates the third type of relation of identity, i.e. authorization. The report with the headline 相信自己 发现自己 塑造自己: 校长柯炳生在本科生开学典礼上的讲话 ('Believe in yourself, find yourself and construct yourself: A speech delivered by President Ke Bingsheng in the opening ceremony for undergraduates') is presented below.

(3) *Xiaobao of China Agricultural University*, 10 September 2012

我要特别地向家庭经济困难的学生说几句话。你们在种种不利的外界条件下, 取得了如此优秀的成绩, 你们更应该感到骄傲、自豪和自信。在大学里, 国家和国家有各种政策措施, 决不会让任何一个同学因家庭经济困难而失学。

‘Particularly, I want to say something to students with low economic backgrounds. You should be proud of what you have achieved when faced with numerous adverse conditions and you should be confident. The country and the university are equipped with numerous policies and measures to make sure that none of the low income students will be deprived of the opportunity to receive higher education.’

In this report, the speaker, i.e. President of the university, uses the first-person singular pronoun to conflate himself with the university and the country in terms of providing financial support to low income college students, who are conflated with the employment of the second-person plural pronoun, to complete their college education. Authorization is, thus, identified in this report. The use of discursive elements, i.e. the first-person singular pronoun and the second-person plural pronoun, officially affirm and verify the low-income identity of *Pinkunsheng*.

These three examples all belong to the text type of information reports (news genre), which construct the economic dimension of *Pinkunsheng*'s identity centrality by highlighting the identity relation of adequation, authentication, and authorization.

In addition to information reports, the other prominent text type in *Xiaobao* under examination is recounts. How the two-dimension identity of *Pinkunsheng*, the economic and the emotional / psychological, is built up in recounts is analysed in the next section.

Identity: The two-dimension perspective

In addition to the information reports (news genre) with their foci on the low economic background of *Pinkunsheng*, there is also the genre of story (recounts) in *Xiaobao*, which uses the third-person pronoun, foregrounding these students' weakness in economy and self-efficacy in psychological development. Below is a story recounted under the headline 学生需要就是经营的方向 (i.e. 'Students' need is the direction of the business') in *Xiaobao of Nanjing Forestry University* on 20 June 2014.

(4) *Xiaobao of Nanjing Forestry University*, 20 June 2014

从学校补助到自负盈亏, 形成完善的公司化管理模式.....从2004年到2014年, 南林助学报亭的贫困生们发扬自信自强自立的精神, 践行社会主义核心价值观, 不断开拓进取, 使由学生自主经营的报亭取得了丰硕的业绩! 'From relying on university's subsidy to being responsible for their own profit and loss, and further to establishing a complete cooperation-style management system, *Pinkunsheng* working in Nanlin Student-aid-oriented Newsstand

develop and carry on the spirit of self-reliance to live out the core values of socialism, pioneer and enterprise, and realize the profitable management of this student-run newsstand from 2004 to 2014!’

This extract of the story stresses the spirit of confidence and self-reliance of *Pinkunsheng* to successfully run a newsstand at Nanjing Forestry University. Though the low economic situation of these students is also captured in this extract, the most salient aspect foregrounded is their psychological resilience. Through detailing the hard process of running the newsstand (i.e. moving from relying on university’s subsidy to creating their own income and even to establishing a cooperative management system), the specification of the ten-year endeavour of these *Pinkunsheng* (i.e. from 2004–2014), and the spirit deserving highly praise of, this story captures the distinctive relation of identity of *Pinkunsheng*, i.e. highly goal-oriented and psychologically resilient.

Yet from the perspective of the society and the university, it seems that it is always a necessity to provide *Pinkunsheng* with psychological support, assuming that these students are more vulnerable to psychological problems. The recount under the headline 就业路上送春风 困难家庭毕业生就业心里更有底了 (i.e. ‘Helping and supporting low income college students on job-hunting makes them have a light heart’) drives this point to home in *Xiaobao of Beijing Normal University Xiaobao* on 10 April 2009.

(5) *Xiaobao of Beijing Normal University*, 10 April 2009

据相关调查显示,家庭经济困难学生就业突显的问题主要有:……六、各种主客观方面的困难带来了一系列的心理问题。

‘The relevant survey released that the major issues that low income college students are faced with include ... 6. Various subjective and objective predicaments lead to a series of psychological issues.’

Closely correlating financial aid to low income students with psychological issues, the speaker in this recount cues listeners or readers to capture the point that low income students are prone to developing psychological problems.

Drawing on the analysis of Example (4) and Example (5), this paper finds that recounts play a rather significant role in constructing the identity relation of *Pinkunsheng*. It can be seen that Example (4) tells the story of how *Pinkunsheng*, being faced with financial difficulties, successfully ran a newsstand, driven by strong persistence and self-reliance, in which the complimentary tone is obviously demonstrated, while in Example (5), a cautious and negative concern towards the psychological strength of *Pinkunsheng* is manifested.

Framing the above analysis within relations of identity reveals that recounts of specific cases tend to foreground that *Pinkunsheng* stand out from other students

because of either their low economic background or psychological resilience. In this vein, the distinction of *Pinkunsheng*, rather than adequation, is suggested. Conversely, information reports tend to formulate the relation of adequation, authentication, and authorization in building up the identity of *Pinkunsheng*, which is realized through the adoption of official information outlets in news reports, such as leaders of universities (or government).

Another text type bearing significance in *Xiaobao* is narratives, which is employed to tell stories as well, constructing the three-dimension identity of *Pinkunsheng* with recounts.

Identity: The three-dimension perspective

The three-dimension perspective of the identity involves the economic, the psychological, and the academic concerns of *Pinkunsheng*. Drawing on the data analysis in this paper, it is found that an integration of recounts and narratives is frequently used to construct the three-dimension identity in storytelling. The story with the headline 陈丽萍:做与众不同的自己 (i.e. 'Being an outstanding Chen Liping') reported in *Xiaobao of Beijing Normal University* on 10 January 2014 told the story of a *Pinkunsheng*, Chen Liping. Here is the extract of the story:

(6) *Xiaobao of Beijing Normal University*, 10 January 2014

“我一直告诉自己,要做一个与众不同的自己。”来自数学科学学院2010级的陈丽萍这样说。

幼年丧父让陈丽萍过早饱尝生活的辛酸,而多病的母亲更是让原本贫困的家庭雪上加霜。生活的重担没有压倒这个坚强的女孩,反而让她的微笑更加灿烂。凭借各界资助,陈丽萍得以顺利完成高中学业,考取北京师范大学。作为一名数科院的学生,陈丽萍从大一就专注于学习,也因此收获了一份不俗的成绩。2010-2011年度专业二等奖学金、2012-2013年度“京师校友金声”奖学金、2012年北师大第八届数学建模二等奖、第七届“挑战杯”首都大学生课外学术科技作品竞赛二等奖、第二十一届“京师杯”课外学术科技作品竞赛二等奖.....刻苦奋进的她真正担得起“自强”二字。

“I have always told myself that I must be an outstanding person” said Chen Liping, a 2010 Year undergraduate in the School of Mathematical Sciences.

Liping has weathered too many difficulties since she was little after the death of her father. The situation of this poor family was worsened because of her mother's sickness. The heavy burden of life did not bear down this strong girl, but made her smile much brighter to face life with courage. Thanks to the financial aid of the society, Liping completed her study in senior high school and was admitted to Beijing Normal University. Her brilliant academic achievements at the university gave credit to her extreme concentration on study since

she was a freshman. These achievements include, but are not limited to The Second-class Scholarship in the School from 2010 to 2011; The First “*Jingshi xiaoyou jinsheng*” (i.e. ‘BNU Alumni Gold Sound’) Scholarship from 2012 to 2013; The Second Award of 8th BNU Math Modelling in 2012; The Second Award of 7th “Challenger’ Cup for Capital College Students” Extra-curriculum Scientific and Technological Projects; The Second Award of the 21st “*Jingshi*” (i.e. ‘BNU’) Cup of Extra-curriculum Scientific and Technological Projects... Being diligent and hard-working, she is the one who truly deserves to be called an icon of “self-improvement”.

Recounts using the third-person singular pronoun and narratives using the first-person singular pronoun are employed in this story to demonstrate that Liping is a student from a low economic background, but is highly psychologically resilient and extremely excellent in academic outcomes.

The rationale behind the newsworthiness of this story is that students with low economic backgrounds are often associated with academic struggle and failure (Devlin 2013; Smit 2012). Devlin (2013) suggests that while there is some literature on the positive elements of success pertaining to students from low socio-economic backgrounds that concentrates on their resilience (Morales 2000), self-efficacy (Vuong, Brown-Welty, and Tracz 2010) and high levels of motivation (McKavanagh and Purnell 2007), it is limited. Research and statistics abound regarding the lower educational achievements, aspirations and completion rates of students from low socio-economic backgrounds in higher education (Dibben 2006; Tinto 2003). The character in this story, however, is just an example of the opposite, who stands out with strong psychological strength and brilliant academic achievements, regardless of her low economic condition. This, on the one hand, makes this story news-worthy, and on the other hand, projects the distinction of this *Pinkunsheng* from the image that *Pinkunsheng* are assumed to be.

Similar to information reports, authentication is manifested in this type of storytelling to prove the reality of the story. However, different from information reports, authorization is no longer the identity relation chosen in this type of storytelling, rather, the recounts or narratives are presented by an unauthorized person, a normal person around us. In this vein, the emotional tone of the story is brought to the front.

The representations of *Pinkunsheng* in *Xiaobao* have been addressed from the afore-mentioned three perspectives by examining identity centrality, text types, and the sociocultural linguistic approach to identity. The analysis sheds light on the understanding of the identity and the image of *Pinkunsheng* in China, which is further discussed in the next section.

Discussion and conclusion

Correlating identity centrality with text types, it is found that the economic dimension is more represented in information reports, while a two-dimension (i.e. the economic and the psychological dimensions) or three-dimension identity (i.e. the economic, the psychological and the academic dimensions) is more frequently represented in recounts and narratives. As for how these different perspectives of identity are represented in different text types, it is found that information reports (news genre) tend to bring adequation to the fore, for example the low economic background, authentication, referring to the various government and/or university financial aid programs, and authorization, realized by quoting official outlets, for example leaders of universities. On the other hand, recounts and/or narratives (story genre) optimize the distinctions of some specific *Pinkunsheng* by foregrounding their psychological resilience and how they manage to make professional and/or academic achievements regardless of severe financial hurdles.

Thus, it is interesting to note that information reports (news genre) differ somewhat from recounts and narratives (story genre), with the former focusing on *Pinkunsheng's* identity centrality of low economic backgrounds and the latter on *Pinkunsheng's* high resilience, self-efficacy, strong motivation, and academic success.

The rationale behind the representations between *Pinkunsheng* in information reports (news genre) and recounts and narratives (story genre) in Chinese *Xiaobao* mirrors the clash between their present identity and their future identity, with information reports centring on the present situation of *Pinkunsheng* and recounts and narratives on their future situation. This relates to the future-oriented aspects of self-concept, both the positive identities that one expects to become and the negative identities that one wants to avoid becoming (Oyserman and James 2011).

Quite a number of studies have pointed out that low income students are more prone to developing psychological problems and suffering from academic failure due to their inadequate academic and social preparedness for college education (Yang 2010; Dibben 2006; Tinto 2003). Thus, it is quite normal for people to hold firmly to the belief that in addition to providing financial support to low income students, it is necessary to care too about their psychological health and to ensure their positive academic outcomes. Indeed, comparing the healthy development of their psychological state and their academic outcomes, universities attach more significance to the former, which can be proved by the establishment of psychological counselling centre in many universities in China. Yet concerning the academic outcomes of *Pinkunsheng*, universities usually set a minimum standard, i.e. the completion of college education. These perceptions frame the current identity of *Pinkunsheng* is framed in *Xiaobao*, which is represented widely in information reports.

On the other hand, universities also devote themselves to publicising the higher aspirations and excellent academic achievements of some outstanding *Pinkunsheng* with the aim of encouraging other students, including *Pinkunsheng*, to follow the model. This is the future identity of *Pinkunsheng* promoted by universities and the country, which is usually represented in stories in Chinese *Xiaobao*.

The differences between the assumed current identity of *Pinkunsheng* represented in information reports and their idealized future-oriented identity represented in recounts and narratives answer the question why the representation of these students is contradictory in different types of texts in *Xiaobao*.

To sum up, the representation of *Pinkunsheng* in Chinese campus newspapers is a rather intricate demonstration, with different types of text focusing on different dimensions and relations of identity. Thanks to this complexity, the identity of *Pinkunsheng* is framed comprehensively and completely, providing a relatively real and all-around image of *Pinkunsheng* to the public from the standpoint of *Pinkunsheng* themselves or students and staff at university who have close contact with *Pinkunsheng*. The present identity of low economic backgrounds does not impede the formation of *Pinkunsheng*'s future identity featured as having high resilience, self-efficacy, strong motivation, and academic success. Indeed, government and relevant social agents have been providing substantial financial support and necessary psychological assistance to *Pinkunsheng* to make sure that they can achieve satisfactory academic records and live a psychologically healthy life at university and hold the good will that *Pinkunsheng* can work hard and realize excellence in academic achievement and personal development in due course.

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Language resources of Yunnan in “the Belt and Road” project

Linda Tsung, Zhang Xia and Zhang Lubei

University of Sydney / Yunnan Provincial Minority Language

Guidance Committee / Southwest Jiaotong University

As a multi-ethnic and multilingual province, Yunnan has very rich resources in the minority languages. Among the 25 ethnic minority groups, 22 groups speak 26 languages, belonging to the Tibetan-Burmese, Zhuang-Dong, Miao Yao and Meng Khmer language branches of the two major language families of Sino-Tibetan and Austro-Asiatic. The 16 cross-border ethnic groups are mainly distributed outside in Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and other countries bordering China. The languages and characters of these cross-border ethnic groups have become important language resources in Yunnan in the construction of “Belt and Road Initiative”. How to fully develop and make full use of these languages to meet the language needs of ethnic groups in these countries along the route and to achieve cooperation and win-win results under the framework of equal language and cultural identity is an urgent problem to be studied and solved by the Chinese government. This paper will make an in-depth analysis of the current language policy in Yunnan and its efforts in the protection of cross-border language resources, in the hope to provide some ideas for the scientific protection and utilization of cross-border language resources.

Keywords: Belt and Road Initiative, minority languages, cross-border languages, intercommunication

云南是个多民族、多语言、多文种的省份，少数民族语言资源十分丰富。25个少数民族中，有22个少数民族使用着26种语言，分属汉藏、南亚两大语系的藏缅、壮侗、苗瑶、孟高棉4个语族。16个跨境民族，在境外主要分布在与中国接壤的越南、老挝、缅甸等国家。这些跨境民族的语言文字成为“一带一路”建设中云南重要的语言资源。如何充分开发和利用跨境民族语言满足“一带一路”沿线国家各族群的语言需求，在平等的语言文化认同框架下实现合作、共赢，是亟待中国政府研究解决的问题。本文将深入分析云南现行的民族语言政策及其在保护跨境语言资源方面做出的努力，以期科学保护和充分利用跨境语言资源提供合理思路。

关键词: “一带一路” 构思, 少数民族语言, 跨境语言, 互通

关于“一带一路”

“一带一路”构思

2013年9月和10月,中国国家主席习近平在出访中亚和东南亚国家期间,先后提出共建“丝绸之路经济带”和“21世纪海上丝绸之路”的重大倡议,简称为“一带一路”。“一带一路”建设秉承共商、共享、共建原则,恪守联合国宪章的宗旨和原则,坚持开放合作,坚持和谐包容,坚持市场运作,坚持互利共赢,高举和平发展的旗帜,充分依靠中国与有关国家既有的双多边机制,借助既有的、行之有效的区域合作平台,积极发展与沿线国家的双/多经济合作伙伴关系,共同打造政治互信、经济融合、文化包容的利益共同体、命运共同体和责任共同体。中国提出的“一带一路”建设倡议得到国际社会的高度关注和支持。

“一带一路”涵盖的范围

“一带一路”的核心地区是内陆“丝绸之路”的哈萨克斯坦、吉尔吉斯斯坦、乌兹别克斯坦、塔吉克斯坦、土库曼斯坦这五个中亚国家和海上“丝绸之路”的印度尼西亚、马来西亚、菲律宾、新加坡、泰国、文莱、越南、老挝、缅甸、柬埔寨、东帝汶、尼泊尔、不丹、印度、巴基斯坦、孟加拉国、斯里兰卡、马尔代夫等东南亚、南亚国家。在中国,将新疆、重庆、陕西、甘肃、宁夏、青海、内蒙古、黑龙江、吉林、辽宁、广西、云南、西藏13个省(直辖市)圈定为丝绸之路经济带,上海、福建、广东、浙江、海南5个省(直辖市)圈定为21世纪海上丝绸之路。

“一带一路”建设与语言

“一带一路”建设以政策沟通、设施联通、贸易畅通、资金融通、民心相通为主要内容。实现以上“五通”,推动“一带一路”共建,需要语言铺路。语言互通是“一带一路”建设的基础性工作。“一带一路”建设参与国家和地区众多,涉及近50种通用语言和150多种区域、民族、部落的重要语言。

“一带一路”建设中云南的定位和区位优势

2015年3月28日,中华人民共和国国家发展和改革委员会、外交部、商务部联合发布《推动共建丝绸之路经济带和21世纪海上丝绸之路的愿景与行动》指出,“发挥云南区位优势,推进与周边国家的国际运输通道建设,打造大湄公河次区域经济合作新高地,建设成为面向南亚、东南亚的辐射中心。”

云南处于古代南方丝绸之路要道,与越南、老挝、缅甸三国接壤,北上连接丝绸之路经济带,南下连接海上丝绸之路,从陆上可以沟通太平洋、印度洋,

连接东南亚、南亚、西亚三大市场,是中国唯一可以同时从陆上沟通东南亚、南亚,并可以通过中东连接欧洲、非洲,开拓西向贸易通道的省份。

拥有面向“三亚”、肩挑“两洋”独特区位优势云南,是“一带一路”建设中的重要省份。独特的区位优势,凸显了云南在“一带一路”建设中的地位。

云南的语言政策及跨境语言资源

基本情况

云南是个多民族省份,共有55个少数民族成分,人口在5000人以上的世居民族有25个,15个民族为云南所特有,16个民族跨境而居。25个少数民族中,除回、水、满3个民族通用汉语外,其余22个少数民族使用着26种语言,分属汉藏、南亚两大语系的藏缅、壮侗、苗瑶、孟高棉4个语族(见表1)(云南省少数民族语文指导工作委员会办公室,2018)。

表一. 云南少数民族及语族分类

| 汉藏语系 | 南亚语系 | | |
|-----------------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| 藏缅语族 | 壮侗语族 | 苗瑶语族 | 孟高棉语族 |
| 1.彝族2.哈尼族 | 1.傣族 | 1.苗族 | 1.佤族 |
| 3.白族4.傈僳族 | 2.壮族 | 2.瑶族(勉语、布努语) | 2.布朗族 |
| 5.拉祜族6.纳西族 | 3.布依族 | | 3.德昂族 |
| 7.景颇族(景颇语、载瓦语) | | | |
| 8.藏族9.普米族10.阿昌族11.基诺族 | | | |
| 12.怒族(怒苏语、柔若语、阿依语) | | | |
| 13.蒙古族14.独龙族 | | | |

作为中国面向西南开放的桥头堡,云南拥有丰富的语言资源。全省25个少数民族中,有14个少数民族在历史上共使用过50多种不同类型、不同形式的民族文字。自2011年中国共产党十七届六中全会提出“科学保护各民族语言文字”以来,云南省在语言资源、语言生态、语言保护等方面开展了大量工作,并取得了一定成果。

民族语言政策及语言规划

如何科学保护跨境民族语言资源,使之服务于国家“一带一路”战略规划,是语言规划的重要内容。跨境民族语言既是独特的语言文化资源,又是重要的政治经济资源,也是国家多功能的战略资源。“一带一路”倡议的提出,为云南跨境民族的政治、经济和文化发展带来了前所未有的机遇与挑战。

2013年云南省出台《云南省少数民族语言文字工作条例》，条例承认了22个少数民族使用的14种文字。为促进少数民族语言文字的科学发展、规范和管理提供了保障法规。《条例》主要从以下五方面对少数民族语言文字的保护与发展提出了要求：

一是保障各少数民族使用和发展本民族语言文字的权利。《条例》明确提出少数民族语言文字工作应本着科学保护的原则，尊重各民族群众意愿和语言文字自身发展规律，保障各少数民族享有使用和发展自己语言文字的自由和权力(第二/第三条)。

二是规范少数民族语言文字的使用。《条例》第十八条指出公开使用少数民族语言文字的文学艺术作品、音像制品、表演、广告、商业牌匾等，应当使用规范的少数民族语言文字。《条例》还特别指出民族自治地方的国家机关公文、印章、证件和牌匾使用少数民族文字的，以少数民族语言文字命名和更改地名的，少数民族语言文字出版物、广播影视作品在出版、播出前，出版、制作单位或者主管部门认为确需审定的，都应当报县级以上民族事务主管部门审定。(第二十条)

三是关于少数民族语言文字工作规划和经费的保障。《条例》第五条提出教育、文化、新闻出版广电等有关部门需按照各自职责做好少数民族语言文字的相关工作。同时《条例》还提出县级以上人民政府应当将少数民族语言文字工作纳入国民经济和社会发展规划，将少数民族语言文字工作经费列入本级财政预算，并单列少数民族语言文字抢救保护经费，主要用于抢救、保护少数民族语言文字和以少数民族语言文字为载体传承的民族传统文化等(第四条)。

四是关于少数民族语言文字人才的培养。《条例》规定各级人民政府应当培养和配备通晓国家通用语言文字和少数民族语言文字的国家工作人员和各类专业人才。县级以上人民政府应当鼓励支持高等院校和科研机构开展少数民族语言文字研究；鼓励支持文艺工作者使用少数民族语言文字从事文学艺术的创作和演出；支持培养少数民族语言文字编辑、记者和作家(第八条/第十条)。各级人民政府应当支持少数民族地区的学校在学前和小学教育阶段开展双语教学，并培养双语教师；民族高等院校和其他有条件的高等院校应当设置少数民族语言文学专业(第十一/十二条)。

五是关于少数民族语言文字的新闻媒体。《条例》第十四条规定省和民族自治地方的广播电视媒体应当开设少数民族语言频率、频道或者栏目，并逐步增加播出语种。县级以上人民政府及有关部门应当支持边境地区的广播电视媒体开设少数民族语言频率、频道和栏目。

《云南省少数民族语言文字工作条例》的出台，有效避免了在云南省这样一个多民族、多语言的地区开展少数民族语言文字工作的随意性和被动性，为少数民族语言文字的发展提供了必要的法律保障。

跨境民族

云南有16个跨境民族,是中国跨境民族最多的省份。16个跨境民族为:彝、哈尼、壮、傣、苗、傈僳、拉祜、佤、瑶、景颇、布朗、布依、阿昌、怒、德昂、独龙。这些跨境民族主要分布在与中国接壤的越南、老挝、缅甸等国家,有的延伸至泰国、柬埔寨、印度、美国、法国等国家。越南、老挝、缅甸、泰国、柬埔寨、印度均为“一带一路”核心区国家。

云南跨境民族与境外同一民族同宗同源,境内外的跨境民族存在着较为稳固的民族认同和内聚力,语言文字是这种民族认同感和内聚力最直接的体现。跨境民族的语言文字成为“一带一路”建设中云南独有的语言资源。如按惯例我们将使用人口在15万以上的非强势语言称作“大语言”,将使用人口在15万及以下的非强势语言称作“小语言”,云南16个跨境民族使用的语言可大致分为以下4类:

1. “内大外大”型:即在云南省和境外使用该语言的人口均超过15万人。16个跨境民族使用的语言中有以下9种属于此类:哈尼语、傣语、壮语、苗语、傈僳语、拉祜语、佤语、瑶语、景颇语。
2. “内大外小”型:即在云南省境内该语言有超过15万的人口使用,而在境外该语言的使用人口不足15万。有2种语言:彝语、布依语属于此类。
3. “内小外大型”:即在云南省境内该语言的使用人口不足15万,而在境外却有超过15万的人口使用。德昂族使用的德昂语即属于此类。
4. “内小外小型”:即在境内外该语言的使用人口均不超过15万。有4种语言:布朗语、阿昌语、怒语、独龙语属于此类。

该16个跨境民族的人口分布及语言使用情况见表二。

表二. 跨境民族人口分布情况*

| 种类 | 民族 | 云南省内人口(万) | 境外人口(万) |
|------|-----|-----------|---------|
| 内大外大 | 哈尼族 | 163 | 33 |
| | 傣族 | 122.2 | 395 |
| | 壮族 | 121.5 | 192.8 |
| | 苗族 | 120.3 | 87 |
| | 傈僳族 | 66.8 | 18.9 |
| | 拉祜族 | 47.5 | 37.3 |
| | 佤族 | 43 | 34 |
| | 瑶族 | 22 | 56.5 |
| | 景颇族 | 14.8 | 60 |

| 种类 | 民族 | 云南省内人口(万) | 境外人口(万) |
|------|-----|-----------|---------|
| 内小外小 | 布朗族 | 11.7 | 5.4 |
| | 阿昌族 | 4.2 | 4 |
| | 布依族 | 3.8 | 0.2 |
| | 怒族 | 3.2 | 3 |
| | 独龙族 | 0.6 | 0.5 |
| 内大外小 | 彝族 | 502.8 | 1.3 |
| 内小外大 | 德昂族 | 2 | 25 |

* 数据来源中国2010年人口普查资料, <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/pcsj/rkpc/6rp/indexch.htm>

云南的跨境语言资源保护

跨境民族双语教育

在推进“一带一路”建设背景下,加强跨境民族双语教育既能保护、传承和发展跨境民族的语言文字,又能充分发挥语言的感情纽带作用,促进沿线国家的沟通、交流与通讯。这不仅有利于繁荣各跨境民族文化、促进民族认同,对维护中华民族文化和国家政治安全也有不容忽视的重要作用。自上世纪80年代开始,云南省民族工作、教育、民语委等部门与相关地、州、市相关部门密切合作,先后在佤、傣、纳西、白、拉祜、彝、景颇、藏、苗、哈尼等民族的学校办了14个民汉双语文教学试验点,并取得了可喜的成绩。据统计,在义务教育阶段,目前云南省共有14个民族的18种文字或拼音方案进入学校开展双语教育。开展双语教学的有15个州,74个县市,覆盖4000多所学校的近20万学生(徐忠祥,2009)。结合各民族的实际情况,云南省的双语教育大致可分为三类:1. 解放前学校教育发展较好的民族。这部分民族包括白族、回族、蒙古族和部分彝族、壮族。2. 原有教育基础较薄弱,现在教育事业仍然不发达的民族。这部分民族主要有哈尼族、傣族、藏族、阿昌族和部分彝族、壮族等。3. 原有教育比较落后,现在教育发展水平仍然比较差的民族。这部分主要包括苗族、瑶族、佤族、景颇族、傣族、布朗族、怒族、德昂族、基诺族、独龙族和部分彝族。

云南跨境民族的双语教育大部分属于后两类,基础薄弱。在这些民族中,双语教育开展较早,具有代表性的有德宏傣族景颇族自治州小学于上世纪八十年代初开展的“注音识字,提前读写”双语教学实践。1984年德宏州教育局试行了傣语、景颇语、载瓦语三个语种的“注、提”双语教学大纲,并于1989年在先期实验的基础上确立了民-汉兼通过渡到汉语授课为主的双语教育体制。自开展正规的双语教育以来,德宏州民族基础教育的教学质量得到了明显提高。德宏州少数民族聚居的乡镇,进行双语教学的学校,其学生的汉语学习成绩明显好于汉语文单语教学的学生(蚌有荣,2005)。截止2009年德宏州全州开展“双语双文”的学校有251所,接受双语教学的学生达到了24585人。此外,沧源县开展的以母语为先导,佤、汉双语文并举教学

实践,西山区进行的汉语载瓦语教学实践,绿春县开展的哈尼、汉双语文对译对比教学实践,丽江县进行的纳汉小学双语教育实践等都取得了一定成效(朱虹、袁长林, 2011)。但由于师资、教学资源等方面的资源匮乏,民汉双语教学也面临着巨大的困难,制约了跨境地区民族双语教育的发展。要做好跨境民族语言的保护,仍需进一步规范民汉双语教学,提高跨境民族地区基础教育水平。

跨境民族语言人才培养

作为沟通中国与东盟自由贸易区的战略重镇,云南被誉为中国面向东南亚开放的“桥头堡”。随着“一带一路”战略的推广,云南肩负培养东南亚语人才的责任也越来越重要。正确保护和有效利用跨境语言资源,做好跨境语言人才培养将有利于我国在跨境文化传播中掌握主动权。据学者研究发现云南省内跨境而居的少数民族语言与东南亚或南亚语言有诸多相近、甚至相同之处。少数民族学生在掌握本民族语言的同时,学习东南亚语具有天然的优势,不仅可以培养语言学方面的学生,还可以使培养的人才把各自民族地区的优势特色发掘,建设家乡经济。2012年,云南省教育厅联合财政厅及外事办公室联合印发了《关于加快云南省高等学校小语种人才培养工作的实施意见》。《意见》提出高校可面向旅游专业学生开设小语种课程,允许非英语专业学生选修小语种课程代替大学英语课程等建设性意见。随即云南省成立了小语种人才培养工作小组及云南省高校小语种教学指导委员会,对高校小语种教学和改革提供指导并组织研究。云南众多高校陆续开设东南亚语专业或东南亚语选修课。积极推广以东南亚语种为重点的外语教学受到了政府的大力扶持。目前,云南共有43所高校开设了小语种专业。云南大学是开设的东南亚及南亚语最多的院校,已开设了泰语、越南语、老挝语、柬埔寨语、马来语、印尼语、印地语8个语种。同时,在省教育厅的支持下设立了小语种奖学金,启动等级考试试点,为“桥头堡”建设提供跨境语言人才保障。

跨境民族语言媒体资源建设

为增进跨境民族群众的相互了解,树立了中国良好的国际形象,近年来云南省在使用少数民族语言文字发行报纸、期刊、书籍以及播出广播电视、音像制品等方面做出了巨大的努力。不仅大力推动直接使用少数民族语言和文字进行创作,还大量翻译出版、制作播出相关新闻资讯、科技卫生知识、文艺作品和音像制品。

德宏州发挥毗邻缅甸的区位优势,把口岸、边境沿线作为区域性传播体系建设的重要阵地和舞台,通过“造船出海”、“借筒传声”,不断加大区域性国际传播能力建设,推动形成包括报纸、广播、网络、社交媒体、移动客户端等在内,7种语言文字的对外传播全媒体矩阵。2015年6月德宏创立出版了中缅双文

综合性文化期刊《胞波情》并获得了国家新闻出版广电总局颁发的《中华人民共和国报纸出版许可证》，成为国内第一家有独立刊号、统一连续出版的缅文报纸，并在缅甸曼德勒设立了“胞波书社”。国内读者主要定位为在德宏境内的缅甸人，读者群较为集中、针对性强，国外也送往曼德勒、腊戍等缅甸城市免费赠阅。同时，针对缅甸普通民众喜欢的Facebook社交平台的实际情况，制作了胞波Facebook（缅文），与缅甸普通民众、媒体互动。德宏州委、州人民政府新闻外宣综合性地方门户网站“德宏网”先后开通了傣语、景颇语、英语、缅语频道，在东南亚南亚等国家和地区网民中形成了一定影响。德宏广播电视台针对中缅边境地区同一民族跨境而居的实际，与中国国际广播电台合作开办了傣语、景颇语、载瓦语和缅甸语四种民族语言节目，成为中缅边境上的“区域性国际广播频率”。

彝族语言保存的案例

为具体了解云南少数民族双语教育实施情况，笔者2017年4月走访了云南石林县两所彝族小学，采访了部分老师及家长。走访中我们得知，目前彝汉双语教学在当地得到了政府、学校和家长的大力支持。作为一所山区寄宿制小学，青年希望小学在校园里推广普通话的同时，为学生开设了彝文兴趣班。通过艺术教育和兴趣班来培养学生传承民族文化。学校定期派送老师去参加当地民宗局的培训，目前已有12位老师经过培训后回校为学生开设彝语课程。学校从三年级起每周为学生开设一节彝文课并组织一个课外活动。在当地民宗局的支持下特邀少数民族歌手，民族文化传承人等来校做课外辅导活动，培养学生传承民族文化，如跳小三弦、刺绣、吹过山号、摔跤等。通过激发学生的学习兴趣来带动民族语言文化的学习。采访中，该校的校长提到：

我们这个学校是最早搞民族传承文化的，到现在已经十几年。我们最主要的是激起他们的兴趣，如果有兴趣了，他们以后会去做的，那就没有问题，不一定要让他们在学校学得很精，所以我们用的时间也少，主要是激发他们的学习兴趣。

以传承民族文化活动为引导，石林县民族小学也为学生开展了丰富多彩的民族文化进校园活动，如大三弦、自编民族体操、音乐和舞蹈等。教孩子识字的同时，培养他们的学习兴趣，鼓励他们用彝语讲故事、唱歌，做介绍等。一位彝语老师为我们介绍到：

目前孩子的教学有专门的教案来学习彝族文化，主要是先学文字，再来讲故事，唱彝族歌，用彝语介绍自己的亲戚及家里的动物，但是现在正在弄彝文的校本编写，主要是让学生识字，让学生对民族文化感兴趣，之后就靠学生自己的兴趣去学习我们的民族文化。”

得到县民宗局的大力支持，石林县的民族小学近年来开展了形式多样的民族语言文化课程。多数老师和家长也都对此持积极态度。

我们完全可以做到让民族语和汉语都发展得很好,具备两种语言能力甚至多语能力。我们民族孩子,如果能做到多语精通,无论是个体发展还是整个民族发展也好,这个都是最好的发展方式,所以在学校教育理念中,学校的整体教育理论体系不能打乱,在双语教育方面,学校可以开设民族课或实验性的课。

当地政府近年来也陆续出台了一系列的利好政策以促进民族语言的保护,如公务员考试、事业单位招聘加试民族语言,每年出资到云南民大、西南民大等高校定向培养彝汉双语学生等。少数民族语言为孩子们继续深造和就业拓宽了道路。鉴于此,当地好多彝族学生甚至是汉族学生都开始学习彝语。以民族文化为先导的民语教育取得了良好的效果。民族学生的民族自信心得到了极大的提高。学生、老师、家长对保护民族语言文化充满了激情,都希望能借助“一带一路”的春风将民族语言保护工作推上新的高度。

思考和建议

李宇明(2018)指出“‘一带一路’需要语言铺路。语言之路铺设如何,直接关涉政策能否沟通、道路能否联通、贸易能否畅通、货币能否流通、民心能否相通,关涉‘一带一路’能有多宽广,能行多快,能行多远”。新形势下,如何加强云南省跨境族语言资源的开发利用,使其更好为“一带一路”建设服务,不仅关系中国语言生态和少数民族文化传承,而且关系“一带一路”建设有效推进,是当前中国语言规划亟需重视的问题。基于云南现有的跨境少数民族语言资源情况,我们提出如下建议:

积极开展跨境语言基本情况普查

从以上的资料数据可以看出,我们虽对云南境内的跨境民族语言文字使用情况掌握得相对详实一些,但对境外的相关语言使用情况了解还很模糊。为了充分发挥这些跨境语言在对外交流和文化传播中的媒介语作用,我们需要对跨境民族的语言文字状况做进一步调查研究,特别是对境外相关大语言文字的使用情况做详细调查。为“一带一路”建设提供语言政策咨询和决策参考。

制定相关语言政策及语言规划

从服务“一带一路”建设的角度看,中国的语言政策规划不仅要全力推进汉语的国际教育,同时还应该保护好本国的少数民族语言,尤其要做好跨境民族语言政策和规划工作。要使“一带一路”倡议得到广泛响应,建立人类命运共同体,做到民心相通,掌握好这些语言,具有用这些语言进行交流的能力至关重要。相关语言政策应做好民族语言的本体规划、地位规划及教学规划,充分发挥好跨境语言的作用,沿边境建立多功能的语言带,增强跨境的语言文化沟通及边境的语言文化安全。

搭建跨境民族语言文字使用发展平台,充分发挥其在“一带一路”建设中的语言桥梁作用。

1. 加强相关人才培养。以高校为依托,通过开办少数民族语言专业、开展师生互访交流以及学习培训等方式,培养精通沿线国家语言,并熟悉当地政治、文化、制度、风土人情和地理,具有国际视野和跨文化交际能力的语言人才。
2. 实施跨境民族语言资源保护科研项目。通过对语言资源的研究保护,挖掘跨境语言承载的历史文化,增进与相关国家的相互了解和彼此认同,为“一带一路”建设提供学术支持,搭建人心联通桥。
3. 开发各类语言产品,满足不同人群的语言学习使用需求。开发教材、教学辅导资料、课件、音频视频课程、工具书、电子词典、语言学习软件等功能互补的语言学习产品;开发便携式多语言翻译器、跨语文阅读器等语言应用产品;创作文学作品、影视戏剧、文化知识读本、学术著作等语言文化产品。
4. 创新语言资源开发。以新的理念、方式和现代技术,开发利用跨境语言文字资源,为“一带一路”建设提供各类语言服务。可以利用独有的跨境语言文化资源打造丰富多彩的旅游产品,推动“一带一路”的国际旅游发展。

跨境民族语言文字是“一带一路”建设中云南重要的语言资源。科学保护和充分利用跨境语言资源,在平等的语言文化认同框架下实现合作、共赢,不仅是云南各跨境民族的诉求,也是“一带一路”沿线国家共同繁荣发展的基础。借助语言文化铺路架桥,才能更好地为人类谋福祉、为世界谋和平。

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Impact of power relations on news translation in China

A critical discourse analysis perspective

Liang Xia

The University of Sydney

Global news transmission relies on language and particularly on the services of translation. Decision making exists in every step of the translation process, for instance, from the text selection to the discursive expression, and from information transference to culture communication. This study examines the translation practice of news in *Cankao Xiaoxi* (Chinese: 参考消息), the most read Chinese daily run by the Chinese government that collects various news or information from international media, translates and reprints them in Chinese. This study outlines various powers that underline text manipulation in this state news agency and explores the impact of power relations on both the process and the product of news translation. Combining an ethnographic approach with a critical discourse analysis of news translation, this study investigates the institutional contexts and human agencies involved in the news making process, which lead to the manipulation of the news production. This study reveals that various powers determine how to shape the already shaped news via translating and that network of power relations underlying news translation in China is hierarchical. This hierarchy of power relations affords both macro and micro-analytical perspectives on the realisation of manipulation in news translation in China.

Keywords: news, translation, media, manipulation, power relations

Introduction

In the context of researching institutional news discourse, translation has been considered to play a pivotal role in the international diffusion of news (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Conway 2015). Studies of news discourse translation (Xia and Wang 2015) argues that news translation represents ‘the voice of the news institution’, which features decontextualized descriptions and exploitations of the source text. News translation institutions suppress some ‘voice of the source’ by preventing

the source information infiltration. Therefore, manipulation becomes an inevitable translation action in news institutions. It exists at every decision made in the translation process, for instance, selecting what to translate, which word to replace a source word, what syntax is chosen, or which publication channel is selected.

Drawing on an ethnographic approach with a critical discourse analysis of news translation, this paper moves from analysing the textual product to examining the workplace activities involved in the translation process, and focuses on discussing the network of power relations underlying the entire process of conducting translations for the target readers. The power relations in a news institution is not always apparent but is hidden in the subtle choice of linguistic forms, and by comparing translated news with its original and interviewing the news making participants, this study examines how the original text is changed and why such changes are made, and proceeds to unpack the ideological underpinnings of news discourse.

Based on the integrated approach, this study aims to explore the impact of power relations on news translation in China, with a particular focus on the PRC-related news reports. The newspaper *Cankao Xiaoxi* (hereafter CKXX) was chosen due to its specific format in the Chinese media and its influences in mainland China. It collects news items from a variety of international media, translates and reprints them in Chinese. The founders were advised by the top government official to run a 'newspaper of thousands of newspapers' (Wei 2000). With its current circulation exceeding three million copies per day, it has become the bestselling daily newspaper and a major source for the general public in China to get access to the international media (Xinhua Net 新华网, n.d.).

The following section fleshes out a brief introduction of current research in news translation and a theoretical description of critical discourse analysis (hereafter CDA), its applications on analysing news discourse, and its perspective on power. Then, the next section proposes an analytical model and describes the data for this study, followed by a section presenting an analysis comparing the translated texts with the English sources, as well as the news participants' comments on these comparisons. The final section discusses the impacts of power relations in the act of news translation and concludes this study.

Background of this study

News events happen in hundreds of languages in various places around the world and are distributed to ultimate users via a diverse array of conduits: newspaper, radio, magazine, television and the Internet. Translation plays the pivotal role in the global flow of information.

In terms of the process involved in international news translation, practical articles based on practitioners' reflections on their professional activities and scholarly research on text and contextual analysis reveal several key approaches adopted: synthesis, reorganisation, deletion, addition, generalization and rewriting (Bassnett 2004; Cheng 2002; Fujii 1988; Levey 2000; Li 2001; Sorby 2008; Valdeón 2008; van Leeuwen 2006). These language-related phenomena in news translation from one language to another go beyond dealing with language-specific issues or the source text-target text equivalent effect and can be extrapolated from social and cultural perspectives.

Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) investigate the mechanics of news translation by incorporating the common concerns of sociology, globalization studies, media studies, and translation studies. "The fact that translation has been successfully integrated within journalism" (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 73) indicates that news translators adopt an interventionist role.

More interdisciplinary research projects (e.g. *Meta* in 2012, Vol. 57, No. 4; *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* in 2015, Vol. 23, No. 4; *Across Languages and Cultures* in 2018, Vol. 19, No. 2) on translation in news have brought together researchers and practitioners for discussion on both the news process and the product and highlighted the role of translation as being at the centre of journalism research.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is the theoretical foundation employed in this study. CDA is described as an interdisciplinary method applied by groups of like-minded researchers (e.g. Fairclough 1992; Gee 2005; Scollon 1998; van Dijk 1998; van Leeuwen 2006; Wodak 1996). Fairclough's (1992, 1995) work of CDA has outlined a three-dimensional conception of discourse, integrating analysis of text, of discursive practice and of social practice. This three-dimension model recognizes text within its situational and sociocultural context.

This systematic method informs the present study in the following ways: First, the multilayered analysis incorporates textual, discursive and social levels of discourse analysis, Second, it is text-based but not text only analysis. Text is analysed for linguistic evidence to support the claim that microanalysis is linked to a broader analysis of how power relations work across networks of practices and structures.

Studies from a critical discourse analysis perspective (e.g. Chen 2011; Gumul 2010; Holland 2006; Kang 2007; Loupaki 2010; Schäffner 2012; Valdeón 2008) have shown media discourses are translated using linguistic methods such as omissions, additions, permutations, explication, and referential choices to construct reality to target readers. All the processes are influenced by ideologies and values upheld by the individual mass media institutions. This indicates that "Critical Discourse Analysis can provide concepts and methods for analysing translated texts, for identifying translation and interpreting strategies, and also for identifying

transformations which happen in the processes of recontextualisation and circulation via mass media” (Schäffner 2012: 122).

CDA orientated studies have explored ideological manipulation on Chinese media discourse translation. Chan (2007) compares two versions of translation published in mainland China and in Taiwan to explain that textual features justify or challenge particular interpretations of meanings or events in Sino-US politics. Pan (2015) focuses on several English news reports on China’s human rights issue to examine translation to discuss stance mediation in news translation. It indicates that texts are adapted to suit the ideological positions of the newspaper by taking into factors involved in the institutional practice of the news agency and the social context in which the translating institution functions and its translations are intended to serve. With reference to critical discourse analysis in sociological approaches, it can be established that translation researchers see the relevance of the context of institutional and sociocultural factors to translation in the mass media.

Applying CDA to understanding news contributes to the analysis of news reports through the enactment of power in specific contexts. From a critical studies point of view, news is defined not as a reflection of reality, but as a product shaped by political, economic, and cultural forces (Fowler 1991). One crucial presupposition here is that social power is “ideologically sustained and reproduced” (van Dijk 1993: 255) by the media and that media text implies a hierarchy of power. “Power involves control, namely by (members of) one group over (those of) other groups. Such control may pertain to action and cognition: that is, a powerful group may limit the freedom of the action of others, but also influence their minds” (van Dijk 1993: 254). The action might be direct and visible; while cognitive power is often enacted by indirect strategies such as persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation to change others’ mind towards one’s own interest. These strategies are exercised through text and talk by social power.

CDA’s perspective on media’s power not only defines what the power is, but also covers how the power is produced and exercised. Media’s power is produced in organisational or institutional settings (van Dijk 1993). CDA maintains that media organisation has special access to discourse and plays an important role in control over the relations and processes of the enactment of power. By the same token, power is institutionalised to enhance its effectiveness. When power is exercised, the reaction can include modes situated anywhere between two extremes of acceptance and challenge. Its impact is far from straightforward and does not imply a clear degree of consumption.

The understanding of power is intertwined with the understanding of ideology. Ideology is regarded “as essentially tied to power relations” (Fairclough 2014: 107). Ideological impacts on translation, broadly defined, can be observed

in text selection and presentation. Schäffner claimed that any translation in a sense is ideological, at both the lexical and grammatical levels since “the choice of a source text and the use to which the subsequent target text is put is determined by the interests, aims, and objectives of social agents” (Schäffner 2003: 23). In the translation process, a translator converts information from one language into another; as a product of translation, the produced target language text exists in its cultural context for its targeted audience. Both the process and the product as conducted by human translators are influenced by ideological mechanisms which determine the translator’s operation, be it cultural, religious, political, etc. Certain texts are selected for translation; certain texts are rewritten for specific purposes; and certain translated texts might be promoted while others are discouraged. Those translation phenomena in a wider sociocultural context indicate that ideological choice penetrates during the translation practice. This mediation may alter the source text’s description of the world and convey a certain, altered interpretation of the event to target readers.

In the context of translation, power relations have played a role in investigating oppression or empowerment (Fischer and Nisbeth Jensen 2012), the empowerment of agent (Tymoczko 2007), and the relations between a powerful culture and a weak culture (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002), but the question of how power itself operates has rarely been considered in detail. Consequently, we lack a clear concept of the working mechanisms of power relations in the news translation process.

Fairclough (2014) claims the two major aspects of the power and language relationship are “power in discourse” and “power behind the discourse”. He argues that “power is exercised and enacted in discourse, and on the other hand that there are relations of power behind the discourse” (Fairclough 2014: 98). Power in discourse sees discourse as a place of power struggles while power behind the discourse focuses on social institutions or societies which embody power relations in so far as orders of discourse are shaped and constituted by power relations. Both forms of power strongly influence written or oral discourses, the process of the production of these discourses, the knowledge and beliefs of the discursive practices, and the relationship between discourses, processes and their social conditions. Therefore, this paper aims to provide a structured methodology for the study of news translation in China for a more detailed analysis of power relations behind the discourse in a news institutional setting to address the question of what kind of power relations can be illustrated in translated news discourse in and above an institutional setting.

Method and data collection

Informed by a view of news translation as both text and practice in its sociocultural context, this paper presents an integrated approach drawing on CDA and ethnography to explore translation as a product and a process, then focus on power relations behind the discourse.

Ethnography has been defined as “a holistic study of a particular culture, or community, and the aim is to attend to both text production as well as to the wider social context” (Koskinen 2008: 37). It provides a method for exploring the discourse practices of a particular group of people with the aim of learning their discursively constructed conceptual world. An ethnographic study of translational practices in institutions contributes to an explanation of human behaviour and human surroundings in more depth. Incorporating ethnography and CDA will enhance the effectiveness of sociocultural description. “Ethnography can be a useful accompaniment to research in both Critical Discourse Analysis and Translation Studies” (Schäffner 2012: 122).

According to CDA, language is an irreducible fact of social life and the dialectical relation of text and social reality is through social events (texts), social practices (orders of discourse) and social structure. In this field, text analysis views translation as a product created by initiators for target receivers to consume. Discursive analysis views translation as a process consisting of both a production procedure and the participants involved in this procedure. The sociocultural analysis is concerned with the power relations and ideology that exist in the translation practice. The three levels of analyses in the news making process are illustrated in the Figure below. Firstly, by applying text analysis the translation from ST to TT is analysed as to how an already framed news can be reframed in a different way. Secondly, the news-making practice is investigated through an ethnographic content analysis of interviews with the news agency personanel and analysis of the relevant in-house documents. Thirdly, the sociocultural practice is explored with focuses on analysis of the power relations within and above media in China. The Figure 1 shows how this three-level analysis will be theorised from the perspectives of product, process and power relations in news translation. This product-process-power model involves a linguistic description of the properties of translated text, interpretation of the discursive practice and explanation of the translation action in the society.

Basic to discussion of product and process of news making is a set of data in which translation is seen as a social action. The data consist of two parts – firstly, textual samples of news published in the newspapers to identify translation discrepancies between source and target texts; secondly, ethnographic field research allowing a rich focus on human interaction in the institution setting.

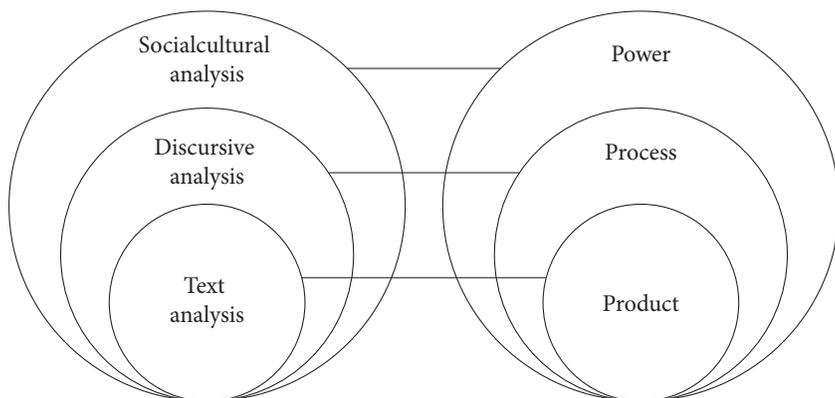


Figure 1. The conceptual framework for this study on news translation

In order to answer the research question, an appropriate amount of data was determined in accordance with a number of data selection criteria. Firstly, a sample of four months consecutive issues from 01 January 2012 to 30 April 2012 was selected with the total number of 6,954 news items published in *CKXX*. The newspaper is accessible to everyone and the source is clearly indicated. Secondly, the news collected was restricted to items with focuses on PRC-related issues, accounting for around 23.5 per cent of all the news in the period. Thirdly, translation from English to Chinese was analysed due to the fact that over 80 per cent of reports were from the English language sources. English to Chinese translation is representative of the translation behaviour of *CKXX*.

In the ethnographic fieldwork, the researcher conducted observations, interviews, and multiple-site research, with the permission of Department of Cankao Xiaoxi in the Xinhua News Agency and the assistance from its English team in September 2012. A total of nine informants (two editors, three news selectors, four translators) were arranged for the researcher to interview. Participants will be referenced anonymously hereafter. Three interviews were scheduled during participants' lunch break with 3–4 interviewees each time.

The researcher was also allowed to observe their working procedures and ask them any questions in the interviews that had arisen from the observation. Direct observation and interaction with members in the news institution setting helped to get inside their perspectives.

Analysis

This section firstly showcases samples of textual comparison between target Chinese texts published in CKXX and their corresponding source texts in English. Then this section is concerned with the institutional context by interviewing the news selectors, translators and editors.

- (1) ST: A casual visitor to Macao might be struck by the number of expensive watch shops along the streets of the former Portuguese enclave now under China's control.

(FT, 2012, February 6, China's capital flight looks ready for take-off)

TT: 在已回归中国的前葡萄牙殖民地澳门,如果你是一名偶尔到此一游的观光客,你可能会对街头鳞次栉比的名表店留下深刻印象。

(CKXX, 2012, February 7, 中国资本外逃暗潮汹涌, p. 5.)

Back-translation: In Macau, the former Portuguese colony now returned to China, if you are a casual visitor, you might be struck by the number of expensive watch shops along the streets.

- (2) ST: Fifteen years after Hong Kong was handed back to China, [...]

(The Telegraph, 2012, February 24, Mandarin overtakes English as Hong Kong's second language)

TT: 在香港回归中国15年之后, [...]

(CKXX, 2012, February 26, 普通话在香港超过英语, p. 8.)

Back-translation: Fifteen years after Hong Kong was returned to China, [...]

“Under China's control” in the first example and “handed back to China” in the second have been translated as “returned to China”. Even though the 1997 events in Hong Kong and the 1999 events in Macau were described as the handover of sovereignty in some non-Chinese media, the Chinese media would insist that they are the return to Chinese sovereignty or the return to the motherland. It is not just a “standard reference in Chinese” (Baker 2007: 157), this implies to encourage patriotism and a sense of national dignity and self-confidence.

The interviewed senior editor claimed that “editors need to fully understand the importance and necessity of learning, and to improve their political consciousness and political sensitivity. Editors need to fully comprehend the Party's regular position and latest comments on these issues. It is a political standpoint of the newspaper and translators must have a high degree of familiarity with, and consistency towards, the standards of party policies.”¹ The senior translators also acknowledged that the apprentice translators would need professional training on how to translate

1. Interview with senior newspaper editor A, Sept 2012.

such term into a politically correct expression and consistent with other party media at the apprenticeship stage.

- (3) ST: [...] it was important not to forget that China remains by far the world's biggest state executioner.

(AFP, 2012, March 27, Amnesty sees hope in China on death penalty)

TT: [.....] 但重要的是，不能忘记中国到目前为止仍是全球死刑执行最多的国家之一。

(CKXX, 2012, March 28,

中国舆论对死刑态度, p. 16.)

Back-translation: [...] but what was important was not to forget that China remains by far one the world's biggest state executioners.

The translation responses to a different statement, which transfers “China remains by far the world's biggest state executioners” in the source text to “one of the world's biggest state executioner”. The translation alters information to deviate from the source. Alteration may be of all these types: from news translators' judgement on the content of the source to their acceptance, refusal, and finally manipulation into a new product. The process of “reproducing” a ST depends not only on the news translator's subjectivity, but is also mediated by the mechanisms of individual institutions.

The interviewees claimed that any information that may spur anti-Chinese sentiment need to be dealt with care and the translated news cannot get published unchecked.² A junior translator's work will not be passed to an editor until a senior translator proofreads it.³ When an employee becomes fairly skillful in translation tasks, supervision on translation may not needed but editing is still compulsory before translation gets printed in the paper. As one interviewee revealed his experience in apprenticeship, “After a period of time, you gain a feeling for what the guidelines are, what (translation) is and is not acceptable. It will not be published anyway”⁴

That explains the application of self-censorship in their work. The ways in which professionals within the media conceive of themselves and the ways in which that conception has an impact upon the operations they inhabit may be seen as a form of self-censorship. They follow established and accepted patterns of working practices. Translators soon realise what the news selectors and editors are looking for, and usually they supply it. This willing acceptance means that the translators are willingly following a system that operates ideologically. The individual ideology

2. Interview with all participants, Sept 2012.

3. Interview with senior newspaper translator A, Sept 2012.

4. Interview with senior newspaper translator B, Sept 2012.

is overtaken by the collective ideology, which represents a set of ideas and beliefs. Media practitioners operate within those dominant ideas, beliefs, and values and, in so doing, are part of their dissemination.

Power relations in news translation

In the domain of news translation, understanding power as a motivating factor deepens the understanding of news production in cultural domains. News in the name of translation travelling through cultures results in reconceptualizations of ideology and power. To further understand the workings of power in translation and in culture, my analysis of power relations, by and large, is based on three components – immediate power, direct power, and indirect power. Immediate power involves firsthand intervention in producing translation products – to decide how to translate. It is exercised by the translators who work on various texts/news. Those with direct power do not make the final decision but justify what translators do or do not do. Direct power is often manipulated by news staff such as journalists or editors in the institution. Indirect power is contained in the tacit laws, guidelines or censorship regulations, and other forces driving practitioners to action in certain ways. It decides the reasons to translate.

The dimensions of power are shown in the Figure 2 as a visual hierarchy of power relations:

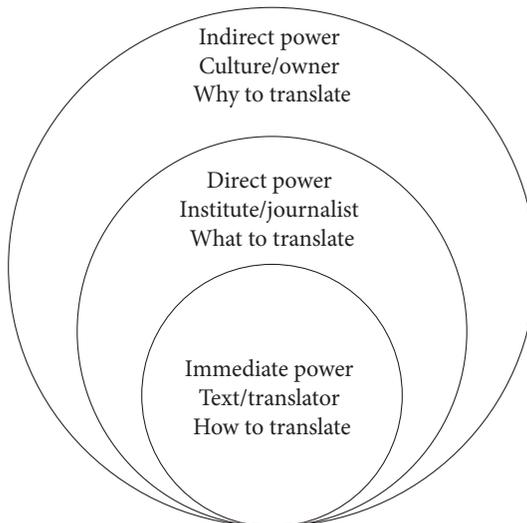


Figure 2. Network of power relations

Three important features of power relations in the complex hierarchical system are firstly, that the decision maker has a certain freedom of action at different hierarchical levels; secondly, that the lower level of a hierarchy is subjected to or manipulated by higher levels of a hierarchy; and thirdly, that power at the higher level is realised by lower levels of the hierarchy. Power stems from both external and internal sources. In some cases, external power may be transmitted into inside forces to exert control over the final product by managing and withholding information.

Significantly, as far as news translation is concerned, the hierarchy of power relations affords both macro and micro-analytical perspective on the realisation of manipulation in translation.

Immediate power

Immediate power in the news translation production process is exerted by exercising translation expertise to determine the way to reproduce the already framed source news in the target culture. Translators interpret meaning embedded in, and dependent on, the context of an event. The interpretation depends on the translator's decision. Such decisions relate to the text itself in which language is used and produced, to the context as to how the language varies with situations and across time, as well as to the translator's experience with translation briefings, commissions or expectations which influence his judgement. As can be observed, no in-house translator can be completely immune from the pressure of the power network. The interviewed translators were not reluctant to talk about how their translations are subject to editors' approval. They suspect these approvals were promoted by external powers, for good reasons. Sometimes translators believe themselves to be under frequent pressure as topics are censored and their practices are regulated. Censorship, for instance, will force translators to change or omit a story. In other words, translators face external pressures in an institutional context. In other cases, translators may not be aware that they are responding to pressure, nor do they feel the power under which they should be submissive. They are responding unconsciously. "Censorship is generally defined as killing or altering a story as a result of external pressure, whereas self-censorship is the conscious response to anticipated pressure from nonjournalists" (Gans 1979: 250). Censorship and self-censorship are difficult to distinguish. Conscious self-censorship leading to submit to the powers is always on the horizon. Self-censorship can also sometimes be unconscious. Studying external pressure presents empirical problems, but its influence is obvious and its outcome is evident. The response to pressures is viewed as an institutional requirement and also ideological. The primary threat for translators is a reduction of their autonomy.

Direct power

Direct power is not solely exercised on the actual translation product but can determine the translation agenda. It will decide what has to be done and what has not to be done. It is exercised by journalists/editors in the institution or governmental organisations.

Journalists'/editors' influence comes largely from their ability to determine what news enters the public stage, so analysing the parts of the source text that are present in the translated texts is equally important to studying the parts that are left out. Translated news tends to be presented in a way that exposes the process of selection and construction. The opinions and views in the news are carefully selected to project the values of representatives of major institutions.

Direct power may come from institutions or government bodies. The power of this institution resides in the influence that media exercise in the formation of public opinion to foster national identity and loyalty to the state. The power of the institution is meant to be, at its essence, an introduction to the power and influence that the government wields over the public. Government power is always executed in two ways. First, and probably most often, government officials give orders to media executives. Executives will relay the message to the editorial staff. Successful political pressure is so widespread that simple text analysis will reveal that journalists report the news more to the liking of officials. Powerful politicians can exert pressure through the institution's internal working system. News institutions are subject to all the forms of bureaucratic practice which have an impact on news selection and prediction. Government officials can try to bring pressure to bear on news selectors by demanding that news which they perceive to harm them is omitted or altered. The news workers usually choose to cooperate with the power to retain the power's good will. Their self-censorship leads to compliance with government requests. Many news workers and news institutions cooperate with the government in various ways to gain a competitive advantage in the search for news. Government officials have the ability to supply tips, stories and sometimes news on an exclusive basis. News institutions have been especially active in cooperation with the government. Above all, the politicians have greater and more executive power over the journalists. News institutions are used for political aims.

The other way to regulate news organisations rather than through individuals is by legal means. Government officials can put pressure on news selectors to omit or alter news even though they do not have advance information on what will be published in the news. They will write a memo or pass a new rule to the news institution. They have the political leverage to demand censorship and to install a new regulation on the media institution. The government that controls the media by means of political power has imposed various laws and regulations to restrict

media institutions' freedom of action and designated many areas as off-limits for public opinion. It has the power to filter the information the public have access to. The most powerful monitoring body is the Communist Party's Central Propaganda Department, lately officially calling itself the Publicity Department, which coordinates with other government bodies to ensure the media promotes party doctrines. It not only rigidly manages the content on its domestic radios, televisions, and newspapers, but also blocks undesirable websites including pornography, offensive websites, anti-China websites, Western news resources, some Taiwanese sites, etc.

An in-house translator has some freedom in choosing translation strategies and techniques to determine how to translate a text but may not have a choice whether to translate a text or not. A journalist, editor, or government official imposes media regulations or directs media outlets and individuals to force media practitioners to follow. These immediate and direct powers are obvious and tangible, but a more decisive power is exercised above the two which overrides everyone in the process.

Indirect power

Indirect power is at its most effective when least observable. This indirect power stems from the dominantly pervasive ideology in a culture and exhibits control over its audiences. Reviewing the translation product pays attention to the purpose of translation and the role it plays in the target culture. Instead of translating words, sentences or even texts, news translators manipulate a message through translation intending to fulfil a function in the target culture. The translation, thus, is being socially constructed rather than transferred. The socially constructed media industries are inherently equipped to reproducing dominant ideologies and political domination. Therefore, translating news in an institution articulates ideological resistance to external norms and ideological control to internal receivers at the same time.

The Chinese media must receive permission from the leadership before any information goes to the public. The media habitually conceal facts and consciously promote falsehoods, not reporting any news jeopardizing the Communist system in China. "The CCP subjects the press, including journals, publishing house, and official literary associations to stringent registration requirements" (Su 1994: 84). China's cultural ideology in the modern world can be framed in terms of how China has responded to the outside world, mainly the West. Content in the source text for many reasons may not be preserved after translation. Rather, the selected aspects of it will be reviewed as a new product in the construction of Chinese ideology. The purpose of ideological resistance is to exercise ideological control of the target audience.

Ideological control in China has theoretical origins. The Communist party holds a monopoly on state power. "In a Leninist state, public opinion is thus an essential instrument of political struggle. Its rigid control is indispensable" (Su 1994: 77). Under this control, contemporary media usually speak with one voice, albeit in subtly different tones to buttress the party's legitimacy. Newspapers especially party newspapers had the responsibilities to flag the main ideology and fight against contradictory opinions. *CKXX*, for example, was created in the wartime serving as the party's "eyes and ears". It has been under direct control of the Party's top leadership. The period between the establishment of the PRC and the economic reform of the 1980s in China saw the power of the CCP holding media as the party's propaganda organs.

In the post-Mao leadership shifts, ideology control changed from a leader molding public opinion to the state-party molding public opinion. China has consequently made "tumultuous attempts to move from dependence on Mao's charismatic and absolute power to some sort of a legal-rational system" (Lee 1994: 6). However, the legal system is not designed to be part of the separation of powers providing checks and balances, rather it tabled rule by law to legitimate a group of a party instead of one leader. The legitimacy of the Party is strengthened and public opinion is molded by this power.

The influences of indirect power are a taken-for-granted practice at the institution and gradually become part of the institutional culture. Media censorship, which brings the media under control by explicit rules and bureaucratic procedure, gradually becomes individual self-censorship. Governments can censor information by pressuring not only media outlets but also individuals. More importantly, there are a series of practices in place at *CKXX* that push media staff members to practise self-censorship. These include the established criteria of recruiting staff, the weekly political study and the threat of dismissal of staff. The translators' conscious self-censoring plays a vital role in the *CKXX* news making process. The translators' self-censorship is inherent in their working institution. A newly employed translating staff member will not get his/her translation printed without being proofread by a senior translator during his/her novitiate. The period of novitiate varies from three months to two years, depending on the new translator's adaptive ability. The proofreading not only polishes the translation draft, fixing typographical and grammatical errors, improving translated expressions, or ensuring consistency of individual texts and the whole document, but also intentionally mediates a text. There is an intangible policy firewall for source news selection, translation and editing, which ensures the political "correctness" of the translated news texts.

The process of practising censorship, however, implicit and hidden, is inevitably enmeshed in conditions of power. *CKXX* as a state-run newspaper supervised by Xinhua News Agency serves as an official mouthpiece of the Party. All the news

translators locate their translation practice at the heights of power. Any seemingly unconscious process or deliberate intentions evident in the divergent discourse of the target texts reveals the translators' and/or the institution's beliefs and values, which are consistent with the beliefs and values of the State. This is particularly true when the discourse in relation to ideology in the source news texts violates the beliefs and values of the State.

In summary, the power relations illustrate that behind the systematic choice in the translated text, the use of lexico-grammatical and syntactic features is under the manipulation of various powers. The translator's motivation must be viewed within its social embedding, of which the overriding regulation is an important concomitant. It concerns the motivation behind any lexico-grammatical or structural changes made by the translators and the contributors to such changes. But the workings of power are not simply "top down". Translation can be mobilized for counter discourses and subversion, or for any number of mediating positions in between. The utility of individual, media and state in sustaining unequal power relations in society is rather more complex and varied than this structure suggests.

For many there is nothing new about the justification of individual subjectivity or media independence in issues of media and inequality or discussion of power in society altogether. However, it is not the intention of this paper to provide further evidence of these effects.

Conclusion

Incorporating an ethnographic approach to the critical discourse analysis of news translation, this empirical study explores who is doing the translation, how it is done, and how it is situated in its historical, social, and cultural context. An analytical framework for critical news translation research has been developed, moving beyond the text into the context of the production and interpretation of the text. This research examines the textual manipulation and framing patterns of source news, as well as considering possible contextual factors that might contribute to the production of news in the target language. The data have led to the conclusion that the translated texts articulate very clearly the beliefs of the translators or the institution supporting the translation, rather than only those of the original producers of the news in the source language. Explicit connections drawn between the properties of text and power will then raise awareness about the impact of manipulation among people who produce and interpret those texts.

At the theoretical level, this study established a product-process-power model for analysing news translation from a sociological perspective. This model inherited from discourse analysis and translation studies the concept that text must be

analysed in context. The analysis included linguistic description of the translated product, interpretation of the process of discursive practices, and explanation of the power relations behind translation action in the society.

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Translating puns in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

A relevance-theoretic approach to (un)translatability

Samantha Zhan Xu
The University of Sydney

This paper takes a pragmatic perspective and draws upon a relevance-theoretic approach to examine how the issue of (un)translatability is addressed in English to Chinese translation, based on three Chinese translations of the English classic *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* taken from three significant periods in China's contemporary literary and socio-economic history. Pun emerges in the novel, which has been renowned for its "impossibility" to be translated, as the most outstanding type of (un)translatability. A successful translation under the relevance-theoretic framework, which views translation as a communicative act, calls for an interpretive resemblance between source text and target text rather than equivalence (Sperber and Wilson 1986; Gutt 1991, 2014). This paper takes the translation of puns in *Alice in Wonderland*, as a case study, and employs Delabastita's (1996) typology of puns and translation methods to analyse and contrast the three translators' strategies. By assessing the degree of relevance achieved in the three translations and to what extent the new relevance resembles the original one, this study finds that the translators show different patterns in their approaches towards (un)translatability. The socio-cultural environments and the translators' own subjectivity are found to be major contributive factors in communicating what's deemed relevant to the target text audience.

Keywords: relevance theory, (un)translatability, pun, English Chinese translation, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

Introduction

The novel *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (commonly abbreviated to *Alice in Wonderland*), written by an English writer Lewis Carroll (the pseudonym of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson), has won a worldwide reputation among both children and adults since its first publication in 1865, despite the author's original intention of

entertaining three specific young children. The book has long been considered untranslatable (Rickard 1975) because of the plentiful word games, poems, allusions and parodies, the equivalents of which are not readily available in another language. The untranslatability itself, nevertheless, motivates translators to formulate their own strategies and arrive at different solutions demonstrating the translator's individuality. The enduring magnetism of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* has also sparked off numerous Chinese translations since its earliest translated version in 1922 by Yuen Ren Chao.

This paper takes a diachronic perspective by taking translations from three significant periods in China's contemporary literary and socio-economic history under investigation, namely Yuen Ren Chao's *Alisi manyou qijing ji* 《阿丽思漫游奇境记》 (Carroll 2002) from the New Culture Movement of the early 20th century, Chen Fu'an's *Alisi manyou qijing ji* 《阿丽丝漫游奇境记》 (Carroll 1981) published in 1981, immediately after the Cultural Revolution and the introduction of China's reform and opening-up policy, and Leng Shan's *Ailisi mengyou xianjing* 《爱丽丝梦游仙境》 (Carroll 2010) published in 2010 to coincide with the Disney movie release.

The three versions have been well received by scholars or readers for some of their features. The multiple reprints of Chao and Chen's translations speak for themselves. Chao's translation of *Alice* remained singular in China for 59 years, mainly for its "linguistic, metalinguistic, and literary art recreation of *Alice* and reconstruction of a wonderland" (Feng 2009: 242) in China, therefore, many scholarly articles have built their studies chiefly on Chao's translation (e.g. Feng 2009; Hu 2010; Zhang 2017). The hallmark of Chen's translation is its interleaved diglot setup, which provides side-by-side comparison between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT). It distinguishes itself from Chao's and Leng Shan's monoglot setup and offers readers easy access to the English original. Additionally, it provides footnotes at the bottom of the ST page which clarify meanings of some English expressions. Being the most contemporary translation among the three, Leng's translation has been praised by the media for its full coverage of every aspect of *Alice in Wonderland* by including abundant comments, annotations and illustrations, and also has the most exquisite, artistic design with a high quality of coloured printing. Leng's version has not been used in previous research into the translations of this novel.

Previous research that situated (un)translatability within the relevance-theoretic framework (Jing 2010; Xu and Gong 2012) recognised that searching for an interpretive resemblance rather than equivalence permits translations flexibility and have provided examples of how translations of some linguistically or culturally (un)translatable instances are relevant to the TT readers. However, the emphasis of relevance theory, being cognition-based, is on the communication or inferential

process rather than the product. Without analysing the phases during which interpretations and assumptions occur or reconstructing the translating process, one cannot expect to fully discuss the relevance building of a translation. Previous research also applied relevance theory to understanding pun translation (Díaz-Pérez 2014; Jing 2010). However, their focus was on the translation methods of puns. There was no emphasis on the translator's subjective role in the process.

Therefore, this paper draws upon a relevance-theoretic approach to examine how the issue of (un)translatability is addressed in English to Chinese translation. It takes the translation of puns, the most frequent type of (un)translatable instances in *Alice in Wonderland*, as a case study, and employs Delabastita's (1996) typology of puns and translation methods to analyse and contrast the three translators' strategies. By assessing the degree of relevance achieved in the three translations and to what extent the new relevance resembles the original one, this study finds that the translators show different patterns in their approaches towards (un)translatability. The socio-cultural environments and the translators' own subjectivity, including their individual interpretations and assumptions as well as their creativity and capability, are found to be major contributive factors in communicating what's deemed relevant to the TT audience.

The (un)translatable pun

According to the *Oxford Dictionary of English (3rd edition)*, a pun is “a joke exploiting the different possible meanings of a word or the fact that there are words which sound alike but have different meanings”. It means that polysemes (one word with multiple meanings) and homonyms (multiple words sharing the same/similar sound) are utilised to create a humorous effect. Pun is “the general name for the various textual phenomena in which structural features of the language(s) used are exploited in order to bring about a communicatively significant confrontation of two (or more) linguistic structures with more or less similar forms and more or less different meanings” (Delabastita 1996: 128). It is agreed that puns exploit the form of language in order to perform certain communicative functions.

The playful use of language harnesses the intrinsic and unique features of language itself and thus has been traditionally viewed as absolutely untranslatable. Discussions of pun translation have been largely revolving around its (un)translatability (see Delabastita 1993: 173–177 for an anthology of quotes on the untranslatability of wordplay) for the evident difficulty in identifying the same pair of polysemes or homonyms in the other language, especially between languages of different families and cultures, for instance, English and Chinese. Delabastita (1993: 231–247) also notes that the chances of finding a congenial TT pun are

relatively higher if the source language and the target language are historically or typologically related.

Translatability and untranslatability have long been regarded as an irreconcilable pair of stances in regard to the possibility of a given text being translated into another language. As early as in 1792, the German linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt, hypothesised that despite all structural differences, all languages have the potential to express linguistically each and every reality, “including those beyond the scope of their socio-cultural experience” (as cited in Wilss 1982/2001: 36). Later scholars like Roman Jakobson and Eugene Nida also acknowledge the equal ability of different languages to express the same message, based on the logical thinking pattern shared by humans and the language universals shared across languages (Jakobson 1959/2000; Nida 1964; Nida and Taber 1969). Nonetheless, the translating difficulties that arise when the linguistic signs themselves instead of their meanings become the essence are also recognised by both scholars. For Jakobson, the pun and poetry are “by definition” untranslatable (1959/2000: 118). Nida and Taber state that “anything that can be said in one language can be said in another, unless the form is an essential element of the message” (1969: 4), thus indicating the non-transferrable nature of the signification of the form of language. These coincide with what is defined as linguistic untranslatability by Catford (1965).

Catford’s (1965) division between linguistic and cultural untranslatability, based on whether the untranslatability flows from the gap between source language (SL) and target language (TL) in linguistics or in cultures, is influential in the discussions of translatability (e.g. de Pedro Ricoy 1999; Ptaszyński 2004; Xu and Gong 2012; Delabastita 1993). Puns, according to Catford, fall within the category of linguistic untranslatability which arises “typically in cases where an ambiguity peculiar to the SL text is a functionally relevant feature” (Catford 1965: 94) and is more absolute.

However, whatever challenges a translator may face in translating puns, the translation gets done in one way or another. The issue of (un)translatability only exists after the translation process is initiated. “Translations of punning texts do exist, so that the translatability of puns and texts can be (and has to be) accepted as a matter of fact” (Delabastita 1993: 172). Hence the debate is taking place because punning or other (un)translatable utterances tend to resist certain kinds of translation that fail to be regarded as translation equivalence. No such utterance is absolutely untranslatable or impossible to be translated. Rather, untranslatability is a magnified notion that describes the high degree of complexity that occurs in the translating process. This is one reason that the prefix “un-” is put in parentheses in the term (un)translatability or (un)translatable throughout this paper in order to show its inexactness, unless the term is used with the intention to refer to a sheer impossibility at some points.

The relevance-theoretic account of translation and (un)translatability

Relevance theory, proposed by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson, was intended to present a new approach to the study of human communication in the field of cognitive science. It “sees communication as crucially depending on inferential processes”; and communication is the result of “the interplay between the context, or the cognitive environment of an utterance and the processing effort required to infer meaning from that utterance” (Palumbo 2009: 100). Gutt (1991) developed relevance theory in translation studies and argues that translation, as communication, achieves optimal relevance if it enables the TT readers to experience similar processing and inferential effort as the ST readers.

In translation, a communicative act, the translator works as communicator who communicates their informative intention, i.e. the individual interpretations of the ST, to the TT audience. In order for communication to be successful, translators should take into account the context of the TT audience by making their assumptions and comparing those assumptions to the interpreted context of the ST audience. Where there are variations, the translator may have to furnish the TT audience with the contextual information that the ST readers would have used for interpretation, so as to provide a highly relevant translation by reducing the processing effort required from the TT audience.

Relevance theory views translating, aiming at faithfully expressing the thoughts of the original author in SL into TL, as an interlingual interpretive use of language (Gutt 1991, 2014). The translation is only required to resemble the ST rather than to be the equivalent. The use of the term “interpretive resemblance” (Gutt 2014: 36) broadens the range of what can be counted as a translation. Further, aiming at resembling instead of being identical to the ST implies the inexistence of absolute untranslatability under the framework of relevance theory, as one-to-one equivalents are not sought in translation. This is another reason why the prefix “un-” is parenthesised in the term (un)translatability and (un)translatable, in addition to the acceptance of non-fully-equivalent translation as a matter of fact discussed in the previous section.

The context in relevance theory refers to “assumptions about the world” or “cognitive environment” (Gutt 2014: 27). The context or cognitive environment of a person covers a great amount of information, which can be the preceding information underpinning the communication act, the knowledge that a person possesses in any area. Of course, the cognitive environment varies between any two people. However, the general assumptions about the world shared by people with the same language and social background at a particular time should have much in common.

Contextual effects refer to the modifications, preferably improvements, deriving from the contextual assumptions that people have brought to the communication act. A communication act that is consistent with the principle of relevance should satisfy two requirements: (1) it should yield adequate contextual effects; (2) it should not result in unjustifiable processing effort from the hearer to arrive at the contextual effects (Gutt 2014: 32). Hence the ideal translation would be one that offers the same contextual benefits to the TT audience as the ST offers to the ST audience, without causing increase in the processing effort from the TT audience to obtain the same contextual benefits as the processing effort required from the ST audience.

It is probably universally agreed that a literary text, such as *Alice in Wonderland*, enjoys popularity and interest not only because of what it conveys but largely because of how it conveys – its “stylistic dimensions”. Preserving the stylistic properties of texts is of particular interest to theorists in literary translation. When playful use of language is important in certain works, their translation tends to give priority to other kinds of resemblances rather than semantic resemblance (Gutt 2014). *Alice in Wonderland* is exactly the kind of literature that features playful use of language. In addition to its semantics, the stylistic features such as the use of puns are also the primary concern in translation and are part of what should be translated or communicated.

Puns in *Alice in Wonderland* and translation methods

In analysing the puns from *Alice in Wonderland*, this paper adopts Delabastita’s typology of puns in terms of “complete or partial formal identity” of contrastive linguistic structures, i.e. homonymy (identical sounds and spelling), homophony (identical sounds but different spellings), homography (different sounds but identical spelling) and paronymy (there are slight differences in both spelling and sound) (Delabastita 1993: 81). Table 1 shows the different types of puns in the novel. Paronymy seems to outnumber other types. However, the 13 paronymies from No. 11 to 23 appear in a few consecutive paragraphs in Chapter 9 to mimic the sounds of real course names, such as reading and writing (see Table 1 for more details). Considering the distribution throughout the novel, homonymy is the most frequent type followed by homophony. Homographic puns are not used by Carroll.

Table 1. Puns in *Alice in Wonderland*

| No. | Homonymy | No. | Homophony | No. | Paronymy |
|-----|--------------------|-----|---------------------------|-----|---|
| 1 | dry (Ch 3) | 2 | tale/tail (Ch 3) | 11 | reeling/reading (Ch 9) |
| 5 | time (Ch 7) | 3 | not/knot (Ch 3) | 12 | writhing/writing (Ch 9) |
| 6 | draw (Ch 7) | 4 | axis/axes (Ch 6) | 13 | ambition/addition (Ch 9) |
| 7 | well (Ch 7) | 10 | tortoise/taught us (Ch 9) | 14 | distraction/subtraction (Ch 9) |
| 8 | bite (Ch 9) | 24 | lesson/lessen (Ch 9) | 15 | uglification/multiplication (Ch 9) |
| 9 | mine (Ch 9) | | | 16 | derision/division (Ch 9) |
| 25 | whiting (Ch 10) | | | 17 | mystery/history (Ch 9) |
| 26 | soles (Ch 10) | | | 18 | seaography/geography (Ch 9) |
| 29 | tea/T (Ch 11) | | | 19 | drawling/drawing (Ch 9) |
| 30 | poor (Ch 11) | | | 20 | stretching/sketching (Ch 9) |
| 31 | stand down (Ch 11) | | | 21 | fainting in coils/painting in oils (Ch 9) |
| 32 | fit (Ch 12) | | | 22 | laughing/Latin (Ch 9) |
| | | | | 23 | grief/Greek (Ch 9) |
| | | | | 27 | eels/heels (Ch 10) |
| | | | | 28 | porpoise/purpose (Ch 10) |

Notes.

1. The numbering follows their sequence of appearance in the novel.
2. Ch is an abbreviation for chapter.

Delabastita denies the untranslatability of puns and proposes a wide range of translation methods that are available to translators (Delabastita 1996: 128). Slight variations have been made for the sake of analysis in this study:

- Pun→Pun: the ST pun is substituted by a TL pun, which may be more or less different from the original wordplay in terms of formal structure, semantic structure, or textual function;
- Pun→Non-Pun: the pun is translated into a non-punning phrase which may salvage both senses of the wordplay but in a non-punning conjunction, or select one of the senses at the cost of suppressing the other;
- Pun→Related Rhetorical Device: the pun is replaced by some wordplay-related rhetorical device (repetition, alliteration, rhyme, referential vagueness, irony, paradox, etc.) which aims to recapture the effect of the ST pun;
- Pun→Zero: the portion of text containing the pun is simply omitted;
- Pun ST = Pun TT: the source-text pun and possibly its immediate environment is reproduced in its original formulation;
- Zero→Pun/Related Rhetorical Device: totally new textual material is added, which contains wordplay or a wordplay-related rhetorical device, and which has no apparent precedent or justification in the ST except as a compensatory device;

- Editorial Techniques: explanatory footnotes or endnotes, comments provided in translators' forewords, the 'anthological' presentation of different, supposedly complementary solutions to one and the same ST problem, and so forth.

Table 2 shows a summary of translation methods used by Yuen Ren Chao, Chen Fu'an and Leng Shan. Details of the three translations and methods used can be found in the Appendix.

Table 2. Summary of translation methods used by Yuen Ren Chao, Chen Fu'an and Leng Shan

| Translation method | Chao | Chen | Leng |
|--------------------------------|------|------|------|
| Pun→Pun | 25 | 5 | 17 |
| Pun→Non-Pun | 5 | 27 | 14 |
| Pun→Related Rhetorical Device | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| Pun ST = Pun TT | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Zero→Related Rhetorical Device | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Footnotes | 0 | 31* | 25 |

* Chen and Leng use one explanatory footnote for puns 11–23 which are extracted from one piece of meaningful conversation. They do the same for puns 26 and 27.

Pun→Pun and *Pun→Non-Pun* are found to be the principal methods. Chao's translation seeks to retain the punning effects of ST and substitutes 25 of the 32 ST puns with a Chinese pun. Chen suppresses 27 puns in his translation and renders them in non-punning texts. He uses editorial techniques of footnotes to 31 of them. Leng makes a roughly balanced choice between the two methods by translating 17 of them into puns and 14 into non-puns. The 12 footnotes that he uses to explain the punch line cover 25 puns.

As Delabastita (1996) indicates, all the methods can be combined in different ways to form a more sophisticated solution to a specific pun. For translating puns in *Alice*, footnotes appear in Chen and Leng's translations always as complementary techniques and are never used on their own. Chao, after rendering a case of homonymy with non-punning texts, makes up for a suppressed meaning on the next page by adding absolutely new texts which contain a simile (see No. 1 in the Appendix). The technique *Pun ST = Pun TT* is seldom used given that it is usually hard to keep the original formulation in a non-alphabetic language like Chinese. However, Leng uses it once as a complementary technique by parenthesisising the original homophonic words following their non-punning Chinese translations (see No. 2 in the Appendix).

Case study

Here a sample case of paronymy and the three translations are used to illustrate the different interpretations and assumptions made by the three translators and the level of resemblance and relevance achieved respectively.

| | Translation method |
|---|---|
| <p>'I couldn't afford to learn it,' said the Mock Turtle with a sigh. 'I only took the regular course.'</p> <p>'What was that?' inquired Alice.</p> <p>'Reeling and Writhing, of course, to begin with,' the Mock Turtle replied; 'and then the different branches of Arithmetic – Ambition, Distraction, Uglification, and Derision.'</p> | |
| <p>Chao 那素甲鱼道,“唉,我实在是学不起。我就只有力量学了普通科。”阿丽思道,“那里头有什么呢?”</p> <p>那素甲鱼答道,“‘练浮’和‘泻滞’;此外就是各门的算术——‘夹术’,‘钳术’,‘沉术’和‘丑术’。”</p> <p>English back-translation:</p> <p>The Vegetarian Turtle said, “Alas, I really couldn't afford to study. I only had the ability to take the regular course.”</p> <p>Alice said, “What was in the regular course?”</p> <p>The Vegetarian Turtle replied, “‘Practising floating’, ‘Pouring and obstructing’; besides, there are all branches of Arithmetic – ‘Clipping technique’, ‘Clamping technique’, ‘Sinking technique’ and ‘Uglifying technique’.”</p> | Pun→Pun (paronymy) |
| <p>Chen ST Footnote:</p> <p>文字游戏。作者在假海龟学的课目中用的都是双关语。Reeling(旋转)和writhing(扭动)是由谐音词reading(读)和writing(写)变来的,风趣地描绘了海生动物的姿态。同样:addition(加法)——ambition(野心); subtraction(减法)——distraction(狂乱); multiplication(乘法)——Uglification(丑化); division(除法)——derision(嘲笑); history(历史)——mystery(秘史); geography(地理)——Seaography(“海理”); drawing(绘画)——drowling(拖声); sketching(素描)——stretching(伸懒腰); painting in oils(油画)——fainting in coils(绕圈儿昏倒); Latin(拉丁文)——laughing(大笑); Greek(希腊文)——grief(伤心)。</p> | <p>“我学不起,”假海龟叹口气说,“我只学普通课目。”</p> <p>“那是什么?”爱丽丝问道。</p> <p>“当然先是学旋转和扭动,”假海龟答道,“而后再学习各门算术——野心、狂乱、丑化和嘲笑。”</p> <p>Pun→Non-Pun + Footnote</p> |

English back-translation:

A wordplay. What the author uses in the names of subjects that the Mock Turtle learns are puns. Reeling and writhing are derived from their homophones, reading and writing, and they interestingly depict the movements of sea animals. Similarly, addition-ambition; subtraction-distraction; multiplication – Uglification; division-derision; history-mystery; geography-Seaography; drawing-drowling; sketching-stretching; painting in oils-fainting in coils; Latin-laughing; Greek-grief.

English back-translation:

“I couldn’t afford the study,” the Mock Turtle sighed and said, “I only studied the regular courses.”
 “What was that?” asked Alice.
 “Of course we first learned Reeling and Writhing,” replied the Mock Turtle, “then we learned different branches of Arithmetic – Ambition, Frenzy, Uglification and Mocking.”

| | | |
|------|--|--|
| Leng | <p>“我还学不起呢，”素甲鱼叹了一口气说，“我只学了正课。”</p> <p>“正课是什么呢？”爱丽丝问道。</p> <p>“开始当然先学‘毒’和‘泻’，”素甲鱼回答说，“然后我们就学各门算术：假发、剪发、丑法、厨法。”¹</p> <p>1 英文原文中用了与课程形似的词，比如说读用了reeling，而正确的是reading；所以这里的译文采用了读音相似的词语来表示课程。它们分别是：读、写、加法、减法、乘法和除法。同样后面的读音相似词语有栗柿——历史，地梨——地理，灰花——绘画，水菜花——水彩画，素苗花——素描画，拉钉子——拉丁字，洗腊子——希腊字。</p> <p>English back-translation:</p> <p>“I couldn’t afford the study,” the Vegetarian Turtle said with a sigh, “I only learned the main course.”</p> <p>“What was the main course?” asked Alice.</p> <p>“To begin with, of course, ‘Poison’ and ‘Pouring’” the Mock Turtle replied, “then we learned various branches of Arithmetic – Wig, Cutting hair, Uglification and Cooking methods.”¹</p> <p>¹ The English original uses the words the spellings of which are similar to the course names. For example, reeling, should be reading instead. Therefore, the Chinese translation here chose the phrases that sound similar to the course names. They are: reading, writing, addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. Similarly, in later paragraphs, there are also a few phrases that are of similar sounds, chestnut and persimmon (<i>lì shì</i>) – history (<i>lìshǐ</i>), water chestnut (<i>dīlǐ</i>) – geography (<i>dìlǐ</i>), grey flower (<i>huī huā</i>) – drawing (<i>huìhuà</i>), Ottelia cordata (<i>shuǐcǎihuā</i>) – watercolour painting (<i>shuǐcǎihuà</i>), vegetarian seedling flower (<i>sù miáo huā</i>) – sketching (<i>sùmiáo huà</i>), pulling nails (<i>lā dīngzi</i>) – Latin word (<i>Lādīng zi</i>), and washing wax (<i>xǐ là zi</i>) – Greek word (<i>Xilà zi</i>).</p> | <p>Pun→Pun (paronymy) + Footnote</p> |
|------|--|--|

The puns in this case (see puns No. 11–16 in the Appendix) are the names of courses taken by the Mock Turtle in school, which include reeling, writhing, ambition, distraction, uglification, and derision. The author uses words of similar spelling and sound to real course names, i.e. reading, writing, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, to create a nonsense effect in Alice's imaginary world. However, understanding a pun doesn't naturally result in a relevant translation.

Puns are a must-be-translated stylistic feature in a relevance-theoretic framework. Gutt (2014) uses the term 'semantic representations' to refer to mental representations produced by the language, in other words, concepts in mind represented by words. Any concept in the human mind is associated with different entries (Sperber and Wilson 1986). When interpreting the puns, their semantic representation can be examined in logical entries and encyclopaedia entries. The logical entry contains information essential to a concept which tends to be true regardless of context. The encyclopaedia entry stores information incidental to the concept, which varies depending on the context. In this case the usually permanent logical entry contains the information that the words *reeling*, *writhing*, *ambition*, *distraction*, *uglification* and *derision* have similar pronunciations to *reading*, *writing*, *addition*, *subtraction*, *multiplication* and *division*. The logical entry makes sense within the context of the encyclopaedia strand of information in which Alice and the Mock Turtle are discussing the courses offered in school. The connection between the imaginary and the real course names is exclusive to the ST readers, who are equipped with both the logical and encyclopaedia entries. By contrast, the Chinese audience can never achieve relevance between the literal translations of the fictional course names and those of real courses due to the absence of an equivalent logical entry in Chinese, which must be compensated for by the translator if communicative relevance is ever to be built.

Chen Fu'an retains the literal meanings of those nonsense course names, which cannot be associated with their real names by the Chinese audience. The footnote comes in and provides the audience with the logical entry required to build the connection. However, by having the footnote inserted in the English original, Chen's translation causes a significant increase in the processing effort because the information is not available for comprehension unless enormous processing effort is spent searching for the logical entry.

Yuen Ren Chao interprets the two strands of information well and creates a new set of puns in his translation, i.e. 练浮 (*liàn fú*; practicing floating) vs. 念书 (*niànshū*; reading), 泻滞 (*xiè zhì*; pouring and obstructing) vs. 写字 (*xiě zì*; writing), 夹术 (*jiā shù*; clipping technique) vs. 加术 (*jiā shù*; addition), 钳术 (*qián shù*; clamping technique) vs. 减术 (*jiǎnshù*; subtraction), 沉术 (*chén shù*; sinking technique) vs. 乘术 (*chéngshù*; multiplication) and 丑术 (*chǒu shù*; uglifying technique) vs. 除术

(*chúshù*; division). The translation offers its own set of logical entry (the existence of Chinese paronymy) which can be processed painlessly by the TT audience with a similar encyclopaedia entry. The inferential process experienced by the TT audience is not identical to that by the ST audience but similar. Relevance is achieved with minimum processing effort. Chao in this case makes accurate interpretations and assumptions. However, the relevance is achieved at the expense of semantic resemblance, because the semantics of the original words are totally transformed in the translation.

Similarly, Leng Shan also creates new puns in Chinese by translating the course names as punning phrases, i.e. 毒 (*dú*; poison) vs. 读 (*dú*; reading), 泻 (*xiè*; pouring) vs. 写 (*xiě*; writing), 假发 (*jiǎfà*; wig) vs. 加法 (*jiāfà*; addition), 剪发 (*jiǎnfà*; cutting hair) vs. 减法 (*jiǎnfà*; subtraction), 丑法 (*chǒu fǎ*; uglification) vs. 乘法 (*chéngfǎ*; multiplication) and 厨法 (*chú fǎ*; cooking methods) vs. 除法 (*chúfǎ*; division). The similarity in pronunciation between the translated phrases and the real Chinese course names is stored in the logical entry. The encyclopaedia entry remains as the discussions between Alice and the Mock Turtle about the school courses. Bringing the two entries together, the Chinese readers should easily get the inference about the intended nonsense effect of those course names, and relevance is achieved in Leng's translation also at the expense of semantic resemblance.

Chao and Leng both consider the contextual backgrounds of their target TT audience. Their translations demand similar level of processing effort and achieves a similar level of stylistic resemblance. Nevertheless, Leng's footnote which explains the specific puns does greatly increase the relevance and requires only a slight increase of processing effort from the TT readers.

Discussion

Analyses in the previous sections reveal that the three translators, Yuen Ren Chao, Chen Fu'an and Leng Shan, show different patterns in their choices of tackling the (un)translatability of puns, and the type of resemblance and degree of relevance achieved varies. The building of relevance in the translating process involves the interplay of several factors that are considered in the translators' interpretations and assumptions: the identification of the (un)translatable pun, the context of the ST audience, the context of the TT audience, the processing effort required from the ST audience, the processing effort required from the TT audience, and lastly the type of resemblance between ST and TT. A successful translation of puns calls for an interpretive resemblance that can be of varying degrees and types, such as the resemblance in semantics and stylistic properties. The choice lies with the translator's interpretations of what the communicative clues are.

Consequently, the translation product is largely subject to the translator's individual interpretations and individual assumptions, which are likely to vary significantly. Given a highly TT audience-relevant translation, it can be assumed that the translator in question has made rather accurate assumptions about the cognitive environment and expectations of the TT audience. However, no matter how informed they might be, a translator has no direct access to the cognitive environment of the TT audience, and thus what they do is to make such interpretations and assumptions according to what is believed to be common and relevant among the potential receptor audience, such as the logical, encyclopaedia and linguistic information of a concept that is usually shared by people within a given culture and at a given time. Their decision-making is largely based on their own set of knowledge and perception of the world, which is highly determined by the socio-cultural environment they live in and their personal life experience. Thus "socio-cultural concerns", while not emphasised in the relevance-theoretical account, are not denied, but are naturally considered important "contextual factors" in relevance theory (Gutt 2014: 225). These socio-cultural concerns may involve politics, ideology, society, culture, ethics, morality, religion, and so on. In this sense, translation is a subjective activity which is highly dependent on the individual translator as well as a dynamic activity that should be contextualised at a specific time and culture. Therefore, the translating or communicative process cannot be reconstructed without discussing the individual translator's background or situating the translations in the relevant socio-cultural context. Such information is partly derived from the paratextual material, such as the cover design, blurb, introduction, and translator's preface, afterword and notes, which "serves ostensibly to explain, elaborate and justify the core text" (Pellat 2017: 167). In the case of a translated text, the paratext exposes some valuable information pertinent to the translator's motivations, difficulties and strategies as well as the publishing practice of a translated work.

Yuen Ren Chao

Yuen Ren Chao, being a world-renowned linguist, phonologist, composer, author and scholar (Levenson 1977), is best known for his modern works in Chinese phonology and grammar. Chao possessed an unrivalled natural gift in languages, and was believed to have mastered 33 Chinese dialects in his life and to be able to speak multiple foreign languages including English, French, German, Japanese and Spanish (Wu 2011). It is hard not to notice that in both Yuen Ren Chao's autobiography and his own preface to the translated *Alice in Wonderland*, as well as in the descriptions of him from other sources, the pursuit of fun was highlighted in describing his attitude to language study and use. Due to this, Chao's aim for translating is to bring out the fun elements, rather than providing a bland

Chinese version with semantic correspondence. In most of his attempts at resolving (un)translatability, Chao shows his aims and talents along this line, making a TT pun similar to the ST wherever possible. The semantic resemblance to ST in Chao's translation may be questioned by many who hold a traditional view of assessing translation quality by its linguistic correspondence. However, in the relevance-theoretic approach, translating as interpretive use of language allows for the existence of numerous versions of translations, and the interest of scholars goes beyond the 'what' to the 'how' a writer writes. Most of Chao's solutions to puns are found to highly resemble the ST in terms of their stylistic dimensions. His translation has high aesthetic values and became a benchmark against which subsequent translations are judged.

In the New Culture Movement in mid 1910s and 1920s, a call for written vernacular Chinese to replace classical Chinese in literature arose, because classical Chinese, as the written language prior to the Movement, was only accessible by scholars and officials. Young people who were exposed to both classical education and Western thinking such as Hu Shih, Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao sought to build a new culture conforming to global standards and appealed mainly for democracy and science. Yuen Ren Chao's use of vernacular Chinese to translate *Alice in Wonderland* was an explicit way of supporting the New Culture Movement. This choice is explained and justified in the preface to his translation (Carroll 2002: 110–114). Chao states three reasons. Firstly, without the use of vernacular Chinese, it would have been difficult for the translation to be vivid and expressive, whereas with its use, the translation could reach a larger audience. Secondly, the use of pronouns he, she, it and they had been distinguished in Chinese only two years before the completion of the translation. Prior to that, the translation of those pronouns had been impossible. Liu Bannong, a poet and linguist, was considered to have coined the Chinese feminine pronoun 她 (*tā*; she) which he made use of in his poems written in vernacular Chinese. Thirdly, Chao believes that it is neither challenging nor fun if the nonsense poems in *Alice in Wonderland* are translated into prose or classical Chinese poems. It is obvious that Yuen Ren Chao truly believed that he gained benefits from the use of vernacular Chinese in translating *Alice in Wonderland* and the use of modern language was driven by both his personal belief and the language and socio-cultural movement at that time. Chao's translation was published in the early wave of reform measures implemented by the Commercial Press in response to the New Culture Movement (Ning 2004)

Considering the fact that Yuen Ren Chao was the first one to translate this book, he did not have access to the many resources about this novel that are available to us today, and all later translators consult his translation. His translation is a classic, and his success has not been replicated or surpassed. However, Yuen Ren Chao's translation was completed in the 1920s, when modern Chinese was only beginning

to flourish in formal writing, and the Chinese language has evolved during the past nine decades, therefore some of his word choices have fallen out of fashion and are less accessible by today's readers.

Chen Fu'an

Chen Fu'an was a professor at the University of International Relations who went through China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), a dark time in China for linguistic and cultural exchanges. Chen was mentioned as being a productive translator of Russian. Graduating only from high school, he had been the only professor in the university that did not possess a university qualification. However, with diligence, Chen taught himself English, French and Spanish (Sun 2010).

Translation practice for the public was almost brought to a halt during the Cultural Revolution, with only a small number of “progressive” or “revolutionary” works being permitted to be published. After the end of the Revolution, especially after the reform and opening-up policy introduced in 1978, translation practice resumed and prospered with the aim of introducing Western thinking and literature to Chinese people, who had lost contact with the world. It was around that time that Chen Fu'an's translation of *Alice in Wonderland* was published. The translation was published as a diglot that provided both English and Chinese versions for handy comparison. This setup is usually adopted to serve the purpose of English learning. Given the fact that the level of English literacy in China after the Cultural Revolution would have been relatively low among adults, not to mention that among children, the translation as a diglot might have been targeted at adult readers with an adequate education level. This potential target readership differs from that of the English original, and from Yuen Ren Chao's intention to entertain children, and may be one of the reasons that Chen's translation is less about amusement and more about conformity. Chen's translation is inaccessible at many points because it stays faithful only to the literal meanings of the ST and clearly made a choice of semantic resemblance over others.

In the preface to his translation, Chen acknowledges the presence of such difficulties in translating puns and jokes, which were almost impossible to translate into Chinese without the loss of the original flavour (Carroll 1981). The diglot setup of the translation has substantially impacted Chen Fu'an's translation style. It was observed by Nida (1964: 181) that “diglot publication also places certain restrictions on the translator, posed by the reader's ready access to a corresponding text, whether on an opposite page, in a parallel column, or at the bottom of the page.” He also suggested if the typical receptors of diglot publications possess limited linguistic knowledge of one language, “the translator must follow the prestigious language with a greater degree of conformity than he otherwise would” (Nida 1964: 182). The

issue was raised out of the cultural concern that people from a cultural minority might feel disadvantaged by reduced conformity between two languages in a diglot publication, but still Nida highlighted the fact that in a diglot setup a translator is highly likely to be held to account for the faithfulness of his/her rendition due to readers' ease of access to the ST, and the pressure for agreement between two languages came about. This pressure was much lower in Leng Shan's translation which also includes both ST and TT, because the English original came after the translation, whereas the pressure did not exist in Chao's translation as there was no access to the ST. Chen particularly mentions in the preface that because the translation is a diglot he follows closely the original novel in order to stay faithful and to facilitate the comparison between English and Chinese versions. This explains why he chooses to render the literal meanings of a vast majority of ST puns.

Translating puns into non-punning texts and staying faithful to the ST can and often does lead to ambiguity and inaccessibility due to the problem of (un) translatability. For most puns identified in this study, Chen adds footnotes to contribute to the comprehension of the target audience. This complimentary technique is specifically mentioned in Chen's preface to the translation: the footnotes were jointly edited by the translator and the proof-reader Yang Jingyuan, and the 1978 edition of *The Annotated Alice* (edited by Martin Gardner and published by Penguin) was consulted in the process of their annotating. *The Annotated Alice* was praised to be "one of the best literary *pas de deux* in English" in a book review from *The New Yorker* (Gopnik 2015). Compared to Leng's encyclopaedia-style of footnotes, Chen's appear as very brief. Instead of annotating the Chinese translation, Chen and Yang insert footnotes in the English original on the left-hand side of an open book, without giving any indication in the Chinese translation. From the relevance-theoretic point of view, the processing effort made by the target audience would be substantially increased. The reasons are simple. For those (un)translatable instances, readers of this translation would not be able to readily understand the translator's literal translation, in other words, the translation is not readily relevant to the target audience. A footnote could turn it into relevant information by providing the necessary contextual information. However, the absence of a direct linkage between the translation and the footnote increases the difficulty of building the relevance, because readers do not tend to notice the existence of a footnote related to the translation of the particular part(s) and indeed can only become aware after reading the English original on the left-hand page. Relevance could ultimately be achieved by readers with adequate English ability but may never be achieved by those readers whose English ability is minimal or who choose to read the translation only. Simply marking the Chinese translation to link the translation and the related footnote could well reduce the processing effort.

Leng Shan

Compared with the times when the previous two translations were completed, the socio-cultural environment in 2010 when Leng Shan's translation was published had evolved substantially. His translation of *Alice* is also full of characteristics of the contemporary world. First, globalisation makes information and cultural exchanges happen at an unprecedented speed. Take the film of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* as an instance. The film premiered in London on 25th February 2010, was released in the US on 5th March 2010 and on 26th March in mainland China. The time delay was only a month. Secondly, the background of the target audience has transformed. With the ever-increasing speed and volume of cultural and information exchanges, and the global popularisation of Internet, people worldwide enjoy a wider exposure to all sorts of information sources. Also, compulsory English education in Chinese schools enables many more Chinese to read and write in English. The contemporary Chinese audience is better educated and are more likely to be aware of the cultural differences between languages. Thirdly, the translation industry has a different structure from before. Professional translation practice involves more parties, such as the initiator, translation agency, publisher, and is mostly profit-driven. Timing is the essence. The release of movies usually sparks off the public interest in the original novels. As Leng reveals in the foreword, the translation was commissioned by the China Social Sciences Press to coincide with the release of the Hollywood movie. Its front cover shows a scene from the movie, and a section of the book is devoted to the introduction of the movie's director, plot, and reinvented characters, with the movie's posters inserted.

Being the most contemporary translation among the three, the book also has the most exquisite, artistic design with a high quality of coloured printing. Its stylish book band features elaborate words of praise of the translation claiming that it was "translated by a famous translator from a famous book which was written by a famous writer and was published by a prestigious publisher" (名家·名著·名社·名译; *ming jia·ming zhu·ming she·ming yi*). Its cover page states its goal of being an "encyclopaedia" of *Alice in Wonderland* by including abundant comments, annotations and illustrations. The so-called being "complete" and containing "encyclopaedic information" is justified by its coverage. Firstly, the book covers both the English original and Leng's translations of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and its sequel *Through the Looking-glass*, with the English original being placed after the translation rather than side by side with the translation. Its purpose is probably to enrich the collection and facilitate occasional consultation. Secondly, this book details the author of *Alice in Wonderland*, his relationship with Alice Liddell who gave Carroll the original inspiration, the plot summary of both novels, their artistic

features, as well as the movie adaptation. These details are presented thoroughly and do provide a comprehensive education on Lewis Carroll and *Alice*. Moreover, the book collects almost 300 mostly classic illustrations which have appeared in different versions of *Alice*. Lastly, Leng's translation also offers abundant linguistic, historical and cultural facts by using footnotes, which enriches the reading experience of the target audience. Compared with Chen's footnotes, Leng's annotations are more detailed and more reader-friendly, which means less processing effort. The rise in processing effort is an inherent part in the use of any type of annotation as the audience are expected to read more and process more information. It is the translator and the editor's responsibility to keep the increase at a reasonable level. This can be done through proper linkage between the translation and the annotation as well as concise wording within the annotation. Leng's footnote in the case study is easy to relate to the relevant translation and requires less processing effort from the audience than Chen's translation.

Leng Shan has been very productive in the field of professional translation and has published over 80 translated works ("Leng Shan"). Leng admits that his translation experience in children's literature and poetry much benefited his translation of *Alice in Wonderland* (Carroll 2010). In the translation foreword, Leng fully acknowledges the ingenious thinking of Lewis Carroll and the great difficulties that the puns and other nonsense texts contribute to translating. He also admits the influence of the previous excellent translated versions on his translating and states that he did the translation "standing on the shoulders of giants" (Carroll 2010). The truth of this statement is revealed in the results of the data analyses. The analyses of pun translations show that Leng uses a good balance of *Pun*→*Pun* and *Pun*→*Non-Pun*. Without substantially relying on one single technique, he manages to combine faithfulness and readability. Unlike Chen who focuses on the literal meanings, Leng does creatively translate many wordplays by producing a similar wordplay which is relevant to the Chinese audience without much processing effort incurred. However, Leng does not force the substitution of puns for all instances, which underlies the naturalness of his translation. Footnotes are also available wherever required, either to build up the relevance when non-punning translations do not relate to the Chinese audience, or to add to the cognitive context of the audience by offering extra information that makes the translation relevant and resemble the original text.

Conclusion

This paper employs the relevance-theoretic framework to investigate the (un)translatability of puns from *Alice in Wonderland* and the three translators' strategies towards this issue. It tests and verifies the explanatory power of relevance theory, which does not intend to describe what people do in translation nor to tell them what they ought to do, but rather tries to explain the preconditions of a successful communicative act in terms of being a relevant translation. Relevance theory is especially useful for explaining whether and to what extent the communicative clues arising from the (un)translatability are successfully communicated to the TT audience by the translator.

The practical value of relevance theory for translators lies not in providing detailed methods to analyse and solve specific translation problems (Gutt 1991), but rather "to predict the conditions for effective communication in translation" (Smith 2002: 115). Using relevance theory, a translator would be able to predict whether s/he manages to communicate the communicative intentions of the (un)translatability to the target audience successfully, by comparing the factors involved in the two-stage translation process.

The role of translators has been considered crucial in dealing with (un)translatable texts. First, in relevance theory, communication success depends on the translator's individual interpretations and assumptions. In the case of inaccuracy or discrepancy, communication fails and as a communicative act, the translation fails to build relevance to its audience. Such interpretations and assumptions of context are to a great extent subject to the socio-cultural environments at the time of translating, involving politics, ideology, society, culture, ethics and so forth. Second, the translator needs genuine creativity and capability to provide a solution to (un)translatability, as relevance theory only assists in identifying what the communicative intentions are, and in assessing whether and to what extent a solution of (un)translatability is relevant. In terms of pun translation, the translator needs to decide what type of resemblance to deliver, i.e. the semantic dimension, stylistic dimension or both, and weigh the loss and gain of the potential inferential effort and interpretive resemblance resulting from a translation. "To translate something witty requires a witty translator" (Hofstadter 1997: 394). Linguistic and cultural awareness is essential. A high level of language proficiency and even an artistic or creative use of language is desired.

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Appendix. Translation methods of Puns from *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

| No. | Pun | Chao's translation | Translation method | Chen's translation | Translation method | Leng's translation | Translation method |
|---|-----------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Homonymy (identical sounds and spelling) | | | | | | | |
| 1 | dry (Ch 3) | 又干又暖 p. 17 像嚼着蜡 p. 18 | Pun→Non-Pun Zero→Related Rhetorical Device (simile) | 干巴巴 | Pun→Pun (homonymy) Footnote | 干干巴巴 | Pun→Pun (homonymy) |
| 5 | time (Ch 7) | 时候 | Pun→Non-Pun | 时间 按着时间打拍子 | Pun→Pun (homonymy) Footnote | 时间 按时打拍子 | Pun→Pun (homonymy) |
| 6 | draw (Ch 7) | 抽 | Pun→Non-Pun | 汲取 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 画画 取 | Pun→Non-Pun |
| 7 | well (Ch 7) | 井 尽 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 井 尽 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote | 井 | Pun→Non-Pun |
| 8 | bite (Ch 9) | 咬疼人 | Pun→Non-Pun | 咬人 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 咬人 | Pun→Non-Pun |
| 9 | mine (Ch 9) | 矿 旷 | Pun→Pun (homophony) | 矿 我所得 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 矿 我的 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote |
| 25 | whiting (Ch 10) | 黄蟹 黄蟹油 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 牙鳕 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 鳕鱼 | Pun→Non-Pun |
| 26 | soles (Ch 10) | 蟹黄 | Pun→Related Rhetorical Device | 鳕鱼 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 鳕鱼 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote |
| 29 | tea/T (Ch 11) | 茶叶 查夜 | Pun→Pun (homophony) | 茶水 T | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 茶 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote |
| 30 | poor (Ch 11) | 穷人 话说得真穷 | Pun→Pun (homonymy) | 穷光蛋 穷于词令 | Pun→Pun (homophony) | 可怜人 可怜的 | Pun→Pun (homophony) |

| No. | Pun | Chao's translation | Translation method | Chen's translation | Translation method | Leng's translation | Translation method |
|---|------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| 31 | stand down (Ch 11) | 下去 | Pun→Pun (homophony) | 下去 | Pun→Pun (homophony) Footnote | 下去 | Pun→Pun (homophony) Footnote |
| 32 | fit (Ch 12) | 疯风 | Pun→Pun (homophony) | 发过脾气 (无)关 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 发过怒适用 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote |
| Homophony (identical sounds but different spellings) | | | | | | | |
| 2 | tale/tail (Ch 3) | 委屈 尾曲 | Pun→Pun (homophony) | 故事 尾巴 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 故事(tale) 尾巴(tail) | Pun→Non-Pun Pun ST→Pun TT Footnote |
| 3 | not/knot (Ch 3) | 到 刀 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 没 结 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 没有 结 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote |
| 4 | axis/axes (Ch 6) | 地轴 斧子 | Pun→Non-Pun | 地轴 斧头 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 地轴 斧头 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote |
| 10 | tortoise/taught us (Ch 9) | 老忘 老王 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 乌龟 教我们书 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 老鳖 老逼 (我们) | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 24 | lesson/lessen (Ch 9) | 多少课 先多后少 | Pun→Related Rhetorical Device | 多少课 减少 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 多少课 先多后少 | Pun→Related Rhetorical Device Footnote |
| Paronymy (there are slight differences in both spelling and sound) | | | | | | | |
| 11 | reeling/reading (Ch 9) | 练浮 (念书) | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 旋转 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 毒 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 12 | writhing/writing (Ch 9) | 泻滞 (写字) | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 扭动 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 泻 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 13 | ambition/ addition (Ch 9) | 夹术 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 野心 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 假发 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |

| No. | Pun | Chao's translation | Translation method | Chen's translation | Translation method | Leng's translation | Translation method |
|-----|--|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 14 | distraction/ subtraction (Ch 9) | 钳术 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 狂乱 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 剪发 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 15 | uglification/multi- plication (Ch 9) | 沉术 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 丑化 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 丑法 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 16 | derision/division (Ch 9) | 丑术 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 嘲笑 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 厨法 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 17 | mystery/history (Ch 9) | 里湿 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 秘史 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 栗柿 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 18 | seaography/ geography (Ch 9) | 底里 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 海理学 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 地梨 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 19 | drawling/drawing (Ch 9) | 涂化 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 拖声 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 灰花 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 20 | stretching/ sketching (Ch 9) | 尖鼻化 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 伸懒腰 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 素描花 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 21 | fainting in coils/ painting in oils (Ch 9) | 油画 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 绕圈儿昏倒 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 水菜花 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 22 | laughing/Latin (Ch 9) | 腊钉 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 大笑 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 拉钉子 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 23 | grief/Greek (Ch 9) | 希腊 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 伤心 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 洗腊子 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) Footnote |
| 27 | eels/heels (Ch 10) | 蟹油 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 鳗鱼 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 鳗鱼 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote |
| 28 | porpoise/purpose (Ch 10) | 鲤鱼 理由 | Pun→Pun (paronymy) | 海豚目的 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote | 海豚 目的 | Pun→Non-Pun Footnote |

Translation and re-narration of *Nainai*

The personal deixis in the English translations of *Honglou Meng*

Jiayan Xiaoⁱ, Qing Yangⁱⁱ and Shiyao Heⁱ

ⁱHubei University of Technology / ⁱⁱDonghua University

This case study is exemplified to probe into the distinctions between English translations either by English native translators Hawkes, Joly and Bonsall, or Chinese translator Yang in translating the personal deictic *Nainai* as appellation in chapter 27 of *Honglou Meng*, to sort out what cognition of Chinese culture they retained and intended to consolidate and evaluate if the translation(s) have convinced positive traditional Chinese culture. The discussion covers the reliable narration and unreliable narration of interpersonal relationship, social status, and modification based on the pragmatic study of the social and personal deictic *Nainai* as appellation in the discourse, suggesting that the cultural stance adopted by the translators can be the key factor in the wording and consequently in re-narrating the interpersonal relationship and their social status, with the intention of classifying the factors of improving the intercultural communication, a more positive response of *Honglou Meng* and the culture the work has embedded with, simultaneously better reproduction of the traditional Chinese culture can be developed.

Keywords: English translation of Deixis, Chinese cultural communication, re-narration, *Nainai*

引言

虽然叙事修辞艺术是《红楼梦》文艺学研究的主要内容(陈维昭2006),但在《红楼梦》的翻译研究中,国内学者主要选取文化学和语言学视角(刘士聪,崔永禄等2004;白靖宇,寇菊霞2002),其中语言学传统更加持久,包括翻译方法和评价标准的具体探讨(冯庆华2006),文本、语篇及语言表达的翻译研究,语料库语言学研究(刘泽权2010),以及诗词歌赋的英译研究(王宏印2001;李虹2011)。很少关于语言学和叙事学共同视域的研究发现。指称词如“奶奶”的翻译及其叙事专项研究尚未引起学界的重视,与《红楼梦》翻译研究的时代需求相距胜远(王启伟 2014)。

根据Baker(2006)的研究发现,翻译即再叙事。从这个观点出发,《红楼梦》的翻译、传播与接受研究就不仅仅依靠语言学或文化学单一层面的探讨,而是语言学、文化学、叙事学多维度的探究。本文以《红楼梦》第27回的指称词“奶奶”及其霍译文(Hawkes,D.)、杨戴译文(the Yangs)、乔译文(Bencraft, Joly)、邦译文(Bonsall, R.B.S.)等4种英译文为例,论述指称词的翻译及其再叙事(Abbott 2002)。

指称与变异: 小说中人物的社会关系及其改写

江帆(2019)将《红楼梦》的英译划分为“实用主义翻译——市场化翻译——学术化翻译”三个阶段。这种历史阶段的划分,既反映了译者对于《红楼梦》这部作品所做的差异化审美定位,不同的翻译目的,另一方面,也反映了译者所持的不同文化立场(Nida 1993)。无论是语言学习的实用主义目的,或是通过异域风情吸引西方读者的努力,或者出于严肃的文学研究而完成的译文,对于原作而言,一定程度上都是改写或再叙事(Baker 2006)。根据Baker(2006)的观点,语篇的翻译过程就是再叙事的过程,再叙事的过程中,译文的叙述视角、结构、时序、脚本重构以及意象选择等形成的语言生态,最终塑造一个与原著不同的文本世界,进而在目标语读者中塑造了异域他者的“人物形象”及人物之间的社会关系。这一研究发为《红楼梦》翻译评价提供了新的参考。例如,《红楼梦》第27回中关于“奶奶”的指称,不同的译文反映了不同的人物形象,以及人物之间不同的社会关系(汪庆华 2015)。

人物指称与社会关系

《红楼梦》第27回中丫鬟小红(红玉)在回复贾府管家王熙凤的一段话中,一共说了18个“奶奶”,指称了包括王熙凤在内的五位夫人,也表达了她们之间的亲疏关系。与之对应的英译文是否呈现了对等的五位“奶奶”形象,是否对等地表达了叙述者小红、叙述对象王熙凤与其他几位“奶奶”之间的亲疏关系、各位“奶奶”的社会地位等,一定程度上反映了译者对当时人与人之间的社会关系、阶级关系的认知与理解,是评价《红楼梦》译文的另一个重要视角(徐琼 2018)。

第27回: 滴翠亭杨妃戏彩蝶 埋香冢飞燕泣残红

... [红玉]说着将荷包递了上去,又道:“平姐姐教我回奶奶(a1):才旺儿进来讨奶奶(a2)的示下,好往那家子去。平姐姐就把那话按着奶奶(a3)的主意打发他去了。”凤姐笑道:“他怎么按我的主意打发去了?”红玉道:“平姐姐说:我们奶奶(a4)问这里奶奶(b1)好。原是我们二爷不在家,虽然迟了两天,只管请奶奶(b2)放心。等五奶奶(c1)好些,我们奶奶(a5)还会了五奶奶(c2)来瞧奶奶(b3)呢。五奶奶(c3)前儿打发了人来说,舅奶奶(d1)带了信来了,问奶奶(b4)好,还要和这里的姑奶奶(e1)寻两丸延年神验万全丹。若有了,奶奶(b5)打发人来,只管送在我们奶奶(a6)这里。明儿有人去,就顺路给那边舅奶奶(d2)带去的。”

话未说完，李氏道：“暖哟哟！这些话我就不懂了。什么‘奶奶’‘爷爷’的一大堆。”凤姐笑道：“怨不得你不懂，这是四五门子的话呢。”（曹雪芹，2006: 534-535）

以上18个人物指称“奶奶”均指“已婚女性”人物，该词的词典意义包括祖母、宦宦富贵人家的仆人或他人对已婚女性的尊称。《红楼梦》第27回小红所称谓的“奶奶”则是婢仆对女主人的称呼。（《汉语大词典》第4卷，第5334页：266）。这段对话中的讲述人红玉（也叫小红，因犯了贾府主人宝玉的名讳，后改为小红）是宝玉的丫鬟，因为口齿伶俐，被贾府管家王熙凤相中，要她去办差。包括王熙凤在内的五位女主人，被贾府丫鬟小红统一尊称为“奶奶”。在小红的叙述中，大部分穿插了王熙凤房里的大丫鬟“袭儿”的叙述，“小红”是在转述“袭儿”的叙述。这段叙述分别通过添加几个标记语（Herman 2009），表明具体是哪几位“奶奶”。例如通过添加“零标记+奶奶”（a1, a2, a3）以及“我们+奶奶”（a4, a5, a6）指称“王熙凤”。添加“这里+奶奶”（b1），零标记+奶奶（b2, b3, b4, b5）指称“这里奶奶”。标记语“五”加“奶奶”（c1, c2, c3）指称“五奶奶”亦即第三位女性人物。通过添加标记语“舅”加“奶奶”（d1, d2）指称第四位女性人物。通过添加标记语“姑”加“奶奶”指称第五位女性人物。

根据上下文语境和汉语文化背景（Pieke 2016），可以判断“五奶奶”中的“五”表达“排序”，一般情况下，指的是这位“五奶奶”的夫君在家排行第五。“舅奶奶”、“姑奶奶”表达了潜在叙述者王熙凤与她们二人之间的血缘及姻亲社会关系（李奎 2018）。在这段叙述中，以“平姐姐说”为话语标记，余下所称谓的“奶奶”都是以王熙凤的身份来完成叙事的。涉及“奶奶”身份的人物详述如下：

a1, a2, a3, a4, a5, a6——王熙凤

b1, b2, b3, b4, b5——这里奶奶（“才旺儿”被打发去见面并报告王熙凤“主意”，不在小红和王熙凤会话的现场）

c1, c2, c3——五奶奶

d1, d2——舅奶奶（一般是指已婚女性，称呼娘家兄弟之妻，或者是已婚男性母亲那一边的兄弟之妻）

e1——姑奶奶（称呼父亲的姐妹，已婚女性或未婚）

以上五名女性人物18个“奶奶”称谓涉及25个事件，具体如下：

表一. 18个人物指称“奶奶”及其所涉及的叙述事件

| 事件(以动词为据) | 人物 | 频次 |
|---|--------------|----|
| 回(a1), 讨……示下(a2), 按……打发(a3), 问好(a4), 请……放心(施事), 会(a5), 瞧(施事), 打发人来, 送(受事), 带去(施事) | 王熙凤 | 9 |
| 问……好(b1, 受事); 请……放心(b2, 施事+受事); 瞧(b3, 受事); 问……好(b4, 受事); 打发人来(b5, 施事); 送(b, 施事) | 这里奶奶 (奶奶) | 6 |
| 好些(c1, 施事); 会了(c2, 受事); 瞧(c, 施事); 打发了人来说(c3, 施事) | 五奶奶 | 4 |
| 带……信(d1, 施事); 问……好(d, 施事); 和……寻(d, 施事); 给……带去(d2, 受事) | 舅奶奶 | 4 |
| 和……寻(e1, 受事); 有(e, 施事) | 姑奶奶 | 2 |

根据上述“奶奶”人物在25个事件中涉及的频次,以及叙述人(小红)、潜在叙述人颦儿、主要听众或受话人王熙凤所构建的场景,上下文语境,可以设定这段话中,被称为“奶奶”的五名女性人物的姻亲社会关系和空间关系,以涉及叙事事件频次居多者为中心,较多者为靠近中心,较少者偏离中心,少者处于边缘,具体如下表所示:

表二. 人物关系、叙事结构

| 人物 | 事件/称呼 频次 | 中心 | 亲疏 | 空间 | 地位 | 关系 |
|--------|----------|------|----|----|----|------|
| 王熙凤 | 9/6 | 中心 | 亲 | 近 | 高 | 很密切 |
| (这里)奶奶 | 6/5 | 靠近中心 | 较疏 | 远 | 高 | 密切 |
| (五)奶奶 | 4/3 | 偏离中心 | 较亲 | 较近 | 较低 | 较密切 |
| (舅)奶奶 | 4/2 | 偏离中心 | 疏 | 远 | 较低 | 较不密切 |
| (姑)奶奶 | 2/1 | 边缘 | 疏 | 远 | 较低 | 不密切 |

上述“奶奶”称谓和事件涉及的频次,以及称谓之前的标记语表明了人物角色是否处于话语中心(小红,暗含的叙述者颦儿与王熙凤),也表明了所述人物与叙述者“小红”之间的空间距离,更重要的是反映了五位“奶奶”人物之间的血缘、姻亲、身份等级等社会关系的亲疏距离。同时,称谓语“奶奶”出现的先后顺序,也反映了叙事中几个事件发生的先后顺序,行为动作所关联的人际关系,交往的密切程度,以及五名“奶奶”人物是否处于事件中心或边缘的位置。以上数据表明,王熙凤涉及事件频次最高(9次),称呼频次也最高,说明她是话语中心,同时从一个侧面也反映了她作为贾府管家,长袖善舞,统管一切的人际中心角色 [曹雪芹(著,脂砚斋评) 2006]。

英译文比较

在霍译文中,与18个“奶奶”对应的是you, your, you, our lady, your lady, your lady, the lady from West Lane, our lady, their lady, your lady, our lady, the lady from West Lane, the elder Lady Wang, our lady, our Lady Wang, our lady, the elder Lady Wang, ladies(见附件1)。

此外,霍译文中还添加了人称代词she, her, our, your, you, their等词,试图分清叙事中的人物及其关系,但也导致了更多混淆与辨识难度(房芸菲 2016)。同时,由于指示代词的添加,人物出现的频次也发生变化,比如“舅奶奶”在原文中仅出现2次,但在霍译文中出现了8次,从而改变了“舅奶奶”在话语中的角色地位,跃升为话语中的“中心人物”。由于语态的调整,“姑奶奶”一词在霍译文中,仅用her一词含混带过,这样就改写了原语篇中所述“药丸”的出处。从霍译文来看,“延年万全丹”要从“奶奶”(b1, b2, b3, b4, b5)处,而非“姑奶奶”处。如下表所示:

表三. 霍译文“奶奶”指称及人际关系

| 人物 | 频次, 名称 | 中心 | 亲疏 | 空间 | 地位 | 关系 |
|--|--------|------|----|----|----|-----|
| 王熙凤: you, your, you, Our lady, our lady, our lady, our lady, our lady, her, (这里)奶奶: your lady, your lady, your lady, our lady, she, her, | 8 | 中心 | 很亲 | 很近 | 很高 | 很密切 |
| 五奶奶: the lady from West Lane, their lady, the lady from West Lane | 6 | 靠近中心 | 亲 | 近 | 高 | 密切 |
| 舅奶奶: the elder Lady Wang, she, she, our Lady Wang, her, she, her, the elder Lady Wang, her | 3 | 偏离中心 | 较亲 | 较近 | 较高 | 较密切 |
| 姑奶奶: her | 8 | 中心 | 很亲 | 很近 | 很高 | 很密切 |
| | 0 或者1次 | 边缘 | 疏远 | 远 | 低 | 不密切 |

如上表所示,从各个指称出现的频次和标记语you, our, her等出现频次以及这些指示语所指代的“奶奶”来看,霍译文将“舅奶奶”处理为贾宝玉之母“王夫人”,且与话语中心角色王熙凤同等重要,这与原语篇“红玉”的叙述有较大差异,“舅奶奶”这里并非贾宝玉之母,此处是误译,可看作是“不可靠叙述”。此外,“这里奶奶”较多使用“your lady”,对“王熙凤”较多使用“our lady”,甚至选用her,这样似乎表现了叙述者“小红”对贾府大管家“王熙凤”过分亲昵的关系。事实上,那时的“小红”只是宝玉房里的二等丫鬟(比袭人、晴雯的位次更低),被王熙凤临时抓差,在向王熙凤报告时,语气尚不至于亲近至此。然而,由于显性叙述者“小红”只是在转述隐含叙述者“颦儿”或“颦姐姐”的叙述,霍译文所展现的叙述者与“王熙凤”之间的亲昵关系反而是一种“可靠叙述”(申丹 2004; 2006)。

霍译文中将“五奶奶”译为“the lady from West Lane”,是通过地理居所来指称“五奶奶”,虽然有助于目标语读者了解“五奶奶”所处地理空间位置,但却丢失了汉语文化中尊卑、长幼皆有序的等级观念及其文化涵义(Newmark 1982)。从原语篇的暗含叙述者“颦儿”的视角来看,是“不可靠叙述”(申丹 2004; 2006)。

杨宪益、戴乃迭(1978)的译文添加了人称指示代词you/your, our, her, 分别指称五名“奶奶”人物(见附件2)。如下表所示:

表四. 杨戴译文中“奶奶”人物及人际关系

| 人物 | 频次 | 中心 | 亲疏 | 空间 | 关系 |
|--|----|------|----|----|-----|
| 王熙凤: Your Ladyship, your, you, Your Ladyship, Our lady, her, our lady, our lady | 8 | 中心 | 很亲 | 很近 | 很密切 |
| (这里)奶奶: Her Ladyship, Her Ladyship, Her Ladyship, Her Ladyship, Her Ladyship | 6 | 靠近中心 | 亲 | 近 | 密切 |
| 五奶奶: the Fifth Mistress(c1, c3) her(c2) | 3 | 偏离中心 | 较亲 | 较近 | 较密切 |
| 舅奶奶: our lady's sister in law(d1), her(d+), her sister in law (d2) | 3 | 偏离中心 | 较亲 | 较近 | 较密切 |
| 姑奶奶: Her sister in law (e1) | 1 | 边缘 | 疏 | 远 | 不密切 |

杨戴译文较多使用your ladyship,you, your lady来指称话语中心角色王熙凤,较多使用Her Ladyship来指称“这里奶奶”,恰当表现了显性叙述者“小红”对称谓对象的敬畏,但却掩盖了隐含叙述者“颦儿”与王熙凤在情感上的亲近,一定程度上表现为“不可靠叙述”。虽然如此,杨戴译文对于“五奶奶”、“舅奶奶”以及“姑奶奶”的再叙述都是可靠叙述。

乔译文对于“王熙凤”和“这里奶奶”的再叙述同样存在“不可靠叙述”。由于频繁、交替使用her,your,our,she来指称话语中心角色王熙凤,反映了乔译文作为再叙述,没有将隐含叙述者“颦儿”和显性叙述者“小红”加以区分,导致话语中心角色之间忽远忽近,社会关系表现不够清晰,与原文叙事相比较,属于“不可靠叙述”(见附件3)。如下表所示:

表五. 乔利译文中“奶奶”人物及人物关系

| 人物 | 频次 | 中心 | 亲疏 | 空间 | 关系 |
|--|----|------|----|----|------|
| 王熙凤: her,yourladyship,yourladyship,your,your, lady Feng, our lady, she(a+),her,our lady(a5), our lady (a+), our lady(a6) | 13 | 是 | 很亲 | 很近 | 很密切 |
| (这里)奶奶: your ladyship(b1,b3,b4), your ladyship(b2),your(b+),you(b+), my lady(b5), | 7 | 是 | 亲 | 近 | 密切 |
| 五奶奶: lady Quinta(c1,c+,c3,),her(c2), | 4 | 靠近 | 较亲 | 较近 | 较密切 |
| 舅奶奶: lady Quinta (c3)(误译), her ladyship(d2),your aunt yonder(d+), her(d3) | 3 | 偏离中心 | 较疏 | 远 | 较不密切 |
| 姑奶奶: her worthy niece(e1) | 1 | 边缘 | 疏远 | 很远 | 不密切 |

在乔利的译文中,有两处误译:一是把“五奶奶”跟“舅奶奶”混同了,把舅奶奶译为lady Quinta (c3)。二是把“这里奶奶”误解为李纨,才有your ladyship (widow Li) (b1) here这样的“不可靠叙述”。

与上述三种译文不同,邦译文对“奶奶”一词全部采取音译的方法,很少添加标记语you/your,her,our等,一定程度上采取了显性叙述者“小红”的视角,而非隐含叙述者“颦儿”的叙述,导致人物指称关系更难辨识(见附件4),如下表所示:

表六. 邦译文中“奶奶”人物及人物关系

| 人物 | 频次 | 中心 | 亲疏 | 空间 | 关系 |
|---|----|------|----|----|------|
| 王熙凤: Nainai(a1,a+,a2,a3,a4,a5,a6,a7,a8) | 9 | 是 | 很亲 | 很近 | 很密切 |
| 这里奶奶: the Nainai(b1,b2, b3, b4, b5) | 5 | 靠近中心 | 亲 | 近 | 密切 |
| 五奶奶: Nainai number five(c1, c2,c3) | 3 | 偏离中心 | 较亲 | 较远 | 较不密切 |
| 舅奶奶: Nainai maternal aunt(d1,d2) | 2 | 非中心 | 较疏 | 较远 | 较不密切 |
| 姑奶奶: Ku Nainai(e1) | 1 | 边缘 | 疏远 | 远 | 不密切 |

邦译文所采用的音译法,缺少指称语标记,叙事视角意识欠缺,难以辨别人物之间的亲疏关系。音译法也难以传达称谓语“奶奶”所包含的社会、历史及文化含义,较大程度上是“不可靠叙述”。

结语

综上所述,以英语文化为背景(或者以英语为母语)的译者,包括霍克斯、乔利、邦索尔对于上述语篇中“奶奶”一词的翻译不同程度上改写了“奶奶”的所指,进而导致“奶奶”指称所涉及的人物形象及人物之间的社会关系不同程度的改变,相对于原文的信息而言,可看作是不同程度的“不可靠叙述”(申丹,2004,2006)。以汉语文化为背景(或者以汉语为母语)的译者如杨宪益、戴乃迭,关于“奶奶”一词的译文更大程度上忠实于原文的信息,可看作是“可靠叙述”(申丹,2004,2006)。基于翻译的传播功能,以《红楼梦》为代表的汉语典籍及其英译研究已然超越单纯的文学、语言学的价值追求,其时代意义更多的是透过翻译实现“中国文化”与英语文化的交流与传播(柯飞1997)。上述翻译结果也从一个侧面反映了译者自身的文化立场、翻译目的和特定的叙事视角。此外,以上译文是不同历史时代的产物,既受历史语境的制约,也是特定历史时期不同翻译目的所导致的产物。以邦索尔译文为例,虽然主要用于汉语学习(江帆,2007),但是他所采取的音译法很难让学习者掌握“奶奶”一词的语言学知识,更遑论忠实地传播汉语文化知识了。本文主要从语言学和叙事学交叉视角讨论指称词“奶奶”英语译文的“可靠叙述”与“不可靠叙述”,(张琼,黄德志2012)为《红楼梦》的翻译与传播研究提供了一个新视角。

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附件1. Translation by Hawkes, D.

Crimson now produced the purse and handed it to Xi-feng.

Then she added:

'Patience told me to tell you(a1) that Brightie has just been in to inquire what your(a2) instructions were for his visit, and she said that she gave him a message to take based on the things she thought you (a3) would want him to say.'

'Oh?' said Xi-feng, amused. 'And what *was* this message "based on the things she thought I would want him to say"?''

'She said he was to tell them: "Our lady(a4) hopes your lady(b1) is well and she(a+) says that the Master is away at present and may not be back for another day or two, but your lady(b2) is not to worry; and when the lady from West Lane(c1) is better, our lady(a6) will come with their lady(c2) to see your lady (b3). And our lady (a7) says that the lady from West Lane(c3) sent someone the other day with a message from the elder Lady Wang(d1) saying that she (d+) hopes

our lady(b4→a+) is well and will she (b+→a+) please see if our Lady Wang(e1) can let her (d1) have a few of her Golden Myriad Macrobiotic Pills; and if she (e+) can, will our lady(b5→a+) please send someone with them to her, because someone will be going from there to the elder Lady Wang's (d2) in a few days' time and they will be able to take them for her (d+) –”

Crimson was still in full spate when Li Wan interrupted her with a laugh:

‘What an extraordinary number of “ladies”! I hope you can understand what it’s all about, Feng. I’m sure I can’t!’

‘I’m not surprised,’ said Xi-feng. ‘There are four or five different households involved in that message.’
(David Hawkes, 1977, Vol. 2: 30–1)

附件2. Translation by the Yangs’

[Hsiao-hung]...handed the pouch to Hsi-feng and continued, “Sister Ping-er asked me to tell Your Ladyship (a1): Just now Lai Wang came to ask for your (a2) instructions before setting out to the mansion where you(a+) sent him, and she sent him off after explaining Your Ladyship's (a3) wishes.”

“How did she explain my wishes?” Xi-feng smiled.

“She said, ‘Our lady(a4) sends her compliments to Her Ladyship (b1). Our Second Master is away from home now, so Her Ladyship(b2) shouldn’t worry over a couple of days’ delay. When the Fifth Mistress(c1) is better, our lady(a5) will come with her (c2) to see Her Ladyship (b3). The Fifth Mistress(c3) sent a servant the other day to report that our lady's sister-in-law(d1) had inquired after Her Ladyship(b4) in a letter, and hoped her sister-in-law(e1) here would oblige her (d+) with two longevity pills. If Her Ladyship(b5) has any to spare, please send them to our lady (a6), and the next person to go that way will deliver them to her sister-in-law (d2).”

“Mercy on us!” cut in Li Wan with a laugh. “I’ve lost track of all these ladies and mistresses.”

“I don’t blame you. Xi-feng smiled. “There are five families involved.”

(Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, 1978, Vol.1: 393–4)

附件3. Translation by Joly

With these words, she (Hsiao Hung) produced the purse and presented it to her. “Sister P’ing bade me come and tell your ladyship (a1),” she added, continuing, “that Wang Erh came just now to crave your(a2) orders, as to who are the parties from whom he has to go and (collect interest on money due) and sister P’ing explained to him what your(a3) wishes were and sent him off.”

“How could she tell him where I wanted him to go?” Lady Feng laughed.

“Sister P’ing says,” Hsiao Hung proceeded, “that our lady(a4) presents her compliments to your ladyship (widow Li) (b1) here – (*To lady Feng*) that our master Secundus has not in fact come home, and that albeit a delay of (a day) or two will take place (in the collection of the money), your ladyship(b2) should, she(a+) begs, set your(b+) mind at ease. (*To Li Wan*). That when lady Quinta(c1) is somewhat better, our lady(a5) will let lady Quinta(c+) know and come along with

her(c2) to see your ladyship(b3). (*To lady Feng*). That lady Quinta(c3) sent a servant the day before yesterday to come over and say that our lady (d1), your worthy maternal aunt (d+), had despatched a letter to inquire after your ladyship's (b4) health; that she(d+) also wished to ask you (b+), my lady(b6), her (e1) worthy niece in here, (e+) for a couple of long-life-great-efficacy-full-of-every-virtue' pills; and that if youb7-(e+) have any, they should, when our lady(b8→a+) bids a servant come over, be simply given her to bring to our lady(a6) here, and that any one bound tomorrow for that side could then deliver them on her way to her ladyship, (d2) your aunt yonder, (d+) to take along withher(d3)."

"Ai-yo-yo!" exclaimed widow Li, before the close of the passage. "It's impossible for me to make out what you're driving at! What a heap of ladyships and misters!"

"It's not to be wondered at that you can't make them out," interposed lady Feng laughing. "Why, her remarks refer to four or five distinct families." (Bencraft Joly, 1892/2010: 439–40)

附件4. Translation by Bonsall

Having said this, she [Hsiao-hung] handed up the wallet and said again: 'Elder sister Ping told me to come and report to Nai-nai(a1), that Wang-èrh had just come in to ask Nai-nai's(a+) instructions so that she could go to that house. Elder sister took that word to be in accordance with Nai-nai's(a2) intention and sent her off.' Feng – chieh smiled and said: 'How did. She sends her off in accordance with my intention?' Hsiao-hung said: 'Elder sister P'ingsaid'ournai – nai(a3) enquires whether the nai-nai(b1) here is well. Ourerhyeh is not at home. Although he is too days late, she(a4) only asked Nai – nai(b2) not to be anxious. Wait until nai-nai(c1) number five is better, and when our nai – nai(a5) has met Nai-nai(b3) number five, she (a6) will come again to see Nai – nai(b4). Nainai(c3) number five sent a messenger the other day to say that Nai – nai(d1), maternal aunt has brought a letter to enquire whether nai-nai(b5) is well and also wants along with the Ku – nai-nai(e1) here to look for a few pills of divinely efficacious elixir for the prolongation of lit e. If there are any, Nai-nai(a7) will send a messenger. Only be sure to send it to our Nai-nai'(a8) here. There is a messenger going tomorrow and he can take it on his way to give to Nainai(d2) the maternal aunt over there." before hsiao-hung had finished speaking, Li-shfh laughed and said: Ai_ya I don't understand what this means. All these *Nainais* and yeh-yehs in a big heap. feng-chieh smiled and said'you are not to be blamed for not understanding. These words refer to four or five different branches of the family. (Bonsall, R.B.S. 2004: 243–244)

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Aspirational and expanding, this book examines contemporary Chinese language and discourse across a spectrum of linguistic layers and genres in diverse social contexts. Addressing issues ranging from the usual focus on language per se, or language use in reaction to the immediate settings, to the connections between properties of texts and social practices (ideologies, stancetaking, power relations, etc.), the updated and exemplary research projects presented in the volume demonstrates a developing trajectory of research in Chinese language and discourse. With its empirical focus and stress on the role of language and discourse in social practice, this important new book discusses various language features as well as gender, stancetaking, and identity in Chinese discourse. This is a vital discussion for anyone interested in contemporary Chinese language and discourse studies.

In examination of different layers of language (i.e. from lexical items and sentence structures to discourse features and discursive practices) across different genres of texts, the research projects have drawn on a variety of linguistic approaches and methodologies, including functional linguistics, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics and various approaches to discourse analysis.

Researchers and students of Chinese linguistics, sociolinguistics, discourse studies, translation studies, and China studies in general will find this volume an indispensable reference and an enjoyable read.



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