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Comparing construals across languages and genres:
A perspective of Cognitive Linguistics

Course: General and diachronic linguistics

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COMMENTARY TO HABILITATION THESIS[1]

The present thesis, entitled "Comparing construals across languages and genres: A perspective of Cognitive Linguistics", is composed pursuant of MU Directive No. 7/2017, Section 6 (1b), in the form of a collection of 9 previously published scholarly works with a commentary. The commentary, which follows immediately below, comprises a characterization of the investigated matter (Section 1), objectives of the work (Section 2), research questions and employed methodology (Section 3), obtained results (Section 4), a self-assessment of the work reported in this thesis (Section 5), works cited in the commentary and the applicant's share of contribution in each of the publications included in the habilitation thesis.

1. Investigated matter: variation of construals

One of the basic principles of Cognitive Linguistics is that semantics is equated with conceptualization (Croft & Cruse, 2004; Langacker, 2008). The principle is different from the assumption of the truth-conditional (logical) semantics, where the meaning of language is evaluated in terms of the truth or the falsity of a proposition relative to the world and where highly abstract semantic generalizations are sought. As a result of such reductionist thinking of logical semantics, many semantic-pragmatic subtleties are pushed to the periphery of the human language faculty. In reaction to the context-independent approach to language, Cognitive Linguistics came along in the 1980s and appealed to a radically usage-based approach to language, claiming that the meaning of human language emerges from actual language use by placing emphasis on conventionalized semantic-pragmatic subtleties.

Following this *usage-based* (Barlow & Kemmer, 2000) commitment of Cognitive Linguistics, the current thesis explores the variation of *construals* mediated through the linguistic encoding of comparable real-life situations (or *usage events* in Cognitive Linguistic terms). The comparison of construals is made across languages (when the same semantic content is expressed) and across genres (within the same language when the same pragmatic act is performed), which aims to show the range of construal operations allowed for by different sets of conventionalized linguistic tools (across languages) and by the socio-culturally-agreed conventions related to the pragmatic act (across genres).

[1] The in-text citations and the references in the thesis follow the APA format.

1.1 Comparing the construals of narrative viewpoint across languages

The first section of the thesis (Publications 1-4) is a cross-linguistic approach to the construal of *viewpoint* (Dancygier, 2012; Dancygier & Sweetser, 2012) in narratives, drawing on linguistic samples from English and Chinese. In particular, I compare the linguistic manifestations of narrative viewpoint and the resultant construals that are invoked by the viewpoint expressions in the two languages.

Narrative viewpoint is a research issue that has attracted increasing scholarly interest in cognitive linguistics, poetics and stylistics, which can be witnessed in the various collections of works in different publication venues (Dancygier & Sweetser, 2012; Dancygier & Vandellanotte, 2017; Vandelanotte & Dancygier, 2017). In most of the above works, language is understood as the bed of rock that facilitates the emergence of meaning in literary works as linguistic artefacts, with the mixing, or the switching between narrative viewpoints being a crucial part of the poetics. Under such rubric, Mental Spaces Theory (Fauconnier, 1997) and Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) have been extensively applied to the study of text-wide meaning construction (Dancygier, 2012; Fonseca, Pascual & Oakley, 2020; van Krieken, Sanders & Hoeken, 2016). But lower at the sentential level, analyses of viewpointing devices from a *constructionist* perspective (Goldberg, 1995) also abound. Along this line of investigation, in the reading process of a literary work, the linguistic form that participates in the composition of the text may help construct a mental space, and the reader's attention is guided between the mental spaces in the story as s/he encounters different linguistic cues that are typically associated with one of the many spaces. Typical constructions that have been identified with a viewpointing function discussed thus far in literature include: personal pronouns (Dancygier, 2012; Rubba, 1996), deixis (Dancygier, 2012; Wu, 2004); at the more grammatical end along the lexicon-grammar continuum, we can see tense marking (Sanders & van Krieken, 2019), discourse particles (Engberg-Pedersen & Boeg Thomsen, 2016), and negation (Dacnygier & Vandelanotte, 2016; Foolen & Yamaguchi, 2016). In addition, there are also constructions or templates that do not involve a specific linguistic form, such as the inversion of word order (Dorgeloh, 1997; Chen, 2003). As we go beyond what has been traditionally considered the core of verbal communication, color and character size in picture books (Fukada, 2016), non-verbal cues, including eye gaze (Sweetser & Stec, 2016), body leaning, head position and facial expression

(Josep Jarque & Pascual, 2016), and body partitioning (Jansen, 2019) are also meaningful in communicating narrative viewpoint.

To illustrate how a typcical viewpointing construction works in communicating narrative responsibility, consider the following excerpt, cited from the discussion of Dancygier (2012, p. 69), which is taken in turn from the narration of a narrating subject (about someone else's life) in a novel by Henry Fielding.

> *He now lived, for the most part, retired in the country, with one sister, for whom he had a very tender affection… This lady was now somewhat past the age of thirty.* (Tom Jones, p. 17)

In the excerpt, the past tense marker is a viewpoint construction typically seen in literary narratives, where the narrator starts out from the story viewpoint space, which is an independent mental space that contains a narrating subject and a reader (or a listener), with the time of narration being present. In a typical literary narrative, the story viewpoint space usually has access to all the other mental spaces that develop as the narrative goes along. The use of the past tense in this example is to set the distance between the narrating subject (in the story viewpoint space) and the main narrative space, making a clear distinction between the time of story-telling (which is present) and the time of the reported event (which is earlier than the time of the story-telling). In this example, the pronoun *he* is used to refer to a character situated in the reported event in the main narrative space (which is contains the reported event and is distant from the story viewpoint space). However, note that the temporal adverb *now* is used in the passage, not to refer to the time of the reported event in the main narrative space being present but to highlight the communicative roles of the narrator and the listener (Dancygier, 2012, p. 69; see also Nikiforidou, 2012) in the story viewpoint space.

As shown earlier, previous literature has identified various viewpointing means in narratives (as a means of human communication); however, so far, the cross-linguistic dimension of viewpoint phenomena and construals invoked by different viewpoint expressions in different languages has remained under-investigated. This is a research gap in Cognitive Linguistics, which the current thesis aims to fill.

1.2 Comparing the construals of an event of death across genres

Founded on the usage-based commitment, Cognitive Linguistics has come to pay close attention to the actual socio-cultural context of language use (Kövecses, 2015; Kristiansen &

Dirven, 2008; Sharifian, 2011). Among the various notions advanced, *cultural conceptualization*, which stands for culture-specific ways of expressing and construing concepts (Sharifian 2011), has been at the forefront of scholarly attention. Previous literature has identified various conceptual strategies for constructing the construal of an event in a cultural setting, such as cultural schemas, cultural categories, cultural metaphor, and cultural metonymy. The second section of the current thesis (Publications 5-9) deals with the variation of cultural conceptualization in Taiwanese Mandarin and investigates the various cultural symbols that are used in the pragmatic act of offering solace, using the eulogistic idioms that are displayed at public funerals as illustration.

This research views eulogy as a *genre* (Swales, 1990) and the different sets of Mandarin eulogistic idioms displayed at funerals as sub-genres of eulogy, which means that I consider the idioms to form sets of semiotic codes used for the purpose of a communicative convention. It is the role played by the socio-cultural context of the usage of the eulogistic idioms (輓語 *wǎn yǔ*) and the resultant construals that I study in the current thesis.

In addition, from a cultural-anthropological or a cultural-sociological point of view, it is also important to note that the setup of the official eulogy request system allows for an immediately transparent display of the extra-linguistic factors that are considered crucial in an event of commemoration by that particular culture. In the act of commemoration, the variables (such as the profession[2] or the religion of the deceased, among others) must be sufficiently relevant to such an extent that the government decides to create a category that allows the mourner to choose from whatever that is considered relevant to the object of mourning. Therefore, this research considers these general categories (occupation, religion), and the sub-categories that are subsumed under those general categories (i.e., “teacher”, “legal expert”, “politician”, etc.; “Buddhist”, “Christian”, “Catholic”, etc.) *cultural categories* (Lakoff, 1987; Rosch, 1978; Sharifian, 2011), not just because they are interculturally different but because they reflect properties that emerge from the constant interaction among the members of a cultural group (Sharifian, 2011, p. 27-28). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that each of the cultural categories may conceptually invoke relevant socio-cultural beliefs and socio-cultural expectations, which can be manifested by the language used in the expression of the mourning. Accordingly, the research investigates the choice of eulogistic

[2] Note that I make a distinction between *occupation* and *profession* in my writing—when I emphasize the type of work that the deceased did when alive, the term *occupation* is used, while when the socio-cultural expectation is meant, I tend to use the term *profession*; otherwise, the terms are interchangeable in my writing when no emphasis is laid on either the person or the culture.

idioms and the variation of construals invoked by the idioms based on the different socio-cultural expectations related to the professional and religious categories.

In addition, the research is theoretically relevant, as from a pragmatic and usage-based point of view, the mourner's (electronic) deliverance of a eulogistic idiom at the funeral is *situation-bound* (Kecskes, 2010) and can be considered a *pragmeme* (Mey, 2001) for offering solace to the family of the deceased. Hence, in this wider sense, the eulogized is not merely the deceased but also the living. Accordingly, the eulogistic idiom displayed at the funeral can be considered a way of referring to the deceased as an object of conceptualization, and it is in this sense that the various culturally relevant figures of speech including metaphor, metonymy, and allusion, come into the picture as a mourner's way of creating a construal of the object of commemoration in the mind of the living. The act of commemoration is done, and the conceptualization is realized, in a particular socio-cultural setting, so it is natural that the verbal practice should be analyzed and should be understood against the backdrop of socio-cultural significance of the commemoration.

Accordingly, the second section of the thesis is a comparison of the construals invoked by the different sets of eulogistic idioms that are used for the different cultural categories, with the analytic focus being the use of metaphor, metonymy and allusion in the same pragmeme of offering solace.

2. Objectives of the work

The thesis addresses the variation of construal mediated through language, which is a manifestation of the cognitive flexibility of the human mind in the process of meaning creation meaning through the use of language. To achieve the purpose, the thesis comprises two research threads.

The first objective is to study how the construal of a usage event created by language varies with the linguistic toolkit involved in the encoding of a situation across languages. To this end, I investigate parallel linguistic representations of the same literary scene rendered in different languages (in my case, English and Chinese). The results are reported in Publication 1 to 4 of the thesis.

The second objective is to study how the construal of a usage event created by language vary with the socio-cultural factor surrounding the event. In order to do this, I focus on the cognitive semantic mechanisms involved in the four-character eulogistic idioms in

Chinese that are used for the deceased of different professions and religions at public funerals in Taiwan. The results are reported in Publication 5 to 9 of the thesis.

3. Research questions and employed methodology

This section lays out the research questions and the research methods employed in the thesis.

3.1 Variation of construal across languages

In the first section of the thesis (Publication 1 to 4), the research questions addressed is one of comparative stylistic nature: "When a stylistic phenomenon with a cognitive effect is created in Language A that allows for a usage event to be construed in a particular way, how do users of Language B render the style and the construal of the event (with the set of linguistic tools available in Language B)? Can we observe a tendency among the users of Language B that makes it impossible (or difficult) for them to reproduce the style and the construal from Language A?"

Methodologically, this part of the research is based on the scrutiny of a selection of parallel texts of world masterpieces. The choice of parallel texts (or translation) as the study material is to reasonably control for the semantic content expressed in the comparison of languages. To compare my target languages (which are English and Chinese), I use world masterpieces written in English and their multiple published translations in Chinese.[3] The translations selected are commercial publications, which ensures the quality of the language sample studied; the inclusion of multiple renditions of the same work ensures the reliability of the generalization made over the renditions.

Below, I expound the advantages of employing multiple parallel texts as the study material.

Humans are designed as pattern-seeking animals: Since infancy, babies take statistics of all sorts of sound patterns, turning all acoustic input experienced into stable phonological categories in mind. Lexical and grammatical patterns emerge later in life, as a result of innumerable generalizations made from the various meaning-bearing structural inputs. Adult scientists do the same; in the field of corpus linguistics, databases are built for seeking regularities in language (and languages). In contrastive construction grammar, studies have made use of large bodies of data to scrutinize how constructions are similar and how they are

[3] Throughout Publications1-4, (my co-authors and) I use an English original and multiple Chinese renditions, with an exception made in the second half of Publication 1, where one Chinese original and its (only) published English translation are used.

different across languages. However, the majority of contrastive constructional research is methodologically based on comparison of two constructions suspected to be similar from two independent mono-lingual corpora. Such practice certainly has its value— using large quantities of linguistic data ensures a high extent of precision in the generalizations made, at least in each of the languages involved. However, such practice may run into an issue of commensurability— when Construction X (in Language A) and Construction Y (in Language B) are semantically similar, and can be considered translation equivalents, how much sense would it make for us to compare the two constructional tools, in the two completely different human communication systems? In other words, how commensurable are the function of Construction X and that of Construction Y, in the two sets of radically conventional constructional tools? Recent studies comparing analogous viewpoint constructions in different languages have suggested a negative answer. An example is proximal and distal demonstratives, which may seem to serve similar communicative functions across languages, and, as a logical result of that, can be surmised to exhibit similar distributional profiles cross-linguistically. However, it was found that in English-Chinese parallel texts, when the users of the two languages express highly similar (or almost identical) messages, the usage patterns of the proximal and the distal demonstratives vary considerably between the two languages (Wu, 2004). Similar observations have also been made regarding prepositions and motion verbs (Knotková & Lu, 2020), articles and epistemic modals (Tabakowska, 2014), when different published translations (which ensure the quality of the language samples analyzed) were used to obtain a confident intra-language generalization.

However, although there have been numerous efforts looking into how large quantities of parallelly aligned and annotated texts (which are the so-called *parallel corpora*) may be put to use in contrastive linguistic and translation research,[4] such application of parallelly aligned texts in studying viewpoint constructions across languages is still rare.

Given the above reasons, the studies presented in Section 1 of the thesis are methodologically progressive due to the high level of commensurability between the samples across languages and the level of the confidence in the generalization made across the different samples within the same target language.

[4] An example is Doval and Teresa Sánchez Nieto (2019).

3.2 Variation of construal across socio-cultural settings

The methodology employed in the second section of the thesis (Publications 5-9) is founded on the usage-based commitment of Cognitive Linguistics, aiming to facilitate comparison of the construal of an event of death across different socio-cultural settings.

In this thread of research, the questions addressed is one of anthropological linguistic nature: "As a universal type of events, how is death communicated and construed by humans through the linguistic toolkit available to them? What role does the socio-cultural aspect of language use play in shaping the construal?"

To address the questions, I base the research on an investigation of an online mortuary service provided by the Taiwanese government. The state-run nature of the online service ensures the authoritativeness and thus representativeness of the data analyzed. The service system allows the mourners to request a pre-defined eulogy (in the form of four-character idioms), in order for the eulogy to display on an electronic banner in the funeral hall where a funeral is scheduled to take place. The system asks the user (the mourner) to choose the religion and the occupation of the deceased when alive. As a result of the mourner's choice, the system turns up eulogistic idioms that fit the descriptions. Specifically, when a mourner chooses "Christian" (based on the religion of the deceased when alive), the system turns up a group of idioms that are suitable to the description; by the same token, each occupational category returns its own idioms that the mourner may choose from.

Methodologically, the setup of the mortuary service system as such ensures rigor and clarity, as the pre-defined categorization gives us a transparent correlation between the socio-cultural characterization of the object of commemoration and the idiomatic expression used by the mourner in the pragmeme of helping the family accommodate a death (Parvaresh and Capone, 2017).

In this thread of research, I study the cultural conceptualization invoked by the eulogistic idioms that are linked to each of the religious and occupational categories from a Cognitive Linguistics perspective. In particular, I analyze the cognitive mechanisms (such as metaphor, metonymy, and subject-object distinction) and the various cultural symbols and allusions involved in the encoding of the pragmeme of accommodation.

Another methodological dimension that is worth noting of this thread of research is the fact that the Chinese language is characterized by a highly productive lexical template of four-character idioms, the fixed length of which ensures the comparability of the results obtained.

Another fact that the idioms constitute an integral part of the Chinese death ritual makes the cognitive semantic study of the idioms notably valuable from an anthropological point of view.

4. Obtained results

In the first part of the research, I (along with my collaborators) identify a wide variety of mismatches between the two languages in terms of viewpoint management, which result in irreducibly differences in the construal of the same narrated content across the languages. With the mismatches, I am further able to pinpoint a few language-specific devices that facilitate the formation of mixed narrative viewpoint and that help achieve the cognitive effect in the respective languages.

In Publication 1, based on a scrutiny of the opening chapter of *Alice in Wonderland* and its 4 Chinese renditions, my collaborator and I observe that the English text systematically utilizes a specific combination of conventional constructional tools (including punctuation, letter case and connectives) for the purpose of constructing a gradual shift from a narrator-responsible viewpoint to a character-responsible one. These elements are, however, partially missing in the majority of the Chinese texts, which results in the translators' difficulty in adopting the entire constructional complex from the source language and forces the translators to use a variety of constructions available to them, sometimes losing the construal of the mixed viewpoint in the English original. In addition, a comparison of a Chinese world masterpiece (酒國, *The Republic of Wine*) with its English translation reveals a similar result; the productivity of the deictic verb (來/去 *lái/qù* "come/go") in the Chinese resultative construction allows the Chinese text to easily operate on the narrative viewpoint by using a deictic verb in the resultative construction in the report of a motion event, whereas the English language is not equipped with a similar set of conventionalized linguistic tools to viewpoint a motion event. As a result, the above difference creates an irreducible difference in the viewpoint construal of a motion event between Chinese and English.

Publication 2 is similarly based on a study of *Alice in Wonderland* and its four Chinese renditions, which explores the issue of correspondence between the demonstratives in English (*this/that*) and Chinese (這/那 *zhè/nà* "this/that") and how that influences the viewpoint construal of a narrated scene. My collaborators and I find that despite a similar two-way distinction (of proximal-distal), the two languages viewpoint the same reported content in different ways; the two languages also vary in the frequency of demonstratives as viewpoint

constructions (with Chinese being more heavily demonstrative-viewpointed in general). In addition, it is found that lack of viewpoint correspondence is actually the norm between the languages. Furthermore, a close look reveals several factors that influence how a narrative is construed via the use of demonstratives across the languages, which include: the use of shell nouns as an anaphoric strategy of referent tracking in the narrator's language (such as 玩意兒 *wányì-ér* "thing-diminutive" in Chinese), the grammatical profile of the viewpointing construction (that is, whether the demonstrative is involved as a pronoun or joined by an adverbializing construction such as 麼 *me* in Chinese), and the tendency (of the English language) to pronominalize an event and make reference to it as part of the cleft construction using *it*, which is rendered in Chinese as a proximal demonstrative that invokes a character-dominant viewpoint. In many other cases, the demonstrative viewpoints the narrative in one language, but the stylistic effect is achieved in the other language with a completely different viewpoint construction.

Publication 3 is a study of how the stylistic effect of tense shifting, as a main strategy for creating a mixed viewpoint in English, is typically rendered in Chinese and the resultant construal of the rendition. The study is based on selected passages from the original English works of *Great Expectations*, *David Copperfield* (both by Charles Dickens) and "A&P" (by John Updike) and their published Chinese versions. In this paper, I find that in English, tense marking (which is a device relevant to the encoding of TIME) works with at least two language-specific stylistic means, which are clause interpolation and the inversion of word order, to create a mixed narrative viewpoint. However, the three stylistic elements cannot be found in the Chinese versions systematically. What is also remarkable is that unlike the frequent involvement of TIME of the English language, the Chinese texts do not use the perfective aspect or temporal adverbials (which are constructions that invoke TIME) systematically, which shows the Chinese system's overall indifference to TIME in managing viewpoint in discourse. Furthermore, the Chinese renditions, in addition to an overall indifference to TIME, feature consistent and frequent use of reduplication as the system's distinctive stylistic strategy, allowing the text producer to create a vivid, intensified, and as a result, character-dominant construal of the narrated content.

Publication 4 is a natural continuation of Publication 3, which investigates how the viewpoint effect created by the English inversion is rendered in the Chinese versions and the resultant viewpoint construal. The study sampled passages from *Great Expectations* and its Chinese renditions. In the study, I observe that in addition to inversion, the English linguistic

toolkit allows for the language sample to exhibit a zoom-in effect through use of punctuation, the participial clause, and an ad hoc constructional schema of [*some*] – [X] with the middle three instantiations sharing an identical phonological schema, as in *some stricken with terror, some sobbing and weeping, and some covering their faces*. In this example, the identical phonological schema and the shared character-responsible narrative viewpoint makes the three instantiations of the schema iconic. In comparison, the Chinese renditions employ the presentative construction and a focus particle to approximate the character-based viewpoint, but the zoom-in effect is not present in any of the Chinese versions due to a lack of a similar composition of the stylistic strategies. In addition to the difference in construal, another important difference between the language samples is the generally longer iconic part in the Chinese versions, due to the productivity of four-character templates at the phonological pole in Mandarin Chinese. In other words, the character-dominant viewpoint is similar across the languages, but the part of the text that is iconic tends to be longer in Chinese.

In the second part of the research, I identify various cultural symbols and figurative devices that contribute to the variation of the construal of death in the genre of eulogy in Chinese; the religion- and occupation-specific construals of death are multiply motivated by various socio-cultural and historical factors.

Publication 5 serves to contextualize the second thread of research. The article introduces the eulogistic idioms as situation-bound utterances by considering the pragmatic act against modern funeral practice of the Taiwanese society in the digital form. The eulogistic idioms are fixed in length (of four characters) and are presented in the written mode in the funeral hall (on a white cloth banner in the past and on an electronic screen nowadays), so the idioms have a very high level of formulaicity. In addition, I identify four extra-linguistic factors that are important in the analysis of how humans communicate death in a cultural setting (at a Taiwanese funeral), including the affiliation and the job title of the mourner, the occupation of the deceased when alive, the religion of the deceased when alive, and the Taiwanese cultural practice of adopting an English nickname for the purpose of impression management. The study also finds a warning on the website that misusing another person's name to request a eulogy constitutes a crime (which presupposes that such transgression is not uncommon).

Publication 6 reports the construals of death in the sub-genres of idioms for Buddhists (which contains 59 idioms) and for Christians (8 idioms) in Chinese. Specifically, six main metaphorical conceptualizations are reflected in the Buddhist sub-genre, including DEATH IS

REBIRTH, DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH, DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH, REBIRTH IS WEST, LIFE IS A CIRCLE, A PERSON IS A LOTUS, and HEAVEN IS (A POND/SEA) FULL OF LOTUSES. On the other hand, there are three conceptualizations identified in the Christian sub-genre, including DEATH IS REST, HEAVEN IS AN ETERNAL HOME and DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY. An analysis of the metaphor involved in the eulogistic idioms reveals vast differences in how death is construed by the two religious communities in Taiwan. In addition to the differences, the chapter also identifies a similarity in metaphor use, which is DEATH IS REST. However, a type-frequency count of the REST metaphor shows different weight of the conceptual metaphor in the two communities (3/8 in the Christian category and 1/59 in the Buddhist one).

Publication 7 presents an analysis of the sub-genre of eulogistic idioms for politicians, which is based on an analysis of all the 16 idioms of that category in the online service system. The study firstly shows that for the idioms used in the commemoration of politicians frequently involve the notion of COUNTRY or PEOPLE in the conceptual profile or the conceptual base. Secondly, allusion is found to be a significant strategy in Taiwanese political eulogies, which affords access to a highly specialized cultural knowledge structure as the conceptual basis for understanding and evaluating the deceased, with typical examples including 甘棠 *gāntáng* 'birchleaf pear (Pyrus betulifolia)', 麒麟閣 *Qílín Gé* 'Qilin Building', and 峴首 *Xiànshǒu* 'Mountain Xianshou'. In addition to that, culture- and profession-specific metaphors and metonymies also abound in this sub-genre. An example is the TEXTILE metaphor, which can be conceptually characterized as LINES ARE (POLITICAL) BUSINESS; ATTENDING (POLITICAL) BUSINESS IS ORGANIZING FIBERS; ORGANIZATION IS WISDOM IN DEALING WITH (POLITICAL) BUSINESS. At the social level, I find that through the cultural conceptualizations invoked by the eulogistic idioms, politicians in the Taiwanese society are always remembered exclusively in the political domain (where COUNTRY or PEOPLE is of conceptual significance), which is different from the American conceptualization, where personal traits are often remembered with a note of affection.

Publication 8 investigates the eulogistic idioms for teachers (12 idioms), media workers (10 idioms) and legal experts (8 idioms) as three more sub-genres of eulogy. Across the professions, I firstly observe an overall abundance of cultural elements and assumptions that underlie the use of eulogistic idioms, such as PLANT metaphors in the domain of EDUCATION, SOUND metaphors in MEDIA, and CLEANLINESS metaphors in LAW. Second, allusions to historical figures (such as 楊時 Yáng Shí, 游酢 Yóu Zuò, 程頤 Chéng Yí, and 馬

融 Mǎ Róng) are also present in the idioms for teachers but not in the other categories. In addition to the cultural metaphors and allusions, my analysis shows that whether the mourner places himself onstage as an object of conceptualization is a factor that correlates with a student viewpoint in the sub-genre of eulogies for teachers. Such objective construal of the mourner and an accordingly less objective construal of the deceased is not found in the other sub-genres of eulogy.

Publication 9 deepens our understanding of religion-specific construals addressed in Publication 6 from a constructionist perspective. In particular, the analysis presented in the chapter elaborates on the role played by lexical instantiations in metaphor research; the REST metaphor exists in both the Buddhist and the Christian sub-genre but the exact lexical constructions that evoke the metaphor are different in the two sub-genres. Specifically, REST is prompted by 歇 *xiē* 'break' in the Buddhist eulogy but by 息 *xí* 'stop' in the Christian sub-genre. The nuanced semantic shades of the lexical constructions used in the sub-genres reflect the different worldviews of the two religions. In addition, although both religions share the metaphorical conceptualization of LIFE IS A JOURNEY; DEATH IS A JOURNEY FROM THIS WORLD TO THE HEAVENS, the exact motion verb that instantiates the JOURNEY is different in the two religions, with JOURNEY prompted by 往 *wǎng* 'towards' in the Buddhist idioms and by 歸 *guī* 'return' in the Christian idioms. Although the metaphorical conceptualization is shared across the religious communities, the nuanced semantic difference in the lexical instantiations gives away the worldview that underlie.

5. Self-assessment of the research work reported

The research reported in the thesis is expected to create impact in the fields of Cognitive Linguistics (especially viewpoint research and metaphor research), pragmatics and anthropological linguistics. A self-assessment is stipulated as follows.

First of all, the research shows that the construal of a scene constructed through the linguistic mode is restricted by the linguistic toolkit available to the users of a particular linguistic community and is, as a result, bound to be highly conventional and language-specific, as is evidenced by the findings throughout Publications 1-4. In general, what the findings reveal is a general lack of cross-linguistic correspondences; in the same usage event, different text producers in different languages have completely different ways of utilizing the same cognitive capacity in their parallel encoding of similar events, which is reflected in their actual use of language. This has an important implication: although the general human

cognitive infrastructure may be universal, the cognitive and construal operations in different languages simply have to follow the linguistic conventions in the respective languages. Viewpoint taking in language in general, and in literary narratives more specifically, is a natural epiphenomenon of the radically conventional nature of grammar (Croft 2001; Verhagen 2012).

Moreover, the research helps answer part of a long-standing puzzle of why Chinese has been considered a vague and context-dependent language. When it comes to the management of narrative viewpoint, the typological nature of Chinese (which is its lack of an obligatory tense marking system) does not *require* its users to encode the narrative viewpoint *by sentence*; instead, the viewpointing strategies of the Chinese language (such as reduplication) are non-obligatory, which naturally leaves the narrative viewpoint of some sentences unspecified and contingent on the existence of another viewpointing strategy in context. This part of the research is theoretically valuable, as it helps demystify the generally acknowledged vagueness of the Chinese language through the lens of linguistic relativity.

Secondly, the research shows the role played by socio-cultural factors in shaping the construal of an event of death. The study pinpoints the Chinese concept of 面子 *miànzi* 'face' as a culture-specific force that facilitated the establishment and shaped the setup of the eulogy request system. In addition, the religion and the profession of the deceased when alive are found to play an important role in shaping the construal in the communication around an event of death, as different religions and professions invoke different worldviews and socio-cultural values that are manifested by different cultural symbols, metaphor, metonymy, allusions and different degrees of subjectivity that create variation in the construal of a death event in eulogy. The conceptualization of the event of death reported is highly culture-specific.

Furthermore, the research shows the relevance of subject/object distinction (i.e. the notion of "viewing arrangement" in Cognitive Grammar) to analyzing the language of death. Specifically, in the sub-genre of eulogies for teachers, some idioms place the mourner and their relationship with the object of the mourning onstage as an object of conceptualization along with the mourned, which is different from what is typical of the other professions (where the mourner stays entirely offstage as a mere subject of conceptualization). The different subject-object distinction at the conceptual level is motivated by the cultural characterization of the profession involved, which constitutes an innovative finding in the study of the language of death.

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6. The applicant's contribution in the publications included

My share of contributions in each of the published articles is stipulated in the tables below. All the numbers had been discussed with the collaborators for the co-authored publications (1, 2, and 9) before the submission of the commentary. In such cases, a substantiation follows to report the division of labor.

[1][5] Lu, Wei-lun and Arie Verhagen. 2016. Shifting viewpoints: How does that actually work across languages? An exercise in parallel text analysis. ***Viewpoint and the fabric of meaning: Form and use of viewpoint tools across languages and modalities*****, ed. by Barbara Dancygier, Wei-lun Lu and Arie Verhagen, 169-190. Berlin: De Gruyter.**

Experimental work (%)	Supervision (%)	Manuscript (%)	Research direction (%)
60	60	60	60

Substantiation: I (first author) was responsible for the collection of the data, data analysis, the writing of the main body of the analysis and part of the method, introduction and conclusion. The second author was responsible for the writing of part of the introduction and conclusion, and the proofreading of the entire text.

[2] Lu, Wei-lun, Arie Verhagen and I-wen Su. 2018. A Multiple-Parallel-Text approach for viewpoint research across languages: The case of demonstratives in English and Chinese. ***Expressive minds and artistic creations*****, ed. by Szilvia Csábi, 131-157. Oxford: Oxford University Press.**

Experimental work (%)	Supervision (%)	Manuscript (%)	Research direction (%)
85	85	85	85

Substantiation: I (first author) was responsible for the collection of the data, data analysis, the writing of the main body of the analysis and most parts of the method, introduction and conclusion. The second author was responsible for the writing of small parts of the

[5] Bibliographic record of a published scientific result, which is part of the habilitation thesis.

introduction and conclusion, and the proofreading of the entire text. The third author was responsible for writing a small part of the conclusion and for proofreading parts of the text.

[3] Lu, Wei-lun. 2019. Time, tense and viewpoint shift across languages: A Multiple-Parallel-Text approach to "tense shifting" in a tenseless language. *Cognitive Linguistics* 30(2), 377-397.

Experimental work (%)	Supervision (%)	Manuscript (%)	Research direction (%)
100	100	100	100

[4] Lu, Wei-lun. 2020. Viewpoint and subjective construal across languages: English inversion, associated strategies and their Chinese renditions in multiple parallel texts. *Cognitive Linguistic Studies* 7(2), 333-355.

Experimental work (%)	Supervision (%)	Manuscript (%)	Research direction (%)
100	100	100	100

[5] Lu, Wei-lun. 2017. Socio-cultural factors in analyzing the pragmeme of accommodation: A case study of the official online eulogy request system in Taiwan. *The pragmeme of accommodation and intercultural pragmatics: The case of interaction around the event of death*, ed. by Vahid Parvaresh and Alessandro Capone, 111-127. Zurich: Springer.

Experimental work (%)	Supervision (%)	Manuscript (%)	Research direction (%)
100	100	100	100

[6] Lu, Wei-lun. 2017. Religion and worldview in metaphor use: Cultural conceptualisations of death in Taiwanese Buddhist and Christian eulogistic idioms. ***Advances in Cultural Linguistics*****, ed. by Farzad Sharifian, 49-64. Singapore: Springer.**

Experimental work (%)	Supervision (%)	Manuscript (%)	Research direction (%)
100	100	100	100

[7] Lu, Wei-lun. 2020. Cultural "signs of life" in politics: A case study of eulogistic idioms for Taiwanese politicians. ***Signs of life: Changes and continuity in language, thought and identity*****, ed. by Vera da Silva Sinha, Ana Moreno-Núñez and Zhen Tian, 139-154. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.**

Experimental work (%)	Supervision (%)	Manuscript (%)	Research direction (%)
100	100	100	100

[8] Lu, Wei-lun. 2020. Viewpoint and metaphor in culture: A Cognitive Linguistic analysis on a selection of Chinese eulogistic idioms used in Taiwan. ***Cognitive Linguistic Studies*** **7(1), 260-279.**

Experimental work (%)	Supervision (%)	Manuscript (%)	Research direction (%)
100	100	100	100

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Experimental work (%)	Supervision (%)	Manuscript (%)	Research direction (%)
55	55	55	55

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author was responsible for the writing of the introduction and part of the conclusion and for proofreading and editing the entire text.

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60	60	60	60

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Viewpoint and the Fabric of Meaning

Form and Use of Viewpoint Tools
across Languages and Modalities

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Shifting viewpoints: How does that actually work across languages? An exercise in parallel text analysis

Abstract: This chapter provides a parallel-text-based analysis of shifting viewpoints in English and Chinese. The data come from *Alice in Wonderland* and its four published Chinese translations, and from *Jiu Guo* and its published English translation. We observe that the English text systematically utilizes a specific combination of conventional constructional tools (including punctuation, letter case and connectives) for the purpose of constructing a gradual shift from one viewpoint to another. These elements are however partially missing in Chinese, which results in the translators' difficulty in adopting the entire constructional complex from the source language and forces them to use a variety of constructions available to them, sometimes losing the stylistic effect of the English original. A comparison of the Chinese original with its English translation reveals a similar result. The productivity of deictic verbs in Chinese resultative constructions allows the Chinese text to easily mix viewpoints using deictic verbs, whereas the English text does not exhibit such a tendency. We conclude by discussing how the study of parallel texts reveals the radically conventional nature of grammar and provides a powerful addition to research tools in cognitive linguistics.

1 Introduction

The questions that comparative stylistic research is dealing with are simultaneously quite concrete and quite general. On the one hand, we are interested in a very concrete question of cross-linguistic comparison: How exactly is a specific discourse pattern in English – one in which the dominant viewpoint shifts from the narrator to a character in a story rather smoothly – rendered in Chinese, a lan-

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guage that does not have direct parallels of the linguistic features that constitute the English pattern? On the other hand, and at the same time, we are interested in a much more general theoretical and methodological question, namely, how precisely this *type* of question may and should be investigated: What procedures and what kind of data are appropriate, and especially: What is the status of concepts that we use in such a comparative study? The main goal of this paper is to address these general methodological and conceptual questions. We will do so by means of a detailed comparison of a small number of highly significant text fragments involving mixed viewpoints, using parallel texts: four translations from an English original to Chinese, and one from Chinese to English.

2 Method, data and research question

The use of parallel texts – putting an original alongside its translation(s) and comparing them for the purpose of semantic and grammatical analysis – already has some history and some systematic reflection in linguistics in general (Barlow 2008; Chamonikolasova 2007; Cysouw and Wälchli 2007; Van der Auwera et. al 2005). The use of parallel texts is highly beneficial, as by seeing the author and the translators as sensible text producers that try to get across the same conceptual contents in different languages, it allows us to compare how a usage-event is verbalized by the speakers of different languages, i.e. with different sets of linguistic tools available to each text producer.[1] Moreover, it allows us to compare languages in a more time-efficient way than experimental methods would, if the researcher has adequate knowledge of all or most of the languages involved.[2]

The method has also gained interest in cognitive linguistics in recent years; witness Rojo and Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2013), Slobin (1996, 2003), Tabakowska (1993, 2014), Verkerk (2014), among others. However, in the study of viewpoint phenomena, the parallel-corpus-based approach is still almost new, Tabakowska (2014) being the only study, as far as we know. Tabakowska investigates viewpoint manifestations in *Alice in Wonderland* in terms of the theoretical framework

1 The method also has its own specific limitations, as translational discourse may be different from natural discourse. See Xiao (2010), for instance, for how translational Chinese is different from Chinese discourse that is spontaneously produced by native speakers. Another issue taken with parallel texts is that translations are largely confined to the written genre (Verkerk 2014:34). But in spite of the above constraints, the parallel text is still a powerful tool for contrastive linguistic research.

2 For a more comprehensive overview of use of parallel texts in linguistics research, see Verkerk (2014) and Wälchli (2007).

of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 2008), using the original and five different Polish translations. Most extensively, she discusses reference (in view of the fact that Polish, unlike English, lacks the systematic distinction into definite and indefinite articles), and then more briefly the use of aspect (involving differences between the Polish imperfective and the English progressive), epistemic modality, de-idiomatization and iconicity, as tools for viewpoint construction in *Alice* and its Polish translations. They function as signals for different aspects of common ground shared by Alice, the narrator and the reader, and thus as indicators of a particular point of view in a clause or text fragment. However, although Tabakowska mentions the classical narratological and stylistic phenomenon of Speech and Thought Representation (STR), and especially that of viewpoint mixture in so-called Free Indirect Discourse (FID), she does not include these in her analysis. Given their importance and pervasiveness, we consider it useful to focus on these in this study. Our goal, moreover, goes beyond a demonstration of the usefulness of a cognitive semantic approach to translation studies: We will argue that the detailed study of translations (in this case in English and Mandarin Chinese) of STR fragments provides evidence for the radically language-specific nature of the grammatical tools for 'implementing' viewpoints.[3]

Given that verbalizations of the same usage event are largely aligned sentence by sentence in parallel texts, the special organization of such texts creates a methodological opportunity that allows us to look into this research issue: How may grammatical constructions involved in viewpoint management be compared cross-linguistically? To put it more precisely, when we see a viewpoint construction of Language A in a certain stretch of discourse, do we also systematically find some counterpart or translation equivalent in its translation in Language B? If not, what do we find in Language B and what does that tell us about viewpoint management cross-linguistically?

To answer this query, we also begin, like Tabakowska, with a study of *Alice in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll, now alongside its Chinese translations published in Taiwan. *Alice in Wonderland* is well known for its juxtaposition of the narrator's voice with the protagonist's voice that reflects the author's split personality (see Tabakowska 2014 for a review and for further references). We use four Chinese translations, done by Yuan-ren Chao, by Li-fang Chen, by Hui-hsien Wang, and by Wenhao Jia and Wenyuan Jia. We focus on a special, highly significant pattern of STR in the original, and the different ways in which the translators have dealt with it in the Mandarin translations, constrained by the conventional grammatical patterns of that language.

3 As we will see, grounding predications of the type that Tabakowska focuses on, will ultimately turn out to be important in our analysis as well, especially in the section on *Jiu Guo*.

To counterbalance the possible impression that English would provide a 'richer' toolkit for viewpoint management than Mandarin, we also present a brief case study of translation in the opposite direction: from Mandarin to English; the original text is *Jiu Guo (The Republic of Wine*), a Chinese masterpiece written by Mo Yan, Nobel laureate in 2012, and the translation into English, done by Howard Goldblatt. Our choice of *Jiu Guo* was motivated by the hallucinatory realism of Mo Yan's writing, which was one of the main reasons for Mo Yan's receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature.

3 Mixing viewpoints in *Alice in Wonderland* and its four Chinese translations

First we will demonstrate a recurrent textual patterns of mixing viewpoints used by Lewis Carroll. Our examples all come from the first chapter, but readers can easily verify that it is in fact characteristic of, and occurs throughout, the whole book. In section 3.1, we identify the grammatical patterns which allow the author to construct this specific pattern. As we will show, at least part of this pattern is specific to the grammar of English – it is based on an English *convention* for connecting a reported clause to a reporting one, a convention that does not as such exist in Mandarin. In section 3.2, we present the corresponding passages in the Mandarin versions to demonstrate and evaluate different strategies employed in the translations.

3.1 Analysis of the English text

The very first sentence (and paragraph) of *Alice in Wonderland* reads as follows:

(1) a. *Alice was beginning to get very tired of sitting by her sister on the bank, and of having nothing to do: once or twice she had peeped into the book her sister was reading, but it had no pictures or conversations in it, 'and what is the use of a book,' thought Alice 'without pictures or conversations?'*

The fragment appears to start with an outsider's view of Alice sitting on the bank (though with some *hint* of an internal mental state: experiencing boredom), and ends clearly and unambiguously with a *direct* evocation of a highly specific thought of Alice, in her own words ("direct thought"). It is worthwhile to consider in some detail how exactly the point of view progresses from (almost) completely

outside to completely internal to Alice. At least the following elements, and their specific combination, play a role. One is the coordinating conjunction *and*[4] at the beginning of Alice's direct thought, and the fact that *and* is in lower case (preceded by a comma). The use of the coordinating conjunction *and*, in lower case, presents Alice's *direct* thought as a straightforward continuation of the text segment preceding it – so this preceding segment must at least to *some* extent also represent Alice's thought; put differently, in terms of content: The (rhetorical) question in quotation marks is Alice's thought; it must be based on some consideration presented in the text preceding it (*but it had no pictures or conversations in it*); so this must also to some extent contain Alice's thought; the combination of the comma, conjunction, and lower case marks the direct thought as part of a *train* of thoughts. But up until the first quotation mark, this train of thoughts is not presented as a *direct* representation, in Alice's own words, so here it is partly the narrator who is responsible for the wording and the presentation of Alice's thought: in this sense, this segment – the first conjunct of *and* – shows a mixture of viewpoints: the content primarily gives Alice's point of view (what she perceives as a result of her 'peeping' into her sister's book), but it is presented to us in the narrator's voice.

Another element is the combination of the contrastive conjunction *but* and the negation (*no pictures or conversations*) in the fragment itself. As these evoke a configuration of mental spaces with different epistemic stances towards the same object of conceptualization (Verhagen 2005, ch.2, and references cited there), they in fact invite the reader to imagine some mental agent who might be looking for or expecting to see pictures or conversations. In the present context, the best candidate is of course Alice (an expectation that is quickly fulfilled with the repetition of the words *pictures or conversations* in Alice's direct thought); this makes the use of *and* at the start of the direct thought as natural as it is. So the contrastive conjunction and the negation are linguistic cues pointing to Alice's viewpoint, her world view and expectations, even though the narrator is (co-)responsible for the wording;[5] this also contributes to this fragment creating

4 Strictly speaking, the element *and* may also function as a discourse marker. In this context, however, its status as a conjunction seems clear. Moreover, as we will see, there are other instances of the same pattern in which the place of *and* is taken by an element that is unambiguously a conjunction.

5 One might want to take this as a basis for labelling this clause as Free Indirect Discourse (FID), but it does not show the linguistic characteristics traditionally associated with it, especially not a mixture of past tense with proximal adverbs (such sentences do occur elsewhere in the the text, e.g. *she was now only ten inches high*). On the other hand, this observation could be a starting point for a criticism of the traditional conception of FID, but we will not pursue that issue here.

a 'smooth' transition between the initially external (narrator) viewpoint and the final internal (Alice) viewpoint.

Thirdly, there is the relative ordering of the reported and the reporting clause, i.e. the medial placement of the reporting clause, *between* two parts of the reported clause.[6] In order for the gradual shift in viewpoint to work, the reporting clause must not be placed before the reported clause (as in prototypical direct discourse). Compare (1a) with the constructed example (1b) below.

(1) b. *... but it had no pictures or conversations in it, and/so Alice thought: '(and) what is the use of a book without pictures or conversations?'*

The stylistic effect of a smooth transition between external and internal viewpoints no longer exists in (1b), where the full clause in the narrator's discourse is now structurally severed from Alice's direct thought. As a consequence, the use of a coordinating conjunction at the beginning of this direct thought is also less felicitous (*and* would have to be interpreted differently here, perhaps as a discourse marker; hence the parentheses): it cannot immediately connect to a relevant piece of information in the preceding context. The structural independence of the two text segments in the narration thus has important consequences for the management of the viewpoints in the text. As stated above, the thought that the book contains no pictures or conversations is primarily Alice's (though filtered through the narrator's voice); in (1b), by contrast, we are now pushed towards reading the *but*-clause as an explanation of Alice's (naïve) response to the book by the *narrator*.

Sentence (1a) is definitely not the only one exhibiting this particular effect of a very gradual transition from narrator's to Alice's viewpoint, dependent on precisely this combination of linguistic items. Example (2) is another instance, which we will explain in a bit less detail.

(2) *... but she could not even get her head through the doorway; 'and even if my head would go through,' thought poor Alice, 'it would be of very little use without my shoulders. [...]'*

As we can see, (2) is structurally highly similar to (1a). Both excerpts comprise a full narrative clause followed by a secondary boundary mark[7], a lower case coor-

6 According to Quirk et al. (1985: 1022) "[m]edial position is very frequent"; see also McGregor (1990) and Vandelanotte (2009).

7 Secondary boundary marks include the comma, the semicolon and the colon, as opposed to terminal marks, which include the full stop, the question mark and the exclamation mark (Huddleston and Pullum 2002).

dinating conjunction that starts the direct thought of the character (containing a repetition of an element in the first conjunct: here *head*), with a medial reporting clause. The only difference is the use of a semicolon at the end of the full clause in the narration. A semicolon also indicates interdependency of the conjoined clauses, so it still contributes to the slow shifting of the viewpoint when used in this position, like the comma in (1a).

As the narrative unfolds, the next passage that shares the same pattern, now with the coordinating conjunction *for*, is (3).

(3) *... she felt a little nervous about this; 'for it might end, you know,' said Alice to herself, 'in my going out altogether, like a candle...*

In (3), the combination of structural tools that creates a shifting viewpoint mixture is almost identical to (1a) and (2), including the full clause in the narrator's discourse, followed by a semicolon and Alice's subsequent self-oriented direct speech, interrupted by a reporting clause.[8] All of the examples above stem, as we said, from the first chapter of *Alice in Wonderland*, but the pattern occurs throughout the entire story: 21 of the 26 cases of the phrase *thought Alice* occur in precisely this pattern (in only 5 cases is the formula sentence final), and the same holds for about half of the 115 cases of the phrase *said Alice* (the difference between *thought* and *said* is mostly due to the fact that the latter also occurs in descriptions of conversations, with another participants taking the turn after Alice has said something).

Based on these observations, we can formulate a general pattern for a recurrent stylistic strategy in *Alice in Wonderland*, a schematic viewpoint construction for constructing a gradually shifting mixture from the narrator's to the protagonist's viewpoint:

(4) [CL] – [SecBound Mark] – "[CoorConj] – [Frag1]" – [Reporting CL] – "[Frag2]"

In this schema, [CL] stands for a Full Clause, [SecBound Mark] for a Secondary Boundary Mark, [CoorConj] for a Coordinating Conjunction, and [FragX] for Fragment-of-a-sentence.

Below, we will first examine whether the translators have a consistent strategy for expressing the view-pointing effect in the Chinese passages corresponding to the English ones that are characterized by (4). As we have seen, the viewpointing effect in the English text is achieved through a consistent and recurrent

8 Notice that the element *for*, playing a crucial role in the gradual transition from the narrator's to (100 %) Alice's discourse, is unambiguously a coordinating conjunction (cf. note 5).

constructional complex, and we would like to see whether the translators, in the same context, are similarly able to craft a (more or less) consistent constructional means for the same stylistic end of mixing viewpoints.

3.2 Analysis of the four Chinese translations

In this section, we will first discuss the commonalities of the four translations to describe how Chinese can accommodate the shifting viewpoint mixture in the original, and then we will further explore whether and how such recurring choices are capable of rendering the shifting viewpoint effect of the original text.

However, the very first observation that we can make about the four translations is that no consistent set of structural tools is used to produce the stylistic effect of a shifting mixture of viewpoints.

The absence of such a consistent set of structural tools may be surprising at first sight, but the reasons quickly become clear when we consider some properties of the grammar of Chinese, especially with regard to the ordering of clauses: Chinese does not have a conventional pattern for a medial reporting clause (though such an arrangement does not sound completely intolerable); the preferred convention clearly is to place a reporting clause before the reported one. The four translations of (3a) adhere to this convention by consistently placing the reporting clause before Alice's direct thought; (5) and (6) are typical examples.

(5) …她 有時候 偷偷 地 瞧 她 姊姊 看 的 是 什麼
ta youshihou tou-tou di qiao ta jie-jie kan de shi sheme
she sometimes secret-RED LK see she sister read LK PRT what
書，可是 書 裡 又 沒有 畫兒， 又 沒有
shu, keshi shu li you meiyou hua-er, you meiyou
book but book in also NEG picture-DIM also NEG
說話， 她 就 想道， 「一本書 裏 又 沒有
shuohua, ta jiu xiang-dao, "yi-ben-shu li you meiyou
speech she PRT think-COMP one-CL-book in PRT NEG
畫兒， 又 沒有 說話， 那樣書
hua-er, you meiyou shuohua, na-yang-shu
picture-DIM also NEG speech that-kind-book
要 牠 幹什麼 呢？」 (Chao)
yao ta gansheme ne?"
want it what for PRT
'... She sometimes secretly looked what book her sister was reading, but the book did not have any picture, nor did it have any conversation, so she thought "A book that does not have any picture, nor any conversation, why would one want a book like that?"'

(6) 雖然 她 也 曾 在 一旁 窺視 姊姊 所
suiran ta ye ceng zai yipang kuishi jie-jie suo
although she also at one point LOC next to peep sister REL
閱讀 的 書籍，卻 因 書 中 無 圖 也
yuedu de shuji, que yin shu zhong wu tu ye
read LK book but because book in NEG picture also
無 對話 的 內容 而 覺得 索然無味。 愛麗思
wu duihua de neirong er juede suoranwuwei. ailisi
NEG conversation LK content CONJ feel bored stiff Alice
心 想：「沒有 圖案 也 沒有 對話 的
xin xiang: "meiyou tuaan ye meiyou duihua de
heart think NEG picture also NEG conversation LK
書 有 什麼 用處 呢？」 (Wang)
shu you sheme yongchu ne?"
book have what use PRT
'Although she at one point peeped at the book that her sister was reading, she felt bored from the content of the book that contained no picture and no conversation. Alice thought: "What is the use of a book that contains no picture and no conversation?"'

The consequence of this grammatical convention of Chinese is that it deprives translators of the possibility of exploiting the same structural tools that are used throughout the original, i.e. a medial reporting clause, for the same stylistic purpose; as a result, translators seem to be forced to find other linguistic tools available to them, or to abandon the attempt to render the shifting of viewpoints in the Chinese translation.

However, when we look at the translations of (2), it turns out that three out of four actually have the reporting clause in medial position; (7) and (8) are examples.

(7) 但是 她 連 頭 都 擠不進 那扇門。 「就算
danshi ta lian tou dou ji-bu-jin na-shan-men. "jiusuan
but she PRT head PRT squeeze-NEG-in that-CL-door even if
我 的 頭 擠得進，」 可憐 的 愛麗絲 心想，
wo de tou ji-de-jin," kelian de ailisi xin-xiang,
I LK head squeeze-PFV-in poor LK Alice heart-think
「肩膀 也 擠不進去… (Chen)
"jianbang ye ji-bu-jin-qu...
shoulder also squeeze-NEG-in-go
'But she could not squeeze her head into that door. "Even if my head could be squeezed in," poor Alice thought, "my shoulder would not go through..."'

(8) 但 她 連 頭部 都 鑽不進 門口： 「就算 我
dan ta lian tou-bu dou zuan-bu-jin menkou: "jishi wo
but she PRT head-part PRT squeeze-NEG-in entrance even if I
的 頭 能 勉強 塞進 門口，」 愛麗絲
de tou neng mianqiang sai-jin menkou," ailisi
LK head AUX with force squeeze-in entrance Alice
悲傷 地 想， 「我 的 肩膀 擠不進去… (Wang)
beishang di xiang, "wo de jianbang ji-bu-jin-qu...
sad LK think I LK shoulder squeeze-NEG-in-go
'But she could not even get her head through the door: "Even if my head could be forced into the door," Alice thought sadly, "my shoulder would not go through..."'

The inconsistency among the translations of (1a) and (2) is striking, which raises a question: What is Chinese language usage really like in this respect, in natural (not translated) discourse? One possibility is that Chinese, unlike English, does not allow a nominal head and a post-modifier to be split (as in (1a)), but does allow splitting the two clauses of a conditional (as in (2)). So the question is: Does

a medial reporting clause occur in natural (written) discourse of Chinese at all? In order to answer this question, we consulted the Sinica Corpus of Modern Chinese. We looked up all instances of *xin-xiang* ('heart-think', used in Chen's translation) and *pansuan* ('calculate', used in Jia & Jia's translation), and determined the position of the reporting clauses headed by one of these verbs relative to the associated reported clause. There were 127 reporting clauses with *xin-xiang*, all of which preceded their reported clause; there were 12 reporting clauses with *pansuan*, 9 of which occurred initially relative to the reported clause, and 3 finally. In other words, the overwhelming majority of reporting clauses occurs initially, and none of them are medial, in the corpus. Thus, we may safely conclude that the conventional ordering patterns for reporting and reported clauses in English and in Chinese are different. As recognized in the comprehensive Quirk et al. (1985: 1022), English has three conventionalized patterns – initial ('reporting-reported'), final ('reported-reporting'), and medial ('reported1-reporting-reported2') – the last of which can be used in the construction of gradual viewpoint shift.[9] Chinese, on the other hand, has at most two conventional patterns, initial and final, possibly with a preference for the former.[10]

Thus, there is a tension between the grammatical conventions of Chinese and the 'local' communicative goal of construing a shift in viewpoint from narrator to character. In three out of the four translations of (2), translators have chosen to use a non-conventional pattern, allowing them to follow the order of clauses in the original English text and thereby to try to construct the view-pointing effect in the original, but not, of course, undoing the tension. The unconventional clause ordering seems to some extent tolerable (also according to the first author's intuitions). Thus, it is not expected to block an average Mandarin reader's understanding of the situation being described; at the same time, its effect, as a non-standard device, is not that of a *smooth* shift from the narrator's viewpoint to Alice's, as in English. Notice that neither (7) nor (8) has a coordinating conjunction at the beginning of Alice's direct thought (the original, see (2), has *and*); recall that we argued that this use of a coordinating conjunction is integral to the construal of a smooth transition between viewpoints in the English narrative, which thus clearly cannot be straightforwardly constructed in Chinese.

In fact, in the Chinese translations of these three passages, coordinating conjunctions are missing at the beginning of Alice's direct thought in all cases but

9 Conceivably, there may also be functional differences between initial and final position of the reporting clause, but we do not discuss that possibility any further here.

10 But this might also be dependent on the reporting verbs (witness the difference between *xin-xiang* and *pansuan*). Again, we leave this issue for future research.

one. Of the twelve translated passages involved, only one (the translation of (3) by Chen) has a coordinating conjunction: *yinwei* in (9):

(9) 她 有一點 擔心， 「因為，」 愛麗絲 自言自語： 「再
... ta youyidian danxin, "yinwei," ailisi ziyanziyu: "zai
she a little worry because Alice talk to oneself further
縮下去 的 結果， 有可能 是 我 整個 人
suo-xiaqu de jieguo, youkeneng shi wo zhengge ren
shrink-IPFV LK result possible PRT I entire person
就 像 一個 蠟燭 般… (Chen)
jiu xiang yi-gen lazhu ban...
PRT like one-CL candle PRT
'She was a little worried, "because," Alice spoke to herself: "the result of my going even smaller could be my going out like a candle..."'

The systematic absence (compared to the English original) of coordinating conjunctions in this significant position points to another difference in the relevant grammatical constructions available in English and in Chinese. In Chinese, the coordinating conjunction that is semantically closest to English *and* is *erqie*, but this is typically not used for temporal or causal relations, while the relations in fragments of the type characterized in (4) precisely do have some causal (viz. inferential) aspect (it is the absence of pictures that makes Alice draw a conclusion about the book's function, etc.). The distribution of *erqie* is in fact quite different from that of English *and*. In particular, *erqie* does not typically occur utterance initially in direct discourse; in the Sinica Corpus of Modern Chinese, we find no tokens of *erqie* introducing direct discourse, in a total of 2,637 tokens in the corpus. The only initial conjunction we find is in the translation by Chen in (9), where the English original in fact has a causal conjunction (*for* in [3]): *yinwei* 'because'. Interestingly, this conjunction has a distributional profile that is actually more similar to English *and* than *erqie*, in particular in direct discourse: In the Sinica Corpus, we find four tokens of *yinwei* opening direct discourse, in a total of 5,000 in the whole corpus.

Finally, a closer look at the remaining translations of (3) reveals the possibility of yet another strategy, which comes down to an attempt to follow the English original and adhere to the conventions of Chinese at the same time. Consider Wang's translation in (10):

(10) 愛麗絲 有點兒 緊張 地 想: 「再 繼續 縮下去，
ailisi youdianer jinzhang di xiang: “zai jixu suo-xiaqu,
Alice a little nervous LK think further continue shrink-IPFV
可能 會 完蛋 的，」 又 對 自己 說， 「如果
keneng hui wandan de,” you dui ziji shuo, “ruguo
AUX AUX doomed PRT again to self say if
全 身 的 皮膚 都 不見 了， 像 隻 蠟燭
quan shen de pifu dou bujian le, xiang zhi lazhu
whole body LK skin all gone CRS like CL candle
般… (Wang)
ban...
PRT
‘Alice thought a little nervously: “(If I) keep going smaller, I am doomed,” again (she) spoke to herself, “if my skin is gone, like a candle...”’

The first clause in the original is *she felt a little nervous about this*, a description of Alice’s mental state, but not a reporting clause. The translator turned this clause about nervousness into a reporting clause, with the proper name *Alice* as the subject, and then further on inserts another (subjectless) reporting clause, in medial position. While the latter splits the direct thought in two and thus more or less directly reflects the English original, the first intervention makes Alice’s viewpoint explicit (more so than in the original) in the first clause, thereby preventing it from being read as the narrator’s explanation for her state of mind, and it conforms to the conventions of the Chinese language (moreover, as the first part of the direct thought in [10] constitutes a full sentence, the second reporting clause might also be taken as initial, introducing a new thought; notice the element *you*, “again”). There is a tension between the attempt to preserve a stylistic effect by respecting the author’s practice of placing the reporting clause medially and the conventions of the target language (that the reporting clause preferably precedes the reported one); (10) shows a compromise between these two competing forces.

We have now looked at 12 translations of a single consistent linguistic pattern of viewpoint mixing and shifting in *Alice in Wonderland*. Looking closely at the translations, the first thing that we observe is that there does not seem to be a single consistent linguistic pattern to evoke this mixture and shifting in Chinese, and that this is certainly due, at least to a very large extent, to differences in conventionalized grammatical patterns for relating reported to reporting clauses. Table 1 below summarizes the four translators’ choices.

Table 1: Position of the reporting clause with respect to the direct discourse

	Translation of (1a)	Translation of (2)	Translation of (3)
Y.R. Chao	Initial	Initial	Initial
L.F. Chen	Initial	Medial	Medial
H.H. Wang	Initial	Medial	Initial (10)
W. Jia & W. Jia	Initial	Medial	Medial

Among the four translations, there is one (by Y.R. Chao) that sticks strictly to the preferred pattern of Chinese grammar. In his translations of all three fragments, he places the reporting clause before Alice's direct thought. This translator chooses to render the viewpoint effect by combining less schematic, lexical constructions and reporting Alice's thought verbatim in the narration, instead of trying to use a general constructional schema as in the English text. For instance, in (5), the Chinese expression *you* is an emphatic negation marker, and also a part of the larger composite construction *you… you…* (functioning somewhat similarly to *neither… nor…* in English). The narration in (5) contains *you meiyou hua-er, you meiyou shuo hua*, which is repeated verbatim in Alice's direct thought. This full and literal repetition aligns Alice's viewpoint at the end of the fragment with that reported by the narrator and thus helps make the transition less abrupt, which is functionally similar to the structural pattern in the English text – in fact, it is an 'enhanced' version of the lexical repetitions present in the English text (cf. above). But the other three translators choose to partially follow the clausal order of the English text more closely, while also selectively adopting other constructions, such as *lian… dou…* in (7) and (8), to embed Alice's viewpoint in the narration.[11]

The specific mixing and shifting of viewpoints in Lewis Carroll's text is a result of the author's strategic exploitation of the conventional tools available to him in his language, with the medial placement of the reporting clause being an indispensable element of the stylistic schema. Since this medial placement is not a conventionalized pattern in the grammar of Chinese (although it is not totally impossible either), this language does not provide its users with a consistent way of rendering a consistent pattern of viewpoint construction in the English original, as we see reflected in the variety of different translation strategies.

The crucial term here is "conventional". The relevant differences do not only involve grammatical rules in the traditional sense, i.e. regular patterns for combining words and phrases into sentences, but also typographic factors, which

11 Readers are referred to Lai (2008) and Wang and Su (2012) for a thorough analysis of the *lian… dou…* construction.

are equally conventional tools stemming from a specific cultural development, according to usage-based principles. Given the logographic writing system of Chinese, the distinction between upper case and lower case is meaningless, as opposed to the segmental writing system of English. So as a number of important constitutive elements in a relevant constructional complex in the source language is missing in the target language, any adoption of the constructional schema in the target language is necessarily going to be only partial, and will not do the same job as it does in the source language.

A difference between languages in the conventional tools available for viewpoint management does not entail that the ultimate viewpoint relations constructed by readers in interpreting a text are going to be radically different as well. After all, different sets of tools may serve to create similar products. Linguistically mediated meaning construction always combines the use of words and constructions with inferences based on common ground. The relative proportion of what comes from explicit signals and what from inferencing may differ between languages, while the combined results for particular texts may well be similar. Parallel texts provide an excellent basis for investigating precisely the question in what ways and in what dimensions the explicit, conventionalized tools for viewpoint management in languages differ or coincide, and thus ultimately also: how the *general* conceptual space of viewpoint management is and can be structured. We will return to this issue at the end of the next section and in our conclusion.

4 Mixing viewpoints through deixis in *Jiu Guo* and its English translation

We will now reverse the perspective, and briefly look at the way viewpoint is managed in an original Chinese text and how this comes out in its translation. As we have seen, English has quite a rich set of clause combining tools that may be used in viewpoint management, while Chinese has a comparatively less elaborate set of such tools. However, Chinese may well have more elaborate tools than English in some other domain. A case in point is constituted by the occurrence of the morphemes *lai* 'come' and *qu* 'go' in verbal resultative constructions (cf. Lu et al., in preparation).[12] Consider (11a), (11b), (12a) and (12b), where examples (a)

12 The term "resultative" as used in Chinese linguistics is different from that in English. The latter denotes an argument structure construction with two participants, the second of which reaches a specified state as a result of the process described by the verb ([NP-V-NP-Result-state], as in *He cried his eyes red*; cf. Goldberg and Jackendoff 2004). The former denotes a verbal con-

are taken from the narration of the Chinese original, and examples (b) are their counterparts in the published English translation.

(11) a. 丁钩儿 接过 酒瓶子， 晃晃， 蝎子 在
dinggouer jie-guo jiuping-zi huang-huang xiezi zai
Ding Gou'er take-over wine bottle shake-RED scorpion LOC
参须 间 游泳， 怪 味道 从 瓶口
sen-xu jian youyong guai weidao cong ping-kou
ginseng root LOC swim strange odor LOC bottle mouth
冲出来。
chong-chu-lai
rush-out-come
'Ding Gou'er took over the bottle, shook it, scorpions swimming among the ginseng roots, with a strange odor rushing out (coming [towards ORIGO]) from the mouth of the bottle.'

(11) b. *He shook the bottle, and the scorpions swam in the ginseng-enhanced liquid. A strange odor emanated from the bottle.*

(12) a. 他 感到 乏味、 无趣， 便 把 她 推开。 她
ta gan-dao fawei wuqu bian ba ta tui-kai ta
he feel-PFV bland uninteresting then PRT she push-aside she
却 像 一只 凶猛的 小豹子 一样，
que xiang yi-zhi xiongmeng-de xiao baozi yiyang
nevertheless like one-CL fierce-LINK leopard cub same
不断地 扑上来...
buduandi pu-shang-lai
relentlessly pounce-up-come
'He felt uninterested and then pushed her away. But she was like a fierce leopard cub and relentlessly threw herself (upon him) – coming [towards ORIGO].'

(12) b. *That was a turn-off, it killed his desire, and he pushed her away. But, like a plucky fighting cock, she sprang back at him hard, catching him off guard and making resistance all but impossible.*

struction indicating a verbal process leading to some result associated with the meaning of the verb, i.e. a kind of 'intrinsic' result (cf. certain particle constructions in English like *come in*, *jump up*, where the particles also indicate resultant states of the verbal process, and thus turn the verbal expression as a whole into one of achievement, not just a process. Readers are referred to Chao (1968) or Li and Thompson (1981) for a detailed description of these resultative constructions in Chinese.

We can observe that the way viewpoints are constructed in the Chinese original and in the English translations differ, due to the occurrence of *lai* in the verbal complex of the sentences in the Chinese version of the story. In (11a), the viewpoint presented in the narration is a mixture of the narrator's and the protagonist's (Ding Gou'er's). The way Ding Gou'er is referred to, by his full name, is an indication of the narrator's perspective; the resultative verbal construction presents the manner and the end-state of the movement (rushing out), while the combination with *lai* invites the reader to take the point of view of the one perceiving the odor, i.e. the character. This kind of mixture can be produced straightforwardly in Mandarin, due to the fact that there is a conventional way of marking deixis on a verb (here by adding *lai*). Since English lacks such a tool, the mixing of viewpoints cannot be represented so easily; the choice of the verb *emanate* by Goldblatt makes the movement explicit and leaves the character's viewpoint implicit.

Fragment (12a) shows the same mixture of viewpoints. Ding Gou'er is referred to by a third person pronoun *he*, so the deictic center is the narrator. On the other hand, with *lai* in the verbal complex, the event of her throwing herself at him is explicitly and effortlessly presented as perceived from the protagonist's point of view, in the Chinese version. In the English translation, the latter point of view is much more left to inference, for example through the addition of lexical elements suggestive of his attitude (*off guard*, *resistance*).

There is a lexical construction in English that can be considered a translation equivalent of the deictic verbal element *lai* in Chinese, viz. the lexeme *come*. But what is crucial here is the difference between the conventional combinatorial properties of these elements in the two languages. In the original Chinese version of the story, the stylistic effect of mixed viewpoints is achieved through a combination of an objective reference to the protagonist, presentation of the protagonist's perceptual content, and the use of a deictic verbal morpheme. The stylistic 'recipe' is different in the English version, as the constructional possibility of the deictic verbal morpheme is missing, so the translator has to resort to linguistic means available in the target language, such as the lexical items mentioned above, or, more subtly, the spatial preposition *at* in (12b).[13] Note that the

13 It was suggested to us that *at* might have a strong association with *come*, stronger than with *go*, and because of that it might represent (deictic) viewpoint. However, a Google search for both *came at him* and *went at him* returned numbers of results in the same order of magnitude, and *went back at him* in fact occurred considerably more frequently than *came back at him*, so that a connection between *at* and deictic viewpoint must at least involve more than association with *come*. Still, looking at possible viewpoint effects of the use of spatial prepositions in English is a valuable direction of investigation (in this context, the use of *came* would work better than *went*, while another preposition (e.g. *to*, *after*) would not have that effect).

construals created by the use of a deictic verb and by a preposition are bound to be different, as different parts of a conceptual scene are profiled (Langacker 1987). Therefore, although the difference in linguistic conventions does not make translation impossible, the ways viewpoint mixture can be linguistically *achieved* (and conceptually appreciated) in the two languages remain irreducibly different. As we mentioned at the end of section 3, different 'compositional pathways' may well lead to comparable overall interpretations of viewpoint relations, but the pathways are as much a factor in the style of a text as the overall interpretation. Creating a complex mixing of viewpoints for the same usage event in another language at least involves an irreducibly different constructional composition of the mixed viewpoints.

Again, this analysis demonstrates the methodological advantages of using parallel texts in cross-linguistic viewpoint research. First of all, the method shows us that the distribution of viewpoint constructions – in this case, the translation equivalents *lai* and *come* – varies according to the conventions of the languages involved. Therefore, although English also has viewpoint expressions like *come see for yourself*, *go figure* that may create a construal similar to one that involves *lai* and *qu* 'go' in Chinese, the linguistic manifestation of mixing viewpoints *in the same usage event* is bound to be constrained by the relevant conventions of a specific language. Second, on this basis, the method provides a methodological cutting edge for investigating the relation between the general conceptual space of viewpoint and the dimensions in which languages may differ in their explicitly coded, conventionalized tools for viewpoint management.

5 Conclusion

In sections 3 and 4, we considered very different linguistic phenomena and translation samples of different directions, which we believe point to the same methodological and theoretical significance.

First of all, we see an important *methodological* advantage: Putting parallel passages in different languages side by side, especially when the languages involved are not at all related, focuses the investigator's attention on elements that would otherwise easily remain below the level of conscious awareness. Indeed, some of the details of the shifting viewpoint pattern in *Alice in Wonderland*, such as the role of the coordinating conjunction and that of lower case, only became apparent to us in the comparison with the Chinese translations.

Secondly, there is a fundamental *theoretical* consequence of the approach we implemented here. Ultimately, all management of viewpoints in discourse,

especially of viewpoint mixing, depends not only on general cognitive abilities (empathy, Theory of Mind), but crucially also on the linguistic tools for viewpoint management that language users have at their disposal, and what we can now clearly appreciate is that these are language and culture specific, having been transmitted (with slight modifications) to present day language users over the generations. Thus, although the necessary cognitive infrastructure is presumably universal, there will not be universal *linguistic patterns* of viewpoint management. The systematic possibility of shifting smoothly from mainly-narrator-viewpoint to mainly-character-viewpoint in *Alice in Wonderland* is dependent on certain conventions of the English language, and the systematic possibility to effortlessly combine manner of movement and viewpoint in *Jiu Guo* is dependent on certain conventions of the Chinese language. That is, we can establish a conclusion about categories of viewpoint organization in discourse that parallels Croft's (2001) conclusion about syntactic categories: As such categories can only be defined in terms of properties of constructions, and the latter are necessarily language specific, the categories are of necessity also language specific. Similarly, as linguistic patterns of viewpoint mixing can only be defined (in a way that allows instances of them to be identified in texts) by reference to conventional linguistic items, with all their language specific properties, they are also of necessity language specific (van Krieken, Sanders & Hoeken, this volume, come to a similar conclusion). The generality suggested by terms like "direct" and "indirect discourse" for certain patterns of viewpoint organization may thus be misleading. It induces investigators to ask questions like: "How is FID expressed in Language X?" (cf. Hagenaar 1992), while these are in fact unanswerable, as the presuppositional condition (that a language independent way of identifying different types of STR exists) cannot be met as a matter of principle. This is not to say that attempts to answer such a question have not produced interesting and insightful results (as Hagenaar [1992] in fact demonstrates). But to the extent that they have, we conclude that they should be 'reconceptualized' as insights about the variability in the possible conventional coding of different aspects of viewpoint management.

What exactly the properties of the items involved in viewpoint management in a specific language are will have to be established by a large scale investigation of actual language use. Thus, our characterizations of the English and Chinese phenomena discussed here, may in some respects be inaccurate or incomplete. For example, in section 3, we did not look at a large number of verbs of communication and cognition, so there might be different ordering patterns associated with different semantic types of verbs in Mandarin, or in English, or in both. But our theoretical point is not weakened by this kind of uncertainty, because of the method of studying parallel text fragments: The conclusion *that* viewpoint con-

struction in discourse is language specific can already be drawn on the basis of careful analysis of specific parallel instances of language use, precisely because they are parallel.

Finally, the use of parallel texts has a high potential in helping set a research agenda for cross-linguistic viewpoint research, especially if the scope can be extended to cover a representative sample of languages, and preferably also discourse types (there are limitations here; we do not foresee parallel day-to-day conversations in the near future, for example). It will allow a better understanding of how various languages represent viewpoint and what aspects of viewpoint construction are systematically distinguished in the grammars of many different languages and which only in a few. The methodology of parallel text analysis can contribute significantly to a solid empirical foundation for answering this intriguing and important question.

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EXPRESSIVE MINDS and ARTISTIC CREATIONS

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Edited by

SZILVIA CSÁBI

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CHAPTER 6

A Multiple-Parallel-Text Approach for Viewpoint Research Across Languages

The Case of Demonstratives in English and Chinese

WEI-LUN LU, ARIE VERHAGEN, AND I-WEN SU

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Recent years have witnessed a substantial increase in cognitive approaches to literary studies as an emerging field called cognitive poetics or cognitive stylistics (Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Tsur, 1992; Semino and Culpeper, 2002; Stockwell, 2002; Gavins and Steen, 2003; Freeman, 2006; Brône and Vandaele, 2009; and Harrison et al., 2014; among others), which has generated a meaningful body of research on literary texts in various languages. However, so far little attention has been paid to the cross-linguistic dimension of cognitive poetic research, although exceptions do exist (Tabakowska, 1993, 2014; Wu, 2004; Freeman and Takeda, 2006). In this chapter, we pick up on this insufficiency and try to promote the use of the multiple-parallel-text (MultiParT) approach as an innovative research methodology in contrastive cognitive poetics and linguistics in general. In particular, we discuss demonstratives in English and Chinese as a representative case to illustrate the usefulness of the proposed MultiParT method.

Demonstratives are deictic elements in language that help users identify which entity is being referred to within a frame of reference. The cognitive function of demonstratives is to single out a nominal referent and to direct the conceptualizer's attention to a certain referent from an open-ended set of possible candidates (Langacker, 2008, 277). At an interactional level, a speaker uses a demonstrative to intersubjectively share referential focus within the current discourse space, so as to coordinate the joint focus of attention (Diessel, 2006; Langacker, 2008, 291).

The assumption underlying the present study is that we take demonstratives in literary narratives as the author's cognitive stylistic devices that create and attempt to manage joint attention with the reader, thus viewpointing (Dancygier, 2012) the narrative in a certain way. By using a demonstrative construction (as a form–meaning pairing, in the sense of Goldberg, 1995) to single out a referent in a narrated event, the narrator adjusts joint attention created by his or her language use in the reader's awareness by guiding the reader's construal of the mental distance between himself or herself and the nominal referent in the narrative, resulting in a certain literary style. When the narrator uses a proximal demonstrative to mark reference, this creates a construal in which the referent is somehow close to the reader, whereas when a distal demonstrative is used, the referent is construed at a longer distance from the reader.[1] In this chapter, we limit our focus to *this, that, these*, and *those* in English and their counterparts *zhe* [this] and *na* [that] in Mandarin.

6.2. METHODOLOGY

The use of parallel texts has been a useful methodology in various fields of linguistics, including typology, pragmatics, and semantics (Van der Auwera, Schalley, and Nuyts, 2005; Chamonikolasová, 2007; Cysouw and Wälchli, 2007; Barlow, 2008) and has proven highly advantageous. The benefit of such methodology lies in its parallel alignment of various verbalizations *of the same usage event*: If we take a translator as a sensible text producer with a good intention of communicating the same message to his or her reader as does the source text, he or she is bound to deliver the content in the target language in a way that is as close to the source text as he or she can make it, trying to keep the cognitive and stylistic effects at all levels. Therefore we believe the use of parallel texts constitutes an optimal methodological approach to contrastive linguistic and literature research.

Although the use of parallel texts has also gained increasing interest in cognitive linguistics (e.g., Slobin, 1996, 2003; Rojo and Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013; Tabakowska, 1993, 2014; Verkerk, 2014; and Lu et al., submitted; among others), the method is still underutilized in the field, let alone in cognitive poetics. There are various studies on demonstratives (or even on referring expressions or deixis, in broader terms), but the majority of them are based on the use of monolingual corpora (e.g., Gundel et al., 1993; Himmelmann, 1996; and Piwek, Beun, and Cremers, 2008; among others), with relatively rare uses of translation or parallel texts. In particular, in the study of demonstratives, the approach is still almost new, with only two exceptions that we are aware of, which will be introduced below in detail.

Wu (2004) is one whose scope and concern are the closest to those of the present study. In a detailed manner, the author compares the use of demonstratives in a story originally written in English and its Chinese translation, and the other way round. However, a factor that is not taken into account in the research design is individual variation, with only one version of translation included in the corpus—with data from only one speaker, idiolect becomes a variable that could not be controlled for, so no generalization over the language(s) of a community of speakers could be made. As individual variation and the distinction between the individual and community level in the study of language have recently gained more and more attention in cognitive linguistic research (see Dąbrowska, 2015, and references cited therein), we believe the parallel-text methodology should take that into account as well.

Tabakowska (2014) reported another important study in the same direction, discussing the general influence of grammar on point of view in translation. Tabakowska compares the English original of *Alice in Wonderland* with its five Polish translations, and especially comments on how the six versions make reference, given the grammatical fact that Polish, unlike English, lacks a systematic distinction between definite and indefinite articles (which is also the case in Mandarin). However, the scope of her paper also includes, in addition to demonstratives, modality, de-idiomatization, and iconicity, which is so extensive that it prevents the author from discussing how demonstratives are used as cognitive stylistic devices of proximal and distal viewpointing, and this is exactly what we address in this chapter.

The general research issue that we try to address is as follows: Is there a *systematic* way to compare viewpointing constructions cross-linguistically? When we identify a viewpointing construction in Language

A, do we *systematically* find its counterparts in Language B (see Dancygier, 2016; Lu and Verhagen, 2016)? The hypothesis is that because all translators base their language production on the source text, the viewpoint representation should ideally be identical in both languages. Even if viewpoint representations do not completely match in the two languages, at the very least we should expect to be able to find a relatively high degree of correspondence.

With the research issues in mind, our research focuses on world masterpieces of literature and their *multiple* published translations in the *same* target language. First, such works are likely to be widely translated into many languages, so researchers may take advantage of that and investigate a wide span of languages in an efficient way. More important, world masterpieces also stand a good chance of getting translated and published more than once in one language, which allows us to observe written-language production from more than one representative speaker in the same language.[2] Third, published (commercial) translations are usually carefully edited and proofread by the publisher to ensure reception of its language and style by potential readers, who are presumably all native speakers of the target language investigated.

In our study, we use the first chapter of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and its four published versions in Mandarin, translated by Yuan Ren Chao, Li-fang Chen, Hui-hsien Wang, and Wenyuan Jia and Wenhao Jia (cotranslators).

6.3. FINDINGS

First and foremost, what we find in our multiple parallel texts reveals highly frequent cross-linguistic mismatches between the English and the Chinese versions. We have three general observations of how the individual text producers provide very different takes on the same literary scene, which all nullify the hypothesis in an empirical way. In Section 6.3.1, we show a vast difference in the frequencies of the demonstratives, with those of the Chinese versions generally outnumbering those of the English text. Subsection 6.3.2 presents the highly frequent mismatches across the two languages involved. Building on the lack of perfect cross-linguistic correspondences that we present in Section 6.3.2, Section 6.3.3 nevertheless shows the general intralanguage consistency across the Chinese versions investigated.

Table 6.1. FREQUENCY OF DEMONSTRATIVES IN THE ENGLISH VERSION AND THE FOUR CHINESE VERSIONS[4]

	Proximal	Distal	Total
Carroll	14	11	25
Chao	34	49	83
Chen	27	9	36
Wang	35	23	58
Jia	36	16	52

6.3.1. Difference in Frequency as the Most Prominent Systematic Difference

The first and foremost observation that sticks out in the set of parallel texts that we collected is the vast difference in frequency in the use of demonstratives in the two languages. In general, the demonstratives in the Chinese versions outnumber those in the English text. Table 6.1 shows the tendency.

We also subsequently present some selective excerpts as illustration. Instances (1a)–(1c) show how a scene is presented in English without any demonstrative viewpointing but is heavily demonstrative-viewpointed in at least two Chinese versions. Demonstratives in all examples are shaded.

(1a) So she was considering in her own mind (as well as she could, for the hot day made her feel very sleepy and stupid), whether the pleasure of making a daisy-chain would be worth the trouble of getting up and picking the daisies, when suddenly a White Rabbit with pink eyes ran close by her.

(1b)	所以	她	就	無精打采	地	自己	在
	suoyi	*ta*	*jiu*	*wujingdacai*	*di*	*ziji*	*zai*
	so	she	PRT	bored	LK	self	LOC
	心裡	盤算–	（她	亦	不過	勉強	地
	xinli	*pansuan–*	*ta*	*yi*	*buguo*	*mianqiang*	*di*
	heart	think	she	PRT	only	try to	LK

醒著，	因為	這	熱天	熱得	她	昏昏
xing-zhe	*yinwei*	*zhe*	*retian*	*re-de*	*ta*	*hun-hun*
wake-IPF	because	this	hot day	hot-PFV	she	dizzy

地	要	睡）–	到底	還是	做	一枝
di	*yao*	*shui*	*daodi*	*haishi*	*zuo*	*yi-zhi*
LK	MOD	sleep	on earth	or	make	one-CL

野菊	花圈兒	好	呢？	還是	為著	這
yeju	*huaquan-er*	*hao*	*ne*	*haishi*	*weizhe*	*zhe*
daisy	chain-DIM	good	PRT	or	for	this

種	玩意兒	不值得	站起來	去	找	花
zhong	*wanyi-er*	*bu-zhide*	*zhan-qilai*	*qu*	*zhao*	*hua*
kind	thing-DIM	NEG-worth	stand-up	go	find	flower

的	麻煩	呢？	她	正在	納悶
de	*mafan*	*ne*	*ta*	*zhengzai*	*namen*
LK	trouble	PRT	she	being	contemplate

的	時候，	忽然	來了	一隻	淡紅	眼睛
de	*shihou*	*huran*	*lai-le*	*yi-zhi*	*danhong*	*yanjing*
LK	when	suddenly	come-PFV	one-CL	pink	eye

的	兔子，	在	她	旁邊	跑過。
de	*tuzi*	*zai*	*ta*	*pangbian*	*pao-guo*
LK	rabbit	LOC	she	next to	run-past

> "So out of boredom, she calculated in her heart—(She only tried to stay awake, as this hot day made her so sleepy)—Is it at all better to make a daisy chain? Or is it, for this kind of things, not worth the trouble of standing up to bother the flowers? As she was wondering, suddenly there came a white rabbit with pink eyes running past her." (Chao)

As is obvious, (1b) presents two nominal referents that are proximally viewpointed in Chao's version but not in the English text, which are *zhe retian* [this hot day] and *zhe zhong wanyi-er* [this kind of things]. However, as we look deeper into the examples, an interesting fact emerges—the nominal referent *wanyi-er* [thing-DIM] actually refers back to the daisy chain that Alice makes, which, however, is verbalized as such only in Chao's version. To be precise, Chao's text creates *wanyi-er* as a shell noun (Schmid, 2000) that anaphorically traces back to a referent in its prior text (the possible event of making a daisy chain), but such backtracking does not occur at all in Carroll's version. We return to this point in the discussion in Section 6.4.

(1c)	她	開始	打算	編	個	雛菊	花環，
	ta	*kaishi*	*dasuan*	*bian*	*ge*	*chuju*	*huahuan*
	she	start	plan	make	CL	daisy	wreath
	可是	又	不知道	起身	去	摘	雛菊
	keshi	*you*	*bu-zhidao*	*qishen*	*qu*	*zhai*	*chuju*
	but	PRT	NEG-know	rise	go	pick	daisy

是不是	太	費事	了。	（這	天	天氣
shibushi	*tai*	*feishi*	*le*	*zhe*	*tian*	*tianqi*
whether	too	trouble	CRS	this	day	weather

非常	炎熱，	使	她	昏昏欲睡。）	這
feichang	*yanre*	*shi*	*ta*	*hunhunyushui*	*zhe*
very	hot	make	she	dozy	this

時，	一隻	有著	粉紅色	眼睛	的
shi	*yi-zhi*	*you-zhe*	*fenhong-se*	*yanjing*	*de*
time	one-CL	have-IPF	pink-color	eye	LK

白兔	從	她	身邊	跑了	過去。
baitu	*cong*	*ta*	*shenbian*	*pao-le*	*guoqu*
white rabbit	from	she	next to	run-PFV	past

"She started planning to make a ring of daisies, but did not know whether it would be too much a hassle to rise and pick daisies. (This day, the weather was very hot, which made her dozy.) At this moment, a white rabbit with pink eyes ran past her." (Jia and Jia)

Example (1c) shows a different strategy of viewpointing the same scene by proximally presenting the setting, that is, the day and the time of speaking, elaborated as *zhe tian* and *zhe shi*. The use of *zhe tian* is highly similar to *zhe retian* in Chao's version, whereas the other deictic construction *zhe shi* involves a completely different narrative strategy. We argue that the use of the proximal viewpointing construction *zhe shi* brings the reader deep into the narrated scene by inserting the proximal demonstrative as an indicator of Alice's voice, the stylistic effect of which is, however, rendered in Carroll's version in a very different way (to be specific, by use

of the adverb *suddenly*). We further discuss in Section 6.4 the fact that different languages prefer different stylistic strategies for similar viewpointing effects.

We believe the preceding set of examples testifies to the simple fact that Mandarin makes more frequent use of demonstrative constructions than English to viewpoint the same literary scene. As further examples similarly show, the generally much higher productivity of demonstratives in the Chinese versions compared with that of the English text is consistent throughout the first chapter of *Alice in Wonderland*.

Now there is the fact that the Chinese versions have an overall higher frequency of demonstratives than the English text, but what is the explanation for that? An intuitive approach would be to look into the *individual* grammatical systems, which might turn up an answer along the following lines: English is a language that systematically uses a determiner (including articles and demonstratives) to ground a count noun, which, however, is not the linguistic convention in Chinese, and because Chinese does not systematically use (definite) articles (see Li and Thompson, 1981, 131; Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski, 1993, 300), demonstratives should do the job of deciding the reference in context and are expected to be more productive. And that was generally what was done and claimed in most previous studies based on monolingual corpora.

In Section 6.3.2, we use our data to judge the appropriateness of this "vanilla" (Croft, 2005) approach of looking only into the respective linguistic systems.

6.3.2. Frequent Mismatches Throughout the Texts

The second important observation that we can make from the multiple parallel texts collected is an overall lack of correspondence within a certain stretch of the texts between the English original and the four Chinese versions, which means that it is not just the frequency that matters, but that lack of cross-linguistic correspondence seems to be the reality. This empirically nullifies our hypothesis. Excerpts (2a)–(2d) are clear illustrations.

> (2a) There was nothing so VERY remarkable in that; nor did Alice think it so VERY much out of the way to hear the Rabbit say to itself, 'Oh dear! Oh dear! I shall be late!' (when she thought it over afterwards, it occurred to her that she ought to have wondered at this, but at the time it all seemed quite natural);

(2b)	就是	看見	一隻	淡紅	眼睛	的	白
	jiushi	*kan-jian*	*yi-zhi*	*danhong*	*yanjing*	*de*	*bai*
	even	see-PFV	one-CL	pink	eye	LK	white
	兔子，	本來	亦	不是	件	怎麼	大了不得
	tuzi,	*benlai*	*yi*	*bushi*	*jian*	*zeme*	*daliaobude*
	rabbit	originally	also/either	NEG	CL	what	big deal
	的	事情；	並且	就是	阿麗思	聽見	那
	de	*shiqing*	*bingqie*	*jiushi*	*alisi*	*ting-jian*	*na*
	LK	thing	and	even	Alice	hear-PFV	that
	兔子	自言自語	地	說，	「噯呀！	噫呀！	我
	tuzi	*ziyanziyu*	*di*	*shuo,*	*aiya*	*yiya*	*wo*
	rabbit	talk to self	LK	say	INTERJ	INTERJ	I
	一定	要	去	晚	了」	她	亦
	yiding	*yao*	*qu*	*wan*	*le*	*ta*	*yi*
	for sure	MOD	go	late	CRS	she	also
	不	覺得	這	算	什麼	十二分	出奇
	bu	*juede*	*zhe*	*suan*	*sheme*	*shierfen*	*chuqi*
	NEG	feel	this	count	what	very	extraordinary

的	事情	（事後	想起來	她	才	覺得
de	*shiqing*	*shihou*	*xiang-qilai*	*ta*	*cai*	*juede*
LK	thing	afterwards	think-IPF	she	PRT	feel

這	是	應當	詫異	的	事，	不過
zhe	*shi*	*yingdang*	*chayi*	*de*	*shi*	*buguo*
this	be	MOD	surprise	LK	thing	but

當時	她	覺得	樣樣	事情	都	像
dangshi	*ta*	*juede*	*yang-yang*	*shiqing*	*dou*	*xiang*
then	she	feel	kind-RED	thing	all	like

很	平常	似的；）
hen	*pingchang*	*side*
very	usual	PRT

"Even seeing a pink-eyed white rabbit was not a big deal whatsoever; and even when Alice heard that rabbit say to itself, "Oh mine! Oh mine! I will be late for sure," she did not consider this anything extraordinary. (Afterwards, as she recalled it, she realized that she should have felt surprised at this, but at the moment she had thought everything was like usual.)" (Chao)

A comparison of (2a) and (2b) shows how Carroll's and Chao's versions viewpoint the scene in at least three different ways. In Carroll's version, the first demonstrative construction is a distal one, which refers anaphorically to the event that Alice saw a rabbit with pink eyes. However,

the practice of pronominalizing an event is not followed in Chao's version, so the distal viewpoint on that part of the literary scene, as Carroll renders it, is not present in Chao's version. The second difference lies in how the narrator refers to the rabbit. In Chao's version, the rabbit is referred to as a distal one by means of the use of *na,* whereas the English version does not specify the distance, using only a definite article *the*. The third difference is again how the text pronominalizes an event. In the English version, the event of Alice's hearing the rabbit talk to itself is pronominalized by a viewpoint-neutral pronoun *it* (underlined), as part of a cleft construction. On the other hand, the same event is pronominalized in Chao's version with a proximal anaphoric demonstrative, which serves the stylistic function of involving the reader by bringing the reader closer to the scene.

(2c)	這	件	事	在	當時	看來	也
	zhe	*jian*	*shi*	*zai*	*dangshi*	*kanlai*	*ye*
	this	CL	thing	LOC	then	seem	PRT
	沒	什麼	特別，	而且	在	聽到	兔子
	mei	*sheme*	*tebie*	*erqie*	*zai*	*ting-dao*	*tuzi*
	NEG	what	special	and	LOC	hear-PFV	rabbit
	自言自語		地	說：	「天哪！	天哪！	我
	ziyanziyu		*di*	*shuo*	*tianna*	*tianna*	*wo*
	talk to self		LK	say	INTERJ	INTERJ	I
	要	遲到	了！」	時，	愛麗絲	也	不
	yao	*chidao*	*le*	*shi*	*ailisi*	*ye*	*bu*
	MOD	late	CRS	when	Alice	PRT	NEG

認為	有	何	不	尋常	（事後	回想起來，
renwei	*you*	*he*	*bu*	*xunchang*	*shihou*	*huixiang-qilai*
think	have	what	NEG	usual	afterwards	recall-IPF

她	覺得	自己	早	該	對	此
ta	*juede*	*ziji*	*zao*	*gai*	*dui*	*ci*
she	feel	self	early	MOD	to	this

感到	奇怪，	但	在	當時	一切	似乎
gan-dao	*qiguai*	*dan*	*zai*	*dangshi*	*yiqie*	*sihu*
feel-PFV	strange	but	LOC	then	everything	seem

都	那麼	的	自然）。
dou	*na-me*	*de*	*ziran*
all	that-so	LK	natural

"This thing did not look so special back then, and when hearing the rabbit say to itself: "Oh mine! Oh mine! I will be late for sure!," Alice did not find anything unusual (afterwards, as she recalled, she felt that she should have felt strange about this, but at the moment everything had seemed as natural as that)." (Chen)

Excerpt (2c) presents a radical case with three differences from (2a): First, the event of Alice's seeing a rabbit with pink eyes is viewpointed by means of the use of a proximal demonstrative, unlike Chao's viewpoint-neutral representation and even contrary to Carroll's distal viewpoint. In addition to the contrary viewpoint in the beginning of this excerpt, in Chen's version, a distal demonstrative is used in the narrator's comment in brackets to prompt a distanced viewpoint, away from the narrated event (of Alice's seeing a rabbit, hearing it speak to itself, and so on). However, in Carroll's version the same event is pronominalized as a proximal demonstrative, prompting a close-up take on it. The third difference, though quite subtle,

lies in the grammatical nature of the demonstratives used. In Chen's version, the distal demonstrative is joined by an adverbializer *me,* the combinatorial possibility of which is available only in Chinese, whereas in Carroll's version, the demonstrative occurs as a stand-alone pronoun instead of as part of an adverb. We discuss how the subtle difference in the grammatical profile of demonstratives makes a difference in construal in Section 6.4.

(2d)	再	沒有	更	令	人	興奮	的
	zai	*meiyou*	*geng*	*ling*	*ren*	*xingfen*	*de*
	PRT	NEG	more	make	man	excite	LK
	事	了，	尤其是	愛麗絲	親耳聽到		那
	shi	*le*	*youqishi*	*ailisi*	*qiner-ting-dao*		*na*
	thing	CRS	especially	Alice	in person-hear-PFV		that
	隻	小白兔	喃喃自語：		「噢！	天啊！	我
	zhi	*xiaobaitu*	*nannanziyu*		*ao*	*tian-a*	*wo*
	CL	rabbit	talk to self		INTERJ	INTERJ	I
	要	遲到	了！」	（就	在	她	聽
	yao	*chidao*	*le*	*jiu*	*zai*	*ta*	*ting*
	MOD	late	CRS	PRT	LOC	she	hear
	懂	那	句	話	之後，	猛然	驚覺，
	dong	*na*	*ju*	*hua*	*zhihou*	*mengran*	*jingjue*
	understand	that	CL (sentence)	word	after	suddenly	realize

自己	應該	要	懷疑	到底	是	發生
ziji	*yinggai*	*yao*	*huaiyi*	*daodi*	*shi*	*fasheng*
self	MOD	MOD	wonder	on earth	be	happen

什麼	事	的，	但	一切	都	發生得
sheme	*shi*	*de*	*dan*	*yiqie*	*dou*	*fasheng-de*
what	thing	LK	but	everything	all	happen-PFV

太	突然	了。）
tai	*turan*	*le*
too	sudden	CRS

> "There is nothing more exciting, especially when Alice heard in person that rabbit talk to itself: 'Oh! Mine! I will be late for sure!' (After she understood that sentence, she realized she should have wondered what on earth had happened, but everything had happened all of a sudden.)" (Wang)

A comparison of (2a) and (2d) shows a similar result: No neat correspondences can be found between the texts. Two distal demonstrative pronouns are used to viewpoint the literary scene, one marking the rabbit [*na zhi xiaobaitu*], similarly to Chao's text, and the other marking the sentence uttered by the rabbit [*na ju hua*]. We observe that *hua* [word] is also a shell noun that is created only in Wang's version, which involves a noteworthy use of the human cognitive capacity of reification [see also *wanyi-er* in (1b)]. We return to this point in Section 6.4.

A comparison of (2a) with the three versions in Chinese allows us to make three generalized observations. First, perfect correspondence cannot be expected between the English and the Chinese versions; the strategies of viewpoint management are relatively different in the two languages. Second, a nominal referent viewpointed in a particular way in one language can be presented in a viewpoint-neutral way in another (e.g., Carroll's *the Rabbit* and Chao's *na tuzi*). Third, viewpoint representation can even be opposite across the two languages (e.g., Carroll's use of *that* and Chen's *zhe*

jian shi). To sum up, in what we see, the same literary scene has its various aspects viewpointed in completely different ways in the two languages.

6.3.3. Viewpointing Preference Across Languages

In Section 6.2, we showed how English and Chinese viewpoint the same literary scene in drastically different (and, perhaps to some, disillusioning) ways, which might create an impression that the MultiParT approach directs one's attention only to the ugly reality of lack of cross-linguistic correspondence. Quite the contrary, in this section we present the unparalleled beauty of this methodology: MultiParT also helps us identify intralanguage consistencies and how one language systematically differs from another.

Consider Excerpts (2a)–(2d) again. In (2a), Carroll presents the rabbit in a viewpoint-neutral way using a definite article (*the*) to ground the nominal referent, leaving the narrator's distance to the rabbit unspecified. (2b) faithfully preserves the viewpoint-neutral representation of the rabbit by using *tuzi* as a bare noun. However, note that, on the other hand, two text producers chose not to follow the practice but to use *na* to distally construe the rabbit, creating a long distance between the narrator and the rabbit that is *not in the original*.

If there were only one text producer who did this, it would still be possible to attribute the variation to the translator's idiolect. But now there are two, which makes it difficult to claim the variation to be a mere chance.

Another significant set of examples is (3a)–(3d), which shows a high intralanguage consistency among three translators.

(3a) Down, down, down. Would the fall NEVER come to an end!

(3b)	掉	阿，	掉	阿，	掉	阿！	這
	diao	*a*	*diao*	*a*	*diao*	*a*	*zhe*
	fall	PRT	fall	PRT	fall	PRT	this
	一	跤	怎麼	一輩子	摔不完		了
	yi	*jiao*	*zeme*	*yibeizi*	*shuai-bu-wan*		*le*
	one	fall	why	whole life	fall-NEG-PFV		CRS

嗎！

ma

PRT

"Fall, fall, fall! Why did this fall seem endless throughout the whole life!" (Chao)

(3c)

下墜，	下墜，	下墜。	難道	這	一	跤
xiazhui	*xiazhui*	*xiazhui*	*nandao*	*zhe*	*yi*	*jiao*
fall	fall	fall	PRT	this	one	fall

永無盡頭！

yongwujintou

endless forever

"Fall, fall, fall. Was this fall without an end forever!" (Chen)

(3d)

往	下	掉，	往	下	掉，	往
wang	*xia*	*diao*	*wang*	*xia*	*diao*	*wang*
LOC	down	fall	LOC	down	fall	LOC

下	掉。	這	地道	難道	永遠	沒有
xia	*diao*	*zhe*	*didao*	*nandao*	*yongyuan*	*meiyou*
down	fall	this	tunnel	PRT	forever	NEG

盡頭	嗎？	
jintou	*ma*	
end	PRT	

"Fall downwards, fall downwards, fall downwards. Was this tunnel without an end forever?" (Wang)

As is clear in (3a), the narrator's take on Alice's fall is viewpoint unspecified, with the fall grounded only by the definite article *the*, whereas in the three other versions, the narrator takes a close-up view of Alice's fall, indicated by the use of the proximal demonstrative *zhe*. Note that, although Wang's version linguistically elaborates the tunnel (in the second half of the excerpt) instead of the fall, the constructional means for the viewpointing of the construal is consistent with the other two versions.

One might think, from a comparison of (3a)–(3d), that the Chinese proximal demonstrative pronoun might be the equivalent of the English definite article. But further examples show that it is not the case at all. Excerpts (4a)–(4c) show just the opposite tendency of how the nominal referent grounded in English with a definite article is actually systematically grounded in Chinese with a distal demonstrative.

(4a) However, on the second time round, she came upon a low curtain she had not noticed before, and behind it was a little door about fifteen inches high: she tried the little golden key in the lock, and to her great delight it fitted!

(4b)

可是	再	第二回	試	的	時候，	她
keshi	*zai*	*dier-hui*	*shi*	*de*	*shihou*	*ta*
but	again	second-time	try	LK	when	she

看見了	一個	上回	沒有	看見
kan-jian-le	*yi-ge*	*shang-hui*	*meiyou*	*kan-jian*
see-PFV-PFV	one-CL	last-time	NEG	see-PFV

的	低	簾子，	簾子	後頭	有	一個
de	*di*	*lianzi*	*lianzi*	*houtou*	*you*	*yi-ge*
LK	low	curtain	curtain	behind	have	one-CL

小門，	只不過	一尺	多	高：	她	把
xiaomen	*zhibuguo*	*yi-chi*	*duo*	*gao*	*ta*	*ba*
small door	only	one-meter	more	high	she	PRT

那	金	鑰匙	放	在	鎖	裏
na	*jin*	*yaoshi*	*fang*	*zai*	*suo*	*li*
that	golden	key	put	LOC	lock	LOC

試試，	果然	真	配得上，	好個高興	呀！
shi-shi	*guoran*	*zhen*	*pei-de-shang*	*haogegaoxing*	*ya*
try-RED	indeed	real	match-PFV-PFV	very happy	PRT

"But when trying the second time again, she saw a low curtain that she had not seen last time, after which there was a small door, only roughly one feet in height: She put that golden key in the lock, and they matched, so happy!" (Chao)

(4c)	然而，	就	在	愛麗絲	再一次	試用	那
	raner	*jiu*	*zai*	*ailisi*	*zaiyici*	*shi-yong*	*na*
	however	PRT	LOC	Alice	again	try-use	that
	支	鑰匙	時，	卻	發現	一	片
	zhi	*yaoshi*	*shi*	*que*	*faxian*	*yi*	*pian*
	CL	key	when	but	find	one	CL
	先前	沒	留意到	的	窗簾，	窗簾	後面
	xianqian	*mei*	*liuyi-dao*	*de*	*chuanglian*	*chuanglian*	*houmian*
	previous	NEG	notice-PFV	LK	curtain	curtain	behind
	是	一	扇	大約	五	英呎	高
	shi	*yi*	*shan*	*dayue*	*wu*	*yinchi*	*gao*
	LK	one	CL	about	five	feet	tall
	的	小門。	她	試著	將	那	把
	de	*xiaomen*	*ta*	*shi-zhe*	*jiang*	*na*	*ba*
	LK	small door	she	try-IPF	PRT	that	CL
	小	鑰匙	放進	小門	門鎖	中，	而
	xiao	*yaoshi*	*fang-jin*	*xiaomen*	*mensuo*	*zhong*	*er*
	small	key	put-in	small door	lock	LOC	and

令	人	開心	的	是，	鑰匙	正
ling	*ren*	*kaixin*	*de*	*shi*	*yaoshi*	*zheng*
make	man	happy	LK	LK	key	PRT

吻合	那	扇	門！
wenhe	*na*	*shan*	*men*
match	that	CL	door

"However, as Alice was trying again with that key, she found a curtain that she had not noticed, behind which was a small door of about five feet tall. She tried putting that key into the small door's lock, and what made (her) happy was the key matched that door!" (Wang)

In English version (4a), the golden key, as a nominal referent, is grounded by the definite article *the* in a viewpoint-neutral way. However, in both (4b) and (4c), the same referent is presented from an obvious distance, elaborated by the use of the distal demonstrative *na*. The Chinese versions share a clear distance between the narrator and that specific part of the narrated scene (i.e., the key).

A comparison between Set (3) and Set (4) shows a clear advantage of MultiParT: Recall the fact that Chinese does not make systematic use of definite articles like English does, so it was difficult to really say what grounding and viewpointing solution a typical Chinese text producer would come up with. However, from Sets (3) and (4) we see that some nominal referents grounded with a definite article in English are systematically viewpointed in a proximal way in Chinese and others systematically in a distal way. Of course it is still far from clear under what circumstances a nominal is marked proximally or distally, but we believe that the use of multiple parallel texts involving a certain number of (representative) text producers from the same language provides a starting point for making valid intralanguage generalizations.[3]

What we can generalize from a comparison between the English and the Chinese versions in Sets (2), (3), and (4) in terms of intralanguage consistency is important. First, there *is* a viewpointing tendency shared by at

least over half of the Chinese versions. Second, the viewpointing tendency shared by most of the Chinese text producers is systematically different from the way the English narrative is viewpointed. Third, the same grounding element (the English definite article *the*) may find systematic correspondences that convey opposite viewpoints in Chinese. We believe the preceding findings constitute powerful testimonies to MultiParT as a useful methodological tool for empirical cross-linguistic viewpoint research, which we return to in Section 6.4.

6.4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In Section 6.3, we showed the overall differences in relevant viewpointing constructions identified by means of the MultiParT approach, which we believe point to fundamental differences at the discourse and the cognitive levels between the two languages.

Our findings first show the text producers' different strategies of facilitating a flow of information by creating and tracking nominal referents in a literary narrative in the respective languages. A comparison between Excerpts (1a) and (1b) shows that the distribution of demonstratives interacts with, and as a result is influenced by, the use of shell nouns in the narrator's language. Specifically, only in Chao's version is a schematic entity created for the possible event of making a daisy chain and a schematic label (*wanyi-er*) assigned to that, and a proximal viewpointing construction is used to mark that created nominal referent, with a close-up construal created on that particular creation in the narrative as a consequence. Such discourse operation is not seen in the English version. At the cognitive level, such creation of a nominal referent in discourse reflects the fundamental human capacity of *reification* and *tracking relationships* (Langacker, 2008). What our data reveal at this level is that in the same usage event, different text producers in different languages have completely *different ways of utilizing the same cognitive capacity in parallel usage events*, which is reflected in their actual use of language. This has an important implication: Although the general human cognitive infrastructure may be universal, the cognitive and conceptual operations in different languages simply have to follow the linguistic conventions in the respective languages (Croft, 2001). Viewpoint taking in language in general, and in literary narratives more specifically, is naturally part of that (Lu and Verhagen, 2016).

The second important factor to consider in terms of viewpointing in literary narratives is the influence of the grammatical profile of the viewpointing construction. As we showed in Excerpts (2a) and (2c), the grammatical

profiles of the viewpointing construction are different. In Carroll's version, the demonstrative constructions as viewpoint markers stand alone as pronouns, whereas in Chen's version, one of the viewpoint operators is joined by an adverbializer (*na-me*). We argue that this subtle grammatical difference has an important conceptual consequence in terms of *profiling* (in the sense of Langacker, 2008) and the respective construals that the viewpoint marker participates in. In particular, when a viewpoint is lexicalized in a pronominalized event, the pronoun confers focal prominence on the entire event as *a thing*. On the other hand, when a viewpoint coincides with an adverbializing construction, the entire adverbial construction, as a relational expression in Langacker's (2008, 112–17) sense, profiles *a relation*. In addition, the relation profiled is not only between the narrated event and the ground but between only *one out of the many* attributes of the narrated event and the ground, as the head of the adverbial is an adjective (*ziran* [natural]). Similar to what we have claimed before, although the general cognitive capacities of profiling and reification are universal, their instantiations in literary narratives, as a matter of fact, vary radically across languages.

The third important factor is how reference making is influenced by the interplay between viewpointing and viewpoint-neutral constructions in the respective languages. Excerpts (2a)–(2d) show that, although it is possible (and preferable) for the English version to pronominalize the event of Alice hearing the rabbit talk to itself and make reference to that as part of the cleft construction, such practice is not at all possible in *any* of the Chinese versions. The different constructional repertoire in the two languages forces the Chinese versions to adopt different strategies, with Excerpts (2b) and (2c) taking a proximal viewpoint on that same event and (2d) a distal one. Therefore the split in translation strategies is actually a natural result of lack of correspondence between the grammatical systems in the individual languages: The possibility of embedding a pronominalized event in a cleft construction is simply not available in the translators' *construct-i-con*, which is "the totality of our knowledge of language . . . captured by a network of constructions" (Goldberg, 2003).

We believe that the preceding points provide a powerful testimony for the effectiveness of MultiParT as an empirical method in cognitive linguistic and poetic research. Given its parallel nature, this methodology allows us to compare a set of almost identical usage events under highly similar circumstances, which turns up useful linguistic facts relevant to linguistic theorizing that other methodological approaches simply cannot show. For instance, our finding in Section 6.3.3 is in line with the observation by Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski (1993, 300) that both demonstratives

seem to function like a definite article in Chinese, with the proximal form being more frequent. However, MultiParT further allows one to identify precisely under what circumstances the English definite article corresponds to the proximal demonstrative in Chinese [such as Excerpts (3a)–(3d)] and to the distal one [such as Excerpts (4a)–(4c)].

We claim that MultiParT is also highly innovative in the sense that it provides a systematic way of comparing the overall distributions of relevant viewpointing constructions, not only across languages but also across different representative users within the same language, which allows us to plausibly distinguish purely individual characteristics of a translator's usage from more systematic, community-wide properties of the language involved. Now the language-internal systematicity also leads us back to a reconsideration of the observation that we made in Section 6.3.2. The lack of perfect correspondence between the languages should be seen as an epiphenomenon of each language having its own "grammar of viewpoint."

Of course, the present study also has its own share of limitations. In this chapter, we focus on parallel texts translated from English to Chinese only, and we acknowledge that translations in the other direction should also be considered for a methodological balance as in Wu (2004) and Lu and Verhagen (2016). However, the potential of MultiParT is not in the least undermined by the methodological constraint. If translated texts in only one direction already allowed us to see such stark cross-linguistic differences (in terms of frequency, distribution, etc.) between the languages, we believe that a bidirectional MultiParT approach will definitely prove even more fruitful. Finally, we believe that demonstratives as viewpointing constructions should be further studied in relation to the use of other viewpointing constructions, such as modal verbs and adverbs, iconicity, and so forth, as Tabakowska (2014) has initiated. Further systematic cross-linguistic research on viewpointing constructions is definitely a must, and we expect to see more studies in this direction in the near future.

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NOTES

1. Demonstratives are important viewpoint tools that may coincide in narratives with various others, such as personal pronouns, deictic verbs, modals, etc. Interested readers are referred to Dancygier (2012), Lu and Verhagen (2016), and Tabakowska (2014) for details.
2. The representativeness comes from the fact that most commercial publishers very carefully select as their contracted translators speakers who are highly proficient in both the source and the target language to ensure the quality of the translation.
3. Of course this is not an exhaustive list here. Readers are referred to Chapters 4 and 5 of Wu (2004) for a detailed discussion on a comparison between English and Chinese using parallel texts (with only one text producer from each language though).
4. Mandarin Chinese has another (though less frequent) demonstrative construction *ci* as a (slightly more written, in terms of genre) synonym of *zhe*. We did not yet include *ci* in the scope of this chapter, but we believe this would not at all undermine the general claim that we try to make here. Excerpt (2c) contains this construction.

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Publication 3

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Time, tense and viewpoint shift across languages: A Multiple-Parallel-Text approach to "tense shifting" in a tenseless language

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Abstract: The paper discusses the role of tense and time from a cross-linguistic perspective by comparing English (a tensed language) and Mandarin (a language without formal tense marking). Multiple translations of the same literary piece are used to test the correspondence between the tense, the perfective aspect and temporal adverbials. In English, tense marking is found to work with at least two language-specific stylistic means, clause interpolation and inversion, to create a mixed narrative viewpoint. In Mandarin, neither the perfective aspect nor temporal adverbials, i.e., constructions that invoke TIME, are systematically used across the renditions, which shows the Mandarin system's overall indifference to TIME in managing viewpoint in discourse. The Mandarin renditions, in addition to an overall indifference to TIME, feature consistent and frequent use of reduplication as the system's distinctive viewpoint strategy. The paper concludes with a discussion of the cognitive consequence of a language using an obligatory marking system to piggyback the function of viewpointing narratives.

Keywords: linguistic relativity, Mandarin, tense, time, translation

1 Introduction

Time and tense in narratives is an issue that has remained at the center of scholarly attention in cognitive narratology, poetics and stylistics. The past tense, a specific grammatical category used to code the relation between the time of speech and the time of the verbalized event, has been generally recognized as the default tense of story-telling, whereas the present tense, which expresses an action being performed either at the time of speech or habitually, involves a shift in narrative viewpoint (Fleischman 1990; Fludernik 2012;

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Verhagen this issue). Tense use affects the conceptualization of the plot in terms of viewpoint; the past tense invokes a distal viewpoint, from which the narrator reports the event and takes more responsibility for the narrated content, while the present tense suggests a close-up view, reflecting a higher degree of immediacy and a higher tendency for the reader to hold the character's consciousness responsible for the content.[1] In particular, when the present tense is used in narrating a past event (the so-called *historical present*), that introduces a consciousness displaced from the narrated world into the 'here-and-now' of the conceptualizers. In cognitive linguistic terms, use of the historical present involves a shift in Base Space (Fauconnier 1997: 77), moving the conceptual anchor point from the space of narration to a Story Space embedded in the narration.[2]

However, the above contrast between the default past tense narration and the historical present, and the consequent alternative construal of the same story plot when a different tense is used, only make sense from the perspective of a language which marks a temporal relation between the time of speech and the time of the verbalized event by means of tense. However, there are languages which do not mark such temporal relation, a typical example being Mandarin (Li and Thompson 1981; Lin 2012; Shi and Huang 2016). In such tenseless languages, other TIME-related constructional means are reported to help communicate the temporal relation between the time of speech and the verbalized event. For instance, in Mandarin, the temporal status of the verbalized event can be expressed by temporal adverbials, or by the perfective aspect, which encodes the completion of the verbalized event with respect to a certain temporal reference point (Shi and Huang 2016: 54). Following that, a broader theoretical question naturally arises: Do tenseless languages use TIME-related constructions that help communicate the temporal relation between the time of speech and the time of the narrated event, for the purpose of managing the narrative viewpoint, in any way that could be considered [analogous or similar] to the way in which tensed languages use tense marking to show narrative viewpoint?

This leads to an even broader question that will be of theoretical linguistic and narratological interest: to what extent does human language rely on the

1 The question of "who is responsible for the narrated content" has been an issue that receives attention in cognitive linguistics (see, e.g., Sanders et al. 2009). However, cross-linguistic research is still largely lacking in the field.

2 What is introduced here about the historical present is the standard view in literature. However, there is certainly disagreement in the field. Interested readers are referred to, for instance, Nijk (this issue) and Stukker (this issue) for dissenting views.

concept of TIME (invoked by TIME-related constructions) to convey narrative viewpoint, and how much similarity and variation is there in this respect among different languages?

2 Methodology and scope

The above question is of a cross-linguistic nature and is a central question of comparative stylistics – when we see a stylistic pattern in Language A composed of a certain linguistic feature that is missing in Language B, how is the same stylistic effect achieved in Language B? To properly address the comparative nature of such an inquiry, one needs a research methodology that can provide suitable contextualized data across languages, and that is where the **Multi**ple **Par**allel **T**ext (MultiParT) approach comes in (Lu and Verhagen 2016; Lu et al. 2018; Lu et al. submitted). MultiParT is a method that has been used to study cross-linguistic stylistic differences, using multiple translations from the same source into the same target language. The rationale behind the initiative is that past research on stylistic tools in language has been methodologically based on either introspection or use of mono-lingual texts/corpora. However, as language production is *usage-based* (Barlow and Kemmer 2000) and heavily influenced by all sorts of context, there has been no way of studying the cross-linguistic aspect of viewpoint by controlling for the same linguistic, physical and social context, while keeping the language production contextualized. In view of this problem, use of parallel texts (translations) constitutes an efficient methodological opportunity for studying viewpoint tools across languages in a contextualized way—if one sees the author and the translator(s) as equally sensible text producers, then by keeping identical most other contextual factors, including the linguistic, physical, and social context, production mode and genre, one may empirically study the viewpointing options in a passage of narrative where all text producers try to get across highly similar (if not identical) messages. However, such use of multiple parallel texts (or translations) in studying viewpoint has received only limited attention in the field (but see Tabakowska 2014 for another earlier attempt in this regard).

The languages chosen here for comparison are English and Mandarin—for two reasons. English is a typical tensed language, where viewpoint phenomena have been widely investigated. In comparison, Mandarin is a typical tenseless language where some (though limited) work has been done on viewpoint. For

instance, Hagenaar (1996: 295) points out that "in Chinese, verb tense cannot serve to distinguish free indirect speech from direct speech as it sometimes can in Indo-European languages." The author goes on to suggest using personal pronouns, adverbs, modal particles, and aspectual marking as possible identifiers of free indirect speech in Mandarin. On a cross-linguistic level, Hagenaar's pointing to aspectual markers as viewpoint constructions in Mandarin narratives echoes Li and Thompson's (1981) observation that Mandarin Chinese does not use verbal affixes to mark the temporal relation between the speech event and the situation in question. Hagenaar's observations are further substantiated by scholarly observations that in many situations the Mandarin perfective aspect, for example the use of 了 *le* and 过 *guò*, serves the semantic function of expressing a past event or prior experience (Lin 2012; Liu 2014; Shi and Huang 2016: 54). Naturally, given the close connection between the past (in relation to the speech event) and the perfective aspect in Mandarin, two hypotheses can be proposed: First, in a tenseless language (Mandarin being a typical one), if TIME is also an element crucial to narrative viewpoint management like it is in tensed languages (English being typical), then when the narrative viewpoint is managed by tense shifting in the English source text, the target text(s) will use the perfective aspect (another specific grammatical category), or else lexical adverbial constructions that invoke TIME, to suggest a similar viewpoint. Second, since the functional connection between the past tense in English and the perfective aspect in Mandarin is understood to be close, use of the perfective aspect (or TIME-related lexical constructions) in Mandarin translations should be largely (if not completely) consistent, given the fact that there is one common source text.

To test the hypotheses, three literary passages written originally in English by two different authors are examined in comparison to their Mandarin translations. Two of the passages are by Charles Dickens (one from *Great Expectations*, the other from *David Copperfield*), and the third passage is from John Updike's short story "A&P". In each of these original passages, the narrative viewpoint is managed mainly (though not exclusively) by a shift in tense. Works by two different authors and from two different national varieties of English were chosen to ensure methodological rigor— to see whether the target translation phenomena occur in writings exhibiting different varieties of the source language. Special attention is paid to the viewpoint constructions in the corresponding Mandarin passages. The Mandarin texts used were 5 different published translations of *Great Expectations*, 9 of *David Copperfield*, and 2 of "A&P".

3 Patterns in the English texts: The interplay of tense-shifting and other viewpointing strategies

Below, I provide a detailed analysis of the three English excerpts. I will allot more space to the ones produced by Dickens, as these two have many more translations in Mandarin and are slightly richer in viewpoint strategies.

A close examination of the excerpts shows that although tense shifting is an important viewpoint strategy in English narratives, it actually works in an intricate way with other linguistic strategies to create the stylistic effect of mixing narrative viewpoints.

The first passage is taken from Chapter 56 of *Great Expectations*, where there is a shift from the historical present to the past tense, reflecting a smooth viewpoint transition from a proximal (character-responsible) to a distal (narrator-responsible) one.

(1) The whole scene starts out again in the vivid colours of the moment, down to the drops of April rain on the windows of the court, glittering in the rays of April sun. Penned in the dock, as I again stood outside it at the corner with his hand in mine, were the two-and-thirty men and women; some defiant, some stricken with terror, some sobbing and weeping, some covering their faces, some staring gloomily about. There had been shrieks from among the women convicts, but they had been stilled, a hush had succeeded. (Dickens 1881: 494)

The excerpt starts out taking the Story Space as the Base Space, a move reflected by the use of the historical present marker *-s* in *starts*, the stylistic effect of which is strengthened by use of *perceptual deixis* (Stockwell 2002: 45). Perceptual deixis refer to those elements that invoke an immediate perception of a participant in the narrated scene, manifested here by the perceptual content from *in the vivid colours* to *the rays of April sun*. The viewpoint structure in the second sentence is mixed, in the sense that the vividness resulting from taking the Story Space as the Base Space is continued via use of *inversion* (Bolinger 1977; Dorgeloh 1997; Chen 2003), which allows the narrator to embed himself in the narrated universe and to adopt a character's perspective, and also more perceptual deixis—from *some defiant* to *some staring gloomily about*—which offers the reader a less-mediated access to the perceptual content of the character back in the Story Space. In addition, the sense of immediacy in the second

sentence is substantiated by the existence of four present participles, invoking an internal perspective (Langacker 2008: 120) on the event narrated. However, the use of the past tense *stood* creates incoherence in the viewpoint configuration, in that it triggers a distal narrative viewpoint. The combination of the past tense and the other stylistic devices thus creates a mixed viewpoint. Continuing the viewpoint transition starting with *stood*, the third sentence continues with the past tense and reflects a typical distal viewpoint, attributing the responsibility to the narrator as the *subject of consciousness* (Pander Maat and Sanders 2001; Sanders et al. 2012).

Note that the use of tense marking collaborates with two crucial structural elements in creating the mixed viewpoint: inversion and interpolation. Inversion is certainly important—the preposing of the preverbal constituent invokes a proximal viewpoint by first presenting the perceptual content (*penned in the dock*) as a continuation of the viewpoint in the first sentence. The continuation of the proximal viewpoint would be undermined if the second sentence were not inverted, as in (1b):

(1b) The whole scene starts out again in the vivid colours of the moment, down to the drops of April rain on the windows of the court, glittering in the rays of April sun. The two-and-thirty men and women, as I again stood outside it at the corner with his hand in mine, were penned in the dock; some defiant, some stricken with terror, some sobbing and weeping, some covering their faces, some staring gloomily about. There had been shrieks from among the women convicts, but they had been stilled, a hush had succeeded. (constructed)

The other important structural element that works with tense shifting to create the mixed viewpoint is the interpolation of the adverbial *as*-clause in the past tense. The set-up of the viewpoint structure in (1) not only uses the second sentence as a subtle transition from a proximal viewpoint to a distal one, but also embeds a distal viewpoint *within* the sentence boundaries right in the middle. The viewpoint structure becomes different in (1c), where the *as*-clause is not interpolated:

(1c) The whole scene starts out again in the vivid colours of the moment, down to the drops of April rain on the windows of the court, glittering in the rays of April sun. As I again stood outside it at the corner with his hand in mine, penned in the dock were the two-and-thirty men and women; some defiant, some stricken with terror, some sobbing and weeping, some covering their faces, some staring gloomily about. There had been shrieks

from among the women convicts, but they had been stilled, a hush had succeeded. (constructed)

From a comparison of (1) with its constructed counterparts, it is clear that the viewpoint shift is achieved not only via a shift in tense, but also via the collaboration of inversion and interpolation, both specific to English.

The second example is taken from Chapter 9 of *David Copperfield*, where the narrative viewpoint shifts from a narrator-responsible one to a character-responsible one. This passage is also hallmarked by the use of different tenses, but this time moving from past to present.

(2) If the funeral had been yesterday, I could not recollect it better. The very air of the best parlour, when I went in at the door, the bright condition of the fire, the shining of the wine in the decanters, the patterns of the glasses and plates, the faint sweet smell of cake, the odour of Miss Murdstone's dress, and our black clothes. Mr. Chillip is in the room, and comes to speak to me. (Dickens 1999: 114)

In this excerpt, there is a gradual shift in the narrative viewpoint, from a distal take to a close-up one, with the use of tense invoking the global shift in construal. The first sentence of (2) is in past tense, giving the narrator the narrative responsibility (manifested by use of *had* and *could*). Immediately following that is a group of noun phrases that show the reader what the character sees in the room (again perceptual deixis), inviting the reader to enter the character's consciousness. However, a remnant of the narrator's distant viewpoint remains, signaled by the only use of past tense *went* in the clause inserted among the full host of noun phrases. Note that the position of the *when*-clause (which contains the only prompt for the narrator's consciousness *went*) has to be interpolated, in order to create a mixed viewpoint, as shown in (2). The analysis here echoes Lu and Verhagen's (2016) analysis of *Alice in Wonderland*, which identifies clause interpolation as an important stylistic strategy of the English language that helps create a smooth transition of narrative viewpoint. The constructed (2b), following the canonical clause order in English, does not have the same stylistic effect as (2).

(2b) If the funeral had been yesterday, I could not recollect it better. When I went in at the door, the very air of the best parlour, the bright condition of the fire, the shining of the wine in the decanters, the patterns of the glasses and plates, the faint sweet smell of cake, the odour of Miss Murdstone's dress, and our black clothes. (constructed)

In addition to the position of the tensed *when*-clause, the viewpoint effect in (2) is inextricable from the procedural establishment of an ad-hoc constructional schema introduced by the author's repetitive use of [N] – [*of*] – [N]. When the reader encounters that particular sentence, the emphatic construction *very*, at the first instance, gives a sense of immediacy (hinting at a character-responsible viewpoint), but immediately following that, the narrative viewpoint switches back to a distal one, invoked by the past tense. The narrator, however, goes on to heap on noun phrases with the same structure, so that an ad-hoc schema is created and gradually entrenched as the reader moves along. The analysis here is reminiscent of Lu's (2018) discussion of how the ad hoc schema [N] – [PREP] – [N] creates a persuasive effect in Martin Luther King's rhetorical masterpiece "I Have a Dream". Though used in different genres and different modes of communication, the cognitive effect of ad hoc schema construction in discourse is expected to be similar.

It must, however, be noted that the analysis here does not amount to saying that the [N] – [of] – [N] construction is one that represents the character's viewpoint. Rather, the structure simply serves as a bedrock of the mixing viewpoints. It does so by hosting various perceptual deictic elements, ranging from THE AIR OF THE FIRST PARLOUR to THE ODOUR OF MISS MURDSTONE'S DRESS, so that the viewpoint effect in this passage can be fleshed out by the interruption of the chain of the character's sensory contents linguistically elaborated by the [N] – [of] – [N] structure. This kind of viewpoint effect is undermined when part of the perceptual deixis is hosted by a structure other than [N] – [*of*] – [N], as it is in (2c).

(2c) If the funeral had been yesterday, I could not recollect it better. The best parlour's air, when I went in at the door, the bright condition of the fire, the shining of the wine in the decanters, the patterns of the glasses and plates, the faint sweet smell of cake, the odour of Miss Murdstone's dress, and our black clothes. Mr. Chillip is in the room, and comes to speak to me. (constructed)

Note that the ad-hoc pattern is not merely structural but also *constructional*, since on a discourse-narrative level, the noun phrases all suggest a character-responsible viewpoint, which means that viewpoint-wise, a schematic commonality can be sought also at the semantic-functional pole of the construction. Therefore, the insertion of the *when*-clause that contains the past tense interrupts not only the creation of the structural pattern at the phonological pole, but also swings the narrative viewpoint at the semantic pole.[3]

3 The argument presented here is similar to Nikiforidou's (2012) take on the *Past + now* construction and Lu and Verhagen (2016) on combination of typography and conjunctions, bringing constructional analysis "all the way up" to the discourse level.

Examining a third passage, from John Updike's short story "A&P", reveals how tense-shifting works in a different setting. Example (3) is taken from the first sentence of the opening paragraph in the story:

(3) In walks these three girls in nothing but bathing suits. I'm in the third check-out slot, with my back to the door, so I don't see them until they're over by the bread. The one that caught my eye first was the one in the plaid green two-piece. (Updike 1996: 187)

Quite similar to (1) and (2), the tense shift from the present to the past in (3) is the stylistic strategy that takes the main responsibility for invoking a shift from a character-responsible viewpoint to a narrator-responsible one. The passage starts with the present tense, providing access to the character's consciousness, with the character's voice strengthened by the inversion of the adverb *in* to the very front of the sentence. Compare (3) with the non-inverted (3b), where the canonical word order triggers a more distal viewpoint.

(3b) These three girls walks in in nothing but bathing suits. I'm in the third check-out slot, with my back to the door, so I don't see them until they're over by the bread. The one that caught my eye first was the one in the plaid green two-piece. (constructed)

The point of the discussion so far is that although shifting between tenses is a key component in managing viewpoint in English narratives, in actual use, it does not stand alone but collaborates with other linguistic strategies to achieve a global mix of viewpoints. Such generalization is substantiated by an in-depth analysis of works by two representative authors from different varieties of the English language.

4 Lack of neat cross-linguistic correspondences and the distinctive pattern of the Mandarin renditions

A close examination of the Mandarin translations does not prove the hypothesis stated above (that we expect to see corresponding TIME-related constructions where tense shifting takes place in the original). Neither the perfective aspect

nor TIME-related adverbials are properly[4] and consistently used across the translations, which means that the concept of TIME is not truly relevant throughout the passages examined. Specifically, no Mandarin passage out of the total of 16 employs the perfective aspect in places where the past tense is used in English. In addition, only 5 out of 16 contain a temporal adverbial that corresponds to the tense into which the English switches (either past time or present time). These are not high enough numbers to prove the validity of the hypothesis.

As we go deeper into the data, 2 out of 16 passages actually use the perfective aspect, but only in places where the *present tense* is used in English, as in the combination of *zǒu-le-jìn-lái* in (4).

(4) 三个 只 穿著 游泳衣 的 姑娘
sān-ge zhǐ chuān-zhe yóuyǒngyī de gūniáng
three-CL only wear-IMP swimsuit LINK lady
走了进来。 我 站在 三号 收银台 旁,
zǒu-le-jìn-lái wǒ zhàn-zài sān-hào shōuyíntái pang
walk-PFV-in-come I stand-LOC no. 3 cashier next to
背对著 门, 所以 等 他们 走到 放
bèiduì-zhe mén suǒyǐ děng tā-men zǒu-dào fàng
back-IMP door so until they walk-PFV lay
面包 的 柜台 时 才 看到。 首先
miànbāo de guìtái shí cái kàn-dào shǒuxiān
bread LK counter when PRT see-PFV first
引起 我 注意 的 是 那个 穿著
yǐnqǐ wǒ zhùyì de shì nà-ge chuān-zhe
raise I attention LK LK that-CL wear-IMP
绿色 方格 两截 游泳衣 的 姑娘。
lǜsè fānggé liǎngjié yóuyǒngyī de gūniáng
green plaid two piece swimsuit LK lady
'Three ladies who only wear/wore swimsuit walk(ed) in. I stand/stood next to cashier no.3, back towards the door, so until they walk(ed) to the counter where the bread is/was laid, I see/saw (them). First what catch/

4 One temporal adverbial is found within the 9 translations of (1), but it is not a rendition that faithfully reflects what happens in the source text. The translation uses a Space Builder of the past time (当时 *dāngshí* 'back then') in a passage where the English original uses the *present* tense. This shows that the translator is probably insensitive to the tense switch to the present and sticks to the default past tense narration, using a past adverbial to provide access to the character's consciousness.

caught my attention is/was the lady with green plaid two piece swimsuit.' (Yang's translation in 2015)

In (4), the perfective aspect 了 *le* is attached to the verbal process of 走 *zǒu* 'walk', to encode the completion of the action with respect to a reference point (the girls' entrance to the shop). In this instance, *le* is also part of the *resultative construction* (in the sense of Shi and Huang 2016: 18), serving to introduce the state of the girls (i.e., being in the shop) which results from the action of walking. In any case, the perfective aspect in this particular example does not concern the temporal relation between the time of speech and the time of the narrated event, nor does it concern the shift of the narrative viewpoint. In both Mandarin renditions of (3), the perfective aspect modifies the action of the girls (*zǒu* 'walk'), which is elaborated in the English text in the *present* tense, creating a different construal from the English one.

In addition to the lack of neat correspondence between TIME-related constructions between the English and the Mandarin versions, none of the Mandarin translations of (2) interpolates the rendition of the *when*-clause in between the stack of the noun phrases. Almost all translations follow the canonical Mandarin clause order by putting the *when*-clause sentence-initially. Excerpt (5) is a typical case.

(5) 我 一 走进 那间 最好 的 客厅,
wǒ yī zǒu-jìn nà-jiān zuì-hǎo de kètīng
I as soon as walk-enter that-CL best LK best parlor
屋 里 的 气氛 就 迎面
wū lǐ de qìfēn jiù yíng-miàn
house in LK atmosphere PRT towards-face
扑来: 旺旺 的 炉火, 瓶 中
pū-lái wàng-wàng de lúhuǒ píng zhōng
spring-come blazing-RED LK fire bottle in
闪闪 发光 的 葡萄酒, 杯盘
shǎn-shǎn fāguāng de pútao-jiǔ bēipán
shine-RED radiate LK wine dishes
的 式样, 糕饼 的 微微 甜 香,
de shìyàng gāobǐng de wéi-wéi tián xiāng
LK style cake LK faint-RED sweet aroma
默德斯通 小姐 衣服 上 的
mòdésītōng xiǎojiě yīfú shàng de
Murdstone Miss clothes on LK
气味, 以及 我们 穿 的 黑色
qìwèi yǐjí wǒ-mén chuān de hēisè
smell and we wear LK black

丧服。 齐力普 先生 也 在 那里,
sāngfú *qílìpǔ* *xiānsheng* *yě* *zài* *nàlǐ*
mourning apparel Chillip Mr. also LOC there
并且 走过来 和 我 说话。
bìngqiě *zǒu-guòlái* *hàn* *wǒ* *shuōhuà*
and walk-come with I speak
'As soon as I walk(ed) into that best parlor, atmosphere comes/came springing towards my face: blazing fire, shining wine in bottle, style of dishes, and slight sweet aroma of cakes, smell on Miss Murdstone's clothes, and black mourning apparel we wear/wore. Mr. Chillip is/was also there, and comes/came walking to speak to me.' (Wang and Wang's translation in 2001)[5]

As can be seen in (5), the content in the protasis in the English original (the character walking in at the door of the best parlor) is rendered at the very beginning of the sentence, instead of being inserted in between the series of sensory contents perceived by the character. Therefore, the mixing of narrative viewpoints that we witnessed in (2) is not rendered in its Mandarin counterpart due to the conventional sequence of the protasis and the apodosis in Mandarin.

So far, we have discussed the various viewpoint constructions that do not, and cannot, get across from the English to the Mandarin versions. However, it is also important to note that the Mandarin renditions do exhibit a clear pattern of their own—13 out of the 16 passages employ reduplication to express a character-responsible viewpoint. Among the 13 passages, the 9 translations of (2) consistently utilize the strategy to show the vividness of the character's sensory experience. Readers are referred again to (5) for illustration. In (5), 3 tokens of reduplications are used to increase the immediacy of the character's reported perceptual content (of how the fire burns fiercely, of how the wine gives out a bright light, and of how the sweet smell of the cake is barely perceptible). In Mandarin, mono-syllabic words and di-syllabic lexical constructions may be reduplicated to increase the degree of liveliness and vividness of a scene, with the resultant pattern AA for a mono-syllabic construction or AABB for a disyllabic AB construction.[6]

5 In the free translation, I choose to provide both possible tenses, to reflect the tense-unspecified nature of Mandarin and to show that the passage may be open to different tense interpretations.

6 Reduplications in Mandarin are of two basic semantic types, *increasing* and *diminishing* (Melloni and Basciano 2018). What is found in my data all belong to the former type, which intensifies the property invoked by the base form. I believe that the *ideophonicizing* function of

Beyond Excerpt (5), other typical examples identified in the 9 renditions of (2) include 淡淡 *dàn-dàn* 'weak-RED' (based on 淡 *dàn* 'weak'), 微微 *wéi-wéi* 'faint-RED' (based on 微 *wéi* 'faint'), 清清楚楚 *qīngqīngchǔchǔ* 'clear-RED' (based on 清楚 *qīngchǔ* 'clear [in terms of vision or memory]'), among others. In addition, the Mandarin renditions are highly consistent in using reduplication for a character-responsible viewpoint effect: among the 9 Mandarin renditions of (2), 3 versions use 3 tokens of reduplications, 2 versions 2, and 4 versions 1. Reduplication is also fairly consistently used in the Mandarin renditions of (1), with 4 versions out of 5 using at least 1 reduplication to express the vividness of the narration.[7]

In addition to the typical reduplication of AA and AABB listed in Melloni and Basciano (2018), still another constructional pattern of reduplication is identified in the parallel texts studied—the pattern ABAC, with B and C being synonymous or at least semantically related. Examples include 各式各样 *gè-shì-gè-yang* 'every-type-RED-kind' and 有声有色 *yǒu-shēng-yǒu-sè* 'have-sound-RED-color'. This is a type of morphological means that has not been discussed in the literature of viewpoint research.[8]

It is also worth noting that reduplication is a highly productive morphological mechanism that may bear an *ideophonicizing* function (Liu 2012). According to Liu, most Mandarin ideophones can be reduplicated, but on top of that, general content words may also be reduplicated to become *temporary ideophones*. I believe that Liu's observation is relevant to the above various reduplications identified in the Mandarin renditions. In addition to the tense shifting, the English originals adopt perceptual deixis (expressions about the perceptive participants in the scene) to construct a character-dominant viewpoint, and when rendering the perceptual deixis, a Mandarin speaker may naturally reduplicate not only the inherent ideophones but also selected content words that are only peripheral in the domain of PERCEPTION, to provide the reader with easy access to the character's consciousness.[9]

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reduplication (Liu 2012) cited later in this paper may overlap with the intensifying function of reduplication.

7 Reduplication is not present in the translations of (3). I suspect that use of reduplication is related to the extent of ideophonicity of the narrated content in the original. Examples (1) and (2) both contain a richer description of the sensory content perceived by the character than (3).

8 ABAC is a pattern of reduplication that has received little attention even in the field of Chinese Linguistics, let alone in viewpoint research. The pattern is mentioned only in passing in Lai (2006: 491) and Lin (2015: 869), for instance.

9 One might wonder about the semantic-relatedness between 声 and 色 in 有声有色 *yǒu-shēng-yǒu-sè* 'have-sound-RED-color'. The semantic relation may not seem straightforward, but if one considers the concepts (that is, SOUND and COLOR) against the domain of PERCEPTION and the

To show that reduplication is indeed an important stylistic strategy in Mandarin, compare the constructed (5b), which is a version of (5) without reduplication. In (5b), the narrative viewpoint is not as strongly character-dominant as that in (5), although the series of perceptual deictic elements still allows the reader to access the character's consciousness to an extent. In (5b), the narration reads less vividly and lacks a sense of immediacy.

(5b) 我 一 走进 那间 最好 的 客厅,
wǒ yī zǒu-jìn nà-jiān zuì-hǎo de kètīng
I as soon as walk-enter that-CL best LK best parlor
屋 里 的 气氛 就 迎面
wū lǐ de qìfēn jiù yíng-miàn
house in LK atmosphere PRT towards-face
扑来： 旺盛 的 炉火, 瓶 中
pū-lái wàngshèng de lúhuǒ píng zhōng
spring-come blazing LK fire bottle in
闪耀 发光 的 葡萄酒, 杯盘
shǎnyào fāguāng de pútao-jiǔ bēipán
shine radiate LK wine dishes
的 式样, 糕饼 的 些微 甜 香,
de shìyàng gāobǐng de xiēwéi tián xiāng
LK style cake LK faint sweet aroma
默德斯通 小姐 衣服 上 的
mòdésītōng xiǎojiě yīfú shàng de
Murdstone Miss clothes on LK
气味, 以及 我们 穿 的 黑色
qìwèi yǐjí wǒ-mén chuān de hēisè
smell and we wear LK black
丧服。 齐力普 先生 也 在 那里,
sāngfú qílìpǔ xiānsheng yě zài nàlǐ
mourning apparel Chillip Mr. also LOC there
并且 走过来 和 我 说话。
bìngqiě zǒu-guòlái hàn wǒ shuōhuà
and walk-come with I speak
'As soon as I walk(ed) into that best parlor, atmosphere comes/came springing towards my face: fire that blazes/d, wine in bottle that shines/d, style of dishes, and aroma of cakes that is/was weak, smell on Miss Murdstone's

tight connection between reduplication and ideophones in Mandarin, it is not terribly surprising that the two constructions are attracted to the ABAC pattern together.

clothes, and black mourning apparel we wear/wore. Mr. Chillip is/was also there, and comes/came walking to speak to me.' (constructed)

In addition to reduplication, the MultiParT approach also helps one identify with confidence another viewpoint strategy specific to the target language, which introduces a different construal of the narrated content. In particular, a perceptual deictic element, 在我 (的) 眼前 *zài wǒ de yǎn qián* 'LOC my LK eye front, (lit. in front of my eyes)', is found to occur in all translations of (1) that invoke the character's consciousness. The construction is not in the English original at all, and creates a different construal of the narrated scene throughout the Mandarin renditions by introducing the presence of the narrator as an additional conceptual content, as shown in Example (6).

(6) 现在, 所有 这一幕 又 栩栩如生
xiànzài suǒyǒu zhè-yī-mù yòu xǔ-xǔ-rú-shēng
now all this-one-scene again lively-RED-like-life
地 出现 在 我 眼前。 4月
dì chūxiàn zài wǒ yǎn-qián... sìyuè
LK appear LOC my eye-front April
温暖 的 阳光 伏 在 法庭 的
wēnnuǎn de yángguāng fú zài fǎtíng de
warm LK sunlight lie LOC count LK
窗户 上, 可 同时, 也 有 4月
chuānghù shàng kě tóngshí yě yǒu sìyuè
window LOC but meanwhile also have April
晶莹 的 雨点 打 在 上面。
jīngyíng de yǔdiǎn dǎ zài shàngmiàn
crystal LK rain drop hit LOC LOC
'Now, all this scene appears/appeared in front of my eyes very lively. Warm April sunlight lies/lay on the window of the court, but meanwhile, there are/were crystal-transparent April raindrops hitting on (the window).' (Xu's translation in 2012)

In (6), as well as in the other translations of (1), the use of 在我 (的) 眼前 *zài wǒ de yǎn qián* 'LOC my LK eye front, (lit. in front of my eyes)' performs the cognitive stylistic function of putting the narrator *onstage* as an *object* of conceptualization (Langacker 2008: 77), thus bringing more of the reader's attention to the narrator's existence, pinning him down for the narrated content than when the narrator remains linguistically implicit and thus *offstage*, as is the case in the English original. Accordingly, due to the consistent use of perceptual

deixis, all the Mandarin renditions of (1) invoke an objective construal of the narrator, which is different from the English original, and as a consequence, creates a more narrator-responsible viewpoint.

Overall, the Mandarin renditions consistently offer a more or less different type of vividness from the English original, in two major respects: on the one hand, the Mandarin renditions typically lack corresponding viewpoint strategies identified in the English original, such as TIME-related constructions (be they the perfective aspect or temporal adverbials) and clause interpolation. On the other hand, Mandarin systematically imposes on the narrated scene its own stylistic strategies, including reduplication and additional perceptual deixis. As a result, the renditions take on different types of vividness, in the sense that they intensify the ideophones (or even ideophonicize perception-related content) and give the narrator an objective construal that is not present in the original.

5 Discussion and concluding remarks

From this analysis, it is clear that in the English language the viewpoint strategies that work with tense shifting include at least ad hoc schema construction, clause interpolation and inversion, the latter two of which are not present in the Mandarin renditions of all the English passages and are language-specific. Tense shifting works with the three strategies in a sophisticated way to create a language-specific stylistic effect of mixing viewpoints. But in addition to not having tense marking, Mandarin also lacks clause interpolation and inversion in its standard[10] constructional toolkit for viewpointing narratives. Instead of using the perfective aspect or TIME-related expressions as hypothesized, the investigated passages use reduplication and perception-related lexical constructions, the former being specific to Mandarin, and the latter changing the subjectivity of the narration when introduced into the renditions. Use of parallel texts allows us to identify an additional constructional pattern in Mandarin, ABAC, used for introducing a character-dominant narrative effect—a viewpointing tool which has not yet been discussed in the literature.

Another theoretically relevant point discovered through comparison of these two typologically different languages concerns whether and how they use obligatory grammatical strategies to viewpoint discourse. On the one hand, English uses tense marking, which is an obligatory system, to piggyback the cognitive-stylistic

10 It is important to note that some translators simply follow the clause order in the source language without creating the viewpoint effect (Lu and Verhagen 2016).

function of viewpoint management, meaning that the language makes an *obligatory* distinction between narrative viewpoints across sentences, given the grammatical fact that each sentence in English contains at least one tensed verb or auxiliary. On the other hand, Mandarin resorts to *optional* constructional means such as reduplication and perceptual lexical constructions for a similar stylistic purpose. Mandarin's use of non-obligatory strategies for viewpointing narratives means that its users are not required to make a strict and clear viewpoint distinction in each sentence, although such non-obligatory viewpoint strategies do appear (but *only* frequently) for the purpose of viewpoint management.

At the cognitive level, the grammar-driven viewpoint operation is also very different between the languages—in English, the *switching* between mental spaces is always explicit (given the obligatory dichotomous distinction between past/non-past in English) and has to be marked sentence by sentence. But the Mandarin system *does not require* its speakers to make a dichotomous distinction between mental spaces, and it is absolutely fine for a Mandarin sentence to go without any single viewpoint strategy, leaving the space distinction *unspecified* and based on context, as suggested by Hagenaar (1996). Following such a line of thinking, the present study is theoretically relevant not only to viewpoint research but also to the issue of linguistic relativity. A language that has an obligatory tense marking system and uses that to manage viewpoint in narratives (English being a typical example) requires its speakers to make clear distinctions between viewpoints, and so in such languages we can talk about *mixing of different viewpoints*. In contrast, speakers of a language that does not use an obligatory constructional means to manage viewpoint (Mandarin being typical) are not required to make such clear distinctions, so if a stretch of discourse does not invoke one single clear viewpoint, it is usually underspecified rather than mixed. Of course, empirical research in this direction is needed to confirm this implication.

The analysis also provides solid evidence for the usefulness of the MultiParT approach in cross-linguistic viewpoint research. First, it pinpoints the utter lack of the perfective aspect and the random use of TIME-related expressions across all the Mandarin renditions of (1) and (2), and even identifies a consistent mismatch between the perfective aspect and the present tense in (3) and both its renditions, which shows exactly why our hypothesis, following what has been reported in previous literature, was incorrect. Second, MultiParT helps identify contextualized language-specific viewpoint strategies, such as the perception-based lexical construction, in all renditions of (1) and reduplication in all renditions of (2), which allows us to make a confident enough generalization of what viewpoint construction to expect in a certain language in a particular context. Thirdly, MultiParT also allows one to identify the lack of optional,

though possible, viewpoint strategies in a certain language in a particular context, such as the complete lack of clause interpolation across all Mandarin renditions of (1) and (2).

Finally, it must be noted that the present study is based on works by only two representative authors, each from a major national variety of English, thus allowing for an investigation only of those two particular author's style, so that recurrent stylistic strategies (such as inversion, the interpolation of adverbial clauses and the stacking of lexical constructions with structural similarity) can be identified as relevant. Further research on works by more representative authors who wrote in English should be done in order to identify a wider variety of stylistic means that corroborates with tense shifting in the English language. However, I believe the confined scope does not undermine the generalizability of the present research but rather gives it an analytical depth—if one does not see a connection in the target language between TIME and viewpoint hypothesized in the sets of renditions of works by the authors from different varieties of English, then it is obvious that TIME is not what speakers of that particular target language care about when expressing viewpoint. The fact that the recurrent viewpoint strategies in the two authors' style do not appear at all in any rendition in another language, and in fact are replaced by other means specific to the target language, proves exactly that viewpoint management is *radically* (in the sense of Croft 2001 and Verhagen 2012) language-specific.

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Narrative viewpoint and subjective construal across languages

English inversion, associated strategies and their Chinese renditions in multiple parallel texts

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The present study explores the viewpointing function of word order inversion and associated stylistic strategies across languages, comparing English-Chinese multiple parallel texts as illustration. In particular, I investigate whether the cognitive strategy of inverting the word order to create a subjective construal is similar in both languages, to what extent, and if the languages differ, what systematic contingency plans there are. To answer the question, I examined selected excerpts with inversion written in English and their multiple translations in Mandarin Chinese, to see how the subjective construals in the English originals are rendered. I find that in addition to inversion, the English samples exhibit a zoom-in effect through use of punctuation, the participial clause, and an ad hoc schema of [*some*] – [X] with the middle three instantiations sharing an identical phonological schema. The identical phonological schema and the shared narrative viewpoint makes the three instantiations iconic. In comparison, the Chinese renditions employ the presentative construction and a focus particle to approximate the character-based viewpoint, but the zoom-in effect is not present in any of the Chinese versions. Another important difference is the generally longer iconic part in the Chinese versions, due to the productivity of four-character templates at the phonological pole in Mandarin Chinese.

Keywords: constructional schema, iconicity, phonological pole, subjective construal, translation

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1. Stylistics: Cognitive, constructional and across languages

As a burgeoning field in cognitive scientific research, cognitive literary research has been expanding its scope and methods (cf. Brône 2009; Gavins & Steen 2003; Semino & Culpeper 2002; Stockwell 2002; Tsur 1992). Currently, we have seen different analytical frameworks of Cognitive Linguistics being extensively applied to the study of the poetic effect of literary texts. Classic examples include Lakoff & Turner (1989), which is a pioneer application of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2010), and Harrison, Nuttall, Stockwell & Yuan eds. (2014), as a collection of classic applications of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 2008). In this field, studies comparing the poetic or stylistic effects across languages also abound.

In cognitive stylistics, or even Cognitive Linguistics in general, cross-linguistic research is done mainly via comparing different representative texts (e.g., Boulin 2017; Crespo-Fernández 2013) or via comparing results from monolingual corpora of different languages (e.g., most articles in Boas ed. 2010). Such approaches are useful in the sense that they ensure the representativeness, or the cultural significance of the language samples investigated, and are able to generate patterns of language use in the respective languages at issue. But such approaches also have their limitations – there are various factors that cannot be controlled for, including the content that is communicated, the relationship between the text producer and the reader, etc. In light of such methodological constraints, use of **Multi**ple **Par**allel **T**ext (henceforth MultiParT, as in Knotková & Lu 2020; Lu & Verhagen 2016; Lu, Verhagen & Su 2018; Lu 2019; Lu, Shurma & Kemmer 2020) came along as a possibility that allows researchers to generate intra-linguistic generalizations over high-quality language productions that are influential in the target linguistic community. MultiParT advocates use of multiple translations of a literary world masterpiece, which constitutes an effective method in comparative stylistics in investigating how languages converge or differ at the constructional level when users try creating highly similar construals. Such approach can be seen as an extension of *constructional stylistics* (Geeraerts 2016: 402) into a cross-linguistic dimension.

The stylistic phenomenon investigated in the present paper is inversion, defined as "the subject occurs in postposed position while some other dependent of the verb is preposed" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1385). Inversion is a frequent strategy of information structuring in English narratives, which inverts the canonical SVO word order, and through so doing, achieves a stylistic effect (Chen 2003; Dorgeloh 1997). The structural variation certainly has its cognitive consequences, which I will return to in the next section.

In a similar vein, the manipulation of word order is also a structural strategy in Mandarin Chinese that serves to express a different meaning from an uninverted counterpart (Li & Thompson 1981: 19–26). Similar to English, Chinese has various structural strategies that serve the purpose of information packaging (Shyu 2016). However, the fact that the English and the Chinese systems both employ the manipulation of word order to package information in discourse may not necessarily mean that the two systems utilize word order to *the same* stylistic end in *the same* usage event (cf. the discussion on the use of demonstratives in Lu et al. 2018, that on the language of space in Knotková & Lu 2020 and that on lexical blending in Lu et al. 2020). Following such a potential doubt, a broad research issue that we may envisage is: Given the surface resemblance between the English and the Chinese systems (i.e. the fact that both languages use word order for a stylistic purpose), how much parallelism do we actually find when users from the two systems verbalize the same conceptual content? To what extent do the two systems overlap, and if they are not completely parallel, in what specific way(s) do they diverge from each other?

2. The use of inversion, vantage point and subjective construal

Inversion has been identified as a tool for viewpoint management in English narratives. It has been proposed that in English (as a rigid word order language), the sentential subject position tends to be occupied by elements of higher cognitive salience. Such cognitively topical elements are used to orient the theme of the discourse at issue and to tell the reader/addressee what to follow (Dorgeloh 1997; Chen 2003). A deviation from the canonical word order of the sentence (subject-first, henceforth CWO) is an indicator of newsworthiness (Givón 1985; Li & Thompson 1976). With such newsworthiness, inversion has been analyzed as a viewpoint operating construction (Dorgeloh 1997: 105; Stein 1995: 136), which manages the focus of the sentence and bears the stylistic effect of moving the camera, if we use a visual metaphor (Dorgeloh 1997: 110–111). Such visual metaphor goes that an inverted sentence creates a sense of *displaced immediacy* (Chafe 1992, 1994) or a *camera angle* (Kuno 1987: 203) by adopting a viewpoint of an entity in the narrative. Consider (1a) and (1b), taken from Dorgeloh (1997: 102).

(1) a. *The tree is in front of the house.*
b. *In front of the house is a tree.*

According to Dorgeloh, the version with the inverted word order triggers a viewpoint from which the entire scene is viewed, which is the fronted element. In this sense, in comparison with its CWO counterpart, (1b) triggers a "camera angle"

from the position of the house as the fronted element, and define the location of the tree to the reader with the house as the *vantage point* (Langacker 2008: 75–76) as a cognitive anchor.

There are certainly more structural types of inversion other than the one presented in (1b). Another pair of representative examples is (2a) and its counterpart of the CWO, which is presented as (2b).

(2) a. *"I remember it vividly," he said, "I'm in the restroom one day, leaning over washing my hands, and the door slams open.* In comes a raving maniac, Jerry West. *He's stamping his feet, his face is red, smoke coming out of his ears and nose, screaming and yelling, "I can't take it anymore."*
(taken from Chen 2003: 77, emphasis original)

b. *"I remember it vividly," he said, "I'm in the restroom one day, leaning over washing my hands, and the door slams open. Jerry West comes in, a raving maniac. He's stamping his feet, his face is red, smoke coming out of his ears and nose, screaming and yelling, "I can't take it anymore."* (constructed)

In the CWO variant (2b), the primary entity in the motion event, Jerry West, is linguistically encoded as the subject of the sentence and receives unambiguously maximal attention from the reader, whereas the trajectory of the motion, introduced later in the sentence, receives comparatively little attention. However, in (2a), the construal is different in terms of the degree of attention that the motion trajectory receives. The fact that the trajectory is introduced before the trajector lets the reader have to wait for the trajector and, by such doing, lends more attention to the motion itself, thus creating a sense of suspense. It is in this sense that inversion is used as a stylistic strategy that increases the dynamism of a motion event in narratives (Chen 2003: 240–242).

In addition to creating a sense of suspense, the function of inversion has been argued to be based on Langacker's (1990) distinction between *Optimal Viewing Arrangement* and *Egocentric Viewing Arrangement* (Dorgeloh 1997). In Dorgeloh's line of analysis, a CWO sentence like *Jerry West comes in* in (2b) presents the narrated universe in a purely objective manner. If we use a theater metaphor by Langacker, when using a CWO sentence like (2b), the narrator attends a theatrical play merely as the pure *subject of conceptualization* and remains entirely offstage, devoting his full attention to the onstage area. The language that he uses directs the reader's attention to the narrated scene in exactly the same way. In other words, in such *subjective construal*, where the narrator only plays the role of the subject of conceptualization of the scene, the narrator is not involved in the narrated content and is thus distant from the discourse universe. In contrast, an inverted word order sentence such as *In comes a raving manic* in (2a) represents a case of Egocentric Viewing Arrangement, where the narrator is no longer entirely offstage attending

the theatrical play in a passive manner but is involved in the discourse universe in some way. According to Dorgeloh, the use of inversion presents a camera angle from within the world of narration, showing the narrator's empathy to the narrated world and thus creating a sense of displaced immediacy. In comparison to Optimal Viewing Arrangement instantiated by (2b), the construal of the narrated scene is less *subjective* and more *objective*, as the narrator no longer merely participates in the theatrical play in a passive manner – his consciousness constitutes a part of the *object of conceptualization* in the onstage region. Therefore, Dorgeloh argues that an inverted sentence provides a construal of the narrator's consciousness that may look to an extent subjective, but the construal of the narrator's consciousness is still more objective than that of a CWO sentence, as in a CWO sentence, the narrator does not place his consciousness onstage as an object of conceptualization. In English narratives, the camera angle created through the use of an inversion, from which a shot of the event is taken, is the cognitive anchor point within the world of narration that may remain implicit (i.e., may not be verbalized).

In this vein, I argue that an analysis of inversion may be integrated into the current discussion of *narrative viewpoint* in Cognitive Linguistics (e.g., Dancygier 2012), which has received increasing attention in recent years (e.g., Dancygier, Lu & Verhagen eds. 2016; Dancygier & Vandelanotte eds. 2017; van Krieken, Sanders & Sweetser eds. 2019). Literature has reported various viewpoint means that may be used to invoke a narrative viewpoint, including personal pronouns, demonstratives, tense marking, among numerous others. In typical story-telling, the narrator and the reader (or the hearer in an oral narrative) usually start from the *base space* (Fauconnier 1997: 73), the here-and-now of the narration as a conceptual anchor of the development of the story. As the narration departs from the base space into the *narrative space* (Dancygier 2012: 36), a conceptual packet that develops and unfolds for the purpose of the construction of a story, various linguistic means are employed to connect and to demarcate the various relations between the mental spaces, helping the reader to construe the narrated content. When the narrated content is reported from the point of view of the base space, linguistic features such as distal demonstratives, past tense markers, etc., are often seen, whereas when the content is reported from within the narrative space, present tense markers, proximal demonstrative markers, etc., are usually used. In such viewpoint terms, an inverted word order has been reported to be a literary device that triggers a viewpoint from within the narrative space (Dorgeloh 1997; Fludernik 1993) and takes the reader away from the base space. A narrative viewpoint from the base space means that the narrator maintains a cognitive distance from the narrative space and that his participation in the narrative space is construed only in a maximally subjective way (with himself being as a pure subject of conceptualization). On the other hand, the use of inversion

signals a viewpoint embedded in the narrative space, which introduces an onstage point of view, taking the readers away from the default offstage viewpoint of the base space, and that means that the narrator gets to participate in the narrative space in an objective way (more as an object of conceptualization), losing his full status of a pure conceptualizing subject and with his consciousness contributing more to creating and guiding the reader's understanding of the scene. In sum, the use of an inverted word order in English narratives encodes the narrator's empathy to the cognitive anchor in the narrative space and creates a more objective construal (or a less subjective construal) of himself as the story-teller with his viewpoint embedded in the discourse world. In such a situation, the construal of the narrated content is accordingly more subjective.

Given the explanation of English inversion based on (2a) and (2b) and the theoretical background introduced above, a specific stylistic question of cognitive interest comes up regarding the cross-linguistic comparison of the demarcation of narrative viewpoint: In a case where two languages may both operate on the structuring of information via the manipulation of sentential word order in narratives, to what extent do the languages converge and diverge? At the cognitive level, when Language A employs the structural strategy of word order inversion to create a more subjective construal of the narrated scene, what happens when the scene is narrated by users of Language B when they try to get across an identical, or at least a highly similar viewpoint effect? More specifically, when trying to create a similarly more subjective construal by embedding the narrative viewpoint in the story, do users of Language B use the linguistic tool at hand (which is the manipulation of word order), like users of Language A do?

To answer the above query, I look at excerpts from a literary world masterpiece with the original written in English and the multiple published translations in Mandarin Chinese. The original passages sampled are taken from *Great Expectations* by Charles Dickens. Dicken's writing is chosen because of his distinctive narrative technique, which involves constant switches of time and the narrative voice (Marlow 1994). Two examples in the original work are selected for scrutiny, along with their renditions in Mandarin Chinese. However, the selection of the two English excerpts is not random but serves two methodological purposes. First, inversion comes in many structural types, but I chose to focus on the type with the BE verb to clearly define the scope of my research (i.e., the LOC BE type, which has been argued to be the prototypical inversion in Chen 2003: 56). In addition, in order to give a deep analysis of the symbiosis of inversion with other stylistic strategies, the two English passages chosen share a structural similarity, where inversion is not the only viewpoint strategy but collaborates with the other stylistic strategies including the use of a semicolon and a participial phrase to formulate the narrator's afterthought immediately following that, to create a certain stylistic

effect. Such selection will allow us to see the variation and stability across the different verbalizations of the same scene: First of all, such practice will allow us to obtain an initial understanding of the stylistic strategies that may co-occur with such structural composites across different contexts in English, and to understand how they work. Secondly, such method will allow us to see whether the Chinese translators largely agree on a strategy, be it structural or lexical, for rendering the viewpoint effect invoked by the stylistic composites in English, and in addition to that, to what extent the published Chinese versions are consistent.[1]

From a typological perspective, Mandarin Chinese is a language with characteristics of both SVO and SOV languages. Similar to English, the subject in a Chinese sentence usually occurs before the verb and the object.[2] Like many other languages of the world, Mandarin Chinese also utilizes the inversion of word order as a strategy of information structuring.[3] However, what has been unclear is how comparable the functions of that strategy is to the inversion of word order in English, and, from a *usage-based* (Barlow & Kemmer eds. 2000) perspective, whether the Chinese strategies do occur in a similar context where English inversion is also used. Given the methodology above and our understanding of the grammar of Mandarin Chinese, the research question may be refined as follows: for a literary excerpt written in English that involves the inversion of word order to create a subjective construal, what happens in its multiple Chinese renditions? Do the multiple Chinese renditions similarly manipulate the word order for the purpose of creating a subjective construal? If the answer to the previous question is "no", then what other viewpoint strategies are employed from the constructional toolkit of Mandarin Chinese? Following these questions, to what extent are the different Chinese renditions consistent?

We proceed first to the analysis of the selected English excerpts in the following section.

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1. A methodological issue to note is that MultiParT is meant as an effective means to compare human communication systems, with most contextual factors (especially the conceptual content expressed) controlled for. Given the purpose of the present paper being a general comparison of viewpoint strategies across human languages, it is methodologically suitable to compare passages from Charles Dicken's novel (19th century English) and their contemporary renditions in Chinese. Another instance of use of MultiParT is a comparison of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass* and its contemporary Czech renditions in Knotková & Lu (2020). Interested readers are referred to Section 2 of that paper for a detailed methodological explanation of MultiParT.

2. A detailed discussion of the basic word order in Mandarin Chinese can be found in Li & Thompson (1981: 19–27). It should be noted that the notion of "subject" is difficult to define in Chinese grammar, which is also mentioned by the same authors.

3. Interested readers are referred to Shyu (2016) for an overview of the strategies.

3. Inversion and its associated subjective construal in English

The first excerpt to be scrutinized is taken from Chapter 56 of *Great Expectations*, where the narrator uses inversion (with the relevant part underlined) to present the narrated scene set in a court of law to provide the narrator's close-up take on a character waiting for the trial.

(3) *But for the indelible picture that my remembrance now holds before me, I could scarcely believe, even as I write these words, that I saw two-and-thirty men and women put before the Judge to receive that sentence together. Foremost among the two-and-thirty, was he; seated, that he might get breath enough to keep life in him.* (Dickens 2010: 358)

The inversion takes place at the beginning of the underlined sentence, which is a token of full inversion (or more specifically AdvP-inversion) that, according to Dorgeloh (1997: 44, following Bolinger 1977: 93 and Drubig 1988: 91), bears a *presentative function* of bringing a piece of information into our immediate consciousness and of creating a focus in the addressee's perceptual field. In (3), the function of inversion in the narration is to direct the reader's attention to what is placed at the initial position of the sentence, *foremost among the two-and-thirty*. The fact that the character is at the most prominent position among the thirty-two people can be evidenced by a comparison between (3) and its constructed CWO counterpart (3a).

(3a) *But for the indelible picture that my remembrance now holds before me, I could scarcely believe, even as I write these words, that I saw two-and-thirty men and women put before the Judge to receive that sentence together. He was foremost among the two-and-thirty; seated, that he might get breath enough to keep life in him.* (constructed)

It is noteworthy that the stylistic effect of focusing in (3) collaborates with the rest of the sentence to create a coherent scenario – in this passage, inversion is used to emphasize the cognitively salient position of the character among the others, and the focus semantically fits well with the narrator's afterthought, which elaborates on the character's posture being seated. The two strategies jointly communicate the measures taken by the court of law in order to keep life in the character. In comparison to (3), the constructed passage (3a) does not have such semantic and stylistic coherence between the afterthought formulated as *seated*, and the semantic content in the first half of the CWO sentence.

Another point that is worth mentioning is the gradual zoom-in effect in (3). By using inversion, the narrator directs the attention of the reader to the most cognitively salient position among the thirty-two people, as the cognitive *ground*, and after that introduces the character as the *figure* (Chen 2003). According to

Chen, the ground serves as a cognitive anchor already introduced in previous discourse, thus familiar to the reader, against which the figure is construed. This provides a zoom-in effect, which further continues in the narrator's introduction of the afterthought, going in to the very detail of the character's posture. In (3), the use of inversion and the participial phrase to formulate the afterthought constitutes a sequence of takes of a camera that gradually zooms in on the figure.

In addition, the grammatical strategy that is used to elaborate on the posture of the character is also closely related to the viewpoint effect in (3). Note that the posture is expressed with a participle with the grammatical subject of the posture left implicit. Such a subjectless grammatical strategy of clause linking makes that piece of information not only structurally but also semantically dependent on the previous finite clause, iconically making the participle *seated* a continuation of the previous clause in terms of narrative viewpoint. The fact that the writer leaves out the syntactic subject (in the meantime the agent of the posture) of *seated* makes the reader more immersed in the narrative discourse. The stylistic effect of leaving out the subject/agent of this clause is a point that will be more significant in the discussion of the Chinese renditions.

Therefore, inversion collaborates with the participle *seated* to create a more subjective construal of the object of conceptualization, reducing the subject-object asymmetry. As discussed previously, use of inversion provides a camera angle from within the discourse world, thus reducing the distance between the narrator (as the subject of conceptualization along with the reader) and the narrated scene (as the object of conceptualization). The use of the participle to code the narrator's afterthought makes the narration sound more personal and thus strengthens the free-indirect style of the narration. When afterthought is added to the inverted sentence as another narrative technique, the involvement of the narrator in the narrated scene becomes deeper, similarly making the narrator lose the full status of the subject of conceptualization. A comparison between (3) with (3b) and (3c), where the posture of the character is either expressed differently, or is not expressed at all, makes the point clear.

(3b) *But for the indelible picture that my remembrance now holds before me, I could scarcely believe, even as I write these words, that I saw two-and-thirty men and women put before the Judge to receive that sentence together. Foremost among the two-and-thirty and seated, was he; that he might get breath enough to keep life in him.* (constructed)

(3c) *But for the indelible picture that my remembrance now holds before me, I could scarcely believe, even as I write these words, that I saw two-and-thirty men and women put before the Judge to receive that sentence together. Foremost among the two-and-thirty, was he; that he might get breath enough to keep life in him.* (constructed)

From the above comparison of (3) with its constructed counterparts (3a)–(3c), we see that the use of inversion collaborates with the use of a participle to verbalize the afterthought in the narration, which coherently creates a smooth zoom-in effect and reduces the subject-object asymmetry. The narrative viewpoint is thus more character-dominant (embedded in the discourse world). As the narration progresses, the stylistic composite in the sentence serves the function of turning the construal of the narrated scene less objective (or more subjective) in terms of the viewing arrangement.

The second example from the English original work is taken from immediately after in the same chapter, which continues:

(4) *The whole scene starts out again in the vivid colours of the moment, down to the drops of April rain on the windows of the court, glittering in the rays of April sun. Penned in the dock, as I again stood outside it at the corner with his hand in mine, were the two-and-thirty men and women; some defiant, some stricken with terror, some sobbing and weeping, some covering their faces, some staring gloomily about. There had been shrieks from among the women convicts, but they had been stilled, a hush had succeeded.* (Dickens 2010: 358)

As has been mentioned in the previous section, the two English excerpts chosen share a structural similarity. In particular, Example (4) is similar to (3) in the sense that the underlined clause with a full inversion (or more specifically, a VP-inversion based on the classification in Dorgeloh 1997) is concluded by a semicolon, immediately after which comes a detailed description of a character, as in (3), or individual characters within a group in the narrated scene, as in (4).

The anatomy of the narrative viewpoint in (4) is to an extent similar to that in (3). The full inversion led by the preposed constituent *penned in the dock* gives the scene a close-up take from within the narrated scene that focuses on the characters in the dock. The clause ends with a semicolon, with a narrator's afterthought immediately following, further zooming in on the characters as the postposed element in the scene and providing details about the characters. The entire sentence (from *penned…* to *about*) conveys a zoom-in stylistic effect that is similar to what we saw in (3).[4]

However, despite the shared overall narrative viewpoint triggered by similar stylistic structures, (4) is still very different from (3) for at least two main reasons. Firstly, the character-dominant viewpoint in (4) is interrupted by a clause that is

4. The viewpoint effect created by the inverted sentence in (3) may be seen as a continuation of the viewpoint in its previous sentence, which is in the present tense. Interested readers are referred to a discussion on the role played by tense marking in the same passage in Lu (2019: 381–383).

inserted between the preposed participle phrase *penned in the dock* and the rest of the sentence. The interpolated adverbial clause led by *as* switches the narrative viewpoint to the narrator-dominant one, triggered by the use of *stood* in the past tense (for a similar discussion, see Lu 2019: 382–383). The second difference lies in the ad hoc constructional schema that the writer uses to formulate the afterthought of the narrator in an iconic way.[5] Specifically, the formulation starts with a vivid depiction of the criminals using the phrase *some defiant*. After that, the same quantifier *some* is used repetitively, followed by three other different perceptual deictic expressions, forming a partially-specified constructional schema of [*some*] – [X]. Here, I argue that the writer's use of the next three pieces of perceptual contents, *some stricken with terror, some sobbing and weeping,* and *some covering their faces*, should be discussed at three different levels. First of all, in terms of the narrative viewpoint at the discourse level, the three units are all strongly associated with a character-based viewpoint, reflecting the perceptual input of the (narrator-as-)character as the subject of consciousness. At the syntactic level, the three pieces of information all come in the form of two content words linked by a function word. Thirdly, the syntactic level is closely related to the phonological level, as the identical lexico-grammatical composition gives the three pieces of narrated content the same phonetic stress. In addition to that, the numbers of syllables in the three units of [X] are largely identical, sharing the schema [#σσ# #σ# #σσ#] at the phonological pole. Thus, a detailed constructional analysis reveals a strong sense of *iconic* coherence throughout the five perceptual deictic phrases that start with *some*, in the sense not only that all the five phrases share a character-based viewpoint but also that the middle three share an identical grammatical, stress and syllabic structure.[6]

5. The idea of use of temporary schemas in language has been extensively discussed in the field of language acquisition (e.g. Tomasello 2005). An application of such notion to cognitive stylistics can be seen in Lu (2018: 49–53, 2019: 384) and Lu et al. (2020).

6. Two other examples of similar constructional analysis that place an emphasis on the phonological pole of a passage are Lu's (2018) analysis of a network of schemas in Martin Luther King's signature speech and Lu's (2019: 383) viewpoint analysis of [N] – [*of*] – [N] schema.

4. The Chinese renditions of the character-dominant viewpoint and the loss of the zoom-in effect

A scrutiny of the five Chinese renditions of (3) shows that the Chinese renditions consistently use the *presentative sentence* (Li & Thompson 1981: 509–519) with the copula verb 是 *shì*, to create a similar stylistic effect, which is implemented in all the 5 versions. The use of the presentative construction allows the narrator to introduce a location (the first among the thirty-two) as the topic of the sentence.[7] A typical example is given as (5).

(5) 三十二 个 人 当中 的 头一个 就 是 他; 为的是 让 他
sānshíèr ge rén dāngzhōng de tóu-yí-ge jiù shì tā wèideshì ràng tā
thirty-two CL men among LK first JIU LK he in order to let he
保住 这 一口气, 活著 听候 判决。
bǎo-zhù zhè yì-kǒu-qì huó-zhe tīnghòu pànjué
keep-PFV this breath live-IPFV hear judgement
"But for in my memory, that kind of unforgettable scene emerge back then, even as I write till this point, I also can/could barely believe, back then I see/saw thirty two men and women brought before the judge to listen to the sentence of death. The first among the thirty two is/was he; in order to let him keep this breath, living to hear the judgement."
(Zhu and Ye's translation in 2006)

The CWO sentence without the presentative construction is constructed as (5a). A comparison between (5a) and (5) shows how the presentative construction helps create a viewpoint effect similar to that of the English inversion.

(5a) 他 就 是 三十二 个 人 当中 的 头一个; 为的是 让 他
tā jiù shì sānshíèr ge rén dāngzhōng de tóu-yí-ge wèideshì ràng tā
he JIU LK thirty-two CL men among LK first in order to let he
保住 这 一口气, 活著 听候 判决。
bǎo-zhù zhè yì-kǒu-qì huó-zhe tīnghòu pànjué
keep-PFV this breath live-IPFV listen judgement
"He is/was the first among the thirty two; in order to let him keep this breath, living to listen to the judgement."
(constructed based on Zhu & Ye's translation in 2006)

7. I choose to call the *presentative sentence* a *construction*. According to Li & Thompson's (1981) analysis, the sentence structure does come with a meaning at the discourse level, so I believe that should be considered a construction in the cognitive linguistic sense.

In addition to the use of the presentative construction, the Chinese versions systematically implement a pragmatic particle, 就 *jiù*, to approximate the viewpoint effect in English by placing a focus on the character 他 *tā* 'him'. In literature, the particle has been analyzed as one that conveys an emphatic focus (Biq 1988; Lai 1999). The stylistic composite of the presentative construction and the focus particle creates a zoom-in effect similar to that in English that starts with the entire group of 32 people, and closes up on the character within the entire group. From the consistency across the 5 versions, it is obvious that the focus particle is a Chinese-specific strategy that co-occurs with the presentative construction to produce a character-dominant viewpoint effect, at least in the context of (3).

However, it should be noted that despite a similarity in the overarching zoom-in camera angle, there are still important local differences between the Chinese renditions and Example (3).

Most important of all, the afterthought in the global zoom-in effect in (3) is not reproduced in all the Chinese renditions. As discussed in the previous section, the English original utilizes, in addition to inversion, the addition of the narrator's voice from the back-then of the story as a continuation of the character-dominant viewpoint, with an important grammatical note that the viewpoint effect in English is rendered through *seated*, a participial clause that has an implicit clausal subject. The addition of the participial clause embeds the narrative camera in the discourse universe and thus creates a less objective construal of the scene narrated. In comparison, in the Chinese versions, the posture of the character is verbalized with the following crucial differences from the English version. First of all, the subject of the clause with the depiction of the posture is made explicit in four renditions out of the five (the remaining one does not verbalize the posture of the character at all). A typical example is (6).

(6) 三十二 人 之 中 的 第一个 就 是 马格韦契, 他 坐 在
sān-shí-èr rén zhī zhōng de dì-yī-ge jiù shì mǎgéwěiqì tā zuò zài
thirty-two person LK middle LK first JIU LK Magwitch he sit LOC
那里, 是 为了…
nà-lǐ shì wèi-le
there LK in order (to)
"First among the thirty-two is/was Magwitch, he sit/sat there, that…"
(Luo's translation in 2001)

The consistency shows that the general Chinese narrative convention somehow prefers to mention the subject of that particular clause in a context like (3), which makes it difficult for the translators to create a less objective construal of the scene (i.e. with the narrator's consciousness taking part of it) by means of rendering the clause subjectless.

The second important difference between the Chinese versions and the English one is the use of distal deixis *nà-lǐ* 'there' to ground the location of the character, which creates a distance between the narrator and the scene, and as a result, increases the asymmetry between the subject and the object of conceptualization. Such narrative practice takes place in three out of four renditions.[8] Note especially that the English original does not contain a distal deixis and it is the majority of the Chinese translators' systematic invention.[9] What such invention does is that it coheres with the explication of the subject of the posture clause and consolidates the objective construal of the depiction of the posture (with the narrator distant from the scene as a pure subject of conceptualization).[10]

Based on the above discussion, it is clear that all the Chinese renditions of (3) attempt to approximate the viewpoint effect in the English original by implementing the presentative construction and the focus particle *jiù* (both of which occurring in five versions out of five), which jointly create a character-dominant narrative viewpoint that induces the reader to construe the story with deep involvement as part of the object of conceptualization. However, the following Chinese formulations of the character's posture vary greatly (and almost completely systematically) from the English text in two significant ways. The character is linguistically elaborated in the depiction of the posture, and the location of the character is also grounded through the use of a distal demonstrative. The two coherent stylistic strategies make the zoom-in effect in the English text difficult to preserve.

As for the setup of narrative viewpoint in the Chinese renditions of (4), remember that in Section 3, it was already reported that the character-dominant

8. The use of punctuation is also very different between the Chinese versions and the English one. Only one Chinese version uses a semicolon as the English one does. For a discussion of use of punctuation in rendering style in English-Chinese translation, interested readers are referred to Lu & Verhagen (2016). The very different use of punctuation between the languages could be explained by the grammatical fact that Mandarin Chinese abounds in paratactic sentences (流水句 *liúshuǐ jù*). Interested readers are referred to Lü (1979) for a discussion of Chinese paratactic sentences. The use of paratactic sentences is what I will return to in the discussion of the Chinese renditions of (4).

I believe that the use of punctuations (semicolons, for instance) and its influence on the narrative viewpoint is certainly a topic worth looking into, but this matter cannot be pursued in the present paper given the length limit. Interested readers are referred to Lukl (this issue) for a related, but more in-depth, discussion of use of punctuation in stylistics.

9. The fact that the Chinese renditions systematically invent a distal demonstrative is relevant to the findings of Lu et al. (2018), which discovers that Chinese translations tend to have more frequent demonstratives as viewpoint operators in English-Chinese parallel texts.

10. The specification of the character's name *mǎgéwěiqì* 'Magwitch' in (4) is also a distancing strategy that consolidates the narrator-dominant viewpoint, which however does not occur across the renditions and is only the invention of this one particular translator.

viewpoint in (4) is interrupted by the insertion of the subordinate *as*-clause. In other words, in (4), the past-tensed subordinate clause that reflects the narrator's distant voice is sandwiched within the superordinate clause of a proximal narrative viewpoint. By contrast, in four out of the five Chinese renditions, the clause order is completely different, where the part that contains the narrator's voice predominantly leads the entire passage. A typical example is (7).

(7) 我 站 在 被告席 旁边, 仅 一 栅栏 之 隔, 我 从 一 个
wǒ zhàn zài bèigào-xí pangbiān jǐn yī zhàlán zhī gé wǒ cóng yī ge
I stand LOC dock next to only one fence LK distance I LOC one CL
角 上 抓住 他 从 栅栏 中 伸过来 的 手。站 在
jiǎo shàng zhuā-zhù tā cóng zhàlán zhōng shēn-guòlái de shǒu zhàn zài
corner LOC catch-PFV he LOC fence LOC reach-come LK hand stand LOC
栅栏 里 的 是 三十二 位 男 女 犯人,
zhàlán lǐ de shì sān-shí-èr wèi nán nǚ fànrén
fence LOC LK LK thirty-two CL male female prisoner
"I stand/stood next to the dock, only the distance of one fence, I catch/caught his hand reaching over from the fence from a corner. Standing in the fence is/was thirty-two male and female prisoners…" (Luo's translation in 2001)

The first important observation to make about (7) is that the Chinese renditions predominantly choose not to preserve the clause order in English by putting the depiction of the criminals (the proximal, character-dominant viewpoint) later in the text. The content verbalized in the inserted subordinate clause in English (that is, the part that conveys the narrator's distant viewpoint) is placed at the beginning of the passage. By so doing, the four Chinese renditions create a simple transition from a narrator-dominant viewpoint to a character-dominant one, starting the passage with the narrator's self-reflection of his own posture and finishing with a close-up take on the individual prisoners. Such presentation of narrative viewpoint is very different from the English one, which has the narrator's viewpoint sandwiched in between the character-dominant viewpoint invoked by the inverted superordinate clause.

Another important difference between the Chinese versions and the English one is the degree of iconicity in the rendition of (4). Recall that the English text exhibits a strong sense of iconicity in the part that depicts the group of the thirty-two criminals, based on the correspondence between different levels of language – all the five phrases share a character-dominant viewpoint and a structural schema of [*some*] – [X], with the middle three especially sharing an identical grammatical, stress and syllabic composition. I find that the iconicity between narrative viewpoint and linguistic structure similarly exists in the Chinese

versions, but that, by contrast, the Chinese versions systematically exhibit a higher degree of iconicity.

In particular, what sticks out from the Chinese passages is the almost perfect consistency in the length of the perceptual deictic expressions in terms of characters. The Chinese counterpart of the English *some* is *yǒu-de* 'some', and the depictions after that come predominantly in the length of four characters. Excerpt (8) is typical.

(8) 有的 怒目而视, 有的 魂飞魄散, 有的 呜咽啜泣, 有的
yǒu-de nùmù-ér-shì yǒu-de húnfēipòsàn yǒu-de wūyān-chuòqì yǒu-de
some angry-LK-look some terrified some snivel-weep some
捂住了脸, 也 有的 垂头丧气, 茫然四顾。
wǔ-zhù-le-liǎn yě yǒu-de chuítóu-sàngqì mángrán-sìgù
cover-PFV-PFV-face also some head drooping stare off-look around
"Some star(ing) in anger, some terrify/terrified, some snivel(ling) and weep(ing), some cover(ing) faces, also some droop (their) head, staring off around." (Wang's translation in 1998)

Excerpt (8) exhibits a relatively high degree of iconicity, showing correspondence between the narrative viewpoint and the phonological structure. Throughout (8), all the perceptual deictic expressions take the form of four characters. Such systematicity constitutes a neat example of iconicity across all the five expressions at the levels of the narrative viewpoint (a character-dominant one) and the number of characters.

Furthermore, if we compare the Chinese versions with the English one, the Chinese ones are more consistent in the phonological structure of the perceptual deictic expressions, and, as a result, more iconic in this sense. Remember that in the English version, only three perceptual deictic expressions (out of five) share the phonological schema of [#σσ# #σ# #σσ#]. On the other hand, there are three Chinese versions that have five perceptual deictic expressions that come in four characters, which makes the iconic part longer than their English counterpart by two phrases. In addition, there are two versions that have four perceptual deictic expressions that are in four characters, also having the iconic part longer than the English version by one phrase. In sum, the Chinese renditions consistently have a higher degree of correspondence between the semantic pole and the phonological pole as a direct result of the consistency in form (number of characters) in the perceptual deixis.[11]

11. Four character phrases are a productive phonological form in Mandarin Chinese. A constructionist discussion of the phenomenon can be found in Su (2002).

As a summary of the analysis, as we get back to the research question, on the one hand, we do see that the Chinese renditions consistently utilize the presentative construction and the focus particle *jiù* to approximate the viewpoint effect triggered by the inversion of word order and the accompanying strategy in the English passage. However, on the other hand, the Chinese renditions systematically differ from the English original in terms of the agent of a posture and the use of a distal demonstrative, which jointly implement a construal of the scene more objective than that of the English passage. In addition, the Chinese depictions of the group of suspects make consistent use of expressions in four characters, which in general creates a more tidy correspondence between the phonological form and the narrative viewpoint than does the English passage. The difference between the form-meaning correspondence of the narration thus constitutes a nuanced stylistic difference between the representations in the two languages at the level of iconicity.

5. Subjective construal and linguistic manifestations of viewpoint across languages

With a scrutiny of the two excerpts in English, we see that inversion (the LOC BE type) collaborates with other linguistic tools in the English language, such as punctuation and the participial clause, to allow the writer to create a character-dominant viewpoint effect and a zoom-in effect that immediately follows. The stylistic composite invokes a cognitive anchor within the discourse world, from which the narrated scene is reported and a more subjective construal of the scene is achieved (with the narrator being less subjective). A similar stylistic effect is found to be achievable in all the Chinese renditions of the same parts through the use of the presentative construction and a focus particle. However, it is important to note that the Chinese versions show a distinctive tendency to ground the character with a distal demonstrative and to verbalize the subject of the posture clause, thus distancing the scene from the narrator/reader and creating the asymmetry between the subject-object distinction, making the construal constructed through the Chinese language toolkit lose the focusing viewpoint effect.

Another finding that is worth discussing is the use of an ad hoc constructional schema in the English original and its renditions in Mandarin Chinese. Remember that in (4), what follows the inverted sentence is a series of perceptual deictic expressions that reflect a character's view, which share a partially-filled schema of [*some*] – [X], with the three instantiations of [X] in the middle sharing an identical phonological structure of [#σσ# #σ# #σσ#]. Given the fact that the three phrases share the same character-responsible viewpoint and the same

phonological structure, this particular stretch is highly iconic. However, when we look at the Chinese renditions, the iconic part of the depiction (that is, the part that contains a shared formal similarity and a shared functional similarity) is longer. The general difference between the Chinese versions and the English one happens as a result of the conventionality of four-character expressions as a structural template in Mandarin Chinese, which makes it easier for proficient users of that language to create phrases with the same number of characters.

Following from the above findings, the study has important methodological and theoretical implications: First of all, MultiParT can make a methodological contribution in comparing stylistic effects across languages, as it allows us to compare verbalizations of a similar conceptual content and to compare how construals of the same content are, and even may *have to*, differ across languages. Secondly, MultiParT is useful for making a confident intra-linguistic generalization over a number of target texts, which allows us to identify language-specific characteristics. The above two points lay a methodologically solid basis for further discussion at the theoretical level (readers are referred to Lu & Verhagen 2016; Lu et al. 2018; Lu 2019; Lu et al. 2020, for a similar view). However, so far, studies utilizing the MultiParT approach have been based on translations from English to Chinese. In the future, translations going in the opposite direction (i.e. using translations from Chinese to English) may be used in order for us to compare the two languages in a balanced way.

At the theoretical analytical level, the present study demonstrates how different human communication systems, each equipped with a distinctive organization of the construct-i-con, encodes similar narrated contents in *irreducibly* different ways (Verhagen 2012, which is in turn based on Croft 2001). The various translators are bilinguals highly proficient in both the source and the target language, but the utter fact that the multiple renditions not only systematically miss but also consistently add reveals the incommensurability of the two systems. The translators may do well in rendering a similar global stylistic or poetic effect, but upon scrutiny, their verbalizations are always only approximations of the style of the original work, as the construals of the parallel usage events are simply different as we have seen. Cognitive Linguistics provides an ideal analytic framework for the comparison.

In addition, the study shows the importance of the phonological pole in the stylistic analysis of narrative viewpoint. In the majority of studies of narrative viewpoint, much more attention has been paid to the construal operation of mental space configuration invoked by individual grammatical constructions (classics being Verhagen 2005 and Dancygier 2012), with much less attention paid to the phonological pole of grammatical constructions. However, as we have seen in the comparative analysis of the perceptual deictic expressions in (4) and

their Chinese counterparts, the identical syllabic schema of [#σσ# #σ# #σσ#] and the Chinese conventional preference of the four-character template have a direct influence on the length of the iconic part of the narrative in the respective languages. Here, an important methodological note is that the role of the phonological pole may not be very obvious when one conducts only a mono-lingual analysis of an author's literary style. However, the sanctioning or conducive role of phonological schemas becomes available for scrutiny when the conceptual content produced is controlled for and aligned through the use of parallel texts as research material, especially when it comes to the stylistic analysis of literary works.[12]

In sum, the present paper firstly showcases how different languages have at their disposal different constructional means for creating a subjective construal of very similar contents that contain a character-responsible narrative viewpoint. With different repertoires of constructional means and different narrative preferences in different languages, the resultant construals constructed through the use of different languages are bound to vary. My second point to make is a humble call for more attention to the phonological level of individual languages, as it is the form that couples with the meaning (which is the fundamental belief in construction grammar) to make the transmission and appreciation of literary works possible.

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12. Interested readers are referred to Nathan (2008: 54–56) for an idea of how a phonological analysis of CG may relate to literary analysis.

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Appendix. List of abbreviations used in the glosses

CL classifier
IPFV imperfective
LK linker
LOC locative
PFV perfective

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The Pragmeme of Accommodation: The Case of Interaction around the Event of Death

Springer

Socio-cultural Factors in Analyzing the Pragmeme of Accommodation: A Case Study of the Official Online Eulogy Request System in Taiwan

Wei-lun Lu

Abstract The paper reports an empirical study of the official online eulogy request system developed in Taiwan. Through a qualitative analysis of the request system, four extra-linguistic factors are identified as being crucial when analyzing the pragmeme of accommodation, including the affiliation and the job title of the mourner, the occupation of the deceased, the religion of the deceased, and the Taiwanese cultural practice of adopting an English nickname. The cultural meanings of the four variables are also discussed. It is argued that the Chinese concept of *miànzi* 'face' is a main force that not only historically led to the establishment of the request system but also fundamentally shaped the setup of the system. In addition, two linguistic factors are also found to be of relevance, including mode of communication (written) and length of expression (four characters).

Keywords Death • Eulogy • Face • Idiom • Occupation • Religion • Situation-bound utterances (SBU)

1 From Pragmatics to Culture and Cognition: Language Use in Context

Recent years have witnessed a growing trend in cognitive-pragmatic research of language to take into account the various contextual factors in which actual language use is embedded. In particular, the socio-cultural interactional view on pragmatics (e.g. Verschueren 1999; Mey 2001) considers pragmatics as "a general cognitive, social and cultural perspective on linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage in forms of behavior" (Verschueren 1999:7). Following this quotation of Verschueren's, at least three dimensions of human verbal interaction are

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important—first, pragmatics definitely has a cultural dimension. Second, usage is of central prominence, as no language is ever used out of context. Third, language use should be observed in the greater context of human behavior. The three points above form the underlying assumptions of the present paper.

First, from a cultural perspective, pragmatics pays particular attention to extra-linguistic factors that define pragmatic acts and make speech acts effective (Mey 2006). Following this premise, the present case study highlights the role of the socio-cultural factor in a pragmatic analysis of the interaction around death. In this analysis, it is shown how the socio-cultural context of Taiwan makes the Taiwanese pragmatic acts surrounding death distinct from those reported in previous literature (e.g. Capone 2010b; Shurma and Lu 2016).

From the second point of view, focusing on language usage is one of the central commitments, not only of pragmatics, but also of cognitive linguistics (Barlow and Kemmer ed. 2000; Langacker 1987). In the cognitive linguistics tradition, it is fundamentally believed that the way people think and reason should be observed by how they actually operate in the real world context and that language description should not be without a proper description of its context. The following quote does justice to this usage-based commitment of language.

> Usage always involves specific speakers/writers, hearers/readers, and a specific time, in specific contexts; and since these influence production and understanding, facts of production and understanding do not in themselves relate immediately and unambiguously to the abstract models invoked by the words. (Verhagen 2000:270)

As clearly expressed by Verhagen, cognitive linguistics assigns central prominence to the role played by the speaker and the hearer (or language users in general). In addition, the meaning and understanding of words and phrases (in my specific case, eulogistic expressions) are highly context-dependent and do not relate unambiguously to the abstract models invoked by words.

The third premise of the current paper is the embedding of linguistic phenomena in human behavior, especially in pragmatic acts. Humans do things with words in the real world context (Austin 1962), and such situated speech acts are referred to as *pragmemes* in literature (Capone 2005, 2010a; Mey 2006). Pragmemes are speech acts in a socio-cultural context, typically with a goal (Capone 2010b). A central pursuit of pragmeme research is the extent that extra-linguistic factors may contribute to meaning construction in communication (Kecskes 2010), which is exactly what will be highlighted in the current paper. In particular, I present the pragmemes that deal with death in contemporary Taiwan as a contrast to Capone's (2010b) case study of the Italian Catholic context. In particular, this analysis addresses the relevance of socio-cultural factors such as religion and occupation.

Another important theoretical issue discussed in this paper is a possible synergy of pragmatics and cognitive linguistics in the study of pragmeme. As shown above, cognitive linguistics places no less stress on usage than pragmatics, so these two fields of linguistics are highly compatible. Although the usage-based tradition has focused on the interaction between frequency and the emergence of grammar (e.g. Bybee 2006; Goldberg 2005), with the role of socio-cultural context left under-

investigated, the two fields do not exclude each other. Therefore, as long as more attention is paid to the actual linguistic/textual analysis, a synergy of both these fields of linguistics will be proven to be useful in the research of pragmemes.

2 Literature Review and Background of Research

Death is an unpleasant experience that one has to face sooner or later in life, so it is highly relevant to human life and existence. Death presents a personal crisis and, sometimes, it is not only devastating at a personal level but also at a national level or at the community level of the deceased. If the person who passes is an important figure in a certain field, e.g., a politician, as in Lu's (submitted) analysis, the loss may well cause an actual problem and grief to the entire community. Therefore, actions must be taken to counterbalance the negative psychological effect brought about by the event of death. To this end, verbal means is the most commonly used action, although research into the interaction around death is still scarce.

The only exception to this is the research of Capone (2010b), who conducted a pioneering study into the Italian Catholic rituals of giving solace to the family. The data include interviews, recordings and notes taken from the observation of mourning events. The paper serves as an important anchor in the field and, therefore, deserves a detailed review. In this paper, the author observes that positive and comforting words are always spoken at a funeral and argues that, in the ritual context, a praise should not only be interpreted as kind words but that the reason behind people saying comforting words at a funeral is to help the family of the deceased deal with this difficult period in their lives. In this sense, words lose their semantic content and significance and the slots for speech on such occasions bleach words (and phrases) of their ordinary meanings. The author also claims that conversations held at a funeral serves the societal function of creating reconciliation between people, where social intentionality is involved.

Capone (2010b) may serve as a useful guide for studying pragmemes of the interaction around death, as it presents important facts about Catholic funerals in the southern European context and provides meaningful observations. However, as will be presented below, the data in the Taiwanese context, due to a couple of interesting cultural differences from Capone's sample, clearly demonstrates the different ways in which people verbalize, conceptualize and socialize around an event of death. Furthermore, I will also discuss the cultural meaning of the data in the East Asian context.

Shurma and Lu (2016) addresses the issue of death in English and Ukrainian cultures and report that, although the text producers of the two cultures verbalize death of the same literary scene in somewhat similar ways, the actual linguistic behaviors and conceptualizations in both cultures are still radically conventionalized and differ in an irreducible way. However, the data used in that paper are taken solely from literature and, therefore, are still far removed from real-life interactions. Therefore, an investigation into what occurs in the event of death in the real world is necessary.

I turn below to a brief introduction setting the context of the current research.

Taiwanese culture is, in a way, similar to Han Chinese culture. In terms of its population composition, the majority of the Taiwanese population is Han Chinese, with a few minority Austronesian ethnic groups that altogether account for approximately 2% of the entire population. The official language of Taiwan is Mandarin Chinese, although the variety spoken in Taiwan is different from the Continental variety in terms of vocabulary and phonetics. Therefore, given the composition of the population and the lingua franca used throughout the society, Taiwanese culture can be regarded as being Han Chinese, at least for the purpose of the present study.

Buddhist and Daoist beliefs are important elements in Taiwanese culture, although Christianity has been recently introduced. In practice, Buddhism and Daoism do not exclude each other and very often coexist in a family. Interested readers are referred to Chiu (1988) for historical and demographic details. Lu (forthcoming) contains a detailed discussion of how Buddhist and Christian mourners use different sets of eulogistic idioms that reflect the different conceptualizations of death of the cultural sub-groups.

3 The Official Online Eulogy Request System in Taiwan: Extra-Linguistic Factors

In Taiwan, eulogistic expressions are always an indispensable part of any traditional funeral. Such expressions are unique in at least the following three ways. First, they are fixed in length – always four characters. Second, the expressions are always presented not in the spoken but in the written mode – expressions have to be written on a cloth banner and hung around the funeral hall throughout the ceremony. Third, the cloth banner cannot be recycled (as it bears the name of the deceased) and is incinerated with the body after the ceremony.[1] However, to reduce carbon emissions generated from the incineration of these cloth banners (consider how many people pass every year and the number of banners which have to be destroyed), from 2012, the Taiwanese government implemented an online eulogy request service, with which a mourner may request a eulogistic expression and have that displayed on an electronic screen in the public funeral hall where the gathering is to take place.[2]

The request system has several extra-linguistic dimensions that are highly unusual, which clearly reflects the cultural factors that are in play in the pragmeme of accommodation in Taiwan and which will be introduced in detail in the following section.

[1] Complicated rules exist governing the delivery of expressions, according to the age and sex of the deceased, but that is outside the scope of this paper.

[2] In Taiwan, funerals are of two types—private and public. Private funerals are attended only by blood relatives of the deceased. Public funerals may be attended by anyone connected to the deceased. It is the eulogistic idioms that are delivered at public funerals that are studied in the current paper.

Fig. 1 The registration page and spaces to fill in the mourner's affiliation and job title (With kind permission from the Taipei City Government)

3.1 The Affiliation and Job Title of the Mourner

From the design of the request system and the layout of the eulogy, I observe that the mourner's affiliation and job title play an important role in the pragmeme of accommodation in Taiwan.

To request a eulogy, one has to first register with the system. In Personal Settings, various pieces of information are required, including the mourner's user name, password, real name, contact phone number and email address. However, what is rather unusual is that the mourner may enter his affiliation and job title with the intention of displaying these at the gathering. The screen grab for the registration page is shown in Fig. 1. Spaces to fill in the mourner's affiliation and job title are indicated in the bold circle (服務單位 *fúwù dānwèi* 'where one works' and 顯示頭銜 *xiǎnshì tóuxián* 'the title that appears').

Provided the mourner fills in his affiliation and job title, this information will be shown on the final product (the eulogy requested), as the screen grab in Fig. 2 illustrates. The affiliation and job title are in the lower-left hand corner of the bold circle (臺北市殯葬管理處 *táiběi shì bìnzàng guǎnlǐ chǔ* 'Taipei City Mortuary Office' and 服務人員 *fúwù rényuán* 'Serving Officer'), and the four-character idiom requested is displayed in the center of the screen.

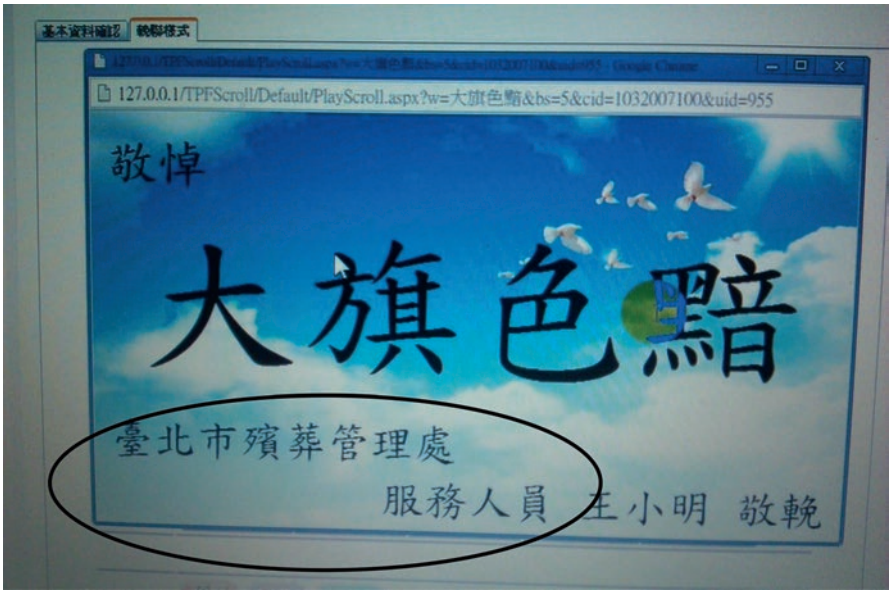

Fig. 2 The affiliation and the job title of the mourner (With kind permission from the Taipei City Government)

Now a very interesting question is this: why should the mourner's affiliation and job title matter in the pragmeme of accommodation? This question will be answered in Sect. 4.

3.2 Choice of Funeral Details and Confirmation of Information About the Deceased

After the mourner registers with the system, a eulogy request can then be made. The mourner has to sequentially choose the date (日期 *rìqí*) and venue of the funeral gathering (使用禮廳 *shǐyòng lǐtīng*) and finally the full name of the deceased (亡者姓名 *wángzhě xìngmíng*) from three different pull-down menus, as illustrated in Fig. 3. The system will contain information concerning which funeral hall hosts whose funeral and, therefore, the mourner only has to (and is only allowed to) choose from the available options.

When the mourner finishes selecting the funeral details, he will proceed to a page where he may confirm the basic information about the deceased, including the full name (亡者姓名 *wángzhě xìngmíng*), sex (性別 *xìngbié*) and age (年齡 *niánlíng*). This page is illustrated in Fig. 4, where the name, sex and age are highlighted by the bold circle.

Fig. 3 Choosing the date and venue of the gathering and name of the deceased (With kind permission from the Taipei City Government)

At this stage of the system, another interesting question arises: why would a mourner have to confirm the information about the deceased, such as his sex and age, especially after he has already chosen the full name of the deceased? Is the full name of the deceased not sufficient for identifying the funeral to which the eulogy is to be sent? This question points to an interesting cultural factor that shapes the design of the Taiwanese eulogy request system, and to which I will return in Sect. 4.

3.3 Religion and Occupation of the Deceased

After the mourner confirms the information about the deceased, he may then proceed to the selection of a eulogistic expression from the repertoire contained in the online database. However, it should be noted that the choice cannot be random. Factors exist which determine what eulogistic expressions are available for certain people, such as the religion and occupation of the deceased. Therefore, the mourner has to choose from a pull-down menu that enquires about the religion and occupation of the deceased. The mourner decides what is to be the focus of the expression that is to be delivered (either the religion or the occupation of the deceased), and that

Fig. 4 Confirming the name, sex and age of the deceased (With kind permission from the Taipei City Government)

will be reflected in the repertoire from which he is allowed to choose. Figure 5 demonstrates how the system works – if the mourner decides to focus on the religion of the deceased, the options available are Buddhist (佛教 *fójiào*), Catholic (天主教 *tiānzhǔjiào*) and Protestant (基督教 *jīdūjiào*), all bold-circled. However, if the mourner chooses to highlight the occupation of the deceased, instead of the religion, eight options are available (in the rounded rectangle below), including lawyer (法界 *fǎ jiè*), politician (政界 *zhèng jiè*), soldier and police (軍警烈士 *jūnjǐng lièshì*), teacher (師長 *shīzhǎng*), business (商界 *shāng jiè*), media (媒體 *méitǐ*), scholar (學者 *xuézhě*) and medicine (醫界 *yī jiè*).[3]

I would, therefore, argue that religion and occupation are also of high cultural significance in the pragmeme of accommodation in the Taiwanese context, and this will be discussed immediately in Sect. 4.

[3] As can be seen in the system, the Taiwanese culture assigns different eulogistic idioms for different occupations. Interested readers are referred, for instance, to Lu (submitted) for an analysis of eulogistic idioms for politicians in Taiwan.

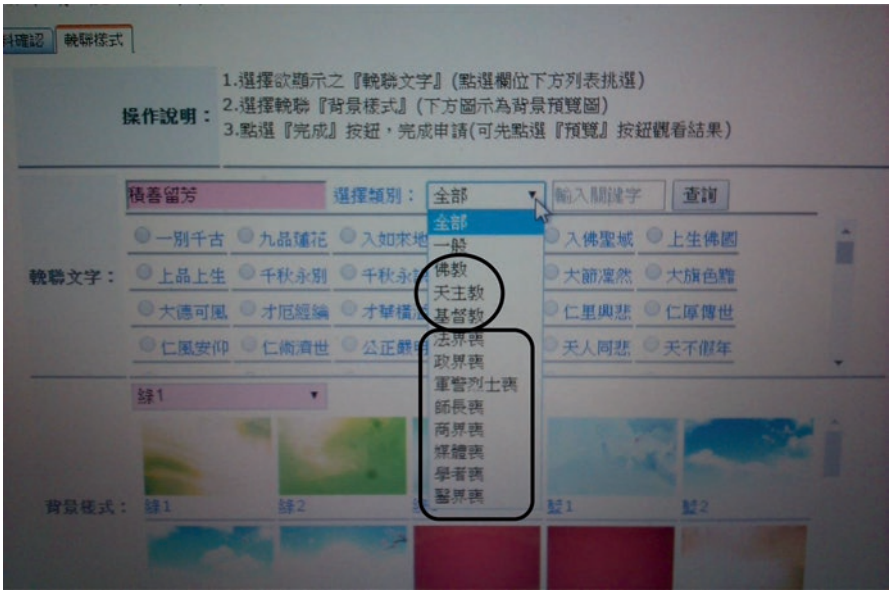

Fig. 5 Choosing the religion and occupation from the menu (With kind permission from the Taipei City Government)

4 Socio-cultural Factors at Play in the Pragmeme of Accommodation in Taiwan

Based on the design of the online eulogy request system, I argue that the following socio-cultural variables are important in the pragmatic practice of delivering eulogistic expressions in Taiwan: the occupation of both the mourner and the deceased, the religion of the deceased, and whether the deceased was known in his social circles by his real name.

First of all, it has been observed that the system places an emphasis on a person's affiliation and job title, which I argue should be considered from the perspective of the highly capitalistic nature of Taiwanese society. As one of the Asian Tigers, Taiwanese society stresses the importance of a free market, economic growth and competitiveness, where career success has become a central pursuit in a person's life. Therefore, it is no surprise that when a person dies, people close to him talk about his great career success as a means of praising him – after the mourner chooses the deceased's occupation from the menu, the system generates a variety of idioms of rather positive (though void of actual content) description and judgement. Of course, the descriptions all conform to the particular occupation that was chosen, but they might not reflect what actually happened in real life. Even if this was the case, no one would bother to correct the description. This phenomenon corresponds to Capone's (2010b) observation that people are always obliged to say pleasant things at a funeral and that words do lose their real semantic content at certain slots in a ritual. However, what is very different when analyzing the pragmatic acts of

accommodation in Taiwan is the role of the capitalistic nature of the Taiwanese culture and people's (over-)emphasis on career success, even when they interact around an event of death.

Second, the mourner's affiliation and job title is as important as that of the deceased – this is not only influenced by the role of capitalism, but I also claim that the Chinese concept of *mianzi* 'face' (Ho 1976; Yu 2003) is of equal importance in explaining why the mourner's affiliation and job title are usually displayed on the electronic banner. Taiwanese society, being a largely Han Chinese culture, operates to a large extent on *mianzi*, a social recognition of one's status. Striving to gain *mianzi* by living up to (and even by exceeding) society's expectations and standards is one of the main driving forces in Taiwanese life. From the mourner's perspective, he will only want to place his affiliation and job title next to his real name on a eulogy if he considers his own career achievement to be sufficiently significant to be mentioned in public. Therefore, the mourner being affiliated with a well-known organization and having an impressive title in the eulogy amounts to a free means of self-advertising, thereby gaining himself *mianzi.* On the other hand, if the mourner does not think that adding his affiliation and job title will help with his *mianzi*, he would be better off omitting the two optional cells in the Personal Settings. From the perspective of the deceased's family, they gain *mainzi* if successful career people or people of high socio-political visibility attend their family's funeral – "Look! Our daddy knew the mayor and he cares about our loss!" An interesting feature of the system is that if one logs onto the system and is registered as a family member of the deceased, this person is free to decline and to sequence the eulogies already requested, and to adjust the duration of each eulogy's appearance on the screen. This allows the family to prioritize certain eulogies and their mourners, as they deem "appropriate". Therefore, when a mourner presents his career success in the eulogy, this can be used by the bereaved family to showcase the deceased's personal or business network for the sake of their *mianzi*.

Therefore, if one's affiliation and job title is mentioned in the pragmeme of accommodation in Taiwan, this information has to be sufficiently impressive for both the mourner's own and the family's *mianzi*. This information only exists for the living – after all, at one's own funeral, a mourner's career will not have much significance.

Our discussion of *mianzi* in the pragmeme of accommodation in Taiwan also leads us back to the reason for which the government saw a need to establish electronic banners at public funeral halls. As has been discussed, *mianzi* regulates the communication around death events in Taiwan, and also leads to the overuse of cloth banners at funerals – from the family's point of view, the more banners the dead receives, the more *mianzi* they gain, because it means (or appears) that more people are commiserating with the loss and grief of the family. Therefore, even when the presenter of the banner is not actually considered relevant, the family welcomes the "nice" act of accommodation for the sake of their own *mianzi*. Many families even request banners from people of high social or political profile as a means of contributing to their family's *mianzi*, even when no one in the family actually knows that person. From my personal experience, after my grandmother-in-law passed, my father-in-law held discussions with the family as to whether to request a

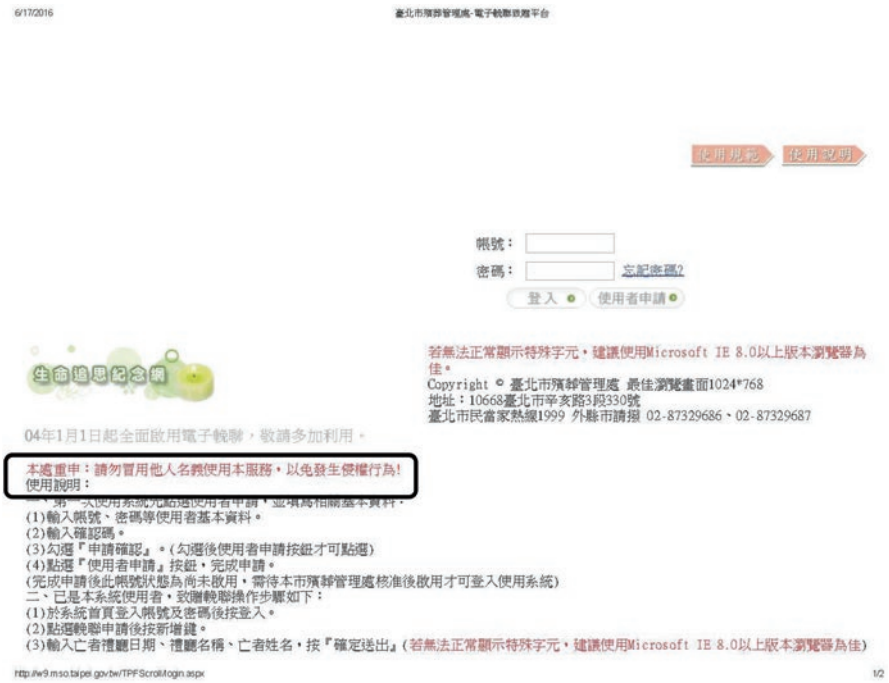

Fig. 6 The statement made by the Taipei City Government situated above the Guidelines (With kind permission from the Taipei City Government)

written eulogy from the president of the country. He did not know the president personally, only some individuals who worked for the regional office of the president's political party. Political figures, usually their secretaries, normally have no reason to decline such requests, as such caring acts of accommodation may well favor their next election, and the cost of a simple cloth banner is rather insignificant. As a result, the Taiwanese people's craving for *mianzi* proliferated the use of cloth banners in the pragmeme of accommodation. As a consequence of this and for environmental reasons, it finally led to the government's decision to set up an online request system and the use of electronic banners in public funeral halls.

It should be noted that the Taiwanese people's thirst for *mianzi* in the pragmeme of accommodation is evidenced by another interesting feature of the request system – it is explicitly stated in the Guidelines that "The Office re-states that it is against the law to use another's name to apply without consent." This statement is given in the rounded rectangle in Fig. 6.

This statement is positioned at the start of the Guidelines, which indicates its importance and implies the likelihood of frequent violations. It should also be noted that the message is *re*-stated, which again points to the same conclusion. Following on from this, a question immediately arises: why would one use another person's name to present a eulogy to a family?

Again, I believe that this is due to the Taiwanese cultural obsession with *mianzi*. As has been previously discussed, Taiwanese people are passionate about having

banners from celebrities at their family's funeral, to demonstrate the extensive social network of the family. However, in actual fact, not every family knows enough high-profile people to produce eulogistic banners to boast the power and visibility of the family. Therefore, for the sake of *mianzi*, those families that do not have sufficient high-profile contacts naturally need to come up with their own solution to this problem. After all, generating a fake account costs nothing and is only a few clicks of the mouse away.

Here we can see that, in the pragmeme of accommodation, social intentionality is indeed involved like Capone (2010b) argues. However, in the Taiwanese context, social intentionality takes on a very different form – in the Italian context, through attending a funeral and thereby talking about the deceased, enemies and people transform by showing themselves repented, whereas in the Taiwanese context, all parties involved, family and mourners alike, seek *mianzi*, trying to win social recognition of their own status.

In addition to occupation, the religion of the deceased is another important variable in deciding the mourner's choice of the eulogistic idiom. Religion matters, because the Chinese eulogistic idiom contains a wide variety of cultural symbols that reflect a certain religious worldview (Lu forthcoming). Therefore, if a mourner mistakenly presents a eulogistic expression that does not conform to the religion of the deceased and his family, this may cause great offense. Consider the two expressions.

(1)	安	息	主	懷
	ān	*xí*	*zhǔ*	*huái*
	peace	rest	Lord	arms
	"(May the deceased be) resting peacefully in the Lord's arms."			

(2)	花	開	見	佛
	huā	*kāi*	*jiàn*	*fó*
	flower	bloom	see	Buddha
	"(May the deceased be) able to see the Buddha and the blooming of flowers."			

Example (1) relates to the Protestant faith, with example (2) being from the Buddhist religion, and they both obviously involve very different cultural symbols. As Lu (forthcoming) and Lu and Chiang (2007) argue, Buddhist metaphors exhibit a pattern which is different from Christian ones. Example (2) includes Buddha and flower, which do not exist in Chinese Christian eulogistic expressions, and so the two groups of religion-specific eulogistic idioms are relatively easy to distinguish and should not be confused.

I would argue that the fact that the request system includes religious options is a reflection of Taiwan's multi-religious society, and this is a particularly sensitive factor to consider in the pragmeme of accommodation in Taiwan. In the event of requesting a eulogy online, the mourner needs to personally know the deceased in order to make the correct choice, and not risk antagonizing the family. An investigation of the request system has turned up useful details with a significant cultural meaning for the conscious choice that a presenter of a eulogy needs to make.

In addition to occupation and religion, another relevant question is that of why the mourner has to double-check the information about the deceased after he has chosen the name from the menu. I contend that this results from Taiwanese people's cultural obsession with owning a Western nickname and using that name in social circles, also for the sake of *mianzi*. In Taiwan, it is common practice to use an English nickname that is not on official documents. The historical reason behind Taiwanese people's adoption of English nicknames may be to generate a (false) impression of one's own higher socio-economic status (Krastner 2012) and the highly positive feeling that the English language carries with it.[4] The following hypothetical scenario may sound hilarious but it is realistic – if an Andy in your circle of acquaintances passes away and you are unsure what his real Chinese name is (which is not at all uncommon), what would you do when you request a eulogy for him? The scenario is perfectly imaginable, as he had introduced himself as Andy, he had been called Andy during the time you knew him and he was referred to as Andy on his business card (from my own experience, I personally know a handful of Andys and a couple of Erics). Under these circumstances, double-checking the information about the deceased becomes of paramount importance, as one would want the requested eulogy to go to the correct family (both for his own and for their *mianzi*), although it would be beneficial if a different family mistakenly receives an extra eulogy (as that would, of course, help with their *mianzi*). Therefore, the cultural fact that Taiwanese people tend to use an English nickname, which I believe is a cultural-linguistic strategy for impression management, constitutes another unique variable in analyzing how people interact around an event of death in contemporary Taiwan, as this cultural practice has been shown to influence the design of the eulogy request system.[5]

5 Mode, Length and Situation-Boundness of Eulogistic Expressions in Taiwan

In the previous sections, I have introduced the basics of the online eulogy request system in Taiwan and have discussed the cultural meaning of the design of the system, to show how the pragmeme of accommodation is essentially culturally embedded. Now I turn attention to the linguistic aspect of the pragmatic act.

First of all, a principal characteristic of eulogistic expressions is that they are always presented in written form. In the past, the eulogy was always written on a cloth banner, and today, the current trend is for the use of electronic banners. Therefore, despite the change in the medium used for message conveyance, the mode of communication has, in general, remained in the written form.

[4] For a further discussion of Taiwanese people's obsession with the English language, see Linkov and Lu (2017).

[5] Of course, I do not exclude the remote possibility of two deceased people having exactly the same family and given name, but that would be a rare situation.

Using this generalization, I would argue that the mode of communication is another important cultural variable to consider in analyzing the pragmeme of accommodation. In comparison, the data discussed in Capone (2010b) involve Catholic priests' sermons, so the mode of communication analyzed in this situation is purely spoken. I believe that the impact of the written nature of the subject of my investigation has significant social and historical consequences – it was the purely written nature of the eulogy, in conjunction with the proliferation of the use of cloth banners and the government's initiative for environmental protection, that triggered the advent of the eulogy request system. Had the idioms been conveyed in the spoken form, there would have been no environmental requirement to invent the electronic system. Therefore, the mode of communication in the Taiwanese pragmatic act of delivering a eulogistic idiom at the funeral should be considered an integral factor to the evolution of the pragmeme.

In addition, my data show that length of verbal expression is also a variable that needs to be taken into account when studying the pragmeme of accommodation. As I have shown in excerpts (1) and (2), the length of Chinese eulogistic idioms is fixed and is always four characters in length. This finding is another distinctive characteristic of the pragmeme of accommodation in Taiwan that is not found in other cultures.

In connection to the idiomaticity of eulogistic expressions in Taiwan, I believe that Kecskes's (2000, 2010) discussion of situation-boundness of certain utterances is highly relevant here. According to Kecskes (2010:2891), situation-bound utterances are "highly conventionalized, prefabricated pragmatic units whose occurrences are tied to standardized communicative situations", which can be defined and can only make sense in particular contexts. I would argue that such an observation also holds true, for various reasons, for the written eulogistic expressions at Taiwanese funerals. First, eulogistic expressions at Taiwanese funerals are conventional written realizations of a pragmeme, traditionally with the purpose of consoling the mourners and the family. Second, the eulogies are prefabricated rather than freely composed. There is simply no room for change and nor is there a slot (for the name of the deceased or for any related information) to be completed. Third, some eulogistic idioms are highly semantically opaque, with some components no longer used in contemporary Mandarin Chinese. In this light, the eulogistic idioms are not semantically compositional, and as a consequence, relatively pragmatically loaded. However, I further claim that eulogistic expressions at Taiwanese funerals are situation-bound in two distinctive ways – to begin with, it would appear to me that Kecskes's discussion of situation-bound utterances is, in general, based on pragmatic routines in *conversational* turns between interlocutors, so the mode of communication of the data discussed by Kecskes is also spoken in nature. However, as I have shown, eulogistic idioms in Taiwan are always written and, hence, are very different in terms of the mode of communication. They are also situation-bound, but in a very specific way that has not been discussed in previous literature. My data also reveal the specifics of how a situation-bound utterance is bound to occupation and religion as two concrete extra-linguistic factors – the design of the system demonstrates how a person's actual selection of eulogistic idioms is contingent on the

occupation and religion of the deceased. Therefore, in the pragmeme of accommodation in Taiwan, a situation-bound utterance that does not conform to the selected occupation or religion of the deceased will simply not appear on the mourner's computer screen and, therefore, cannot possibly be delivered.

Finally, from a usage-based point of view, investigating Taiwanese eulogistic idioms is also meaningful in cognitive linguistic terms. Following on from Verhagen's quote, cognitive linguistics places a strong emphasis on the role played by the speaker and hearer in a usage event, and this is clearly what my data have demonstrated – the presenter of the eulogy has to be extremely careful in many ways, taking into account various contextual factors when actually using the eulogistic expression. If not handled carefully, the same (religious) expression may develop a completely different pragmatic meaning than that intended and may end up creating great offense.[6] A mourner also needs to carefully plan what is cognitively significant, or what to *profile* in Langacker's (1987) term, by choosing appropriately from the pull-down menu (of religion and occupation), so he can simultaneously meet the family's and his own need of *mianzi*, in a manner deemed appropriate by both parties. In addition, the system allows the deceased's family to decline a requested eulogy and to sequence eulogies, demonstrating the importance of the role played by the message recipient in verbal communication surrounding an event of death. In this situation, perhaps, Verhagen's (2005) notion of *intersubjectivity* can also be relevant in analyzing eulogistic idioms at Taiwanese funerals, but due to constraints on the length of the current study, this issue will have to be left to a separate paper.

6 Conclusion

The current study showcases the layout of the official online eulogy request system in Taiwan and discusses the cultural meaning behind the design of this system. Four main aspects of the system were raised and discussed as crucial factors in analyzing the pragmeme of accommodation in Taiwan: the occupation of the deceased, the affiliation and job title of the mourner, the religion of the deceased, and the option for the mourner to confirm the basic information about the deceased after the name has been chosen. I claim that the current paper has a pragmatic, anthropological linguistic relevance, as social intentionality is indeed involved, as claimed by Capone (2010b), but I would further argue that this is the case in a highly culture-specific way, as most of the aspects of the system are concerned with the Chinese concept of *mianzi* 'face', the obsession with gaining social recognition of one's status. I believe that a further investigation of the pragmeme of accommodation may also contribute to other aspects of general linguistic theorizing, such as cognitive linguistics and genre analysis, because the introduction of a pragmeme in real-life

[6] On a similar note, Lu (2016) offers a usage-based account of how the physical context may influence the interpretation of a lexical construction.

cultural settings can be seen as an important expansion of usage-based linguistics, giving extra-linguistic factors due attention, such as the occupation and religion of language users. I have also shown how the mode of communication (written/spoken) and length of expression are relevant to the situation-bound nature of the eulogistic idiom.

On a diachronic level, the current paper also has much to contribute. The verbal interaction surrounding the event of death is certainly worthy of further study, and my investigation into this relatively new request system shows that, in today's world, where career success and internationalization are vitally important, the pragmeme of accommodating death has taken on a completely new look. This has, therefore, been reflected in the design of the online eulogy- request system. In the modern internet era, sending a eulogy (which is a means of free advertising to some) can be done via a fake account in just a few clicks of the mouse and, as a result, some status-seeking people risk breaking the law by using a high-profile person's name to present a eulogy at their family's funeral. This all clearly shows that the pragmeme of accommodation is fast-evolving in the socio-cultural context, which makes a future diachronic investigation interesting and absolutely necessary.

On another level, I believe that the current study also makes a useful contribution to the field of Sinology and Taiwan Studies – I hope to have successfully showcased how the pragmeme of accommodating death in Taiwan, a largely Han Chinese culture, differs from most other parts of the world and is interesting in its own way. I hope to have proved that this societal phenomena is definitely worth further investigation and, as a result, I would expect to see more research being conducted into this area.

Last (but not least), it should be noted that this paper is only a partial introduction to the basic layout of the eulogy request system and, due to constraints on the length of the current study, it is impossible to analyze the full span of eulogistic expressions, cultural symbols and conceptualizations contained therein. The remaining issues will have to be left for future research (such as Lu, forthcoming, submitted) that may include a typology of the eulogies in the system, the idiomaticity, frequency, and cultural symbols of the idioms, and the various possible conceptualizations invoked by the idioms.

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Chapter 3
Cultural Conceptualisations of DEATH in Taiwanese Buddhist and Christian Eulogistic Idioms

Wei-lun Lu

3.1 Introduction: Why and How the Language of Death Matters

Death is a central issue that all human beings in all cultures have to deal with, as sooner or later one perishes, and in the course of one's life, relatives and friends pass away. In such devastating situations, it is natural that people need to provide solace to each other, which has put the issue of death at the centre of attention in religious, philosophical and psychological research for centuries. However, the issue has been relatively underexplored from the perspective of linguistics, with only very few exceptions (Capone 2010; Lu 2017; Shurma and Lu 2016). In view of the need for further research, the present chapter intends to present findings based on what people actually do with language around an event of death and a Cultural Linguistic analysis of the findings.

Capone's (2010) study is a pioneer linguistic inquiry into the language of death, which investigates the role of social intentionality in ritual contexts, using Catholic sermons given in southern Italy as data. In that paper, the author argues that in mourning events, order is paramount, and that rituals serve as powerful transformative devices that repair interpersonal relations between the mourner and the family of the deceased. At a funeral, the function of a priest is to vocalise the family's feelings and to try to present the deceased to the mourners from God's point of view. The paper discusses the interaction of religion with verbal exchanges at a funeral, and this content may serve as a useful starting point for studying the language of death. However, a limitation of Capone's research is that it was conducted in a European context, and the data gathered was solely from a Catholic source. Another issue lies in the scope of the paper. It is certainly valuable research,

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but given its pragmatics-oriented nature, important analytical tools in Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian 2011, 2017) such as cultural metaphor and distributed cognition are certainly not its focus. Another linguistic investigation by Shurma and Lu (2016) into the Shakespearean language of death, discusses how the language of death is translated from one language to another (English to Ukrainian). The cross-linguistic mismatch of conceptualisation in translation is the main issue of the paper, however, so once again, rather limited attention is given to the notions of cultural metaphor and distributed cognition.

In the above two studies, a look at the interplay of metaphors that takes place when people discuss death in a cultural community is missing. A Cultural Linguistic analysis is needed to address this aspect. In addition, I believe that a study of the metaphors of death in an Asian context will help deepen our understanding of how people from different cultures (especially one that is distant from southern Italy) conceptualise death and use cultural conceptualisations as a conceptual tool to construct their worldview of certain types of cultural events.

To this end, the present chapter analyses data from the contemporary East Asian culture of Taiwan, taking a Cultural Linguistic perspective. The data comes from the language of funerals in Taiwan, which constitute a distinctive cultural event category. At a Taiwanese funeral, eulogistic idioms are an integral part of the ceremony with idioms written and displayed on white cloth banners on the walls of the funeral hall where the ceremony takes place. The idioms are highly conventionalised and allow no creativity, as they always appear in the form of four-character idioms, which indicate how deeply rooted they are in local cultural conceptualisations. The practice is so frequent and culturally significant that the Taipei City Government has set up an official online system for requesting eulogistic idioms, to be shown on electronic banners at public funeral halls. In the system, various parameters may affect how people use the idioms, including the occupation of the deceased, as discussed in Lu (submitted), or the religion of the deceased, addressed in detail in the present chapter. Interested readers are referred to Lu (2017) for a detailed description of the eulogy request system and the social context of its use.

The design of the eulogy request system further provides a convenient platform for examining the interaction between religion, language and cultural thinking. When one requests a eulogy, the system asks the mourner to select the religious belief of the deceased, and accordingly turns up appropriate idioms for selection. There are two main categories in the system: Buddhist and Christian.[1] This chapter

[1]In the system, there are actually three options available, including Buddhist, Catholic and Protestant. However, all the seven idioms in the Catholic category also appear in the Protestant category (eight idioms), so because of the almost complete overlap and for the convenience of presentation, I have amalgamated the two categories into the category of Christian. Another practical reason for this amalgamation is the relatively small population of the two religious groups in Taiwan, as Catholic and Protestant believers account for only 5% of the Taiwanese population altogether (Chiu 1988).

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discusses the eulogistic idioms within these two categories and the cultural conceptualisations that underlie the use of their idioms.

3.2 Background and Review: Language and Culture of Contemporary Taiwan and Previous Studies of Chinese Cultural Conceptualisations

Taiwan is a multi-ethnic society that consists of various sub-cultural groups, including the Han Chinese people, which are in the majority, and a number of Austronesian tribes. Given the predominance of the Han Chinese in Taiwan and the shared historical heritage, Taiwanese culture is generally believed to be relatively close to that of the Chinese. The official language used in Taiwan is also Mandarin Chinese, although the Taiwanese variety is significantly different from the mainland Chinese variety in terms of its pronunciation and lexical choice.

Given the common use of Mandarin Chinese and the cultural heritage shared between Taiwan and mainland China, it is important to review relevant Chinese cultural linguistic studies in general, to see the status of research into the language of death in Chinese.

Yu's (1998, 2009) pioneer series of studies address Chinese language and culture from a cultural-cognitive linguistic perspective. In the two monographs, the author discusses various cultural symbols based on the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor (Kövecses 2005, 2006; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1990, 1993, 1994), including the use of body organs in Chinese idioms, elements of Chinese medicine and relevant cultural models, etc. Yu (this volume) discusses how the Chinese language conceptualises the concept of LIFE. However, Yu does not address the way the Chinese people see death and further religious elements in the Chinese language are not the concern of Yu's various studies. From an alternate viewpoint, Lu and Chiang (2007) in their study approach the Chinese language using the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor, especially as related to the religious domain. The authors analyse *The Heart Sutra*, a major Buddhist canon, and uncover a list of metaphorical conceptualisations that predominate Buddhist discourse in Chinese. Once again, the issue of life and death is not a concern of their paper either.

In sum, a Cultural Linguistics discussion about how the Chinese language conceptualises death and how religion interacts with cultural conceptualisations to shape the Chinese people's worldview is still lacking. This chapter offers a preliminary attempt to meet this need.

(Footnote 1 continued)

Daoism is another major religion of Taiwan, but in actual practice, Daoism and Buddhism are not at all mutually exclusive and even reported to overlap significantly (Chiu 1988). I believe that is why Daoist is not listed as a separate entry in the eulogy request system.

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3.3 Findings

In this section, a selection of idioms from the Buddhist and the Christian category and the cultural conceptual metaphors that are generalised from the entire set of idioms are presented. In the eulogy request system, 59 eulogistic expressions for Buddhists and eight for Christians are identified. Each category can be captured by a highly distinct set of metaphors, or *proposition schemas* in Quinn's (1987) term, which reflect the view of life and death of the two sub-groups (Taiwanese Buddhist and Taiwanese Christian). I present the groups of cultural metaphors below.

3.3.1 Cultural Conceptualisations of Death in Taiwanese Buddhist Eulogistic Idioms

The system contains 59 Buddhist eulogistic idioms. At least six major cultural metaphors can be generalised from the idioms, including DEATH IS REBIRTH, DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH, REBIRTH IS WEST, LIFE IS A CIRCLE, A PERSON IS A LOTUS, HEAVEN IS (A POND/SEA) FULL OF LOTUSES.

3.3.1.1 DEATH IS REBIRTH

The first major cultural metaphor is DEATH IS REBIRTH, which is instantiated by five idioms. This cultural conceptualisation involves the underlying cultural concept of REINCARNATION. According to that, life and death form a never-ending cycle, where death in one life is not only the end of that particular life but also the beginning of the next. Typical examples from the repertoire are seen in (1)–(3).

(1)	往	生	淨	土
	wǎng	*shēng*	*jìng*	*tǔ*
	towards	life	pure	land
	"(This person has gone) towards life in the pure land".			

(2)	往	生	極	樂
	wǎng	*shēng*	*jí*	*lè*
	towards	life	extreme	happy
	"(This person has gone) towards life in the bliss".			

In (1) and (2), there is a compound *wǎngshēng*, formed by putting together *wǎng* 'towards' and *shēng* 'life', which is used in contemporary Taiwanese Mandarin as a euphemism for 'die'. According to Buddhist belief, after one dies, the soul goes to

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heaven, or the pure land or the bliss in (1) and (2), where the soul is ready for rebirth. The compound *wǎngshēng* is a linguistic manifestation of the cultural conceptualisation of DEATH IS REBIRTH in the Taiwanese Buddhist mind, which underpins the use of various eulogistic idioms.

The existence of the conceptualisation of DEATH IS REBIRTH is further supported by the existence of another idiom about reincarnation in (3).

(3)	乘	願	再	來
	chéng	*yuàn*	*zài*	*lái*
	ride	wish	again	come
	"(This person will) come again with (great) wishes (of helping the world)".			

In (3), we see that when a person dies, it is believed that they may come to this world again if they have a great desire to help the world. This matches the Buddhist belief of existence being a never-ending cycle of life, death and rebirth.

3.3.1.2 DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH

Note that the MOTION schema is common to and linguistically elaborated in both (1) and (2) by *wǎng* 'towards' and in (3) by the motion verb *lái* 'come'. Therefore, if one takes into account the motion schema in the above examples, the conceptualisation of DEATH IS REBIRTH can have a lower-level instantiation specified as DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH. Based on these expressions, it is evident that in the Taiwanese Buddhist mind, not only does LIFE IS A JOURNEY hold true (cf. Kövecses 2010: 50; Lakoff 1994: 62–63; Yu 1998: 17–19), but what is significant in Taiwanese Buddhist culture is that DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS LIFE. I will come back to this issue in the Discussion.

3.3.1.3 DEATH/REBIRTH IS WEST

The third cultural conceptualisation identified in the data is DEATH/REBIRTH IS WEST, which is a culture-specific orientational metaphor. Examples (4) and (5) illustrate this conceptualisation.

(4)	化	滿	西	歸
	huà	*mǎn*	*xī*	*guī*
	die	complete	west	return
	"(This person) has died; (his life is) complete (and he has) returned to the west".			

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(5)	如來	西	望
	rúlái	*xī*	*wàng*
	Tathagata	west	look
	"Tathagata/Buddha is looking westward (to bless the deceased)".		

It is clear from the examples that in Taiwanese Buddhist culture, DEATH or REBIRTH is closely associated with WEST, which is a typical Buddhist belief. Therefore, after one's current life reaches the end point, the soul returns to heaven in the west, as shown in (4), and the Buddha looks westward to bless this person's soul, as in (5).

3.3.1.4 LIFE IS A CIRCLE

Another conceptualisation identified in the data is LIFE IS A CIRCLE. Relevant examples include (6)–(8).

(6)	功	德	圓	滿
	gōng	*dé*	*yuán*	*mǎn*
	feat	virtue	circle	full
	"(This person led a) full (life like a) circle, having had various achievements".			

(7)	福	慧	圓	滿
	fú	*huì*	*yuán*	*mǎn*
	blessing	wisdom	circle	full
	"(This person led a) full (life like a circle, as he enjoyed all) blessings (and had all) wisdoms".			

(8)	圓	滿	菩提
	yuán	*mǎn*	*pútí*
	circle	full	bodhi/wisdom
	"(This person led a) full (life like a) circle, (as he had) the wisdom".		

From (6)–(8), one sees that CIRCLE is an important cultural symbol in Taiwanese Buddhist culture, as it occurs with all sorts of positive attributes to describe a human in the eulogistic idioms, including achievements, virtue, blessing and wisdom. Note also that *yuánmǎn* is a compound in Mandarin, meaning 'perfect/perfection'. The common cultural meaning of CIRCLE in Taiwanese culture and in all the Mandarin speaking, pan-Chinese cultures again testifies to the shared socio-cultural substrate between these cultures.

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In addition, understanding life in terms of a circle is certainly analogous to DEATH IS REBIRTH. When one draws a circle, the end is the beginning. The adjacent nature of the beginning and the end provides the conceptual analogical basis for life and death forming a never-ending cycle. Therefore, the Taiwanese Buddhist use of CIRCLE as a cultural symbol is in a highly schematic sense connected to the cultural conceptualisation of DEATH IS REBIRTH.

3.3.1.5 A PERSON IS A LOTUS

The fifth conceptualisation that one may extrapolate from the eulogistic idioms is A PERSON IS A LOTUS. Example (9) is an illustration.

(9)	蓮	華	化	生
	lián	*huá*	*huà*	*shēng*
	lotus	flower	become	life
	"(This person) turned into being (from a) lotus".			

In (9), a person is conceptualised as a lotus, which embodies the positive qualities of the lotus plant. In Chinese culture, the lotus symbolises a person of noble character. The lotus, according to Mr. Zhōu Liánxī, a famous scholar of the Song Dynasty, has its roots in the mud at the bottom of a pond, but the flower emerges from the water, untouched by the slime (Zhang 1968). This idea, along with Mr. Zhou's writing, has been extensively disseminated in Chinese culture in various ways, including use of the lotus symbol in eulogistic idioms that we see here. In Buddhism, the lotus is similarly conceptualised as a symbol for purity and holiness (Ward 1952). According to the Chinese cultural reasoning that involves LOTUS, when a person is born into the world, the mind is contaminated by worldly things so that the soul cannot attain a state of pure wisdom. By comparing a person to a lotus, their life can be seen as spotless like the lotus flower that radiates purity, untouched by the filthy world.[2] Examples (10) and (11) are further evidence, of the same cultural metaphor at work, though there are different tropes of speech that highlight the positive connotation in both examples.

(10)	高	登	蓮	品
	gāo	*dēng*	*lián*	*pǐn*
	high	climb	lotus	class
	"This person has climbed to the top class of lotus".			

[2]PURITY is another important cultural concept in Buddhism. For details, see Lu and Chiang (2007: 344).

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(11)	九	品	蓮	花
	jiǔ	*pǐn*	*lián*	*huā*
	nine	class	lotus	flower
	"This person was a lotus of top quality".			

In (10), an orientational metaphor of GOOD IS UP is at work along with the conceptualisation of A PERSON IS A LOTUS, thus accentuating the positive connotation invoked by the lotus symbol. The orientational metaphor is linguistically elaborated by the characters *gāo* 'high' and *dēng* 'climb'. In (11), another cultural symbol comes into play, which is the number '9', a favourable prophetic sign in Chinese culture.[3] With these textual prompts (Lu 2008), one may be assured that the conceptualisation of A PERSON IS A LOTUS is loaded with positive evaluations in Taiwanese Buddhist eulogistic idioms.

3.3.1.6 HEAVEN IS (A POND/SEA) FULL OF LOTUSES

A sixth conceptualisation relevant to A PERSON IS A LOTUS is HEAVEN IS (A POND/SEA) FULL OF LOTUSES. An example of this conceptualisation is seen in (12).

(12)	蓮	池	海	會
	lián	*chí*	*hǎi*	*huì*
	lotus	pond	sea	gathering
	"(The heaven is a) pond of lotuses, (a huge) gathering like the sea".			

Not only is (12) an example based on the A PERSON IS A LOTUS conceptualisation, but it further involves the conceptualisation of HEAVEN IS A POND FULL OF LOTUSES. The reasoning is straightforward. A person's soul goes to heaven after they die, so if a person is a lotus, it follows that according to Ahrens' (2010) *mapping principle*, because many people die, lotuses that represent their souls all go to heaven, so heaven is like a pond that hosts a collection of lotuses. These (of course, good) people's souls meet in heaven in the way that lotuses gather together in a pond. Therefore, A PERSON IS A LOTUS, HEAVEN IS A POND FULL OF LOTUSES is a consequential conceptualisation. But note that the concept SEA is also involved here, which slightly complicates the story. According to the Taiwanese Buddhist line of

[3]For the culture-specificity of orientational metaphors even as basic as GOOD IS UP, see the discussion in Lu (2016: 572–573, submitted).

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thinking, the number of souls is so great that one might lose count, which is akin to measuring the volume of water in the sea, hence the use of the character *hǎi* 'sea'.[4]

Below are the eulogistic idioms for the other sub-cultural group considered, which is Taiwanese Christians. These present a completely different worldview of what death is like.

3.3.2 *Cultural Conceptualisations of Death in Taiwanese Christian Eulogistic Idioms*

In the eulogy request system, there are eight idioms for Christians.[5] Three conceptualisations have been generalised from these idioms, including DEATH IS REST, HEAVEN IS AN ETERNAL HOME and DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY.[6]

3.3.2.1 DEATH IS REST

The first major conceptualisation identified is DEATH IS REST, instantiated by (13) and (14).[7]

(13)	安	息	主	懷
	ān	*xí*	*zhǔ*	*huái*
	peace	rest	Lord	bosom
	"(This person is now) resting in the Lord's bosom".			

(14)	息	勞	歸	主
	xí	*láo*	*guī*	*zhǔ*
	rest	toil	return	Lord
	"(This person has) put down (his) hard work (and has) returned to the Lord".			

[4]In Mandarin Chinese, using SEA to mean an extremely large number is frequent. There are lexicalised expressions such as *rén-shān-rén-hǎi* 'man-mountain-man-sea', meaning a lot of people, *huā-hǎi* 'flower-sea', meaning a sea of flowers, among numerous others.

[5]I believe that the results presented here should be compatible with Christian metaphors presented elsewhere (e.g. Charteris-Black 2004; Kövecses 2011), although the metaphorical conceptualisations presented therein have not been mentioned due to the difference in research method and genre.

[6]DEATH IS REST has been mentioned in the context of poetic language analysis (Kövecses 2010: 50) but no detailed account was given there.

[7]DEATH IS REST is a major conceptualisation in the Christian category but much less so in the Buddhist category, which will be elaborated further in the Discussion.

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In (13), death is conceptualised as peaceful rest, evidenced by the use of *ān* 'peace' and *xí* 'rest'. In (14), a further observation can be made that in contrast to death as peaceful rest, life is conceptualised as labourious effort, evidenced by the use of *láo* 'toil'. Therefore, the conceptualisation can be further developed in full as LIFE IS LABOUR; DEATH IS REST.

In addition to (13) and (14), the metaphor also has a slightly different instantiation, as in (15).

(15)	主	內	安	睡
	zhǔ	*nèi*	*ān*	*shuì*
	Lord	in	peace	sleep
	"(This person is now) sleeping in the Lord peacefully".			

In (15), the metaphorical keyword is *shuì*, which does not directly invoke REST but a closely related concept of SLEEP. Therefore, this idiom can be analysed as a slight variation on the other two in the REST category.

3.3.2.2 HEAVEN IS AN ETERNAL HOME

The second conceptualisation that can be generalised from the Christian eulogistic idioms is HEAVEN IS AN ETERNAL HOME, illustrated by (16) and (17).

(16)	永	住	天	家
	yǒng	*zhù*	*tiān*	*jiā*
	forever	live	heaven	home
	"(This person is now) living in (his) home in heaven".			

(17)	樂園	安	家
	lèyuán	*ān*	*jiā*
	paradise	settle	home
	"(This person has now) settled (his) home in the paradise".		

In these two examples, we see that the concept of ETERNAL is invoked by the use of *yǒng* 'forever' in (16) and of *ān* 'settle' in (17).[8] If one settles in their home somewhere, one stays there for a long time, even if it is not forever, it is at least related to the concept of ETERNAL. We also see that the character *jiā* 'home' appears

[8]The word *ān* is polysemous—when used as an adjective, it means 'peaceful', but when used as a verb, it has the meaning of 'to settle'.

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in both idioms, so that it unequivocally invokes the concept of HOME in both the instances.

3.3.2.3 DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY

The third Taiwanese Christian conceptualisation identified in the database is DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY, illustrated by (14) and (18).

(18)	榮	歸	天	家
	róng	*guī*	*tiān*	*jiā*
	glory	return	heaven	home
	"(This person has) returned to his home in heaven with glory".			

In both the examples, the keyword is *guī* 'return'. We see that in (14), the destination of the return journey is the Lord, and that in (18) it is the person's home in heaven, which is deeply rooted in Christian belief. But in either case, and without doubt, DEATH is conceptualised as a return journey in the Taiwanese Christian culture given the supporting linguistic evidence.

3.4 Discussion

In this section, the theoretical and methodological significance of the findings are considered. Section 3.4.1 introduces the co-occurrence of conceptualisations in the idioms, and in Sect. 3.4.2 the conceptualisations shared by the sub-cultures, i.e. DEATH IS REST and DEATH IS A JOURNEY, are discussed. In Sect. 3.4.2, the cultural conceptualisation of DEATH IS A JOURNEY, which has not been found in any previous studies, is also discussed.

3.4.1 Co-occurrence of Metaphors in the Eulogistic Idioms

First of all, it can be seen that more than one conceptualisation may co-exist in one single idiom in both the idioms for Buddhists and Christians.

Examples (19)–(21) are illustrations from the Buddhist category.

(19)	往	生	西	方
	wǎng	*shēng*	*xī*	*fāng*
	towards	life	west	side
	"(This person has) gone for (another) life in the west".			

(20)	往	生	蓮	邦
	wǎng	*shēng*	*lián*	*bāng*
	towards	life	lotus	country
	"(This person has) gone for (another) life in the lotus country".			

(21)	駕	返	蓮	邦
	jià	*fǎn*	*lián*	*bāng*
	ride	return	lotus	country
	"(This person has) gone back to the lotus country on a vehicle".			

The co-existence of multiple conceptualisations can be seen in all these examples. In (19), there are DEATH IS REBIRTH and DEATH IS WEST, linguistically elaborated by *wǎngshēng* 'towards life' and *xī* 'west'. In (20), the co-occurring conceptualisations are DEATH IS REBIRTH and HEAVEN IS FULL OF LOTUSES. The metaphors found in (21) are LIFE IS A RETURN JOURNEY and HEAVEN IS FULL OF LOTUSES. However, note that (21) is slightly difficult to categorise, as it involves a verb of transportation *jià* 'to ride on (a traffic vehicle, such as a car, plane or an animal)' so that might involve still another sub-conceptualisation that has not been discussed above. In particular, the vehicle for transportation of the deceased is left unspecified, or left outside of the *conceptual profile*, in Langacker's (1987) words, and will have to be investigated further via a large-scale analysis of the entire database. In any case, the co-existence of multiple conceptualisations in one single eulogistic idiom is evident in the three examples.

The same observation of conceptualisation co-occurrence also holds for the Christian category, which can be illustrated by (18). In (18), we see not only DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY but also HEAVEN IS HOME, instantiated respectively by *guī* 'return' and by *jiā* 'home'.

From the above discussion and findings, it is evident there is a relationship between multiple couplings of cultural conceptualisations and linguistic forms and also that multiple cultural conceptualisations may exist in one single eulogistic idiom, which is valid for language use by both sub-cultural groups in Taiwanese society.[9]

3.4.2 *Shared Conceptualisations: DEATH IS REST and DEATH IS A JOURNEY*

Another theoretically relevant finding is that two conceptualisations are shared by the Taiwanese Buddhist and the Taiwanese Christian community, which arguably testifies to the distributed nature of cultural cognition.

[9]For a similar discussion of the multiple coupling between linguistic form and concept, see Lu's (2015: 175–176) discussion of Chinese lexical semantics.

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The first conceptualisation that exists in both sub-groups is DEATH IS REST. In addition to what we saw in the Christian group, Example (22) is an instantiation from the Buddhist category.

(22)	歇	即	菩提
	xiē	*jí*	*pútí*
	rest	be	bodhi/wisdom
	"Rest is the ultimate wisdom".		

Taking (22) along with (13)–(15) into consideration allows one to generalise across both the sub-groups and to claim that DEATH IS REST is a conceptualisation that exists across the entire cultural community of Taiwan. However, the fact that this conceptualisation has only one instantiation (out of the total 59) in the Buddhist category, as opposed to three in the Christian community (out of eight), indicates that this particular cultural conceptualisation is apparently more cohesive in the Christian community than in the Buddhist community in the Taiwanese context. On the other hand, although DEATH IS REST is not a prevalent way of viewing death in the Taiwanese Buddhist community, the conceptualisation still exists in at least part of the community, evidenced by the existence of idiom (22). Here, we witness individual variation as a factor that explains the distribution of the idioms—although DEATH IS REST is not a frequent way of verbalising and conceptualising death by the Taiwanese Buddhist community, the conceptualisation does exist in a sub-group and is still used by a small number of people within it.[10]

The second conceptualisation that is shared by both the sub-groups is DEATH IS A JOURNEY. The conceptualisation is evidenced in various examples, including (1)–(4) and (19)–(21) in the Buddhist category and (14) and (18) in the Christian category. Given the high type frequency of the conceptualisation in both groups (6/59 and 2/8), DEATH IS A JOURNEY can be considered a widespread cultural conceptualisation across both the religious groups in Taiwan.

However, what is theoretically interesting is how death has been discussed in cognitive linguistics. In the field, it has been extensively reported and agreed upon that LIFE IS A JOURNEY, where DEATH is conceptualised as THE END OF THE JOURNEY (Kövecses 2010: 50; Lakoff 1994: 62–63; Yu 1998: 17–19). The discrepancy between the findings in previous literature and this study's findings is due to the difference in the type of data used. The observations made in the previous literature are based on intuition, and can be seen as highly general cultural conceptualisations that a language user abstracts from the full repertoire of the *usage events* (in the sense of Langacker 1987) that one has encountered over the course of their life. A direct consequence is that for the purpose of intuition-based research, the user (or the researcher) is able to come up with only the schema that is instantiated in most

[10]Interested readers are referred to Sharifian (2011: 4–8) and Frank (2015: 501–502) for a detailed account of the distributed nature of cultural cognition.

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types of cultural events. In contrast, if one takes eulogistic idioms as a specialised genre, the use of which is highly restricted to a cultural event category (i.e. funerals), then that provides a very different result, with empirical evidence to substantiate how metaphorical conceptualisations work within a certain culture and its sub-groups, *especially in a specific type of cultural event*.[11]

Therefore, given the empirical nature of the data present in the eulogy request system and the vast difference between the conceptualisations found from that data and what was deduced in previous intuition-based studies, the use of the eulogy request system constitutes a great research opportunity for investigating how people in a certain culture (and its sub-cultures) verbalise and conceptualise death.

Therefore, I believe Cultural Linguistics (and general cultural linguistics) research may benefit from using specialised databases (in this case, the eulogy request system) for various reasons. First, as has already been shown, the results gained from analysing authentic language data are very different from those based on intuition only, and authentic language data certainly provides more contextualised, accurate and useful insights into the cultural issues being investigated. This methodological issue has been extensively discussed in corpus linguistics and other fields (for a similar proposal, see Lucy 1992 or Jensen, this volume). Second, using a specialised database can be fruitful, as this allows the actual dynamics between sub-cultures within the entire cultural group to be identified. In the case of this study, the design of the specialised database provided easily available eulogistic idioms used exclusively by certain sub-groups of a cultural community, so the cohesiveness within each group and the extent to which the cultural conceptualisations of the two groups overlapped could be measured.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, a selection of eulogistic idioms has been presented from two different cultural sub-groups in Taiwan using the official online eulogy request system as a specialised database. The comprehensiveness of the database and its special design allows the dynamic interaction between religion and language use to be identified and sheds light on how cultural conceptualisations are at work and shape the worldview in each of the groups.

Six conceptualisations are reflected in the Buddhist idioms in Mandarin Chinese, including DEATH IS REBIRTH, DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH, REBIRTH IS WEST, LIFE IS A CIRCLE, A PERSON IS A LOTUS, HEAVEN IS (A POND/SEA) FULL OF LOTUSES. There are three conceptualisations generalised from the Christian idioms, including DEATH IS REST, HEAVEN IS AN ETERNAL HOME and DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY. Within these findings, the co-occurrence of conceptualisations in one single eulogistic idiom are identified and the conceptualisation of DEATH IS A JOURNEY was identified as an

[11]Shurma and Lu (2016: 20) have a similar finding using authentic data from literary language.

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interesting deviation of use of the JOURNEY metaphor that has escaped the attention of most scholars. The use of specialised databases as a contextualised research resource for certain cultural issues in Cultural Linguistics (or general cultural linguistics) is suggested.

It is hoped that this chapter demonstrates how Cultural Linguistics can shed light on the ways in which religion, as a cultural factor, contributes to variations in people's use of metaphors when verbalising and conceptualising death in a multi-religious society, in an East Asian (Taiwanese) context. Also it is hoped that through a study such as this one, more about the nature of human beings can be revealed by observing their language use, when talking about the end of life, when what is at stake is a world which is relatively unknown.

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CHAPTER 7

Cultural "Signs of life" in politics

A case study of eulogistic idioms for Taiwanese politicians

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This chapter presents a Cognitive Linguistic analysis of Mandarin eulogistic idioms used for politicians as a sub-genre of political communication. The entire collection of idioms is taken from the online eulogy request system in Taiwan and contains 16 idioms. In the analysis of the idioms, it is shown that in addition to conceptual metaphor and metonymy, Cognitive Grammar is another useful theoretical construct in analysing political eulogies. The analysis, in addition, explicates how various cultural conceptualizations and allusions are involved as a basis for understanding the eulogistic expressions. At the social level, a comparison between the Taiwanese political eulogies and data from Western cultures shows that the social role played by the deceased and the mourner is another important sign of life in Taiwanese culture.

Keywords: metaphor, metonymy, profile, textile metaphor

Introduction

Applications of Cognitive Linguistics in the language of politics

In recent years, Cognitive Linguistics has gathered a strong momentum and has been applied to a wide array of fields to study how language relates to human thinking, understanding, and action. In the language of politics, Cognitive Linguistics comes in the form of metaphor and metonymy as two of its main theoretical constructs (Charteris-Black 2005; Chilton 2004; Hart and Lukeš 2007; Lakoff 1996; Musolff 2006, among numerous others). The above studies all made nice contributions by focusing on use of metaphor and metonymy in certain cultural contexts, but it is important to note that another major theory, Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 2008), has been less employed in studying the interaction between language,

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culture, and politics. Therefore, the potential usefulness of Cognitive Grammar in analyzing the language of politics has been relatively under-explored. In light of the issue, the present chapter will try to integrate Cognitive Grammar as part of the analytical toolkit in political communication and will argue that such practice may allow us a better conceptual understanding of political communication.[1]

Another issue that will be addressed in the present chapter is that despite the achievements thus far, the aforementioned studies use either political figures' public speeches, governmental announcements or published commentaries on political affairs as research material, so a take based on use of still another different data type is wanting for a more comprehensive understanding of human thinking in the political domain.

In view of the need for a diversified data type, the present chapter adopts as research material eulogistic idioms[2] stored in an official online database and presented at political figures' public funerals, in order to investigate how political thinking is reflected in the actual language use in a certain socio-cultural context. The data come from the official online eulogy request system set up by the Taipei City Government, which contains 16 eulogistic idioms for political figures. The eulogies are presented at *public* funerals, which means that any person, even only loosely connected to the deceased (a distant colleague or even a fan), may walk into the funeral without invitation. In addition, any person may request a eulogistic idiom for the deceased politician, to be displayed on the electronic banner in the funeral hall. Therefore, at a social level, the 16 eulogistic idioms are to be understood as the repertoire of verbal means via which the public talk about, remember, and conceptualize those figures of national importance after their passing.[3]

In Chinese political linguistics, attention has been paid to political figures' public talks (Kuo 2003; Lu 2008; Lu and Ahrens 2008; Wei 2003) and official documents released by the government (Chiang and Chiu 2007), published political commentaries (Chiang and Duann 2007; Lin and Chiang 2015). None that I am aware of is based on political figures' eulogies as research material, so there is a need to include the different sub-genre for a more comprehensive understanding of Chinese political communication.

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1. An exception is Lu's (2018) study on Martin Luther King Jr.'s rhetorical masterpiece, *I Have a Dream*, which addresses the usefulness of *constructional schema* (Langacker 2008) in analyzing repetition as King's signature rhetorical device.

2. The definition of *idiom* in this chapter largely follows the standard definition in Cognitive Linguistics but is more specific. In addition to being fixed expressions whose meanings are not completely compositional (Langacker 1987, 2008), the idioms studied in this paper has a fixed phonological template that contains four Chinese characters.

3. For a more detailed description of the eulogy request system, see Lu (2017b).

Previous studies on LIFE *and* DEATH *in Cognitive Linguistics*

The issue of life and death is central to human affairs. No one escapes death, as that one day will certainly come upon all humans. Consequently, in the private domain, both a person's close family and their distant relatives must deal with the death; in the public domain, the person's colleagues and, for important cases, the community where the person was influential suffers the death.

Given the centrality of the issue, in Cognitive Linguistics, there has been a series of studies on how different cultures conceptualize life and death, including LIFE IS ARRIVAL/A JOURNEY; DEATH IS DEPARTURE/THE END POINT OF THE JOURNEY (Coulson and Pascual 2006; Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Lakoff and Turner 1989; Kövecses 2002); LIFE IS AN OPERA/SHOW in Chinese (Yu and Jia 2016; Yu 2017). However, the works concern only how life is conceptualized in general language, rather than that in a specific genre. An exception is Lu (2017c) on different religious groups in Taiwan, which addresses the conceptualization of life and death in eulogies by the two sub-cultural groups in Taiwan, including DEATH IS REBIRTH, DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH and LIFE IS A CIRCLE for Taiwanese Buddhists and DEATH IS REST, DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY for Taiwanese Christians. But given the narrow scope of Lu (2017c), the way how language and politics interact in terms of cultural conceptualization is not addressed, so there is indeed a need for deeper research in the field.

Using eulogies for politicians as research material constitutes another important niche of the present chapter. From a *usage-based* point of view (Barlow and Kemmer 2000), eulogies for political figures constitute a highly specialized genre in the language of politics, which allows a study of that genre to offer a unique take on the actual usage of language and language-mediated meaning construction in genre-specific *usage events* (Langacker 2008: 17). Studying a specialized genre has an important advantage. Lu (2017c), for instance, discusses how studying the use of idioms of a sub-cultural (religious) group reveals cultural thinking that would not be available when one uses a general corpus or only introspection.[4] Therefore, I expect studying politicians' eulogies, which is a highly specialized genre, to be methodologically fruitful and may yield useful insights, compared to the previous studies based on intuition of use of general corpora.

4. A similar view can be seen in Faber (2012), which highlights the importance of contextualized knowledge structures in understanding terminology as highly specialized genres.

Findings

As mentioned in the introductory section, the data come from the official online eulogy request system in Taiwan. When one requests a eulogistic idiom, the system enquires about the occupation of the deceased and then turns up corresponding idioms given the mourner's choice.[5] 16 idioms show up at the choice of "political figures". This section presents a linguistic analysis of such idioms.

Out of the full collection of the 16 idioms, I identify 4 idioms that contain 國 *guó* 'country' and 3 idioms that contain 民 *mín* 'people', which shows how the politician is chiefly remembered by the public – The country and its people miss this person so much that the mourner feels an urge to linguistically present those elements in the eulogy, although not every single citizen of the country may have a personal tie with the deceased.

In addition to those 7, the other 9 idioms still indirectly invoke the concept of COUNTRY[6] or PEOPLE, although the elements are not linguistically elaborated. A selection of the idioms and how they invoke the concepts of COUNTRY and PEOPLE will be addressed in the following sub-section. Then, the next subsection presents some culture-specific metaphors, including allusions to Chinese[7] historical figures or events and use of the concept of TEXTILE as a Chinese political metaphor.

Metaphorical idioms with COUNTRY or PEOPLE in scope

In this section, I introduce idioms that directly or indirectly invoke the concept COUNTRY or PEOPLE in its *scope* (Langacker 2008: 62) in the domain of POLITICS.

Metaphorical idioms with COUNTRY or PEOPLE in profile

In this subsection, I discuss idioms that have COUNTRY or PEOPLE in their conceptual *profile* (Langacker 2008: 66), i.e. with COUNTRY or PEOPLE linguistically elaborated and put *onstage* (Langacker 2008: 63), receiving the conceptualizer's full attention. There are two special metaphors that are noteworthy.

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5. The system was set up and maintained by Taipei Mortuary Service Office (http://w9.mso.taipei.gov.tw/TPFScroll/login.aspx). Interested readers are referred to Lu (2017b) for a detailed introduction to the system.

6. I follow the general Cognitive Linguistic convention where small caps are used for concepts.

7. A brief account of the connection between the Taiwanese and the Chinese culture is given in Lu (2017b, 2017c). Following that, in the present research context, the two terms are used largely interchangeably.

First, the domain of WAR is invoked, with the politician remembered as "the country's shield and stronghold", as in (1).

(1) 國 之 干 城
guó *zhī* *gān* *chéng*
country LINK shield city
'(This person was) the country's shield and stronghold.'

The expression is no longer active in modern Chinese, but the character 干 *gān* can still be found in lexical constructions in the domain of WAR, such as 大動干戈 *dà dòng gāngē* 'to wage a war', 化干戈為玉帛 *huà gāngē wèi yùbó* 'to lay down the weapon and make peace', etc. Such expressions sound archaic, but they keep the etymology from ancient Chinese, which is important in understanding the use of eulogistic expressions as a sub-type of political communication.[8]

Another metaphor employed in the idioms is a body metaphor, where the politician is construed as "people's throat and tongue", as in (2).

(2) 為 民 喉 舌
wèi *mín* *hóu* *shé*
LINK people throat tongue
'(This person) spoke for the people.'

In (2), the politician is described as the "throat and tongue" for his people, meaning that he aired people's complaints to the government openly and conscientiously, always speaking for the people. THROAT and TONGUE are frequent source concepts of cultural conceptualization in the world's languages. For instance, THROAT is associated with intuitive apprehension in Thaayorre (Gaby 2008: 33–34); TONGUE is associated with LANGUAGE in general in English and Malay (Charteris-Black 2003: 296–302) and with the content of what one says in contrast to one's true feelings in Persian (Sharifian 2008: 255–256).

However, for two reasons, Example (2) deserves attention. First, the packaging of THROAT and TONGUE into one lexical construction, as seen in (2), has not been reported in the literature, and the strict sequence of *hóu* before *shé*, given the idiomatic nature of the entire eulogistic expression, is something that makes (2) special. Second, the idiom is used in a highly specialized context (in the domain of POLITICS) and the concepts invoked in that domain are also very specific (the way in which one speaks: OPEN and CONSCIENTIOUS). Therefore, (2) reflects a Chinese-specific cultural conceptualization that involves *both* TONGUE and THROAT and constitutes a domain-specific figurative language use.

8. For how etymology reflects the cognitive and cultural basis of lexical semantics, see Sweetser (1990).

Next, I discuss idioms with COUNTRY or PEOPLE in the periphery of the onstage region, still receiving a certain degree of attention.

Metaphorical idioms with COUNTRY or PEOPLE in the base

In this subsection, I analyze the idioms that have COUNTRY or PEOPLE only in the conceptual *base* (Langacker 2008: 66), meaning that COUNTRY or PEOPLE still lies in the entire knowledge structure invoked, but is not linguistically encoded in the idioms.

(3) 勛　　猷　共　　仰
xūn　yóu gòng　yǎng
victory way together look up
'(This person's) victory and way (of living), (people) all look up to.'

In (3), the achievement of the deceased (his victory and way of living) is construed in terms of a physical object at a height. The idiom, therefore, invokes an ontological metaphor ACHIEVEMENTS ARE OBJECTS and an orientational metaphor GOOD IS UP. However, I suspect that the upward orientation may have multiple motivations, part of that being cultural, which are based on two cultural metaphors HEAVEN IS FULL OF LOTUSES (FOR SOULS) and DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY TO HEAVEN (Lu 2017c) – when a person dies, his/her soul (again ontologically conceptualized) returns up to heaven.

The agent of the viewing in (3) is the people of the entire country, all looking up to the achievements of the politician. Although the agent is left unspecified, it still figures in the conceptual base, receiving attention to a certain degree.

Example (4) is a similar case that involves an ontological metaphor and a JOURNEY metaphor.

(4) 遺　愛　人間
yí　ài　rénjiān
leave love world
'(This person) has left love to the world.'

In this example, the politician has left love to the world after his death. Based on the same reasoning in (3) above and in Lu (2017c), if death is a return journey from the earthly world to heaven, love is also conceptualized in an ontological way as a physical object that *can be left behind* after one's departure. In addition to DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY TO HEAVEN, the idiom also involves LOVE IS AN OBJECT.

At the linguistic level, the recipient of the politician's love is the world, but certainly his people and his country are conceptually part of that. Therefore, PEOPLE and COUNTRY are not directly invoked but remain within the *maximal*

scope (Langacker 2008: 63) of attention, i.e. the conceptual background, as they are related to WORLD.

Another idiom that indirectly invokes PEOPLE or COUNTRY is (5), for which I argue metonymy is the underlying cognitive mechanism.

(5) 萬 姓 謳 思
wàn *xìng* *ǒu* *sī*
ten thousand surname sing miss
'Ten thousand surnames sing for and miss (this person).'

In (5), the politician is sung for and missed by ten thousand surnames, meaning that he is missed by all people of the country. The meaning extension is based on two conceptual metonymies: A CLAN NAME FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE CLAN and A HIGH NUMBER FOR COUNTLESSNESS. Note that the latter metonymy is culture-specific, as its linguistic manifestation is 萬 *wàn* 'ten thousand', which is not a measuring unit commonly used in most Indo-European languages. The metonymy also has various linguistic instantiations in modern Chinese, such as 萬物 *wàn wù* '(lit.) ten thousand creatures', meaning "all creatures", 萬歲 *wàn suì* '(lit.) ten thousand years old', referring to the emperor, who "lives forever", etc. The example, therefore, contains a typical Chinese cultural conceptualization that is essential to conceptualizing a politician's passing.

What is in the *immediate scope* of attention (Langacker 2008: 63), i.e. the foregrounded conceptual information, is SURNAME, through which PEOPLE and COUNTRY are metonymically invoked, so they remain in the conceptual background, still receiving some attention though not as much as SURNAME.

Metaphorical idioms with allusions

In this section, I introduce idioms that are based on allusions. Example (6) contains a special plant that is reminiscent of a historical figure.

(6) 甘棠 遺 愛
gāntáng *yí* *ài*
birchleaf pear (Pyrus betulifolia) remain love
'(This person was like Duke Shao in the Zhou Dynasty, who used to sit under) a birchleaf pear tree (to work), still fondly (remembered by people).'

The keyword in (6) is 甘棠 *gāntáng* 'birchleaf pear (Pyrus betulifolia)', metonymically referring to Duke Shao （周召伯） in the Zhou Dynasty. According to *The Book of Songs* (詩經 *shījīng*), Duke Shao was a political figure in the Zhou Dynasty, who used to attend business and rest under a birchleaf pear tree. After his passing, people still missed him so much that they decided to preserve the tree under which

he had worked, in order to commemorate him. The entire historical background is crucial to analyzing the meaning of the idiom, so serves as the cultural-conceptual base against which the idiom is understood in its context.

At the linguistic level, the function of the keyword here is to *prompt* (Langacker 2008: 42; Lu 2008), or to provide mental access to, a coherent conceptual substrate that can serve as a basis of a highly elaborate and culture-specific conceptualization, i.e. in our case, a metaphorical understanding of the deceased politician in terms of Duke Shao. In understanding the idiom, PEOPLE and COUNTRY are also indirectly invoked, as they reside in the story frame of Duke Shao, so remains in the conceptualizer's maximal scope of attention.

Another illustrative example is (7), the meaning of which is related to a historical event and a monument.

(7) 功 高 麟閣
gōng gāo língé
achievement high Qilin Building
'(This person's) achievement was so great (that his picture should be painted) high (on a plaque on a building like) Qilin Building.'

In (7), the achievement of the deceased is great so that his picture should be painted high on a memorial building. The keyword in this idiom is 麟閣 *língé*, short for 麒麟閣 *qílíngé* 'Qilin Building', which is a monument erected in the Han Dynasty with 11 national heroes' pictures painted on it. Again, the keyword provides an indirect access to POLITICS, PEOPLE, and COUNTRY by prompting a historical anecdote as the source of a metaphorical understanding of the politician.

Moreover, note that the orientational metaphor GOOD IS UP is also present in this idiom, but is not the only conceptual element that contributes to the positive evaluation of the deceased. The orientational metaphor *nests* (in the sense of Charteris-Black 2004: 224, 2005: 53–55) with the cultural allusion to Qilin Building and the pictures high on the building to construct a coherent scenario against which the politician is construed.

An additional example is (8), which also involves an allusion to a historical figure.

(8) 峴首 留 碑
xiànshǒu liú bēi
Mountain Xianshou leave stone tablet
'(This person was like General Yang Hu from the Jin Dynasty, for whom) a stone tablet was erected on Mountain Xianshou.'

The keyword in (9) is 峴首 *xiànshǒu* 'Mountain Xianshou', which is famous for a stone tablet erected for General Yáng Hù（羊怙） in the Jin Dynasty. General

Yang had been remembered by his people for his various compassionate policies, so after his passing, a stone tablet was erected in remembrance of him on Moutain Xianshou, to which General Yang had paid frequent visits. The stone tablet has a romantic name of 墮淚碑 *duòlèi bēi* '(lit.) drop-tear tablet', which represents the strong emotion that General Yang's people had about him. In this idiom, the keyword similarly invokes the story frame about General Yang as the conceptual background, in terms of which the Taiwanese politician is metaphorically conceptualized.

I argue that the orientational metaphor GOOD IS UP is invoked, although in an indirect way. There is no textual prompt that directly encodes the upward orientation, but since the keyword invokes MOUNTAIN, HEIGHT is naturally in the maximal scope of the conceptualization, which forms a natural ingredient for GOOD IS UP and participates as an evaluative component imminent in the political message. But note that in this sense, GOOD IS UP is nested with various culture-specific components to form a coherent substrate of the conceptualization and becomes an imminent part of the political rhetorical apparatus in Mandarin.

TEXTILE metaphor in Chinese idioms of politics

This section introduces another cultural metaphor that exists only in Chinese – talking about POLITICS in terms of TEXTILE metaphor. Example (9) is the evidence from the request system.

(9) 才　厄　經綸　(lit. organize-silk-line)
cái *è* *jīnglún*
talent difficult political wisdom
'(This) talent encountered difficulty (and consequently had to stop contributing his/her) political wisdom.'

In (9), the politician who passed is described as a talent who owned political wisdom. The keyword in this idiom is 經綸 *jīnglún*, a compound formed by *jīng* 'organize' as a verb and *lún* 'silk lines' as a noun, which altogether means "the wisdom for ruling the country". However, a natural question that follows is: If organizing silk lines can have an extended meaning of dealing in politics, is it a one-shot metaphor or is it used systematically in Mandarin?

Here, I present two additional examples of a similar nature that supports the existence of a systematic TEXTILE metaphor in discussing politics, as (10) and (11).

(10) 國　事　如　麻
guó *shì* *rú* *má*
country issue LINK hemp
'Various issues (about ruling) the country is like (arranging fibers of) hemp.'

Example (10) is an idiom obviously used exclusively in the political domain, with COUNTRY already linguistically encoded in the idiom. The idiom is based on a simile that compares numerous political issues to hemp fibers, which are difficult to put into place, so the metaphorical meaning of the idiom is the difficulty of organizing the country's various issues as encountered when one tries to arrange fibers of hemp. Example (11) is similar, although the idiom is not restricted to the political domain.

(11) 治 絲 益 棼
zhì sī yì fén
organize silk more mess
'(When one) organizes silk lines, (if he does not do it right, that will make the lines) even messier.'

The metaphorical meaning of this idiom is similar, presenting the dealing of general business as the organization of lines of silk.

Based on the above examples, I argue that TEXTILE metaphor not only has instantiations in general Mandarin but has very specific usages in the political genre. Accordingly, I propose the following cultural conceptual metaphor: LINES ARE (POLITICAL) BUSINESS. ATTENDING (POLITICAL) BUSINESS IS ORGANIZING FIBERS. ORGANIZATION IS WISDOM IN DEALING WITH (POLITICAL) BUSINESS.

Cultural signs of life in Taiwanese political eulogies

From the above analysis, various aspects stand out and should be treated as cultural signs of life in the eulogistic idioms for Taiwanese politicians. I discuss them at the linguistic, conceptual and the social level.

First, at the linguistic level, I showed that archaic constructions under the lexical level may still reflect the etymology as the cultural-historical root of eulogistic idioms. As seen in (1), 干 *gān* is a construction that occurs only in idiomatic expressions in modern Chinese. But if we dig deep enough for the etymology, that yields SHIELD in the domain of WAR. The case of 經綸 *jīng lún* in (9) is similar; without a deep analysis, one would not uncover the systematicity of the TEXTILE metaphor in Mandarin political communication. The meanings of the idioms become more transparent and we may get to get a grip on how the constructions are used in the political genre about a politician's passing.

In addition to etymology, allusion is another significant cultural linguistic sign of life in Taiwanese political eulogies. We saw that 甘棠 *gāntáng* in (6), 麟閣 *língé* in (7), and 峴首 *xiànshǒu* in (8) are all linguistic signs that allude to specific cultural-historical events and figures. Each of the constructions also affords access

to a highly specialized cultural knowledge structure as the conceptual basis for understanding and evaluating the political figure in an important public occasion. Therefore, a full understanding of the signs of life of any deceased Taiwanese politician simply cannot do without the complete cultural-historical background, so that the conceptualizer may follow the reasoning based on the knowledge frame.

At the conceptual level, there are three figurative usages that should also be discussed as important cultural signs of life.

As has been discussed in the literature, body metaphor is productive in the political genre (cf. Charteris-Black 2004, 2005; Mulsoff 2010), with THROAT and TONGUE in (2) as a typical example. However, what remains under-explored is how the various conceptual metaphors are instantiated in actual linguistic constructions. As I mentioned, the packaging of THROAT and TONGUE into one single lexical construction is not seen in other languages, although the existence of the two concepts as the metaphorical source has been extensively reported in the literature. Therefore, what makes the Mandarin eulogistic idiom unique is not its use of body parts but the way the body parts are constructionally elaborated in actual language use.[9]

In addition to metaphor, metonymy is another major foundation of various cultural conceptualizations in the Taiwanese political eulogies (Panther and Radden 1999; Zhang 2016). Although A HIGH NUMBER FOR COUNTLESSNESS exists in many of the world's languages, TEN THOUSAND FOR COUNTLESSNESS is not that frequent. It is ten thousand clans that mourn for a political figure in Taiwan but may well be constructionally elaborated as a different number of clans in another culture.

Thirdly, although the orientational metaphor GOOD IS UP is productive in the political eulogies as it is in the general language, we saw that in the idioms it is embedded in various cultural metaphors and allusions as an integral part of an elaborated conceptualization of the deceased politician in question; it is nested with the cultural beliefs about death HEAVEN IS FULL OF LOTUSES (FOR SOULS) and DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY TO HEAVEN in (3), with the allusions to Qilin Building in (8) and Mountain Xianshou in (9). Therefore, GOOD IS UP is not only a mere evaluative tool in Mandarin political communication but is loaded with culture-specific details and instantiations as the rhetorical substrate in the Mandarin political genre.[10]

9. For similar proposals of more closely studying the interplay between construction and metaphor, see Sullivan (2013) and Lu (2017a).

10. For the cultural specificity of orientational metaphor GOOD IS UP, see also Lu's (2016: 571–574) discussion of the cognitive motivation of the meaning of "good" of the English particle *up*.

At the social level, I argue that occupation is a major cultural sign of life in the Taiwanese politics and in the Taiwanese society as a whole. As was seen in the data, in the verbalization, the deceased politician is always conceptualized with COUNTRY or PEOPLE, whether the concepts may be included in the profile or only lie in the maximal scope of conceptualization. That means when people mourn for a politician and remember him by praising him with eulogistic idioms, that person is always remembered and construed only in the political sphere, rather than in the personal. Consequently, his personal traits (being a loving father, an enduring mother or a humorous colleague, etc.) are excluded from the verbalization and conceptualization and do not at all concern the society. This observation echoes with Lu's (2017b) observation of Taiwanese society's obsessive emphasis on career success, which in Lu's article explains why the eulogy request system displays the mourner's affiliation and job title along with the eulogy.

A cross-cultural comparison of eulogies supports the above argument. In American presidential eulogies, very often the personal traits of the deceased politician are verbalized with a note of affection, which is announced through the president as part of the society's memory of the national figure. Examples (12) and (13) are illustrative passages both from Barack Obama's eulogy for Senator Edward M. Kennedy.

(12) *But those of us who loved him and ache with his passing know Ted Kennedy by the other titles he held: father; brother; husband; grandfather; Uncle Teddy, or as he was often known to his younger nieces and nephews, "the Grand Fromage," or "the Big Cheese." I, like so many others in the city where he worked for nearly half a century, knew him as a colleague, a mentor, and above all, as a friend.*

(13) *Ted Kennedy was the baby of the family who became its patriarch, the restless dreamer who became its rock. He was the sunny, joyful child who bore the brunt of his brothers' teasing but learned quickly how to brush it off. When they tossed him off a boat because he didn't know what a jib was, 6-year- old Teddy got back in and learned to sail.*

From (12) and (13), we see that Obama's eulogy for the politician sounds personal, at least much more so than the Mandarin eulogies that I have analyzed, and elements from the private domain are carried over to serve a public interpersonal function. In (12), the president openly mentions the politician's various identities from his family's point of view, even mentioning his nickname to properly reflect their *viewpoint* (in the sense of Dancygier, Lu and Verhagen (ed.) 2016). In (13), the president takes one step further by even relating to a detailed personal anecdote from the politician's childhood to show a more vivid picture of the deceased as a person.

A similar rhetorical strategy can be found in another presidents' speech at a funeral. Example (14) is a passage from Richard Nixon's eulogy delivered at the State Funeral for General Eisenhower.

(14) *I know Mrs. Eisenhower would permit me to share with you the last words he spoke to her on the day he died. He said: "I have always loved my wife. I have always loved my children. I have always loved my grandchildren. And I have always loved my country." That was Dwight Eisenhower.*

In Nixon's eulogy for Eisenhower, he mixes the two spheres – one of the family and the other of the country. Specifically, Nixon adopts Mrs. Eisenhower's viewpoint by directly quoting what she heard from Eisenhower before he died. The insertion of Eisenhower's last sentence verbatim creates a rhetorical effect of portraying him not only as a national hero but also as a loving husband, father, and grandfather in the public's memory.

In a similar vein, it is reported that in the Italian context, the Catholic priest typically inserts a narration that presents the family's voice, in addition to viewing the deceased from God's point of view. Example (15) is a passage taken from Capone (2010: 15).

(15) *Le figlie mi hanno detto che è stata una buona madre, che si è sempre spesa per gli altri, che ha sempre dato generosamente.*
'Her daughters told me that she was a good mother, that she has always devoted herself to her families, that she has always given generously.'

Therefore, from a comparison between the Taiwanese Mandarin eulogies for politicians and the Western ones in (12) to (15), we see that the eulogies for Taiwanese politicians are distinct from those in the Western societies: In the Taiwanese eulogistic communication, it is *only* the social role of the deceased and the mourner (their profession, affiliation, job title, etc.) that is verbalized and conceptually profiled in the communication around a politician's passing. On the other hand, in American and Italian eulogies, the politician who passed is construed not only as a national figure that used to play a certain social role but was a person of flesh and blood who will be fondly remembered by family and friends in his private life.

The above comparison between samples of eulogies from the Taiwanese culture (a culture in the East) and the American and the Italian cultures (cultures in the West) can be seen as a reaction to *Eurocentrism*, as thoroughly discussed in Shohat and Stam (1994). As we can see in the field, previous literature on the language of death discussed only data from the Italian context, without due attention paid to cultures from the East. The data and analysis presented in this chapter fills exactly this gap in the field.

In all, the present chapter presents various signs of life in Taiwanese political eulogies at the linguistic, conceptual and the social level by investigating the eulogistic idioms that are displayed at politician's public funerals and by comparing them with Western eulogies. However, be aware that what was presented in the chapter is only of pilot nature and the topic certainly deserves more in-depth research. It is hoped that this chapter has shown the potential of integrating Cognitive Grammar as part of the analytical arsenal for investigating political communication and has made a case for the necessity of cultural-historical knowledge in understanding the political genre.

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Viewpoint and metaphor in culture

A Cognitive Linguistic analysis on a selection of Chinese eulogistic idioms used in Taiwan

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The paper presents an in-depth analysis of the language of death in Chinese and discusses the relation between language and occupation as a social factor in analyzing the language of death. In this paper, I address in what specific ways Cognitive Linguistics may serve as a useful analytical framework in studying Chinese idioms used in funerals, in an attempt to uncover cultural elements and viewpoint structure in communicating death. The study introduces basic constructs in Cognitive Linguistics which could be used for such an analysis, and applies this CL machinery to analyzing three selected groups of four-character eulogistic idioms used at funerals in Taiwan. The analysis shows that, in addition to Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which has been considered the classic CL tool for studying abstract concepts like death, the subjectivity/objectivity distinction in Cognitive Grammar may also be employed as a complementary and useful theoretical construct in studying the language of death, as it helps identify the special characteristics of the eulogistic idioms for teachers as a special profession in the Chinese culture.

Keywords: allusion, cultural metaphor, cultural conceptualization of death, eulogistic idioms, funeral, viewing arrangement

1. Language of death as a cultural product

As authentic language in use, discourse is functionally defined as communication in context that does some job, such as creating social relations and social functions of various kinds (Carter et al. 1997; Gee 1999; Halliday 1985; Partington et al. 2013, among others). As a linguistic means of humans operating in a cultural context, discourse is loaded with implicit social and cultural assumptions that govern norms and beliefs in real life settings. Therefore, the study of discourse is

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a way of uncovering patterns of thought specific to a cultural group by looking closely at the community's language use.

A funeral is a human ritual of central cultural importance, packed with norms and beliefs of various kinds, with the issue of life and death being a key component communicated therein. In the present chapter, I examine how the concept of DEATH[1] is verbalized at funerals as a distinct type of *cultural event* (in the sense of Sharifian 2011), and how that verbalization reflects the way DEATH is conceptualized by a representative community of speakers of Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan.

2. Metaphor and viewpoint in discourse

Cognitive Linguistics is a broadly defined theoretical framework that studies the relation between language, culture and thought, following the landmark publications of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and of Langacker (1987, 2008), among numerous others. A central commitment of Cognitive Linguistics is *usage-based* analysis (Barlow & Kemmer 2000), examining language use in actual context; thus, it has been considered a close companion of the discourse-analytic approach to language. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, henceforth CMT) is one of the most comprehensive Cognitive Linguistic approaches to patterns of thought in discourse, arguing that analyzing metaphor in language can help identify cultural values and assumptions. Yu (1998) is a pioneer study that applies CMT to the study of the Chinese language and thought. Yu examines metaphors of emotion, time and event structure in Chinese. A follow-up empirical study (Lai & Boroditsky 2013) shows that the different set-ups of spatial-temporal metaphor in different cultures do have immediate and long-term influence on the way different cultures reason about time, one of the most fundamental abstract concepts in human life. Following this line of thinking, studying metaphor in funeral discourse of a particular language is a very good opportunity for analyzing and uncovering a culture's assumptions and reasoning about death. The language sample analyzed in the present paper is extracted from a representative database (more details given in Section 3).

Another important construct in Cognitive Linguistics is *viewpoint*, which is a crucial aspect in studying human communication across genres and modalities. Understanding the feelings and the assessment of others about a certain state of affairs is an important root of human social interaction (Dancygier et al. 2016; Langacker 1987, 2008). In the study of public discourse, the manipulation

1. I follow the typographic convention in Cognitive Linguistics of putting concepts in small caps.

of discourse viewpoint has been identified as a key source of persuasiveness and poetic effects (Pelclová and Lu 2018). With that in mind, when analyzing the persuasive and the emotional effect in funeral discourse, it is necessary to identify from whose perspective the utterance is produced, so that we can really come to grips with how exactly the family can be comforted and their feelings accommodated by verbal means. This is especially important in the Taiwanese context in the digital era, where eulogistic expressions can be requested online in advance and displayed in an electronic banner in the funeral hall at the time of the death ritual (so the mourner does not necessarily present himself at the funeral site). At the public funeral of a figure with a certain degree of regional importance, the family will be present, but the mourners may either be physically present or distant. A mourner may deliver a word of comfort on behalf of only himself, or on behalf of the group that he represents. In such a case, the pragmatic effect of a eulogistic expression may be a result of the perspective taken by the presenter and the effect may be invoked by the eulogistic expression, which allows the family and the other mourners to understand and share in an *intersubjective* fashion (in the sense of Verhagen 2007), what the presenter sees, feels and has delivered.

3. Previous studies of the cultural conceptualization of death and Chinese funeral discourse

The conceptualization of death has been a topic extensively researched in Cognitive Linguistics, with various languages already investigated using different methodologies. From a cross-linguistic point of view, Marin-Arrese (1996) compares the expressions related to death in English and Spanish. Özçalişkan (2003), in a similar vein, studies the similarities and differences of metaphorical mapping between English and Turkish, using a corpus that contains literary texts, news, speeches and lyrics. Using a specialized corpus, Flores (1999) studies the poetic metaphors related to time, life and death in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. Crespo Fernández (2006, 2011, 2013) are a series of studies of euphemistic metaphors also in a specialized corpus that contains obituaries and epitaphs, mainly on English (with Spanish as a contrast in the 2013 paper). On a more recent note, Migut (2016) investigates online obituaries in English and Polish as comparable corpora and reports how metaphor and metonymy are used in verbalizing death in the two languages, and how the two languages differ in terms of the lexical composition of the metaphors of death. Benczes & Burridge (2018), based on Allan & Burridge (2006), introduces metaphors related to death in English and the lexical instantiations of the metaphors.

The above studies have formed a solid body of literature that allows for a deep understanding of how different languages and cultures verbalize and conceptualize events of death. However, in spite of the various scholarly efforts that have been made, a question still remains – given the usage-based nature of Cognitive Linguistics, can we find an effective method to study whether social and cultural factors may come into play in how people from a culture speak about, and think of death? If the answer to the above question is YES, then what factors can we say are of importance, and can other theories in Cognitive Linguistics be employed as a useful machinery for studying language use in culture? To deal with the first methodological issue, we need to turn to the systematic effort made in Lu (2017a, 2017b, 2020), which need to be reviewed in detail.

Research on Chinese funeral discourse is still a relatively new area, with only very few publications in the field. These (few) previous studies of the language of death in Chinese (Lu 2017a, 2017b, 2020; Tay 2019; Tien 2017; Tseng 2017) have identified different forms of the language of death rituals and the beliefs that underlie the use of such language. Capone (2010) is a pragmatic study that investigates the discourse of death in a southern Italian context, using Catholic sermons as the research material. The author analyzes language use at mourning events as social practice, and shows how such ritual discourse involves a social intentionality. Following that, Lu (2017a, 2017b, 2020), Tien (2017) and Tseng (2017) are (cognitive-) pragmatic studies of ritual discourses in the Chinese context. Tien (2017) studies euphemisms, kinship terms and honorifics used in funerals in terms of the Chinese social hierarchy, and discusses the socio-cultural function of ritualized crying by hired professional mourners. The author argues that some eulogistic idioms are Confucianism-inspired, praising the righteous life and all the virtues of the deceased when he was alive, and that the Chinese ritual discourse at death is indirect and emotionally expressive, reflecting the hierarchy of the living and the deceased. Tseng (2017) is another (partial) analysis of selected funeral discourse of four-character eulogistic idioms, the Buddhist ritual language for guiding the dead (祝念) and the farewell speech (家奠文) delivered by the family of the deceased.[2] According to the author, the Buddhist ritual discourse and the farewell speech are addressed to the deceased with the cultural belief that the spirit of the deceased still exists after death; the two types of discourse in addition bear the pragmatic function of offering solace to the family of the deceased. Tay (2019) is a study on the interaction between religion and language metaphor in obituaries in Singapore. In

2. 祝念 *zhù niàn* is the recitation of Buddhist scripts at a Buddhist funeral, discussed in detail in Tseng (2017: 268–270). This kind of ritual language is used only at a Buddhist funeral, which is different from four-character eulogistic idioms, which are always used at all funerals regardless of the religion of the deceased.

that paper, the author discusses the use of metaphor in a multi-lingual and multi-cultural setting, with Chinese as only part of it. The study contributes to the intra-societal pragmatics of metaphor use without going into the details of the substantive content of death-related metaphors in Chinese. While Capone, Tien, and Tseng offer interesting contributions, none of them is based on a representative sample of data, so there is a need for methodological systematicity in the field.

On the other hand, Lu (2017a, 2017b, 2020) studies the language of death using a representative database and well-defined scopes, which allows for one to make methodologically solid generalizations of how a certain culture (in this case the Han Chinese in Taiwan) conceives death and how discourse around death communicates cultural values and assumptions. In particular, Lu (2017a) reports a comprehensive online database of Mandarin eulogistic idioms, officially set up and maintained by the Taipei City Government, and addresses the influence of profession as a social factor in how the Taiwanese people interact around a death, using idioms from the official database. The author argues that the discourse factor of the Taiwanese culture's obsession with career success fundamentally shapes the design of the online eulogy-request system, which allows for the mourner to add his affiliation and job title to the eulogy displayed in the funeral hall and makes the occupation of the deceased an important filter for the eulogistic idioms in the system. Using the same database, Lu (2017b) reports that the religious belief of the deceased determines the repertoire of eulogistic idioms available for use by the mourner, and how a conceptual semantic analysis of the idioms helps uncover the conceptualization of death by Buddhists and Christians as two sub-cultural groups in Taiwanese society. Adopting a similar method, Lu (2020) analyzes all the 16 eulogistic idioms for politicians in the official system, and uses the notions of *conceptual base* and *profile* in Cognitive Grammar to study how metaphor and metonymy shape the cultural conceptualization of the loss of a political figure of national importance. In view of the need for methodological systematicity, the present paper adopts a similar approach, and uses as its research material the official online eulogy request system that was set up and has been maintained by the Taipei City Government, since the data from this set is authoritative and representative. The three case studies presented in the present paper are based on the entirety of three groups of eulogistic idioms drawn from the system for different professions of cultural significance, including teachers, media workers and legal experts. The three analyzed collections of idioms are given in the Appendix of this article. In addition to introducing the general Cognitive Linguistic framework, the present study applies this machinery to the three chosen job types and discusses how the use of eulogistic idioms in a ritual context reflects the cultural conceptualization of death of Han Chinese in Taiwan associated with the three professions.

4. Data and method

The data presented in this paper is a selection from the comprehensive list of four-character idioms stored in the online eulogy-request system set up and maintained by the Taipei City Government, which methodologically ensures the representativeness and the authoritativeness of the data. Below, I present the steps for acquiring the data. Interested readers are referred to Lu (2017a) for a detailed description of the official eulogy request system. In particular, as a mourner enters the eulogy request system, he is asked to confirm the details of the deceased person for whom the eulogy is requested. After that, the mourner chooses the occupation of the deceased, which automatically generates a collection of idioms for the mourner to choose from (for that particular occupation). The data analyzed in the present study consist of all the idioms from three occupations turned up by the system: teacher, media worker and legal expert, all three of which are of high cultural importance in Taiwanese society. Each of the three occupations accordingly stands alone as a category in the system.

Following the analysis laid out in Lu (2017a), we see that an analysis of the use of eulogistic idioms can be considered a study of language use in its natural habitat, as the use of eulogistic idioms is restricted by various socio-cultural factors in the real-world setting: the gender/sex of the deceased, the occupation and age of the deceased, the relation between the deceased and the mourner, the mourner's career achievement, etc. Therefore, a look into the use of eulogistic idioms is capable of providing a contextualized take on the interaction around a death event, uncovering various cultural values and assumptions that underlie the language use.

In the analysis, I discuss the idioms available for use in public funerals for people of three professions, including teachers, media workers, and legal experts. Media workers and legal experts have been chosen in order to form a comparison to politicians, which is a profession of high social visibility and influence, already discussed in Lu (2020). The professional category of teachers has also been selected, given the cultural significance of the profession in the Chinese society, and to form a contrast with the three politics-related professions. I first characterize the idioms used for each of the professions automatically generated by the system, and then discuss the cultural meaning behind the language use. In the analysis, I also discuss the various culture-specific metaphors and assumptions that underlie the various verbalizations of death. For the identification of metaphor, I follow Lu and Chiang (2007) and Lu and Ahrens (2008), using a mixed approach with the native speaker intuition verified by corpus tools. In particular, all the idioms were first processed by a native speaker of Chinese, in order to identify possible metaphor keywords and the source concepts invoked.

The next step was to check whether the metaphor keywords co-occurred with words typically associated with the source domain in a balanced corpus of contemporary Chinese and the Chinese Wordnet.[3] Only metaphor keywords and relevant source concepts that could be verified by this method were included in the present study.

5. Mandarin eulogistic idioms for teachers, media workers and legal experts

5.1 Ritual idioms used in funerals of teachers (師長喪)

Being a teacher is a very important profession in Chinese society, evidenced by the high esteem given to Confucius. It is, therefore, relatively suitable to serve as a case in point.

The first and foremost characteristic of eulogistic idioms for teachers is the presence of PLANT as a culture-specific metaphorical source concept in the domain of EDUCATION. This metaphor is a linguistic legacy of historical anecdotes. Examples include 杏 *xìng* "apricot" in (1) and 桃李 *táolǐ* "students (lit. peach and plum)" in (2).

(1) 風 冷 杏 壇
fēng lěng xìng tán
wind cold apricot pavilion
"The wind makes cold the apricot pavilion (as a result of the teacher's passing)."

(2) 桃李 興 悲
táolǐ xīng bēi
peach and plum raise sad
"(The) students (of this person have) become sad."

The concept of APRICOT in (1) is culturally associated with EDUCATION, especially when it occurs within the lexical construction 杏壇 *xìng-tán* "apricot-pavilion." The allusion that motivates the existence of the construction is the life story of Confucius, who used to lecture sitting on a podium under an apricot tree. The conceptual association is therefore metonymy-based, as the use of the expression invokes the entire story frame of Confucius sitting under an apricot tree to lecture

3. The corpus consulted is Academic Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese (http://ckip.iis.sinica.edu.tw/CKIP/engversion/20corpus.htm). The Chinese Wordnet is available at http://compling.hss.ntu.edu.sg/cow/.

(or a general scenario of a teacher lecturing to his students). The construction 桃李 *táolǐ* "students" in (2) has its root in a historical anecdote of 子質 *zǐzhí* in the Warring States Period, in which Zǐzhí complained about having been rejected by his students instead of being helped when he was in trouble. In the story, Zǐzhí got a response to his complaint: 夫春樹桃李，夏得蔭其下，秋得食其實。春樹蒺藜，夏不可采其葉，秋得其刺焉。由此觀之，在所樹也。 "If in the spring one plants peaches and plums, in the summer one gets to shade under them and in the autumn gets to harvest the fruits. If in the spring one plants puncture vine, in the summer he cannot pick its leaves and in the autumn gets only thorns. Therefore, what matters is what one plants (author's own translation)." In this anecdote, the concepts PEACH and PLUM are, in a culturally conventional way, employed to figuratively refer to students who return a favor for the teaching they received. PUNCTURE VINE, also in a culturally conventional way, represents the conceptual opposite of PEACH and PLUM. Later, the combination of the concepts got further conventionalized, so that the combination has generalized to mean "students (of a teacher)" in various contexts. In such situations, there are systematic mappings between the source domain of FARMING and the target domain of EDUCATION, where TEACHER is understood as FARMER, STUDENT as PLANT or FRUIT, and TEACHING as GARDENING.

But note that in (1), APRICOT may metonymically invoke EDUCATION only when it occurs within the lexical construction *xìng-tán*, immediately joined by PAVILION. *Xìng* metonymically invokes a different concept when occurring in a different lexical construction – for instance, APRICOT invokes MEDICINE in the construction of 杏林 *xìnglín*, as is the case in 杏林春滿 *xìnglínchūnmǎn*, a typical eulogistic idiom for medical doctors. The semantic context-sensitivity of a concrete concept used as the source concept in a metaphor in eulogistic idioms is also witnessed in (2), where the conceptual composite of PEACH AND PLUM can only refer to one's students in a way that is conceptually relative to the role of a teacher in the domain of EDUCATION. Specifically, *táolǐ* may have the meaning of "students" only when the teacher is known and contextually retrievable. In other words, the concept of TEACHER is always in the *conceptual base* (in the sense of Langacker 2008) as a reference point for *táolǐ* to be used to refer to the students of that particular teacher. For example, the compliment of 桃李滿天下 *táolǐmǎntiānxià* "(to have one's) students all over the world" is appropriate to teachers, but not so much to other roles in the domain of EDUCATION, such as the administrative staff of a school or even a school that has had many students. In a different context, *táolǐ* similarly develops a completely different meaning, that of 'people with a noble character' in the context of 桃李不言，下自成蹊 "The peach and the plum trees need not speak; under them there is a beaten path (by people coming for the fruits)."

Therefore, in (1) and (2), we have seen how the culture-specific use of concrete concepts in the funeral idioms are sensitive to their co-text, or *textual prompts* (in the sense of Lu 2008).

In addition to the use of types of plants as the culture-specific use of source concepts, eulogistic idioms describing the teacher-student relationship are also characterized by the presence of allusions to historical figures, such as 立雪 *lìxuě* in (3) and 馬帳 *mǎzhàng*in (4).

(3) 立雪　　神傷
lìxuě　　*shénshāng*
stand (in the) snow saddened
"(Respectful students are as) saddened (as Yang Shi and You Zuo, who) stood in the snow (waiting for Master Cheng Hao)."

(4) 馬帳　　安　仰
mǎ-zhàng　　*ān*　*yǎng*
(Master) Ma-tent PRT look up
"How (can one still now) look up to (the teacher, who used to teach me like) the great Master Ma Rong!"

In (3), the expression 立雪 *lìxuě* invokes an allusion to a historical anecdote of students' respect for a teacher in the Sung Dynasty: Two students 楊時 *Yáng Shí* and 游酢 *Yóu Zuò* went to visit their teacher 程頤 *Chéng Yí*, but Master Cheng was taking a nap and the students did not want to disturb him, so they chose to wait outside standing in the snow for a long time. By using the idiom, the mourner creates systematic conceptual mappings by comparing the deceased to Master Cheng and himself to the students. The students' admiration for Master Cheng is also mapped from the source domain to create an understanding of the mourner's attitude toward the deceased. Example (4) contains an allusion to Master 馬融 *Mǎ Róng* in Han Dynasty, who used to teach in a tent. The idiom contains a metaphor where the cultural knowledge of Master Ma is mapped to help understand the social status of the deceased and the recognition that he receives from his students. But the idiom is more complicated than (3), as there are two more rhetorical devices involved: an orientational metaphor, and a rhetorical question. The posture verb 仰 *yǎng* "look facing upward" is the textual prompt for the orientational metaphor GOOD IS UP and HEAVEN IS UP, referring to the mourner looking up to the deceased in a respectful fashion. Another important rhetorical device is the adverb 安 *ān*, which is used in an interrogative question in classical Chinese. The presence of the adverb indicates the idiom as an interrogative, instead of a simple declarative like most other eulogistic idioms. Used in such a context where the question cannot really be answered by any ritual participant (nor by

the deceased!), the question is rhetorical, and bears an *intersubjective* function in discourse (Verhagen 2007: 129–130). I will return to this matter in Section 6.

5.2 Ritual idioms used in funerals of media workers (媒體喪)

The second case study presented here is the analysis of the idioms used at funerals of media workers. A media career is a profession of great socio-cultural influence, as the words and opinions of a media worker get to be publicized, thus reaching a wide audience. A media worker of a certain degree of importance can easily sway the opinion of the public.

In the data, the most prominent feature of the eulogistic idioms in the domain of MEDIA is the culture-specific use of source concepts, such as 南針 *nánzhēn* "compass" (COMPASS) in (5) and 喉舌 *hóushé* "tongue and throat" (TONGUE and THROAT) in (6).

(5) 輿論 南針
yúlùn *nánzhēn*
general opinion compass
"(This person was the) guide (of the) general opinion."

(6) 民眾 喉舌
mín-zhòng *hóu-shé*
person-crowd tongue-throat
"(This person was the) tongue and throat (for the) people."

Example (5) uses the concept COMPASS to create an understanding of the social influence of the deceased when he was alive; the deceased guided the public's opinion in the way the compass guides the physical direction of a traveler in a journey. Similarly, in (6) the deceased is compared to the TONGUE and THROAT of the general public – acting as the voice for the people, just as the tongue and the throat do for the human body.

In addition to the culture-specific metaphors that involves concrete source concepts such as COMPASS, TONGUE and THROAT, hyperbole is another rhetorical device in the ritual idioms for media workers, as seen in (7).

(7) 發 聾 振 聵
fā *lóng zhèn* *kuì*
open deaf boost deaf
"(When this person was alive, his voice could even) make the deaf hear and enliven them."

Example (7) is a typical hyperbole, as the deaf certainly cannot hear. Note that the rhetorical meaning in (7) is coherent with the TONGUE AND THROAT metaphor in (6) – in (7), the media worker is similarly construed as an agent metaphorically voicing for the people, with his opinion spread wide enough so many people have become aware of it. It has the same effect as when one physically speaks – as one speaks louder, more people get to hear the message. If the influence of the deceased is relatively wide, that gives the hearer an inference of the media worker's voice being loud enough that his voice could even reach and be "heard" by the deaf.

5.3 Ritual idioms used in funerals of legal experts (法界喪)

The third case study presented in the present paper is the idioms used at the funeral of a legal expert. Legal experts have a profession of socio-cultural importance, as a legal case can be a matter of life and death, social justice and even public welfare. The socio-cultural status of a judge is also evidenced by the Chinese people's admiration of the character Judge Bao (包青天) in different folk stories.

In the eulogistic idioms used in the domain of LAW, we also see an abundance of culture-specific use of concrete concepts, with the image schema STRAIGHT[4] in (8) and (9) being most typical, linguistically elaborated as 正 *zhèng*.

(8) 公 正 嚴 明
gōng zhèng yán míng
fair straight strict observant
"(This person was) fair, straight, strict and observant."

(9) 守 正 不 阿
shǒu zhèng bù ē
keep straight NEG kiss up
"(This person) kept straight and did not kiss up."

Examples (8) and (9) both contain the concrete concept STRAIGHT. In literature, STRAIGHT has been identified as a productive source concept in the Chinese discourse of morality, where STRAIGHT is used to metaphorically conceptualize GOOD and CROOKED, EVIL (see the discussion of MORAL IS STRAIGHT; IMMORAL IS CROOKED in Yu 2016). Here, not only do the idioms add on to the data covered in the previous study but we witness the linguistic instantiations of the above

4. According to Yu (2016), STRAIGHT is an image sub-schema of PATH, as opposed to CROOKED, which both map onto the domain of MORALITY.

metaphors in communicating death in the domain of LAW, showing the cultural expectation of a high moral standard associated with the profession.

In addition, the eulogistic idioms in LAW give high consideration to the concept of CLEAN, which also reflects the cultural expectation of a high moral standard for legal experts, as (10) and (11) show.

(10) 廉潔 可 風
lián-jié *kě* *fēng*
honest-clean MOD praise
"(This person was) honest and clean so is worth praising."

(11) 激 濁 揚 清
jī *zhuó* *yáng qīng*
rid of murky raise clear
"(This person) got rid of murky (water) and exalted clear (water)."

In (10), the compound *lián-jié* is an instantiation of CLEAN as a part of the conceptual metaphor MORAL IS CLEAN; IMMORAL IS DIRTY (Yu 2015). Following Yu (2015), the idiom conveys the similar cultural expectation of a legal expert, since it shows that being clean is a property that "may be praised". Example (11) expresses the same cultural value, but in addition to the metaphor of morality, an orientational metaphor GOOD IS UP is also present, with the verb 揚 *yáng* "hold up" as the textual prompt.[5] In particular, the deceased is metaphorically construed as a person who eradicates the immoral and *exalts* the moral just as one physically removes the murky and lets the clean go *up* and be visible. Used in this way, the orientational metaphor is an evaluative rhetorical means of appraising the conduct of the deceased, to show how that meets with the sociocultural expectation associated with the profession.

6. When the mourner becomes the object of conceptualization

In the previous sections, I discussed the various culture-specific usages of concrete source concepts, and metaphors and allusion used in the eulogistic idioms. In addition, I argue that the issue of *viewing arrangement*, or the *subjectivity/objectivity* distinction in construal (Langacker 2008: 77–78) is also important in the ritual idioms for analyzing the three case studies addressed above.

5. I consider CLEAN and CLEAR largely overlapping concepts, given the existence of a highly frequent compound 清潔 *qīngjié* "visually clean (lit. clear-clean)" in Mandarin. Therefore, in my analysis, I subsume the concepts in a broad category for the convenience of discussion, although the two are discussed separately in Yu (2015).

In Cognitive Grammar, a distinction is made between a subjective role in conceptualization and an objective one. A subjective role is taken by an entity when it acts as the subject of conceptualization, and an objective role is taken when it acts as the object of conceptualization. An analogy is made to participating in a drama performance – when an entity is the subject of conceptualization, it does not itself act as an object to be perceived but remains *offstage* as a perceiving subject, receiving the lowest degree of attention; but when the entity becomes an object of conceptualization, it moves *onstage* as a perceived object receiving more attention. Following such a stage model, when we see no trace of the speaker or the hearer in the verbalization of an event (for instance, in stating the objective truth *Water boils at 100 degrees*), the speaker and the hearer take the purely subjective role in the conceptualization. On the other hand, when the speaker and the hearer are verbalized somehow (perhaps by appearing in the sentence in the form of first or second person pronoun), they become an object of conceptualization. The distinction will be important, especially when we discuss the idioms for teachers. I will return to the stage model in a few lines in this section.[6]

The first and foremost observation that can be made of the data analyzed is a distinct pattern of viewpoint reflected in the idioms for teacher – some eulogistic idioms in that category reflect the viewpoint of the student, illustrated by (12) and (13).

(12) 永 念 師 恩
yǒng niàn shī ēn
forever miss teacher kindness
"(I will) always miss (my) teacher's kindness."

(13) 教 澤 永 懷
jiào zé yǒng huái
teach kindness forever fondly remember
"(I will) always fondly remember the kindness of (the teacher's) teaching."

Examples (12) and (13) are both obvious eulogies requested by a (former) student of the deceased, given the use of the verbs 念 *niàn* "miss" and 懷 *huái* "fondly remember", typical human reactions to the passing of an endeared one. One may therefore reasonably identify the student as the source of the information communicated, although it is not linguistically elaborated in the idiom. A similar student viewpoint can be observed in the rhetorical interrogative (4) and in its variant (14).

6. A similar cognitive analysis of opera can be seen in Havlíčková Kysová (2016).

(14) 高山　　安 仰
gāoshān　　*ān yǎng*
high mountain PRT look up
"How (can one still now) look up to (the teacher, who towered like a) high mountain!"

Both (4) and (14) use the posture verb 仰 *yǎng* without specifying the agent of the posture, but the Chinese cultural knowledge of the hierarchical relation between a teacher and a student allows one to instantly figure out that the student who requested the eulogy is the agent looking up and the teacher is the target of the gaze (or of the metaphorical worship). In such examples, not only the conceptual metaphor GOOD/POWER IS UP is present but also the Chinese cultural knowledge of a teacher being more powerful and respectable than a student. In (14), the target of the student's gaze is linguistically elaborated as 山 *shān* "mountain".

The construal invoked by the above two types of idioms represents a *viewing arrangement* (in the sense of Langacker 2008), where the mourner takes an objective role in the conceptualization. By using an idiom that reflects a *student* viewpoint, the mourner places the role of the student in the conceptual frame in the onstage region as an object of conceptualization (though meanwhile being a subject of conceptualization). Following that, the teacher-student relationship between the deceased and the mourner is also included onstage as an object of conceptualization as a direct consequence of the student mourner putting himself and the deceased onstage, both verbalized as part of the idiom. As a result, the interpersonal teacher-student relationship receives more attention from the conceptualizer. On the other hand, in the use of most other eulogistic idioms (such as those for legal experts and media workers), the mourner does not encode his own viewpoint in the verbalization, i.e. does not at all mention his interpersonal relationship with the deceased, but rather adopts a general and impersonal viewpoint, leaving himself and his interpersonal relationship with the deceased completely offstage, thus minimizing the mourner's own role as the object of conceptualization. The role played by the mourner in such conceptualization is thus more subjective (or less objective). Typical examples are all the idioms for legal experts and media workers, which are mere objective descriptions of the personal trait and the achievement of the deceased as the only object of conceptualization, without any identifiable trace of the mourner in the idioms.

I furthermore argue that the use of a rhetorical interrogative is coherent with the more objective role in the conceptualization played by the student mourner, as a rhetorical interrogative is an intersubjective expression, which, according to Verhagen (2007: 18), conceptually highlights the relation between the speaker and the hearer, who together constitute the subject of conceptualization, thereby

including the speaker and the hearer in the onstage region to become an object of conceptualization that receives more attention. Therefore, at the cognitive level, use of a ritual idiom that contains a rhetorical interrogative invokes a construal that assigns the student mourner and the rest of the mourning group a more obvious role as an object of conceptualization, the cognitive function of which is similar to that discussed in the idioms which have the mourner as the implicit agent of the activity encoded.[7]

7. Culture in discourse and vice versa: What Cognitive Linguistics can reveal about occupations in society

In the present paper, I have first given an overview of Chinese funeral discourse and introduced the general framework of Cognitive Linguistics. I also showed how Cognitive Linguistics machinery may be applied to the study of eulogistic idioms used in communicating death in public funerals in Taiwan. Three groups of idioms used for different professions were analyzed as case studies for illustration.

The present study goes beyond the existing Cognitive Linguistic literature on the language of death (those reviewed in Section 3), at least in two ways. First of all, it shows the interaction between occupation as a social factor and the usage of eulogistic idioms at funerals. Each of the three occupations studied, each representing a sub-culture within the Taiwanese society, has its distinctive set of metaphorical mappings and cultural elements in the eulogistic idioms. Secondly, the present study shows that Cognitive Grammar, in addition to CMT, constitutes an effective analytical tool that well complements CMT in studying the language of death. In particular, my analysis shows that whether the mourner places himself onstage as an object of conceptualization is a factor that correlates with a student viewpoint in a teacher's funeral.

In addition, in the analysis, we witness an abundance of cultural elements and assumptions that underlie the use of eulogistic idioms at Han Chinese death rituals in Taiwan, reflected by the different usages of metaphor in the idioms about the three occupations addressed. First of all, cultural metaphors abound in the ritual language, such as PLANT metaphors in the domain of EDUCATION, SOUND metaphors in MEDIA, and CLEANLINESS metaphors in LAW. Following that, each of the above metaphors has its own culture-specific linguistic instantiations, such as *táo, lǐ*, and *xìng,* which invoke PLANT, *hóu, shé, lóng, kuì*, which invoke SOUND,

7. The subjectivity/objectivity distinction has similarly been applied to the study of Chinese lexical semantics. Interested readers are referred to the discussion of the subjectification of the [V] – [SHANG] construction in Lu (2017c).

jié, zhuó, and *qīng* which invokes CLEANLINESS, and so on. In addition, allusions to famous historical figures are also present in the idioms, such as the anecdotes that involve Master Cheng of the Sung Dynasty and Master Ma Rong of the Han Dynasty. In the sample investigated, we also witness how different figurative devices collaborate in communicating death in a ritual context, including the culture-specific use of source concepts, metaphor, allusion and hyperbole. Specifically, Example (4) demonstrates the co-occurrence of a historical allusion, an orientational metaphor and a rhetorical question in a ritual idiom, while Example (11) demonstrates the visual moral metaphor of MORAL IS CLEAN; IMMORAL IS UNCLEAN, and an orientational metaphor. In addition, we also see how the culture-specific use of concrete concepts in ritual language is sensitive to its co-text – APRICOT and PEACH AND PLUM each develops a completely different meaning when used with different textual prompts.

However, a more interesting, and much less addressed issue, is the viewpoint invoked by the ritual idioms, and what a viewpoint analysis informed by Cognitive Grammar can tell us about cultural values associated with the three occupations discussed here. As has been discussed, the Chinese eulogistic idioms used at teachers' funerals have a special status in comparison to idioms used at the funerals of representatives of the other two professions, because in some idioms of that category, the mourner presents his viewpoint as a student and puts himself onstage as an object of conceptualization, whereas idioms for the other occupations comment merely on the personal traits or the past achievements, taking an impersonal viewpoint. Here, I argue that viewpoint analysis actually reveals a Chinese cultural assumption about the profession of teachers – in this culture, being a teacher is much more than a regular job; it is actually about building an interpersonal relationship with one's student. There is a Chinese saying about teachers that precisely captures the cultural attitude: 一日為師，終身為父 *yírìwéishī, zhōngshēnwéifù* "Once a teacher, for life a father." I believe that the general cultural conception of a teacher accounts for why a personal viewpoint is common in the death ritual of teachers and why the student mourner puts himself onstage as an object of conceptualization. Such an interpersonal bond simply does not exist between the mourner and a media worker, a legal expert or a politician (discussed in Lu, 2020), so naturally the mourning idioms for the other job types take an impersonal viewpoint, only talking up on one's traits and achievements when he was alive.[8] A comparison of the three case studies and that

8. It is likely that the conceptual difference between the idioms for teachers and those for the other professions can be explained in terms of the more (inter-) personal nature of the job. A similar case might be medical doctors, which is also a professional category in the eulogy request system and could be a useful topic for future study.

of politicians (Lu, 2020) allows one to see in what specific ways Cognitive Linguistics, especially the stage model in Cognitive Grammar, is useful in uncovering the relation between language use in culture and cognition.

However, a question immediately following the discussion of the cultural default is: Why is talking up the achievements of the deceased the cultural norm, rather than the mourner truly expressing his personal feelings and his connection with the deceased? I argue that the norm has two cultural roots. First, it reflects the Confucian value of celebrating the life of the deceased by praising one's virtues and righteousness when alive (Tien 2016: 6, 2017:197–200). Therefore, the ritual idioms analyzed in this paper concentrate merely on how the media worker's voice influenced society and how the legal expert was straight and clean, etc., instead of communicating the personal grief of the mourner. In addition, I believe that the almost exclusive praise of one's life achievements at the death ritual has much to do with Taiwanese society's obsessive worship of career success and the face want of the family of the deceased (Lu 2017a).

Finally, I hope that the present Cognitive Linguistic analysis, informed by CMT, Cognitive Grammar and viewpoint analysis, has done justice to a selected number of case studies that involve the use of Chinese eulogistic idioms in communicating death. In particular, I hope to have shown in what specific ways Cognitive Linguistics is equipped with an appropriate and powerful apparatus for analyzing the language of death, with a view to uncovering hidden cultural values, expectations and assumptions that underlie real-life communication, which is still an area under-explored in Cognitive Linguistics. The analysis has clearly shown various Chinese cultural expectations associated with each of the occupations investigated, such as "close to the student like a father figure" for a teacher, "voice loud and influential enough" for a media worker, and "straight and clean" for a legal expert. I believe that I have shown how an application of Cognitive Linguistics is to an extent useful to studying funeral discourse in Chinese and that rich discourse data from the Chinese-speaking world may continue to contribute to the development of Cognitive Linguistics in return. The ritual idioms studied in the present paper are only the tip of the iceberg of the entire eulogy request system, and capture only a partial picture of the Han Chinese people's worldview of life and death, so I expect more future studies in the same direction to help us understand the meaning of life and death in Chinese culture.

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Glossary

The glossing in the present chapter follows the Leipzig Glossing Rule:

PRT particle
MOD modal
NEG negation

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Appendix. Eulogistic idioms in the online request system analyzed

師長喪 (12 idioms in the system)： 天喪斯文、永念師恩、立雪神傷、風冷杏壇、師表千古、師表常尊、桃李興悲、馬帳安仰、高山安仰、教澤永懷、教澤長存、教澤流詠。

法界喪 (10 idioms in the system)： 才華橫溢、公正嚴明、守正不阿、法學浩瀚、法學權威、芸眾慧人、廉己奉公、廉潔可風、德孚眾望、激濁揚清。

媒體喪 (8 idioms in the system)：文化先聲、民眾喉舌、立論公正、宏揚正義、啟迪文化、發聾振聵、領導輿論、輿論南針。

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Experimental work (%)	Supervision (%)	Manuscript (%)	Research direction (%)
55	55	55	55

Substantiation: I (first author) was responsible for the collection of the data, data analysis, the writing of the main body of the analysis, the method and the conclusion. The second author was responsible for the writing of the introduction and part of the conclusion and for proofreading and editing the entire text.

13

Rituals

Wei-lun Lu and Svitlana Shurma

13.1 Background, History, and Key Terms

Rituals, both religious and non-religious, pervade and sometimes define our everyday lives. While rituals, such as puja, hajj, kathina, or baptism are of the religious character since they are connected with the religious practices across the world, rituals taking place during some sports events, awards, or ceremonies have a secular character. Both secular and religious, rituals are flexible or semi-flexible events functioning as models of human behavior in space and time (Grimes, 1982). These are a "prescribed sequence of verbal and nonverbal acts," having a highly formalized and predictable communication mode (Feuchtwang, 2010). Snoek (2006, p. 10–12) argues that rituals should be defined through a set of shared characteristic rituals of different kinds, such as cultural construction, typicality of physical and verbal behavior, space- and time-bound, interactivity, symbolic nature, organizing function, etc. Yet, what we will discuss in the chapter is how rituals are connected not just with the performance of certain conventionally prescribed and symbolic actions, but also with formulaic language use. For example, in the Eastern Slavic Orthodox conventions of celebrating Easter, after the participation in the divine service in the church and priest's blessing of the Easter food, it is common to greet others with the phrase *Christ has risen!* and the answer *Truly He is risen* three times. In Hinduism, for instance, Diwali celebration includes the ritualistic

greeting *Diwali ki hardik shubhkamnaye* (Heart-felt wishes on the occasion of Diwali). Ritualistic greetings can be found as parts of many other rituals across the globe. Thus, language and actions are firmly tied in the rituals.

One of the main roles of the rituals is to guide cognition (Snoek, 2006). For example, rituals connected with someone's death, such as cremations or burials with the preceding and subsequent traditional practices, "exude vital importance to humans in the quest to make sense of the mysteries surrounding death" (Hoy, 2013, p. 1). Just as any other ritual, death rituals across the world possess a set of cultural and performative characteristics and temporal and spatial requirements. "Whether in a family, friendship circle, nation, or planet, every death introduces some sense of social upheaval; the deliberate cadence of rituals helps to restore balance, reminding all concerned that order will prevail" (Hoy, 2013, p. 11). The actions taken during burials and mourning allow the participants make sense of the death, offer a feeling of safety and facilitate grieving (Giblin and Hug, 2006). For example, night vigils over the dead body in some religious communities are a way of family saying goodbye; ritualistic washing of the dead body in some religions is a way to prepare the soul for the afterlife; prayers, chants, speeches, or eulogies are all praxes that are performed with the aim of accommodating the family (Capone, 2010) of the deceased and prepare the soul of the person who died to what awaits the soul after death according to the shared beliefs.

Linguistic practices are often an important part of death rituals across cultures and religions (Dumitru-Lahaye, 2009). The verbalization of death becomes important for certain elements of rituals and helps the mourners strike a balance in the time of grief. Such formulaic language of ritual is associated with standardized and culturally bound linguistic expression (Weinert, 2010). A formulaic sequence is further defined by

Wray (2002, p. 9) as "a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole form memory at the time of use, rather than being subjects to generation or analysis by the language grammar."

Linguistically, formulae are characterized by restrictions in form and distribution and compel the reader to choose a pre-formatted word combination within a given context. Such formulae are typically bound to certain language styles, which means that the formulaic language is connected to specific communicative situations. For example, formulae include:

My condolences.

My deepest sympathies to you and your family.

I am truly sorry to hear of the loss.

These phrases are typically bound to communicative situations of mourning, appear on cards or in other messages, or are verbalized during the ritualistic practices connected with mourning and death. Such verbalizations become a part of consistent verbal behavior that accompanies the practices. These formulae are meant to provide solace and accommodate mainly the close relatives of the deceased, yet they still depend on the individual speaker. Given the highly structured nature of ritual, it inevitably involves elements of formulaic language. "Compared to ordinary propositional speech and its almost infinite openness and logic, ritual is far less communicative; it is not logical or propositional but is instead a manifestation of traditional authority" (Feuchtwang, 2010, p. 282).

Traditionally, formulae include fixed phrases, clichés, idiomatic expressions, complex word forms as well as "sentence-building frameworks" (Wood, 2002, p. 2) and

have even been extended to social routines, narratives, and proverbs (Weinert, 2010). This fuzziness in defining and identification of formulaic language is problematic because of the semantic and structural diversity of the linguistics sequences which different scholars refer to as "formulae".

Formulaic language can be seen as an indispensable element of speech act(s) associated with a typical situation of communication, or pragmeme. Pragmemes are defined as a "general situation prototype" (Mey, 2001, p. 221) equal to a speech act that is motivated by extra-linguistic context and aims to achieve a certain pragmatic effect. The linguistic shape and pragmatic inferences depend largely on the cultural context and the rules in a society. According to Mey (2001, p. 222), two constituents are important in a pragmeme: text and activity. The activity part involves all sorts of acts, from speech to psychological and physical acts. Assuming that the linguistic behavior is embedded in the human behavior, the textual part, on the other hand, is what carries the speaker's intentions. Therefore, the choice of language formulae, for instance, bears the pragmatic meaning required by the situation or the speakers themselves. The meaning is always context dependent, and extra-linguistic factors cannot be separated from what constitutes a pragmeme. In such an approach, eulogies, for example, can be seen as types of texts along with others, such as sermons, consolations, and so on, within a composite pragmeme of accommodation. The interactive part of the eulogies comes from the type of the speech act and its referentiality, emotions involved, physical acts, and paralanguage; therefore, we claim that eulogy is an act of language use within a general situational prototype executed in a situation of mourning as part of a death ritual that varies depending on the religion of the perished.

The participants in a communicative situation are not just restricted by the conventions, and they can also shape those conventions based on their own intentions, beliefs, wishes, and so on. Communicative cooperation occurs when the intention of the sender, attention of the addresser and the common socio-cultural knowledge are in balance. This shared knowledge often relies on cognitive scenarios, which are modified in the course of history and changing sociocultural context and reflect how humans view social actions. As cultural models, scenarios help to govern rituals and include "propositional, image-schematic, metaphoric, and metonymic models" (Palmer, 2006, p. 15). Scenarios therefore influence discourse, while formulaic language, though not a speech act, plays an important part in the construal of discourse scenario since it has its specific place and time in the ritual. For example, the greeting *Christ has risen!* in the aforementioned example should be said only after the worshiper has participated in the full ceremony, and this phrase symbolically marks the end of the official church rite and the beginning of the unofficial family rite, if the ritual is kept. At the same time, for less-pious participants it becomes a greeting, a wish, and an act of participation in the celebration of Easter.

The formulaic language in these situations can be understood as pragmatic idioms, or pragmatic units of high conventionality used in standardized situations of communication that fall into conversational routines and situation-bound utterances. Because formulae are conventionally constructed solutions in socially determined situations such as rituals, ritualistic idioms can be referred to the situation-bound utterances, as they become "safe" prefabricated verbalizations that function as "guidelines" of social verbal behavior in typical or ritualized situations. The ritual sets a certain pragmatic property to such formulaic chunks of language. For example, a eulogy

at a funeral follows certain rules, since it becomes a way of saying farewell to the deceased. It is a social action that conforms to the norms the ritual prescribes. Thus, it becomes an idiom, or a multi-word formulaic sequence that has a rather fixed form and semantic features and can be treated as "a unit in processing" or "the expression of creative conceptual metaphors" (Espinal and Mateu, 2019). In this chapter, we discuss a particular form of idioms: 成語 *chéngyǔ*, which are four-character lexical constructions that can be found in dictionaries. Such eulogistic idioms are extensively used in pragmemes of accommodation around events of death.

13.2 Key Topics, Questions, and Debates

Like much language around religious discourse, rituals often include metaphorical language and actions. Rituals by engaging its participants into a set of activities such as dance, music, or meditation, appeal to the senses and feelings of those involved. "Mystical interpretations frequently comment on sensation as a source of metaphors for religious experience" (Watts, 2019, p. 2). As a rule, the ritual shifts attention from the senses involved in the ritual to the actions and behaviors, including the verbal ones, often metaphorical in their nature. For example, death rituals in the Christian tradition have an aim of keeping the feelings of the mourners under some degree of control (Capone, 2010). The metaphorical rhetoric helps to accommodate or ease the situation of grief, and typically appears with regard to interpreting the rituals and substitutes the sensations involved (Watts, 2019). Metaphor in death rituals becomes a part of the pragmeme of accommodation (Capone, 2010) as they help to cope with the negative feelings that accompany deaths of the near and dear (Sexton, 1997).

Cognitive Linguistics offers an approach through which the metaphoricity of the language of death can be examined: it sets both the metaphorical speech acts and conceptualizations involved in the speech act production in context. Conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) offers a framework for analysis of the language of death as it allows us to look at how thought and knowledge about the death is structured in different communities.

Since death rituals are ways to understand and communicate about the act of dying, conceptual metaphors also penetrate the common discourse practices. As death is an unpleasant and painful topic, metaphors, as a means of secondary nomination and a euphemistic resource, make the subject less painful. DEATH acts as the target domain onto which the elements of the source domain related to a more concrete concept are mapped. The source domain is often related to some embodied experience circulating within a culture (Kövecses, 2010), since the knowledge about it makes it easier to explain death. In this way, the community structures the knowledge and offers sense of it. The formulaic language of the ritual reflects the ideas and beliefs circulating in a culture through conceptual metaphors. What becomes the source domains of the culturally bound conceptual metaphors are typical representations of values and knowledge about a given community (Crespo-Fernández, 2013).

Through the analysis of conceptual metaphorical representations, culturally specific interpretations of death can be seen within death rituals. Marín Arrese (1996) and Crespo-Fernández (2013) traced and contrasted the conceptualizations of death in English and Spanish, thus drawing attention to cross-cultural representations and, what is important, differences in cultural representations. The scholars argued that three aspects are significant for the metaphoric language of death: bodily and social

experiences as well as cultural constraints. Crespo-Fernández (2013) sums up that it is the cultural context that drives the differences between the conceptual representations. Perhaps, the most comprehensive contrastive study of conceptual mappings within euphemistic death metaphors across six languages of different language groups was conducted by Gathigia et al. (2018). A group of authors identified and examined four conceptual metaphors in Chinese, Farsi, Gikuyu, Russian, Spanish, and Swedish: DEATH IS A JOURNEY, DEATH IS THE END, DEATH IS A REST, and DEATH IS A SUMMONS. They concluded that the DEATH IS A JOURNEY metaphor is present in the languages of the six linguocultures.

Within the study of the language of death functioning in a specific cultural context, a socio-pragmatic approach has been pioneered by Capone (2010) who looks at the language of death as specific speech acts or pragmemes. In his seminal paper, Capone (2010, p. 6) considers death rituals as "prototypical events" having "social intentionality built into them. He places pragmemes in a key position for explaining the formulaic language choices during mourning events and thus steps away from the actual conceptualizations, rather offering an analysis of sociocultural context.

Since rituals are "institutional events" that "enforce interpretation rules" (Capone, 2010, p. 10), agreement on the connotations and meanings of certain sets of words within a given community allows them to become formulae through their recurrent use, entering the community's long-term memory. In fact, it is possible to speak about the "ritual language" or specific utterances that acquire significance in the process of the ritual (Wheelock, 1982, p. 50). The language becomes a part of the multimodal system, where other semiotic systems contribute to, complement, or overlap with the linguistic means (Wheelock, 1982). This claim makes it important to look at the ritual language from cognitive, social, and cultural perspectives.

Socio-pragmatic, sociocultural, and cognitivist approaches to pragmemes have been taken to analyze formulaic language in condolences, euphemisms, eulogies, sympathy cards, and so on in English, German, Italian, Japanese, Chinese, and some other contexts (Parvaresh and Capone, 2017). This research into the cultural aspects of pragmemes has shown the origins of linguistic representations across linguocultures as well as similarities and differences in the conceptualizations, and has challenged the idea of universality in languages and rituals. The linguistic formulas are uttered or exchanged in line with certain procedures of rituals that vary between cultures, communities, and geographies, showing how seeming similarities of conceptual representations might be more complex than they first appear.

13.3 Case Study

The eulogistic idioms that are the focus of this chapter are fixed phrases or elements of formulaic language used at funerals in Taiwan. The phrases are prefabricated and always come in the form of four-characters. In traditional funerals in Taiwan, a mourner presents a white plaque to the family of the deceased (with the white color invoking DEATH in the Taiwanese culture). The plaque typically contains the name of the deceased, information of the mourner (name, affiliation, job title), and the eulogistic idiom of the mourner's own choice (from a conventionalized repertoire of idioms). The semantic content of such eulogistic idioms may reflect the mourner's personal feeling, a general description and praise of the past achievement of the deceased, or the mourner's imagination of the current state of the soul of the deceased.

However, the mourner's choice of the idiom to present cannot be random – instead, the mourner needs to use their discretion in deciding which idiom to use. The

reason is that some formulaic expressions contain a specific characterization of a certain profession (such as politicians and teachers, or media workers and legal experts) or of the religion (Buddhists and Christians) of the deceased. Therefore, the choice of the idiom must be based on the actual occupation or the religious belief of the deceased, in order to make the act of delivering the eulogy pragmatically appropriate and acceptable to the family. An inappropriate choice of the eulogistic idiom (such as a Buddhist idiom delivered at a Christian funeral) may be offensive. In traditional funerals in Taiwan, the white plaques are displayed in the funeral hall. After the ceremony, the plaques are incinerated along with the corpse. In order to reduce the carbon footprint produced as a result of funerals, the Taiwanese government set up an online eulogy request system, where a mourner may apply for a user account and request an idiom to be displayed on the electronic banner in a state-run funeral hall, where the funeral for a deceased known to them is scheduled to take place.

Once the mourner logs onto the eulogy request system, they are allowed to select the exact date, the exact venue, and the name of the deceased from a list of scheduled funerals. Once the selection is made, the mourner may proceed to select a predefined category from a pulldown menu that contains a handful of occupations and three religions: Buddhism, Catholic and Protestant. Once the mourner clicks on one of the characterizations that suits the deceased, the system turns up a selection of idioms that correspond to the religion or the occupation, all included by Taipei Mortuary Services Office from existing lexicographic sources. We focus on the idioms used for the two religions in the system: Buddhism and Christianity. The system presents eight idioms to choose from in the Christian category and fifty-nine idioms in the Buddhist category.

This case study draws on a previous study (Lu, 2017) and shows linguistic analysis of the eulogistic idioms informed by Cognitive Linguistics, in particular conceptual metaphor theory, investigating two religion-specific conceptual metaphors LIFE CYCLE IS ONE SINGLE RETURN JOURNEY (Christian) and LIFE CYCLE IS A REPETITIVE JOURNEY (Buddhist), both being a cultural instantiation of the more schematic LIFE IS A JOURNEY, which has been extensively discussed in the field. We also investigate the metaphor related to end-of-life, DEATH IS REST, and finally orientational metaphors used in the eulogistic idioms in the pragmemes of both religions.

13.3.1 Life as Repetitive Journeys or as a Single Round-Trip

The conceptual domain of JOURNEY has been often cited to relate to that of LIFE, the association of which forms the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. In addition to that, not only LIFE but also DEATH is conceptualized as a JOURNEY. Based on the aforementioned studies, we may generalize a systematic conceptual metaphor as a first approximation of how LIFE and DEATH are understood, applicable to both religions: LIFE IS A JOURNEY IN THIS WORLD; DEATH IS A JOURNEY FROM THIS WORLD TO THE HEAVENS.

However, Buddhism holds a worldview that the human life cycle is repetitive, where a soul does not perish but will reincarnate indefinitely. Under such rubric, we are able to find an idiom that reflects such worldview, as in (1).

1. 乘 願 再 來
   chéng *yuàn* *zài* *lái*
   ride wish again come
   "(The person will) come again with (great) wishes." (adapted from Lu 2017, p. 53)

In example (1), the idiom depicts the motion of an implicit agent, which can be pragmatically identified as the deceased since the idiom is a formulaic lexical construction presented at a funeral. The destination of the motion is toward the speaker (and the hearer), encoded by the verb *lái* 'come', and can be understood to be this world (as opposed to the afterworld). The motion is a journey that is repeated, encoded by the construction *zài* 'again'. All the conceptual pieces prompted by the lexical constructions, when put together, correspond to the Buddhist thinking that a soul may appear in this world again, which is metaphorically understood as another journey to this world. We may, accordingly, formulate another conceptual association between LIFE and JOURNEY as (THE CURRENT) LIFE IS A JOURNEY; NEXT LIFE IS A RETURN JOURNEY TO THIS WORLD. Being analytically sensitive to the lexical cues that invoke the underlying conceptual pattern allows a newly established conceptual construction the first approximation that we identified in previous literature. This allows us to come up with a wider metaphorical frame that accommodates our current understanding: LIFE CYCLES ARE REPETITIVE JOURNEYS. In addition to the general metaphor that helps us construe LIFE and DEATH each as a journey, this general conceptual frame sanctions the metaphor DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH, which is instantiated by example (2).

2. 往 生 極 樂
wǎng *shēng* *jí* *lè*
go towards life extreme happy
"(This person has) gone towards life in the bliss." (adapted from Lu 2017 p. 52)

In example (2), there are lexical prompts that help us identify the conceptual metaphor. First, the PATH of the journey is invoked by the construction *wǎng* 'go towards', with the GOAL of the trajectory being *shēng* 'life'. The phrase *jílè* '(lit.) extreme happiness' has an extended meaning of 'bliss'. In addition, the pragmatic knowledge of the context in which the idiom is used is important, as the fact that the idiom is used at a

funeral allows us to identify the deceased as the implicit agent of the motion. Again, we see how the lexical cues, when they appear in a pragmeme, work together to form a coherent conceptual picture that reflects DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH, a specific cultural instantiation of the highly schematic metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY extensively discussed in previous literature. In particular, in the Taiwanese Buddhist pragmeme of death, there exists a most general conceptual frame of LIFE CYCLE IS REPETITIVE JOURNEYS, which entails that (THE CURRENT) LIFE IS A JOURNEY; NEXT LIFE IS A RETURN JOURNEY TO THIS WORLD. Within such a general frame, each return journey comprises two subparts: LIFE IS A JOURNEY; DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH. The CIRCLE is a frequent cultural symbol in Taiwanese Buddhist eulogistic idioms, which is invoked by the construction *yuán-mǎn* '(lit.) circle-full; perfect' in the collection of Buddhist idioms. Example (3) illustrates this point.

3.	功	德	圓	滿
	gōng	*dé*	*yuán*	*mǎn*
	feat	virtue	circle	Full

"(This person led a) full (life like a) circle, having had various achievements." (adapted from Lu (2017, p. 54)

This type occurs in three of the fifty-nine Buddhist idioms. The cyclic nature of the Buddhist understanding of LIFE is symbolically associated with the basic geometric fact that the beginning and the end of the shape coincide. In the following, we turn to an analysis of the eulogistic idioms used in a Christian pragmeme of death in Taiwan (that is, the repertoire of idioms that the mourner may choose from the request system once "Christianity" is chosen). We find that an obvious difference between the Christian and the Buddhist eulogies lies in the type frequency of CIRCLE – remember that it is invoked by 圓滿 *yuán-mǎn* in three Buddhist eulogistic idioms, whereas in the database, we find no lexical item that invokes the same concept in the Christian category. The lack of

CIRCLE in Christian eulogistic idioms shows that cyclicity is not part of the conceptual substrate associated with the Christian understanding of LIFE. We also find that in the Christian idioms, there is no occurrence of motion verbs such as 來 *lái* 'come', as in example (1) or 往 *wǎng* 'go toward', as in example (2). The only verb that comes close is 歸 *guī* 'return', which is given in example (4).

4.	息	勞	歸	主
	xí	*láo*	*guī*	*zhǔ*
	rest	toil	return	Lord
	"(This person has) put down (their) hard work (and has) returned to the Lord."			

However, the use of 歸 *guī* comes with an important semantic entailment – when one returns to a place, that place is not only the destination of that person's motion but also their origin. There are eight Christian idioms in the eulogy request system in total, two of which contain 歸 *guī*. This fact shows not only that 歸 *guī* is the only verb that instantiates the JOURNEY metaphor but also that RETURN constitutes an important element of the journey, given the high type frequency of 歸 *guī* in the Christian category (two of eight idioms). Based on this reasoning, we may formulate the JOURNEY metaphor as follows: LIFE IS A JOURNEY; DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY. No linguistic prompt that may invoke the repetition of journey is found in the collection of Christian idioms.

13.3.2 Death as a Break before the Journey Resumes or as an Eternal Rest

In the Buddhist category, there is one lexical item that invokes REST, which is 歇 *xiē* 'rest' in (5).

5.	歇	即	菩提
	xiē	*Jí*	*pútí*
	rest	LK	bodhi/wisdom
	"(As the deceased is,) rest is the ultimate wisdom."		

NB: Contractions used in the glosses following Leipzig Glossing Rules.

In the Christian category, there is also one lexical item that invokes REST, which is 息 *xí* 'rest' in example (4). Again, remember that this idiom is a linguistic part of a funeral as a pragmeme of accommodation, so the overarching theme should be DEATH, with the immediate topic being identifiable as the deceased. However, although it seems that in the pragmatic act of helping the family of the deceased accommodate grief, both religions utilize idioms that conceptualize DEATH as REST, there is still a significant difference. If we look up the lexical prompt of the REST metaphor in a corpus, we see that 歇 *xiē* and 息 *xí* actually involve different language formulas that reflect the different nuanced semantic shades that correspond to the different ways LIFE is understood as a JOURNEY in each of the respective religions. In particular, in corpus cognitive linguistics, it is believed that the construal invoked by a construction can be portrayed by the lexical and grammatical company kept by the construction. To apply that notion to our data, what one can easily do is to look up the target word in a platform that contains a sufficiently large and representative language sample, so that we may find the behavioral pattern of the word that allows us to understand the exact meaning of the word. A search in the Buddhist idioms for the verb 歇 *xiē* reveals some of its common collocations and colligations, such as 歇會兒 *xiē-huǐ-ér* 'break-moment-PRT', 歇口氣 *xiē-kǒu-qì* 'break-CL-breath', 歇一歇 *xiē-yì-xiē* 'break-TENT', 暫歇 *zhàn-xiē* 'temporary-break', which allows us to extrapolate the semantic content of *xiē* being "a *brief* moment off (from an activity)." On the other hand, a search of 息 *xí* does not turn up a similar result – 息*xí* is used mainly as a noun in Chinese but the search does turn up a usage of it as a verb, as in 奔騰不息 *bēnténg-bù-xí* '(lit.) (the manner of a river running) running-NEG-stop; everlasting'. Another famous instance that contains 息 *xí* can be found in the

Chinese version of First Corinthians 13 of the Bible, 愛是永不止息 *ài shì yǒng-bù-zhǐ-xí* '(lit.) love LK forever-NEG-cease-stop; love is everlasting'. From the above collocational behaviour of 息 *xí*, which co-occurs with the negators for the whole phrase to convey an imperfective meaning such as "river running" and "everlasting," this allows us to figure out "termination" as an important part of the conceptual substrate of 息 *xí*. A comparison of the conceptual semantic structures of 歇 *xiē* and 息 *xí* allows us to map the two structures onto the Buddhist and the Christian views on LIFE CYCLE – the Buddhist LIFE CYCLE consists of repetitive journeys, with DEATH being a *short moment off* in between the journeys, whereas the Christian LIFE CYCLE is only one round-trip from heaven to the earth and back to its source, where the journey *terminates*.

Another difference between the religions lies in the type frequency of the REST metaphors. The REST metaphor occurs in the Christian category (prompted by the word 息 *xí*) accounts for three idioms out of the total eight, whereas in the Buddhist category, only one idiom out of a total of fifty-nine contains the REST metaphor (prompted by the word 歇 *xiē*). (Type) frequency wise, this has an important cognitive consequence – the notable difference in ratio (three of eight versus one of fifty-nine) shows that people obviously pay more attention to REST in the Christian pragmeme of accommodation, as people verbalize more about it, conceptually *profile* (Langacker, 2008, p. 61) it more often, thus rendering the concept more cognitively salient in the pragmeme.

Orientational metaphors are exclusively Buddhist in the pragmeme. In the eulogistic idioms in the pragmeme of accommodation in Taiwan, orientational metaphors occur only in the Buddhist idioms but not in the Christian ones. In the database, we identified two orientational metaphors: one that invokes the vertical dimension and the other that invokes the east–west direction. In Taiwanese Buddhist

eulogistic idioms, we find a set of formulae that involves the positive pole of the vertical dimension, lexically instantiated by 上 *shàng* 'up', as in example (6), and 高 *gāo* 'high', as in example (7).

6. 上 生 佛 國
shàng *shēng* *fó* *guó*
up birth Buddha country
"(This person has been) born up in the Buddha's country."

7. 高 登 蓮 品
gāo *dēng* *lián* *pǐn*
high elevate lotus category
"(This person has) risen high to the category of (being pure like a) lotus."

As is obvious in the examples, 上 *shàng* and 高 *gāo* are both lexical items that directly invoke the positive pole of the vertical dimension and are used to describe the positive quality of a person, invoking the conceptual metaphor GOOD IS UP. The second orientation metaphor in the Taiwanese Buddhist death ritual is DEATH IS WEST, instantiated by example (8).

8 化 滿 西 歸
huà *mǎn* *xī* *guī*
die complete west return
""(This person has) died (with his life being) complete (and he has) returned to the west."

The motivation of DEATH IS WEST appears to be religion specific, but it does involve an embodied basis. In trying to explain the motivation of why the Buddhist heaven is in the west, Shì (2017, p. 47) refers to an excerpt by a Buddhist monk, Master Dàochuò (道綽大師) in the sixth century, quoted as example (9).

9. 日 出 處 名 生，
rì *chū* *chù* *míng* *shēng*
sun out LOC name birth
沒 處 名 死 …
mò *chù* *míng* *sǐ*
(sun) set LOC name death

法藏菩薩	願	成	佛	在
fǎcáng púsà	*yuàn*	*chéng*	*fó*	*zài*
Fǎcáng Bodhisattva	wish	become	Buddha	LOC
西，	悲	接	眾生。	
xī	*bēi*	*jiē*	*zhòngshēng*	
west	sympathy	receive	all creatures	

"The place of sunrise is named birth, sunset death … Fǎcáng Bodhisattva (is/was) willing to become a Buddha in the west, in order to receive all creatures with sympathy."

Example (9) shows that as early as the sixth century, Master Dàochuò already related the Buddhist human life cycle to the pattern of sunrise and sunset, where he associated BIRTH with SUNRISE, which directly invokes EAST and DEATH with SUNSET, which invokes WEST. Following on from that, the conceptual extension to couple DEATH with WEST, which is the spatial orientation of the sunset, seems to be natural. In the second half of the passage, it is stated that the location of Fǎcáng Bodhisattva is in the west, and that all creatures are to be received by the bodhisattva in the west after death. The master's preaching not only is consistent with the metaphor DEATH IS A JOURNEY but also fleshes out the detail of the journey by specifying WEST as the DIRECTION of the JOURNEY. Another point to note is the systematic conceptual association between MOVEMENT OF THE SUN and PROGRESSION OF LIFE and between DAY and LIFE by the Buddhist master. What is more, the source concept DAY is not a one-time event but occurs repetitively, and when that is used to reason about LIFE as the target concept, it associates REPETITION with the target concept. Therefore, the Buddhist-specific metaphor of DEATH IS WEST is based on the systematic conceptual mappings between the various elements in the conceptual domain of DAY (as the source domain) and that of LIFE (as the target domain). In addition to that, with a conceptual metaphor theory approach, we are able to relate the Buddhist conceptual pattern DEATH IS WEST to DEATH IS A JOURNEY and LIFE CYCLE IS REPETITIVE

JOURNEYS, and are able to assemble the three into a coherent whole that reflects the Buddhist worldview.

In pragmemes of accommodating human death, the linguistic means include lexical instantiations that comply with the conceptual patterns reflecting the worldviews of the religions involved. The most typical examples are the Christian metaphor LIFE CYCLE IS ONE SINGLE RETURN JOURNEY and the Buddhist metaphor LIFE CYCLE IS A REPETITIVE JOURNEY. The REST metaphor is related to how LIFE is conceptualized as a JOURNEY in the religions involved. In particular, in Christian funerals in Taiwan, which contain verbal instantiations of LIFE IS A JOURNEY; DEATH IS A RETURN JOURNEY (based on the belief that the human life cycle is a single return journey to and from the world), the REST metaphor used in the funerals is lexically instantiated by 息 *xí* 'termination'. On the other hand, in Buddhist funerals in Taiwan, the life cycle is considered repetitive, based on (THE CURRENT) LIFE IS A JOURNEY; DEATH IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS REBIRTH; NEXT LIFE IS A RETURN JOURNEY TO THIS WORLD. Under such conceptual rubric, the lexical instantiation of the REST metaphor is 歇 *xiē* 'a brief moment off'. Finally, the exclusive presence of orientational metaphor DEATH IS WEST in Buddhist eulogistic idioms is based on the conceptual mapping between the human life cycle and the movement pattern of the sun, matching BIRTH with SUNRISE and its spatial direction EAST, and DEATH with SUNSET, which is WEST.

Differences between the eulogistic idioms used by the different religious groups at death rituals in Taiwan constitute authentic linguistic evidence that reveals the differences in terms of worldview and how different religious groups reason around an event of death. First, although there is a general overarching metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, we see that, in the pragmeme, each of the two groups has its own religion-specific metaphor that reflects its own understanding of LIFE. Secondly, there is another

schematic metaphor related to JOURNEY that is shared by the two groups, which is DEATH IS REST. Each of the two groups uses a distinct set of lexical instantiations in its idioms, which reflects what type of REST is envisaged in relation to the type of JOURNEY that is involved in that particular religion. In addition, Buddhism conceptually relates human life cycle to celestial movement of the sun, which gives rise to the exclusively Buddhist orientational metaphor DEATH IS WEST. The religion-specific conception and reasoning involved in human death rituals is linguistically manifested in the collection of eulogistic idioms used in the pragmemes in each of the religions.

In this study, only Buddhist eulogistic idioms involve the metaphor GOOD IS UP. As a multicultural society, Taiwan has been heavily influenced by Confucianism and (especially Mahāyāna) Buddhism. A central tradition in Confucianism is to extol the virtue and the good deeds of the deceased at a funeral and since Mahāyāna Buddhism shares a lot of similarities and converges with Confucianism in East Asian societies (Fu, 1973), Buddhist eulogistic idioms used in a largely Confucian society pick up such a cultural practice in a death ritual. Furthermore, although Buddhism is a religion that advocates transcendence of transient phenomena by preaching the rejection of attachment to bodily reasoning patterns, Buddhist doctrine-conveying texts are still full of embodied metaphors (see the analysis of *Heart Sutra* in Lu and Chiang, 2007). In contrast, we may see that the Christian eulogistic idioms used in Taiwan are less conceptually complex and less rich in terms of their semantic content. We believe the main reason is sociocultural, in the sense that Christianity is not the dominant religion in Taiwan, only accounting for a relatively small part of the population (around 4 percent of the population). The demographic fact is reflected in the much lower frequency of the idioms and the lower conceptual complexity compared to the Buddhist

eulogistic idioms. Another important reason is historical; Christianity was introduced to Taiwan only a few hundred years ago, with aggressive (Presbyterian) evangelism recorded only as late as 1865, which has left a shorter time span (than Buddhism) for the local development of Christianity and for Christian elements to integrate with local funeral practice. These points, therefore, show the importance of the sociocultural and the historical context in the analysis of religious discourse.

13.4 Future Directions

The previous discussion allows us to see the usefulness of the pragmeme analysis of death rituals conducted through a conceptual metaphor theory approach. Such a Cognitive Linguistic approach to analyzing religious language has been lacking in the field and should be advocated. As we have shown, a cognitive approach to the language of rituals can be useful in the sense that such an approach allows us to use the linguistic constructions that are relevant to certain worldview of a religion and assemble the conceptual pieces invoked by the constructions into a coherent whole. However, in addition to conceptual approaches to metaphor, we believe that there are other Cognitive Linguistic frameworks and research methods that will be equally useful in analyzing language use in rituals. Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 2008), for instance, may be a good candidate, in the sense that it allows us to explore not only individual lexical expressions but also connected discourse. In the language of rituals, the issue of subjectivity, which is the speaker's role and conceptualization of self in his interaction with the other participants of the ritual, may be an aspect worth looking into. In this connection, sermon has been referred to (though only in passing) as a discourse genre potentially interesting to a cognitive grammar approach. The issue of subjectivity, or the

way the ritual participants are conceptualized in their verbal exchange, underlies the discourse *viewpoint* (Dancygier, 2012) adopted by the participants of the ritual.

Another discussion that has been going on in Cognitive Linguistics is the limits of the conceptual metaphor theory. Though, it is true that a large proportion of our thinking is metaphorical in nature, conceptual metonymy, oxymoron, and antithesis are often kept at the background. Their relationship with conceptual metaphor and their roles in rituals are of no less importance than meanings created through metaphor. If we assume that symbolism is based on the metonymic relations, and rituals are highly symbolic acts, then it opens a new dimension of research not only of the death rituals, but also of the other rituals, such as marriages, coronations, and so on.

In addition to theoretical constructs that may be useful in analyzing the language of rituals, there are various aspects of rituals that can be explored. Note that what we showed in this case study was relatively small; in particular, the linguistic part of death rituals. Therein, we focused only on a highly formulaic type of language usage (i.e., Chinese *chéngyǔ* "four-character idioms"). What we presented was merely one-way verbal communication that the mourner uses to accommodate the family to their loss. In a typical Taiwanese funeral, a representative of the family reads a farewell speech (*jiādiàn wén*) to present their emotions and to give thanks to the mourners, which is another type of one-way verbal communication in a death ritual. Therefore, a comprehensive consideration of the verbal exchanges in different formats in a ritual is desirable. A standard, possibly highly formulaic, text or scripture read at a ritual may also be an important subject of future research.

Note also that language is merely one of the modes of representation (be it written or spoken), and there are certainly other modes of representation (such as

visual), so a multimodal analysis of the various dimensions of a ritual, of which the linguistic plays a core part, will be intellectually fruitful. At a funeral, for instance, the language used by the participants is not the only concern; what matters may range from the interior design (such as the display, color, and style) of the funeral hall, the sequence of the various steps of the ceremony, and the body language of the mourners (social distance, posture, etc.), to the physical arrangement of the assembly. Another typical instance can be a burial, where the linguistic representation matters, among numerous others, which may range from the absolute and relative orientation of the coffin, the decoration of the burial site, or whether the corpse is cremated, to the design and layout of the tomb and even the tombstone. Language matters as well as the other elements of a ritual.

There can also be various research methods for studying language used at a ritual. If the language sample to be studied is already in the written form, a corpus can be built out of it and some keyword or statistical analysis can be conducted to turn up patterns in the sample. The language sample to be studied can be in the spoken form, in which case the researcher might need to record and transcribe the verbal exchanges. If a multimodal analysis is planned, the researcher may need to videotape or to take selective photo shots of the ritual. Depending on the research tradition of the researcher's field, different methods (or a combination of two or more methods) can be employed.

One more direction that we see as prospective for the development of ritual study is the idea of further testing the universality of metaphor. Kövecses (2010) discusses the issue of universality and cultural variation of conceptual metaphors. Even though research continues to include a greater variety of languages, it is not nearly

reaching its completeness. As more and more scholars are getting involved in the intercultural research, we are collecting more information. With the forecasts for stronger globalization, this type of research will also contribute to preserving and documenting of the cultural variations in diachrony, should the ritual get lost and the language or its formulas fall out of use.

And finally, as the term *pragmeme* was addressed in the chapter, we see the future of the ethnolinguistic studies in pursuing a more precise definition of the pragmeme and identification of its elements that can be applied for the study of other rituals, both religious and secular. A question that should be addressed further is how to define and identify the elements of pragmemes when it comes to complex rites of purification or coming of age existing in many religions? These and other questions are only some of the future prospects for the research within the field of rituals and ritualistic language, for linguistics, ethnographers, scholars of cognition, to name just a few.

Contractions Used in the Glosses (Following Leipzig Glossing Rules)

CL: classifier

LOC: locative marker

LK: linker

NEG: negator

PRT: particle

TENT: tentative aspect

13.5 References

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