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

<https://doi.org/10.1515/cog-2018-0039>

Received 30 March 2018; revised 19 October 2018; accepted 20 November 2018

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 **Multiple Parallel Text** (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 properly⁴ 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 wēi-wēi 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 yǐjǐ wǒ-mén chuān de hēisè
 smell and we wear LK black

丧服。 齐力普 先生 也 在 那里,
sāngfú qílǐpǔ 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 *wēi-wēi* ‘faint-RED’ (based on 微 *wēi* ‘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 *ideophonizing* 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

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 ideophonizing 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 — 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 xiēwēi 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 yǐjī wǒ-mén chuān de hēisè
 smell and we wear LK black
 丧服。 齐力普 先生 也 在 那里，
 sāngfú qílǐpǔ 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 spring-
 ing 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 ideophonize 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 standard¹⁰ 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.

Acknowledgements: The completion of this paper was partially sponsored by “The influence of socio-cultural factors and writing system on perception and cognition of complex visual stimuli” (GC19-09265J) granted by the Czech Science Foundation. I would like to thank Joseph Lennon for editing and proofreading the manuscript and the reviewers for valuable comments. All remaining errors are my responsibility.

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