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# Temporal Deixis and Anaphora in English and Mandarin Chinese: a contrastive study of now and then and their Mandarin equivalents

Myriam Boulin

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PARIS DIDEROT UNIVERSITY (Paris 7)  
SORBONNE PARIS CITÉ  
DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF LANGUAGE SCIENCES  
CLILLAC-ARP, LLF

**Ph.D. DISSERTATION**

Field: Linguistics  
Specialty: English-Chinese Contrastive Linguistics

**BOULIN Myriam**

**Temporal Deixis and Anaphora in English and Mandarin Chinese:  
a contrastive study of *now* and *then* and their Mandarin equivalents**

La deixis et l'anaphore temporelles en anglais et en chinois mandarin :  
étude contrastive de *now*, *then* et leurs équivalents mandarins

Supervisors: Agnès Celle and Marie-Claude Paris  
Defense: December 7th, 2015

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# Notations

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Below are the notations used in this study.

## Transcriptions of Chinese

-le	perfective suffix
BA	direct object marker
Cl	classifier
de	pre-verbal adverbial modifier (地)
DE	post-verbal complement marker (得)
Rel	relative marker (的)
-Dur	durative aspect suffix
-Exp	Experiential aspect suffix
Neg	negation marker
Pass	passive marker
Comp	marker of comparison
MV	modal verb ( <i>neng, hui, keyi, yinggai, etc.</i> )
NE	final particles (NE, LA, A, YA, O, <i>etc.</i> )



**Transcription conventions of the English Conversational Corpus (Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English):**

~Jill	Pseudograph (fake name, address etc.)
...	pause, untimed
..	hold/micropause
=	lag/prosodic lengthening
[ speech]	overlap (first pair)
[2speech2 ]	overlap (2nd pair)
--	truncated intonation unit
wor-	truncated/cut-off word
(H)	breath (in)
(Hx)	exhale
@	laugh
@you're @kidding	laughter during word
(COUGH)	vocalism ((SNIFF), (AHEM), <i>etc.</i> )
(TSK)	alveolar click
(%)	glottal stop, creak
<MISC>	various notations for manner of speaking
<VOX>	voice of another
X	unintelligible (syllables)
<X you're kidding>	uncertain hearing (words)
&	suspended IU
!	boost

**General notations:**

- \*     prefaces ungrammatical sentences
- ?     prefaces sentences that are not completely felicitous

# Introduction

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This work explores the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of deictic and anaphoric time relations in English and Chinese through the study of the markers *now* and *then* and their most frequent equivalents in Mandarin Chinese. Our objective is to determine the various functions of *now* and *then* in contemporary English and to compare them to the functions of their various Mandarin equivalents, with a view to shedding some light on the differences of use of temporal deixis and anaphora in the two languages. This research is based on a corpus study of bilingual narrative texts, film dialogues and spontaneous language corpora. In this introduction, we first define the notions of temporal deixis and anaphora (Section 1), before presenting the pair of adverbs *now* and *then* (Section 2). We then propose a brief comparison of the temporal systems of English and Chinese (Section 3), followed by an overview of the previous research on *now* and *then* and their Chinese equivalents (Section 5). In Section 6, we define some terms used in this thesis. We then move on to a description of our methodology and our corpora (Section 7), and finally give an outline of the thesis (Section 8).

## 1. Temporal deixis and anaphora

Deixis and anaphora are two different modes of reference. When a linguistic element is interpreted deictically, it is interpreted relative to the situation of utterance. Monticelli explains that deixis is “a phenomenon which links linguistic utterances with the source and context of their production” (Monticelli 2005: 9). In other words, the identification of a referent through deixis relies on variable elements of the situation of utterance. Conversely,

when an element is located anaphorically, its referent is not determined by elements of the situation of utterance but by predetermined elements in the context. Huang explains that,

Anaphora refers to a relation between two linguistic elements, wherein the interpretation of one (called an anaphor) is in some way determined by the interpretation of the other (called an antecedent). (Huang 1994: 1)

Thus, a deictic form can only be interpreted relative to the situation in which it is uttered, while an anaphoric form can only be interpreted relative to an element already – or soon to be – determined in the context. The time location adverb *then* is anaphoric because it refers to a time already mentioned in the context. *Now* is a deictic adverb, insofar as the content or referent picked by *now* is different with every situation of utterance. If at 2pm Paul asks Mary *What time is it now?* and asks the same question again an hour later, each occurrence of *now* will be referring to two different moments in time. However, despite the variability of the referent picked by *now*, its character (*i.e.* its rigid meaning) is fixed. *Now* always refers to the time of utterance in conversation<sup>1</sup>. Because of this characteristic, deictics are also called indexicals. Kaplan explains that an indexical is “a word whose referent is dependent on the context of use, which provides a rule which determines the referent in terms of certain aspects of the context” (Kaplan 1977: 490). Thus, while the term ‘indexical’ refers to the fixed meaning of the form, the term ‘deixis’ emphasises the fact that the referent of the form changes with each situation, because the time of utterance changes. The time of utterance is a coordinate of Bühler’s *origo* (Bühler 1965) also called *deictic centre*, which is a coordinate system oriented around a speaker (*I-here-now*).

Deixis has also been defined as a pointing operation with ostensive value (Monticelli 2005). Following this definition of the term, *then*, which points to a time other than the time of utterance, could be identified as a deictic marker. Schiffrin (1987, 1990, 1992) considers that *then* is a distal deictic marker, coding non-overlap between the time of the eventuality located by *then* and the time of speech. Although *then* can be considered to have a distal deictic component, its content cannot be exclusively interpreted relative to the situation of utterance. Indeed, in *She was twenty then*, although *then* indicates that the time of the eventuality ‘be twenty’ does not overlap with the time of speech, it cannot pick a referent in

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<sup>1</sup> This is actually only the case in conversation. We will reexamine the character of *now* in Chapter 1 and argue that rather than systematically referring to the time of utterance, *now* systematically refers to the reference time (notion developed by Reichenbach (1947)).

the situation of utterance. The identification of an antecedent is needed for a successful interpretation of *then*, as in *Her brother got married in 2005; she was twenty then*, in which “in 2005” is the antecedent of *then*. In this study, we use the term ‘deixis’ to refer to a mode of context-dependent interpretation. To refer to the ostensive value of *now* and *then*, we use the terms ‘proximal deixis’ and ‘distal deixis’.

Some, like Bühler (1965), consider that anaphora only corresponds to a specific use of deictic elements. Others, like Hunter (2013), have argued that all indexicals should be treated as anaphors. We argue that deixis and anaphora are two different phenomena and will explain our position in more detail in Chapter 2.

## 2. *Now and then*

*Now* and *then* often function as an adverbial pair. As temporal location markers they are in a relation of complementary distribution, with *now* referring directly to the time of speech (S), while *then* might refer to any point in time other than S. *Now* refers to the time point which is the most directly available to the speaker, it is therefore a marker of proximal deixis. Conversely, *then* refers to a time period distant from the speaker, either in the future or in the past: it is a marker of distal deixis (Schiffrin 1987, 1990, 1992). Accordingly, *now* is typically used in non-past contexts while *then* is typically used in past contexts (*She is now 20 years old / She was then 20 years old*). In addition to having a distal meaning - or rather because of that distal meaning - *then* functions as an anaphor. However, the situation is more complex than that. First, *now* can occur in past contexts (*She was now 20 years old*). Second, *then* is not simply a marker of temporal location: it can be used as a sequential marker to organise eventualities in chronological order (*She went to the bank, then she went back to work*).

Thus, despite a certain semantic complementarity when they are time location markers, the functions of *now* and *then* cannot be reduced to present time reference vs. past time reference. Both markers are multifunctional and display a range of temporal as well as non-temporal functions. In its pragmatic use, *now* has both text-structuring and interpersonal functions (Schiffrin 1987; Aijmer 2002; Defour 2007). As a textual marker, it can for instance be used to organise discourse in narratives (*There was a boy, Pete. Now, Pete had a dog...*). As an interpersonal marker, it can be used with an authoritative value (*Now, don't start*). As

for non-temporal *then*, its functions span from anaphor of an *if*-clause in conditional structures (*If you go, then I'll go*) to coordinative marker used to structure lists (*In this story there's a boy, then there's a girl*).

In this study, we endeavour to identify and classify the various functions of *now* and *then*, and to determine to what extent they are comparable and can inform each other. With a view to defining a core value for each marker, we explore their syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics. We use contrastive analysis to provide a new perspective on the questions at hand.

### **3. English and Mandarin Chinese**

English and Mandarin Chinese are wholly unrelated languages. English belongs to the Indo-European family of languages whereas Chinese is considered to be a Sino-Tibetan language. One major point of contrast between the two languages is the fact that they do not express time relations in the same way. In English, temporal location is grammaticalised: in addition to lexical items such as time adverbials and modal auxiliaries, tenses are used to locate events in time. Comrie explains that “tense is the grammaticalised expression of location in time” (Comrie 1985: 10). English tends to locate events in time relative to the notions of past, present, and future. Absolute tenses code time location morphologically relative to the time of utterance (Reichenbach 1947; Comrie 1985), and temporal adverbs such as *now* and *then* complement tense to give more precision as to the exact location of the event. With *now*, the event is typically located at the time of speech (the present), whereas with *then*, the event is located at a point anterior or posterior to the time of speech, in other words a point situated in the past or in the future.

Unlike English, Mandarin Chinese does not encode time location morphologically. Chinese has no tense system; it relies on temporal adverbs, modal auxiliaries, aspect and context for temporal location. In fact, the interpretation of time relations in Mandarin revolves mostly around aspect. Contrary to tense, aspect is not concerned with locating an event in time, but with the structure of the event (Comrie 1976). On the one hand, lexical aspect provides information on the internal constituency of the event, and on the other hand, aspectual viewpoint provides a perspective from which the eventuality is represented (Smith

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1997). Aspectual information can determine the temporal relations between the events themselves. In other words, the expression of temporal relations in Chinese relies in great part on the specification of the stage or mode of unfolding of the events. To code aspect, Mandarin has a number of grammaticalised aspectual markers which code inchoation, completion, progression, *etc.* The most common aspectual markers of Mandarin Chinese are *zai*, *-zhe*, *zheng*, *-le*, *le*, and *guo*. They generally indicate whether the event is bounded (*-le*, *guo*), ongoing (*zai*, *-zhe*, *zheng*), or simply currently relevant (*le*). Smith (2007) explains that the temporal location of the event (past, present, future) might easily be inferred from its aspectual status thanks to a deictic principle of interpretation. Thus, a bounded event is generally interpreted as anterior to the time of speech (past), whereas an unbounded event is interpreted as ongoing at the time of speech (present).

Through the contrastive analysis of the temporal adverbs *now* and *then* and their Mandarin equivalents, this study aims to compare the temporal systems of English and Chinese, *i.e.* a temporal system based on tense *vs.* a temporal system based on aspect.

This research examines the distribution and correspondence patterns of *now* and *then* and their Mandarin equivalents. Among the equivalents of *now* and *then*, we find a number of congruent correspondences (*i.e.* translational equivalents of the same grammatical category, *cf.* Johansson 2007). We also find divergent correspondences (*i.e.* translational equivalents from a different grammatical category (*ibid.*)) such as aspectual particles. Thus, on the one hand, Mandarin Chinese counts a number of temporal adverbs that appear to be more or less semantically equivalent to *now* and *then* (*xianzai* ‘now’, *cike* ‘now, this moment’, *muqian* ‘now, nowadays’, *etc.* for *now*; *nashi* ‘at that time’, *dangshi* ‘at the time’, *ranhou* ‘then, after that’, *jiu* ‘then, at once’ *etc.* for *then*). On the other hand, some aspectual markers also qualify as correspondences of *now* and *then*, in particular the perfective marker verbal *-le* – which often occurs as a correspondence of sequential *then* – and the marker of change of state final *le* – which frequently corresponds to *now*. The fact that adverbs of temporal location should have aspectual particles as translational correspondences indicates that time location and aspect are linked, and encourages us to hypothesise that aspectual markers can have functions of temporal location while location adverbs can convey aspect. We will have to investigate this phenomenon through the study of the interaction of aspect and tense with temporal adverbs.

#### 4. Overview of previous research

The markers *now* and *then* as well as a number of Chinese markers examined in the present study (principally *-le*, *le*, *na(me)* ‘in this case’ and *ranhou* ‘then’) have received increasing attention in the last few years, notably because of a growing interest in their pragmatic functions. Among others, Boucher (1986, 1993), Schiffrin (1987, 1990, 1992), Brunaud (1991), Noël (1996), Celle (1999, 2004), Aijmer (2002), Defour (2007) and Haselow (2011) have studied *now* and *then*; Li & Thompson (1981, 1982), Lin (2000, 2003, 2006), Van den Berg & Wu (2006), Lu & Su (2009) and Chang (2009) have studied the aspectual markers *-le* and *le*; Biq (1990), Miracle (1991) and Liu (2011) have examined the pragmatic marker *na(me)* ‘at that time’ and finally Huang (1993), Su (1998), Wang & Huang (2006) and Liu (2011) have examined the marker *ranhou*. However, several of the Chinese markers under study have received little to no attention, such as the adverb *xianzai* ‘now’ or the adverbs *na(ge)shi(hou)* ‘at that time’ and *dangshi* ‘at the time’.

Moreover, most linguists have adopted a monolingual approach, and focus either on English or on Chinese markers. Only few researchers have carried out cross-linguistic studies (Wang 2001; Methven 2006; Celle 1999, 2004). We believe that a contrastive analysis of these markers can shed some light on the specificities of the expression of time relations in tensed *vs.* aspectual languages.

So far, authors have focussed on a number of issues related to these markers. Most researchers interested in the semantics of *now* and *then* have examined their deictic and anaphoric functions (Lyons 1990; Boucher 1986, 1993; Schiffrin 1987, 1990, 1992; Kamp & Reyle 1993; Moeschler & Reboul 1998; De Mulder & Vettters 2008; Atshuler 2009; Hunter 2013; Ritz *et al.* 2012; among others). Their structuring functions in discourse and narration have also been studied, with *now* identified as a boundary marker (Boucher 1986) and *then* as a marker of overlap or succession (Schiffrin 1990, 1992; Glasbey 1993; Thompson 1999). More generally, their pragmatic or discursive uses have been analysed extensively (Quirk 1985; Boucher 1986, 1993; Schiffrin 1987, 1992; Brunaud 1991; Noël 1996; Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Celle 1999, 2004; Defour 2007; Haselow 2011; *etc.*).

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Several Chinese markers under study have received some attention. First, final *le* and verbal *-le* have been the subjects of many studies over the past fifty years (Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1981, 1982; Andreasen 1981; Lin 2000, 2003, 2007; Chang 2009; Van den Berg & Wu 2006; Lu & Su 2009; among others). The meaning of verbal *-le* is quite straightforward: it is a perfective marker which indicates that the process denoted by the preceding verb is validated. But the meaning of particle *le* has been much debated among researchers. It is generally agreed that *le* is a boundary marker (Huang 1987) which codes a change of state and marks the state of affairs denoted by the clause as currently relevant (Li & Thompson 1981). Lately, it has been argued that the main function of *le* is to update a shared common ground (Van den Berg & Wu 2006) and denote intersubjectivity (Lu & Su 2009). The outlined functions of particle *le* (*i.e.* boundary and current relevance marking) are reminiscent of the previously identified meanings of *now*, while the perfective function of *-le* can be linked to the sequential function of *then*, which indicates that the following eventuality occurs after the validation of the previous one.

The adverb *jiu* ‘then, at once’ has often been studied with its counterpart *cai* which could be glossed as ‘only then’ (Paris 1981; Biq 1984; Liu 1993, *etc.*). Like *then*, *jiu* is a connective and has sequential, consequential and conditional uses (Liu 1993; Hsieh 2005). But Hsieh (2005) also notes that like pragmatic *then*, *jiu* can be used to establish coherence at discourse level. Like Paris (1981), she also underlines the fact that *jiu* can code identification and immediacy, meanings that are often attributable to *now*.

*Ranhou* ‘then, after that’ is usually used anaphorically to mark sequentiality (Su 1998; Wang & Huang 2006; Liu 2011). It can also be used to establish a causal relationship, to mark condition or concession, to mark topic succession or as verbal filler. In conversation, *ranhou* can become a discourse marker denoting hesitation on the part of the speaker (Su 1998). We will see that sequential *then* shares most of these characteristics.

Finally, *na(me)* ‘in this case’ is a logical marker often found as a correspondence of *then* in conditionals. However, unlike *then*, it does not have a temporal use. *Na(me)* can also be used as a pragmatic marker to change topics (Biq 1990) or link parallel topics (Miracle 1991).

Thus, *le*, *jiu* ‘then, at once’ and *ranhou* ‘then, after that’, just like *now* and *then*, all have temporal and discursive functions. This is not the case of *xianzai* ‘now’, the Chinese



counterpart of English *now*. Unlike the markers mentioned above, *xianzai* has received very little attention. Only Wang (2001) makes it an object of study and compares it to *now*, noting that *xianzai* cannot take on a pragmatic function. The same can be said of *na(ge)shi(hou)* ‘at that time’, the Chinese counterpart of referential *then*. However, we will explore the possible connection between *na(ge)shi(hou)* ‘at that time’ and *na(me)* ‘in this case’, which both contain the demonstrative marker *na* ‘that’.

We will have to explain why the most basic Chinese equivalent of *now* (*xianzai*) has not developed into a pragmatic marker. Contrastively, *now* and *then* feature among the most multifunctional markers of English, with a complex spectrum of meanings and uses ranging from temporal deixis and anaphora to a variety of subtle non-temporal values.

## 5. Research questions and objectives

Through the contrastive analysis of these temporal markers, this study addresses several general questions:

- How is the expression of temporal relations achieved in English and Chinese? What are the respective roles of temporal adverbs, tense and aspect for time location in each language, and how do they interact?
- What are the structural functions of temporal deixis and anaphora in conversation and narration in Chinese and English?
- What are the links between the temporal and pragmatic functions of the markers under study? Why do some temporal markers develop into pragmatic markers while others do not?

More concretely, this work aims at providing a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features of the English adverbs *now* and *then* and their various Chinese semantic equivalents through a corpus-based contrastive study. By looking at parallel fictional texts (*i.e.* narratives and film dialogues) as well as spontaneous conversations in each language, we explore the interactions between temporal *now* and *then* and tense and aspect in English, and between Chinese temporal adverbs such as *xianzai* ‘now’ or *ranhou* ‘then, after that’ and aspectual markers such as *-le* and *le*. We also examine the

various pragmatic functions of all these markers and look into the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic correspondences and dissimilarities between the English and Chinese markers.

## 6. Terminology

### 6.1. Equivalence vs. correspondence

This study examines *now* and *then* and their Mandarin equivalents. What do we mean by the term ‘equivalent’, and how did we identify the equivalents of *now* and *then*? The term equivalence, in its general usage, can be defined as “the fact or state of being equal in value, amount, meaning, importance, *etc.*” (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary). However, Chesterman (1998) explains that in contrastive analysis, the notion of ‘equivalence’ should be replaced by that of ‘similarity’, insofar as no two forms can be found to be absolutely identical in meaning, syntactic form, and conditions of use. Equivalence is never absolute and one should talk, rather, of degrees of equivalence between two forms. He argues that for contrastive analysis, a perceived equivalence or similarity, be it in meaning, form, or conditions of use should be enough to allow for analysis. Thus, equivalence is an assessment and as such the recognition of equivalence is fundamentally subjective.

In this study, none of the markers identified as equivalences of *now* and *then* are perfectly equal to them in meaning and function. We based the selection of the Mandarin markers on the frequencies of their occurrence as correspondences of *now* and *then* in the parallel corpora. A correspondence is a translation of a source term/construction found in the parallel text (Johansson 2007). The difference between an equivalent and a correspondence is that a correspondence might not qualify as an equivalent outside of the particular context where it appears. Thus, we first identified potential equivalents of *now* and *then* based on their frequency of correspondence, and then carried out a qualitative study for each marker in order to determine the degree of equivalence between each English marker and their correspondences. When the degree of equivalence seemed low despite the high frequency of correspondence, we looked for other potential equivalents among less frequent divergent correspondences. Indeed, we will see that since we are confronted with two completely different temporal systems, the meanings of the markers under study are not necessarily achieved by means of similar syntactic categories (*i.e.* adverbs) in Chinese.

## 6.2. Pragmatic markers

Most of the temporal markers under study can take on non-temporal functions and be used not to locate a process in time (temporal location adverbs) or give information on the unfolding of the process (aspectual markers), but as pragmatic markers. The terminology used to refer to pragmatic markers is varied. They have been dubbed *discourse markers* (Schiffrin 1987), *discourse particles* (Ajimer 2002) or *pragmatic particles* (Östman 1995). Following Brinton (1996) we use the term *pragmatic markers* (PMs) and group their functions into two main classes: textual and interpersonal. They have a textual function when they are used as connectors to structure discourse and facilitate textual progression. They have an interpersonal function when they convey the attitude of the speaker towards the hearer (Brinton 1996).

## 7. Methodology

### 7.1. Theoretical framework

This study adopts an eclectic theoretical approach. In order to best account for the phenomena encountered, concepts from various fields of study are used. The general analysis draws greatly from Culioli's Theory of Enunciative Operations (Culioli 1990, 1999), which places the speaker at the centre of the analysis. According to this approach, all linguistic operations must be considered in relation to a speaker. Thus, Culioli assigns a key role to the operation of location to construct utterances, as well as to the abstract coordinates of the situation of utterance, *i.e.* the enunciator (which we call the speaker), the co-enunciator (which we call hearer or addressee) and the time of utterance or time of speech (S). These concepts are particularly useful to examine the operations of deixis and anaphora, and to account for the temporal functions of the markers under study.

Theoretical tools from the field of tense and aspect studies are also used. The theory of tense developed by Reichenbach (1947), which defines the abstract coordinates R, S, E is used to account for the temporal meaning of *now* and *then*. Smith's dual conception of aspect (Smith 1994) and her theory of the Perfect (Smith 1997) also provide key distinctions to

understand the functions of the markers, as well as Vendler's classification of *aktionsarten* (Vendler 1957).

In our pragmatic analysis of the markers, we also rely on methods and concepts from discourse analysis, pragmatic theory and grammaticalisation theory. The analysis of the English and Mandarin markers as PMs also draws from the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) developed by Halliday (1994). SFL analyses the function of language and aims at explaining what language does as well as how it does it. It distinguishes between three metafunctions that structure all languages: an ideational function, an interpersonal function and a textual function. The ideational function of language refers to the fact that language is used to produce propositional content. The interpersonal function of language has to do with the fact that language is used to communicate with others: it is used to establish, maintain or modify social relations between interlocutors. Finally, the textual function of language refers to the means used to regulate the flow of discourse. We use this framework to account for the pragmatic uses of *now* and *then*, which can have textual as well as interpersonal functions as PMs.

## 7.2. Contrastive linguistics

Pan & Tham (2007: 21) identify the American anthropologist Whorf (1940) as the father of contrastive linguistics. Following Whorf and his principle of linguistic relativity, they give the following definition of contrastive linguistics: "Contrastive linguistics analyses languages that are typologically different in an aim to establish the relations between thought and language" (Pan & Tham 2007: 88). They go on to say:

To follow Whorf's idea on contrastive linguistics, the ideal target would be a pair of languages each belonging to a typological class in no way related to each other. On this note, the Chinese language could be the best partner to contrast with English or other Indo-European languages. (Pan & Tham 2007: 72)

It is generally acknowledged that using translational corpora can provide new insights in the functions and meanings of linguistic forms. Degand (2009) advocates the use of translational corpora for the analysis of PMs. She explains that the use of translation and contrastive analysis can help better understand the different shades of meaning of complex markers. Indeed, she argues that,

By choosing one equivalent over another the translator will highlight one particular meaning over another which will help making explicit the different meaning components involved in the use of a particular DM. (Degand 2009: 175)

We have seen that *now* and *then* are multifunctional markers. Following Degand (2009), we propose to use translational corpora to shed some light on the functions of *now* and *then*. Furthermore, we also intend to use contrastive analysis to investigate the various shades of meaning of the Chinese markers.

### **7.3. Presentation of the corpora**

The present study relies on the qualitative and quantitative study of several contemporary<sup>2</sup> parallel corpora:

- (a) a written translational corpus made up of fictional texts, with approximately 268.000 words of original data in each language and three authors in each language.
- (b) an oral translational corpus made up of film dialogues, with approximately 52.000 words of original data in each language.
- (c) a comparable corpus of spontaneous conversations in Chinese and in English, with approximately 50.000 words in each language.

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<sup>2</sup> All our data was produced after 2000.

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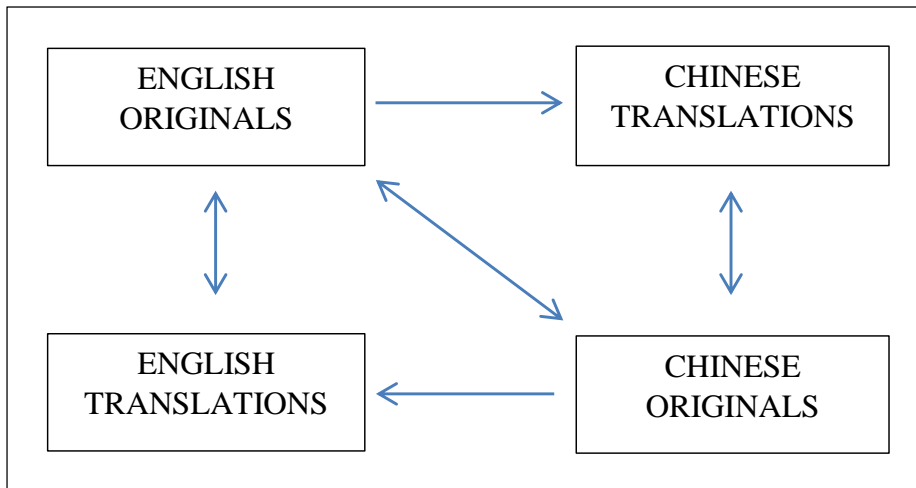
**Table 1** - Overview of the corpora

CORPUS	<b>Section 1: Narrative corpus</b>	English Narrative Corpus (ENC)		Chinese Narrative Corpus (CNC)	
LANGUAGE		English source	Chinese translation	Chinese source	English translation
DATA SOURCE	<b>6 novels</b>	3 novels	3 novels	3 novels	3 novels
SIZE	<b>536.000 words</b>	268.000 words	≈491.000 characters	≈491.000 characters	268.000 words

CORPUS	<b>Section 2: Film corpus</b>	English Film Corpus (EFC)		Chinese Film Corpus (EFC)	
LANGUAGE		English source	Chinese translation	Chinese source	English translation
DATA SOURCE	<b>12 films</b>	5 films	7 films	5 films	7 films
SIZE	<b>≈104.000 words</b>	≈52.000 words	≈95.000 characters	≈95.000 characters	≈52.000 words

CORPUS	<b>Section 3: Conversational corpus</b>	English Conversational Corpus (ECC)	Chinese Conversation Corpus (CCC)
LANGUAGE		English	Chinese
DATA SOURCE	<b>30 conversations, 83 speakers</b>	14 conversations, 51 speakers	16 conversations, 32 speakers
SIZE	<b>11 hours</b>	≈5,5 hours ≈50.000 words	≈5,5 hours, ≈92.000 characters

The first two sections (written and oral translation corpora) are each organised as a bidirectional corpus on the model of the English-Norwegian parallel corpus (1999), see Figure 1.



**Figure 1** - Basic structure of the translation corpora

On the one hand, meanings and structures in original texts can be contrasted to meanings and structures in their translation (horizontal arrows in Figure 1) and on the other hand, English original texts can be compared to Chinese original texts (diagonal arrow in Figure 1). As underlined by Johansson (2007), a translation corpus is useful insofar as it allows for the study of semantic equivalents such as *now* and *xianzai* ‘now’ in identical contexts (horizontal arrows in Figure 1), which helps bring out their correspondence pattern. However, translations are subject to errors; they might be biased by the individual interpretation of a particular translator or influenced by the source language. It is not rare for a form to be overused in translation because of its high frequency in the source language (Johansson 2007). But the damaging effects of translation can be controlled with a comparable corpus of language in use in English and Chinese (diagonal arrow in Figure 1). Finally, monolingual comparisons between originals and translations can be made to determine the influence of the source language on translational data (vertical arrows in Figure 1).

These two translation corpora will allow us to work on written as well as oral data, which is essential for the study of phenomena such as deixis and anaphora. However, they are based on fiction language and not on spontaneous speech. It is essential to compare the phenomena observed in the fictional sections (both written and oral) to those observed in spontaneous speech. Indeed, Taylor (2004) showed that pragmatic markers like *now* are more frequent in spontaneous speech than in film language, where they are in turn more frequent than in written film scripts. This is why we also use a parallel conversational corpus, made up of two comparable corpora of spontaneous speech, one in Taiwanese Mandarin (texts taken from the

Mandarin Topic-Oriented Conversation Corpus) and one in English (texts taken from the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English Part 1). This corpus will enable us to control the spoken phenomena observed in the filmic and narrative data.

#### 7.4. Representativeness of the corpora

Our data only covers British English, American English and Taiwanese Mandarin. All the data is contemporary and was produced after 2000. Although we focus on three different types of material (written fiction, film dialogues and spontaneous conversations), our data is quantitatively limited and cannot claim to be representative of the English or Chinese language, or even of a specific genre. Although we use quantitative results, we are aware of their limited scope. We chose to focus on a few samples to make possible an exhaustive qualitative study of the markers. Indeed, as pointed by Jane Evison (2010), an oversized corpus might hinder the analysis of high-frequency markers such as *now* and *then*:

Analysis of corpora by applied linguists with different interests, such as the investigation of high-frequency grammatical patterns or discourse features, has shown that having very large corpora can mean that too much data is generated if one is searching for very frequent items or interested in carrying out detailed analysis. (Evison 2010: 123)

Thus, we try for a combination of the quantitative and the qualitative approaches, as recommended by more and more researchers:

There are growing numbers of researchers who suggest that combining automatic corpus analytic techniques with more fine-grained qualitative investigation, such as Conversation Analysis (CA), is a robust methodology for dealing with the intricacies of spoken language in particular (*e.g.* Tao 2003; O’Keeffe 2006; Walsh and O’Keeffe 2007). (Evison 2010: 132)

More issues related to the representativeness of our data emerge when we look at each section of the corpus. In the first section, only three Taiwanese authors<sup>3</sup> are represented, along with three English-speaking authors.<sup>4</sup> Each author can boast a personal narrative style, and the registers used both in narration and in dialogues are varied.

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<sup>3</sup>Wu Ming-Yi (*The Man with the Compound Eyes*, 2013), Chung Wen-yin (*Decayed Lust*, 2012), Badai (*Sorceress Diguwan*, 2013)

<sup>4</sup>J.K. Rowling (*Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*, 2007), Dan Brown (*Da Vinci Code*, 2003), Neil Gaiman (*American Gods*, 2001)



More problems arise when we consider the second section of the corpus. Practical considerations compelled us to use the official subtitles of the films as data, instead of the pre-written script, or the actual film dialogues. But as noted by Taylor (2004), the subtitles are often incomplete and some pragmatic markers and interjections used by the actors do not register in this material. This is mostly due to technical considerations, every utterance having to fit the image. This practice often affects the translation of subtitles, although English translations are more affected than Chinese ones, since Chinese characters take up less space. We will have to take these realities into consideration when analysing our data. The limitations pertaining to the fictional data only enhance how crucial the conversational data will be for our analysis, especially when it comes to pragmatic markers.

### **7.5. Data retrieval**

The corpora were parsed with MkAlign<sup>5</sup> and AntConc<sup>6</sup>, two tools designed to check for both qualitative and quantitative features of linguistic forms. All the occurrences of *now* and *then* (both in originals and translations) were filed and classified on the basis of a combination of various syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, translational and collocational features. They were all treated in context, and, for the translational sections of our corpus, against the Chinese parallel text.

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<sup>5</sup> MkAlign is a textometric tool for multilingual textometric exploration of translation corpora developed by Serge Fleury, Paris 3 University, France ([tp://tal.univ-paris3.fr/mkAlign/mkAlignDOC.htm](http://tal.univ-paris3.fr/mkAlign/mkAlignDOC.htm))

<sup>6</sup>Antconc is a concordancer developed by Laurence Anthony, Waseda University, Japan ([http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc\\_index.html](http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc_index.html))

**Table 2** - Frequencies of *now* and *then* in the corpora

Corpus	Tokens of <i>now</i> in Originals	Tokens of <i>now</i> in translations	Tokens of <i>then</i> in originals	Tokens of <i>then</i> in translations
<b>ENC and CNC</b>	623	494	711	346
<b>EFC and CFC</b>	147	172	76	141
<b>ECC and CCC</b>	110		256	
<b>Total</b>	880	666	1033	487

## 8. Outline of the thesis

The present work is organised into three parts. The first part deals with temporal *now* and its Chinese equivalents. In Chapter 1, we determine the functions of temporal *now*. In Chapter 2, we contrast temporal *now* with its most frequent correspondence *xianzai* ‘now’. We find that although *now* and *xianzai* have the same temporal deictic meaning, they are not used in the same contexts. We argue that this is due to the fact that *now* has a fundamentally contrastive meaning while *xianzai* is an imperfective marker with no contrastive meaning. In Chapter 3, we analyse the Chinese marker *LE*, and more particularly final particle *le* which is an aspectual marker coding change of state and current relevance. We show that due to its contrastive value and its deictic function, *now* is a close functional equivalent of Mandarin *le*.

In Part II, we explore the functions of temporal *then* and its Chinese equivalents. In Chapter 4, we focus on temporal *then* and distinguish between two functions: referential and sequential. Accordingly, in Chapter 5, we examine the Chinese correspondences of referential *then*. In Chapter 6, we contrast sequential *then* with its Mandarin equivalences. We find that while Chinese speakers rely on referential adverbs for temporal location more than English speakers, the latter rely on sequential markers to code temporal relations more than Chinese speakers.

In Part III, we focus on the non-temporal uses of *now* and *then* and their Mandarin correspondences. In Chapter 7, we analyse the functions of *now* as a pragmatic marker. We argue that its pragmatic functions stem directly from its temporal functions of contrast and deixis. In Chapter 8, we study the non-temporal functions of *then*. We show that the non-temporal uses of *then* fall within two categories: some functions build on the use of temporal

## Introduction

*then* as a referential marker, while other functions build on the use of *then* as a sequential marker. Finally, in Chapter 9, we contrast the pragmatic uses of *now* and *then* with their Mandarin correspondences. We find that some temporal equivalents of *now* and *then* also share their pragmatic functions.

# Part I

## Temporal *now* and its Chinese equivalents

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This first part is a contrastive study of the English temporal marker *now* and its Mandarin correspondences *xianzai* ‘now’ and *le* (final particle coding change of state). *Now* is a location adverb typically coding that the time of the eventuality and the time of speech overlap. Since in English sentences, tense already provides information on the relation between the time of the eventuality and the time of speech, we hypothesise that *now* as a temporal location marker is redundant. Conversely, we conjecture that the absence of tenses in Chinese might result in a greater use of temporal location markers. This hypothesis constitutes a starting point for our analysis of temporal *now* and its Mandarin equivalents.

In order to verify this idea, we first carry out a non-contrastive analysis of the English temporal adverb *now* in Chapter 1. We confirm that *now* is a deictic time adverb coding overlap between the time of speech or the narrative *now*-point and the time of the eventuality. Further, we find that *now* has an inherent contrastive meaning: *now* creates an opposition between the current state of affairs and an antithetical previous state of affairs. In Chapter 2, we contrast *now* to its most frequent Mandarin correspondence *xianzai* ‘now’ and identify the variations in function and meaning between the two adverbs: although *xianzai* is deictic and has the same temporal meaning as *now*, it is not a marker of contrast, which explains why the mutual correspondence of the two adverbs is not higher. We find that *now* often corresponds to the Mandarin final particle *le*, which denotes a change of state. In Chapter 3, we examine the

## Part I

properties of the aspectual marker *le* and contrast its use to the use of *now*. Although *le* and *now* are divergent correspondences, we find that they share many properties. We conclude that the deictic adverb *now* can be considered to have an aspectual function: it is an inchoative marker coding contrast between two situations.

# Chapter 1

## Temporal *now*

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In this first chapter, we discuss the nature and function of the temporal deictic adverb *now*. Although *now* is typically used with the present tense to refer to the time of speech, it is also found in past contexts in narration. This raises the question of its deictic status. We attempt to show that although some advocate the treatment of *now* as an anaphoric form, an analysis of *now* as a deictic marker better accounts for its markedness in past contexts. We also argue that *now* is a fundamentally deictic marker with a contrastive meaning: it opposes the current situation to an antithetical past or future state of affairs. Consequently, *now* can be considered as an inchoative marker; it marks the inception of a newly relevant situation. In order to determine the functions and meanings of temporal *now*, we first proceed to a review of the literature on this marker (Section 1), before describing the distribution of temporal *now* in the corpora (Section 2). Finally, we propose an analysis of the meaning of *now* as a deictic and inchoative marker (Section 3).

### 1. Temporal *now*: literature review

In this section, we briefly review the existing studies on temporal *now*. *Now* has been studied by many linguists, and although the analysis of its temporal functions is sometimes seen as a step leading to the study of its pragmatic use (Schiffrin 1987; Defour 2007; *etc.*), a number of studies have looked at temporal *now* and its realisations in interaction and in narration in some depth (Boucher 1986; Celle 1999; *etc.*). We also look at studies of the French adverb *maintenant* ‘now’, which has been extensively studied in French linguistics (Nef 1980, 1986; Jouve 1992;

Achard 1992; De Mulder 2006; De Mulder & Vetters 2008; *etc.*). We propose a thematic review of the findings concerning temporal *now*. The major questions raised in the reviewed studies are the deictic *vs.* anaphoric value of temporal *now*, its use in narration and its contrastive value.

### 1.1. Deixis and indexicality

The first area of interest concerning *now* is the deictic or indexical nature of this adverb (Lyons 1977; Boucher 1986, 1993; Moeschler & Reboul 1998; De Mulder & Vetters 2008; *etc.*). Traditionally, *now* - as well as its equivalents in other languages such as French *maintenant*, has been seen as primarily referring to the time of utterance, and as such has been analysed as a deictic marker. Lyons (1977) proposes the following definition of deixis:

By deixis is meant the location and identification of persons, objects, events, eventualities and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee. (Lyons 1977: 637)

Deictic markers allow for the direct localisation of their referent relative to the situation of utterance. *Now* indicates that the time of the eventuality<sup>1</sup> coincides with the time of speech. In (1) from the English Narrative Corpus (ENC), *now* indicates that the eventuality ‘be only the three of us’ is validated at the time of speech. In (2), *now* indicates that the question bears on the location of the object at the time of speech.

- (1) “Good beer,” said Shadow. “We brew it ourselves,” said Ibis. “In the old days the women did the brewing. They were better brewers than we are. But **now** it is only the three of us here. Me, him, and her.” (ENC)
- (2) “Where is it **now**?” asked Harry jubilantly as Ron and Hermione looked gleeful. (ENC)

However, in these utterances, *now* does not refer exclusively to the precise time interval in which it is uttered. In (1), the situation is validated before the time of speech, and it is still valid after. *Now* does not restrict the validation of the event to the time of speech. This is why De Mulder and Vetters (2008), who study *maintenant* ‘now’, argue that *maintenant* is not a pure

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<sup>1</sup> Following Bach (1981), we use the term ‘eventuality’ as a cover term to refer to both actions and states. We use the term ‘situation’ to refer to a state of affairs.

indexical. A pure indexical, according to them, strictly refers to the time of its utterance. Thus, *now* should refer to the “time of utterance of *now*”.<sup>2</sup> As confirmed by Groussier (1996) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002)<sup>3</sup>, *now* does not strictly refer to the time of utterance either, but rather to a larger time interval that includes the time of utterance. Levinson (1983) explains that *now* can be glossed as “the time at which the utterance containing *now* is produced” (Levinson 1983: 73), or rather a “pragmatically given time interval including S” (Levinson 1983: 74).

In the examples above, the eventuality located by *now* is the state ‘be’, and rather than strictly referring to the time of utterance of *now*, *now* delineates a larger time interval in which the state ‘be’ is validated.

## 1.2. *Now* in narration: deixis or anaphora?

The deictic status of *now* is problematic when it is used in narration with past tense, since it does not then refer to the time of utterance but rather to the time of the events, as is the case in (3) and (4) below:

- (3) Fache was in utter incomprehension of this woman’s gall. Not only had she just barged in on Fache without permission, but she was **now** trying to convince him that Saunière, in his final moments of life, had been inspired to leave a mathematical gag? (ENC)
- (4) “Return to the back wall and turn around.” Langdon obeyed. Vernet could feel his own heart pounding. Aiming the gun with his right hand, he reached **now** with his left for the wooden box. (ENC)

In (3), *now* refers to the extended time interval during which the character Sophie (“she”) is trying to convince Saunière. Thus, *now* does not refer to a time of utterance, which could here either be understood as the time of writing (encoding time) or of reading (decoding time).<sup>4</sup> *Now* refers to the time of the eventuality, which does not coincide with the time of utterance. In the

<sup>2</sup> Personal translation from French: “moment où on dit *maintenant*” (De Mulder and Veters 2008: 15).

<sup>3</sup> “In its primary use, *now* refers to an interval of time that includes the moment of utterance.” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1558)

<sup>4</sup> Fillmore (1984) distinguishes between *encoding time* and *decoding time*, encoding time being the time of production of the utterance whereas decoding time corresponds to the time of reception of the utterance by a hearer or reader.



same way in (4), *now* locates the eventuality ‘reach’ not as simultaneous to the time of utterance but as a past event.

On the one hand, some argue that like other deictic expressions used in narration, *now* retains its deictic value but operates a shift of the deictic centre from the narrator to the character, thus creating a shift characteristic of Free Indirect Speech (FIS) (Noël 1996; Boucher 1986, 1993; Jouve 1992; Celle 1999; De Mulder 2006; De Mulder & Veters 2008; *etc.*). Boucher gives the following definition of Free Indirect Speech:

[FIS] is characterised by the simultaneous presence in the same passage of deictic and expressive elements, such as exclamations, incomplete sentences, interrogatives, and so on, normally attributed to the speaker of the passage, and past tense verb forms and third person pronouns, referring to the characters and events being described. (Boucher 1986: 118)

According to this view, in (3) and (4) *now* yields the perspective of the focalising character because it shifts the deictic centre from the narrator and the time of speech to the character and the time of the events. Example (3) is a typical instance of Free Indirect speech, with the deictic adverb *now* and a rhetorical question which must be attributed to the character on the one hand, and third person pronouns and past tense on the other.

On the other hand, it has been argued more recently that the narrative use of *now* is anaphoric. Thus, Kamp & Reyle (1993)<sup>5</sup> argue that *now* should not be regarded as a deictic marker but rather as an anaphoric expression referring to a *temporal perspective point*, which might be either the time of speech or a previously mentioned discourse event which would serve as a reference point for the interpretation of *now*. Building on Reichenbach’s (1947) definition of the reference point, they explain what they mean by *temporal perspective point*:

This term is meant to reflect our intuition that the intermediate time which Reichenbach recognized as essential to the interpretation of past perfects is the time *from which* the described eventuality is seen as past. (Kamp & Reyle 1993: 595)

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<sup>5</sup> Lately, many have used the theoretical framework of Discourse Representation Theory (DRT) or Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (SRDT) to examine the adverb *now*. These theories developed respectively by Kamp & Reyle (1993) and Asher & Lascarides (2003) try to give a formal account of discourse relations.

Therefore in (3), the eventuality ‘barge’ is presented with a past perfect, which indicates that the event described (“had barged”) is viewed from a posterior *temporal perspective point*. This *temporal perspective point* is the time of the eventuality ‘be in utter incomprehension’. Altshuler (2009) supports this view and explains that *now* is an anaphor, the use of which triggers the search for a topical event as antecedent. Thus, in (3), *now* takes the time of the eventuality ‘be in utter incomprehension’ as an antecedent, since it already serves a reference point for the location of the eventuality ‘barge’. Kamp & Reyle and Altshuler all argue that *now* can only occur in past contexts with states:

A first attempt to say what *now* means might well be: *now* always refers to the utterance time of the sentence of which it is part (except when it occurs within direct quotation). Little reflection is needed, however, to see that this is too restrictive. For *now* can also be used to refer to past times. (...) Nevertheless, the contexts in which *now* can refer to a past time are severely restricted. For example, it seems to be almost impossible for *now* to refer to a past time if the clause in which it occurs describes an event rather than a state. (Kamp & Reyle 1993: 595)

Kamp & Reyle include eventualities presented with the imperfective viewpoint in their definition of “state”, because the imperfective makes the inside of the eventuality visible to the exclusion of the initial and final endpoints of the eventuality. To clarify this idea, let us describe what Smith (1994) calls the two-component theory of aspect (we will come back to this theory in more detail in 3.2). Smith (1994) distinguishes between the situation type of an eventuality which is determined by the semantics of the verb (states, activities, accomplishments, achievements, semelfactives), and the aspectual viewpoint which conveys a temporal perspective on the eventuality (perfective and imperfective). Smith (1994) explains that:

Aspectual viewpoints differ as to how much of a situation they make visible. *Perfective viewpoints* include both endpoints of a situation and are *closed* informationally. *Imperfective* viewpoints focus on intervals that are neither initial nor final, thus excluding endpoints; they are *open* to additional information and inference. (Smith 1994: 110)

Since an imperfective eventuality is not considered as closed, it can overlap with the *temporal perspective point*. Kamp & Reyle explain that the use of *now* in narration is only possible if the located eventuality overlaps with the *temporal perspective point*. Thus, although the eventuality ‘try’ in (3) is not a state but an activity (it is not static but dynamic), the

imperfective viewpoint conveyed by the progressive form presents it as an unbounded eventuality that can be modified by *now* in narration.

On the grounds that the eventuality ‘write’ does not overlap with the *temporal perspective point* set by the past perfect “had come”, Kamp & Reyle reject the following utterance (Kamp & Reyle 1993: 596):

(5) \*Bill had come home at seven. **Now** he wrote a letter.

In (5) indeed, the eventuality of ‘writing a letter’ occurs after the point from which the eventuality ‘come home’ is viewed. On the other hand, they accept (6), because the time of the event located by *now* overlaps with the *temporal perspective point* given by the past perfect “had come”:

(6) Bill had come home at seven. **Now** he was writing a letter.

Our data, which includes a number of occurrences of *now* in narration with punctual eventualities, leads us to question this view, as Hunter (2013) and Ritz & Schultze-Berndt (2015) have already done. In example (4) for instance, *now* does not locate a state or an imperfective but an accomplishment (dynamic, telic and durative). In (7) below, *now* locates the eventuality ‘laugh’ which is neither stative, nor presented with the imperfective viewpoint. The eventuality is understood to happen after the preceding utterance, which causes the laughter, and before the following one (Langdon cannot laugh and speak at the same time). Thus, the *temporal perspective point* for the eventuality ‘laugh’ cannot be the time of occurrence of the preceding utterance, because there is no overlap between the two.

(7) “It’s quite possible,” Langdon said. “Da Vinci was a prankster, and computerized analysis of the Mona Lisa and Da Vinci’s self-portraits confirm some startling points of congruency in their faces. Whatever Da Vinci was up to,” Langdon said, “his Mona Lisa is neither male nor female. It carries a subtle message of androgyny. It is a fusing of both.” “You sure that’s not just some Harvard bullshit way of saying Mona Lisa is one ugly chick.” **Now** Langdon laughed. “You may be right. But actually Da Vinci left a big clue that the painting was supposed to be androgynous. Has anyone here ever heard of an Egyptian god named Amon?” “Hell yes!” the big guy said. (ENC)

We argue that *now* directly sets the *temporal perspective point* for the eventuality it modifies. Thus, there is indeed an overlap between the *temporal perspective point* and the time of the eventuality with *now*, but the *temporal perspective point* is not retrieved in the context. Rather, it is directly specified by *now*.

Hunter (2013, 2014) also examines the anaphoric uses of *now* and advocates the treatment of all indexicals as anaphoric or presuppositional expressions. She recommends considering that in conversation, the situation indicates that the antecedent of *now* is the time of speech, while in narration, this antecedent has to be retrieved from the context. Her theory of presuppositional indexicals allows for a unified account of all the temporal uses of *now*, be it in conversation or in narration. However, it fails to account for the markedness of the use of *now* in narration.

We shall discuss this question at length in 3.1.2 and defend the view that *now* in conversation as well as in narration should be treated not as an anaphor but as an indexical, the linguistic meaning of which is to locate the event as well as the deictic centre at a reference point (R). We use ‘reference point’ in reference to Reichenbach (1947) and also to Kamp & Reyle’s *temporal perspective point* (1993). However, unlike Kamp & Reyle, we will argue that narrative R is not necessarily previously mentioned in the text but directly constructed by *now* and constantly reevaluated as the events unfold (Rapaport *et al.* 1994). Having now reviewed the question of the deictic status of *now*, we turn to its contrastive value.

### 1.3. Contrastive value of *now*

Many linguists (Nef 1980; Fryd 1991; Boucher 1986, 1993; Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Celle 1999; De Mulder 2006; De Mulder and Vettters 2008; Ritz *et al.* 2012; Hunter 2013; Ritz & Schultze-Berndt 2015; *etc.*) have noted the contrastive value of *now*. Fryd (1991) explains that *now* codes an opposition between the prevailing state of affairs at the time of speech and an anterior state of affairs<sup>6</sup>. Huddleston & Pullum (2002) observe that “the use of *now* often involves a contrast between the present and the past or future” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1558).

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<sup>6</sup> “L’État qui prévaut est en opposition avec un état antérieur antithétique.” (Fryd 1991: 137)

- (8) “I think we're on the highway **now**,” Sophie whispered. Langdon sensed the same thing. The truck, after an unnerving pause atop the bank ramp, had moved on, snaking left and right for a minute or two, and was now accelerating to what felt like top speed. (ENC)

In example (8), *now* inaugurates a time interval in which a new state of affairs prevails. Although some argue that the contrastive value generally attributed to *now* results more from pragmatic principles than from any inherent semantic trait of *now* (Hunter 2014; Ritz & Schultze-Berndt 2015), De Mulder & Veters (2008) show that the contrastive value of *now* can sometimes block its use to designate a temporal interval that includes S if no contrast is implied:

- (9) \*I am a teacher **now**, just as I was last time we met. (De Mulder & Veters 2008)

In example (9), “I am a teacher now” implies that the event was not validated prior to the time interval opened by *now*. *Now* marks the inception of the eventuality, and is thus incompatible with the following clause denoting continuity between a past situation and the current one. This seems to indicate that the contrastive value of *now* is linked to its actual meaning rather than to an implicature (*cf.* Comrie 1985). By comparing *now* with its Chinese counterpart *xianzai* which has a very limited contrastive value, we will attempt to show in Chapter 2 that whether contrast originally stems from pragmatic inference or is part of the meaning of *now*, it is inherent to its use.

We have reviewed in Section 1 some pre-existing analyses of *now*. We have seen that although *now* is generally considered to be a deictic marker insofar as it indicates that the time of speech and the time of the eventuality overlap, some linguists recommend treating *now* as a presuppositional adverb to enable a unified account of its functioning in interaction and in narration. Finally, *now* has been shown to be a contrastive marker opposing the current situation to an antithetical previous or posterior situation. Before taking a stand on these points in Section 3, let us examine the distribution of *now* in the English original corpora.

## 2. Distribution of temporal *now*

In this section, we look at the distribution of temporal *now* in the three English corpora. First, we try to differentiate between temporal and non-temporal uses of *now* (2.1.), before looking at the

syntactic distribution of temporal *now* (2.2.) and the distribution variations across the three corpora (2.3.). Finally, we outline the syntactic distribution of *now* (2.4.).

### 2.1. Functions of *now*: temporal, non-temporal or pragmatic, borderline

The marker *now* is multifunctional and can have values ranging from temporal deixis to discourse organisation or authority assertion. In the original English corpora, 88.3% of the occurrences of *now* have a temporal meaning Table 1, while only 11.7% have pragmatic values. As noted by several linguists (Schiffrin 1987; Aijmer 2002; Defour 2007), the demarcation between the temporal and pragmatic uses of *now* is not clear-cut. In our corpus, some occurrences of *now* combine temporal and pragmatic meanings (the so-called ‘borderline’ cases in Table 1). In this section, we will focus on the temporal function of *now*. In order to better define the boundaries of temporal *now*, we will also look at some borderline cases.

**Table 1** - Distribution of *now* in the English original corpora

	Temporal		Borderline		Non-temporal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	572	91.81	25	4.01	26	4.17	623	100
<b>EFC</b>	131	89.12	7	4.76	9	6.12	147	100
<b>ECC</b>	72	65.45	7	6.36	31	28.18	110	100
<b>Total</b>	775	88.07	39	4.43	64	7.50	880	100

In Table 2, the borderline occurrences of *now* are excluded and only the temporal occurrences are counted. Temporal *now* occurs more than twice every 1000 words, which is quite considerable. It is more frequent in the ENC and the EFC than in the ECC, which suggests that it is less likely to occur when the participants share the same situation of utterance and are co-present, which is always the case in the ECC.

**Table 2** - Frequency of temporal *now* in the three corpora

	Temporal <i>now</i>	
	N	N/1000 w
<b>ENC</b>	572	2.13
<b>EFC</b>	131	2.52
<b>ECC</b>	72	1.44
<b>Total</b>	775	2.09

## 2.2. Positions of temporal *now*: Final, Initial, Medial

Temporal *now* can occur in almost any context, with any aspect or tense. Thus, it is to be found in all three corpora, though it occurs in greater proportion in the narrative corpus (92%) and in the filmic corpus (89%) than in the conversational corpus (65%).

*Now* is a temporal location adverb; that is to say, it locates an eventuality in time by referring to a time point or time interval in which the eventuality unfolds. *Now* can occupy various sentence positions. Many linguists (Quirk *et al.* 1985; Huddleston & Pullum 2002) have noted that temporal location adverbs are very mobile and can occur in initial position (before the subject), final position (after the verb and its constituents) or medial position (after the subject and before the last VP constituent). As shown in Table 3, these characteristics are verified in the English corpus.

**Table 3** - Position of temporal *now* in the English original corpora

	Temporal <i>now</i>	
	N	%
<b>Initial</b>	206	26.58
<b>Medial</b>	215	27.74
<b>Final</b>	298	38.45
<b>Other<sup>7</sup></b>	56	7.23
<b>Total</b>	775	100

Out of 775 occurrences of temporal *now* (including 56 unclassified occurrences) 206 occur in initial position, 215 in medial position and 298 in final position. The numbers are relatively balanced, with a preference for final position: 38.5% of *now* occur in final position against

<sup>7</sup> Some occurrences of *now* were not classified because they appear in particular contexts such as non-sentential phrases or word sentences.

27.7% in medial position and 26.6% in initial position. Huddleston & Pullum (2002) show that this preference for end position is typical of VP-oriented adjuncts. When *now* occurs in final position, there is usually no prosodic detachment; *now* is closely related to the VP and modifies it. In (10), *now* bears directly on the VP and restrains the temporal interval within which the eventuality ‘know’ occurs by bounding it to the left at the time of speech.

- (10) I have been careless, and so have been thwarted by luck and chance, those wreckers of all but the best-laid plans. But I know better **now**. I understand those things that I did not understand before. I must be the one to kill Harry Potter, and I shall be. (ENC)

When *now* occurs in medial position, it is even more closely related to the verb. In a periphrastic construction, it often occurs between the auxiliary and the participle with no detachment (11).

- (11) I’ve also modified my parents’ memories so that they’re convinced they’re really called Wendell and Monica Wilkins, and that their life’s ambition is to move to Australia, which they have **now** done. (ENC)

Conversely, when an adverb occurs in initial position detachment is common and the adverb is not VP-oriented but clause-oriented (Huddleston & Pullum 2002). In this case, it can take on non-temporal values and operate at discourse level. Thus, pragmatic *now* typically occurs in initial position with prosodic detachment. The position of *now* is crucial since it participates in its meaning. Initial position impacts discursive and pragmatic meanings. As a consequence, initial *now* is seldom exclusively temporal, but generally exhibits some discursive features, especially when used in interaction. This is the case in all the instances of borderline *now* in the corpora: they are cases of initial *now* with both temporal and pragmatic values. In example (12) *now* is initial and detached and operates both at the sentence and the discourse levels.

- (12) “I’m ready to leave Eagle Point. Laura’s mother can sort out the apartment, all that. She hates me anyway. I’m ready to go when you are.” Wednesday smiled. “Good news, my boy. We’ll leave in the morning. **Now**, you should get some sleep. I have some scotch in my room, if you need help sleeping. Yes?” “No. I’ll be fine.” (ENC)

On the one hand, it has a temporal meaning; it modifies the verb and locates the event in time: the speaker indicates that at the time of speech, it is desirable that his interlocutor go to



bed. The Chinese translation of this passage favours a temporal interpretation of *now* and equates *now* with its purely temporal Chinese adverbial equivalent 現在 *xianzai* ('now'). On the other hand, *now* in (12) is also discourse-oriented and is used to mark a transition in discourse. It is also an attitudinal marker of hierarchy implying that the speaker considers himself to have sufficient authority over his interlocutor to issue this barely masked command (*cf.* Chapter 7).

But *now* in initial position does not systematically convey pragmatic meaning. When initial *now* is stressed, its meaning is purely temporal. In example (13) taken from the English Film Corpus (EFC), *now* is stressed with a high pitch. It indicates that a state of 'need' is valid at the time of utterance. If it had been low-pitch and unstressed, its interpretation might have been pragmatic; it would have been used as a transition device used to update a shared common ground.

- (13) ROSE: What happened?  
 MAYNARD: He's not dead.  
 TONY: I shot him. I had to, he was gonna-  
 MAYNARD: The boy had no choice. **Now** we need to get him out of sight.  
 ROSE: Are you gonna kill him?  
 MAYNARD: No. Of course not. (EFC)

Clause-initial *now* is also interpreted as purely temporal when the clause it inaugurates is coordinated to the preceding clause by a conjunction such as *and* or *but*. In interaction, the intonation usually leaves no doubt as to the temporal value of *now*: the conjunction, as a simple linking or grammatical word, is unstressed while *now* receives the main stress. In example (14) from the English Conversational Corpus (ECC), *but* is unstressed and marks an opposition between the situation localised by *now* in which the person mentioned sells real estate in Malibu and the previous situation in which he sold jewellery. *Now* is stressed and locates the contrasting situation at the time of speech.

- (14) (...) and he's um, from Bakersfield originally, and !Joy's father had hired him to- --- to sell, or !Joy had actually hired him to sell jewellery,.. in Hawaii. (H) .. from her father's store. (H) (SNIFF) **But now** he's .. sells .. v- real estate in Malibu, (H) and he's got a painting con- % contracting= whatever, and, % one of the things that they're doing, is um, (Hx) (TSK) is painting this building on Melrose (...). (ECC)

*Now* also appears in the double conjunction *now that* (Boucher 1992) in which case *now* retains its temporal meaning but the double conjunction takes on a resultative value. Brinton (2006: 312) notes that the conjunctive function of *now* is a step towards its pragmatic use, which we will analyse in Chapter 7. In example (15) below *now that* could be glossed as ‘since’.

- (15) Gloomy and oppressive though the house was, it had been their one safe refuge: even, **now that** Kreacher was so much happier and friendlier, a kind of home. (ENC)

*Now* has a temporal meaning and *that* verses the subordinated clause in a preconstructed domain. Thus, the relation <Kreacher – be so much happier and friendlier> is presented as validated before the reference time, and *now* indicates that the validation of the relation is registered at the reference time. There is a resultative relation between the validation of the preconstructed predicate and the validation of the present situation, *i.e.* the fact that the house has become a kind of home. We will examine *now that* constructions in more detail in Chapter 4.

Initial *now* is also temporal when it complements a preposition such as *until*, *before*, *by*, *for*, *from*, or another adverb such as *right*, *just* or *not*. These elements are typically used for localisation and they emphasise the temporal meaning of *now* by complementing it, thereby neutralising any potential pragmatic interpretation of *now*. Example (16) is taken from the English Narrative Corpus, and is thus only available to us in written form without spoken realisation. However, one can imagine that both “right” and “now”, as lexical items, will be stressed, naturally leading to a temporal interpretation.

- (16) “We’ll talk about this some other time. **Right now**, the garden needs to be weeded.” (ENC)

However, without the adverb *right* as a modifier, the meaning of *now* would be ambiguous. It might be temporal or pragmatic, and without any available spoken realisation it would have had to be classified as a borderline case potentially yielding both interpretations. It is thus the adverb *right* that reinforces the temporal value of *now* and blocks pragmatic interpretation.

Finally, initial *now* is generally interpreted as purely temporal when it occurs in non-interactive contexts, typically in narration. When *now* is used initially in interaction with shifting pronouns such as ‘I’ or ‘you’, it is more likely to be interpreted pragmatically. Conversely, a

narrative context lacks the dynamic parameters of interaction conducive to a pragmatic interpretation of markers such as *now*. A lack of intersubjectivity can block the illocutionary force of the utterance and only allow for a temporal reading of *now*. This is the case in (17).

- (17) “Harry —” said Hermione, stretching out a consoling hand, but he shrugged it off and walked away, his eyes on the fire Hermione had conjured. He had once spoken to Lupin out of that fireplace, seeking reassurance about James, and Lupin had consoled him. **Now** Lupin’s tortured white face seemed to swim in the air before him. He felt a sickening surge of remorse.

We have seen that temporal *now* is a mobile adverb that can occur in initial, medial, or final position. In the corpora, it occurs mostly in final position. When *now* occurs in initial position, it can take on a pragmatic meaning without necessarily losing its temporal value. Let us now look at the variations of distribution of *now* across the three corpora.

### 2.3. Variations in the three English Original Corpora

Although *now* occurs more frequently in final position in the overall English original corpus, there is a disparity in terms of the frequency of *now* between the various corpus sections. Table 4 shows that even though *now* is considerably more frequent in final position in the English Film Corpus (EFC) and the English Conversational Corpus (ECC), it occurs more frequently in medial position in the English Narrative Corpus (ENC). Conversely, medial position is quite rare in the spoken corpora.

**Table 4** - Position of temporal *now* in each English original corpus

	Initial		Medial		Final		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	153	26.75	204	35.66	184	32.17	31	5.42	572	100
<b>EFC</b>	30	22.90	4	3.05	77	58.78	20	15.27	131	100
<b>ECC</b>	23	31.94	7	9.72	37	51.39	5	6.94	72	100

Thus, it seems that *now* is more likely to occur finally in interactive speech than in narration. This is confirmed by the data in Table 5. In narrative passages, *now* occurs more frequently medially (43.7% of the occurrences) than initially (25.6%) or finally (25.6%). In direct speech (DD) which is supposed to be a representation of interactive speech, *now* is significantly more

frequent in final position (almost 48% of occurrences) than in initial position (29.6%) or medial position (16.6%).

**Table 5** - Position of *now* in the English Narrative Corpus (ENC)

	Initial		Medial		Final		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>DD</b>	50	29.59	28	16.57	81	<b>47.93</b>	10	5.92	169	100
<b>Narration</b>	103	25.56	176	<b>43.67</b>	103	25.56	21	5.21	403	100
<b>Total</b>	153	26.75	204	35.66	184	32.17	31	5.42	572	100

The distribution of *now* in direct speech in the ENC is comparable to its distribution in the EFC or the ECC. This suggests that in the direct speech passages of the English Narrative Corpus, *now* displays the same distributional characteristics as in the two interactional corpora. Thus, when examining the syntactic distribution of temporal *now*, we can treat direct speech as a form of interaction and link direct speech data to the data of the film and conversational corpora.

The data shows that in interaction, temporal *now* typically occurs finally. It can also occur initially, but in that case it is often preceded by a conjunction or a preposition. Moreover, the occurrence of *now* in medial position is quite rare in interaction. On the other hand, in narration, *now* typically occurs medially, and then occurs equally frequently in initial or final position. As is the case in interaction, when occurring in initial position, it is often preceded by a conjunction or a preposition. This suggests that medial *now* is characteristic of a more written style, and that narrative past contexts are more conducive to the occurrence of *now* in medial position.

#### **2.4. Syntactic categorisation of *now***

In this section we examine the syntactic realisations of temporal *now*. *Now* generally functions as an adverb and is the head of an adverb phrase (2.4.1). However, it also has nominal uses and can be complement or subject of the verb *be* (2.4.2). It can also be fronted with a preposition.

### 2.4.1. Adverb

As an adverb, *now* typically modifies a verb and locates in time the event denoted by that verb. In examples (1) and (2) repeated below, *now* modifies the verb *be* and indicates the validity of the eventuality during a temporal interval that includes the time of speech.

(1) “Good beer,” said Shadow. “We brew it ourselves,” said Ibis. “In the old days the women did the brewing. They were better brewers than we are. But now it is only the three of us here. Me, him, and her.” (ENC)

(2) “Where is it now?” asked Harry jubilantly as Ron and Hermione looked gleeful. (ENC)

However, *now* can also modify other elements and occur in non-finite clauses. *Now* can then modify a Noun Phrase as in (18), a Participle Phrase as in (19) and (20) or an Infinitive Phrase as in (22). In (18), *now* premodifies a NP. In the phrase “now their apartment”, there is an ellipsis of the verb and the original clause could be reconstituted as: “which now constituted their apartment”. This construction is valid because the dropped verb is a linking verb. It denotes identification between a subject (“the two upper flats”) and an attributive NP (“their apartment”).

(18) There were, he was informed while the coffee dipped, four other inhabitants of his apartment building - back when it was the Pilsen place the Pilsens lived in the downstairs flat and rented out the upper two flats, **now their apartment**, which was taken by a couple of young men, Mr. Holz and Mr. Neiman, they actually are a couple and when she said couple, Mr. Ainsel, Heavens, we have all kinds here, more than one kind of tree in the forest, although mostly those kind of people wind up in Madison or the Twin Cities, but truth to tell, nobody here gives it a second thought. (ENC)

Similarly, *now* can directly modify a Participle Phrase such as a Gerund Phrase (19) or a Past Participle Phrase (20). In this case there is an ellipsis of the auxiliary. *Now* can also modify an adverb and be part of an Adverbial Phrase (21).

(19) “Why would Saunière write this?” Langdon demanded, his confusion **now giving way to anger**. (ENC)

(20) “We had hoped that you might help us answer that very question, considering your knowledge in symbology and your plans to meet with him.” Langdon stared at the picture, his horror **now laced with fear**. The image was gruesome and profoundly strange, bringing with it an unsettling sense of déjà vu. (ENC)

- (21) New gears engaged, and the claw transported the box to the far side of the vault, coming to a stop over a stationary conveyor belt. Gently now, the retrieval arm set down the crate and retracted. (ENC)

Finally, temporal *now* can modify an Infinitive Phrase (22), or even occur on its own in a one-word sentence (23).

- (22) Scrimgeour’s eyes flickered toward him and away again as Harry spoke. “So why have you decided to let us have our things now? Can’t think of a pretext to keep them?” (ENC)
- (23) “So, Potter — some of your hair, if you please.” Harry glanced at Ron, who grimaced at him in a just-do-it sort of way. “**Now!**” barked Moody. With all of their eyes upon him, Harry reached up to the top of his head, grabbed a hank of hair, and pulled. (ENC)

#### 2.4.2. Nominal function

Since temporal *now* rigidly designates an individual, *i.e.* a moment in time, it has been argued that *now* could almost be analysed as some sort of proper noun (Boucher 1992: 117).<sup>8</sup> Although we consider that *now* is an adverb in terms of part of speech, we find that the fact that it refers to an entity, namely the moment in time, allows it to take on a nominal function, *i.e.* to occupy a slot typically occupied by NPs. When *now* is the complement of the verb *be*, it is an obligatory constituent (Greenbaum 1996) and does not have an adverbial function. In (24), *now* complements the verb *be* and designates a time interval that includes the time of utterance without locating an eventuality in time.

- (24) She stood up, walked toward the camera. “Look at it like this, Shadow: we are the coming thing. We're shopping malls - your friends are crappy roadside attractions. Hell, we're on-line malls, while your friends are sitting by the side of the highway selling homegrown produce from a cart. No - they aren't even fruit sellers. Buggy-whip vendors. Whalebone-corset repairers. We are **now** and tomorrow. Your friends aren't even yesterday anymore.” (ENC)

*Now* can also be the subject of the verb *be* (25), with the same meaning as in (24). In that case it also has a nominal function.

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<sup>8</sup> “*Now* s’analyse comme une sorte de nom propre, c’est-à-dire comme un mot désignant “rigidement” un individu (ici un moment), plutôt qu’un membre quelconque d’une classe (...)” (Boucher 1992: 117)

- (25) Harry knew that the thing inside it was agitated again. It had sensed the presence of the sword and had tried to kill Harry rather than let him possess it. **Now** was not the time for long discussions; **now** was the moment to destroy the locket once and for all. (ENC)

Finally, temporal *now* has a nominal function when it is fronted with prepositions such as *by, for, before, until, etc.* In (26), *now* is head of the adverbial “by now”.

- (26) Mrs. MAYNARD: You must win back your employer's trust. Your reputation depends on it. The family reputation  
V. MAYNARD: Yes, mother.  
Mrs. MAYNARD: They'll have hired a competitor **by now**. (EFC)

We have seen that *now* is a versatile temporal adverb that can also be used in nominal slots. This is linked to the very meaning of *now*, which refers to a temporal entity rather than simply locating an eventuality in time. In Section 3, we attempt to determine the meaning of temporal *now*.

### 3. Meaning of temporal *now*

Temporal *now* has a complex meaning, which can vary slightly depending on its context of use. In this section, we first attempt to provide a unified account of the way *now* operates as a deictic temporal marker (3.1.). Then, we examine the variations in the meaning of *now* implied by its combination with tense and aspect (3.2.). Finally, we outline some textual functions of temporal *now* (3.3.).

#### 3.1. Deixis vs. anaphora

In this section, we attempt to define the fundamental meaning of temporal *now*. More specifically, we address the following question: is temporal *now* deictic, anaphoric or both? We argue that *now* is an indexical, used primarily to focus the attention of the addressee.<sup>9</sup> The character of *now* is as follows: it sets a reference point (R) and shifts the deictic centre towards that reference point.

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<sup>9</sup> Following Bühler (1982), Fricke explains that deictics are used primarily to focus the addressee's attention: “[Deixis] can be understood as a communicative procedure in which the speaker focuses the attention of the addressee by means of verbal expression and gesture.” (Fricke 2003: 69)

### 3.1.1. *Now in interaction: deixis, deictic centre, origo*

As we saw in 1.1., *now* is a deictic marker insofar as it can only be interpreted relative to the situation of utterance or *deictic centre*. Deictic markers can only be understood relative to the *origo* or *deictic centre* of the utterance. The *origo* or point of origin of an utterance is a reference point constituted by the convergence of three discourse coordinates (time, place and person) from which all deictic relations are interpreted. In interaction, this point of origin is generally linked to the speaker, at the time and place of speech. Thus, the canonical *origo* corresponds to *I, here, now*. Bühler (1934) defines the *origo* as follows:

Let two perpendicular intersecting lines on the paper suggest a coordinate system to us, 0 for the origin, the coordinate source: [...] My claim is that if this arrangement is to represent the deictic field of human language, three deictic words must be placed where the 0 is, namely the deictic words *here, now* and *I*. (Bühler [1934] 1982: 102)

Therefore, every time *now* is uttered in interaction it indicates that the temporal coordinate of the *origo* is the time of speech.

One specificity of *now* when compared to its spatial and personal counterparts *here* and *I* is that it can only pick one referent in every situation. While the referents of *I* and *here* can shift in a given situation, the referent of *now* is unique. This is what Lyons calls the principle of *deictic simultaneity* (Lyons 1977: 696). Comrie explains the phenomenon as follows:

In general, the present moment is the same for both speaker and hearer, whereas for space it is possible for speaker and hearer to be in different locations and still communicate. (Comrie 1985: 15)

Example (27) below illustrates this phenomenon:

- (27) ADAM: Mom, I'm sorry. I can't talk about this anymore. I'm at an appointment, okay? And I'm late already. Yes, I'm **here**. I'm standing in the office talking on the phone to you. So I'm just gonna get off.  
 MUM: I just want to know if you tried those recipes. Okay. Do you know what you're gonna make for dinner?  
 ADAM: I don't know what I'm gonna make for dinner. I'll figure something out, okay? I'm hanging up **now**. Goodbye.  
 MUM: Bye. I love you.  
 ADAM: Me, too. Bye. (EFC)



In this passage, Adam walks into the doctor's office while talking on the phone with his mother who is at home. In this situation, the deictic centre shifts from one speaker to the other and from one place to the other, but the time coordinate is continually shared by the two participants. Thus, when Adam says "I" he refers to himself, and when his mother says "I" she refers to herself. The personal deictic *I* can successively pick different referents in a given situation; its reference is not unique. In the same way, when Adam says "I'm here", he refers to the doctor's office, whereas if his interlocutor were to utter the same sentence she would be referring to her home. When the participants are on the phone or communicating from a distance, *here* can shift from one referent to another with each discourse-turn. Conversely, when Adam says "now", he refers to the speech time interval. If his mother were to utter the same sentence at that time ("I'm hanging up now"), she would be referring to the exact same pragmatically given time interval. Thus, of the three deictic coordinates, time is the only one that is unique and stable in a situation. Paradoxically, the time interval referred to by *now* is also the only deictic coordinate of the *origo* that can never refer to the same entity when it is uttered at different moments.

Fricke (2003) explains that the personal coordinate prevails for the identification of the *origo*. An *origo* can only be identified as point of origin if there is a person to whom the utterance can anchor. Fryd (1991) analyses *maintenant*, the French equivalent of temporal *now*, and explains that its use implies the presence of a viewpoint bearer or conceptualiser such as a speaker, hearer, narrator or reader. In a verbal exchange, there might be several personal *origos* with successive shifts as in (27). The speaker typically instantiates the *origo* and can allocate the local and temporal *origos*.<sup>10</sup> But by shifting the local *origo*, the speaker shifts the gravity of the deictic centre.

(28) "I'll be right **there**, Rémy. Can I bring you anything when I **come**?" (ENC)

In (28), the speaker first uses the *origo*-exclusive locative "there", thus locating the *origo* with himself. However, he follows up with the deictic motion verb *come* which codes a movement in the direction of the *origo*. Thus, the speaker shifts the deictic centre to the hearer's

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<sup>10</sup> "Talking to somebody, the speaker acquires the speaker-role and with it, the right to allocate local *origos* or to provide the local *origo* with intrinsically oriented entities." (Fricke 2003: 86)

location. When the local *origo* is shifted to some location other than that of the speaker, the gravity point of the deictic centre shifts but it is not completely redefined. In (28), the personal and temporal coordinates of the deictic centre are default ones (*I, now*), and only the spatial coordinate shifts. Thus, the coordinates of the shifted deictic centre are: *the speaker (I), the time of speech (now), the location of Rémy*.

This suggests that one must be careful when defining the *origo*: it is multidimensional and although Bühler proposes to represent it as a single point, it is in fact constituted of three theoretical points of different natures that each constitute an *origo* in themselves. In order to avoid confusion, it is more prudent to consider the *deictic centre* as a combination of three independent *origos*: a personal *origo*, a spatial *origo* and a temporal *origo*. A shift in one of the *origos* does not necessarily entail a shift in the others.

There are three levels of *origo*-shifting in interaction, one for each *origo*:

- In interaction, the personal *origo* shifts with every speech-turn as in (27). The speaker is the personal *origo*; she cannot dissociate herself from the personal *origo* and cannot allocate another personal *origo*.
- The spatial *origo* is allocated by the speaker. It is typically the location of the speaker but can be assigned to another location by the speaker herself as in (28).
- The temporal *origo* is not allocated or determined by the speaker but is inherent to the situation. Thus, it is unique and cannot be shifted within a given situation of communication. The temporal *origo* in interaction corresponds to the time of speech.

A deictic shift cannot occur with the temporal *origo* in interaction, because the time of speech is an easily identifiable unique temporal interval. Thus, *now* in interaction is always interpreted relative to that temporal *origo*, and refers to a time interval that includes the temporal *origo*, as in (27).

However, a temporal shift can occur in written interaction or narration. Fillmore (1984) distinguishes between *encoding time* and *decoding time*, encoding time being the time of production of the utterance whereas decoding time corresponds to the time of interpretation of the utterance by a hearer or reader. These two times coincide in direct interaction, which

precludes temporal deictic shifts. But when deictic references are made in written messages, encoding and decoding time differ.

- (29) In the late afternoon the sun began to lower, gilding the world in elf-light, a thick warm custardy light that made the world feel unearthly and more than real, and it was in this light that Shadow passed the sign telling him he was **Now** Entering Historical Cairo. (ENC)

In (29) the character reads a sign saying “Now Entering Historical Cairo”. The time of encoding corresponds to the time at which the message was printed on the sign; the time of decoding corresponds to the time at which the character reads the sign. “Now” designates the decoding time; the temporal *origo* is shifted and the deictic centre is with the reader of the sign and not with the writer. Comrie notes that this phenomenon is also to be found with audio or video recordings. He explains that these recent inventions of writing and sound recordings have

enabled temporal dislocation of speaker and hearer, and human language apparently still operates on the assumption that the temporal deictic centre is the same for both speaker and hearer. Apparently no language has two words for ‘now’, one referring to the moment when the writer is composing his letter and the other to the moment when the reader is deciphering it, nor does any language have distinctions in tense system to specify this difference. (...) As far as the lexicon and the grammar are concerned, language makes the assumption that there is only one deictic center common to speaker and hearer. (Comrie 1985: 16)

### 3.1.2. *Now* in narration

Another kind of temporal deictic shift can occur in narration (Banfield 1973; Galbraith 1995; Smith 2007). It corresponds to the use of temporal deictics such as *now* in past contexts. This phenomenon takes the shift between encoding and decoding time a step further, insofar as *now* in narration cannot be interpreted by the reader as the time at which she is reading the message containing *now*. It can only be interpreted as the time of the events in the narrative. This is the case in the following example:

- (30) Sophie took a deep breath and probed further. “My grandfather called me this afternoon and told me he and I were in grave danger. Does that mean anything to you?” Langdon's blue eyes **now** clouded with concern. “No, but considering what just happened...” Sophie nodded. Considering tonight's events, she would be a fool not to be frightened. (ENC)

In order to better understand the mechanisms of narrative deictic shift, we need to look at the very nature of narration.

### 3.1.2.1. Definition of narration and Deictic Shift Theory

Benveniste (1966) distinguishes between two types of utterances: *historical* and *discursive* (*histoire* and *discours*). What he calls *histoire* corresponds to the narration of past events with no intervention of the speaker in the narration.<sup>11</sup> Conversely, *discours* corresponds to any form of utterance which entails the presence of a speaker and a hearer, and in which the speaker intends to influence the hearer in one way or another.<sup>12</sup> Thus, discourse (*discours*) is typically characterised by the use of deictic tenses such as the simple present or present perfect. Many deictic expressions or shifters are to be found in discourse, since they attest to the existence of a speaker as *origo* of the utterance. Conversely in historical narration, there is no identifiable speaker telling the story and the events seem to “narrate themselves”.<sup>13</sup>

There has long been a debate among narrative theorists concerning the communicational status of narration. On the one hand, some believe that any form of language has a communicational function, which means that an enunciator can always be identified or retrieved in narration (Jakobson 1963; Genette 1966). Thus, according to Genette, any narrative passage qualifying as *histoire* simply corresponds to a temporary obliteration of subjective traces (Patron 2005). On the other hand, others believe that in narration, there is no opposition between speaker and hearer, which means that narrative language is not used for communication but is a means of representation (Hamburger 1957; Banfield 1973; Kuroda 1975). According to this view, narration corresponds to what Benveniste calls *histoire* and no speaker can be identified in such a type of language since there is no communicative intent attached to it. If that is the case, then narrative language is not deictically grounded in a situation involving a speaker and a hearer (Patron 2005: 189).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *Histoire*: “le récit des événements passés (...) sans aucune intervention du locuteur dans le récit.” (Benveniste 1966: 239)

<sup>12</sup> *Discours*: “toute énonciation supposant un locuteur et un auditeur, et chez le premier l'intention d'influencer l'autre en quelque manière.” (Benveniste 1966: 242)

<sup>13</sup> “personne ne parle (...), les événements semblent se raconter d'eux-mêmes.” (Benveniste 1966: 240)

<sup>14</sup> Patron explains Banfield's position as follows: “Ann Banfield ne nie pas la réalité du dialogue entre l'auteur et le lecteur, elle soutient simplement que le langage de la fiction narrative n'est pas déictiquement organisé en fonction de cette réalité, contrairement au langage de la communication.” (Patron 2005: 189)

The theory of the Deictic Shift model has developed from the latter view. This theory states that in narration, the deictic field is constructed not at the level of the utterance but at the level of the story. Galbraith (1995) gives the following definition of the Deictic Shift Theory:

According to the Deictic Shift model, fictional narration requires the reader to imagine deictic fields in which HERE, NOW, and SELF coordinates are transposed from their usual anchorage in the “I” into an anchorage in the narrative text. (Galbraith 1995: 46)

Thus, no narrator is the deictic centre of the narration. The deictic field is with the character and any subjective element must be attributed to the character.

However, it seems to us that although it must be recognised that in narratives, the deictic centre is with the character and not with any narrative voice, it does not follow that there is no narrator telling the story. Along with Jakobson and Genette, we adopt the view that any utterance implies an utterer and any narrative implies the presence of a narrator, albeit discreet. We argue that it is the narrator who accomplishes the deictic shift by identifying one (or several) character(s) as *origo*. The narrator is the theoretical encoder who allocates *origos*. By using deictic expressions such as *now* which must be decoded with reference to the narrative deictic centre, the narrator constantly re-allocates *origos*. When the reader decodes deictic expressions, she constructs the narrative deictic centre.

Thus, when *now* is used in narration, it activates the mechanisms of *discours* and participates in the construction of the narrative deictic centre and of the character as the point of origin.

### **3.1.2.2. Temporal *origo*, *now*-point, reference point**

In order to explain the functioning of *now* in narration, we need to distinguish between various notions that might be confused, namely the notions of reference point (R), temporal *origo* and *now*-point.

#### **Temporal *origo***

We have already defined the notion of temporal *origo*: it is a theoretical point in time relative to which temporal deictic relations are interpreted in an utterance. In interaction the temporal *origo* is typically the time of speech, whereas in narration it is the ‘present’ of the focalising character.

Thus, for instance, if we look at example (10), repeated below, the temporal *origo* is the time of speech and *now* is interpreted relative to the time of speech; it indicates that at least one point of the temporal interval it refers to coincides with the time of speech.

- (10) I have been careless, and so have been thwarted by luck and chance, those wreckers of all but the best-laid plans. But I know better now. I understand those things that I did not understand before. I must be the one to kill Harry Potter, and I shall be. (ENC)

In (31) on the other hand, *now* locates the event ‘cloud’ in time and indicates that this event occurs after Sophie’s question and before Langdon’s answer. Thus, it is interpreted relative to the focalising character’s present time. The deictic centre is with the character and the temporal *origo* is *now* as experienced by the character.

- (31) Sophie took a deep breath and probed further. “My grandfather called me this afternoon and told me he and I were in grave danger. Does that mean anything to you?” Langdon’s blue eyes **now** clouded with concern. “No, but considering what just happened...” Sophie nodded. Considering tonight’s events, she would be a fool not to be frightened. (ENC)

The idea that there is such a thing as the character’s present time calls for the use of another notion: the *now-point*.

### ***Now-point***

This concept is taken from narrative theory and is very close to the notion of narrative temporal *origo*, except that it is associated with the linear nature of the narrative and how it is construed by the reader. It derives from the idea that although narratives are usually written in the past tense, time advances throughout the narrative. As the story progresses under her eyes, the reader construes the time of the event she is reading about as the narrative “now”, or the *now-point*. Rapaport *et al.* (1994: 3) explain the phenomenon in the following way:

There is a general principle of dynamic inertia (...). Events that are described later in the text occur after those that are described earlier, unless some linguistic device informs us otherwise. (...) Since temporal relations between events are not always expressed, the reader needs a mechanism for deriving them. She takes the perspective of the point in time in the narrative that corresponds to the time of the events currently being read about: “Everything which comes before the *now*-point is in the past (in the world of the story) and everything that comes after the *now*-point is in the future from the perspective of that moment of the story” (Almeida & Shapiro 1983). (Rapaport et al. 1994: 3)

Accordingly, the *now*-point is a point construed by the reader as the narrative “now”, in other words the ‘present’ of the character. This point is perpetually updated in the mind of the reader along the act of reading. Thus, it is related to the linearity of the narrative. In (31), the *now*-point is updated with each event. When “now” occurs, it refers to the *now*-point: the events preceding “now” in the linearity of the narrative are construed as past, and the events that follow are construed as future.

Thus, in narration, temporal deictic elements such as *now* are interpreted relative to the *now*-point. *Now* refers to a time interval one point of which coincides with the *now*-point. This means that in narration, *now* indicates that the temporal *origo* coincides with the *now*-point.

### **Reference point**

Finally, we need to define the notion of the reference point. We understand the reference point as the time point from which an event is viewed. This notion was developed by Reichenbach (1947) and has to do with the interpretation of tenses. Reichenbach (1947) explains that three points are necessary to account for all tenses: the point of speech (S), the point of the event (E), and the point of reference (R). In a sentence like “Peter had gone”, the point of the event is the moment when Peter goes and the point of reference is a time between that point and the point of speech, from which the event is viewed (Reichenbach 1947: 288). The notion of the reference point developed by Reichenbach is similar to that of the *temporal perspective point* developed by Kamp & Reyle (1993). Authors have long disagreed on the usefulness of the reference point to account for time relations (Vetters 1996: 24). For instance, Comrie (1981), Bertinetto (1986) and Hamann (1987) reject the use of R to describe a number of tenses. On the other hand, Smith (1994, 2007) and Smith & Erbaugh (2001, 2005) consider that R is key in leading to a better understanding of time relations, be it in English or in Chinese. Although the necessity of a

theoretical point such as R might be questioned when it comes to describing simple tenses in English, we believe that it can help explain the semantics of deictic adverbs such as *now*, particularly when they are used with past tenses. Indeed, we argue that in narration, *now* specifies R and localises it in narrative time.

Although R can be roughly determined by various elements (tense, time adverbs, context), it can only be specifically localised in time by a positional time adverb such as *now*. Tense only locates R relative to E and S as simultaneous, posterior or anterior to them. *Now* localises R precisely by indicating that it coincides with the time coordinate of the deictic centre, namely S in direct speech and the *now*-point in narration.

R is a theoretical point and, like the temporal *origo*, it can be found in any utterance. However, R is not necessarily specified in every utterance. By specifying R, *now* brings it into existence in the situation. *Now* makes R graspable for the participants of the situation. Thus, unlike Kamp & Reyle who define *their temporal perspective point* as either the time of speech or a previously mentioned discourse event, we argue that R is not necessarily previously mentioned in the context and can be directly established through deictic time adverbs such as *now*. For instance, in (31), the reference point to which *now* anchors is not defined in the left context. The preterit tense indicates that R and E coincide but does not locate them more precisely in narrative time. It is the combination of the preterit tense with the adverb *now* that allows for a more precise localisation of the event: *now* specifies R, and the preterit tense indicates that R coincides with E.

We argue that narrative *now* establishes R and locates it at the time of the narrative at which *now* occurs. *Now* intercepts the *now*-point in the linear narrative time and identifies it as reference point. Thus, in the same way that S moves along with clock time in interaction, the *now*-point is constantly moving with narrative time in narration, and every occurrence of *now* specifies a new reference point that coincides with the *now*-point. In (31), the reference point which *now* refers to is not preconstructed, it is directly set by *now*.



The reference point and the temporal *origo* must not be confused. While the relative position of R is determined by tense, the position of the *origo* is not. Let us illustrate their difference with the following pair of examples:

(32) I saw John walking down Regent Street **yesterday**.

(33) I **now** saw John walking down Regent Street.

In (32), the *origo* is the time of speech and the reference point is the time of the event. R and the temporal *origo* are both determined by “yesterday”: the deictic adverb indicates that the *origo* is with the speaker and the time of utterance. The localisation of R is not related to the operation of deixis. R is localised on the timeline as simultaneous, anterior or posterior to E and S. *Yesterday* indicates that R is localised the day before S. The preterit indicates that R and E coincide. Thus, in this sentence, R and the temporal *origo* do not coincide.

On the other hand, in (33), *now* operates a shift and indicates that R and the temporal *origo* (which is the *now*-point of the narration) coincide. Thus, the coincidence of R with the temporal *origo* in narration is operated by *now*.

### 3.1.3. A unified account of the meaning of *now*

Temporal *now* refers to a time interval. In the time interval determined by *now*, an eventuality occurs; this eventuality is located in time by *now*. *Now* indicates that at least one point of the eventuality coincides with R and with the temporal *origo* of the utterance.

Thus, the semantic meaning of *now* is:

$$\mathbf{E = R = \text{temporal } origo}^{15}$$

In narration, the use of *now* operates a deictic shift and indicates that the deictic centre has been shifted from the speaker/narrator to the character, and that the temporal *origo* is the *now*-point of the story. Accordingly, *now* retains its deictic function in narration.

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<sup>15</sup> The temporal *origo* corresponds to S in direct speech and to the *now*-point in narration.

Therefore, we argue that *now* is always deictic and reject the view that *now* should be treated as an anaphor (Kamp & Reyle 1993; Altshuler 2009; Hunter 2013, 2014). Allegedly, the main advantage of the anaphoric treatment is that it unifies the various uses of temporal *now*, namely its use in interaction where it refers directly to the time of utterance or in narration where it refers to a past time, often the time of the events. However, this analysis fails to account for the markedness of *now* in narration, which sets it apart from other anaphoric adverbs such as *then*.<sup>16</sup> We believe that the various uses of *now* are best accounted for and unified if *now* is treated as an indexical which indicates that  $E = R = \textit{temporal origo}$ . Let us now see how this meaning of *now* interacts with tense and aspect.

### 3.2. *Now: interaction with tense and aspect*

In this section, we examine in closer detail the function of time locator of *now*. Indeed, *now* interacts with tense and aspect which have temporal functions that can impact the meaning of *now*. We first define what we mean by tense and aspect (3.2.1.), before discussing the effects of the interaction of *now* with tense and aspect (3.2.2.).

#### 3.2.1. Tense, aspectual viewpoint and situation type

One of the specificities of temporal *now* is that it can occur with any tense, situation type or aspectual viewpoint in English. This is due to the fact that *now* gives both the temporal location and aspectual viewpoint for the event: it specifies the reference time, codes coincidence between eventuality time and reference time and indicates that the situation is open.

It can be argued that strictly speaking, English only has two grammatical tenses: past and non-past (Comrie 1985; Hackmack 2007). Michaelis (2006) considers that English has a present tense and a past tense. Indeed, verbs are marked either for present (3<sup>rd</sup> person *-s*) or past tense (*-ed*) in English. The future in English is not marked with a verbal inflection and is thus not generally considered to be a tense (Comrie 1985; Michaelis 2006). It is expressed with modal auxiliaries (*will, shall*). Modals are also used for irrealis mood (*would, should, could, might, may, must, etc.*). The perfect construction and the progressive construction are periphrastic forms that convey aspectual information. The progressive indicates an overlap between the time of the

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<sup>16</sup> We shall examine this aspect in detail in Chapter 4.

eventuality and the reference time; the perfect denotes a state of aftermath of the event denoted (Michaelis 2006: 17). Like modals, these periphrastic constructions combine with tense to express temporal location. However, the progressive form is considered to be a grammatical realisation of aspect whereas opinions differ on the perfect, which is a periphrastic construction that conveys both a perfective viewpoint and open-endedness. We will look at the problem of the perfect in more detail in Chapter 3. Since *now* frequently combines with the *will*-future, we propose an analysis of the combination of *now* and *will* in 3.2.2. and include it in Table 6 for practical purposes.

**Table 6** - English tenses and aspect combinations

	<b>Past</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Future</b>
<b>Simple</b>	Preterit <i>sang</i>	Simple present <i>sing</i>	Simple Future <i>will sing</i>
<b>Perfect</b>	Past Perfect <i>had sang</i>	Present Perfect <i>Have sung</i>	Future Perfect <i>Will have sung</i>
<b>Progressive</b>	Past Progressive <i>was singing</i>	Present Progressive <i>Is singing</i>	Future Progressive <i>Will be singing</i>
<b>Perfect Progressive</b>	Past Perfect Progressive <i>Had been singing</i>	Present Perfect Progressive <i>Have been singing</i>	Future Perfect Progressive <i>Will have been singing</i>

Grammatical aspect, marked in English with *be -ing* should be distinguished from the notions of aspectual viewpoint on the one hand and situation type, also called *aktionsart* or lexical aspect of the verb on the other.

Smith (1994) explains that according to the two-component theory, situation type and aspectual viewpoint are completely independent. As noted in 1.1, the aspectual viewpoint indicates whether the eventuality is presented as perfective or imperfective. The default aspectual viewpoint in English is the perfective. Imperfective viewpoint can be coded in English with the progressive<sup>17</sup> construction *be -ing*. Thus, by default, situations are presented as closed. Smith (1997) gives the following definition of the perfective and imperfective viewpoints:

<sup>17</sup> Also called continuous construction.

*Perfective* viewpoints focus a situation in its entirety, including both initial and final endpoints. *Imperfective* viewpoints focus part of a situation, including neither initial nor final endpoints. (Smith 1997: 3)

The situation type or lexical aspect of a verb constellation corresponds to the inherent temporal properties of the eventuality. Vendler (1957) proposed a classification of verbs according to their lexical aspect and came up with four different categories: states, activities, achievements, and accomplishments. States correspond to non-dynamic situations, such as *know*, or *like*. Activities are atelic and unbounded dynamic eventualities such as *eat* or *walk*. Achievements are punctual eventualities such as *realise* or *die*. Finally, accomplishments are durative eventualities with a natural endpoint such as *bake a cake*, *give a speech*. Unlike states and activities, achievements and accomplishments are telic: they are oriented towards an endpoint. Comrie (1976) and Smith (1994, 1997) added the category of semelfactives which are punctual, perfective and atelic eventualities such as *sneeze* or *blink*.

Smith (1997) explains that temporal location in English is expressed with a combination of tenses, aspectual markers and adverbials:

Temporal location is conveyed by inflectional past and present tenses, and periphrastic tenses. Future time is conveyed by the modal will and by future adverbials with the present tense, the Futurate. There is a Perfect construction which allows both perfective and imperfective viewpoints and appears with all tenses. (Smith 1997: 169)

Thus, locating adverbs interact with tense to convey either past, present, or future reference. They also contribute to the aspectual meaning of the sentence. What is more, according to the Principle of External Override (Smith 1997), the information conveyed by locating adverbs overrides the information conveyed by tense. Since *now* constantly indicates that  $E = R = \textit{Temporal origo}$ , it coerces this interpretation with any tense.

Depending on the tense and the aspect of the eventuality, *now* indicates that R coincides with the whole or part of the eventuality interval. Since *now* is primarily a token-reflexive, insofar as it refers to the time of utterance of the token *now* (Reichenbach 1947; De Mulder 2006), it could be considered to be essentially punctual and, as such, to refer to a point in time. However, we have seen that *now* typically refers to a time interval that includes the time of

utterance. The time span of the time interval depends on the situation type of the verb constellation. *Now* can occur with durative eventualities such as states or activities in which case it provides a time interval, or with instantaneous eventualities such as achievements or semelfactives in which case it designates a very short time interval or a point in time. When it occurs with non-instantaneous eventualities, *now* gives two different points. On the one hand, it gives the reference point or point from which the event is viewed. In direct speech or interaction this point is the time of speech and in narration it is the *now*-point. On the other hand, it gives the left boundary of the time interval in which the situation unfolds. As Comrie explains:

In English it is sometimes possible to collocate punctual time adverbials with durative situations in order to give the time point of the beginning of the durative situation. (Comrie 1985: 30)

De Mulder (2006) explains that when *now* locates a state, it designates the time point of the inception of the state. Furthermore, *now* anchors to the left boundary of the eventuality. Michaelis (2006) discusses the phenomenon of coercion which corresponds to the override of contextual information by a grammatical marker:

The semantic requirements of the grammatical marker cause it to override intrinsic semantic features of the word with which it combines, resulting in a shift in what the word designates. Similarly, the present tense, as a state selector, can impose stative readings on any dynamic verb with which it combines, thereby resolving semantic conflict between the verb and the inflection that is attached to it. (Michaelis 2006: 3)

According to Michaelis, the present tense coerces a stative interpretation of the eventuality, regardless of its lexical aspect. Similarly, *now* coerces an inchoative reading of the eventuality, both focussing its initial endpoint and indicating that a time interval is opened. Thus, in example (10) repeated below *now* locates the eventuality ‘know’ which is a state. Since it occurs in direct speech, *now* indicates that the reference point is the time of utterance of the token *now*. Although one might imagine that the eventuality ‘know’ does not start at the time of speech, *now* indicates that it is registered at the time of speech. The point of speech is designated as the point of inception of relevance of the eventuality. Thus, *now* opens a time interval in which the fact that the eventuality is validated becomes relevant. In other words, *now* opens the topic time interval of the eventuality, *i.e.* the time interval to which the speaker’s claim is confined (Klein 1994).

- (10) I have been careless, and so have been thwarted by luck and chance, those wreckers of all but the best-laid plans. But I know better now. I understand those things that I did not understand before. I must be the one to kill Harry Potter, and I shall be. (ENC)

Having distinguished and defined the notions of tense, lexical aspect and aspectual viewpoint in English, we propose to examine the effects of their interaction with the temporal marker *now*.

### 3.2.2. *Now* and various tenses

Tenses can be absolute or relative.<sup>18</sup> Absolute tenses are directly interpreted relative to the time of utterance, whereas relative tenses are interpreted relative to a reference point R situated before or after the time of speech. *Now* occurs with both categories.

#### 3.2.2.1. Absolute tenses

With the following absolute tenses, *now* indicates that R and S coincide, as well as stressing the fact that at least one point of the event coincides with R and that the speaker views the event from R. Note that the lexical aspect of the eventuality can vary depending on the context and grammatical aspect; thus the progressive coerces an activity reading of the eventuality ‘see John’, which can be interpreted as seen from the inside only with an activity reading:

- Simple present (*I see John now*)
- Present progressive (*I am seeing John now*)
- Present perfect (*I have seen John now*)
- Simple future (*I shall see John now*)
- Present perfect progressive (*I have been seeing John for three years now*)
- Simple past or preterit (*I now saw John*)
- Past progressive (*I was now seeing John*)
- Simple future progressive (*I shall be seeing John now*)

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<sup>18</sup> Here we use the tense categories established by Reichenbach (1947).

## Simple present

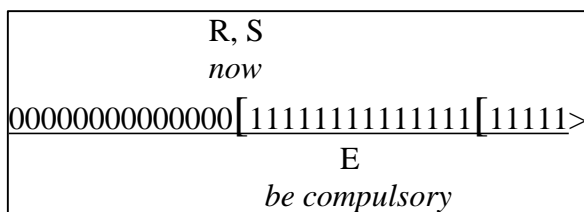
In the present, *now* indicates that R is the first point of validation of an eventuality, or at least the first point at which the eventuality is registered by the speaker. With the present, a stative reading of the situation is coerced (Smith 1997; Michaelis 2006). Smith explains that:

The present tense imposes an interpretative constraint that in effect nullifies the possibility of perfective event sentences. Sentences in the Present must indicate open situations (except for marked uses). (Smith 1997: 185)

When *now* combines with the present, it bounds the state to the left. Thus in (34) *now* marks the boundary between the state of ‘being compulsory’ and the state of ‘not being compulsory’. It opens an unbounded interval in which the state of being compulsory is validated. The right boundary remains open and the end of the situation is not visible.

- (34) “(...) What’s Voldemort planning for Hogwarts?” she asked Lupin. “Attendance is **now** compulsory for every young witch and wizard,” he replied. (ENC)

Figure 1 below is a representation of example (34). Each number represents a time point on a timeline going from left to right. 0 represents a time point at which the situation represented is not validated, while 1 represents a time point at which the situation represented is validated. The open or closed brackets indicate whether the eventuality is bounded or not.



**Figure 1** - *Now* + simple present

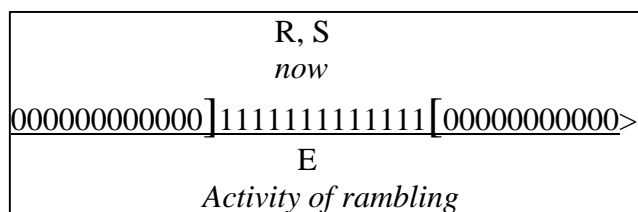
## Present progressive

The present progressive can only occur with dynamic situations, except for marked uses such as *he is being nice*, which indicate a breach in the prevailing background situation. Thus, a dynamic reading of the situation is forced, and in *I am seeing John now*, ‘see’ is understood to be not a state but an activity. Therefore the sentence *I am seeing John* does not mean that John is within

sight at the time of speech, but that the activity of seeing John (*i.e.* dating John) is validated at the time of speech.

- (35) Look, sorry to be a bit forward and all that, but you don't fancy going for a Christmas drink, do you? I mean, nothing implied at all. Just maybe go and see something Christmassy or something. Obviously, if you don't want to, you don't have to. **I'm rambling now**, sorry. (EFC)

The verb *ramble* in (35) refers to an activity. The progressive form *be -ing* gives an imperfective viewpoint and the endpoints of the situation are not visible. However, *now* codes contrast and *be -ing + now* indicates that the imperfective eventuality is temporary and constitutes a breach in the larger prevailing situation of 'not rambling' (Brunaud 1991).<sup>19</sup> Thus, saying *I am rambling now* implies that I was not before, and that I might not be in the future. The eventuality is validated during the interval delimited by *now* and the boundaries of the interval are open since the eventuality is presented as imperfective which means that the endpoints are not visible, as represented in Figure 2.



**Figure 2** - *Now* + present progressive

However, when *now* is combined with the progressive construction, the contrastive nature of *now* often outweighs the temporary value attached to *be -ing*. This is the case in example (36) below. *Now* lays the emphasis on the left boundary of the eventuality 'protect' and although the progressive form suggests that the situation is temporary, *now* indicates that the situation remains open.

- (36) So it's a quite extraordinary story. The man I hired to do the job kills one of my men, grotesquely maims another, and is **now** protecting the girl. (EFC)

<sup>19</sup> "Avec la forme en *be + ing*, il ne s'agit plus de l'opposition de deux propriétés mais d'une brèche momentanée dans la propriété." (Brunaud 1991: 95)

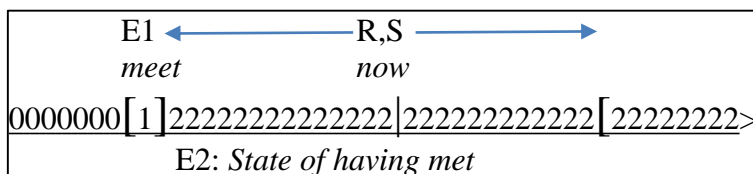


### Present perfect

With the present perfect, a first event (E1) is located in the Extended Now or extended present that stretches before R (McCoard 1978; Smith 1997). The perfect spans a past-to-present interval from E to R and *now* indicates that the right boundary of the interval is open.

- (37) You know, I was kind of scared about this whole cancer thing. But **now** I've met you guys and, boy, do I feel better. (EFC)

In (37), *now* codes that the aftermath situation of ‘having met you’ (E2) is valid and registered at R and that it is valid for an indeterminate number of subsequent time points. Because *now* indicates that  $R = E$ , it cannot locate the first eventuality ‘meet’ (E1) which is anterior to R. *Now* indicates that one point of the resulting situation ‘having met’ (E2) coincides with R and stresses the fact that the whole situation ‘having met’ is viewed from R as stretching both in the past and in the future. Indeed, the perfect focusses the interval preceding R while *now* focusses the interval that follows. The combination of *now* + perfect spans an Extended Now interval from E1 to an indeterminate point posterior to R. In Figure 3, 1 represents points at which E1 is validated and 2 represents points at which E2 is validated.



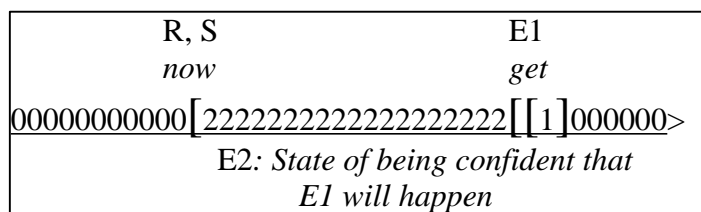
**Figure 3** - *Now* + present perfect

### Future

The future indicates that the event is posterior to S. However, *now* locates R at S and implies that the event coincides at some point with R. Since the adverb overrides the information conveyed by tense, the eventuality should be understood as coinciding with S. However, it is not the case; the validation of the event is still interpreted as posterior to R. One might say that *now*, by mimicking the coincidence of R and E, simply implies that the validation of the event is imminent. There is, however, an alternative reading.

- (38) The wizard leaned toward Harry, leering, and muttered, “Dirk Cresswell, eh? From Goblin Liaison? Nice one, Albert. I’m pretty confident I’ll get his job **now!**” (ENC)

In example (38), *now* could be understood as opening an interval, the first point of which would coincide with R and in which the state ‘be convinced that I will get his job’ is validated. Thus, just as is the case for the perfect, there would be two eventualities to consider: the prospective eventuality ‘get his job’ (E1) and the state ‘be convinced that I will get his job’ (E2) incepted by *now*. According to this interpretation, the future locates E1 as posterior to R and *now* locates E2 as coinciding, at least at its first point, with R. In the same way, given that the perfect spans an Extended Now interval stretching back from R, *now* + future would span an Extended Now interval stretching forward from R in which the situation ‘get his job’ is predicted to occur. This interpretation implies that the speaker has the authority and detains the information necessary to make such a prediction. In our example, the speaker believes that the person holding the job he wants to get has been discredited by Harry and will need to be replaced. Thus, *now* marks the inception of the state ‘be convinced that I will get his job’. Since *now* opens an unbounded interval, the final endpoint of the state is not visible and the event ‘get his job’ is predicted to occur at any point after R. Figure 4 below is a representation of example (38).



**Figure 4** - *Now* + future

### Present perfect progressive

As regards the present perfect progressive, *now* can only appear if the duration of the situation is mentioned. Thus, the utterance *\*I have been seeing John now* is not acceptable, whereas *I have seen John now* is. Indeed, as explained above, with the simple present perfect the event ‘see’ is presented as perfective and *now* locates the situation ‘having seen John’ at R. On the other hand, with the present perfect progressive, there is only one eventuality: the eventuality of seeing, itself. It seems that *present perfect* + *now* without an adverbial of duration systematically

prompts a perfective reading of the situation. This makes it incompatible with the progressive form *be –ing*.

Indeed, it has been noted that the present perfect is often ambiguous as to whether the denoted situation is valid at R. Thus, Dowty (1979) considers that an utterance such as (39) is ambiguous between two readings: (a) Sam is still in Boston at the time of speech and has been for the last twenty minutes, or (b) Sam spent twenty minutes in Boston in the past.

(39) Sam has been in Boston for twenty minutes.

(40) Sam has been in Boston for twenty minutes **now**.

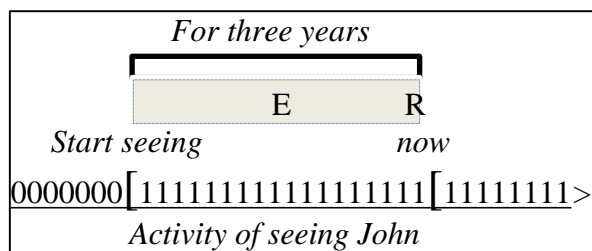
(41) Sam has been in Boston **now**.

Adding *now* to this sentence would dispel the ambiguity and the situation would obtain at the time of speech as in (40). However, if the adverbial *for twenty minutes* were replaced by *now*, the opposite would be understood and the situation would not obtain at the time of speech. Thus in (41), ‘be in Boston’ is presented as perfective, *i.e.* the eventuality is already completed at the time of speech and it is viewed as a whole from the time of speech. (41) has an experiential meaning. A possible context for this sentence could be that Sam had always dreamt of spending time in Boston but had never been able to do it until some time before the time of speech. The use of *now* indicates that at the time of speech, he has had this experience. In fact, when *now* alone modifies a situation in the present perfect, it necessarily locates not the perfect event but its resulting state. This is linked to the semantics of *now*: it opens a new time interval in which a stative situation is validated. Thus, it cannot locate a perfective event and, when combined with a perfective event, it is understood to locate not that event but its result state. However, if the perfective situation is shifted by a duration adverbial and derived into a state or an activity, the first point of the situation is related to R as in (40) and the adding of *now* will confirm that the situation is in progress and obtains at the time of speech. In that case, *now* locates the perfect situation and not its resulting state. It also implies that the situation is unbounded, as shown in (42) below.

When the present perfect is combined with *be -ing*, the use of *now* is impossible without a duration adverbial because a perfective interpretation of the situation such as the one we have in (41) is blocked by the imperfective marker *be -ing*. In the constructed example (42), the adverbial *for three years* specifies the length of the Extended Now interval spanned by the perfect and in which the progressive situation unfolds.

(42) I have been seeing John for three years *now*.

Thus, no ambiguity is left and *now* anchors the eventuality to R, emphasising the fact that the specified period of time stretches backwards from R. Here, *now* has a pivotal function: it refers to the last point of the Extended Now interval set by the perfect, while opening a new open-ended interval in which the situation is still valid, as represented in Figure 5 below.



**Figure 5** - *Now* + present perfect progressive

### Simple past or preterit

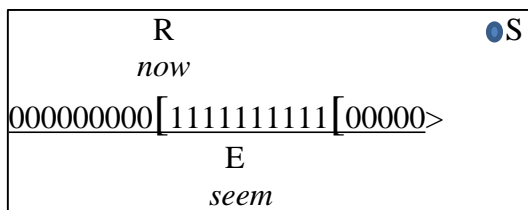
With the following forms, R coincides with E but not with S which means that *now* refers to the time of the event but not to the time of speech. The perspective is therefore that of the time of the event, *i.e.* in narration, the *now*-point or standpoint of the character.

- Simple past (*I now saw John*)
- Past progressive (*I was now seeing John every night*)

The simple past or preterit indicates that E and R coincide, and that both these times are anterior to the time of speech. When the preterit is combined with *now*, the coincidence of E and R is specified and R is located at the *now*-point. With the preterit, *now* behaves slightly differently according to the situation type of the verb constellation, notably according to whether the situation is telic or not. This is why the interpretation of *now* + preterit requires some context.

- (43) He exhaled and forced a calm smile. “My assistant tells me you have a gold key but no account number? Might I ask how you came by this key?” “My grandfather gave it to me,” Sophie replied, watching the man closely. His uneasiness seemed more evident **now**. “Really? Your grandfather gave you the key but failed to give you the account number?”
- (44) Vernet could feel his own heart pounding. Aiming the gun with his right hand, he reached **now** with his left for the wooden box. He discovered that it was far too heavy. (ENC)

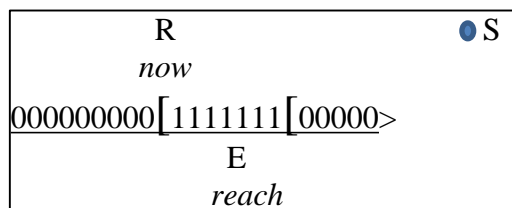
(43) is an occurrence of *now* with a stative situation: ‘seem’ is atelic, durative and non-dynamic. When combined with such a situation, *now* + preterit has exactly the same meaning as *now* + present. *Now* indicates that  $R = E = Temporal\ origo$  and it implies that the situation located is new, qualitatively opposed to the previous situation and open-ended. Here, the uneasiness of the man is evident at R while it was not before. The end of the situation ‘seem’ is not visible: *now* gives an imperfective viewpoint of the stative situation. Figure 6 below represents example (43).



**Figure 6** - *Now* + preterit (atelic eventuality)

In (44), the situation ‘reach for the wooden box’ is an accomplishment: it is telic, dynamic and durative. Once again, *now* indicates that  $R = E = Temporal\ origo$  and the situation is located at the narrative *now*-point. Although it is less obvious, *now* still presents the situation as open-ended: only the initial and first internal points of the situation are visible. *Now* marks the inception of the eventuality, or rather of a new situation in which the eventuality ‘reach for the wooden box’ is validated. *Now* has an inchoative and dynamic value: it presents the situation as new and brings it to the foreground. As we will see in Chapter 4, the use of *now* in past contexts with telic eventualities has an effect reminiscent of the use of sequential *then*: it has a foregrounding effect, and its inchoative or propulsive force (Aijmer 2002) advances the narrative. Conversely, the use of referential *then* here would not have this dynamic effect, which

is linked to the inchoative value of *now*. By locating the situation deictically at the *now*-point, *now* has a foregrounding effect and advances narrative time. It is a boundary marker that marks the inception of a new situation and it can be argued that this capacity to advance the narrative is linked to the general contrastive value of *now*: *now* is inchoative and establishes a new situation at R, which means that it always focuses the left boundary of the situation and leaves the right boundary open, as represented in Figure 7.



**Figure 7** - *Now* + preterit (telic eventuality)

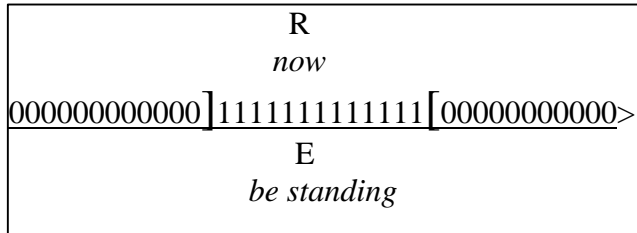
Because of the open-ended value of *now*, the representation of *preterit* + *now* with a stative or a telic predicate is very similar to that of the simple present in Figure 1. Since the eventualities are imperfective the right boundaries of the intervals are open. They are followed by point 0 at which the situation is not validated because the preterit implies a disconnection between a past event and the time of speech. We did not place S on the timeline in Figures 6 and 7 because we consider that the origin of the speech in narration is the narrator who is dislocated from the timeline.

### Past progressive

In the past progressive, just as in the present progressive, the eventuality is presented as progressive and the endpoints of the situation are not visible. However, unlike *now* + present progressive, *now* + past progressive does not create a breach in the background situation. Instead, the progressive eventuality is contrasted to a preceding situation and presented as unbounded. Thus, in (45), *now* clearly emphasises a contrast between the character's situation twenty minutes before the *now*-point ('be asleep') and his situation at the *now*-point ('be standing').

- (45) The dreamlike quality of the evening was settling around him again. Twenty minutes ago he had been asleep in his hotel room. **Now** he was standing in front of a transparent pyramid built by the Sphinx, waiting for a policeman they called the Bull. (ENC)

Although the progressive implies that the situation is temporary and that both endpoints are not visible, *now* focusses the left boundary of the eventuality. More precisely, *now* focusses the left boundary of the portion of the eventuality relevant to the speaker, and it emphasises a contrast between the situation valid at R and the situation valid at a point anterior to R, rather than a temporary breach with two boundaries. The meaning of *now* + past progressive is represented in Figure 8.



**Figure 8** - *Now* + past progressive

Thus, in past contexts, *be -ing* + *now* has an inchoative function, whereas in present contexts it does not. This is due to the fact that in past contexts, the use of *now* is marked and instead of presenting the situation neutrally, it indicates that its first visible point coincides with R. In present contexts, on the other hand, *now* indicates that R or the time of speech coincides with any visible point of the situation and the contrast with the preceding situation is less marked.

### 3.2.2.2. Relative tenses

Relative tenses are interpreted relative to a reference point situated before or after the time of speech, in other words they are not deictic.

#### Past perfect

When R is situated between S and E, *now* still denotes the viewpoint of the speaker at R:

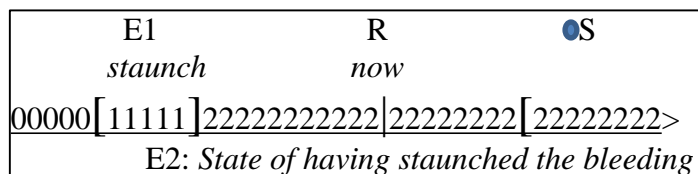
- Past perfect (*I had now seen John*)
- Past perfect progressive (*I had now been seeing John for three years*)

In the past perfect, as in the present perfect, the event is anterior to the reference point, which is anterior to the time of speech. As mentioned before, the time of speech in narration is a theoretical point disconnected from the story. The past perfect presents the eventuality as

perfective and anterior to R. In (46), the perfect indicates that the eventuality ‘staunch’ is completed at an indeterminate time anterior to the *now*-point. Moreover, the perfective eventuality gives rise to a second aftermath situation, namely the result state ‘have staunched’ which is valid at R.

- (46) “Harry, give us a hand!” called Hagrid hoarsely from the door, in which he was stuck again. Glad of something to do, Harry pulled him free, then headed through the empty kitchen and back into the sitting room, where Mrs. Weasley and Ginny were still tending to George. Mrs. Weasley had staunched his bleeding **now**, and by the lamplight Harry saw a clean, gaping hole where George’s ear had been. (ENC)

*Now* specifies R and locates it at the *now*-point, and indicates that the result state ‘have staunched’ is valid at that point and relevant as of that point. It also marks a contrast between this situation presented as new and the previous situation in which this state was not realised. The new situation registered at *now* is presented as unbounded. Example (46) is represented in Figure 9 below.



**Figure 9** - *Now* + past perfect

Thus, *now* + past perfect functions in a very similar way to *now* + present perfect. *Now* opens an interval in which the resultant state is relevant. In our example, the fact that the staunching of the blood has been completed allows Harry to see the wound better.

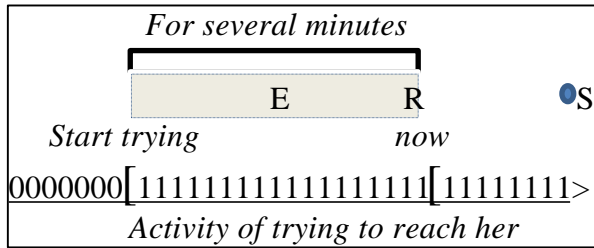
### Past perfect progressive

The past perfect progressive functions like the present perfect progressive, except that R is anterior to the time of speech. *Past perfect progressive* + *now* cannot occur without a duration adverbial relating the inception point of the activity to R and barring the perfective interpretation of the situation. In (47), the perfect spans an Extended Now interval from E to R and the progressive form shifts the situation ‘try’ to an activity.



- (47) “What do you mean she's not answering?” Fache looked incredulous. “You're calling her cell phone, right? I know she's carrying it.” Collet had been trying to reach Sophie **now** for several minutes. “Maybe her batteries are dead. Or her ringer's off.” (ENC)

*Now* specifies R, while *for several minutes* relates the first point of the activity of ‘trying’ to R. Finally, *now* shifts the temporal *origo* from S to R. Figure 10 below proposes a representation of the combination of *now* with the past perfect progressive.



**Figure 10** - *Now* + past perfect progressive

### Future perfect

*Now* can also occur when R is situated after both E and S, albeit more rarely:

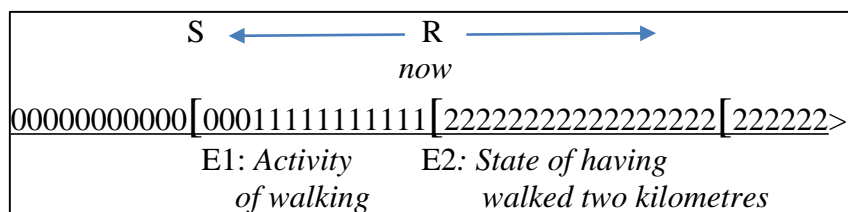
- Future perfect (Walk South from here. You will come to a crossing, and see a church. You will now have walked two kilometres.)
- Future perfect progressive (Walk South for a mile. You will come to a crossing, and see a church. You will now have been walking for ten minutes.)

These constructions, which imply a narrative involving future events with a viewpoint posterior to the events, are somewhat rare. They occur predominantly in guidebooks, recipes and other such genres which involve precise directions and take the reader through a procedure step by step. Thus, these constructions are of the narrative type: a procedure is narrated and *now* projects the interlocutor in the procedure by referring to the *now*-point of the narrative. *Now* never occurs with these forms in our corpus.

- (48) Walk South from here. You will come to a crossing, and see a church. You will **now** have walked two kilometres.

As regards perfect constructions without *be -ing*, two situations have to be considered. First, there is the perfective situation expressed by the verb and located before R by the auxiliary *have*.

In the constructed example (48), this situation is ‘walk’ (E1). Then, there is the aftermath state resulting from this first eventuality and located at R by *now* (E2). The auxiliary *will* implies that E and R are both posterior to S. *Now* indicates that  $E = R = \text{Temporal origo}$ . The temporal *origo* is thus shifted from S to a time point situated in the future, namely R. *Now* does not locate the event expressed by the verb; it locates its result state and indicates that it is first registered at R. The perfect focuses the previous Extended Now interval, whereas *now* focuses R and the following points, presenting the resultant state as open (cf. Figure 11).



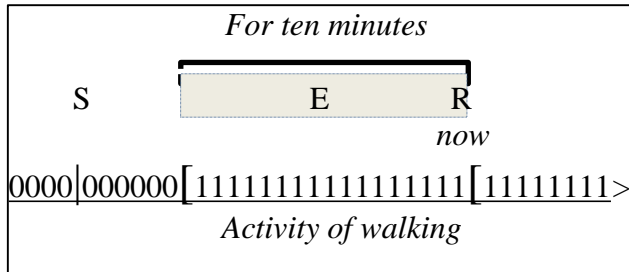
**Figure 11** - *Now* + future perfect

### Future perfect progressive

The future perfect progressive functions in the same way as the other forms of the perfect progressive. Unlike the simple perfect constructions, there is only one situation at stake. In the constructed example (49), this situation is ‘walk’.

- (49) Walk South for a mile. You will come to a crossing, and see a church. You will *now* have been walking for ten minutes.

*Now* gives R, while the adverbial *for ten minutes* gives the starting point of the activity and its distance to R. E and R are both posterior to S and *now* shifts the temporal *origo* from S to R. *Now* refers to the *now*-point of the narrative time and is used to mark a boundary in the procedural timeline in order to allow the interlocutor to better grasp the successive steps of the procedure. This is represented in Figure 12.



**Figure 12** - *Now* + future perfect progressive

Thus, *now* does not refer to the time of speech but rather to a reference point. In English, the position of the reference point is determined by tense and potentially aspect and modal auxiliaries. *Now* is used in discourse to make an otherwise implicit reference point explicit, thus emphasising the viewpoint of the speaker or focalised character. It can be used with any combination of tense and aspect in English.

### 3.3. *Now*: an inchoative marker

We have seen that *now* is a deictic marker (3.1.) compatible with any tense and aspect (3.2.). In this section we determine the various functions of temporal *now* in discourse. We find that it is an inchoative marker which always implies a contrast and rupture between two time intervals. It can express a polarised contrast between two subsequent situations, operate an update of the situation at S or have a resultative function.

#### 3.3.1. Temporal contrast

*Now* is a marker of contrast and rupture. Fryd (1991: 137) explains that the prevailing state introduced by *now* is in opposition to an anterior antithetic state.

- (50) DAD: Well, I gotta say, I'm impressed.  
 PAT: Thank you.  
 DAD: Yeah. I gotta rethink this whole thing. I didn't trust her before, but I gotta say, **now** I do. (EFC)

In example (50), *now* indicates that the new situation contrasts with the previous situation. The previous state of affairs is explicit; it corresponds to a situation in which Pat's Dad did not trust "her". The new situation introduced by *now* is in opposition to that, since Pat's Dad admits

to now trusting “her”. *Now* points to the reference time, namely the time of utterance of “now” and indicates that the change of state is validated at that point.

- (51) “I think we should do it tomorrow,” said Harry. Hermione stopped dead, her jaw hanging; Ron choked a little over his soup. “Tomorrow?” repeated Hermione. “You aren’t serious, Harry?” “I am,” said Harry. “I don’t think we’re going to be much better prepared than we are **now** even if we skulk around the Ministry entrance for another month. (ENC)

*Now* can also contrast the present situation to a future or potential state of affairs, as in (51). Here, the state of ‘being prepared’ is contrasted to a potential future state of ‘being better prepared’ and the contrast is negated, indicating a qualitative continuity between the present and future state of affairs.

The contrastive quality of *now* is also to be found with other tenses and aspects. We find that when *now* locates a punctual eventuality, it designates the time point of the validation of the eventuality and also indicates that the event inaugurates a new situation which contrasts with the previous situation. Thus, more than just locating an event in time, *now* systematically opposes two time intervals and two situations. Its contrastive nature is linked to its open-endedness. Indeed, situations located by *now* are always presented as unbounded.

### 3.3.2. Situation update

*Now* can be used to operate an update of the situation at the time of speech or at the *now*-point. This function is linked to its contrastive value: a previous situation in which the eventuality was not validated is opposed to the current situation in which it is. In example (52), *now* points to the time of speech and indicates that the change is registered at that point, although the actual validation of the eventuality occurred sometime before the time of speech. *Now* marks the beginning of the relevance of the new situation. The updating function of *now* is linked to the use of the present perfect, which gives the resultant state of a modifying eventuality. *Now* anchors the result state to S.

- (52) I’ve also modified my parents’ memories so that they’re convinced they’re really called Wendell and Monica Wilkins, and that their life’s ambition is to move to Australia, which they have **now** done. (ENC)

When *now* occurs in the double conjunction *now that*, it introduces a modifying eventuality that leads to a new situation. Thus, it is part of an updating movement. The eventuality introduced by *now* is presented as validated before the *now*-point, but its validation is registered at the *now*-point. The beginning of its relevance is linked to the validation of another situation because it leads to it: in (53), being beside her leads to the realisation that the lady is old. Thus, *now* is used to mark the renewed relevance of the preconstructed eventuality ‘be beside her’ in view of the resulting eventuality ‘realize how tiny she was’, validated at the *now*-point. *Now that* does not mark the inception of the eventuality but the beginning of its renewed relevance.

- (53) She smelled bad, or perhaps it was her house: Harry wrinkled his nose as they sidled past her and pulled off the Cloak. **Now that** he was beside her, he realized how tiny she was; bowed down with age, she came barely level with his chest. (ENC)

Finally, when *now* is used in narration with the preterit, it introduces a new eventuality and marks the inception of that new eventuality at the *now*-point. It thus corresponds to an update of the situation at the *now*-point. The use of *now* in that case is comparable to that of *then*: in (54), *now* could be replaced by *then* without modifying the meaning of the sentence. However, while sequential *then* would simply code a relation of sequence without locating the eventuality in time more precisely, *now* operates an update of the situation at the *now*-point by anchoring the inception point of the eventuality to the *now*-point. A reassessment of the parameters of the situation is operated by *now*, and the updated situation is seen from the *now*-point.<sup>20</sup>

- (54) After squinting at Ron for a moment or two, he turned back to Dumbledore’s will. “To Miss Hermione Jean Granger, I leave my copy of *The Tales of Beedle the Bard*, in the hope that she will find it entertaining and instructive.” Scrimgeour **now** pulled out of the bag a small book that looked as ancient as the copy of *Secrets of the Darkest Art* upstairs. (ENC)

### 3.3.3. Resultative function

The updating function of *now* constitutes the first step towards its resultative use. Indeed, the update of a situation with *now* involves taking stock of the situation at S or at the *now*-point which often prompts an assessment of the situation that can take the form of a result statement. In this case *now* generally combines with the conjunction *and* which has an additive value and

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<sup>20</sup> We will examine the similarities between sequential *then* and inchoative *now* in more detail in Chapter 4.

marks the cumulative nature of the eventualities. Defour shows that *and now* has a resultative meaning (Defour 2007: 195). The fact that the preceding events are presented as a cumulative series of events leading up to the resulting situation introduced by *now*, implies that the speaker has a strong feeling towards the resulting situation, either highly positive or highly negative. In our corpora, we principally find negative orientations. Thus in example (55), the speaker uses the resultative function of *now* to blame the hearer for the current situation: the resultant situation corresponds to his being left with an incompetent bodyguard which is a consequence of a series of circumstances brought about by the hearer.

(55) You said not to hire another hit man. You said you'd handle it with Barney. **And now** I'm left with one bodyguard. The incompetent fat one. (EFC)

In example (56), the speaker blames himself for the current situation which results from a series of events that he feels responsible for.

(56) Patrizio, I feel terrible, you know? You made the bet, I won a lot of money, **and now** your whole family is in turmoil. (EFC)

#### 4. Conclusion

We have seen that temporal *now* is a deictic marker indicating that the eventuality overlaps with the reference time. Moreover, *now* indicates that R is located at the time of speech when it combines with absolute tenses and at the *now*-point when it combines with relative tenses. *Now* always marks the inception point of an eventuality or of its relevance for the speaker. Thus, it is a boundary marker which marks a rupture and contrast between a preceding – or a following – eventuality and the current eventuality. It can articulate two diametrically opposed eventualities, introduce a newly validated or newly relevant situation and indicate that the new situation results from a series of events. On the one hand, it focuses on the point of inception of the new situation which is also the point of contrast between the two situations and, on the other, it orients the attention of the hearer towards the newly opened time interval which is presented as unbounded. Thus, *now* has both a perfective and an open-ended meaning: it bounds an eventuality to the right and another to the left. Still, it is oriented towards the upcoming discourse, which is why it can be used in narration to advance the narrative. Its contrastive nature gives *now* a propulsive force,

which, as we will show in Chapter 7, explains several of its text-structuring uses as a pragmatic marker.

Having examined the meaning and functions of temporal *now*, we propose to analyse the meaning and functions of its most frequent Mandarin correspondence, *xianzai* ‘now’. We will see that although *now* and *xianzai* are both deictic and both code an overlap of the eventuality time and the reference time, the two markers have different uses. We argue that this is due to the fact that *xianzai* is not contrastive. Unlike *now*, *xianzai* does not mark the inception of a time interval and as a consequence it cannot take on inchoative and contrastive values.

## Chapter 2

### *Now and xianzai*

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In this chapter, we look at the Chinese adverb *xianzai* ‘now’, which displays the highest degree of formal and semantic equivalence with temporal *now*. *Xianzai* is the most frequent correspondence of temporal *now* in our corpora. Like *now*, it is typically used to refer to a point in time or a time interval that overlaps with the time of utterance. The contrastive analysis of *now* and *xianzai* reveals that although the two markers have the same deictic meaning, they have neither the same distribution nor the same functions. Indeed, we will see that while temporal *now* is a contrastive marker with an inchoative meaning, *xianzai* is an imperfective marker with no contrastive function. After reviewing the existing literature on *xianzai* (Section 1), we study the distribution of *xianzai* in the three corpora (Section 2) before contrasting it to that of temporal *now* (Section 3).

#### 1. *Xianzai*: literature review

As yet, few works have examined the deictic adverb *xianzai* ‘now’, and those that have often use a contrastive perspective. This section provides an account of the major contributions on *xianzai* to date. We first present Wang’s (2001) study, before examining Smith’s (2007) work, Hu’s (1998), Li’s (2014), and finally Methven’s (2006).



### 1.1. Wang (2001)

Wang (2001) conducted an experimental contrastive study of *now* and *xianzai*. The goal of his experiment was to demonstrate the usefulness of a parallel corpus for language learning. Students (Chinese learners of English) had various tasks to accomplish, which revealed some differences between *now* and *xianzai*. It was found that *now* and *xianzai* are not systematically translation equivalents. On the one hand, *xianzai* is not always translated by *now*, particularly when it appears in past contexts in which the past tense is enough to locate the situation in English. On the other hand, *now* might be translated by other temporal adverbials such as *muqian* ‘currently’ or *cike* ‘now, at present’, or, when it is used only to draw attention, by pragmatic markers such as *wei* ‘well’, ‘listen’ and *haole* ‘all right’.

### 1.2. Smith (2007)

Smith (2007) talks about the use of *xianzai* in past contexts, which is very frequent in Chinese. She explains that when *xianzai* is used in the past, it does not take the time of speech as reference time (RT)<sup>1</sup>, but a past time provided by the context. She calls the use of deictic forms in past contexts ‘shifted deixis’:

The adverbs *now*, *in 3 days*, *etc.*, are deictic, with the moment of speech as anchor. But they can also anchor to another time, a time in the past (or future):

- a) The army was now on the verge of rage.
- b) Mary was now ready to stop working.

The RT for these sentences is a Past time; shifted *now* taking the perspective of the past. When a particular consciousness is involved, there is an additional element: a point of view ascribed to that consciousness. (Smith 2007: 233)

She gives the following example of shifted deixis in Chinese (the speaker is comparing a time of good fortune to an anterior time in which her life was rougher):

- (1) Xiang dao gei nage sha qian dao keren da bachan de shi,  
think to give that kill 1,000 knife guest big slap Rel incident

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<sup>1</sup> Smith borrows the notion of reference time or reference point developed by Reichenbach (1947). Smith (2007) argues that the notion of reference point is key to understanding temporal location in Mandarin Chinese.

he **xianzai** shenghuo yi bijiao zhen shi bu hen huishou.  
with **now** life one compare really be boundless comparison.

Wo **xianzai** suoxing nenggou jia gei Bi Xiansheng...  
I **now** simply able marry with Bi Mr.

“Thinking back to the time when I slapped that violent killer guest, comparing it to my **current** life, it was really a boundless difference. Simply, **now** I was able to marry Mr Bi...”

Our study of the mechanisms of Chinese narration will lead us to question the existence of temporal deictic shifts in Chinese (*cf.* 3.3.2.).

### 1.3. Hsu (1998)

Hsu (1998), in her study of the temporal markers *zheng*, *zhengzai*, and *zai*, mentions their great compatibility with temporal deictic adverbs such as *xianzai*. She explains it as follows:

The collocation of the above lexical items (‘now’, ‘presently’, ‘then’, ‘at that time’, *etc.*) with the temporal markers *zheng*, *zhengzai*, and *zai* is due to semantic compatibility between these lexical items and the temporal markers. In other words, these lexical items capture the essence of the temporal markers, *i.e.*, ongoingness in the present or a past time frame. (Hsu 1998: 63)

She notes that in spoken discourse the collocation between *zheng*, *zhengzai*, *zai* and *xianzai* is even more marked:

The abundance of collocations with *xianzai* ‘now’ is due to the fact that spoken discourse is typically concerned with the present moment of the speech exchange. (...) The situation can actually be ongoing at the moment of speaking, or it can be ongoing over an extended period of time but related to the present moment. (Hsu 1998: 80)

Finally, she explains that *xianzai* is preferred over other markers such as *cike* or *muqian* in spoken discourse because it is more “basic” (Hsu 1998: 81).

### 1.4. Li (2014)

Very recently Li Zongjiang (2014) proposed an analysis of the marker *xianzai*. He explains that *xianzai* is first and foremost a ‘time noun’, as in (2), but that it is frequently used as what he calls

a ‘connector of time relations’, as in (3). In that case, *xianzai* locates an eventuality at the time of utterance, but it is rarely used on its own. The eventuality located by *xianzai* is understood to occur after a preceding eventuality denoted in the previous segment (past eventuality – *xianzai* + eventuality), or before a future eventuality denoted in the following segment (*xianzai* + eventuality – future eventuality). In (3), *xianzai* goes hand in hand with the time marker *guoqu* ‘in the past’. Li specifies that the presence of a past or future time marker is not necessary in the direct left or right context as long as the meaning of the preceding or following sequence is clearly past or future. However, the use of *xianzai* as a ‘connector of time relations’ implies that *xianzai* establishes a connection between another time and the time of the action it marks.

- (2) 现在 是一个不寻常的时代。(Li Zongjiang 2014: 62)

**Xiànzài** shì yī gè bù xúncháng de shídài  
**Now** be one Cl Neg ordinary Rel epoch

The times we live in are not ordinary.<sup>2</sup>

- (3) 过去 我也想要你非同凡响一些，  
 Guòqù wǒ yě xiǎngyào nǐ fēi tóng fánxiǎng yīxiē,  
 in the past I too want you Neg like ordinary some

和 别人 比 的时候 能 超过 他们。  
 hé biérén bǐ de shíhòu néng chāoguò tāmen.  
 with other people compare Rel time can surpass they

现在 (今天) 我不想了，没这些也可以。  
**Xiànzài** (jīntiān) wǒ bù xiǎng-le, méi zhèxiē yě kěyǐ.  
**Now** (today) I Neg wish-le Neg this Cl also can

多数人的生活不也是碌碌无为的吗？  
 Duōshù rén de shēnghuó bù yě shì lùlù wúwéi de ma?  
 majority people Rel life Neg also be laborious without achievement Rel Interr  
 (Li Zongjiang 2014: 62)

In the past I wanted you to be extraordinary, I wanted you to surpass other people. **Now** I don’t want that anymore, it’s okay if it is not like that. Isn’t the life of most people a lot of work with no achievement?

<sup>2</sup> All the examples from Li’s paper (2014) are translated by myself.

Li argues that in its other uses *xianzai* is a discourse marker. He lists two discursive functions for *xianzai*: ‘result marker’ (4) and ‘procedure transition marker’ (5). As a result marker, *xianzai* introduces the consequence of the eventuality described in the preceding segment, just like the markers *yúshì* ‘thus’, *suǒyǐ* ‘so’, and *zhèxià* ‘this time’. As a procedure transition marker, *xianzai* is only used in spoken Chinese, and introduces a new sequence of discourse. Its meaning is then similar to *xiàmian* ‘next’ or *jiē xiàlái* ‘following, next’.

- (4) 都 一起 去 餐馆 吃饭 了。  
Dōu yīqǐ qù cānguǎn chīfàn le.  
All together go restaurant eat-food LE

昨天 我 看见 你们 了，谈 得 那么 亲密，  
Zuótiān wǒ kànjiàn nǐmen le, tán de nàme qīnmì,  
Yesterday I look-see you LE discuss DE so intimate

连 我和 阮琳 从 你们 面前 走过 也 看 不见。  
lián wǒ hé Ruǎnlín cóng nǐmen miànqián zǒuguò yě kàn bùjiàn.  
Even I and Ruanlin from you front walk-cross also see Neg see

现在 (这下) 你 知道 她 叫 什么 了 吧? (Li Zongjiang 2014: 64)  
**Xiànzài** (zhè xià) nǐ zhīdào tā jiào shénme le ba?  
**Now** this time you know she call what LE BA

But you have lunch together. I saw you yesterday, you were talking so intimately, you didn’t even see me and Ruanlin walk right in front of you. Surely you should know her name by **now**!

- (5) 吴 所长 用 圆珠笔 敲敲 桌面:  
Wú suǒzhǎng yòng yuánzhūbǐ qiāo-qiāo zhuōmiàn:  
Wu Headmaster use ballpoint pen tap-tap table face

「好 啦，**现在** 我们 就 来 研究 一下 围墙 的 问题。」  
Hǎo la, **xiànzài** wǒmen jiù lái yánjiū yīxià wéiqiáng de wèntí.  
well LA **now** we at once come research one time enclosure Rel question  
(Li Zongjiang 2014: 64)

Headmaster Wu was tapping the table with a ballpoint pen: “Alright, **now** we have to look into the problem of the fence.”

Although Li makes a number of interesting points, our analysis leads us to challenge his view of *xianzai* as a discourse marker.

### 1.5. Methven (2006)

Finally, Methven (2006) compares Chinese and English deictic systems and argues that “time deixis in Chinese plays a more important role in defining the order of events in an utterance due to the lack of a clear tense system that does so” (Methven 2006: 5). He further claims that English time deictics such as *now* can be weakened and used discursively, whereas this is not possible for Chinese time deictics which “are much more relevant in establishing the sequence of events” (Methven 2006: 9).

Our corpus shows that *xianzai* is indeed highly deictic and plays an important role in the temporal anchoring of events, which effectively precludes its use as a pragmatic marker. We will see how *xianzai* is used in interaction and in narration to anchor events in time and provide a perspective on them.

Having reviewed previous analyses of *xianzai*, we will now examine the distribution of the adverb in our corpora, with a view to determining its distributional properties.

## 2. Distribution of *xianzai* in the corpora

The distribution of *xianzai* in our corpora is much less complex than that of *now*. Indeed, although the frequency of *xianzai* varies across corpora, its range of functions and possible positions in the sentence remain very limited. To determine the function of *xianzai*, we looked at the occurrences of *xianzai* in the Chinese original corpora and the Chinese translation corpora. In this section, we first discuss the function of *xianzai* (2.1.), before presenting its syntactic distribution (2.2.). We then endeavour to determine its part of speech (2.3.), and finally, we give an account of the distributional variations of *xianzai* across the three Chinese corpora.

## 2.1. Function of *xianzai*

Following Wang (2001) and Methven (2006), we argue that the use of *xianzai* in Chinese is always temporal. Although we acknowledge the functions identified by Li (2014) of *xianzai* as a result marker (4) and a transition marker (5), we consider that these functions are not completely procedural but first and foremost conceptual. Thus, in these uses *xianzai* does not qualify as a pragmatic marker. Even when *xianzai* is used to denote result or transition, it retains its temporal value and refers to a time interval; in other words it remains a temporal marker. Indeed, one of the specificities of pragmatic markers is to be non-referential, as explained by Fraser (1998) in the following definition:

Although drawn primarily from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbials, and prepositional phrases, they do not play the role in a sentence that their classes would suggest, but instead, they are separate from the propositional content of the sentence and function to signal the relationship between the segment of discourse they introduce, S2, and the prior segment of discourse, S1. Their meaning is procedural, not conceptual, with each discourse marker providing information on how to interpret the message conveyed by S2 vis-à-vis the interpretation of S1. (Fraser 1998: 302)

Thus, the result and transition uses of *xianzai* are to be put on the same level as the borderline cases of *now*: the speaker builds on the referential meaning of *xianzai/now* and uses it for discourse organisation but the temporal meaning is always retrievable. Conversely, pragmatic occurrences of *now* have lost all referential meaning. In our English original corpus, none of the occurrences of *now* as a pragmatic marker are translated by *xianzai*. In example (6), from the English Narrative Corpus (ENC), *now* is not used to locate the eventuality ‘say’ in time. It has taken on a pragmatic meaning, and could not be translated by *xianzai*, because *xianzai* could not be emptied of its temporal meaning and would necessarily locate the following eventuality in time.

- (6) Mr. Ibis raised his eyebrows. “You think that's true?” “Nope. **Now**, my old cellmate, Low Key, he said they changed the name because the word 'fried' had become a bad word.”

艾比斯 聳起 眉毛，「你 相信 這 是 真 的 嗎？」  
 Àibīsī song-qǐ méimáo, nǐ xiāngxìn zhè shì zhēnde ma?  
 Ibis raise start eyebrow you believe this be real Rel Interr

我 不 相 信 。 不 過 ， 我 的 牢 友 李 史 密 斯 則 說 ，  
 Wǒ bù xiāngxìn. **Bùguò**, wǒ de láoyǒu Lǐ Shímìsī zé shuō,  
 I Neg believe **but** I Rel cellmate Li Smith then say

肯 德 基 改 名 ， 是 因 為 『 炸 』 這 個 字 不 好 聽 。 」 (ENC)<sup>3</sup>  
 Kěndéjī gǎi míng, shì yīnwèi zhà zhège zì bù hǎotīng.  
 KFC change name be because deep fry this Cl character Neg good hear

The only examples of pragmatic *now* translated by *xianzai* are borderline cases in which the interpretation of *now* is either possibly temporal, ambiguous, or cases in which the translation is questionable. By using *xianzai* to translate *now* in a borderline case, the translator chooses to render only the temporal meaning of *now*. This is the case in example (7) below, in which *now* has both a temporal and discursive meaning, whereas *xianzai* can only be interpreted temporally.

- (7) “Good news, my boy. We’ll leave in the morning. **Now**, you should get some sleep. I have some scotch in my room, if you need help sleeping. (...)”

「 好 孩 子 ， 這 真 是 好 消 息 。 我 們 早 上 就  
 `hǎo háizi, zhè zhēn shì hǎo xiāoxī. Wǒmen zǎoshang jiù  
 good child this really be good news we morning at once

出 發 。 現 在 你 該 睡 一 下 ， 我 房 裡 還 有 威 士 忌 ，  
 chūfā. **Xiànzài** nǐ gāi shuì yīxià, wǒ fáng lǐ hái yǒu wēishìjì,  
 start out **now** you should sleep a moment I house inside still have whiskey,

如 果 你 需 要 喝 一 些 助 眠 。 」 (ENC)  
 rúguǒ nǐ xūyào hē yīxiē zhù mián.  
 if you need drink some help sleep

In (8) however, the translation choice is questionable insofar as the function of *now* is clearly pragmatic: it is used to focus the attention of the hearers and implies that the speaker is in

<sup>3</sup> In the examples taken from the English Narrative Corpus (ENC), the English Film Corpus (EFC), the Chinese Narrative Corpus (CNC) and the Chinese Film Corpus (CFC) the translations given are official translations from the parallel corpora (NB: the translations of the film subtitles are not always the official translations). This explains why the translations do not always render the source text very precisely. In the examples from the Chinese Conversational Corpus (CCC), the Chinese text is translated in English by myself. In this study, the source text is always given first, followed by the translation. This results in an inconstant alternation of the English and Chinese texts in the examples which might appear inelegant, but which we believe will make reading easier. No translation is given for the examples from the English Conversational Corpus (ECC).

a position of authority since *now* introduces a command. And indeed, in that passage, the speaker is a hit man in charge of the protection of his interlocutors; he can legitimately issue commands. In Chinese, the pragmatic meaning of *now* is lost and *xianzai* only reinforces the focus on the deictic centre already operated by *zheli* ‘here’.

- (8) **Now** we're safe here as long as we follow a few basic rules of security.

我們 現在 在 這裡 很 安全， 只要 我們  
Wǒmen **xiànzài** zài zhèlǐ hěn ānquán, zhǐyào wǒmen  
we **now** be at here very safe only need we

遵守 幾 條 簡單 的 安全 法則。(EFC)  
zūnshǒu jǐ tiáo jiǎndān de ānquán fǎzé.  
follow some CL simple Rel security rule

In the Chinese corpora, when *xianzai* is translated by *now* in initial position, it sometimes prompts a non-temporal interpretation in English. Thus, in (9), *now* is not straightforwardly temporal but borderline. Its initial position makes it clause-oriented, *i.e.* it has scope over the whole clause, and thus seems to “characterize how the propositional content of the clause relates to the world or the context” (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 576).

- (9) 反正 這個 小偷 就在 你們 這個 班 上。  
Fǎnzhèng zhège xiǎotōu jiù zài nǐmen zhège bān shàng.  
anyway this CL thief just at your this CL class on

他 一定 覺得 自己 很 聰明。 好， 很好。  
Tā yīdìng juéde zìjǐ hěn cōngmíng. Hǎo, hěn hǎo.  
he certainly think oneself very clever good very good

現在 每 一 個人 把 紙 筆 拿 出來，  
**Xiànzài** měi yī gè rén bǎ zhǐ bǐ ná chū lái,  
**now** each one CL person BA CL pen take out

寫 下 你 認為 可能 是 小偷 的 人 的 名字。  
xiě xià nǐ rènwéi kěnéng shì xiǎotōu de rén de míngzì.



write down you reckon maybe be thief Rel person Rel name

I guarantee that the thief is sitting right here in this room. The person must think that he can get away with this. Good, very good. **Now**, take out your pen, everyone, and write down the name of the person that you think is most likely to be the thief. (CFC)

Here, *now* is detached; it introduces a command, and can be interpreted as a discursive marker the function of which would be to prompt the re-evaluation of the interpersonal relation at the time of speech (S), with the result of asserting the authority of the speaker. However, it could also be understood to locate the eventuality ‘take out your pen’ in time at the time of speech. Thus, the function of *now* as temporal or pragmatic remains ambiguous. Or rather, all seems to indicate that it has both functions: it is temporal because it locates the accomplishment at the time of utterance, and it is pragmatic because it is an attitudinal marker signalling the authority of the speaker and calling for the attention of the interlocutors. In Chinese on the other hand the function of the adverb is purely temporal; *xianzai* is not an attitudinal marker.

We have shown that unlike *now*, *xianzai* cannot take on a full pragmatic meaning. *Xianzai* is a temporal deictic marker that locates the eventuality at the time of speech. In the next section, we will see that its syntactic distribution is also more restricted than that of *now*.

## 2.2. Syntactic distribution of *xianzai*

We propose to examine the syntactic distribution of *xianzai*. We start with its sentence position, which is always pre-verbal (2.2.1.). We then turn to the question of Chinese word order (2.2.2.), and discuss the use of *xianzai* with zero anaphora of the subject (2.2.3.). Finally, we look at the use of *xianzai* in presentative sentences (2.2.4.).

### 2.2.1. *Xianzai*: a movable adverb

Two slots are available for *xianzai* in preverbal position: it can be placed before or after the subject, each position producing variations at the discursive level. This is why time adverbs such as *xianzai* are called ‘movable adverbs’ (Li & Thompson 1981: 320). We call these positions post-subject position (10) and pre-subject position (11).

- (10) 那我再跟你約時間好了,  
Nà wǒ zài gēn nǐ yuē shíjiān hǎo le,  
Then I again with you appoint time alright LE

我現在不方便講電話。  
wǒ **xianzai** bù fāngbiàn jiǎng diànhuà.  
I **now** not convenient talk phone

I will call you about it later. I really can't talk **right now**. (CFC)

- (11) 你記不記得那時候我去接你的時候，  
Nǐ jì bù jìdé nà shíhòu wǒ qù jiē nǐ de shíhòu,  
You remember Neg remember that time I go fetch you Rel time

在車上跟你說我剛結婚？  
zài chē shàng gēn nǐ shuō wǒ gāng jiéhūn?  
at car on with you say I just marry

現在我大女兒都已經結婚生子了。  
**Xianzai** wǒ dà nǚ'ér dōu yǐjīng jiéhūn shēngzǐ le.  
**Now** my big daughter all already marry have kid LE

You remember that time I went to pick you up in the car and told you I'd just gotten married? **Now** my eldest daughter is already married with children. (CNC)

The fact that movable adverbs are always preverbal means that they are used to provide a temporal frame for the situation:

One of the major functional characteristics of the movable adverbs is that they are sentential adverbs, in the sense that they provide a semantic frame within which the event described by the sentence occurs. (*Ibid.*: 320)

Li & Thompson describe *xianzai* as a sentential adverb, that is to say, it is associated with the sentence rather than the verb:

[Time adverbs] clearly function as sentential adverbs, they typically signal the time at which or during which the entire event described by the sentence occurs. In this respect they contrast with a semantically similar set of adverbs, such as *yǐjīng* 'already' or *chángcháng* 'frequently', which are associated with the verb rather than with the entire sentence. (*Ibid.*: 321)

In a more formal vein, Ernst (2000) examines the possible sentence positions of various adverbs and explains that location-time adjuncts are functional adverbs situated above the lexical VP in deep structure, which explains why they have scope over the whole clause (Ernst 2000: 85). One element that confirms this is the fact that *xianzai* takes scope over negation as in the constructed example (12) below:

- (12) 他現在 不 會 每 個 星期 去 遊泳。  
 Tā **xiànzài** bù huì měi gè xīngqī qù yóuyǒng.  
 He **now** Neg MV each CI week go swim

He does not go swimming every week **these days**.

We have seen that *xianzai* is a sentence adverbial which can be placed either in pre-subject or post-subject position. In the next section, we link this characteristic to word order constraints in Chinese.

### 2.2.2. Time adverbials and Chinese word order

Li & Thompson argue that word order in Chinese is determined “by considerations of meaning rather than by grammatical functions” (Li & Thompson 1981: 19). The position of locative temporal adverbs like *xianzai* is relatively constrained, since Li & Thompson (1981) explain that “preverbal time phrases tend to signal punctual time, while postverbal time phrases tend to signal durative time” (*Ibid.*: 21). Thus, *xianzai* is less mobile than English *now*; it is almost always preverbal.

Indeed, Tai (1985: 49) explains that as a non-inflectional language, Chinese relies heavily on word order to convey meaning. He looks at adverbials and argues that the principle of iconicity can account for the placement of adverbials. Two principles govern the syntactic constraints on the placement of adverbials in the sentence. First, word order is constrained by the Principle of Temporal Sequence (PTS): “The relative word order between two syntactic units is determined by the temporal order of the states which they represent in the conceptual world” (Tai 1985: 50). Thus, it is logical that the subject should precede the verb, and that the object should succeed it; since the subject referent typically exists before the action denoted by the verb occurs, whereas the object is often modified or created by the action. Circumstances of the action typically

precede the verb whereas the result of the action follows it. Second, word order is constrained by the Principle of Temporal Scope (PTSC): “If the conceptual state represented by a syntactic unit X falls within the temporal scope of the conceptual state represented by a syntactic unit Y, then the word order is YX” (*Ibid.*: 60).

When an eventuality is located in time by a time adverb, it is generally placed within the temporal range of that adverb and must thus be placed after that time adverb.

Since the temporal range of the action denoted by the verb is within the temporal range denoted by the time adverb, the verb is therefore within the temporal scope of the time adverb and by PTSC is placed after the time adverb. (*Ibid.*: 61)

Thus, *xianzai* can theoretically never occur after the verb; it should always be preverbal. However, Paris & Peyraube (1993) argue against the principle of iconicity and find some instances in which it does not apply. Accordingly, we do not take iconicity to be an absolute rule in Chinese. Lu (1980) also notes that some movement is possible in spoken Chinese. And indeed, we have some occurrences of *xianzai* in final position in the CCC and in direct speech in the CNC and CFC. In that case, it seems that the speaker is insisting on the validity of the situation at the time of speech. Thus, in example (13) from the CCC, the speaker is repeating the adverb at the end of his sentence in order to insist on the validity of the eventuality at S. In example (14), *xianzai* follows a request for information concerning the time of speech. Although the request, which contains *le*, already indicates that the subject of the request is the time of speech<sup>4</sup>, the final use of *xianzai* comes as an afterthought to confirm that the request concerns the time of speech and avoid confusion.

- (13) 好像 沒有 那麼 的 穩(short\_break) 定(inhale) (short\_break)  
 Hǎoxiàng méiyǒu nàme de wěn (short\_break) dìng (inhale) (short\_break)  
 Seems Neg have so Rel settled fixed

A 但是 現在 澳洲 的 那個 新進 的 那 一個 球員 就 (inhale)  
 A dànshì xiànzài Aozhōu de nàgè xīn jìn de nà yī gè qiúyuán jiù  
 A but now Australia Rel that CI new enter Rel that one CI player just

好像 (short\_break) 蠻 穩 的 現在(short\_break) (CCC)

<sup>4</sup> Indeed, as we will see in Chapter 3, *le* in interaction anchors to the time of speech.

hǎoxiàng            mán wěn de **xiànzài**  
seems                quite settled Rel **now**

It looks like he was not very stable, you know. But **now** the Australian player who just entered, he seems very stable, at the moment.

- (14) 伊娜問我：「幾點了，現在。」她忘記我沒有錶了。  
Yīnà wèn wǒ: Jǐdiǎn le, **xiànzài**. Tā wàngjì wǒ méiyǒu biǎo le.  
Ina ask I what time LE **now** she forget I Neg have watch LE

‘What time is it?’ Ina asked. She’d forgotten I didn’t have a watch. (ENC)

In example (15) the participants are ex-lovers. B has just told A that he has not been able to fall in love after having loved her. A is mocking him and trying to change the mood of the conversation.

- (15) A: 哇 這麼 感人 啊  
Wa zhème gǎnrén a  
Wow so moving A

B: 你 不要 破壞 氣氛 喔現在 (EFC)  
Nǐ bùyào pòhuài qìfēn ō **xiànzài**  
You Neg MV break atmosphere O **now**

A: You are kidding me right?

B: Don't ruin it **now**.

The use of *xianzai* in final position seems to correspond to an attempt to capture the time of speech and the atmosphere attached to it. It comes as an afterthought, not to locate the time at which the action of ruining the atmosphere must not be performed but to point to the time of speech in order to underline the fact that the moment of speech is special.

We have seen that time adverbs in Chinese occur preverbally, except in spoken Chinese in which they might be found in sentence-final position. However, this position is very rare and although this phenomenon calls for a nuancing of the principle of iconicity, it does not invalidate it completely. Let us now turn to the use of *xianzai* with zero anaphora of the subject.

### 2.2.3. Zero anaphora

In some cases, *xianzai* is neither in pre-subject nor in post-subject position because the subject is omitted, which often happens in Chinese when it can be retrieved in the immediate context. This phenomenon is called zero anaphora, and is particularly frequent in pro-drop languages such as Chinese<sup>5</sup> (16). Tao & Healy (2005) give the following definition of zero anaphora:

An empty grammatical slot in a sentence standing for a previously mentioned nominal referent, without any grammatical marking in the expression to specify the missing referent. (...) The phrase “zero anaphora” is, thus, a figurative expression which means that there is no overt anaphoric device in an elliptical expression. (Tao & Healy 2005: 101)

In (16) below, the omitted subject is *wǒ* ‘I’. When the subject is omitted, *xianzai* is often clause-initial.

- (16) 有 空 回 來 的 時 候 我 就 幫 忙 ， 現 在 乾 脆  
 Yǒu kòng huílái de shíhòu wǒ jiù bāngmáng, xiànzài gāncuì  
 Have time come back Rel time I then help now simply

搬 回 來 住 ， 鄔 瑪 芙 也 有 小 朋 友 一 起 玩 。  
 bān huílái zhù, Wūmǎfú yě yǒu xiǎopéngyǒu yīqǐ wán.  
 move come back live Umav also have child together play

I’ve been coming down and helping out every chance I get. **Now** I’ll just move back here for good. Besides, Umav has kids to play with in the village. (CNC)

In English on the other hand, a pronoun is often used as a subject anaphor.

### 2.2.4. Presentative sentences

Presentative structures are used to denote the existence of an entity, its appearance or its disappearance. Hu (1995) explains that presentative sentences follow a very particular pattern in Chinese:

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<sup>5</sup> Chu (1998) explains that “deletion of a noun phrase, or zero anaphora, is a very common device to indicate topic in Mandarin Chinese” (1998: 205).

Presentative sentences have a very special word order with the locative noun phrase at the sentence-initial position and the noun phrase symbolizing the presented entity following the verb. (Hu 1995: 93)

Presentative sentences follow this pattern:

(NPloc) ... V ... NP

Hu (*ibid.*: 115) goes on to explain that “the syntactic structure of presentative sentences in Chinese is the symbolization of the conceptualized situation of presentation or existence of entities in space”.

Indeed, the locative NP has scope over the presented entity, since the entity is located in the specified locus. When *xianzai* introduces a presentative sentence as in (17), it is topical and serves as a locative device that grounds the presented entity in the situation of utterance. The grammatical status of the presented entity is debatable. Hu sums up the debate and explains that some consider that it is the subject of the existential verb (such as Shuxiang Lü (1942)), while others (such as Xu (1956: 43)) insist that its postverbal position necessarily makes it an object. Chao (1968: 323, 673-74) proposes an intermediary solution: he treats presentative sentences as having “inverted subjects”, viewing grammatical objects as logical subjects.

(17) 剛才 是你，現在 又是你，才 出門，  
Gāngcái shì nǐ, xiànzài yòu shì nǐ, cái chūmén,  
Just now be you **now** again be you only go out

你 就 在 那裡 哀嚎 鬼 叫，  
Nǐ jiù zài nàlǐ āiháo guǐ jiào,  
you at once at there howl ghost shout

你 是 不 是 男孩子 啊？  
Nǐ shì bù shì nánháizi a?  
you be Neg be boy A

It is you again! We just left not too long ago and you keep yelling and screaming. Do you have balls? (CNC)

Such a view raises the question of the status of the locative NP *xianzai*. Should it be considered the grammatical subject of the sentence? We believe that the syntactic function of *xianzai* is not as relevant as its informational status. When it occurs in initial position in presentative sentences, *xianzai* is topic.

Let us first define what we mean by ‘topic’. Indeed, as pointed out by Paris (1999: 203), two incompatible definitions of ‘topic’ are usually used. Thus, Li & Thompson give the following two definitions:

- (a) “a topic (...) names what a sentence is about, is definite or generic.” (Li & Thompson 1981: 87)
- (b) “[it] sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds.” (*ibid.*: 85)

Paris (1999: 203) argues that in the following sentence, *jintian* ‘today’ and *women de xuexiao* ‘our school’ respectively fill the criteria of definition (a) and (b):

- (18) Jintian women de xuexiao kai xue le  
today we Rel school open study LE

Today we are going back to school.

Chafe (1976: 51) had already noted this problem: “‘real’ topics (in topic prominent languages) are not so much ‘what the sentence is about’ as ‘the frame within which the sentence holds.’”

Jacobs (2001) finds a way to reconcile these two definitions. He explains that there is no absolute criterion for the identification of topic-comment (TC) sentences, but that there are four salient semantic attributes that help identify a topic: *informational separation*, *predication*, *addressation*, and *frame-setting* (Jacobs 2001: 644). He argues that these four attributes are not all necessarily present in all TC sentences.



There is no common functional feature (nor a common set of functional features) that justifies this classification. Rather, what is behind the intuition of linguists that all these constructions are instances of TC is the fact that they all sufficiently resemble prototypical examples of a TC. With these prototypical cases they share some salient semantic attributes, but not necessarily the same semantic attributes and not necessarily all of the relevant attributes. (Jacobs 2001: 642)

*Informational separation* refers to the fact that the presentation of information unfolds in two distinct steps: first the topic is presented, then the comment. *Predication* supposes that the topic of a sentence is its semantic subject, which does not entail that it is its grammatical subject.<sup>6</sup> *Addressation* corresponds to the notion of *aboutness*: it means that the topic is what the utterance is about. Finally, *frame-setting* is an attribute of topics that set a temporal or spatial frame in which the following predicative relation holds. In (17), *xianzai* can be identified as the topic of the clause insofar as the clause displays the attributes of *information separation*, of *predication* and of *frame-setting*.

There are different types of presentative sentences, and *xianzai* can be used in two of them as a locative NP: those formed with the copula verb 是 *shi* ‘be’ (cf. (17) above), and those formed with the verb 有 *you* ‘have’. The corresponding negative sentences are formed respectively with 不是 *bushi* ‘is not’ and 沒有 *mei(you)* ‘have not’ (19).

- (19) 沒有 人 完全 記得 清楚 當時 的 路線，  
 Méiyǒu rén wánquán jìdé qīngchǔ dāngshí de lùxiàn,  
 Neg have people completely remember clearly that time Rel itinerary

現在 也 沒 人 敢 深入 打獵。  
 xiànzài yě méi rén gǎn shēnrù dǎliè.  
 Now also Neg people dare penetrate shoot hunting

No one can clearly remember the route. Nobody dares to hunt there anymore. (CNC)

Other presentative sentences can be formed with motion verbs such as *lai* ‘come’, but there are no occurrences of *xianzai* as a locating device for these sentences in our corpora.

<sup>6</sup> “Semantic predication: In (X Y), X is the semantic subject and Y the semantic predicate iff (a) X specifies a variable in the semantic valency of an element in Y, and (b) there is no Z such that (i) Z specifies a variable in the semantic valency of an element in Y and (ii) Z is hierarchically higher in semantic form than X.” (Jacobs 2001: 647)

The use of *xianzai* as a locative phrase for presentative sentences raises the question of grammatical categorisation once again. Indeed, Hu (1995) argues that the locative device for a presentative sentence must be a noun phrase (NP). As we will see, *xianzai*, like English *now*, has nominal properties. This is due to the fact that it designates an entity, *i.e.* a moment in time. *Xianzai* is used to name the time of utterance: it can be likened to a noun.

### 2.3. *Xianzai*: what part of speech (POS)?

Like the English adverb *now*, *xianzai* is generally described as a deictic adverb and is typically used to modify a verb. But Chao (1968) considers that *xianzai* is a ‘time word’, Li (2014) argues that its first function is as a ‘time noun’, and Jiang (2015) classifies it as a noun. In this section, we look at the various uses of *xianzai* and try to determine its part of speech. In 2.3.1., we examine the adverbial use of *xianzai*. In 2.3.2., we discuss its nominal properties. Finally in 2.3.3., we briefly present its adjectival use.

#### 2.3.1. Adverbial functions

Since *xianzai* is mostly used as an adverbial, we first look at its adverbial functions. The adverb *xianzai* is typically used to modify a VP (2.3.1.1.). However, it also occurs in verbless sentences (2.3.1.2.).

##### 2.3.1.1. Modifying a verbal clause or a VP

When *xianzai* is used as an adverb, it modifies a whole sentence or a verb phrase. It is used to locate an eventuality at the time of utterance or at another reference time. When *xianzai* is in initial position, it has scope over the rest of the sentence and indicates that the predicative relation is valid during a temporal interval that includes the time of speech. Thus in (20) below, *xianzai* refers to a large time interval that includes the time of speech and within which the relation <aboriginal things – be popular> is validated.

- (20) A: 現在 剛 戒 酒, 手 還 會 抖, 刻 得 比 較 不 好。  
Xiànzài gāng jiè jiǔ, shǒu hái huì dǒu, kè dé bǐjiào bù hǎo.  
Now just quit alcohol hand still will shake carve DE more not good

B: 哪裡 會 還是 一樣 好 啊!  
 Nǎlǐ huì háishì yīyàng hǎo a!  
 Where MV still same good A

現在 原住民 的 東西 又 那麼 熱門,  
**Xiànzài** yuánzhùmín de dōngxī yòu nàme rèmén,  
**Now** aborigine Rel thing moreover so popular

我看 等 我們 存 一筆 錢 以後,  
 wǒ kàn děng wǒmen cún yībǐ qián yǐhòu,  
 I see wait we save one Cl money after

可以 開 一間 藝 品 店 呢。  
 kěyǐ kāi yī jiàn yì pǐn diàn ne.  
 can open one Cl art product shop NE

A: I've just quit drinking. My hands are still shaking. I'm not carving like I used to.  
 B: No, you're just as good. Besides, aboriginal things are popular **now**. After we save up some money, we can open an arts and crafts shop. (CFC)

When *xianzai* is in post-subject position however, as in (21) below, it has no scope over the subject. It is then less clause-oriented and more VP-oriented, and it reinforces the topicality of the subject by isolating it from the VP.

(21) 阿莉思用 雷射筆 指 著 地圖 上  
 Ālǐsī yòng léishè bǐ zhǐ-zhe dìtú shàng  
 Alice use laser pen point-Dur map on

臺灣 的 位置, 說: 「我們 現在 在 這個 島 上。  
 Táiwān de wèizhì, shuō: Wǒmen **xiànzài** zài zhège dǎo shàng.  
 Taiwan Rel position say we **now** at this Cl island on

你 能 不 能 指 出 你 來 的 島, 欸? (...)  
 Nǐ néng bù néng zhǐchū nǐ lái de dǎo, en? '  
 You can Neg can point out you come Rel island EN

Alice used a laser pointer to indicate the position of Taiwan on the map and said, "This is the island we're on **now**. Can you point to the island where you come from? (...)" (CNC)

When *xianzai* modifies a verbal clause as in (20) and (21), it is an adverbial expression. However, as pointed out by McCawley (1988: 583) this does not necessarily imply that it is an adverb – it could be any part of speech used adverbially. Let us look at other instances in which *xianzai* has an adverbial function.

### 2.3.1.2. Modifying verbless sentences

We also find *xianzai* in verbless sentences. On the one hand, like English *now*, *xianzai* can occur as a one-word sentence, in which case it localises an eventuality that was mentioned in previous discourse. In (22), *xianzai* is used in a one-word question to check that the eventuality *yao huiqu* ‘want to go back’ must indeed be understood to be located at the time of utterance.

(22) A: 不好意思 我們 要 先 回去 了。  
 Bùhǎoyìsī wǒmen yào xiān huíqù le.  
 Sorry we MV first go back LE

B: 現在 啊?  
**Xiànzài** a?  
 Now A

A: 嗯。  
 en  
 uh-huh

A: Sorry, but we have to go.  
 B: Right now?  
 A: Yes. (CFC)

More interesting are cases of *xianzai* in independent verbless sentences composed, on the informational level, of a topic and a comment, and considered by Chinese speakers as ‘complete’ as verbal sentences. We found a small group of sentences that belong to this category. What they have in common is that the predicate is stative and attributes a property to the topic. When *xianzai* is used in these property-attributing sentences, it indicates that the property is valid at the time of utterance, and that its validity is therefore potentially temporary. This property is often presented as a quantified quality attributed to the topic and valid during a short time interval that includes the time of speech. Thus, such sentences are typically used to indicate the time of day,

or the age, weight and height of someone. In the corpora, we only have occurrences of these utterances concerning time as in (23) and (24), durations as in (25) and age as in (26).

- (23) 現在 幾點?  
**Xiànzài** jǐdiǎn?  
**Now** what time

What time is it? (CFC)

- (24) A: 對不起，要 晚 一點。  
 Duìbùqǐ, yào wǎn yīdiǎn.  
 Sorry MV late a little

B: 現在 都 已經 快 九 點 了，怎麼 會 沒有 司機?  
**Xiànzài** dōu yǐjīng kuài jiǔ diǎn le, zěnmě huì méiyǒu sījī?  
**Now** all already almost nine o'clock LE how will Neg have driver

A: I'm sorry, you'll have to wait longer.

B: It's almost 9 o'clock **right now**. How could your drivers have all gone out? (CFC)

When the sentence gives the time as in examples (23) and (24), the property is attributed to the time interval designated by *xianzai*. In such cases, *xianzai* functions as a topic: the time interval that it refers to is what the utterance is about, and the predicate corresponds to new information provided about this time interval. In (23) and (24), *xianzai* designates a very short time interval that corresponds to the precise time of utterance of the word *xianzai*. In these instances, *xianzai* is not used to locate an eventuality in time, since there is no verb and the predicate is stative. On the contrary, the referent of *xianzai* is the topic of the utterance, and something is being said about it. *Xianzai* is then not actually used adverbially, since it does not modify a clause or a VP, but it seems rather to have a NP function (cf. 3.3.2.).

When the sentence gives the duration of a situation as in (25) below, *xianzai* refers to the right boundary of the interval in which the situation is valid. This interval is open and its right boundary coincides with the time of utterance of *xianzai*.

- (25) 不要 鬧 了，你 自己 說 只 借 三 天 而已，  
 bùyào nào le, nǐ zìjǐ shuō zhǐ jiè sān tiān éryǐ,  
 Neg MV joke LE you yourself say only borrow three day only

現在 已經 兩 個 禮拜，  
**xiànzài** yǐjīng liǎng gè libài,  
**now** already two CL week

你 這樣 會 害 我 被 老闆 罵 死 啦！  
nǐ zhèyàng huì hài wǒ bèi lǎobǎn mà sǐ la!  
you this manner will cause I Pass boss scold die LA

Quit messing, you said it was only for 3 days! It's been 2 weeks, I'm gonna get hell from my boss! (CFC)

*Xianzai* here locates a situation that is mentioned in the left context, *i.e.* the borrowing of something. The duration adverbial gives the span of the time interval during which the situation is validated, and *xianzai* locates the last point of the situation at the time of utterance of *xianzai*; it therefore has an adverbial use.

When the sentence gives someone's age, the person in question is the topic of the sentence, and *xianzai* is used to locate the age property at the time of utterance or at reference time. In (26), the topic of the sentence is *ta* 'he', and *xianzai* functions as an adverbial indicating that the property of being almost seventy is attributed to the topic at reference time.

(26) 過去 這麼多 年 他 一直 是  
guòqù zhèmeduō nián tā yīzhí shì  
pass by this many year he continuously be

部落 男人 所 推崇 的 偶像。  
bùluò nánrén suǒ tuīchóng de ǒuxiàng.  
tribe man that which revere Rel idol

儘管 現在 他 近 七 旬 的 歲數，  
Jǐnguǎn **xiànzài** tā jìn qī xún de suìshù,  
Despite **now** he close to seven decades Rel age

他 所 受到 的 尊敬 仍 不 減 一 絲 一 毫。  
tā suǒ shòudào de zūnjìng réng bù jiǎn yīsīyīháo  
he that which receive Rel respect still not diminish one thread

He was the idol for all men in the tribe for many years, even though he was nearly seventy years old **now**. The respect accorded to him never diminished with age. (CNC)

We propose the following explanation for the absence of verb in these Chinese sentences: the predicate that provides information about time or age functions like an adjectival verb. Like an adjectival verb, it attributes a quality or property to the topic of the sentence. In (23), the question requires the qualification of the moment designated by *xianzai*. Thus, *xianzai* is the topic and what follows is one of its properties. In (24), the property attributed to the moment designated by *xianzai* is *kuài jiǔ diǎn* ‘almost nine’. A simple syntactic test can be conducted to show that property-predicates and adjectival verbs function in the same way: verbless property-predicates are interchangeable with adjectival verbs. Thus, the property-predicate in (24) is interchangeable with an adjectival verb as in the utterance (27), and the one in (26) can be replaced by an adjectival verb as in (28).

- (27) 現在 都 已經 很晚 了，怎麼 會 沒有 司機？  
 Xiànzài dōu yǐjīng hěn wǎn le, zěnmě huì méiyǒu sījī?  
 Now all already very late LE how MV Neg have driver

It is already very late, how can there be no drivers available?

- (28) 儘管 現在 他 老了，  
 Jǐnguǎn xiànzài tā lǎo le,  
 Despite now he old LE

他所 受到 的 尊敬 仍 不 減 一絲一毫。  
 tā suǒ shòudào de zūnjìng réng bù jiǎn yīsīyīháo  
 he that which receive Rel respect still not diminish one thread

Despite the fact that he was **now** old, the respect he was shown did not diminish at all.

Another indication that property-predicates function like adjectival verb phrases is the fact that the sentence can be modified with a sentential *le*, as in (24). Only verbal sentences can take a sentential *le*, which shows that the property-predicate has a predicative function.

We must now explain why *xianzai* frequently appears in these sentences, and why its use is sometimes felt to be compulsory.

The question in (23) is very common, and several of our native informants have noted that it “felt more complete” if the final particle *le* was added. Thus, an exchange such as the following constructed dialogue is very common:

(29) A: 現在 幾點 了?  
**Xiànzài** jǐdiǎn le?  
**Now** what time LE

B: 五 點 了。  
 Wǔ diǎn le.  
 Five o'clock LE

A: What time is it?

B: Five o'clock.

Note that our informants indicated that the question was more felicitous with *xianzai*, whereas its use is not as necessary in the answer. Indeed, *xianzai* is the topic of the question: it sets a frame for the sentence, and it refers to information that is already ‘known’ to both the hearer and the speaker (Li & Thompson 1981: 99). It refers to the time of speech, which is directly accessible to both speaker and hearer since it is given by the speech situation; in other words it corresponds to ‘given’ or ‘known’ information. The use of *xianzai* is judged necessary in the question because in anchoring the utterance to the situation as a deictic marker, it provides a frame, a topic for the exchange. It links the utterance with the rest of the discourse. The same utterance without *xianzai* is judged to be rude. Indeed, starting the exchange without setting a topic for it means that one starts with focussed and ‘new’ information, in other words the question would come ‘out of the blue’. *Xianzai*, as a topic, creates a link with previous discourse or with the general situation:

In Chinese linguistics, (...) *topic* is the more usually accepted term to designate a grammatical unit that serves to link one clause to another by occupying the clause-initial position and taking various forms. (Chu 1998: 207)

Thus, *xianzai* is used to anchor the utterance to the more general speech situation. But its use is not necessary in the answer because a topic has already been set in the question, and it is taken up again in the answer with a zero anaphor. Its overt repetition would be redundant, and zero anaphora actually reinforces the topicality of *xianzai*, as explained by Chu (1998).



### 2.3.2. Nominal properties

As noted above, *xianzai* displays some nominal properties. Like temporal *now*, it designates an entity, namely a time interval that includes the time of speech. In this section, we show that *xianzai* is often realised as a noun, and has been used nominally at least from the 7<sup>th</sup> century. We first briefly look at the function of *xianzai* in Old Chinese (2.3.2.1.), before examining its function as topic or subject of a sentence (2.3.2.2.). We show that *xianzai* can be used with a preposition (2.3.2.3.) and that it can be used in *-de* constructions (2.3.2.4.).

#### 2.3.2.1. Diachrony

There are early examples of the use of *xianzai* as a NP. Below is an example from the Tang dynasty (618-907) in which *xianzai* is used as a noun.

In (30), *xianzai* is coordinated with *guoqu* ‘the past’ and *weilai* ‘the future’ by *ji* ‘and’, a conjunction reserved for nominal coordination (Paris 2015). Thus, the three elements can be identified as nouns; *xianzai* here can be translated as ‘the present’.

- (30) 過去 未來 及 現在<sup>7</sup>  
 guòqù wèilái jí xiànzài  
 past future and present

The past, the future and the present

This suggests that *xianzai* was used as a time noun in Old Chinese.

#### 2.3.2.2. *Xianzai*: topic or subject?

In our corpus, we find *xianzai* in subject position with the copula *shi* ‘be’, as in example (31). The subject position is a nominal slot; the subject can always be replaced by a personal pronoun or an NP. In this example, *xianzai* could be replaced by an NP such as *zhege shihou* ‘this moment’ or *nage shihou* ‘that moment’.

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<sup>7</sup> Example taken from the collection of texts 《敦煌變文集·金剛般若波羅蜜經講經文》. Source: [http://early\\_mandarin.ling.sinica.edu.tw/](http://early_mandarin.ling.sinica.edu.tw/), consulted on 22/03/2015.

- (31) 因為 彼此 都 知道，達赫 會 這麼 說  
Yīnwèi bǐcǐ dōu zhīdào, Dáhè huì zhème shuō  
Because each other all know Dahu MV like this say

多半 是 在 搜尋 近乎 無望， 又 需要 一點  
duōbàn shì zài sōuxún jìnghū wúwàng, yòu xūyào yīdiǎn  
most be at search close to hopeless also need a little

突如其來的 笑聲 來 振奮 激勵 士氣 的 時候。  
tūrúqílái de xiàoshēng lái zhènfèn jīlì shìqì de shíhòu.  
sudden Rel laughter come inspire encourage morale Rel time

而 現在 正 是 這個 時候。  
Ér **xianzài** zhèng shì zhège shíhòu.  
And **now** precisely be this CL time

They knew Dahu mostly resorted to humour when the search seemed hopeless, when they needed a burst of laughter to lift their spirits and boost morale. **Now** was such a time. (CNC)

In (31), *xianzai* is both the grammatical subject of the verb *shi* ‘be’ and the topic of the sentence. Conversely, in property-predicate sentences examined in the previous section, although *xianzai* is sometimes the topic as in (23) and (24), it is not the grammatical subject. Indeed, the notion of subject is related to the notion of verb, and a verbless sentence cannot have a subject. The fact that verbless sentences are in some cases acceptable in Mandarin reinforces the idea defended by many linguists (Li & Thompson 1981 and Chu 1998 among others) that the notion of topic is more relevant for Mandarin than the notion of subject.

### 2.3.2.3. PREP + *xianzai*: *dao xianzai*

*Xianzai* is also nominal when it is introduced by the locative preposition *dao* ‘to, toward’. In that case, it can occur both preverbally (32) and postverbally (33).

- (32) 我 永遠 記得 那個 時候 天空 白 茫茫 的，  
Wǒ yǒngyuǎn jìdé nàgè shíhòu tiānkòng bái mángmáng de,  
I forever remember that Cl time sky white vast Rel

溪谷 起了 霧...。直到 現在， 我 跟 妳 講 到 這裡 的 時候，

xīgǔ qǐ-le wù... **Zhídào xiànzài**, wǒ gēn nǐ jiǎng dào zhèlǐ de shíhòu,  
valley rise-le mist right up to now I with you discuss to here Rel time

還 覺得 眼睛 都 看 不 太 清楚， 真的。  
hái juéde yǎnjīng dōu kàn bù tài qīngchǔ, zhēn de.  
still think eye all see Neg too clear really Rel

I'll never forget the grey sky that morning, like there was a mist over the river valley...  
And even **now**, telling you the story, I feel like I can't see too clearly, seriously. (CNC)

- (33) 從 七 歲 我 養 你 到 現 在 (...).  
cóng qī suì wǒ yǎng nǐ **dào xiànzài**  
from seven year I raise you **up to now**

I took you in at the age of seven (...). (CFC)

As with locative phrases introduced by *dao*, the postverbal position is more constrained than the preverbal position (Li & Thompson 1981: 410). Indeed, when *dao xianzai* occurs postverbally the focus is on the time of utterance which is understood as the final endpoint of action denoted by the verb. Thus, the referent of *xianzai* is seen as the final endpoint of the action, or at least the last validated point of the action.

#### 2.3.2.4. *Xianzai* + *-de* + NP

Another frequent use of *xianzai* is in *-de* constructions (Zhang 1999), also called associative phrases (Li & Thompson 1981). In these types of constructions, it is followed by the particle *-de* and modifies a head noun (*xianzai* + *-de* + NP):

An associative phrase denotes a type of modification where two noun phrases (NPs) are linked by the particle *-de*. The first noun phrase together with the particle *-de* is the associative phrase. The second noun phrase is the head noun being modified. (Li & Thompson 1981: 113)

According to this view, when *xianzai* is associated with *-de* to modify a NP, it is a noun, and not an adverb.

Associative phrases with *xianzai* are used to reduce the focus on the head NP to a time interval that includes the time of speech or reference time. In (34), *xianzai* limits the scope of the

referent of the NP *xiangfa* ‘opinion’ to the opinion that is valid at the time of speech. In (35), the modified NP is the subject, an animate referent. *Ta* ‘he’ is a personal pronoun referring to the character Detlef, but when modified with *xianzai* + *-de* its referential scope is reduced to ‘Detlef at reference time’, thus excluding ‘Detlef before reference time’, and opposing Detlef at reference time to Detlef “when he was younger”. In (36), the associative phrase isolates the appearance of the doctor at the time of speech. In (37) the media of the time are opposed to the media of the past.

- (34) 該 說 是 偉大 呢？ 還是 多此一舉？  
 Gāi shuō shì wěidà ne? Háishì duōcǐyījǔ?  
 Should say be great NE or superfluous

他 很 想 找 機會 問問 李榮祥 現在 的 想法。  
 Tā hěn xiǎng zhǎo jīhuì wèn wèn Lǐróngxiáng xiànzài de xiǎngfǎ.  
 He very wish look for opportunity ask ask Li Jung-Hsiang **now** **Rel** opinion

The tunnel was a great triumph, wasn't it? Or had it all been an unnecessary waste?  
 Detlef wanted to find a chance to ask Jung-Hsiang Li how he felt about it **now**. (CNC)

- (35) 年 輕 時 的 薄達夫 毫無疑問 會 選擇 前者，  
 Niánqīng shí de Bódáfu háowúyíwèn huì xuǎnzé qiánzhě,  
 Young time Rel Detlef without a doubt MV choose the former

但 現在 的 他 有點 動搖 了。  
 dàn xiànzài de tā yǒudiǎn dòngyáo le.  
 But **now** **Rel** he a little waver LE

When he was younger Detlef would have described it as a triumph, no question about it.  
 But these past few years he was not so sure. (CNC)

- (36) 我 喜 歡 你 現在 的 樣子， 她 對 醫生 說。  
 Wǒ xǐhuān nǐ xiànzài de yàngzi tā duì yīshēng shuō.  
 I like you **now** **Rel** manner she to doctor say

你 乾乾 淨淨， 這 世界 太 髒 了。  
 Nǐ gān gān jìng jìng, zhè shìjiè tài zāng le.  
 You clean this world too dirty LE

“I like you,” she said to the doctor. “You are clean, compared to this dirty world.” (CNC)

- (37) 現在的媒體它在報都是  
**xiànzài de** méitǐ tā zài bào dōu shì  
**now Rel** media it PROG report all be

報一些負面的新聞 A (CCC)  
 bào yīxiē fùmiàn de xīnwén A  
 report some negative Rel news A

As for **today's** media, all they ever report on are some negative news, you know?

We also find occurrences of *xianzai* as the main NP in a *-de* construction. In such cases, there can be no doubt as to the nominal function of *xianzai*. In (38), a NP referring to a year is used to modify *xianzai*, thereby restraining the time interval selected by *xianzai* to that particular year, namely the fifth year of the reign of the Japanese emperor Yoshihito in Taiwan.

- (38) 在大正五年(1916)的現在，  
 Zài dàzhèng wǔ nián (1916) **de xiànzài**，  
 At Taisho five year **Rel now**

以內本鹿為主的郡社群布農族，  
 Yǐ Nèiběnlù wéizhǔ de jùn shèqún Bùnóng zú，  
 Thereby Naibeluk rely mainly on Rel region community Bunun group

已經是東部、南部各原住民部落的公敵。  
 yǐjīng shì dōngbù, nánbù gè yuánzhùmín bùluò de gōngdí  
 already be East South each aborigine tribe Rel public enemy

In 1916, the Bunun, who lived at Naibeluk, was the common enemy of all tribes in eastern and southern Taiwan. (CNC)

Thus, there is identity between NP1 and NP2. *Xianzai* and *da zheng wu nian* refer to the same time period. The same phenomenon can be observed in example (39), in which *xianzai* is modified by a NP referring to clock time.

- (39) 從早上到下午三點左右的現在，  
 cóng zǎoshang dào xiàwǔ sān diǎn zuǒyòu **de xiànzài**，  
 from morning to afternoon three o'clock approximately **Rel now**

便 一直 在 鎔 燒、 雕 鐘、 打磨、 拋光(...)。  
 biàn yīzhí zài róng shāo, diāo zhōng, dǎmó, pāoguāng  
 simple continuously at fuse burn carve clock polish burnish

Mawneb had been busy mending, carving and polishing it since the morning. (CNC)

In this example, the time interval delimited by *xianzai* is restrained to a point in time, or rather to a brief interval, extending from shortly before three o'clock to shortly after (*san dian zuoyou* 'approximately 3 o'clock'). Once again, NP1 and NP2 refer to the same entity.

### 2.3.3. Adjective?

*Xianzai* can also occur in associative phrases with ellipsis of the particle *-de*, as in (40), (41) and (42). In that case, it is a direct modifier of the noun and its function is close to that of an adjective.

(40) 我們 爸爸 媽媽 如果 他們 可以 看到  
 wǒmen bàba māmā rúguǒ tāmen kěyǐ kàn dào  
 we dad mum if they can see-Res

你 現在 這樣 一定 會 很 高興。  
 nǐ **xiànzài** zhèyàng yīdìng huì hěn gāoxìng.  
 you **now** this way surely MV very happy

Our parents, if they could see you like this... they would've been ecstatic. (CFC)

(41) 男 孩子 多多 少少 都 會 接 觸 到 這 方 面  
 nán háizi duō duō shào shào dōu huì jiēchù dào zhè fāngmiàn  
 boy to some extent all MV touch-Res this aspect

的 事情 A (pause) 現在 社會 就是 這 樣 子 (inhale)  
 de shìqíng A (pause) **xiànzài** shèhuì jiùshì zhè yàngzi (inhale)  
 Rel thing A **now** society precisely be this manner

男 性 思 想 開 放 女 性 思 想 搞 不 好 也 很 開 放 (CCC)  
 nánxìng sīxiǎng kāifàng nǚxìng sīxiǎng gǎobùhǎo yě hěn kāifàng  
 male thinking open female thinking perhaps also very open

To some extent, boys will all come in contact with this kind of thing. That's just how society is **these days**. Men are more open-minded and maybe women are too.

(42) 另有 一 極端 人物 是 姿態 瀟灑 優 游  
 Líng yǒu yī jíduān rénwù shì zītài xiāosǎ yōu yóu  
 Have some other one extreme person be attitude natural excellent swim

人間， 得 人情世故 三昧， 於今  
 rénjiān, déi rénqíngshìgù Sānmèi, yú jīn  
 human world must worldly wisdom Samaghi by today

是 現在 社會 的 中堅。  
 shì xiànzài shèhuì de zhōngjiān  
 be **now** society Rel center

They especially belittled other artists who could play society's games with excellent social skills and had no problem taking on major roles in the art world. (CNC)

We have shown that *xianzai* can occupy various slots in Mandarin Chinese. Although it is most often used adverbially in contemporary Chinese, it regularly occurs in positions usually filled by NPs such as the subject position, after a preposition or in a *de*-construction. Moreover, evidence from Old Chinese shows that *xianzai* was used as a noun during the Tang dynasty. Consequently, although some uncertainty remains as to the question of its part of speech, both its current syntactic distribution and its former use as a noun suggest that *xianzai* originally belongs to the category of nouns. This explains why Chinese linguists tend to categorise *xianzai* as a noun, and not as an adverb (Chao 1968; Li 2014; Tang 2015). Thus, *xianzai* could be analysed as a time noun often used adverbially. Alternatively, we might consider that two *xianzai* coexist in modern Chinese: a noun, and an adverb. In this respect, *xianzai* differs from *now*, which is undoubtedly a deictic adverb that can sometimes be used nominally. Even though the POS status of *xianzai* is not clear-cut, we can safely say that on a continuum ranging from exclusively adverbial to exclusively nominal, *xianzai* is closer to the nominal end, while *now* is closer to the adverbial end.

#### 2.4. Variation in the three Chinese corpora

In this section we examine the use of *xianzai* in the three Chinese original corpora, *i.e.* the Chinese Narrative Corpus (CNC), the Chinese Film Corpus (CFC) and the Chinese Conversational Corpus (CCC). We find that *xianzai* is more frequent in interaction than in

narrative passages. In 2.4.1., we present the frequency of *xianzai* in the three Chinese corpora. In 2.4.2., we examine the syntactic distribution of *xianzai* in the corpora.

#### 2.4.1. Frequency of *xianzai* in the three Chinese corpora

*Xianzai* appears in all three Chinese corpora (*cf.* Table 1). However, it is 3.9 times more frequent in the Film Corpus than in the Narrative Corpus, and 1.5 times more frequent in the Conversational Corpus than in the Film Corpus. This means that *xianzai* is 5.7 times more frequent in the Conversational Corpus than in the Narrative Corpus. This discrepancy between written and oral corpora indicates that *xianzai* is more frequent in interaction than in narration.

**Table 1** - Frequency of *xianzai* in the three Chinese corpora

	Tokens of <i>xianzai</i>	N/1000 characters
<b>Chinese Narrative Corpus (CNC)</b>	207	0.42
<b>Chinese Film Corpus (CFC)</b>	154	1.62
<b>Chinese Conversational Corpus (CCC)</b>	222 <sup>8</sup>	2.41
<b>Total</b>	<b>619</b>	<b>1.07</b>

Moreover, in the Narrative Corpus, 102 occurrences of *xianzai* appear in narration whereas 105 occurrences are to be found in direct speech. Since direct speech is a representation of spoken language, we treat it as interactional speech.

A brief examination of the distribution of some other synonymous adverbials that appear in the Chinese corpora tells us that synonymous NPs like *cike* ‘this moment’, *cishi* ‘this moment’ or adverbs like *muqian* ‘currently’ are almost exclusively to be found in the written corpus (*cf.* Table 2). This confirms Hsu’s view (1998) that *xianzai* is more “basic” and oral than its synonyms. *Cike* ‘this moment’, *cishi* ‘this moment’ and *muqian* ‘currently’ belong to the written style.

<sup>8</sup> We excluded the 35 occurrences of *xianzai* in Southern Min.



**Table 2** - Distribution of some deictic adverbs in the corpora

	<i>xianzai</i>	<i>cike</i>	<i>cishi</i>	<i>muqian</i>	<i>jintian</i>
<b>Narrative corpus</b>	207	80	18	49	147
<b>Film corpus</b>	154	0	0	1	80
<b>Conversational corpus</b>	222	0	0	11	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>583</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>227</b>

#### 2.4.2. Syntactic distribution of *xianzai* in the three Chinese corpora

The following table gives an account of all the syntactic slots that can be occupied by *xianzai*. The most frequent position is the post-subject position. The occurrences categorised as ‘other’ correspond to unclassifiable occurrences such as interrupted sentences containing *xianzai* and reformulations.

**Table 3** - Syntactic distribution of *xianzai* in the three Chinese corpora

	pre-subject	post-subject	zero anaphora	no subject	word sentence	de-construction	nominal	other	total
<b>CNC</b>	26.6%	21.7%	23.7%	13.0%	1.4%	10.6%	1.9%	1.0%	<b>100%</b>
<b>CFC</b>	13.6%	51.3%	13.6%	7.8%	3.2%	5.8%	1.9%	2.6%	<b>100%</b>
<b>CCC</b>	21.2%	25.7%	19.4%	8.1%	0.0%	14.0%	1.4%	10.4%	<b>100%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>21.1%</b>	<b>31.0%</b>	<b>19.4%</b>	<b>9.8%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>10.6%</b>	<b>1.7%</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>

##### 2.4.2.1. Pre-subject vs. post-subject position

Table 10 shows that *xianzai* occurs more frequently in post-subject position than in pre-subject or initial position. However, variations are to be noted among the corpora. In the Chinese Film Corpus (CFC), *xianzai* is almost 4 times more frequent in post-subject position than in pre-subject position. In the Chinese Narrative Corpus on the other hand it is more frequent in pre-subject position. This indicates that post-subject position is more frequent in interaction. We suggest that these differences are due to the fact that the use of *xianzai* in film dialogues is mostly situational, *i.e.* it often has to do with the temporal localisation of the action denoted by the verb and its anchoring in the situation of utterance. It does not have a cohesive function and so it is not topical but VP oriented, *cf.* (43) and (44). Note that in our two examples, *now* does not appear in the English translation.

(43) A: 我 過去 找 她 好 了  
Wǒ guòqù zhǎo tā hǎo le  
I go over search her okay LE

B: 現在 啊  
**Xiànzài** a  
Now A

A: 反正 我 現在 不 是 很 困 啊, 而且 明天 禮 拜 六 .  
Fǎnzhèng wǒ **xiànzài** bù shì hěn kùn a, érqiě míngtiān lǐbài liù.  
Anyway I **now** Neg be very tired A moreover tomorrow Saturday

A: I'll just go and see her.

B: **Right now?**

A: I'm not sleepy anyway, and tomorrow's Saturday. (CFC)

(44) 媽 聽 得 到 嗎, 我 告 訴 你 喔,  
Mā tīng dé dào ma, wǒ gàosù nǐ ō,  
Mum hear DE Res Interr I tell you O

我們 現在 來 梅 花 湖 三 清 宮 這 邊 拜 拜  
wǒmen **xiànzài** lái Méihuā hú sān qīng gong zhè biān bài bài  
we **now** come plum lake three pure temple this side pray

Mom? Can you hear me? Listen! We're here at the temple at Plum Lake for worship.  
(CFC)

In narratives on the other hand, *xianzai* is often used as a linking device for discourse cohesion, and as such it is often clause-initial, as in (45), (46) and (3). It is then frame-setting in so far as it restrains the validation of the following utterance to the time interval denoted by *xianzai* (cf. Jacobs 2001: 656; Charolles 2003: 33).

(45) 先 前 接 到 他 的 電 話, 你 的 語 氣 竟 是  
**Xiānqián** jiē dào tā de diànhuà, nǐ de yǔqì jìng shì  
**Before** receive he Rel phone call you Rel tone unexpectedly be

不 可 思 議 的 快 樂, 現 在 你 為 自 己 當 時  
bùkěsīyì de kuàilè, **xiànzài** nǐ wèi zìjǐ dāngshí  
unimaginable Rel happy **now** you to oneself then

的 語氣 感到 同情 且 有點 鄙夷。  
 de yǔqì gǎndào tóngqíng qiě yǒudiǎn bǐyí.  
 Rel tone feel sympathy and a little despise

When you had received his phone call earlier you sounded unusually happy. **Now** you resented your fervent voice on the phone. (CNC)

- (46) 我 看見 美麗 薇琪 的 童年 樣貌， 當時 她 和 母親  
 Wǒ kànjiàn Měilì Wēiqí de tóngnián yàngmào, **dāngshí** tā hé mǔqīn  
 I see Beauty Vicky Rel childhood appearance **then** she with mother

就是 被 自己 的 父親 這樣 丟 出去 的，  
 jiùshì bèi zìjǐ de fùqīn zhèyàng diū chūqù de,  
 exactly Pass oneself Rel father this way throw go out Rel

現在 她 化成 了 昔日 遺棄 她的 父親 幽 影。  
**xiànzài** tā huàchéng-le xīrì yíqì tā de fùqīn yōu yǐng.  
**now** she transform-le formerly leave she Rel father remote shadow

(...) I realized it was how Vicky had been treated as a little girl, when her father threw out their stuff and forced them out. She was possessed by her father's ghost. (CNC)

This corresponds to what Li (2014) calls the function of ‘connector of time relations’ of *xianzai*. When it is clause-initial, *xianzai* often contrasts with another time expression in the near context denoting past or future time. In (45), *xianzai* is linked to *xianqian* ‘previously’ in the previous clause. Together they ensure textual cohesion by opposing two different times. Charolles (2003: 42) explains that such use of frame-setting adverbials is typical of narratives, particularly historical narratives. In (45), the scope of *xianzai* is restrained to the predication that follows; in other words the resentment felt by the referent of *ni* ‘you’ is limited in time to the time interval inaugurated by *xianzai*, *i.e.* a time interval that includes the reference time. In (46), *xianzai* also sets the temporal frame for the validation of the following relation. The time interval denoted by *xianzai* is established in opposition to the frame-setting adverb *dangshi* ‘at the time’ that localises the situation of the previous clause. When *xianzai* is clause-initial, the situation that it locates is very often opposed to a temporally different situation, as in (45) and (46).

Thus, *xianzai* is often used to mark opposition with a situation mentioned in the left context. This explains why it is regularly preceded by an adversative adverb such as *dan* or *danshi* ‘but’,

*keshi* ‘but’, *er* ‘yet’, etc. In this case, the adversative adverb only reinforces the opposition between the following and the preceding situations. In (47), the situation located at the reference time by *xianzai* is opposed to a preceding situation localised by *zaojiu* ‘at an earlier time’ and *yi kaishi* ‘in the beginning’. *Dan* ‘but’ reinforces the opposition by emphasising the contrast between the two situations.

(47) 其實他早就發現不少類似的小短棒，  
 Qíshí tā zǎojiù fāxiàn bùshǎo lèisì de xiǎo duǎn bàng,  
 In fact he **already** discover a lot similar Rel small short stick

不過一開始只是拿著短棒在島上東  
 bùguò yīkāishǐ zhǐshì ná-zhe duǎn bàng zài dǎo shàng dōng  
 but **in the beginning** simply take-Dur short stick at island on east

戳戳西戳戳，或者拿來做為架構房子的卡榫。  
 chuō chuō xī chuō chuō, huòzhě ná lái zuò wéi jià gòu fáng zi de kǎ sùn.  
 poke poke west poke poke or bring act as build house Rel clip

但現在這隻竟然可以在一些東西上留下痕跡，  
 Dàn xiànzài zhè zhī jìng rán kě yǐ zài yī xiē dōng xī shàng liú xià hén jī,  
**But now** this CI unexpectedly can at some thing on leave mark

讓他感到驚奇。  
 rang tā gǎn dào jīng qí.  
 permit he feel amazed

Actually, he had found many such twigs. He used them to poke around on the island or in the tongue-and-groove work in his house, and was amazed that one of them left marks on certain things. (CNC)

In the Chinese Conversational Corpus, participants often tell stories and present arguments; hence they use *xianzai* both as a cohesive device and as a situational marker. In (48), *xianzai* has a purely deictic reference and its use is situational. The speaker locates the activity *xue* ‘study’ at the time of utterance, thus indicating that it is validated in an interval that includes the time of speech.

(48) A:今年 還 要 再 去重考  
 jīnnián hái yào zài qù chóng kǎo  
 this year still MV again repeat exam

B:我也 現在 也在 學 A 學 電腦 方面 的 東西 (CCC)  
 wǒ yě xiànzài yě zài xué A xué diànnǎo fāngmiàn de dōngxī  
 I too **now** too Prog study A study computer field Rel thing

A: I have to take the exam again this year

B: I'm also studying some IT stuff **at the moment**.

In (49), *xianzai* refers to the time of utterance and locates the eventuality in a time interval that opens at the time of utterance. The accomplishment *ju* 'choose' is not opposed to a previous antithetic situation, it is simply located at the time of speech.

(49) O 如果 說 好(short\_break) 我 現在 舉 個(short\_break)  
 O rúguǒ shuō hǎo wǒ xiànzài jǔ gè  
 O if say okay I **now** choose Cl

舉 個例子 (...) (CCC)  
 jǔ gè lìzi  
 choose Cl example

Let's say... Let me give you... give you an example.

In (13) repeated below, on the other hand, the speaker compares two tennis players, a former one who was unstable, and a new player who is deemed more stable.

(13) 好像 沒有 那麼 的 穩(short\_break) 定(inhale) (short\_break)  
 Hǎoxiàng méiyǒu nàme de wěn (short\_break) dìng (inhale) (short\_break)  
 Seems Neg have so Rel settled fixed

A 但是 現在 澳洲 的 那個 新 進 的 那 一 個 球員 就 (inhale)  
 A dànshì xiànzài Àozhōu de nàgè xīn jìn de nà yī gè qiúyuán jiù  
 A but **now** Australia Rel that Cl new enter Rel that one Cl player just

好像 (short\_break) 蠻 穩 的 現在 (short\_break) (CCC)  
 hǎoxiàng mán wěn de xiànzài  
 seems quite settled Rel **now**

It looks like he was not very stable, you know. But **now** the Australian player who just entered, he seems very stable, at the moment.

*Xianzai* is preceded by *danshi* ‘but’ and introduces a new discourse sequence. It has a topical value and sets a temporal frame in which the following proposition is valid. The temporal interval concerned includes the time of utterance and is opposed to the previous time interval, in which the situation is understood to have been different.

#### 2.4.2.2. Zero anaphora and no subject sentences

When *xianzai* occurs in zero anaphora sentences or in no-subject sentences, it occupies the initial position. As mentioned in 2.2.3., zero subject anaphora is very frequent in Chinese, particularly in narration. The high frequency of zero anaphora in narration can be explained very simply by the fact that the left context is directly available to the reader and the antecedent is easily retrievable. In (50), the antecedent of the zero anaphora is *hai de yanse* ‘the colour of the sea’.

(50) 海 的 顏 色 ， 真 的 跟 自 己 年 輕 的 時 候  
 hǎi de yánsè, zhēn de gēn zìjǐ niánqīng de shíhòu  
 Sea Rel colour really Rel with oneself young Rel time

比 較 起 來 差 很 多 呢 ， 現 在 變 得 灰 一 點 ， 暗 一 點 ，  
 bǐjiào qǐlái chà hěn duō ne, xiànzài biàndé huī yīdiǎn, àn yīdiǎn,  
 compare start differ very many NE, now become gray a little, dark a little

而 且 很 少 有 純 粹 從 海 發 出 的 光 芒  
 érqiě hěn shǎo yǒu chún cuì cóng hǎi fāchū de guāngmáng  
 moreover very few have pure from sea issue Rel radiance

The sea was not the same colour as when she was a girl. It was a bit darker and greyer **now**, rarely glowing with its own light. (CFC)

When *xianzai* is used with zero subject anaphora, it is often clause-initial, and as when it occurs in pre-subject position, it often has a cohesive function. Here, it opposes the time interval

that includes the reference time, *i.e.* the ‘present’ of the character, to a past time interval denoted by *niánqīng de shíhòu* ‘when she was young’.

No-subject sentences correspond to impersonal or presentative sentences. As explained in 2.2.4., in these sentences *xianzai* is topic. It is in initial position, and also has a cohesive role in discourse. In (51) below, it marks progress in the narrative.

(51) 男子 在某 一刻 突然 起身，將 石灰  
 Nánzǐ zài mǒu yīkè túrán qǐshēn, jiāng shíhuī  
 man at some one CI sudden leave BA WWWWWw lime

袋 繫上 腰間， 換上 攀岩 鞋，開始 緩緩 地  
 Dài xìshàng yāojiān, huànshàng pānyán xié, kāishǐ huǎnhuǎn de  
 pouch fasten waist between change-Res rock climbing shoe begin slowly de

從 一枚 眼前 可見 的 岩石 逆向 往下 攀爬。  
 cóng yī méi yǎnqián kějiàn de yánshí nìxiàng wǎngxià pānpá.  
 from one CI eye before can see Rel rock backwards downward climb

現在 沒有 什麼 念頭 能 阻止 他 往下 爬 了。  
 Xiànzài méi yǒu shénme niàntou néng zǔzhǐ tā wǎngxià pá le  
 Now Neg have what idea can prevent he downward climb LE

At some point the man gets up, fastens the chalk bag to his waist, changes into his rock-climbing shoes, and starts slowly climbing down the rock he sees in front of him. All inhibitions have been overcome; nothing can stop him **now**. (CFC)

### 2.4.2.3. Word-sentence

*Xianzai* as a word-sentence occurs exclusively in the narrative and the film corpora. In the Narrative Corpus, it occurs only in direct speech. This is due to the fact that it is usually used in question-answer dialogues to confirm the location of an eventuality mentioned in the left context. Thus, it is used in interaction only as a situational marker and not a cohesive device. This is the case in (22) above, as well as in (52) below, in which the eventuality that has to be located temporally is *zouzou* ‘take a walk’.

- (52) 「哈凡 阿姨，妳 要 不 要 到 森林 教堂 走走？」  
 Hāfán āyí, nǐ yào bù yào dào sēnlín jiàotáng zǒu-zǒu?  
 Hafay aunt you want Neg want to forest church walk-walk

「教堂？ 現在？」 「對 啊， 現在。」  
 Jiàotáng? Xiànzài? Duì a xiànzài.  
 Church now correct A now

Auntie Hafay, want to take a walk in the Forest Church? ‘The church? **Right now?**’  
 ‘Yeah, **now.**’ (CNC)

This use is not present in the CCC because the participants in the conversations simply sit and discuss various subjects; the situation of utterance hardly evolves since few eventualities modify it during the course of the conversation. Thus, no confirmation is needed as to the localisation of eventualities relative to the situation of utterance.

#### 2.4.2.4. *-de* construction

The *-de* construction is more frequent in the narrative and conversational corpora than in the film corpus. This can be explained by the fact that the *de*-construction is an integrated structure, and the modifying constituent is presupposed. For instance the *-de* construction in sequence (34) (repeated below) can be said to be derived from (34)b, which is presupposed:

- (34) a. 李榮祥 現在 的 想法  
 LǐRóngxiáng xiànzài de xiǎngfǎ  
 Li Jung-Hsiang now Rel opinion

Li Jung-Hsiang’s **current** opinion.

- b. 李榮祥 現在 有 想法  
 LǐRóngxiáng xiànzài you xiǎngfǎ  
 Li Jung-Hsiang now have opinion

Li Jung-Hsiang has an opinion **at the moment.**

Thus, this structure is used with *xianzai* as a modifier when there is a presupposition, *i.e.* when the subject has been previously discussed or implied. This mostly occurs in long topic-oriented discussions like the ones in the Conversational Corpus, in which the participants make



statements about the current situation as far as that topic (politics, TV, education, *etc.*) is concerned. Thus we have occurrences such 現在的媒體 *xiànzài de méitǐ*, ‘today’s media’, *xiànzài de huánjìng* ‘the current environment’, 現在的政治人物 *xiànzài de zhèngzhì rénwù* ‘today’s politicians’, *etc.*, the use of which implies that the topic has been mentioned before. In the film corpus on the other hand, such situations are rare. Most dialogues are directly related to the situation of utterance and do not contain statements about the world today.

#### 2.4.2.5. Nominal use and other uses

*Xianzai* seldom occupies a nominal syntactic position (subject or complement), but it does so at the same rate in the three corpora. The occurrences termed ‘other’ correspond mostly to unclassified cases due to interruptions and mid-sentence reformulations. Not surprisingly, these are most frequent in the Chinese Conversational Corpus, in which the participants express opinions and thus often have recourse to reformulation in order to clarify their thoughts. They also tend to interrupt each other. In narration, these practices only occur in dialogues and are quite rare. In film dialogues, stammering and reformulations are not as frequent as in real interaction. Indeed, the dialogues are scripted and rehearsed, which counteracts the speakers’ natural tendency to stop mid-sentence and reformulate (*cf.* Taylor 2004).

### 3. Contrastive distribution in the Chinese and English corpora

In this section, we look at *now* and *xianzai* in our six corpora. We examine their distributional differences in the various corpora, and discuss their correspondence patterns in the translational corpora. We argue that *xianzai* and *now* differ on several points. Indeed, we show that *now* and *xianzai* cannot be used in the same contexts. We find two explanations for the differences in their distributional properties: first, the crucial aspect on which they differ is their capacity to convey a contrastive meaning. While *now* is fundamentally contrastive, *xianzai* is not. Second, we argue that the nature of narration in a tenseless language such as Chinese does not allow for time deictics like *xianzai* to become shifters. We first present the corpus data and more particularly the correspondence pattern of the two forms (3.1.). We then formulate some hypotheses regarding

the non-correspondence pattern of the forms (3.2.), before attempting to account for the variations in use of *now* and *xianzai* in the corpora (3.3.).

### 3.1. Presentation of the data

In this section, we present an overview of the corpus data. After describing the frequency pattern of *now* and *xianzai* in each corpus (3.1.1.), we examine the correspondence pattern of the two markers in the translational corpora (3.1.2.), and their non-correspondence pattern (3.1.3.).

#### 3.1.1. Frequency pattern of *now* and *xianzai* in the three corpora

We will first present an overview of the frequency of *now* and *xianzai* in the six corpora (3.1.1.1.), before contrasting their distribution in the narrative, film, and spoken corpora (3.1.1.2.).

##### 3.1.1.1. Overview of the 6 corpora

Table 4 below describes the occurrences of *now* and *xianzai* in all 6 corpora, *i.e.* the occurrences of *now* in the English corpora as well as in the English translations of the Chinese translational corpora (line 1), and the occurrences of *xianzai* in the Chinese corpora as well as in the Chinese translations of the English translational corpora (line 2). Table 5 represents the same data but the pragmatic occurrences of *now* were excluded. Indeed, as explained in 2.3.1., *xianzai* cannot take on the same pragmatic meaning as *now*. However, the borderline cases of *now* are included in Table 5 because they can yield a temporal interpretation equivalent to that of *xianzai*.

**Table 4** - Occurrences of *now* and *xianzai* in all the corpora

	Narrative Corpora		Film Corpora		Conversational Corpora		Original corpora (3 sections)	Translated corpora (2 sections)	Total in the 3 original + the 2 translated sections
	English (ENC)	Chinese (CNC)	English (EFC)	Chinese (CFC)	English (ECC)	Chinese (CCC)			
<i>now</i>	623	494	147	172	110		880	666	<b>1546</b>
<i>xianzai</i>	317	207	100	154		222	583	417	<b>1000</b>

**Table 5** - Occurrences of Temporal *now* and *xianzai* in all the corpora

	Narrative Corpora		Film Corpora		Conversational Corpora		Original corpora (3 sections)	Translated corpora (2 sections)	Total in the 3 original + the 2 translated sections
	English (ENC)	Chinese (CNC)	English (EFC)	Chinese (CFC)	English (ECC)	Chinese (CCC)			
<i>now</i>	596	489	137	194	79		812	683	<b>1495</b>
<i>xianzai</i>	317	207	100	154		222	583	417	<b>1000</b>

It appears that overall, temporal *now* is used 1.5 times more often in English than *xianzai* is in Chinese. If we only take into account the original corpora and look at the occurrences of temporal *now* in the English original corpora and of *xianzai* in the Chinese original corpora, the rate drops slightly, to 1.4 times. It thus seems that there is no significant difference in the use of the markers between the originals and the translations. But when we look at the data from each set of original corpora, some discrepancies come to light.

First of all, whereas *now* is 2.9 times more frequent in the English Narrative Corpus (ENC) than *xianzai* is in the Chinese Narrative Corpus (CNC), they have almost the same frequency in the film corpora (*now* is 1.1 times as frequent as *xianzai* in the original film corpora), and *xianzai* is 2.8 times as frequent as *now* in the conversational corpus. Thus, the ratio observed in the written corpora is reversed in the spontaneous oral corpora. Yet, *now* and *xianzai* have almost the same frequency in the non-spontaneous oral corpora. We now have to determine to what extent the use of *now* and *xianzai* is constant throughout the three genres (written narratives, films, spontaneous conversations).

### 3.1.1.2. Contrasting narrative, film, and conversational corpora

**Table 6** - Frequency of temporal *now* and *xianzai* in the 3 corpora sets

	<b>Tokens of <i>xianzai</i></b>	<b>N/1000 characters</b>	<b>Tokens of <i>now</i></b>	<b>N/ 1000 characters</b>
<b>Original Narrative Corpus</b>	207	0.42	596	1.21
<b>Original Film Corpus</b>	154	1.62	137	1.44
<b>Original Conversational Corpus</b>	222	2.41	79	0.86

Table 6 shows that the differences in the frequency of use of the deictic marker in written and oral corpora are more marked in Chinese than in English. The disparity is greater in English between the EFC and the ECC, with a higher frequency of *now* in the EFC (with a delta of 0.58 occurrences per 1000 characters).<sup>9</sup> Among the Chinese corpora on the other hand, the greatest disparity in the frequency of occurrences of *xianzai* is between the narrative corpus and the conversational corpus, and the tendency is reversed: *xianzai* is more frequent in the conversational corpus, with a delta of almost 2 between the conversational and the narrative corpora.

10.4% of the occurrences of *xianzai* in the Chinese Conversational Corpus (CCC) occur before an interruption; in English, however, the occurrence of *now* in interrupted sentences is quite rare. This is due to the fact that Chinese grammar constrains the use of *xianzai* in preverbal position, which enhances the chances of *xianzai* occurring before an interruption or reformulation, whereas *now* mostly occurs in final position in interaction (55.20% of the occurrences of *now* in the English Conversational Corpus are final), which limits the risk of unfinished *now*-sentences. On the other hand, the use of *xianzai* in *-de* constructions is quite frequent in Chinese, particularly in the conversational corpus where it accounts for 14% of the occurrences of *xianzai*. In the English corpora however, *now* is seldom used as a NP modifier.

### **3.1.2. Correspondence pattern of temporal *now* and *xianzai* in the translation corpora**

Let us now look at the correspondence pattern of *now* and *xianzai* in the four translation corpora, *i.e.* the English Narrative Corpus (ENC), the English Film Corpus (EFC), the Chinese Narrative Corpus (CNC) and the Chinese Film Corpus (CFC). We will first examine the correspondence pattern of *now* and *xianzai* in the narrative corpora (3.1.2.1.), before turning to the film corpora (3.1.2.2.).

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<sup>9</sup> We used the number of Chinese characters counted in the Chinese translations of the English texts to have a common denominator for the English and Chinese corpora. The two conversational corpora are the same length, so we also used the number of characters found in the Chinese Conversational Corpus as a common denominator for both conversational corpora. This means that the figures presented here are, to a certain extent, approximate.

### 3.1.2.1. In the narrative corpora (ENC and CNC)

Table 7 shows the general correspondence pattern of temporal *now* and *xianzai* in the narrative corpora. The objective is to determine the frequency at which *now* is translated by *xianzai* in the English narrative Corpus (ENC), and to compare it to the frequency at which *xianzai* is translated by *now* in the Chinese Narrative Corpus (CNC). The table reveals that *xianzai* is more often translated by *now* (48% of the time) than *now* is by *xianzai* (38% of the time).

**Table 7** - Correspondence pattern of temporal *now* / *xianzai* in the bi-directional translation narrative corpus

	Correspondences of <i>now</i> in the English Narrative Corpus		Correspondences of <i>xianzai</i> in the Chinese Narrative Corpus	
	N	%	N	%
<i>now</i> / <i>xianzai</i> correspondence	224	37.52	99	48.06
<i>now</i> / <i>xianzai</i> non- correspondence	373	62.48	107	51.94
<b>Total</b>	<b>597</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>100</b>

The data in Table 7 enables us to calculate the Mutual Correspondence (MC) of *now* and *xianzai*. The Mutual Correspondence of two forms is the frequency expressed in percentage with which the two expressions are translated into each other (Altenberg 1999: 254). This data can only be obtained from a bi-directional translation corpus such as ours with the following formula:

$$\frac{(At + Bt) * 100}{As + Bs}$$

The MC corresponds to the number of times the two forms are translated into each other in the two corpora divided by the total number of occurrences of the two forms in their source texts, and multiplied by 100 to obtain a percentage. ‘At’ is the number of occurrences of correspondence between the two forms in one of the corpora (in our case, 224 occurrences of *now* translated into *xianzai* in the English Corpus); ‘Bt’ is the same value in the other corpus (99 occurrences of *xianzai* translated into *now* in the Chinese corpus). ‘As’ is the total number of

occurrences of one form in its source corpus (597 occurrences of *now* in the English corpus) and ‘Bs’ is the total number of occurrences of the other form in its source corpus (206 occurrences of *xianzai* in the Chinese corpus). We obtain the following MC value:

$$\frac{(224 + 99) * 100}{597 + 206} = 40.22$$

The mutual correspondence of *now* and *xianzai* in the Narrative corpora is of approximately 40%. In other words, *now* and *xianzai* are translated into each other 40% of the time. This is a rather low MC value considering that the two adverbs are always presented as equivalents in bilingual dictionaries.<sup>10</sup> This suggests that there are major differences in the use of the two seemingly semantically identical markers.

As noted above, there is also a variation in the correspondence of *now* and *xianzai* from English to Chinese and from Chinese to English. Although the MC value is 40%, the frequency of correspondence is higher when the original text is in Chinese (correspondence of 48% from Chinese to English against 38% from English to Chinese). There can be several explanations for this phenomenon. First, *now* is frequently translated by time expressions other than *xianzai* such as *jintian* ‘today’, *muqian* ‘now’, *cishi* ‘now’, *cike* ‘now’, particularly in the narrative corpus in which the translators often choose more formal forms (such as *cike* in (53)). Conversely, *xianzai* in the Chinese corpora is frequently translated into semantically more specific forms such as *at the moment*, *today*, etc.

- (53) All of the Death Eaters were looking up at the captive **now**, as though they had been given permission to show curiosity.

所有 食死人 此刻全都 望著 上方 的 俘虜，  
 Suǒyǒu shí sǐrén cǐkè quándōu wàng-zhe shàngfāng de fúlǚ,  
 All death eater **now** all gaze-Dur upward Rel prisoner

似乎認為 他們 此刻已 獲准 流露 出 好奇心。(ENC)  
 sìhū rènwéi tāmen cǐkè yǐ huòzhǔn liúlù chū hàoqíxīn.  
 As if think they **now** already obtain permission display curiosity

<sup>10</sup> MDBG Dictionary, Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, etc.

- (54) 主播 的 聲音 也 很 尖銳 吵 雜，不 曉得 為 什 麼，  
 Zhǔbò de shēngyīn yě hěn jiānrui chǎo zá, bù xiǎodé wèishéme,  
 Anchor Rel voice also very sharp noisy mix Neg know why

現在 電視臺 都 偏向 錄用 聲音  
 xiànzài diànshìtái dōu piānxiàng lùyòng shēngyīn  
 now TV station all prefer hire voice

比較 吵 雜 的 主 播 的 樣 子。  
 bǐjiào chǎo zá de zhǔbò de yàngzi.  
 more noisy mix Rel anchor Rel manner

The anchorwoman's voice was strident and shrill. For some reason TV stations **today** seemed to favour such loud news anchors. (CNC)

One important element is missing, namely the number of occurrences of *now/xianzai* in the translations when the form is not present in the original text. Table 8 shows that *now* frequently appears in the Chinese corpus without a corresponding *xianzai* in the original (almost 80 % of the occurrences of *now* in the translations of the Chinese corpus are not prompted by the presence of *xianzai* in the original), whereas *xianzai* mostly appears when *now* is present in the original (71% of the time). This suggests that a number of other forms in Chinese are translation equivalents of temporal *now*, which means that the semantic range of *now* is wider than that of *xianzai*.

**Table 8** - Correspondence pattern of temporal *now* / *xianzai* in the translations of the narrative corpora

	<i>now</i> in the Chinese Narrative Corpus		<i>xianzai</i> in the English Narrative Corpus	
	N	%	N	%
<i>now</i> / <i>xianzai</i> correspondence	99	20.25	224	70.89
<i>now</i> / <i>xianzai</i> non- correspondence	390	79.75	92	29.11
<b>Total</b>	<b>489</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>100</b>

### 3.1.2.2. In the film corpora (EFC and CFC)

The correspondence pattern of *now* and *xianzai* in the English Film Corpus (EFC) is virtually the same as in the English Narrative Corpus (ENC): *now* is translated by *xianzai* only 38% of the time. However, a difference is to be noted in the translation pattern of *xianzai* in the Chinese corpora. In the Chinese Film Corpus, *xianzai* is translated by *now* 62% of the time, which is 14% more than it was in the narrative corpus. Thus, the MC value is 51%, which is 11% more than the MC value of *now/xianzai* in the narrative corpora. This might be explained by the fact that whereas temporal *now* and *xianzai* have a relatively similar use in interaction, their use in narration is different. Indeed, as we saw in Chapter 1, the use of *now* in narration with past tense is marked, in other words it deviates from its standard use in interaction. It is possible that the use of *xianzai* be more constrained than that of *now* and that its marked use be limited, *i.e.* that it may only be used in relatively standard cases. We will examine this possibility in 3.3.2.

**Table 9** - Correspondence pattern of temporal *now* / *xianzai* in the bi-directional translation Film Corpus

	<i>now</i> in the English Film Corpus		<i>xianzai</i> in the Chinese Film Corpus	
	N	%	N	%
<i>now</i> / <i>xianzai</i> correspondence	53	38.41	96	62.34
<i>now</i> / <i>xianzai</i> non- correspondence	85	61.59	58	37.66
<b>Total</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 10 indicates the frequency at which *now* appears in the translations of the Chinese Film Corpus when there is no *xianzai* in the original text, and the frequency at which *xianzai* appears in the translations of the English Film Corpus when there is no corresponding *now* in the original text.



**Table 10** - Correspondence pattern of temporal *now* / *xianzai* in the translations of the Film corpora

	<i>now</i> in the English Film Corpus		<i>xianzai</i> in the Chinese Film Corpus	
	N	%	N	%
<i>now</i> / <i>xianzai</i> correspondence	96	49.23	53	53.54
<i>now</i> / <i>xianzai</i> non- correspondence	99	50.77	46	46.46
<b>Total</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>100</b>

The disparity between these two frequencies is much less marked than it was in the narrative corpora. Indeed, only 51% of the occurrences of *now* in the Chinese Film Corpus are not prompted by the presence of *xianzai* in the original corpus against 80% in the CFC. As for *xianzai*, it occurs in the English Film Corpus without *now* in the original text 46% of the time against only 29% in the narrative corpus. This confirms the view according to which the difference in use and/or meaning between *now* and *xianzai* is more marked in narration than in interaction. In narration, *xianzai* cannot be used in the same circumstances as *now*, whereas in interaction they are closer in use.

The correspondence pattern of *now/xianzai* in all of the translation corpora leads us to conclude that whereas *now* is often chosen as a translation equivalent of *xianzai*, there are many alternatives to *xianzai* as a translation of temporal *now*. The overall MC value for the two translation corpora is 43.1%, but the frequency of correspondence is higher in the Chinese corpora than in the English corpora.

**Table 11** - Correspondence pattern of *now/xianzai* in all the bi-directional corpora

	<i>now</i> in the 2 English corpora		<i>xianzai</i> in the 2 Chinese corpora	
	N	%	N	%
<i>now / xianzai</i> correspondence	277	37.69	195	54.17
<i>now / xianzai</i> non- correspondence	458	62.31	165	45.83
<b>Total</b>	<b>735</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100</b>

We need to determine in what cases *now* and *xianzai* correspond, and in what cases they do not. To do so, we need to look at the cases of non-correspondence between *now* and *xianzai*.

### 3.1.3. Non-correspondences of temporal *now* and *xianzai* in the bi-directional corpora

Table 12 indicates the translation equivalents of *now* in the English Narrative corpus when it is not translated into *xianzai*, and the translation equivalents of *xianzai* in the Chinese Narrative Corpus when it is not translated into *now*. Following Johansson’s terminology (2007) ‘zero correspondence’ is an instance where the target text does not contain any form that can be related directly to the form under study in the source text; ‘congruent translations’ correspond to instances in which the form used to translate the form under study belongs to the same part of speech category; ‘divergent correspondences’ are forms that belong to different categories in the two languages.

**Table 12** - Non-correspondence of temporal *now/xianzai* in the narrative corpus

	<i>now</i> in the ENC		<i>xianzai</i> in the CNC	
	N	%	N	%
<b>Zero correspondence</b>	100	26.81	63	58.88
<b>Untranslated clause or sentence</b>	2	0.54	3	2.80
<b>Other time expressions (congruent translations)</b>	197	43.43	25	23.36
<b>Other (divergent correspondences or faulty translations)</b>	99	29.22	16	14.95
<b>Total</b>	<b>373</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>100</b>

This table shows that when *now* is not translated by *xianzai*, it is often translated by other time expressions such as *jintian* ‘today’, *muqian* ‘now’, *cishi* ‘now’, *cike* ‘now’. As noted by Hsu (1998), *xianzai* is the most ‘basic’ of all these adverbials, and forms such as *cike* or *cishi* are more formal. The fact that these adverbs are often preferred to *xianzai* in narration can be explained by the very nature of the document: it is a literary text, and the language used is quite formal.<sup>11</sup> In the Chinese Narrative Corpus on the other hand, most of the occurrences of *xianzai* that are not translated by *now* are not translated at all. This is also the case in the Chinese Film Corpus, as shown in Table 13.

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<sup>11</sup> The demonstrative form *ci* ‘this’ only occurs in written texts.

**Table 13** - Non-correspondence of temporal *now/xianzai* in the Film corpus

	<i>now</i> in the EFC		<i>xianzai</i> in the CFC	
	N	%	N	%
<b>Zero correspondence</b>	28	30.11	36	62.07
<b>Untranslated clause or sentence</b>	0	0.00	0	0.00
<b>Other time expressions (congruent translations)</b>	22	23.66	14	24.14
<b>Other (divergent correspondences or faulty translations)</b>	43	46.24	8	13.79
<b>Total</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100</b>

This suggests that, in many instances, the explicit translation of *xianzai* with a congruent form would be redundant in the target text. Indeed, as we will see in 3.3., it seems that tense and aspect - which we did not include as correspondences of *xianzai* - are often sufficient in English to express coincidence between the time of utterance or Reference time and the time of the event. In (55), no adverb is needed in English to indicate that the eventuality ‘be in pain’ is located at the time of utterance; the present tense is enough. In Chinese however, without the adverb *xianzai*, the temporal location of the eventuality would be left unclear; the adjectival predicate *búshūfú* ‘unwell’ cannot locate a situation in time.

(55) 明明 知道 我 現在 人 不舒服,  
Míngmíng zhīdào wǒ **xiànzài** rén búshūfú,  
Plainly know I **now** person unwell

一句 安慰 的 話 都 不 講。  
yījù ānwèi de huà dōu bù jiǎng.  
one sentence comfort Rel speech all Neg speak

You obviously see I'm in pain. You don't say a thing to comfort me. (CFC)

It seems that when *xianzai* is strictly situational, *i.e.* when it is used to locate the eventuality relative to the situation of utterance as in (55), *now* is not needed in the English translation because the tense and aspect of the verb phrase already convey situational information. The addition of a time expression would be marked and create a redundancy which is not felt in

Chinese. Thus, the use of zero correspondence is an attempt on the part of the translator at normalisation in the target language (*cf.* Hasselgård 2006).

We note that while the non-correspondence pattern of *xianzai* is virtually the same in the narrative and film corpora, the same is not true of the non-correspondence pattern of *now*. Indeed, the use of other time expressions is more frequent in the narrative corpus than in the film corpus, which has a higher incidence of divergent correspondences. This confirms the idea that the other time expressions used as translation equivalents of *now* are often reserved for the written style.

Divergent correspondences are more frequent with *now* than with *xianzai*. The most frequent form that is found as a divergent correspondence for *now* is the Chinese final particle 了 *le*. Other divergent correspondences include *zai*, *zheng*, *-zhe*, and shifts to space deixis with *zheli* ‘here’, *etc.* *Le* is a final particle that encodes a change of state and the current relevance of the new state (Li & Thompson 1982). It seems that one of the reasons why *le* often occurs as a translation equivalent of *now* is because *now* shares these semantic properties: it codes change and current relevance.<sup>12</sup> Another frequent divergent correspondence for *now* is the use of a verb of inchoation, *i.e.* a verb denoting a change of situation in Chinese. We find many occurrences of *biande* ‘become’, *chengwei* ‘become’, *biancheng* ‘become’ as correspondences of *now*. In (56), the verb *biancheng* is translated into the stative verb *be + now*.

(56) 但 不 知 道 為 什 麼 ， 原 本 傑 克 森 最 吸 引  
 Dàn bù zhīdào wèishéme, yuánběn Jiékèsēn zuì xīyǐn  
 but Neg know why originally Jackson most attract

阿 莉 思 的 特 質 ， 卻 變 成 最 讓 她 掛 心 的 一 部 分 。  
 Alīsī de tèzhì, què **biànchéng** zuì ràng tā guàxīn de yībùfèn  
 Alice Rel characteristic but **become** most make she worry Rel one Cl part

But somehow the qualities that had attracted Alice to Thom in the first place were **now** her biggest worry. (CNC)

These verbs mark an opposition between two situations, and their use in the translations of sentences with *now* suggests that *now* possesses similar semantic properties, *i.e.* it expresses

<sup>12</sup> We will develop this idea in detail in Chapter 3.

change. And indeed, Hasselgård (2006) notes that the presence of a verb of inchoation in English makes the use of *now* redundant. Conversely, *xianzai* does not seem to have these properties, which explains why it can often not be chosen as a translation of *now*. As we will see in more details in 3.3.1., whereas *now* is a marker of change, *xianzai* is a situational marker that anchors the eventuality in the situation of utterance.

### **3.2. Non-correspondence of *now* and *xianzai*: hypotheses**

Having described our data, we need to account for the following tendencies:

- (a) temporal *now* is more frequent in narration and film dialogues than in conversation,
- (b) *xianzai*, its Chinese lexical equivalent, follows the exact opposite tendency,
- (c) there is a great disparity between the frequencies of *xianzai* in each corpus,
- (d) *now*, most of the time, is not translated into *xianzai*
- (e) most of the time, *xianzai* is translated into *now*

We make the following general hypotheses:

- The need for situational markers such as *xianzai*, which anchor the eventuality in the situation of utterance, is greater in Chinese interaction because of the absence of tenses, which are often sufficient to anchor the utterance in English.
- English *now* is intrinsically contrastive, whereas Chinese *xianzai* is not. This would explain why the use of situational *now* is very restricted: it can only be used when the contrastive value of *now* is neutralised. On the other hand, the contrastive nature of *now* makes it a useful device to mark narrative progress, which explains its frequent use in narration, contrary to *xianzai*. Unlike *now*, *xianzai* is not fundamentally contrastive and thus can only be used as a connector with a contrastive meaning when a past or future time interval is made explicit (*cf.* Li 2014). *Xianzai* is purely temporal and typically used as a situational deictic marker.
- Aspectual constraints are stronger in Chinese than in English. This explains why although *now* and *xianzai* can both be used in narration to refer to the reference time, the use of *xianzai* is more constrained. Indeed, *xianzai* cannot be used if the located eventuality is perfective, whereas *now* can.

### 3.3. Accounting for the variations of use of *now* and *xianzai*

In the following section, we try to explain the variations in use of *now* and *xianzai*. We first examine the situational uses of *now* and *xianzai* (3.3.1.), before turning to their contrastive functions (3.3.2.). Finally, we examine the uses of the two adverbs in narration.

#### 3.3.1. *Now/xianzai*: situational use vs. contrastive use

The fact that temporal *now* is not as frequent in interaction as it is in narration suggests that the situational use of *xianzai/now*, which is very frequent in Chinese interactional speech is less frequent in English. In Chinese, the need for situational anchoring with deictic adverbs such as *xianzai* is greater than in English. One probable explanation for this is the fact that in English, tense is often enough to locate an eventuality at the time of utterance. The temporal reference has already been established by the verb phrase and as noted by Hasselgård (2006: 110), this makes the use of situational *now* (*i.e.* non-contrastive *now*) redundant. In Chinese on the other hand, the only way to temporally anchor the speech to the situation is to use deictic adverbs. Without them, only the larger context can provide information as to the temporal location of the eventuality denoted by the verb. This explains the greater frequency of *xianzai* in the conversational and film corpora.

Thus, the use of *now* for simple temporal location is redundant. The use of a redundant form is marked. Jakobson (1984) gives the following definition of markedness:

The general meaning of a marked category states the presence of a certain (whether positive or negative) property A; the general meaning of the corresponding unmarked category states nothing about the presence of A, and is used chiefly, but not exclusively, to indicate the absence of A. The unmarked term is always the negative of the marked term, but on the level of general meaning the opposition of the two contradictories may be interpreted as “statement of A” vs. “no statement of A”. (Jakobson 1984: 47)

When *now* is used for situational purposes in a tensed sentence, its use is marked, *i.e.* it focusses on the time of utterance for pragmatic reasons. It can be used to check some information, insist on the fact that an action is taking place at the time of utterance or should be taking place at the time of utterance. This is indeed the case in (57) below, in which the speaker wants to stress the fact that Hagrid is being taken care of at the very time of speech. The use of

*now* is redundant, since the present progressive would have been enough to indicate that the action was taking place at the time of utterance. The use of *now* is meant to reassure the interlocutor; indeed this is a situation of crisis, and the fact that Hagrid is being tended to at the time of utterance implies that the interlocutor, Harry, should not fret about his friend.

(57) “Hagrid’s fine, son,” said the man, “the wife’s seeing to him **now**. (...)” (ENC)

『海格 沒事， 孩子。』 那個人 說， 『我太太在 照顧 他。(...)』  
 Hǎigé méi shì, háizi nàgè rén shuō wǒ tàitai zài zhàogù tā.  
 Hagrid Neg thing kid that CI person say I wife Prog take care he

Thus, when *now* is used as a situational marker, its use is necessarily marked, unlike the use of *xianzai* in Chinese, which is not redundant. But the use of *now* is not necessarily redundant. Indeed, most of the time, its principal function is not to code coincidence between the time of speech and the event time, but to oppose the located situation to an antithetic preceding situation. This sheds light on a major difference between *now* and *xianzai*: whereas the main function of *xianzai* is to locate the eventuality at the time of speech or at reference time, the main function of *now* is to oppose the located situation to a past or a future situation. Thus, the situational use of *xianzai* is unmarked, whereas its contrastive use (*cf.* Li 2014) is marked. On the other hand, the contrastive use of *now* is unmarked, whereas its situational use is marked.

We argue that the main reason for the differences in use between *now* and *xianzai* is the fact that temporal *now* is intrinsically contrastive, whereas *xianzai* is not. Let us look back at example (55):

(55) 明明 知道 我 現在 人 不舒服,  
 Míngmíng zhīdào wǒ xiànzài rén búshūfú,  
 Plainly know I **now** person unwell

一句 安慰 的 話 都 不 講。  
 yījù ānwèi de huà dōu bù jiǎng.  
 one sentence comfort Rel speech all Neg speak

- a. You obviously see I'm in pain. You don't say a thing to comfort me. (CFC)
- b. You obviously see I'm **now** in pain. You don't say a thing to comfort me.



In Chinese, *xianzai* is used to locate the eventuality ‘bu shufu’ *unwell* at the time of utterance. The speaker indicates that (s)he is unwell during a time interval that includes the time of utterance. But this utterance does not imply that (s)he was well during the preceding time interval. Although it is possible that (s)he was, *xianzai* does not mark the contrast between the current state of affairs and a preceding antithetic state of affairs. On the other hand, in the second version of the English translation in which we added *now*, the adverb does two things: it indicates that the eventuality ‘be in pain’ is valid during a time interval that includes the time of utterance, but it also indicates that this state was not valid during the preceding time interval. The original translation, which does not feature *now*, is closer in meaning to the Chinese original.

The same phenomenon is found in the English corpora. In (58) below, a. corresponds to the original version (without *now*), and b. to a modified version in which the adverb *now* was added. The difference in meaning between the two utterances is striking: whereas in a. there is no indication of the referent of the subject not living in Godric’s Hollow during a preceding time interval, in b. it is understood that this situation is, if not new, at least opposed to a preceding situation in which she did not live there. *Xianzai* appears in the Chinese text, which corresponds to the translation of a.: no contrast between two temporal intervals is implied with *xianzai*.

- (58) a. “And she’s still alive,” said Harry, “and she lives in Godric’s Hollow, Ron’s Auntie Muriel was talking about her at the wedding.  
 b. “And she’s still alive,” said Harry, “and she lives in Godric’s Hollow **now**, Ron’s Auntie Muriel was talking about her at the wedding.

『而且 她 還 活著，』哈利 說，『**現在** 就 住 在 高錐客洞。  
 “Érqiě tā hái huó-zhe,” Hāli shuō, “**xiànzài** jiù zhù zài Gāozhuī Kèdòng.  
 Moreover she still live-Dur Harry say **now** just live at Godric’s Hollow

榮恩 的 牡丹 姑婆 在 婚禮 上 提起過 她。(CNC)  
 Róngēn de Mǔdān gūpó zài hūnlǐ shàng tíqǐ-guò tā.  
 Ron Rel Muriel great aunt at wedding on mention-Exp she

Thus, the meaning of *xianzai* in these examples is closer to that of *at the moment* than to that of *now*, which codes a contrast with a preceding situation.

The only configuration in which a situation located with *xianzai* might contrast with a past or a future situation is if this past or future situation is mentioned in the direct left or right context. This is what Li (2014) calls the function of ‘connector of time relations’ of *xianzai*. It actually corresponds to a configuration in which *xianzai* is articulated with another past or future time expression, or at least if the situation located by *xianzai* is articulated with another past or future situation. In (45) repeated below, *xianzai* functions as a counterpart of the time expression *xianqian* ‘before’.

- (45) 先前 接到 他的 電話， 你的 語氣 竟 是  
**Xiānqián** jiēdào tā de diànhuà, nǐ de yǔqì jìng shì  
**Before** receive he Rel phone call you Rel tone unexpectedly be

不可思議 的 快樂，現在 你 為 自己 當時  
bùkěsīyì de kuàilè, xiànzài nǐ wèi zìjǐ dāngshí  
unimaginable Rel happy **now** you to oneself then

的 語氣 感到 同情 且 有點 鄙夷。  
de yǔqì gǎndào tóngqíng qiě yǒudiǎn bǐyí.  
Rel tone feel sympathy and a little despise

When you had received his phone call earlier you sounded unusually happy. **Now** you resented your fervent voice on the phone. (CNC)

A contrast between the eventualities located in time by the two adverbs emerges: before, her voice sounded happy, and now, she regrets having sounded happy. In (59), *xianzai* combines with the adverb *cengjing* ‘once’.

- (59) 她 曾經 很 清楚 地 知道 自己 的 未來 需要 什麼，  
Tā **céngjīng** hěn qīngchǔ de zhīdào zìjǐ de wèilái xūyào shénme,  
She **once** very clear de know oneself Rel future need what

但 現在 一切 都 不 清楚 了。  
dàn xiànzài yīqiè dōu bù qīngchǔ le.  
But **now** everything all Neg clear LE

Once Alice had known what she would need. **Now** nothing was clear. (CNC)

The two adverbs locate antithetic situations: the situation of knowing, which is located in the past with *cengjing*, and the situation of not knowing, which is located at reference time with *xianzai*. However, this contrast is not conveyed by *xianzai* alone but by the combination of the two opposed situations. Unlike *now* (*cf.* (58)), *xianzai* cannot create this contrastive effect on its own. Thus, *xianzai* is not intrinsically contrastive. It simply – and very naturally – implies a contrast when combined with an antithetic time expression.

When it conveys a contrast, *xianzai* is generally initial, and often preceded by an adversative adverb such as *dan* ‘but’ as in (59). Its initial position gives it a topical quality, even if it is a secondary topic as in (59), where there is zero anaphora of “ta” ‘she’. Indeed, Li & Thompspon (1981) explain that the role of a topic is to relate discourse segments:

One of the functions of the topic with respect to the preceding discourse is simply to relate the material in the sentence of which it is a part to some preceding sentence. (Li & Thompspon 1981: 100)

They go on to say that topics often have a contrastive value:

One way in which topics interact with material that follows is through contrast; that is, when a speaker wants to contrast two items, s/he places them as the topics of contrasting sentences. Here is an example:  
*Yifu xin de hao; pengyou jiu de hao.*  
 “Clothes, new ones are good; friends, old ones are good.” (Li & Thompspon 1981: 101)

Thus, when *xianzai* is clause-initial, it is clause-oriented and can mark the opposition of the clause with another clause by contrasting with its topic. Example (45) is a case in point.

On the other hand, *now* is fundamentally contrastive since it produces a contrastive effect even when there is no antithetic discourse segment with which the eventuality it locates is opposed (*cf.* (58)). When *now* does not yield a contrastive reading, it is because its contrastive value has been neutralised. In order to be contrast-neutral, *now* needs to be combined with an element that limits the temporal interval referred to by *now* to an interval bounded on both sides, and not only on the left side. This can be achieved, for instance, by using it in an adverbial collocation such as *right now*, or by combining it with the aspectual form *be –ing*. In (60), *right now*, just like *xianzai* in the Chinese translation, refers to a bounded and very short time interval

that includes the time of utterance. If *right now* was replaced with the simple adverb *now*, the interpretation would be contrastive, and the situation of ‘being in danger’ would be understood as being new, since *now* would imply that the located situation contrasts with an antithetic past situation.

(60) Do not react to this message. Just listen calmly. You are in danger **right now**.

不要 對 這些 留言 有 反應。  
Bùyào duì zhèxiē liúyán yǒu fǎnyìng.  
Don't to this CI message have reaction

冷靜 聽 下去 就是 了。你 現在 非常 危險。(ENC)  
Lěngjìng tīng xiàqù jiùshì le. Nǐ **xiànzài** fēicháng wéixiǎn.  
Calm hear continue exactly LE. You **now** extreme danger

Similarly, in (61), *right now* refers to the time of utterance and does not imply contrast with a previous situation. However, if the question was ‘how do you feel now?’, a contrast would be implied with a previous situation. The objective of the question would then be to ascertain whether the current situation contrasted with the previous one (in which the interlocutor was probably not feeling well) or not.

(61) - How do you feel **right now**?  
- Fine. Yeah, I feel... I can't remember being so calm in a long time.

- 現在 感覺 怎樣?  
**Xiànzài** gǎnjué zěnyàng?  
**Now** feeling how

- 很 好，我 覺得... 未曾 試過 如此 平靜。(EFC)  
Hěn hǎo, wǒ juéde... wèicéng shì-guò rúcǐ píngjìng.  
Very good I feel never before try-Exp so serene

In (62), the two occurrences of *now* are combined with the progressive form in English, which makes the two endpoints of the eventualities invisible.

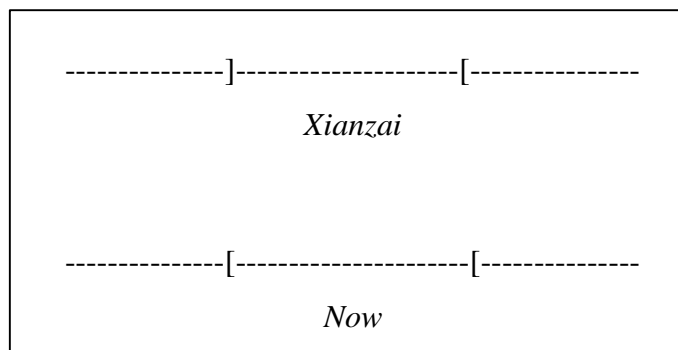
- (62) (H) She totally screwed up the- the show that they're working on **now**, I don't know what number that is. [!Sylvia].  
 LENORE: [What show] is being shown **now**.  
 ALINA: .. (H) .. Well, it's the one they're working on, v- the one they're working on's not always the one that's being shown. (ECC)

As explained in Chapter 1, *now* can lose its contrastive value when combined with *be-ing*. However, very often *be-ing* is not enough to neutralise the contrastive meaning of *now* and the use of *right now* is necessary. Indeed, in (62), the context helps neutralise the contrastive value of *now*, particularly in the first instance of *now*. One might imagine another context in which the contrast would not be neutralised despite the progressive form, e.g. “They are working on a new show now”. In that case, only the use of an adverbial such as *right now* could neutralise the contrast.

*Now* can also be read as non-contrastive when it is clause-final and detached, as in (63). In that case, it usually locates a future eventuality and often combines with the imperative mode. Note that if *now* had not been detached in (63), the reading would not have been situational but contrastive.

- (63) SHARON: ... and so I go in there and I'm like, well can you tell me whether the -- (H) .. the form is on file... cause I- I n- --I realize it takes two to three weeks to process, but just tell me whether it's on file. Because if not, I want her to have another one, **now**. (H) .. And the woman's like <Q I can't do that, there's a privacy code Q> or whatever, there's a [privacy act,  
 CAROLYN: [@@@ (H)]  
 SHARON: and I can't acce]ss the file. (ECC)

Except for cases in which the contrastive value of *now* is neutralised, *now* is always contrastive. Conversely, except in cases in which *xianzai* takes on a contrastive value because of contextual elements, it is contrast-neutral. The time intervals referred to by *xianzai* and *now* could respectively be schematised as follows:



**Figure 1** - Representation of the time intervals referred to by *xianzai* and *now*

The time interval inaugurated by *now* is bounded to the left, whereas the time interval inaugurated by *xianzai* is not. This means, on the one hand, that when *now* locates a situation, it necessarily marks the inception of the situation, which corresponds to the closed left boundary of the time interval. On the other hand, when *xianzai* locates a situation, it does not mark its inception, and no information is given as to whether the situation is new or not. In other words, it can be said that *now* is inchoative, *i.e.* it marks the opening or inception of a new situation, whereas *xianzai* is not. Only when *xianzai* is contrasted with an antithetic time expression that invalidates the situation at a previous or future time can there be contrast. In (59) for instance, two situations are opposed, thus indicating that the situation located by *xianzai* opens at a certain point. Without the closure of the previous situation implied by the opposition of the two situations, no opening of a new time interval would be understood, since *xianzai* is not inchoative.

This key difference between *now* and *xianzai* explains the greater use of *xianzai* in interaction: *xianzai* can be used situationally, *i.e.* to anchor the eventuality in the situation of utterance, which is very useful in interaction. On the other hand, *now* in interaction can only be used situationally when its contrastive value is neutralised. Thus, in the English Conversation Corpus (ECC), participants refrain from using *now* when they do not want to mark a contrast between two antithetic successive situations. When they simply want to mark coincidence between the time of the eventuality and the time of utterance, they either rely on tense and aspect, or if they want to stress that coincidence they use a neutralised version of *now* such as *right now*. On the other hand in the Chinese Conversational Corpus (CCC), *xianzai* is mostly

used situationally to anchor the eventuality in the situation and mark the coincidence of the time of the eventuality with the time of utterance.

Conversely, *now* is often used in the English Narrative Corpus (ENC) because temporal contrast between two situations is more frequent in narration, where periods of time have to be articulated together, and the past and present are often discussed. This explains the frequent use of *now* in narration, in which contrasting situations participates in the advancement of the story. In Chinese, the use of *xianzai* as a time connector is noticeably less frequent than the use of contrastive *now* is. And indeed, we note that the use of *xianzai* as a time connector in narration is more frequent in Chinese translations, probably influenced by the presence of *now* as a contrastive time relation marker in English.

### 3.3.2. *Now/xianzai* in narration

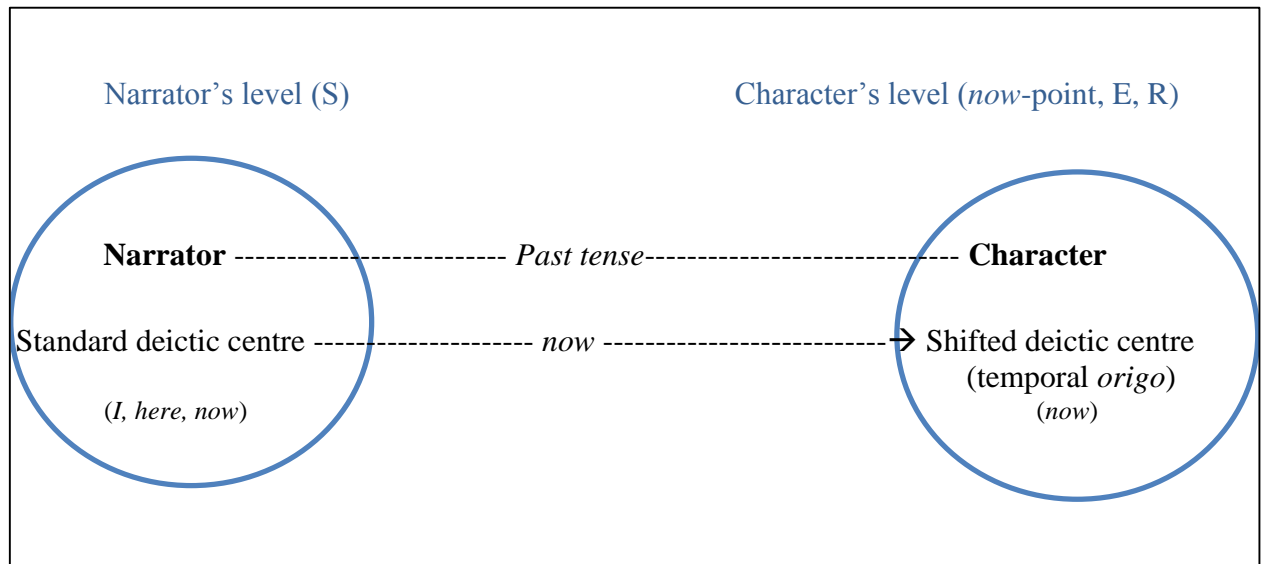
Several points have to be considered when studying the uses of *now* and *xianzai* in narration. First, we must examine to what extent the deictic shift produced by *now* in combination with past tense is comparable to the effect produced by the use of *xianzai* in a tenseless language such as Chinese. Indeed, whereas the use of *now* with past tense is marked in English, *xianzai* in narration does not contrast with any past tense in Chinese, and its use might be unmarked and non-shifting (3.3.2.1.). Second, we need to look into the cases in which there is no correspondence between *now* and *xianzai* in narration. It seems that *xianzai* cannot be used as much as *now* in narration. We will try to determine why (3.3.2.2.).

#### 3.3.2.1. Free Indirect Speech (FIS) and Deictic Shift in Chinese

In this section we argue that whereas *now* in narration is a shifter, *xianzai* is not. Hagenaar (1996) gives the following definition of shifters:

A shifter is a linguistic category which refers directly to the speech event or its participants. A narrative text has several distinct levels of narration, including the narrator's level and the character's level. Shifters may implement a shift from one level to the other, whereas non-shifters operate within one level exclusively. (Hagenaar 1996: 290)

As explained in Chapter 1, when *now* is used in narration it creates a deictic shift, *i.e.* the temporal *origo* of the deictic centre is shifted from the time of utterance, which in narration corresponds to the present of the narrator (narrator’s level), to the *now*-point of the narrative which corresponds to the time point at which *now* occurs in the linear narrative (character’s level). The *now*-point is perceived by the reader as referring to ‘present’ events, the preceding text is construed as referring to ‘past’ events, and the coming text is construed as referring to ‘future’ events (Rapaport *et al.* 1994). *Now* is a shifter in narration insofar as it allows for the presentation of the situation not from the temporal viewpoint of the narrator, who in narration is the enunciative source, but from that of one or several characters. In English, this difference in viewpoints is typically marked by past tense and the use of the third person. They create a distance between the narrator, *i.e.* the enunciative source of the narrative, and the characters. Figure 2 proposes a representation of the deictic shift operated by *now* in narration.



**Figure 2** - The deictic shift operated by *now* in narration

The distance between the narrator’s level and the character’s level is generally set by the past tense, since the irremediable rupture between the present and the past mimics the distance that must be imagined between the narrator’s or reader’s level and the character’s level in fiction. Since *now* in narration, despite the past tense, must be interpreted at the character’s level as



referring to the present time as experienced by the character, the character is understood to be the new deictic centre relative to which the deictic temporal marker must be interpreted.<sup>13</sup>

Conversely, in Chinese, no past tense is used in narration to mark a distance between the deictic centre instantiated by the narrator and that instantiated by the character. There is only one time level in Chinese narration: the voice of the character and the voice of the narrator are not discernible from one another. Indeed, unlike tense, which is a shifter, aspect in Chinese does not relate the events to the time of speech, corresponding to the act of narration. In her study of FIS in Chinese, Hagenaar (1996) notes that “aspect portrays exclusively the events being narrated, but does not qualify the event of narration, *i.e.* the event of reporting” (Hagenaar 1996: 290).

Smith (2007) explains that in Mandarin Chinese, the relation between reference time and situation time is coded grammatically by aspectual markers, whereas the relation between reference time and speech time is inferred “on the basis of pragmatic information and inference” (Smith 2007: 238). Thus, the relation between reference time and speech time is not coded linguistically but is inferred:

To locate a situation temporally, one needs to know the relation of the situation to Speech Time. In Mandarin, this relation is not coded in the language: grammatical forms do not relate RT [reference time] to SpT [situation time] (ignoring temporal adverbs which are always optional). (Smith 2007: 236)

In narration, the relation between speech time and event time is unclear, and according to the Deictic Principle of Interpretation (Smith 2007), by default it is understood to be a relation of coincidence. Therefore, out of context, time reference in Chinese narratives is interpreted as present time reference. In other words, the events are usually perceived by the reader as unfolding in front of her at the time of reading. Thus in (64), the reference time is given by the verb *xiǎngqǐlái* ‘remember’. In Chinese, the eventuality ‘remember’ is interpreted as contemporary to the time of reading, *i.e.* it is interpreted as present. The English translation could have used the present tense, as in (64)b. The choice of the past tense in translation is partly due to the stylistic habits of anglophone literature.

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<sup>13</sup> A deictic centre must always be associated with a source of consciousness that can instantiate the role of enunciative source. See Chapter 1 for a full discussion of the shifting of the deictic centre.

(64) 她 想起來 到 東部 的 第一 年，  
 Tā xiǎngqǐlái dào dōngbù de dìyī nián,  
 She remember to East Rel first year

那時 兩旁 的 灌木叢 和 植被 還 離 人 頗 近，  
 nàshí liǎngpáng de guànmùcóng hé zhíbèi hái lí rén pō jìn,  
 then both sides Rel shrub and vegetation still from man rather close

風景 和 動物 都 不 太 怕人 的 樣子，  
 fēngjǐng hé dòngwù dōu bù tài pàrén de yàngzi,  
 landscape and animal all Neg too fear man Rel manner

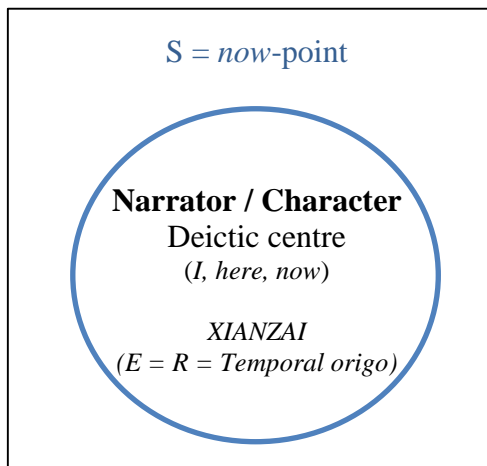
但 現在 山 和 海 被 馬路 推 到 很 遠 的 地方。  
 dàn xiànzài shān hé hǎi bèi mǎlù tuī dào hěn yuǎn de dìfāng.  
 But now mountain and sea Pass road push to very far Rel place

- a. She **remembered** her first year in Haven: then the bush and the vegetation came quite close on either side, as if neither the terrain nor the wild animals feared the sight of man. **Now** the new highway had pushed nature far away. (CNC)
- b. She **remembers** her first year in Haven: then the bush and the vegetation came quite close on either side, as if neither the terrain nor the wild animals feared the sight of man. **Now** the new highway has pushed nature far away.

When *xianzai* is used in narration, it refers to a time interval that includes the reference time, *i.e.* the point of view from which the events are seen. In (64), the reference time is understood to coincide with the time of the eventuality *xiang qilai* ‘remember’. The following eventualities *jin* ‘close’ and *pa* ‘fear’ are localised with the anaphoric adverbial *nashi* ‘at that time’, which indicates that they occur before the reference time set by *xiang qilai*. However, with *xianzai*, we come back to the reference time and the time of the eventuality *tui* ‘push’ coincides with the reference time.

The reference time seems to correspond to the ‘present’ of the character, and because there is no temporal distance set by past tense between the narrator’s present and the character’s present, they coincide. Thus, *xianzai* in narration is not marked. Its use does not imply a shift from the narrator’s level to the character’s level, since these two levels are undistinguishable. *Xianzai* refers to the reference time and indicates that the eventuality coincides with it, just as it does in direct speech. There is no shift of temporal *origo* because the temporal *origo* has

nowhere to shift to: the standard time *origo* that originates from the narrator (*i.e.* the time of speech *S*) coincides in Chinese narration with the narrative time *origo*, *i.e.* the *now-point*.



**Figure 3** - *Xianzai* in narration and the absence of deictic shift

This absence of deictic shift raises the question of Free Indirect Speech (FIS) in Chinese. Hagenaar notes that in Chinese narratives, the difference between Free Indirect Speech (FIS) and direct speech (DS) is often not perceptible.

FIS corresponds to a marked kind of indirect speech which combines elements of direct speech and of indirect speech. It mixes the voice of the character with that of the narrator. Thus, the deictic centre for the interpretation of tense and person in FIS is the narrator, whereas the deictic centre for the interpretation of time expressions or subjective adverbs and adjectives is the character.

Hagenaar argues that the following elements of FIS originate in the character's text:

- Tense
- Semantic features (“awfully”)
- Syntactic features (questions or exclamations)
- Deixis
- Contextual features

Example (65) is a good illustration of FIS: the narrator uses third person narration but the elements in bold are characteristic of the character's speech.

- (65) Harry's scar was burning **now**. He thought that there was so much they did not know: Lupin had been right about magic they had never encountered or imagined. **Why** hadn't Dumbledore explained more? **Had** he thought that there would be time; that he would live for years, for centuries perhaps, like his friend Nicolas Flamel? If so, he had been wrong. ... Snape had seen to that. ... Snape, **the sleeping snake**, who had struck at the top of the tower ...

哈利的疤 **變得** 滾燙。他想到 他們有 太多 事  
 Hāli de bā **biàndé** gǔntàng. Tā xiǎngdào tāmen yǒu tài duō shì  
 Harry Rel scar **become** boiling he think of they have too many things

不 了解。路平 說 得 對，這 世 上 尚 有 許 多 魔 法  
 bù liǎojiě. Lùpíng shuō dé duì, zhè shì shàng shàng yǒu xǔduō mófǎ  
 Neg understand Lupin say DE correct this earth on still have many magic

是 他們 沒 見 識 過，也 想 像 不 出 的。鄧 不 利 多 為 何  
 shì tāmen méi jiànshì-guò, yě xiǎngxiàng bù chū de. Dèngbùlìduō wèihé  
 be they Neg knowledge-Exp Also imagine Neg out Rel Dumbledore **why**

不 多 解 釋 一 些? 難 道 他 以 為 時 間 還 多，他 還 能 和  
 bù duō jiěshì yīxiē? Nándào tā yǐwéi shíjiān hái duō, tā hái néng hé  
 Neg more explain some Could it be he think time still much he still can with

他 的 朋 友 尼 樂 . 勒 梅 一 樣 活 上 幾 年、幾 個 世 紀?  
 tā de péngyǒu Nílè . Lēiméi yīyàng huó-shàng jǐ nián, jǐ gè shìjì?  
 he Rel friend Nicolas Flamel same live-Res a few years a few Cl century

果 真 如 此 的 話，他 錯 了 ..... 石 內 卜 幫 他 畫 下 了 休 止 符 .....  
 Guǒzhēn rúcǐ dehuà, tā cuò-le..... Shínèibo bāng tā huà xià-le xiūzhǐfú.....  
 really so if he wrong-le Snape help he draw down-le rest

石 內 卜，那 隻 沉 睡 的 毒 蛇，在 高 塔 之 頂 發 動 攻 擊.... (ENC)  
 Shínèibo, nà zhī chénshuì de dúshé, zài gāotǎ zhī dǐng fādòng gōngjí....  
 Snape this Cl **asleep Rel viper** at tower Rel roof unleash attack

The deictic adverb *now* locates the eventuality at the *now*-point, *i.e.* the time that the character perceives as present time. The questions are syntactic elements that belong to DS, as are the three dots at the end of several discourse segments. Finally, the subjective semantic features, such as “the sleeping snake”, correspond to a judgmental description of Snape by the

focalising character Harry. However, the past tense is used, which means that tense is interpreted from the deictic centre instantiated by the narrator, as is the third person. Hagenaar explains that,

As the category of verb tense is of mixed origin, the effect on free indirect speech of the absence of verb tense in Chinese is that both narrator's (*i.e.* reporter's) text and character's (*i.e.* speaker's) text are less clearly marked than in other languages. (Hagenaar 1996: 293)

Thus, whereas in English, the difference between FIS and DS is generally marked by tense and person, in Chinese the only differentiating criterion is person, which is, according to Hagenaar, not as often used in Chinese as in English. The result is that very often, only context can help discern between FIS and DS. In the Chinese translation of (65) for instance, our informants confirmed that the events are understood to unfold in the present. The reader follows the character step by step, there is no distance between a supposed speech time (*i.e.* narration time) and the narrative *now*-point, unlike what happens in English (*cf.* Figure 2). Thus, in Chinese, the first two sentences of (65) are interpreted as present.

As a consequence, whereas *now*, when combined with past tense, is a shifter in English narration, *xianzai* is not in Chinese. This means that unlike *now*, *xianzai* is not a marker of FIS. In narration, *xianzai* does exactly what it does in Chinese DS: it indicates that the time of the event coincides with the time of reference, which itself coincides with the time of speech. In narration, the time of speech is virtual and corresponds to the time of the act of narration (the narrator being the enunciator). The deictic centre is already with the character in Chinese narration, which means that there is no shift of temporal *origo* with the occurrence of *xianzai*. Although *xianzai* also implies that  $E = R = \text{Temporal } origo$ , it does not shift the temporal *origo* which already coincides with the *now*-point. *Xianzai* is deictic, but due to the absence of tense in Chinese, it is not a shifter in narration. Indeed, even when talking about past events, the narrator and the focalising character always share the same temporal *origo*.

The only shifter in Chinese FIS is person, and what is shifted is the personal *origo*. The temporal *origo* never shifts; it is always with both focalising character and narrator. The *now*-point, which is the time point relative to which deictic elements should be interpreted, coincides

with the virtual speech time, *i.e.* the time of the act of narration. The role of *xianzai* is to indicate that the event time coincides with that time.

### 3.3.2.2. *Now/xianzai* and aspectual viewpoint

We have noted that the use of *now* in narration is more frequent than the use of *xianzai*. One reason for this is the difference in use between *xianzai* and *now* in narration. Whereas in direct speech, *now* and *xianzai* both indicate that the located situation is stative and unbounded to the right (and to the left for *xianzai*), in narration only *now* can be used with perfective situations without having a stativising effect. Example (21) repeated below shows the stativising value of *now* and *xianzai* in DS.

- (21) 阿莉思用 雷射筆 指著 地圖 上  
 Ālisī yòng léishè bǐ zhǐ-zhe dìtú shàng  
 Alice use laser pen point-Dur map on

臺灣 的 位置，說：「我們 現在 在 這個 島 上。  
 Táiwān de wèizhì, shuō: ` Wǒmen **xiànzài** zài zhège dǎo shàng.  
 Taiwan Rel position say we **now** at this CI island on

你 能 不 能 指 出 你 來 的 島， 欸？ (...)  
 Nǐ néng bù néng zhǐchū nǐ lái de dǎo, en?  
 You can Neg can point out you come Rel island EN

Alice used a laser pointer to indicate the position of Taiwan on the map and said, ‘This is the island we’re on **now**. Can you point to the island where you come from? (...)’ (CNC)

*Xianzai* locates the state *zai* ‘to be at’ and focusses only part of the eventuality. Indeed, endpoints of the eventuality ‘be on the island’ are not visible. Only the part of the eventuality that is validated during the time interval that includes the time of utterance is presented. In the English translation, the situation is not as clear. If *now* is stressed, its contrastive value might be neutralised and it might be understood to be close in meaning to *right now*. In that case, the boundaries of the situation are not visible either and the situation is seen as imperfective. However, if *now* is unstressed it retains its fundamental contrastive value, which means that the eventuality is presented as bounded to the left and contrasts with a previous situation in which

the interlocutors were not on that island. But the eventuality localised with *now* is not bounded to the right. The right boundary of the state is not visible. Rather than an imperfective viewpoint, in which neither the initial nor the final endpoints of a situation are focussed, we call this an inchoative viewpoint: the left endpoint of the eventuality is focussed, but not the right endpoint.

In interaction or DS, *now* and *xianzai* are always inchoative or imperfective. They cannot present an eventuality as perfective. In narration however, *now* might appear in perfective sentences. Thus, in (66) below, *now* is used to locate the achievement ‘call’.

(66) “Captain?” one of the DCPJ agents **now** called from across the office. “I think you better take this call.”

a. 「隊長？」 一名 刑事局 的 探員  
 Duìzhǎng? Yī míng Xíngshìjú de tàn yuán  
 Captain one CI Criminal Investigation Bureau Rel detective

在 辦公室 那 頭 喊。 「你 最好 來 接 這 通 電話。」 (ENC)  
 zài bàngōngshì nà tóu hǎn. `Nǐ zuì hǎo lái jiē zhè tōng diànhuà.  
 at office that end shout you best come pick up this CI call

b. 「隊長？」 一名 刑事局 的 探員 現在  
 Duìzhǎng? Yī míng Xíngshìjú de tàn yuán xiànzài  
 Captain one CI Criminal Investigation Bureau Rel detective **now**

在 辦公室 那 頭 喊。 「你 最好 來 接 這 通 電話。」  
 zài bàngōngshì nà tóu hǎn. `Nǐ zuì hǎo lái jiē zhè tōng diànhuà.  
 at office that end shout you best come pick up this CI call

The preterit presents the eventuality as perfective. In other words, it presents it in its entirety, including both initial and final endpoints. In Chinese however, *xianzai* does not appear and the interpretation is open: the situation might be read as perfective (*yelled*) or imperfective (*was yelling*). However, if *xianzai* is added as in (66)b, the interpretation is necessarily imperfective.

Thus, whereas *now* can combine with a perfective viewpoint in narration, *xianzai* is consistently an imperfective marker. As a consequence, when *now* is used with a perfective viewpoint in narration, it is never translated by *xianzai*. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is the contrastive nature of *now*, which makes it a good marker of dynamicisation.

Whereas *xianzai* stativises eventualities and presents them as imperfective, *now* focusses on the inception of the eventuality and can be used to mark progress of the narrative. Michaelis (2011) explains that stativisation has narrative purposes since it indicates that eventualities overlap. While *xianzai* stativises the eventuality, implying an overlap with another eventuality, *now* is a dynamic marker with propulsive force (Aijmer 2002), which explains why it can be used in narration with no overlapping effect. Whereas *now* opens a new time interval and advances narrative time, *xianzai* simply indicates that an unbounded interval coincides at some point with the *now*-point.

But there is another explanation linked to the predominance of aspectual information in each language. In (66), the process *han* ‘yell’ is a bounded situation, which, according to Smith’s Bounded Event Constraint (2007), implies that it must be interpreted as anterior to the reference point. Since *xianzai* locates the event at the reference point, the use of *xianzai* is not felicitous if the eventuality is to remain bounded. In English, on the other hand, the use of the adverb *now* overrides the Bounded Event Constraint and forces the localisation of the bounded event at the *now*-point. In Chinese, aspectual clashes are impossible, and the use of *xianzai* would simply force an imperfective interpretation. This seems to indicate that in English, temporal interpretation rules are a lot more flexible than in Chinese. They may be contravened for stylistic reasons. In fact, the creation of clashes between different temporal rules is often used to create a particular effect. In this case, the effect created is one of proximity: the deictic adverb *now* presents the viewpoint of the character, and the eventuality, although it is bounded, is given as present and new. Its inception is located at the *now*-point, and the combination of the perfective, which is used to mark successions of actions, with *now*, which locates the action at the *now*-point, produces a dynamic effect. The reader is made to experience the events with the focalising character as they unfold, each successive event being depicted as present.

We note that the use of *now* + perfective event is much more frequent in the English Narrative corpus (ENC) than in the translation of the Chinese Narrative Corpus (CNC), which suggests an underuse of the combination in translation, likely due to the fact that this combination never occurs in Chinese.



Thus, whereas in English *now* is a very flexible adverb that can take precedence over aspectual information to force a localisation of the eventuality at R, in Chinese it seems that the use of *xianzai* is limited to aspectually favourable contexts.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this Chapter, we examined the adverb *xianzai*, and contrasted it with the English temporal adverb *now*. It appears that although *now* and *xianzai* seem at first glance to have the same meaning, they differ on many points. They are both deictic and code the overlap of the time of the eventuality denoted by the verb with the reference time or time of speech in interaction. But the similarities end there. While *now* is a contrastive marker that codes the opposition of the current situation to a previous antithetic situation, *xianzai* is not intrinsically contrastive. And although both *now* and *xianzai* can be used in narration, *xianzai*, unlike *now*, does not entail a deictic shift. Indeed, the temporality of the narrator's level and that of the character's level merge in Chinese narration, and the temporal *origo* does not shift from the present of the narrator to the present of the character with the use of *xianzai*. Moreover, *xianzai* always presents eventualities as imperfective whereas *now* is inchoative. Finally, *now* can combine with the perfective viewpoint in narration whereas *xianzai* cannot.

**Table 14** - Recapitulative table - Properties of temporal *now* and *xianzai*

	<b>Temporal <i>now</i></b>	<b><i>xianzai</i></b>
<b>Deictic</b>	Yes	Yes
<b>Contrastive</b>	Yes	No
<b>Shifter</b>	Yes	No
<b>Open-ended interval</b>	Yes	Yes
<b>Inchoative</b>	Yes	No

In the next chapter, we look at the main divergent correspondence of *now* found in our corpora, namely the final aspectual particle *le*. This marker often combines with *xianzai* to

translate *now*, but it also frequently appears on its own. We will see that like *now*, *le* is contrastive, inchoative, and presents the new situation as open-ended.

## Chapter 3

### *Now and LE*

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In this Chapter, we examine the Mandarin temporal marker 了 *LE*, which is often found in our corpus as a divergent correspondence of temporal *now*. *LE* can be used as a final particle (*le*), in which case it signals a change of state and indicates the current relevance of the new state of affairs. It can also be realised as a verbal particle (*-le*), in which case it is a perfective marker indicating the validation of the VP.<sup>1</sup> We argue that *now* and *LE*, and in particular *now* and final *le*, share many semantic and pragmatic features: they both anchor to R to code a change of state and signal the current relevance of the new state of affairs as of R.

After reviewing the research produced on *LE* in Chinese linguistics (Section 1), we will look at the variations in the distribution patterns of *now* and *le* in our corpora (Section 2), before turning to their shared semantic and pragmatic features (Sections 3 and 4). We will try to determine whether *le*, like *now*, can be said to be deictic (Section 5). Then, through the study of *LE* and *now*, we will examine the perfect aspect in English and Chinese (Section 6). Finally, we will try to determine to what extent the contrastive study of *now* and *LE* can shed some light on the controversy concerning the duality of *LE* (Section 7).

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<sup>1</sup> We use *-le* to refer to the verbal use of 了, *le* to refer to its sentential or final use, and *LE* to refer to both.

## 1. *LE*: literature review

One of the major debates concerning the nature of the marker 了 *LE* concerns its duality. It is generally accepted that *LE* might occur in two different slots: either directly after the verb, in which case it is a marker of perfective aspect and codes the completion of the process denoted by the verb (verbal *-le*), or at the end of the clause, in which case it is a perfect aspect marker and codes a change of state (final particle or sentential *le*). While some argue that these two *LE*'s are in fact two different morphemes with different functions (Chao 1968; Andreasen 1981; Li & Thompson 1981, 1982 among others), others consider that they correspond to different realisations of the same morpheme (Huang 1987; Van den Berg & Wu 2006; Liu 2013). Our contrastive analysis of *now* and *LE* leads us to identify a number of common features for *-le* and *le*. But let us first look at some previous analyses of *LE*.

### 1.1. Chao (1968)

Chao (1968) distinguishes between verbal *-le* and final *le*, on the grounds that they have different distributional properties and origins. According to him, perfective verbal *-le* comes from the verb *liao* 'finish' whereas perfect *le* comes from the present-day verb *lai* 'come'.<sup>2</sup>

Chao identifies only one function for verbal *-le*, namely perfectivity. Indeed, according to him, verbal *-le* denotes a "completed action". On the other hand, Chao detects seven functions for final *le*:

- Inchoativity  
*Xia yu le*. 'It's raining (now)'<sup>3</sup>
- Command in response to a new situation  
*Chifan le!* 'Let's eat now!'
- Progress in a story  
*Houlai tian jiu qing le*. 'And then the weather cleared.'

---

<sup>2</sup> Anderson notes that the etymology of the markers is not universally agreed upon (Anderson 1982). Van den Berg & Wu (2006) consider that *-le* and *le* both come from the verb *liao*.

<sup>3</sup> All the examples in Section 1 are those given by the authors under study.

- Consequent clause to indicate situation  
*Na wo jiu bu zou le.* ‘In that case, I won’t go, then.’
- Isolated event in the past  
*Wo zuor dao Zhangjia chi fan le.* ‘I went to the Zhangs for dinner yesterday.’
- Completed action as of the present  
*Wo huilai le.* ‘I have come back.’
- The “obviousness” *le*<sup>4</sup>  
*Zhege ni dangran dong le.* ‘This, you understand, of course.’

The main weak point of this classification, as noted by Huang (1987) and Van den Berg & Wu (2006), is the failure to unify the uses of *le*.

## 1.2. Li & Thompson (1981, 1982)

Li & Thompson (1981, 1982) also dissociate *-le* from *le*. They explain that verbal *-le* bounds the event and presents it as a whole. On the other hand, they try to unify the various functions of final *le* and explain that it conveys CRS (Currently Relevant State). In other words, *le* indicates that the eventuality denoted is or gives rise to a state that is relevant at the time of Speech, or at reference time. Li & Thompson indicate that a sentence can take *le* and convey CRS if the state of affairs it represents:

- Is a changed state  
*Wo zhidao le.* ‘Now I know, I have learned’
- Corrects a wrong assumption  
(after being accused of sleeping the whole afternoon: )  
*Wo kan le san ben shu le!* ‘I have read three books!’
- Reports “progress so far”  
*Wo zai nali zhule liang ge yue le.* ‘I have lived here for two months now.’
- Determines what will happen next  
*Wo xihao-le yifu le.* ‘I have now washed the clothes.’

---

<sup>4</sup> In this Chapter, we do not examine this use of *le*. Indeed, we consider that like *now*, *le* can be used on the one hand a marker of temporal contrast between two situations, and on the other as a pragmatic marker with derived discursive functions. We will look into the pragmatic uses of *le* in Part III. We focus here on the uses of *le* that reflect the uses of temporal *now*.

- Is the speaker's total contribution to the conversation at that point  
*Ta yijing likai Meiguo le.* 'He has already left America.'

### 1.3. Huang (1987)

Huang (1987) defends the one-morpheme thesis and tackles *-le* and *le* together. According to her, *LE* is a boundary marker. Verbal *-le* marks the completion of the process and fixes the process. It is a focussing device:

The verbal *-le* marks an EVENT BOUNDARY, and its absence produces semantic vagueness / indeterminacy and hence more than one reading. In this respect, the presence and absence of the element *-le* can be considered as a manifestation of the FOCUSED-DIFFUSE opposition that we postulate to be the fundamental aspectual principle: the occurrence of *-le* denotes the FOCUSED ASPECT and the absence, the DIFFUSE. (Huang 1987: 186)

As for sentential *le*, it is seen as marking a boundary between two events. Sentential *le* is not used when "there is no contrast with a preceding contrary state" (*Ibid.*: 197). Thus, both *-le* and *le* are boundary markers, with *-le* operating at the verbal level while *le* operates at the propositional level. Huang argues that all the cases of occurrence of *LE* identified by Li & Thompson (1982) are covered by this interpretation.

### 1.4. Lin (2000, 2003, 2006)

Lin is mostly interested in verbal *-le*. He argues that *-le* is a 'relative past tense marker' (Lin 2000) and a 'realisation aspect marker' (2003). Indeed, on the one hand *-le* indicates that at least a subpart of the eventuality is realised, and on the other hand it indicates that the initial subinterval of the target state of the eventuality precedes the reference point. This view enables Lin to account for the use of verbal *-le* both with telic and atelic eventualities, with a perfective or imperfective viewpoint. Indeed, when the eventuality marked with *-le* is telic, it is presented as perfective and past, but when the eventuality is atelic it is presented as imperfective and present. In order to explain this phenomenon, Lin borrows the notion of target state from Parsons (1990):

It is important not to identify the Resultant-state of an event with its ‘target’ state. If I throw a ball onto the roof, the target state of this event is the ball’s being on the roof, a state that may or may not last for a long time. What I am calling the Resultant-state is different; it is the state of my having thrown the ball onto the roof, and it is a state that cannot cease holding at some later time. (Parsons 1990: 235)

According to Lin, both telic and atelic eventualities have target states:

I propose that activities and states can have results, too. To implement this idea, I assume that a function called Rstate is defined in such a way that it may apply to (the time of) any eventuality and returns (the time of) the result state associated with that eventuality. For example, when applied to an accomplishment such as *John goes to America*, it returns (the duration of) the result state of John’s being in America. When Rstate applies to activities and states, it yields (the duration of) a result state for them. (Lin 2006: 8)

His treatment of verbal *-le* accounts for cases in which *-le* has an imperfective meaning, as it is the case in example (1) taken from Lin (2006).

- (1) Quan xiao de ren dou zhidao-le zhejian shi  
all school Rel person all know-le this CI matter

All the people in the school have known this matter.

In this example, the eventuality is stative and it is not presented as perfective, but as imperfective. In fact, Lin explains that the initial subinterval of the eventuality *zhidao* ‘know’ is presented as perfective and past, while the rest of the target state of knowing is presented as imperfective and present. *-le* marks the inception of the target state, and indicates that the realisation of the initial subinterval of the target state is anterior to the reference point. We will see that the contrastive analysis of our data confirms the accuracy of this analysis.

Lin (2003) explains that the meaning of sentence-final *le* is very similar to that of verbal *-le*, the only difference being that final *le* requires that the target state of the eventuality should overlap with the time of speech or reference time. Alluding to Li & Thompson (1981, 1982), Lin notes that “the requirement that the result state overlap the speech time explains why sentences with the sentence-final *le* have implications of current relevance, just as many linguists have observed” (Lin 2003: 281).

Thus, although he acknowledges that verbal *-le* and final *le* have different uses, Lin considers that they are fundamentally similar: “though the meanings of the two *le*’s are not completely alike, their core meaning is actually the same” (*Ibid.*: 278).

### 1.5. Van den Berg & Wu (2006), Lu & Su (2009)

Van den Berg & Wu (2006) argue that the unifying function of *le* is to establish a co-ordination between the speaker and the addressee(s) and to build a common ground. They explain that although Chao (1968), Li & Thompson (1981) and Huang (1987) identify interesting mechanisms for *le*, they fail to take into account the larger context and the interactive dimension of the use of *le*. Van den Berg & Wu (2006) see the communicative intent of the speaker as key to understanding the meaning of *le*. They claim that a successful use of *le* requires the presence of shared common ground, *i.e.* a shared basis for communication that can be reflected upon (2006: 34). For them, *le* is used to signify to the hearer that a coordination of the common ground is needed:

The particle *le* is used in situations in which the speaker finds reason to appeal to the interlocutor to reset their shared common ground, either as the result of a ‘disturbance’ or of a ‘repair’, and calculate the implications. (Van den Berg & Wu 2006: 136)

Lu & Su (2009) study *le* in conversations and confirm Van den Berg & Wu’s view. They further argue that *le* should be seen as a marker of intersubjectivity used as an opening device to invite the interlocutor to participate in the conversation.

### 1.6. Liu (2013)

Liu treats *LE* as a single particle and argues that it is a marker of realis. According to her, *LE* is not a perfective marker. She shows that the perfective meaning often associated to *LE* is in fact attributable to the aspectual meaning of the verb phrase, and is thus independent from the use of *LE*. When *LE* is used, it only adds a realis meaning.

Realis and irrealis are moods, and in tenseless languages such as Chinese these moods are used for the location of situations. Forms of realis indicate that the situation is in an actual world; forms of irrealis indicate that the situation is in a non-actual world (*cf.* Comrie 1985). According



to Liu, *LE* participates to temporal reference insofar as it indicates that a situation is in the actual world, *i.e.* it codes the validation of the relation denoted by the predicate. When *LE* takes the “present moment as the deictic center” (Liu 2013: 907) it is of the absolute mood as in (2):

- (2) Xia yu **le**.  
down rain **LE**

It rained.  
It has rained.  
It has just started to rain. (*Ibid.*: 905)

When it is used in a sentence containing two clauses denoting sequential situations, it is of the relative mood: it is interpreted “relative to the reference point specified in the other clause” (*Ibid.*: 910). Thus in (3)a below, the actualisation of the eventuality *chifan* ‘eat’ is relative to the eventuality *lai* ‘come’. Since the second eventuality is in a non-actual world, the first eventuality is not actualised. In (3)b on the other hand, the second eventuality is marked with realis, which means that the first eventuality is interpreted as actualised too.

- (3) a. Wo chi-**le** fan jiu lai.  
I eat-**le** rice then come

I will come after eating.

- b. Wo chi-**le** fan jiu lai **le**.  
I eat-**le** rice then come **LE**

I came after having eaten. (*Ibid.*: 911)

Liu also mentions the perfect construction formed with two *LE*'s, which she compares to the English “Perfect of persistent situation” that you have for instance in *I've shopped there for years* (Comrie 1981 [1976]: 60). With this construction, the meaning of “present relevance” is added (Liu 2013: 918) as in (4):

- (4) Ta chi-le ban-xiaoshi fan **le**.  
he eat-le half-hour rice **LE**

He has eaten for half an hour so far.

Liu also notes that *LE* can be used to indicate a change of state when it is used with stative verbs, regardless of whether a double-*LE* construction is used or not:

In Chinese, stative verbs denoting states do not co-occur with *le*.<sup>5</sup> When a stative verb is used with realis *le*, the meaning of “a change into the state” is conveyed. Moreover, the use of one or two instances of *le* forms the same meaning. (*Ibid.*: 923)

Thus in (5) below no change is registered, whereas both (6)a and b indicate a change into a state. We can already note that the change of state is rendered in English with *now*, which suggests that the two markers (*LE* and *now*) are both used to convey the change of state. We will come back to that point in more detail below.

(5) Wo dong ni de yisi.  
I understand you Rel meaning  
I know/understand what you mean.

(6) a. Wo dong ni de yisi **le**.  
I understand you Rel meaning **LE**  
I understand what you mean **now**.

b. Wo dong-**le** ni de yisi **le**.  
I understand-**le** you Rel meaning **LE**  
I understand what you mean **now**.

Liu adds that “the change leading into the new state is only observed as an instant” (*Ibid.*: 923). Thus, *LE* localises the change of state in the actual world, *i.e.* as actualised at the time of speech:

Realis *le* of the absolute mood takes the speech moment as the deictic center. The meaning “a newly changed state now” conveyed in the imperfective structure containing stative verbs and realis *le* can also be paraphrased as “a newly changed state anchoring to the speech moment. (*Ibid.*: 924)

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<sup>5</sup> Since Liu does not distinguish between verbal *-le* and final *le*, she only uses the notation *le*, which corresponds to our general notation *LE*.

We agree with the view that *LE* participates to the temporal location of the eventuality by marking its actualisation before or at the time of speech. We also support the idea that *LE*, like *now*, always operates a “change of state”. However, we will show that verbal *-le* and final *le*, although they both convey change, do not focus the same part of the situation. Despite the fact that they share a number of semantic features, they correspond to two different markers.

### 1.7. Discussion

Before starting our contrastive analysis, we propose to discuss briefly some points raised in the various accounts of verbal *-le* and final *le* reviewed above. First of all, let us look at the function of common ground marker identified by Van den Berg & Wu (2006).

Although the idea of the use of *le* as an appeal to update the common ground is perfectly sound, we see some flaws in Van den Berg & Wu’s reasoning. They reject the notions of *change of state* and *current relevance* developed by Li & Thompson (1981), although they acknowledge the fact that an update of the common ground precisely results from or calls for a *change* in that common ground. They argue that when it comes to *le*, “the notion of ‘change’ needs to be interpreted not as a change as described in the sentence, but as a change in common ground structure” (Van den Berg & Wu 2006: 263). A “change in the sentence” presumably refers to the description of the emergence of a new state of affairs in the utterance. We have difficulties understanding how Van den Berg & Wu can dissociate this change of state from the occurrence of *le*, when they admit that *le* constitutes an appeal to coordinate the common ground as a consequence to that change. It seems to us that they are only considering the illocutionary function of *le* and not its semantic meaning<sup>6</sup>. They are focussing on the communicative intent behind *le* and seeing it as an inherent part of its meaning. But if the appeal for coordination that they claim to be part of the meaning of *le* is systematically brought about by a change (be it a disturbance, a bifurcation, a distanciation...), then it is the change that triggers the need for coordination and that is thus primary. It seems that *le* first registers the change and then calls for coordination, in other words for an acknowledgment of the change by the hearer.

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<sup>6</sup> Austin (1962) distinguishes between three types of speech acts: *locutionary acts*, which correspond to the performance of an utterance with referential value; *illocutionary acts* which have to do with the communicative intent of the speaker when he produces the utterance; and finally *perlocutionary acts*, which produce an effect on the hearer.

Another dimension often lacking in many of these accounts of *LE* concerns time location. Only Lin (2000, 2003, 2006) and Liu (2013) mention the fact that realis *LE* has a time location function. Our contrastive analysis of *LE* and *now* sheds light on the fact that like *now*, *LE* helps locating the situation that it modifies in time. We will show that both verbal *-le* and final *le* locate this situation relative to the reference time. What each marker helps locating in time is one of the boundaries of the situation: verbal *-le* locates the validation of the perfective eventuality or the inception of its target state before R, and final *le* locates the point of change from one situation to another at R. Thus, *le* and *-le* locate this boundary relative to R. Like *now*, *le* locates the boundary at reference time; on the other hand, verbal *-le* indicates that the boundary is anterior to reference time. Before looking at similar and divergent features of *now* and *LE*, we will examine the distribution of the markers in our corpora, as well as their correspondence pattern.

## **2. Distribution of *now* and *LE***

In this section, we give an account of the contrastive distribution and correspondence pattern of *now* and *LE* in our corpora. We first present the data without differentiating between verbal *-le* and final *le*, before looking at each marker as a correspondence of *now* (2.1.). Then, we briefly discuss the grammatical differences between *now* and *le* (2.2.).

### **2.1. *LE* as a correspondence of *now* in the translation corpora**

We will not propose a detailed study of the distribution of *LE* in our corpora for the simple reason that *LE* is so frequent in Chinese that the annotation of each occurrence was not possible within the scope of this research. As shown in Table 1, in our three Chinese corpora alone, there are 6234 occurrences of *LE*.

**Table 1** - Distribution of *LE* in the three Chinese corpora

	<b>Tokens of <i>LE</i></b>	<b>N/1000 characters</b>
<b>CNC</b>	4606	9.38
<b>CFC</b>	1045	11.00
<b>CCC</b>	583	6.34
<b>Total</b>	6234	9.19

Let us examine the correspondence pattern of *LE* and *now* in the translation corpora. Since *LE* is not a congruent correspondence of *now*, it often appears in combination with other forms to translate *now*. In Table 2 and Table 3, we isolated the occurrences of *xianzai* + *LE* from the rest. Indeed, it seems to us that the frequent use of this combination as a correspondence for *now* sheds light on the meaning of the three markers. Table 2 indicates the number of occurrences of *now* translated by *xianzai* + *LE* or simply by *LE* in the English corpora. Table 3 indicates the number of occurrences of *xianzai* + *LE* or bare *LE* that are translated by *now* in the Chinese corpora. The final percentages correspond to the proportion of occurrences of *now* that correspond to a *LE* in the Chinese parallel text. We excluded the occurrences of *now* as a non-temporal marker.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> There were only 3 occurrences of non-temporal *now* with a *LE* correspondence, all in the English Narrative Corpus, with the following translation equivalents for *now*: *hao le* ‘good-LE’; *aya, shao lai le* ‘now, little come-LE’ (stop it); *ha, hao jile* ‘ha good extreme-LE’ (now, that’s good). In these occurrences, *le* is pragmatic. We will focus on this function of *le* in Chapter 9.

**Table 2** - *LE* as a correspondence of temporal now in the English translation corpora

	Correspondence of <i>now</i>		Total	
	<i>xianzai</i> + <i>LE</i>	∅ <i>LE</i>	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	78	83	161	25.84
<b>EFC</b>	17	23	40	27.21
<b>Total</b>	95	106	201	26.10

**Table 3** - *LE* as a correspondence of temporal now in the Chinese translation corpora

	Correspondence of <i>now</i>		Total	
	<i>xianzai</i> + <i>LE</i>	∅ <i>LE</i>	N	%
<b>CNC</b>	27	90	117	23.68
<b>CFC</b>	19	24	43	21.50
<b>Total</b>	46	114	160	23.05

In the English corpora, 26% of the occurrences of temporal *now* are translated with *LE*. In the Chinese corpora, 23% of the occurrences of *now* in the translations are prompted by the presence of *LE* in the source text. Although this frequency of correspondence might seem comparatively low, we note that *LE* is the most recurrent divergent correspondence of *now*. The frequency of *LE* as a correspondence of *now* is virtually the same in the two film corpora. However, it is higher in the English Narrative Corpus than in the Chinese Narrative Corpus. This suggests that *now* is more often translated by *xianzai* + *LE* than *xianzai* + *LE* is translated by *now*, or at least that *xianzai* + *LE* is more frequent in translation than in the source text. One possible explanation for this tendency is the influence of the source language on the translation. One can imagine that the translators of the English texts tend to choose *xianzai* as the most obvious translation equivalent of *now*, and then, in order to render the contrastive meaning of *now*, they add *le*, as in examples (7) and (8).<sup>8</sup>

- (7) “What you’ve got to realize, Harry, is that the Death Eaters have got the full might of the Ministry on their side **now**,” said Lupin.

『哈利，你 必須明白， 食死人 現在 有 魔法 部  
 “Hāli, nǐ bīxū míngbái, Shísǐrén xiànzài yǒu Mófā bù  
 Harry you must understand Death Eater **now** have Magic Department

<sup>8</sup> We saw in Chapter 2 that unlike *now*, *xianzai* is not contrastive and does not systematically convey a change of state.

的 全力 支援 了，』路平 說。(ENC)  
 Rel quánli zhīyuán le,” Lùpíng shuō.  
 Rel full strength support LE Lupin say

(8) You know they can synthesize bufotenin **now**?

你 知道 現在 連 蟾蜍 的 毒 都 可以人造 了 嗎?(ENC)  
 Nǐ zhīdào xiànzài lián chánchú de dú dōu kěyǐ rénzào le ma?  
 You know **now** even toad Rel poison all MV synthesize LE Interr

The Mutual Correspondence (MC) of *LE* and *now* is very low. Indeed, although *now* yields *LE* in the Chinese translation 26.1% of the time, *LE* is translated into *now* only 3.33% of the time (2.54% in the CNC and 4.11% in the CFC). The general MC is thus 14.72%. The discrepancy between the frequency at which *now* is translated into *LE* and the frequency at which *LE* is translated into *now* indicates that the use of *LE* is considerably wider than that of *now*. We need to determine the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic similarities and differences between the two markers.

But first, we need to distinguish between verbal *-le*, which occurs directly after the verb and is traditionally considered to mark perfective aspect, and final *le*, which occurs at the end of the sentence and marks a change of state and the current relevance of the new state. Table 4 below shows the frequency of occurrence of each of these two markers as correspondences of *now* in the four translation corpora.

**Table 4** - Verbal *-le* and Final *le* as correspondences of *now* in the 4 translation corpora

	Verbal <i>-le</i>		Final <i>le</i>		Total <i>LE</i>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	42	25.6	122	74.4	164	100
<b>EFC</b>	3	7.5	37	92.5	40	100
<b>CNC</b>	22	18.8	95	81.2	117	100
<b>CFC</b>	4	9.3	39	90.7	43	100
<b>Total</b>	71	<b>19.5</b>	293	<b>80.5</b>	364	100

We note that final *le* is significantly more frequent than verbal *-le* as a correspondence of *now*. This is not surprising if we consider that final *le* marks a change of state, in the same way as *now* marks a contrast between a past and a present situation (*cf.* examples (7) and (8)). The

frequency of verbal *-le* as a correspondence for *now* is higher in the narrative corpora. We hypothesise that this is linked to the fact that verbal *-le* characterises the event as perfective, and indicates that it gives way to a result state generally conducive to more actions. This function is very useful in narration to relate successive events.<sup>9</sup> Conversely, interactive contexts such as those found in the film corpora are less likely to require such narrative devices, which would explain the lesser use of *-le* as a correspondence of *now* in the film corpora.

Verbal *-le* often occurs in combination with another time marker as a correspondence of the marked occurrences of *now* + perfective aspect in narration.<sup>10</sup> This is the case in (9), in which verbal *-le* combines with *yòu* ‘again’ to present the eventuality *zǒujìn* ‘walk closer’ as perfective.

- (9) “Was there something you wanted to tell us?” Giving no sign that she had heard Hermione, Bathilda **now** shuffled a few steps closer to Harry.

『妳是不是有話要告訴我們?』 芭蒂達 絲毫沒有  
 “Ni shì bù shì yǒu huà yào gàosù wǒmen?” Bādidá sīháo méi yǒu  
 You be Neg be have speech MV tell us Bathilda a bit Neg have

聽見 妙麗 說話 的 跡象，只是 朝 哈利 又 走近 了  
 tīngjiàn Miàoli shuōhuà de jīxiàng, zhǐshì cháo Hāli yòu zǒujìn le  
 hear Hermione speak Rel sign only facing Harry **again** approach-le

幾 步，頭 微微 一歪， 看著 玄關。(ENC)  
 jǐ bù, tóu wéiwēi yī wāi, kàn-zhe xuánguān.  
 several step head slight one askew watch-Dur vestibule

Since final *le* is overall more frequent as a correspondence for *now*, we will start our analysis with the contrastive study of *now* and final *le*. Later in this chapter we will look at *now* and verbal *-le*, and more specifically we will try to use contrastive analysis to shed some light on the debate concerning the duality of *LE*.

<sup>9</sup> We will develop this idea in Section 7.

<sup>10</sup> As explained in Chapter 2, the combination *now* + perfective aspect creates a temporal clash that has the effect of giving the impression that the action unfolds under the reader’s eye, despite its being presented as perfective, *i.e.* as a whole.



## 2.2. Now and final *le*: different parts of speech (POS)

There is no syntactic equivalence between *now* and final *le*, as they belong to different grammatical categories. Whereas *now* is an adverb with referential content, *le* is a particle with no referential content. *Now* refers to a time interval that typically includes the reference time whereas *le* is not referential; it is an operator. *Le* operates a change of state at reference time by indicating the validation of the eventuality denoted by the verb at R. Thus, we concur with Liu (2013): *le* is a marker of realis insofar as it indicates that a change of state has taken place in the actual world.

- (10) Harry, dear, everyone's awfully hungry, we didn't like to start without you. ... Shall I serve dinner **now**?

哈利，親愛的，大家都 很 餓 了，  
Hālì, qīn'ài de, dàjiā dōu hěn è le,  
Harry dear Rel everyone all very hungry LE

我們 不 願意 沒有 你 就 開動 .....  
Women bù yuànyì méiyǒu nǐ jiù kāidòng.....  
we Neg want without you then start eating

我 可以 上 晚餐 了 嗎? (ENC)  
Wǒ kěyǐ shàng wǎn cān le ma?  
I can set dinner LE Interr

In (10), *now* refers to the time at which *now* is uttered, or rather to an open time interval bounded to the left by the time of speech. As for *le*, it registers the validation the eventuality *kěyǐ* 'can' at the time of utterance, or rather, since it is a question, it puts the validation of the process into question and leaves it to the hearer: the speaker asks the interlocutor whether the change of state can take place at the time of utterance, and whether she can go from 'not being able to serve dinner' to 'being able to serve dinner'. In English, the speaker asks the interlocutor to validate the proposed location of the eventuality 'serve dinner' in the time interval inaugurated at the time of speech. Although *now* and *le* operate in different ways, with *now* referring to a time interval whereas *le* triggers an operation at a certain time point, the effect is the same in (10).

We must now examine in more detail the similar and divergent features displayed by final *le* and *now*. Contrasting *le* to *now* leads us to follow Li & Thompson (1982), Huang (1987), Van den Berg & Wu (2006) and Liu (2013) and expand on their views. We argue that the function of *le* is twofold: *le* registers a situational change and indicates a consequent need for common ground coordination from the hearer. *Le* further anchors the situational change at reference time (R)<sup>11</sup>. Correspondingly, the analysis of *le* sheds some light on the function of temporal *now*, which may be considered to be, like *le*, an aspectual marker.

### 3. *Now and le: shared semantic features*

In this section, we discuss the meaning of *now* and final *le*. We find that *now* and *le* share many semantic features. First, we will see that several authors have noted the frequent correspondence between the two markers (3.1.). We will then examine in what way each marker relates to the reference point to mark focus (3.2.), before discussing how they convey a meaning of change of state (3.3.). Finally, we will analyse their inchoative meaning (3.4.).

#### 3.1. Translation equivalents in research

Although the semantic similarities between *le* and *now* have never been explained in detail, they have often been noted by linguists. As noted in 1.6. with Liu (2013), many researchers resort to English *now* in glosses to explain the meaning of *le*. Thus, Li & Thompson (1981) use *now* to render the meaning of *le* in their translations:

- (11) Ta zhidao nege xiaoxi      **le.**  
He know that information **LE**

**Now** he knows about that piece of information.

- (12) Wo zhidao **le.**  
I know **LE.**

**Now** I know, I have learned.

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<sup>11</sup> We understand the reference point in the sense of Reichenbach (1947) as the time point from which the event is viewed.

Huang (1987) gives the following example and gloss of *le*:

- (13) Lisi tiao-**le** sheng **le**.  
Lisi jump-**le** rope **LE**.

Lisi has jumped a rope **now**.

She uses the adverb *now* in her translation and explains that “the content of sentential *le* is reflected in the Adverb *now* and in the English Present Perfect” (Huang 1987: 194).

Anderson (1982) explains that Chinese perfect marker *le* is used to indicate that the situation is relevant at the time of speech. He uses an example containing *now* given by Li & Thompson (1981) to explain the use of *le*:

Some changes yield a highly ‘relevant’ new situation or result state, as #61B ‘The soup is now hot’, and typically have *le* in Mandarin. (Anderson 1982: 238)

Van den Berg & Wu (2006) comment on the following example given by Chao (1968):

- (14) Chifan **le**!  
Eat **LE**

Let’s eat **now**!

They note that:

The use by Chao of the word *now* in the translation is interesting, however, since, as we will see in Chapter 3, this is an endeavour to bring into the text the notion of ‘immediacy’, which we will claim is associated with uses of *le*. (Van den Berg and Wu 2006: 19)

We argue that *now* and *le* share the following semantic features:

- They both anchor to the reference point (R)
- They code a change of state at R, and indicate that R is a boundary
- They imply that the change of state results in a new situation presented as open-ended

### 3.2. Relation to R and focus marking

We have seen in Chapter 1 that *now* always refers to the reference point (R) as defined by Reichenbach (1947) or *temporal perspective point* (Kamp & Reyle 1993) from which the event is viewed. In conversation, *now* indicates that R coincides with speech time, and in narration *now* indicates that R coincides with the *now*-point or moving ‘present’ point of the narrative. We shall show that just like *now*, *le* always anchors to R. And by doing so, both *now* and *le* mark R with the FOCUSSED aspect defined by Huang (1987). Let us examine the function of the two markers in interaction (3.2.1.) before studying their function in narration (3.2.2.).

#### 3.2.1. In interaction: *le* and *now* anchor to speech time

The specificity of *le* is to indicate that the eventuality is relevant at the reference time (R). Thus, in the same manner as *now* refers to the reference time and relates the eventuality to it, by signifying the coincidence of R and E (time of the eventuality), *le* anchors to R and indicates the relevance of the eventuality at R. The functions of *now* and *le* are very similar.

- (15) “Were they Death Eaters or Ministry people?” interjected Hermione. “A mixture; but to all intents and purposes they’re the same thing **now**,” said Lupin.

『他們 是 食死人 還是 魔法部 的 人?』  
 Tāmen shì shí sǐrén háishì mófǎ bù de rén?  
 They be Death-Eater or Ministry of Magic Rel people?

妙麗 插嘴 問。『都有。但 以 種種 意圖 和 目的 來  
 Miào lì chāzuǐ wèn. “Dōu yǒu. Dàn yǐ zhǒngzhǒng yìtú hé mùdì lái  
 Hermione interrupt ask. All have. But with all sorts intent and purpose come

說, 他們 都 是 一 邱之貉 了, 』路平 說。(ENC)  
 shuō, tāmen dōu shì yīqiūzhīhé le, Lùpíng shuō  
 talk, they all be birds of the same feather LE, Lupin say.

In example (15), *now* designates a time interval larger than the point of speech. However, the reference point is the time point of utterance of *now* and the situation is viewed from R. Thus, *now* brings the focus on that point and indicates that a change of situation (from ‘not being the same thing’ to ‘being the same thing’) is registered at R. *Now* indicates that the new situation is

relevant at R, or rather as of R. *Le* does exactly the same thing in the Chinese translation: it validates the eventuality at R, thus indicating what Li & Thompson (1982) call its Current Relevance, and by doing so registers a change of state at the reference point and indicates that the current situation contrasts with the preceding situation, thus creating a focussing effect on R.

In conversation, the reference point is the time of speech. In their analysis of *le* as a marker of the perfect in Chinese, Li & Thompson (1982) explain:

In conversation, the Reference Time is the time of the speech event; the Perfect in conversation is thus deictic, as the other two basic aspect categories are not. (Li & Thompson 1982: 21).

Liu (2013) also notes that the deictic centre for the interpretation of *le* is the time of speech. Thus, *le* in conversation is subject to a deictic interpretation, exactly like *now*. As we saw in Chapter 2, Smith (2007) explains that in Mandarin Chinese aspectual markers code the relation between the reference time and the eventuality time (E). *Le* indicates that the eventuality has some relevance at R, thereby relating R to E. However, when no lexical information is given as to the relation between the eventuality time and speech time, the temporal location of the situation is inferred according to a deictic principle of interpretation (Smith 2007). With *le*, the eventuality is seen as bounded at R; the eventuality denoted by the verb phrase modified by *le* has either started before R and been completed at R, giving rise to a stable result state relevant as of R as in example (15), or if *le* modifies a state, it codes a change into the state, indicating that the state was not validated before R and starts at R as in (10) and (14) (Liu 2013).

### **3.2.2. In narration: *le* and *now* anchor to the reference point**

In narration, *now* and *le* also anchor to R. In (16) below, the reference point in English is the *now*-point of the narrative, which is a moving point construed by the reader as the point at which the process being read about occurs.

- (16) They walked outside the restaurant. Shadow found it hard to believe how much colder it had gotten in the last few hours. It felt too cold to snow, **now**. Aggressively cold. This was a bad winter.

兩 人 走 出 餐 廳 。 影 子 實 在 很 難 相 信 ， 天 氣 竟 然  
 Liǎng rén zǒuchū cāntīng. Yǐngzǐ shízài hěn nán xiāngxìn, tiānqì jìngrán  
 Two people walk out restaurant Shadow reality very hard believe weather suddenly

在 幾 個 小 時 內 變 得 那 麼 冷 。 氣 溫 非 常 低 ，  
 Zài jǐ gè xiǎoshí nèi biàn de nàme lěng. Qìwēn fēicháng dī,  
 at several Cl hours inside become DE that cold temperature particularly low,

寒 氣 逼 人 ， 應 該 不 會 下 雪 了 。 這 個 冬 天 不 好 過 。 (ENC)  
 hánqì bīrén, yīnggāi bù huì xiàxuě le. Zhègè dōngtiān bù hǎoguò.  
 cold air pressing, should not will snow **LE**. This Cl winter Neg well pass.

Here, the *now*-point, which coincides with the reference point, is situated after the accomplishment of walking outside the restaurant, and corresponds to the time at which Shadow feels that it is too cold to snow or rather to the time at which he registers that feeling. *Now* designates a time interval larger than R but the eventuality is viewed from R as relevant at that point in time. In the Chinese text, *le* marks a boundary between a previous situation in which it might snow and a current situation in which it might not snow. This boundary is the reference time. Unlike *now* in the English text, *le* does not anchor to the *now*-point but instead anchors to the last available reference point. We will come back to this difference between *now* and *le* in more detail in Section 5, but we can already note that although *now* and *le* both anchor to the reference point, in narration *now* sets the reference point at the *now*-point whereas *le* is unable to do that. In (16), the reference point in Chinese is the time at which the characters exit the restaurant. *Le* indicates that the change is registered at that point and that the process *bù huì xiàxuě* ‘not snow’ becomes relevant from that point.

We have seen that *now* and *le* anchor the utterance to the reference point of the eventuality, in interaction as well as in narrative passages. Having identified this common semantic trait, we propose to look into another, generally attributed to final *le*: coding a change of state.

### 3.3. Change of state

In addition to anchoring the eventuality to R, we argue that both *le* and *now* code a change of state. Although, as noted in Section 1, *le* is generally recognised to be a marker of change, *now* is usually first and foremost considered to be a temporal marker. However, the contrastive analysis of *now* and *le* suggests that the characteristic [+change of state] is as fundamental in *now* as it is in *le*. Let us look at the situation in interaction (3.3.1.) and in narration (3.3.2.).

#### 3.3.1. In interaction

*Le* and *now* are both used to indicate a change of state. If we look back at example (15), repeated below, the change is explicit: *now* signifies that ‘Death Eaters’ and ‘Ministry people’, who used to be two different groups, have merged into one and become “the same thing”.

- (15) “Were they Death Eaters or Ministry people?” interjected Hermione. “A mixture; but to all intents and purposes they’re the same thing **now**,” said Lupin.

『他們 是 食死人 還是 魔法部 的 人?』  
 Tāmen shì shí sǐrén háishì mófǎ bù de rén?  
 They be Death-Eater or Ministry of Magic Rel people

妙麗 插嘴 問。『都有。但 以 種種 意圖 和 目的 來  
 Miào lì chāzuǐ wèn. “Dōu yǒu. Dàn yǐ zhǒngzhǒng yìtú hé mùdì lái  
 Hermione interrupt ask all have but with all sorts intent and purpose come

說，他們 都 是 一邱之貉 了，』路平 說。(ENC)  
 shuō, tāmen dōu shì yīqiūzhīhé le,” Lùpíng shuō  
 talk they all be birds of the same feather **LE** Lupin say

Without *now*, the contrast between the two situations disappears and the identity between Death Eaters and Ministry people is presented as a general truth. The exact same mechanism occurs with *le*: it indicates that the situation is new and validated at reference time. As explained by Liu (2013), it indicates a change into a state. Without *le*, no change is marked; the state is not seen as new but as a general truth, and the meaning of the whole utterance is modified. Conversely, the deletion of *now* does not impede the temporal location of the state ‘be the same thing’. Thus, the function of *now* is not to locate the eventuality in time but to mark a contrast.

Similarly in (17), the Minister has just given Harry and his friends some objects that were left to them some time ago by their deceased headmaster. Harry thinks that the Minister did not want to give them these objects. *Now* and *le* indicate that there has been a change from a situation in which the Minister was reluctant to give them their inheritance to a situation in which he has decided to hand it over.

- (17) So why have you decided to let us have our things **now**? Can't think of a pretext to keep them?

那麼，你 為什麼 又 決定 把 屬於 我們 的 東西  
 nàme, nǐ wèishéme **yòu** juédìng bǎ shǔyú wǒmen de dōngxī  
 then you why **yet** decide BA belong we Rel thing

交還 給 我們 了呢? 想不出 保留 它們 的 藉口 嗎? (ENC)  
 jiāohuán gěi wǒmen **le** ne? Xiǎngbùchū bǎoliú tāmen de jíǒu ma?  
 return give we **LE** NE can't think retain they Rel excuse Interr

The actual change from one state of things to the other might have taken place before R, but *le* and *now* register the change at R and indicate that the new situation brought about by the change is relevant as of R. When the clause is modified by *now* or *le*, R is identified as a boundary between a situation in which the result state is not relevant and a situation in which it is.

### 3.3.2. In narration

*Now* and *le* also code a change of state when they are used in narration. As mentioned above, in (16) they both indicate a contrast between a situation in which the eventuality is validated and a preceding situation in which the eventuality was not validated. In (18) below, *now* and *le* mark a change between a past situation in which the picture on the wall did not belong to the focalizing character and the current situation in which it does. The current situation is referred to by *now* in English and corresponds to a time interval that includes the narrative *now*-point. *Now* and *le* operate a change of state. In the Chinese translation, *yijing* 'already' indicates that the change takes place before R, and *le* indicates that it is registered by the character at R.



- (18) He tried to take it from the wall; it was his **now**, after all, Sirius had left him everything, but it would not budge.

他 試著 將 它 從 牆 上 取 下， 反 正 這 已 經  
Tā shì-zhe jiāng tā cóng qiáng shàng qǔ xià, fǎnzhèng zhè yǐjīng  
He try-Dur BA it from wall on get down anyway this **already**

是 屬 於 他 的 了， 天 狼 星 把 全 部 東 西 都  
shì shǔyú tā de **le** Tiānlángxīng bǎ quánbù dōngxī dōu  
be belong he Rel **LE** Sirius BA all thing all

留 給 了 他-- 但 照 片 怎 麼 也 撕 不 下 來。(ENC)  
liú gěi-le tā, dàn zhàopiàn zěnmě yě sī bù xiàlái  
leave give-le he but picture how too tear not come down

When the eventuality located by *now* is not a state but an achievement as it is the case in (19), it gives rise to a result state. In (19) the eventuality ‘join’ is punctual and its validation inaugurates a target state in which Ted and Dean are laughing with Gornuk and Dirk. In Chinese, *le* indicates that the activity of laughing starts at R. The change between ‘not laughing’ and ‘laughing’ is seen as instantaneous.

- (19) “I see,” said Ted. “And I take it you didn’t bother telling the Death Eaters this?” “I saw no reason to trouble them with the information,” said Griphook smugly, and **now** Ted and Dean joined in Gornuk and Dirk’s laughter.

『哦，我 懂 了。』 泰 德 說。『我 想 你 們 應 該 沒 有 告 訴  
Ó, wǒ dǒng le.” Tàidé shuō. “Wǒ xiǎng nǐmen yīnggāi méiyǒu gàos  
Oh, I understand LE Ted say. I think you should not have tell

食 死 人 這 件 事 吧?』 『我 看 不 出 幹 嘛 要 拿 這 點  
shí sǐrén zhè jiàn shì ba?” “Wǒ kàn bù chū gànma yào ná zhè diǎn  
Death Eater this CL thing BA? I see not out what for want take this dot

芝 麻 小 事 去 煩 他 們。』 拉 環 自 負 的 說， 這 下 子 連 泰 德、  
Zhīma xiǎoshì qù fán tāmen.” Lāhuán zìfù de shuō, zhè xiàzi lián Tàidé,  
Trivial matter go bother they. Griphook conceited Rel say, this time even Ted,

丁 和 果 納、 德 克 都 一 起 開 懷 大 笑 了。  
Dīng hé Guǒnà, Dékè dōu yīqǐ kaihuái dà xiào **le**.  
Dean and Gornuk Dirk all together without restrain big laugh **LE**.

We have seen that *now* and *le* both code a contrast between two situations. They are markers of change of state. We further argue that they code inchoation and open-endedness.

### 3.4. Inchoative aspect and open-endedness

Regardless of the type of eventuality located by *now* (state, activity, achievement, accomplishment, semelfactive), the change that it operates results in a stable durative situation presented as open-ended. This is what Parsons (1990) calls the *target state* of the eventuality, and what Lin (2000, 2006) calls its *result state*, thus extending the notion of *target state* to stative eventualities. Accordingly, if the eventuality modified by *now* is punctual, as in (19), the result state that it inaugurates is perceived as durative. If the eventuality is stative as in (15), (16) or (18), *now* operates a change into that state, contrasting it with an antithetical previous state. *Now* focusses the reference point (R) and codes the inception of the new state.

*Le* also operates a change at R, and thus implies that the situation is modified as of R. The new situation is presented as stable, as shown in (15) and (19) above. In (15), both *now* and *le* anchor to R. R constitutes a turning point and coincides on the one hand with the right boundary of the state ‘not be the same thing’ and on the other with the left boundary of the opposed state ‘be the same thing’. By focussing this point, *now* and *le* do not give any indication concerning the right boundary of the new state: the new eventuality is unbounded to the right and its completion is not envisaged. The aspectual viewpoint is thus imperfective, at least as far as the right boundary of the eventuality is concerned.<sup>12</sup> *Now* and *le* imply that the new eventuality is validated at all the points of the newly opened time interval, starting with R. They imply that the eventuality is identical in all its points, as of R, and the final endpoint of the eventuality is not visible.

Thus, in (19), the new situation, which is inaugurated by the achievement *join*, is presented as durative and its end is not envisaged. *Now* and *le* are inchoative and mark open-endedness: they focus the inception of the new state and imply its stability and unboundedness. On the one hand, they always focus a state; this is due to the fact that any validated eventuality gives rise to

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<sup>12</sup> Smith (1997) considers that the imperfective viewpoint excludes both endpoints of the eventuality. The only endpoint that is not visible with *now* and *le* is the final endpoint, which means that the viewpoint is only ‘half-imperfective’.

a result state (Parsons 1990; Lin 2006). *Now* and *le* focus that result state. On the other hand, they present that state as partly imperfective, *i.e.* the final endpoint of the state is not visible.

This has discursive implications. The open-endedness of the situation established by *now* and *le* can attach to the eventuality they modify a shade of fatality, and convey the feeling of helplessness of the speaker. Indeed, when *now* or *le* inaugurate a state they suggest that it has no end. By focussing on the inception and durativity of the eventuality, *now* and *le* make it seem ineluctable and unstoppable. Thus, they are often used in negative contexts as in (7) repeated below or (20), in which *now* has a resultative function.

- (7) “What you’ve got to realize, Harry, is that the Death Eaters have got the full might of the Ministry on their side **now**,” said Lupin.

『哈利，你 必須明白， 食死人 現在 有 魔法 部  
Hāli, nǐ bīxū míngbái, Shísǐrén xiànzài yǒu Mófǎ bù  
Harry you must understand Death Eater **now** have Magic Department

的 全力 支援 了，』路平 說。(ENC)  
Rel quánli zhīyuán le Lùpíng shuō.  
Rel full strength support LE Lupin say

- (20) Dumbledore had left them to grope in the darkness, to wrestle with unknown and undreamed-of terrors, alone and unaided: nothing was explained, nothing was given freely, they had no sword, and **now**, Harry had no wand.

鄧不利多 任 他們 在 黑暗 中 摸索，和 未知 的、  
Dèngbùlìduō rèn tāmen zài hēi'àn zhōng mōsuǒ, hé wèizhī de,  
Dumbledore let they in darkness middle grope, with unknown DE

而且 想 都 想不到 的 恐怖 單打獨鬥，毫 無 後援。  
érqiě xiǎng dōu xiǎngbùdào de kǒngbù dāndǎdú dòu, háo wú hòuyuán.  
but also think all unexpected DE terror fight alone, least no behind help

沒有 留下 任何 解釋， 沒有 能 輕鬆 到手 的 東西，  
Méiyǒu liúxià rènhé jiěshì, méiyǒu néng qīngsōng dàoshǒu de dōngxī,  
Not have leave any explanation, not have can effortlessly get hold of DE thing,

也 沒有 那 把 寶劍。現在， 哈利 連 魔杖 也 沒 了。  
 yě méiyǒu nà bǎ bǎojiàn. Xiànzài, Hāli lián mózhàng yě méi le.  
 Also not have that CL sword. Now, Harry even magic wand also not LE.

In (7), the news related by Lupin is bad, since the Death Eaters are the enemy, and the scale of the bad news is conveyed by *now*. The new state is presented as unchangeable, and Lupin's words convey a sense of fatality. Similarly in Chinese *le* indicates that the situation is new, and it makes the final endpoint of the new state invisible, suggesting that the situation will last forever. In (20), *now* goes hand in hand with lexical marks of negation such as “no”, “nothing”. The combination of *now* with a negative sentence indicates that the negative situation is new and that its final endpoint is not visible. The impression given is that the loss of Harry's wand is irreparable. *Now* introduces the last item on a list of negative items; it is a marker of accumulation with a resultative function. In Chinese, the accumulation is marked with the construction *lian...ye* ‘even...’. *Le* also marks the fact that the situation is open-ended since its endpoint is not visible. It is its inchoative meaning combined with the imperfective viewpoint it conveys that explain the use of *le* in negation in Chinese. The combination of *mei...le* ‘not have... anymore’ is used to indicate the open-endedness of the situation. *Mei* ‘not have’ can be used on its own to indicate that an eventuality has not taken place, but it does not convey change or open-endedness.

We have shown that *now* and *le* both code inchoation and open-endedness. They mark the inception of the current situation, or rather of its relevance, and do not make the right-hand boundary of the eventuality visible. Let us now turn to their pragmatic similarities.

#### 4. *Now* and *le*: markers of intersubjectivity

Temporal *now* and *le* share pragmatic functions: first, they both create a focus on the reference point. Second, they are both markers of intersubjectivity insofar as they operate a coordination between the participants. We will examine these features in interaction (4.1.) and in narration (4.2.).

#### 4.1. In interaction

In interaction, both *now* and *le* are markers of intersubjectivity. Although their intersubjective value is much more obvious when they are non-temporal (*cf.* Chapter 7), it is also manifest when they are temporal markers. As explained in Chapter 1, when used in interaction, temporal deictic *now* designates an entity that is part of the common ground of all the participants of the linguistic exchange, namely the time of speech. This is what Lyons calls the principle of *deictic simultaneity* (Lyons 1977: 685): unlike its spatial and personal counterparts, the temporal parameter of the deictic centre is constantly shared by all the participants to the conversation. Thus, the utterance of the adverb *now* constitutes a reminder of the temporal co-presence of the participants and an affirmation of the temporal link that exists between them (Boulin 2014). It is a coordinating device that emphasises and updates the common ground shared by the participants.

Mandarin *le* also anchors to the time of speech in interaction, since the change it operates is located in time according to the deictic principle of temporal interpretation (Smith 2007). *Le* is used to update the interlocutor on the fact that the situation has changed at the time of speech. Its effect is to establish or call for coordination between speaker and hearer. Van den Berg & Wu (2006) explain that *le* is a pragmatic device used to ensure common-ground coordination. Although we believe that *le* is first and foremost used to denote a change of situation, its effect in interaction is indeed to establish or at least call for coordination of common ground. However, the success of coordination or perlocutionary effect of the utterance depends on the hearer. We argue that this pragmatic function of *le* (coordination of the common ground) is also linked to Lyons' principle of deictic simultaneity. Indeed, as noted by Li & Thompson (1982), Liu (2013) and confirmed by Smith's principle of deictic interpretation (2007), *le* triggers a deictic interpretation in interaction. Just like *now*, it anchors to a time point which is shared by all the participants in the linguistic exchange, namely the time of speech. Hence, its felicitous interpretation implies the acknowledgement of a shared speech time and thus already requires coordination. We will discuss the respective deictic values of *now* and *le* in Section 5.

Thus, *now* and *le*, because they anchor to speech time in interaction, suppose temporal coordination between the participants to the exchange. Since they denote a change, and their use

in interaction activates a coordination process, the change is very likely to be naturally coordinated on by the interlocutors. It is their temporal deictic value that makes them perfect candidates to become common ground coordination devices, and this probably explains their respective uses as pragmatic markers. As we will see in Chapter 7, when used as pragmatic markers, they are undoubtedly coordination devices.

#### 4.2. In narration

In narration, *now* is also a coordinating device, this time between the character and the reader. Indeed, the use of the deictic adverb *now* triggers the mechanisms of deictic simultaneity, and initiates coordination between the participants. As we saw in Chapter 1, in narration with *now*, the deictic centre is with the character and the temporal *origo* is the *now*-point. The deictic centre is allocated to the character by the narrator. *Now* indicates that the time of the event coincides with the temporal *origo* and the reference point. Thus, *now* indicates that the event should be viewed from the point of view of the character. It operates a deictic shift, which is a narrative device used by the narrator to create proximity between the reader and the character. By specifying the reference point with *now* and coding its coincidence with the *now*-point or the ‘now’ of the character, the narrator uses the principle of deictic simultaneity to force the reader to view the situation from the point of view of the character and to identify with her. Thus, to a certain extent, *now* operates or at least calls for a coordination between the reader and the character. Their shared common ground, which is constituted by the content of the narrative up to R, is updated at R with *now*, in the same way that *now* updates the shared common ground at R in interaction. Thus, in (19) repeated below, the scene described is being watched by the focalising character, Harry. *Now* refers to the point of inception of the state ‘having joined in their laughter’, and indicates that R coincides with this point, as does the temporal *origo*.

- (19) “I see,” said Ted. “And I take it you didn’t bother telling the Death Eaters this?” “I saw no reason to trouble them with the information,” said Griphook smugly, and **now** Ted and Dean joined in Gornuk and Dirk’s laughter.

『哦，我懂了。』泰德說。『我想你們應該沒有告訴  
 Ó, wǒ dǒng le. Tàidé shuō. Wǒ xiǎng nǐmen yīnggāi méiyǒu gàosù  
 Oh, I understand LE Ted say. I think you should not have tell

食死人 這 件 事 吧?』 『我 看 不 出 幹 嘛 要 拿 這 點  
 shí sǐrén zhè jiàn shì ba? Wǒ kàn-bù-chū gànma yào ná zhè diǎn  
 Death Eater this CL thing BA? I see-neg-go what for want take this dot

芝麻 小 事 去 煩 他 們。』 拉 環 自 負 的 說， 這 下 子 連 泰 德、  
 Zhīma xiǎoshì qù fán tāmen. Lāhuán zìfù de shuō, zhè xiàzi lián Tàidé,  
 Trivial matter go bother they. Griphook conceited Rel say, this time even Ted,

丁 和 果 納、 德 克 都 一 起 開 懷 大 笑 了。(ENC)  
 Dīng hé Guǒnà, Dékè dōu yīqǐ kaihuái dà xiào le.  
 Dean and Gornuk Dirk all together without restrain big laugh LE.

But more than that, by specifying R and identifying it with the deictic centre, *now* creates an impression of proximity between the reader and the character. On the one hand, the reader views the situation from the point of view of the character, and on the other *now* updates the situation at R and thereby initiates common ground coordination. Thus, deictic *now* activates mechanisms of intersubjectivity; the reader becomes a participant in a linguistic exchange and is made to coordinate on the new situation. We will explore this mechanism further in Chapter 7.

As for *le*, it also has some intersubjective value in narration insofar as it registers a change in the narrative and supposes that the reader should coordinate on that change, take it into account and update her common ground. However, the intersubjective value of *now* in narration stems from its deictic nature. But although *le* anchors to the time of speech in interaction when no temporal information is available, its deictic value in narration is questionable. Let us now examine the deictic status of *le*.

## 5. Final *le* and deixis

As we showed in Chapter 1, in English, *now* locates the process deictically be it in interaction or in narration. It indicates that the process coincides with the reference point, *i.e.* with the time of speech in interaction or the *now*-point in narration, and operates the shift of the temporal *origo* to the *now*-point in narration. The deictic status of final *le* is less clear. If we consider that in interaction, when the eventuality is located in time by a time adverb, *le* anchors to that time and not to speech time, it seems safe to say that *le* is not a deictic marker. However, when no time

marker is available for *le* to anchor to, *le* operates according to deictic principles, *i.e.* it anchors directly to the time of speech. Sybesma (1997) argues that final *le* has a temporal deictic function in so far as it relates the process, or at least its relevance, to the moment of speech.<sup>13</sup> We have seen that this view is tenable in interaction, where the interpretation of *le* is by default deictic (Smith 2007). But is it also the case in narration?

In Chinese, *le* does not directly locate the event in time but generally combines with lexical or contextual information which provides temporal location, particularly in narration. Indeed, whereas in English, tenses can roughly locate R as anterior, posterior or coinciding with the time of the event, in Chinese some lexical or contextual information is needed to do that when R does not coincide with the time of speech. Thus, in most occurrences of our corpus, *le* combines with an adverb that locates the process it modifies in time. In our translational corpus, when *le* appears as a translation equivalent of *now*, it is often combined with temporal adverbs such as *xianzai* ‘now’, *cike* ‘now, at this time’, *muqian* ‘at the present time’, *mashang* ‘right away’, *zhe hui’er* ‘now, this moment’, *etc.* In (21), *le* combines with *xianzai*.

- (21) When next they met at the entrance, Harry had shown a dozen more people to their places. The marquee was nearly full **now**, and for the first time there was no queue outside.

下一次 在 入口 相遇 時，哈利已經 又 領了  
Xiàyīcì zài rùkǒu xiāngyù shí, Hālì yǐjīng yòu lǐng-le  
Next time at entrance meet time, Harry already again lead-le

十幾個人 入座。現在 帳篷 內 幾乎全坐滿了，  
shí jǐ ge rén rùzuò. Xiànzài zhàngpéng nèi jīhū quán zuò mǎn le,  
ten some CL people seat. Now tent inside almost all sit full LE,

帳篷 外 總算 不見有 排隊 人龍 了。(ENC)  
zhàngpéng wài zǒngsuàn bùjiàn yǒu páiduì rénlóng le.  
Tent outside finally not see have line up queue of people LE.

<sup>13</sup> Sybesma (1997: 1) relies on Henne *et al.* (1977): “*Le* may be said to relate some event or condition, or the relevance or importance of it, to the present moment, or rather, to the moment of speaking.” (Henne *et al.* 1977: 113).



By looking into the relation between the positional adverb and *le*, we would like to examine the deictic status of *le*. As we saw in Chapter 2, *xianzai* in narration has the same temporal function as *now*: it specifies the reference point and indicates that it coincides with the *now*-point of the narrative. Although we argued that *xianzai* is not a shifter, this does not alter the fact that like *now*, *xianzai* indicates that  $E = R = \text{Temporal origo}$ . Thus, *xianzai* and *now* retain their deictic features in narration.<sup>14</sup> However, unlike *now*, *xianzai* is not contrastive and cannot on its own code a change of state. This is the role of *le*: it anchors to the time point specified by *xianzai* – namely R or the *now*-point – and indicates that the situation undergoes a change at that point. In (21), *le* bounds the eventuality *zuò mǎn* ‘be full’ to the left, it marks a change into that new state and indicates that it is registered at R and unfolds as of R. Thus, the eventuality is located in time in the immediate context with *xianzai*, and *le* simply indicates its relevance at R. *Le* denotes perfect aspect; its interpretation is thus not deictic but relative to the located eventuality.

But what is the status of *le* when the process is not previously located in narrative time with a positional adverb? In interaction, if no lexical information locating R (such as an adverb) is available, *le* anchors to the time of speech. The question is: does *le* have the same behaviour in narration as in interaction? If no lexical information locating R in time is available in narration, does *le*, by default, anchor to the *now*-point?

It appears that although in almost all cases *le* does not occur without a predefined reference point to anchor to in narration, it can sometimes, under very specific conditions, directly specify R at the *now*-point. These cases are marginal but they indicate that *le* is sometimes interpreted deictically in narration. Let us look at the different configurations in which *le* can be used in narration.

In example (21), the utterance is acceptable without *xianzai*, but the reference point R is not explicitly available for *le* to anchor to. In such a situation, how does *le* operate? The reference point is constant throughout the utterance, because all the eventualities described are viewed

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<sup>14</sup> The fact that *xianzai* is not a shifter is due to the fact that in narration, *xianzai* does not shift the temporal *origo* to the *now*-point, because the absence of tense in Chinese implies that the temporal *origo* already coincides with the *now*-point in narration. As a consequence, a distinction should be made between a *shifter* and a *deictic form*: a shifter such as *now* operates the shift of the temporal *origo* from the time of speech to the *now*-point in narration, whereas a deictic form simply requires that it should be interpreted relative to the deictic centre, without implying a shift. Thus, although *xianzai* is not a shifter, it is deictic.

from the same viewpoint. This is what Reichenbach (1947) calls the *permanence of the reference point*. The different eventualities (*xiangyu* ‘meet’, *ling* ‘lead’, *zuo man* ‘be full’, *bu jian* ‘not see’) are all located relative to that reference point, which is itself determined by the adverbial *xia yi ci ... shi* ‘the next time’. Thus, R corresponds to the time at which Ron and Harry, the two characters, meet at the entrance. The following eventualities (‘show a dozen more people to their places’, ‘be full’) are viewed from that time point. The past perfect in English indicates that the time of the accomplishment ‘show a dozen more people to their places’ is anterior to the reference point; the eventuality is viewed in retrospect from that point. As for the eventuality ‘be full’, it is a state that is located relative to R. *Now* and the preterit indicate that the time of the eventuality coincides with R. Thus, the eventualities that follow *meet* in the linearity of the narrative are not posterior to the process *meet* in narrative time; they are concomitant. The eventualities have the same reference point because they all overlap, or at least their relevance overlaps. This means that *le* has no difficulty anchoring to R to operate a change since R, or the *now*-point, is an extended point already determined in the left context. In this example, *le* cannot be said to operate deictically: it anchors to a predetermined reference point.

Similarly in example (22), in which there is no location adverb for *le* to anchor to, *le* anchors to a previously determined reference point, *i.e.* the time at which the character points to the mountain or rather the time interval during which the result state of pointing to the mountain is valid.

- (22) 「我 爸爸 埋 在 那 裡！」 她 指 著 遠 方 的 某 座 山  
 Wǒ bàba mái zài nàlǐ! Tā zhǐ-zhe yuǎnfāng de mǒu zuò shān  
 I dad bury at there she point-dur far place Rel some CI mountain

說。白 天 盤 旋 的 鳥 禽 都 棲 息 在 山 林 了。  
 shuō. Báitiān pánxuán de niǎoqín dōu qīxī zài shānlín le.  
 say day circle Rel bird all stay at mountain forest LE

“My father was buried there.” She pointed to a remote mountain. Birds hovering over it in daytime all were resting in the woods **now**. (CNC)

The two eventualities (‘point to a mountain’, ‘rest in the woods’) are understood to overlap, and *le* in Chinese indicates that the fact that the birds are in the forest is registered and relevant as of the reference time. Thus, the use of *le* triggers a search for the latest available reference

point and anchors to it, indicating an overlap between the reference time and the eventuality marked with *le*.

However, one occurrence of *le* was found in the narrative corpus with no overlap between a predefined reference point and the eventuality modified by *le*. In this case, the interpretation of the eventuality seems to follow deictic principles. It is important to note that example (23) comes from the English Narrative Corpus, and that no such case was found in the original Chinese Narrative Corpus.

- (23) The waitress handed them the check, and Shadow paid. “Thanks,” said Sam. It was getting colder **now**. The car coughed a couple of times before it started.

女侍 拿了 帳單 過來， 影子 付錢。 「謝謝。」 珊米 說。  
 Nǚshì ná-le zhàngdān guòlái, Yǐngzi fùqián. `Xièxiè.' Shānmǐ shuō.  
 waitress take-le bill come over Shadow pay money thanks Sam say

天氣 變得 更 冷 了。車 引擎 發動 前 喘了 幾 下。(ENC)  
 Tiānqì biànde gèng lěng le. Chē yǐnqíng fādòng qián chuǎn-le jǐ xià.  
 weather become more cold **LE** car engine start before gasp-le several time

In (23), the reader follows the ‘present’ of the character, and *le* does not anchor to a predefined reference time but to the *now*-point: the focalizing character registers the fact that the weather has changed after the character named Sam has spoken, and before the car starts. In other words, the eventuality is located at an unmentioned time, which is probably the time interval during which the characters are outside, *i.e.* after they get out of the restaurant and before they get into the car. Thus, *le* anchors to the *now*-point, in other words to the point in the linear narrative at which final *le* occurs.

One other example of final *le* anchoring directly to the *now*-point was found in a Chinese translation, but without *now* in the English text. In this example the character is in a house and notices the cold after the character named Fengze has left the house. There is no overlap between the two eventualities, which means that *le* anchors to the *now*-point. Interestingly, this occurrence comes from the same translation as (23) and is also about a change of weather. Informants noted that in such weather-related sentences, the use of *le* was almost compulsory.

- (24) And he closed the door behind him as he left. The apartment **grew** ever colder. Shadow put on his coat and his gloves. Then he put on his boots.

丰澤 曼 關上 門，離開了。室內 變得 更 冷 了。  
 Fēngzé màn guān-shàng mén, líkāi-le. Shìnèi biàndé gèng lěng le.  
 Ansel slow close-Res door leave-le indoor become more cold **LE**

影子 穿上 外套，戴上 手套，又 套上 靴子。(ENC)  
 Yǐngzi chuān-shàng wàitào, dài-shàng shǒutào, yòu tào-shàng xuēzi  
 Shadow wear-Res jacket wear-Res glove also wear-Res boots

In those cases, *le* operates deictically, and it seems to specify the reference time at the *now*-point, in the same way that *now* specifies the *now*-point in narration. It seems that the layout of the text participates to the deictic interpretation of *le*: the sentences with *le* in (23) and (24) both starts a new paragraph, which suggests that the deictic effect is linked to the process of narration. A new situation is opened; it is cut off from what precedes and so from the previous reference point. Thus, the eventuality can only anchor to the *now*-point, *i.e.* the narrative “now” or the present of the character.

To sum up, the use of *le* in narration without a location adverb setting a reference point or without a predefined reference time is extremely rare. Although *le* can, in some circumstances, directly anchor to the *now*-point, the addition of a deictic adverb specifying R is more felicitous in Chinese.

Except in these cases, *le* never occurs in successions of non-overlapping events with successive reference points. This is due to the fact that unlike *now*, which can be used with perfective eventualities in narration, *le* can only modify states or punctual eventualities that affect the patient and durably modify the situation. Let us look at some examples.

- (25) “I remembered this,” Hermione panted. She was carrying a large, framed picture, which she **now** lowered to the floor before seizing her small, beaded bag from the kitchen sideboard.

『我 想起了 這個。』妙麗 回答。她 將著 一個 大 畫框  
 Wǒ xiǎngqǐ-le zhège. Miàoli huídá. Tā jiāng-zhe yīgè dà huàkuāng  
 I remember-le this Cl Hermione answer she BA-Dur one Cl big picture frame

放在地板上 (\*了), 再從廚房餐其櫥抓出  
fàng zài dìbǎn shàng (\*le), zài cóng chúfáng cān qí chú zhuā chū  
 put at floor on \*LE again from kitchen meal her cabinet grab out

她的珠珠包，打開包包來，硬是把畫往裡塞。(ENC)  
 tā de zhū zhū bāo, dǎkāi bāobāo lái, yìngshì bǎ huà wǎng lǐ sāi.  
 her Rel bag open bag come simply BA picture towards inside stuff

- (26) “‘To Miss Hermione Jean Granger, I leave my copy of *The Tales of Beedle the Bard*, in the hope that she will find it entertaining and instructive.’” Scrimgeour **now** pulled out of the bag a small book that looked as ancient as the copy of *Secrets of the Darkest Art* upstairs.

『「我把我手頭的一本《吟遊詩人皮陀故事集》送給  
 Wǒ bǎ wǒ shǒutóu de yī běn yínyóu shīrén Pítuó gùshì jí sòng gěi  
 I BA I in hand Rel one Cl minstrel bard Biddle tale collection give to

妙麗·珍·格蘭傑小姐，希望她覺得這本書既有趣  
 Miàoli . Zhēn . Gélánjié xiǎojiě, xīwàng tā juéde zhè běn shū jì yǒuqù  
 Hermione Jean Granger miss hope she think this Cl book both interesting

又有啟發性。」』昆爵從袋子拿出(了)一本看起來跟  
 yòu yǒu qǐfāxìng. Kūnjué cóng dàizi ná chū(-le) yī běn kànqǐlái gēn  
 and have inspiration Scrimgeour from bag take out(-le) one Cl seemingly with

樓上那本《黑魔法的秘密》一樣古老的小書(\*了)。(ENC)  
 lóushàng nà běn “hēi mófǎ de mìmì” yīyàng gǔlǎo de xiǎo shū (\*le).  
 upstairs that Cl black magic Rel secret same ancient Rel small book \*LE

In example (25) and (26), *now* modifies accomplishments (‘lower’ and ‘pull out’) and locates them at the *now*-point. *Le* is not used in the corresponding Chinese texts and its addition was rejected by native speakers. However, the use of verbal *-le* was accepted in these two examples. We will explain the reason for that below.

To sum up, although *le* is frequently interpreted deictically in interaction when the event is not lexically located in time, this is quite rare in narration, probably because a linguistic context with a reference point is always available in narration for *le* to anchor to. Thus, the only cases in which *le* is interpreted deictically in narration are cases in which a new sequence of events is

started at an undefined time, which means that the temporal location of the eventuality cannot be interpreted relative to a previously defined reference point, *cf.* (23) and (24). But most of the time in past contexts, *le* is interpreted anaphorically and the time of the previous event is taken as a reference point for its interpretation. Thus, the use of *le* in narration without a positional adverb to set R is generally felicitous only when the eventuality it modifies gives rise to a state that overlaps with the previously mentioned eventuality.

We conclude that *le*, although it is interpreted according to deictic principles by default in interaction and occasionally in narration, cannot be classified as a marker of temporal deixis in Chinese. In Chinese, a number of temporal adverbs are exclusively used for temporal deixis. Thus, although final *le* shares many features with *now* in interaction, they differ when used in past contexts. Whereas the use of *le* in narration triggers a search for a previously available reference point, the use of *now* forces the setting of R at the *now*-point. In the next section, we look at the relation of *now* and *le* to the perfect.

## 6. *Now, LE, and the perfect*

Final *le* often corresponds to a perfect in the English text, and indeed it can be considered to be a marker of the perfect (Anderson 1982). In this section, give a definition of the perfect (6.1.), before examining two realisations of the perfect in Chinese and English, namely final *le* and *have -en* (6.2.). Then, we attempt to show that when *now* is combined with the present tense, the sentence also has a perfect meaning (6.3.). Finally, we look at the meaning of verbal *-le* and conclude that it does also have a perfect meaning (6.4.).

### 6.1. What is the perfect?

Smith (1997: 106) defines perfect constructions as constructions that involve both temporal and aspectual meanings. Thus, she explains that the perfect is neither an aspect nor a tense. The perfect manifests itself differently in various languages. Although it was a tense in Ancient Greek, nowadays perfect meaning is not necessarily achieved through tense. She draws on various theories (Extended Now theory, Anteriority theory, Result State theory) to give the following definition of the perfect.

[The term Perfect] is now used for constructions that have a certain temporal and aspectual meaning, whether or not they involve tense. Perfect constructions generally convey the following related meanings: (1) the situation precedes Reference Time; (2) the construction has a resultant stative value; (3) the viewpoint is perfective; (4) a special property is ascribed to the subject, due to participation in the situation.

In English, the perfect construction is periphrastic. It is realised with the auxiliary *have* and might occur with present or past tense (present perfect, past perfect). It may also be used with modal auxiliaries to locate events in the future. In Chinese, the markers *guo* and final *le* are traditionally associated with perfect meaning (Smith 1994, 1997; Anderson 1982; Li & Thompson 1982; Liu 2013).<sup>15</sup> *Guo* is a perfective viewpoint marker used to denote experience. It locates the situation before R and ascribes the property of experience of the situation to the subject. As for *le*, it indicates the validation of a new situation and the registering of that new situation at R. Thus, the situation closed by *le* is presented as perfective, and it has a resultant stative value. The result state opened by *le* and notion of Current Relevance ascribed to it and developed by Li & Thompson (1982) to explain the function of final *le* correspond to the “participant property” of the perfect (Smith 1997: 107): the subject is attributed the property of having undergone the process at R, and is affected by it, which results in the relevance of the result state. The particularity of the perfect marker *le* is that it provides two different viewpoints on the eventuality: it presents a change of state, which implies on the one hand the bounding of an initial eventuality - be it the initial subinterval of a state or a telic eventuality (Lin 2000, 2003, 2006), and on the other the inception and continuation of the result state of that eventuality. The validated eventuality or subinterval is presented as perfective, since it is versed in the actual world (Liu 2013), and the result state is presented as unbounded.

In this section, we look at the perfect value of *le* and compare it to the English perfect. We also examine the role of *now* with the perfect construction in English. Finally, we study the meaning of verbal *-le* and argue that *-le* is also a perfect marker. We attempt to show that while final *le* focusses R and the result state valid from R, verbal *-le* focusses the point of validation of the perfective eventuality or subinterval (which is anterior to R) and opens on a the result state.

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<sup>15</sup> However, sentential *le* is not always recognised as a perfect marker. Indeed, Smith (1997: 296) does not mention the perfect meaning of *le* but only indicates that it expresses the speaker’s attitude. She acknowledges that the main function of *le*, as shown by Li & Thompson (1981, 1982), consists in coding a Currently Relevant State (CRS), but she does not treat final *le* as a perfect marker.

## 6.2. The perfect in Chinese and English: *le* and *have -en*

Anderson (1982) compares the English perfect to Mandarin perfect *le* and explains that unlike the English perfect, Mandarin *le* emphasises the newness and relevance of the situation (what Li & Thompson call Current Relevance of the event):

In comparison with English or even with Turkish, the Mandarin Perfect *le* does not emphasize anteriority of the event, but only current relevance (CR of a new situation). By Gricean principles of conversation, this may involve contrast between the up-to-now and the from-now-on, so *le* can be USED to convey relative anterior, but also relative future. (Anderson 1982: 235)

Unlike Chinese *le*, the English perfect cannot convey relative future (“from-now-on”). Moreover, perfect *le* is more oriented to R (“up-to-now”) than the English perfect, which neutrally conveys the anteriority of the event. As a consequence, the correspondence between final *le* in Chinese and perfect constructions in English is not that high. Most of the occurrences of *le* parallel to an English perfect correspond to cases in which the notion of “up-to-now” is emphasised by the eventuality type, the aspectual viewpoint and adverbials. In (27)a the correspondence of the English present perfect with *le* can be explained by the fact that the notion of “up-to-now” is emphasised by the adverbial that designates the time interval stretching from E to R (“two months and four days”). The perfective eventuality in (27)a that gives rise to a result state is the sexual intercourse. The result state is the state of ‘having had sex’.

(27) a. I'm gonna say it's been about two months and four days since the sex.

嘿咻 離 現在 有 兩 個 月 又 四 天 了。  
 Hēixiū lí xiànzài yǒu liǎng gè yuè yòu sì tiān le.  
 Have sex from now have two CI months and four day LE

b. Sorry, **how long have I been** what? Oh, I hate it when adults use the term "sexually active".

我 什麼 東西 多久 了?  
 Wǒ shénme dōngxī duōjiǔ le  
 I what thing **how long** LE



我 最 討 厭 大 人 用 性 行 為 這 個 字 眼 。 (EFC)  
 Wǒ zuì tǎoyàn dàrén yòng xìngxíngwéi zhège zìyǎn.  
 I most loathe adult use sexual behavior this CI wording

In (27)b, the time interval leading up to R is also emphasised with “how long”. The perfective eventuality that brings about a change of state is understood to be the first sexual interaction of the subject. This eventuality brought about a target state that is still valid at the time of speech, *i.e.* the state of being sexually active. The correspondence between the English present perfect and Chinese *le* stems from the fact that the result state and the notion of “up-to-now” are emphasised in English with lexical elements.

If the eventuality was validated in the interval directly adjacent to R, it might be considered to be still relevant at R and explain the use of perfect *le* in Chinese. This can be explained by the theory of the Extended Now developed by McCoard (1978). According to McCoard, with the perfect, the present should be seen as an interval bounded by E and R. Smith (1997) explains that,

In this construction the prior situation occurs within a reference interval which extends back in time from a present RT. The prior situation is presented as belonging to the Present in what is known as the ‘Extended Now’ interpretation (McCoard 1984: ch 4). (Smith 1997: 188)

(28) Where **have you been**? Huh? We got a serious situation on our hands, you know that.

你 都 跑 去 哪 了 ? 現 在 狀 況 危 急 你 很 清 楚 。 (EFC)  
 Nǐ dōu pǎo qù nǎ le? Xiànzài zhuàngkuàng wéijí nǐ hěn qīngchǔ.  
 You all run go where **LE** now situation desperate you very clear

(29) A : Let's go see the house.

B: Let's go for the tour.

**A: I've been planning this forever.** I love our house. I'm really excited about it. Come on.

A: 該 參 觀 房 子 囉 。  
 Gāi cānguān fángzi luō  
 MV visit house LUO

B: 去 參觀 房子 吧。  
 Qù cānguān fángzi ba.  
 Go visit house BA

A: 走 吧 參觀 一下。我 籌備 好 久 了。  
 Zǒu ba cānguān yīxià. Wǒ chóubèi hǎo jiǔ le.  
 Walk BA visit once I preparations very long LE

我 好 愛 這 間 房子...我 真的 好 開心。來 嘛!(EFC)  
 Wǒ hǎo ài zhè jiān fángzi...wǒ zhēnde hǎo kāixīn. Lái ma!  
 I very love this Cl house I really very happy come MA

In (28), in which the speaker has been waiting for his son to come back home, it is not the anteriority of the eventuality ‘be’ that is stressed, but the fact that the eventuality lasted up to R and is relevant at R. Here again, the correspondence between *le* and the present perfect can be explained by the fact that the process described is understood to be directly related to R. In (29), the present perfect is combined with the progressive form *be -ing* which indicates that the eventuality ‘plan’ spans out until the time of speech (R).

Thus, *le* corresponds to an English perfect when in English the Current Relevance of the eventuality is emphasised by its direct proximity to R as in (28) and (29), or by the specification of the duration of the resulting state “up-to-now” as in (27)a and (27)b.

This is why when a perfect construction is used in English as a translation equivalent of final *le*, it is very often combined with *now*: like *le*, *now* locates the initial endpoint of the result state at R and emphasises its current relevance. When the current relevance of the situation is limited, we are more likely to find the perfect marker *guo* in Chinese and the bare perfect construction *have -en* in English, which both emphasise the anteriority of the event and the notion of experience. In (30) for instance, the focus is on the fact that the eventuality *fēnfù* ‘instruct’ was validated before R, and not on the current relevance of the state resulting from the validation of that eventuality. Thus, we have a bare perfect construction in English and the experiential perfect marker *guo* in Chinese. The use of *now* in English would be infelicitous.

- (30) “Wormtail,” said Voldemort, with no change in his quiet, thoughtful tone, and without removing his eyes from the revolving body above, “**have** I not **spoken** to you about keeping our prisoner quiet?”

『蟲尾，』佛地魔說，照舊維持他那平靜、  
 Chóngwěi Fúdemó shuō, zhàojiù wéichí tā nà píngjìng,  
 Wormtail Voldemort say as before keep he that tranquil

若有所思的語氣，目光依然定定注視著上方  
 ruò yǒusuǒ sī de yǔqì, mùguāng yīrán dìng-dìng zhùshì-zhe shàng fang  
 like somewhat think Rel tone sight still fix-fix gaze-Dur on place

那個旋轉的人體，『我不是吩咐過你，  
 nàgè xuánzhuǎn de réntǐ, wǒ bù shì fēnfù-guò nǐ,  
 that Cl revolve Rel human body I Neg be **instruct-Exp** you

要讓我們的囚犯保持安靜嗎?』(ENC)  
 yào ràng wǒmen de qiúfàn bǎochí ānjìng ma?  
 want let we Rel prisoner keep quiet Interr

In the English Corpus, 71.5% of the occurrences of *now* + present perfect are translated with *le* in Chinese. In (31) below, the present perfect locates the perfective event ‘lose’ before R, and *now* marks the Current Relevance of the resultant state at R. In Chinese, *le* marks the Current Relevance of the situation and implies that the modifying event took place before R.

- (31) Truth is, tonight I feel more like tears than anger. You understand **we've lost her now**. The vixen will have gone to ground. Our chances of finding her are next to nil.

今天晚上我更想哭，而不是發怒。  
 Jīntiān wǎnshàng wǒ gèng xiǎng kū, ér bù shì fānù.  
 today evening I more want cry yet Neg be get angry

你明白的，我們把她給跟丟了。  
 Nǐ míngbái de, wǒmen bǎ tā gěi gēn diū le.  
 you understand Rel we BA she GEI follow lose **LE**

那個小賤人躲起來了。  
 Nàgè xiǎo jiànrén duǒ qǐlái le.  
 that Cl little slut hide start **LE**

我們 找到 她的 可能性 基本 為 零。(EFC)  
 Wōmen zhǎodào tā de kěnéngxìng jīběn wéi líng.  
 We find-Res she Rel probability basic as zero

To sum up, because it is more oriented towards the time of speech than the English perfect, in interaction the Chinese perfect marker *le* is equivalent to the English present perfect combined with *now*.

However, in narration, when *now* combines with the past perfect, perfect *le* is seldom used in the parallel Chinese text. This might be explained by the fact that in narration, the sequencing of events is primary, and despite the use of *now*, the past perfect denotes first and foremost the anteriority of the event. *Now* indicates the standpoint from which that anterior event is viewed, and it is oriented towards that event and not really towards the following interval. The time interval referred to by *now* + past perfect is the Extended Now time interval mentioned by McCoard (1978) that stretches from E to R. It seems that final *le* is more felicitous in past contexts if the duration of the result state is stressed. Thus, in (32) below, the past perfect indicates that the perfective event ‘rise’ is anterior to R, and *now* indicates the relevance of the target state at R: the sun is currently up. But the utterance is oriented towards the past, and does not say anything about the post-R interval: the sentence corresponds to an assessment of the situation at R. Thus, it is the Extended Now interval stretching from the time of the validated eventuality to R that is presented. In Chinese, the anteriority of the event is stressed with the adverb *yijing* ‘already’. The deictic adverb *cishi* ‘now, this moment’ emphasises the fact that an assessment of the situation is made at R. If an adverbial denoting the duration of the resulting state had been added, the presence of final *le* might have been required (*Cishi tàiyáng yijing shēngqǐ liǎng gè xiǎoshí le* ‘The sun had risen now for two hours’). On the other hand, in (33) the duration of the process (‘for several minutes’) and its relevance at R (with the progressive form *be -ing*) are emphasised, which explains the felicitous use of final *le* in Chinese.

- (32) They combed every inch of the room for more than an hour, but were forced, finally, to conclude that the locket was not there. The sun **had risen now**; its light dazzled them even through the grimy landing windows.

他們 花了 將近 一小時 仔細 搜查 房間 的 每一個 角落，  
 Tāmen huā-le jiāngjìn yī xiǎoshí zǐxì sōuchá fángjiān de měi yīgè jiǎoluò,  
 they spend-le almost one hour careful search room Rel each one Cl corner

但 最後 仍 不得不 斷定 金 匣 不 在 那裡。  
 dàn zuìhòu réng bùdébù duàndìng jīn xiá bù zài nàlǐ.  
 but finally still have to conclude gold box Neg at there

此時太陽 已經 升起， 即使 透過 髒兮兮 的 窗戶，  
 Cǐshí tàiyáng yǐjīng shēngqǐ, jíshǐ tòuguò zāngxīxī de chuānghù,  
 now sun already rise even if through dirty Rel window

陽光 的 光線 依舊 令 人 眼花。(ENC)  
 yángguāng de guāngxiàn yījiù lìng rén yǎnhuā.  
 sunshine Rel light still cause someone blurred

- (33) Collet had been trying to reach Sophie **now for several minutes**. “Maybe her batteries are dead. Or her ringer's off.”

科列 已經 試著 連絡 過 蘇菲 好幾 次 了。  
 Kēliè yǐjīng shì-zhe liánluò guò Sūfēi hǎojǐ cì le.  
 Collet **already** try-Dur contact-Exp Sophie **several time LE**

「搞不好 電池 沒電 了。或 她 把 響鈴 關掉 了。」(ENC)  
 Gǎobùhǎo diànchí méi diàn le. Huò tā bǎ xiǎnglíng guāndiào le.  
 Maybe battery Neg power LE or she BA ring switch off LE

We have seen that a parallel can be drawn between the uses of the combination of *now* + present perfect in English and of final *le* in Chinese. But in fact, final *le* occurs most frequently in the Chinese parallel text when *now* is combined with the simple present in English. In the next section, we examine the combination *now* + simple present.

### 6.3. *Now* + Simple Present

In the English corpora, *now* often combines with the present tense. This is due to the fact that when the present tense combines with *now*, they produce the same effect as *le*: they indicate that a change of state or into a state occurs, which brings about a result state and that state is presented as new and imperfective. In other words, present tense + *now*, just like final *le*, convey inchoation and stativity. In (34), speaker A mentioned earlier that he wanted coffee, but changed his mind.

- (34) A: Okay. Let's get to work.  
 B: You don't want coffee?  
 A: **I'm** awake **now**.

A: 一起 去 上班  
 Yīqǐ qù shàngbān  
 Together go work

B: 你 不 喝 咖啡?  
 Nǐ bù hē kāfēi?  
 You Neg drink coffee

A: 我 很 清醒 了 (EFC)  
 Wǒ hěn qīngxǐng le  
 I very awake **LE**

The present tense in English only codes the validation of the relation between the subject 'I' and the predicate 'be awake' (Lab 1993: 63)<sup>16</sup> and stativises the eventuality (Michaelis 2011). It is the adverb *now* that provides the mode of validation of the relation by specifying its temporal and aspectual values (*Ibid.*).<sup>17</sup> *Now* indicates that the relation is validated as of a time interval that includes the time of speech but that it was not before. Thus *now* + present is inchoative and triggers a result state. In Chinese, final *le* does exactly the same thing: it validates the relation between the subject and the predicate at speech time, and indicates that the relation holds indefinitely after that. The switch from one state to another is operated by *le* in Chinese, and by *now* in English.

We argue that the construction present + *now* in English has the same perfect meaning as final *le*. Whereas the present perfect in English focusses the time interval that precedes R, present + *now* focusses the time interval that follows. Like *le*, present + *now* emphasises CRS. This suggests that *now*, in addition to being a deictic time marker, has an aspectual function: it is inchoative and presents eventualities as open-ended. The construction simple present + *now* can be considered to be a perfect construction. It differs from the periphrasis *have -en* in that *have -*

<sup>16</sup> Lab explains that: "le présent indique simplement que la relation entre le sujet et le prédicat est validée, sans plus d'informations sur le mode de validation de cette relation" (Lab 1993: 63).

<sup>17</sup> "Il en découle que le rôle des autres marqueurs contenus dans l'énoncé est essentiel : c'est sur eux que va reposer l'émergence de telle ou telle valeur aspectuo-temporelle, donc son interprétation et sa traduction par telle ou telle forme." (*Ibid.*: 63)

*en* focusses the Extended Now interval (*i.e.* the pre-R interval) while present + *now* focusses the post-R interval. Similarly, it seems that while final *le* is oriented towards the post-R interval and codes current relevance, verbal *-le* is oriented towards the time of the perfective event and the pre-R time interval. In the next section, we examine the possibility of considering verbal *-le* as a perfect marker focussing the R-anterior perfective event.

#### 6.4. Present perfect and verbal *-le*

We note that whereas present perfect + *now* often corresponds to final *le* in Chinese, bare present perfects often correspond to verbal *-le*. Thus in (35), there are three occurrences of present perfect translated with verbal *-le*, and one occurrence of present perfect + *now* translated with *xianzai* + final *le*.

- (35) “**I’ve been packing** for days, so we’re ready to leave at a moment’s notice, which for your information has included doing some pretty difficult magic, not to mention smuggling Mad-Eye’s whole stock of Polyjuice Potion right under Ron’s mum’s nose. **I’ve also modified** my parents’ memories so that they’re convinced they’re really called Wendell and Monica Wilkins, and that their life’s ambition is to move to Australia, which **they have now done**. That’s to make it more difficult for Voldemort to track them down and interrogate them about me — or you, because unfortunately, **I’ve told** them quite a bit about you.

『我 花 了 好 幾 天 收 拾 行 李 ， 以 便 一 接 到 通 知  
 Wǒ huā-le hǎo jǐ tiān shōushí xínglǐ, yǐbiàn yī jiēdào tōngzhī  
 I spend-le very several day pack luggage so that as soon as receive notice

就 立 刻 啟 程 。 讓 我 告 訴 你 ， 其 中 包 括 幾 種 難 度  
 jiù lìkè qǐchéng ràng wǒ gàosù nǐ, qízhōng bāokuò jǐ zhǒng nándù  
 at once forthwith set out let I tell you among include several kind trouble

相 當 高 的 魔 法 ， 還 不 提 在 榮 恩 媽 媽 的 監 視 之 下 ，  
 xiāngdāng gāo de mófǎ, hái bù tí zài Róngēn māmā de jiānshì zhī xià,  
 equivalent to high Rel magic still Neg mention at Ron Mum Rel monitor under

把 瘋 眼 固 積 的 變 身 水 通 通 走 私 進 來 。  
 bǎ Fēngyǎn Gùjī de biànshēn shuǐ tōngtōng zǒusī jìnlái.  
 BA Mad Eye Rel Polyjuice Potion all smuggle come in

『我還修改了我父母的記憶，使他們以為自己的名字  
 Wǒ hái xiūgǎi-**le** wǒ fùmǔ de jìyì, shǐ tāmen yǐwéi zìjǐ de míngzì  
 I also alter-**le** I parents Rel memory, cause they think oneself Rel name

真的叫溫德爾和蒙妮卡。魏金斯，而且畢生心願就是  
 zhēn de jiào Wēndé'ěr hé Méngnīkǎ . Wèijīnsī, érqiě bishēng xīnyuàn jiù shì  
 really Rel call Wendell and Monica Wilkins moreover lifetime dream just be

移民到澳洲，現在他們已經這麼做了。  
 yímín dào àozhōu, xiànzài tāmen yǐjīng zhème zuò **le**.  
 migrate to Australia now they already thus do **LE**

這是為了使佛地魔不容易找到他們，從他們  
 Zhè shì wèile shǐ Fúdemó bù róngyì zhǎo-dào tāmen, cóng tāmen  
 this be in order to cause Voldemort not easy find-Res they from they

身上逼問我--或你--的下落，因為很不幸的，  
 shēnshang bīwèn wǒ huò nǐ de xiàluò, yīnwèi hěn bùxìng de,  
 at hand interrogate I or you Rel whereabouts because very unfortunate Rel

我跟他們講了一大堆與你有關的事。(ENC)  
 wǒ gēn tāmen jiǎng-**le** yī dà duī yǔ nǐ yǒuguān de shì.  
 I with they speak-**le** one big pile with you related Rel thing

The correspondence between *-le* and present perfect is not surprising if we consider that *-le* is a perfective marker, indicating that an eventuality is presented as a whole, with its endpoints visible, and that the English present perfect focusses a perfective situation. Thus, whereas final *le* focusses the post-R result state initiated by the perfective eventuality, verbal *-le* focusses the perfective eventuality. However, as we will see, verbal *-le* also implies the existence of a result state. In the example, Hermione enumerates the things she has done to prepare for her departure. For the three occurrences of bare present perfect or verbal *-le*, what matters is the fact that the eventualities have been validated, which is why they are presented as perfective. But the validation of each eventuality results in the existence of a result state. As for the occurrence of final *le*, both the perfective eventuality ‘move’, taken up by the anaphor ‘do’ and its result state ‘having moved’ are focussed. The perfective eventuality is focussed with the adverb *yijing*



‘already’ in Chinese and with the present perfect in English, and the result state is focussed with *xianzai* + final *le* in Chinese and *now* in English.

Thus verbal *-le*, like final *le*, implies that the perfective eventuality that it modifies brings about a result state. As we saw previously, final *le*, like *now*, focusses the post-R result state and presents it as imperfective, which means that it has a ring of finality. The impression given is that the situation will never change. Conversely with verbal *-le*, the validation of the perfective eventuality is focussed. However, any event that occurs modifies the world, and any validated eventuality implies a resulting situation. For instance in (35), the perfective eventuality *huā hǎo jǐ tiān shōushí xínglǐ* ‘spend many days packing’ is focussed with *-le*, and it implies the result state of ‘being ready at a moment’s notice’ which is mentioned just after. Similarly, *xiūgǎi wǒ fùmǔ de jìyì* ‘modify my parents memory’ implies that their memories have changed, as the speaker explains in the following clause. Thus, whereas final *le* puts an end to a potential series of changes by focussing a state presented as final, verbal *-le* implies that another eventuality is going to follow the eventuality that is focussed. This is why verbal *-le* is often used in sequences of eventualities, whereas final *le* can only be used to modify the last eventuality of a series. This is also why simple sentences with verbal *-le* feel incomplete to many speakers: they trigger a result state conducive to the validation of more eventualities.

We have shown that verbal *-le* has many properties of the perfect: it locates the eventuality before R, implies that it has a stative resultant value and provides a perfective viewpoint on the eventuality. In the following section, we use contrastive analysis to better explain the common points and differences between verbal *-le* and final *le*.

## 7. Verbal *-le* and final *le* as correspondences of temporal *now*

In this section, we examine final *le* and verbal *-le* as correspondences of *now* and try to determine why both markers are found as correspondences of *now*. We find that they can both be correspondences of temporal *now* because they share several properties (7.1.). However, their functions seem too different to justify the one-morpheme theory. After contrasting the two markers in 7.1., we will discuss their function in the double-*LE* construction (7.2.).

7.1. *Le vs. -le*

Very often, achievements that have a target state take verbal *-le* in Chinese rather than final *le*. Thus in (36), the verb *pause* denotes an achievement that marks a transition from movement to motionlessness. This achievement results in a more or less extended interval of motionlessness.

- (36) **Now**, as Langdon approached the stationary escalators, he paused, realizing Fache was no longer beside him.

蘭登 正 步 向 靜 止 的 電 扶 梯 ， 忽 然 停 了 下 來 ，  
 Lándēng zhèng bù xiàng jìngzhǐ de diànfūtī, hūrán tíng-le xiàláí,  
 Langdon ZHENG step towards still Rel escalator suddenly stop-le come down

這 會 兒 他 發 現 法 舍 沒 在 他 旁 邊 。 (ENC)  
 Zhèhuìer tā fāxiàn Fǎshě méi zài tā pángbiān.  
 this moment he discover Fache Neg at he side

Conversely, when the achievement does not directly result in a changed situation, neither *le* nor *-le* are used in Chinese. In example (37), *now* locates the first of a series of quick successive actions ('turn', 'plunge', 'yank out', 'swing around'). The preterit locates the first two actions at the reference point, and *now* indicates that the reference point is the *now*-point of the narrative. The accomplishments 'turn' and 'plunge' are thus described and construed by the reader as the focalizing character Langdon perceives them, *i.e.* as occurring 'now', the one after the other. No stable result state is envisaged here, hence the absence of *-le* in Chinese. However, when the narrator switches to the past perfect, the events are presented in retrospect as having happened before R. The reference point of these actions is the time at which Sophie is pressing the gun to the driver's head. Thus, the accomplishments 'yank out' and 'swing around' are envisaged from the perspective of the resulting situation. This justifies the presence of verbal *-le* in Chinese (*zhua chu-le*): the action *zhua chu* is seen as perfective but also as leading to a stable target state, which corresponds to a situation in which the gun is out of Langdon's pocket and into Sophie's hand, in other words a situation conducive to the realisation of the following eventualities.

- (37) Sophie turned **now** and plunged her hand into the pocket of Langdon's tweed jacket. Before Langdon knew what had happened, she had yanked out the pistol, swung it around, and was pressing it to the back of the driver's head.

蘇菲 轉身， 手 伸 到 蘭登 的 粗 毛 呢  
 Sūfēi zhuǎnshēn, shǒu shēn dào Lándēng de cū máo ni  
 Sophie turn around hand extend to Langdon Rel coarse wool material

外套 口袋 裡。 蘭登 還 沒 搞 清 怎麼 回事，  
 wàitào kǒudài lǐ. Lándēng hái méi gǎo qīng zěnmě huí shì,  
 jacket pocket inside Langdon still Neg make clear how CI problem

蘇菲 就 已經 抓出了 那 把手槍， 轉 過來，  
 Sūfēi jiù yǐjīng zhuāchū-le nà bǎ shǒuqiāng, zhuǎn guò lái,  
 Sophie then already grab out-le that CI pistol turn come over

用 槍 抵著 司機 的 後腦 勺。(ENC)  
 yòng qiāng dǐ-zhe sījī de hòunǎo yún  
 use gun press-Dur driver Rel back of the head even

Thus, both verbal *-le* and final *le* imply the existence of a result state, which is characterised as relevant as of R with final *le*, whereas it is characterised as relevant as of the inception of the result state (*i.e.* before R) with verbal *-le*. Indeed, unlike final *le*, verbal *-le* does not anchor to R. It anchors to a point anterior to R, which is the point of validation of the eventuality if the eventuality is telic, or the point of validation of the initial subinterval of the eventuality if the eventuality is atelic (Lin 2000, 2003, 2006). This point is also the point of inception of the target or result state. Thus, *-le* only corresponds to *now* when the action is seen as validated before R but as having a result state valid and relevant at R. *-le* is chosen over *le* to indicate that the perfective eventuality was completed in the past, before R. When *-le* and *now* are translation equivalents, they indicate that an eventuality completed before R has given rise to a result state valid at R. Thus, the dichotomy between the uses of *-le* and *le* sheds some light on the different uses of *now*: *now* can be used to register a change of state at R (*le*), or it can simply register a change of state that is acknowledged to have taken place before R (*-le*).

- (38) 妳 現在 可以 走了  
 Ni xiànzài kěyǐ zǒu le  
 You now can go LE

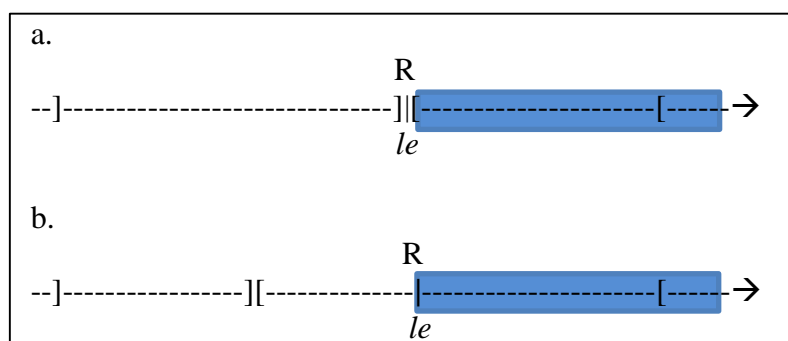
You can leave now. (CFC)

- (39) 以前 有 兩 隻 手 的 時候 都 混得 這麼 辛苦，  
 yǐqián yǒu liǎng zhī shǒu de shíhòu dōu hùnde zhème xīnkǔ,  
 before have two Cl hand Rel time all live-DE so hard

現在 只 剩下 一隻 了，怎麼 混？  
 xiànzài zhǐ shèngxià yī zhī le, zěnmē hùn?  
 now only remain one Cl LE how live

Back when I had two hands, life was already so hard. Now with only one hand left, how could I survive? (CFC)

In example (38), the change of state from ‘cannot leave’ to ‘can leave’ takes place at the time of speech; the representation of that utterance in Chinese corresponds to Figure 1a below. In (39), the change of state took place before the time of speech, but it is registered at R, as in Figure 1b. Thus, there are two possible configurations for final *le*: the change of state can take place either directly at R (a), or before R (b).



**Figure 1** - Final *le*: focussing the post-R result state

As for verbal *-le*, if the eventuality that it modifies is telic as represented in Figure 2a below, *-le* presents the eventuality as perfective and focusses the point of inception of its result state, as well as locating it before R. This is the case in (40) below in which the accomplishment *zhǐ xuè* ‘stop the blood’ is presented as perfective with verbal *-le* and located before R. The anteriority of the eventuality is made explicit with the adverb *yíjīng* ‘already’. The result state is a situation in

which the blood is staunched, and it starts as soon as the accomplishment that brings it about is validated. Thus, *-le* marks the validation (or ‘realisation’) of the accomplishment *zhǐ xuè* ‘stop the blood’, as well as the inception of the state resulting from this validation.

- (40) Mrs. Weasley had staunched his bleeding **now**, and by the lamplight Harry saw a clean, gaping hole where George’s ear had been.

衛斯理太太已經替他止了血，就著燈光，  
Wèisīlǐ tàitài yǐjīng tì tā zhǐ-le xuè, jiùzhe dēngguāng,  
Weasley Mrs. **already** for he stop-**le** blood next to light

哈利看見喬治耳朵原來所在的地方，  
Hālì kànjiàn Qiáozhì ěrduǒ yuánlái suǒzài de dìfāng,  
Harry see George ear former place Rel area

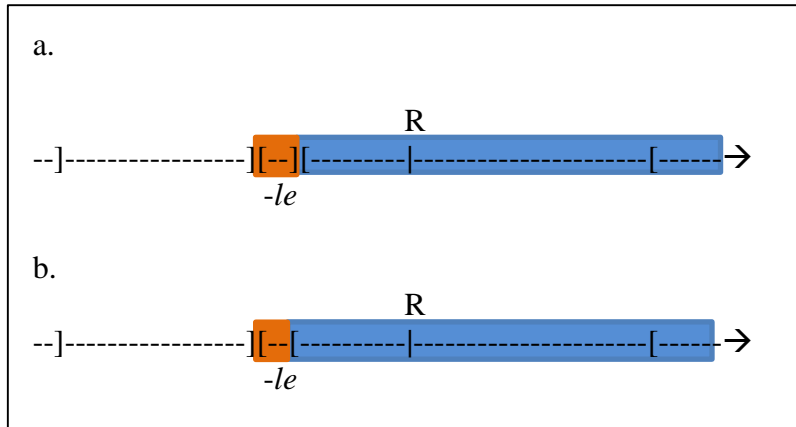
有個切得乾乾淨淨的大洞。(ENC)  
yǒu gè qiè-de gāngānjìngjìng de dà dòng.  
have Cl cut DE clean-clean Rel big hole

If the eventuality modified by *-le* is atelic (Figure 2b), then what is focussed is the initial subinterval of the eventuality, which corresponds to the inception phase of the result state. This is the case in (41), in which the eventuality modified by *-le* is a state. *-le* marks the validation of the initial subinterval of the state *you bu yiyang de ganshou* ‘have a different feeling’; in other words it marks the inception of the state *you* ‘have’. The adverb *rujin* ‘now’ refers to R, and *-le* indicates that the state is incepted before R.

- (41) The grief that had possessed him since Dumbledore’s death felt different **now**.

鄧不利多死後令他揮之不去的哀傷，  
Dèngbùlìduō sǐ hòu lìng tā huīzhī bùqù de āishāng,  
Dumbledore die after cause he impossible to get rid of Rel grief

如今有了不一樣的感受(...)。(ENC)  
**rujin** yǒu-**le** bù yīyàng de gǎnshòu.  
**now** have-**le** Neg same Rel feeling



**Figure 2** - Verbal *-le*: focussing the validation of the perfective eventuality (a) or the initial subinterval of the result state (b)

This suggests that verbal *-le* is very close to being a perfect marker. Indeed, almost all the conditions stated by Smith (1997) are fulfilled: “(1) the situation precedes Reference Time; (2) the construction has a resultant stative value; (3) the viewpoint is perfective.” However, condition (4) is not fulfilled: “(4) a special property is ascribed to the subject, due to participation in the situation”. No property is ascribed to the subject with verbal *-le*, because the result state that emerges is only there to serve as a basis for more actions. The result state is not presented as final and unchangeable as it is with final *le*. Its characterisation as final would mean that it would become a property ascribed to the subject. But with verbal *-le*, the result state is only visible so that another eventuality the validation of which is dependent on that result state can be validated. Thus, the result state triggered by verbal *-le* is only relevant until another eventuality emerges from it. With final *le* on the other hand, the state is presented as indefinitely relevant in itself. This is why utterances with verbal *-le* that are not followed by a segment in which a subsequent eventuality is mentioned are felt to be incomplete. Verbal *-le* opens a result state and with it creates the expectation of something else. This explains that sentences like (3) from Liu (2013) (repeated below) should feel incomplete without the second eventuality introduced by *jiu*.

- (3) a. Wo chi-**le** fan jiu lai.  
 I eat-**le** rice then come  
 I will come after eating.

We have seen that although final *le* is closer in meaning and use to *now*, verbal *-le* can also be used as a correspondence of temporal *now* when the speaker wants to emphasise the anteriority of the inception of the state valid at R. In the next section, we look at the double-*LE* construction, which involves the use of both markers (*-le* and *le*) and is found as a correspondence of *now*.

## 7.2. The double-*LE* construction

When verbal *-le* and final *le* occur together, each *LE* retains its function. They indicate that the validation of the eventuality starts before R and that its validation is still relevant at R. Both the point of inception before R and R are focussed. In (42) below, verbal *-le* modifies the eventuality *kāi* ‘drive’ and marks the validation of its initial subinterval before R. Final *le* indicates that the result state that emerges from the validation of the initial subinterval, *i.e.* the state of ‘having started to drive’ is relevant at R. Final *le* also opens a second result state at R, *i.e.* the state of ‘having driven a few kilometers’. R is specified by *zhe hui'er* ‘at that time’ and the anteriority of the perfective eventuality validated by verbal *-le*, namely the initial subinterval of the process of driving, is stressed by the adverb *yijing* ‘already’. In English, the anteriority of the inception of the process of driving and the relevance of its result state at R are indicated by the past perfect, which codes the fact that E is anterior to R. *Now*, like final *le*, codes the inception and relevance of a new result state at R, *i.e.* the state of ‘having driven a few kilometers’.

- (42) The silence between them accentuated the sound of the scraping bumper. They had driven a few kilometers **now**, and as Langdon watched the cascade of sparks coming off the front of the truck, he wondered if it was dangerous.

兩 人 之 間 的 沉 默 使 得 保 險 桿 的 摩 擦 聲  
 Liǎng rén zhījiān de chénmò shǐde bǎoxiǎn gǎn de mócā shēng  
 Two people between Rel silence cause safe stick Rel scraping sound

更 形 明 顯 。 這 會 兒 他 們 已 經 開 了 幾 公 里 了 ，  
 gèng xíng míngxiǎn zhèhuèr tāmen yǐjīng kāi-le jǐ gōnglǐ le,  
 more appear clear **this moment** they **already** drive-**le** several kilometer **LE**

蘭 登 看 著 前 頭 像 個 小 瀑 布 似 落 下 的 火 花 ，  
 Lándēng kàn-zhe qián tou xiàng gè xiǎo pùbù sì luòxià de huǒhuā,  
 Langdon look-Dur front head resemble Cl small waterfall similar fall Rel spark

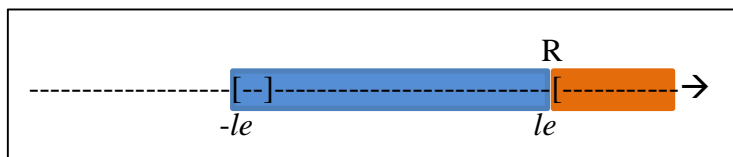
很 擔心 會 不 會 有 危險。(ENC)  
 hěn dānxīn huì bù huì yǒu wéixiǎn.  
 very worry MV Neg MV have danger

In (43), there is no duration attached to the result state of having a daughter. Thus, the successive results states are not distinguishable. Verbal *-le* marks the validation of the initial subinterval of the state of ‘having a daughter’, and locates it before R. Final *le* anchors to R and indicates that the result state ‘having a daughter’ is relevant at R. As the utterance is a question, the validity of the state at R is questioned.

(43) 你 看著 老師，想起 那個 渾身 充滿 酒精醚  
 Nǐ kàn-zhe lǎoshī, xiǎngqǐ nà gè húnshēn chōngmǎn jiǔjīng mí  
 You see-Dur teacher remember that Cl all over full of ethanol ether

味 的 生物 老師 是否 也 有了 自己的 女兒 了？  
 wèi de shēngwù lǎoshī shìfǒu yě yǒu-le zìjǐ de nǚ'ér le?  
 taste Rel Biology teacher whether also have-**le** oneself Rel daughter **LE**

You associated the man beside you with your biology teacher in high school. The man who smelled of ethanol must have his own daughter **now**. (CNC)



**Figure 3** - The double-*LE* construction

The combination of the two forms marks a focus both of the inception of the first result state and of the inception of a second result state at R (*cf* Figure 3.). When no duration for the first result state incepted by verbal *-le* is given, the second *le* only functions as an updating device, taking stock of the situation at R and marking the continuing validity or relevance of the same result state at R.

One might note that this double-*LE* construction can be read as a manifestation of the iconicity of Chinese. Tai (1985) explains that Chinese language is organised according to the Principle of Temporal Sequence (*cf.* Chapter 2):



The relative word order between two syntactic units is determined by the temporal order of the states which they represent in the conceptual world. (Tai 1985: 50)

This is the case in example (42). The first *-le* codes the inception of the process. Then follows a quantification of the process, here in kilometers (42), which represents the time during which the result state is validated, and the time interval is bounded by final *le*, which interrupts the process at reference time to take stock of it. Thus, the double *LE* construction follows the principle of temporal sequence. Each *LE* represents a boundary, and the process extends in-between these two boundaries.

To sum up, verbal *-le* and final *le* share many properties. This explains the fact that they are both found as translation equivalents of *now* in the corpora. They both mark a boundary between two situations and open a result state. However, they differ in that *-le* brings the focus on the validation of the first eventuality and indicates that this eventuality precedes R, whereas final *le* focusses R and the post-R result state, without giving any indication as to actual point of inception of the result state. This is in keeping with Huang's (1987) view according to which *-le* operates at the verb phrase level whereas *le* operates at the proposition level: *-le* is oriented towards the validation of the eventuality denoted by the verb, whereas *le*, as a final particle, is more discourse-oriented and anchors the whole proposition to R, opening the adjacent time interval. Thus, although they share a number of properties, *-le* and *le* cannot be analysed in the same way.

## 8. Conclusion

In this chapter, we argued that *now* and final *le* share many semantic properties, and are frequently used in similar situations, despite the fact that they are not syntactic equivalents. They both anchor to R and indicate that a change of state is registered at R. They are inchoative; they focus the state that results from the change of state and present it as open-ended. In narration, they both anchor to the reference point. However, whereas *now* directly sets R at the *now*-point in narration, *le* does so only rarely and generally anchors to a pre-constructed reference point. *Le*, unlike *now*, does not create a deictic shift in narration. Table 5 below recapitulates the properties of *now* and *le*.

**Table 5** - Recapitulative table - Properties of temporal *now* and final *le*

	Temporal <i>Now</i>	Final <i>le</i>
Deictic	Yes	No
Contrastive	Yes	Yes
Shifter	Yes	No
Open-ended interval	Yes	Yes
Inchoative	Yes	Yes
CRS	Yes	Yes

Our contrastive analysis leads us to adopt a nuanced view on the duality of *LE*. Although, following Huang (1987), we find that verbal *-le* and final *le* have a very similar function at different levels, it seems that the two markers are better analysed as separate entities. Whereas *-le* operates at the level of the eventuality as a form of realis and marks the transition between the eventuality and its resulting state, *le* functions at the proposition level and marks the transition between a validated former state of affairs and the new state of affairs. *-le* localises the change as anterior to R, whereas *le* does not locate the change but only the point at which the change becomes relevant, namely R. In English, *now* can be used in both cases. However, it is more frequently used to localise the change or rather its relevance at R, like final *le*.

## Conclusion Part I

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In Part I, we have examined the meaning and functions of temporal *now* (Chapter 1) and contrasted them with its Chinese congruent correspondence *xianzai* ‘now’ (Chapter 2). We have found that *now* and *xianzai*, despite the fact that they both refer to time of speech, differ on several points. Particularly, while the principal function of *now* is to mark a contrast between a preceding antithetical situation and the current situation, *xianzai* only codes overlap between the time of speech or reference time and the eventuality time without implying the existence of an anterior antithetical situation. While *xianzai* is a consistently imperfective marker, *now* is an inchoative marker. This conclusion led us to contrast *now* to the Mandarin final particle *le* which is generally recognised to mark change of state (Chapter 3). Although *now* and *le* are not syntactic equivalents, they are frequently found as correspondences in our translational corpora. Our study showed that *now* and the final particle *le* share many semantic and pragmatic properties. They are both contrastive and they are used to update the common ground of the participants to the linguistic exchange. However, the particle *le*, unlike *now*, does not function deictically – or only by default – but rather anchors to the last available reference point. Conversely, *now* anchors directly to the time of speech or *now*-point in narration and sets a new reference point at that time. Final *le* is a perfect marker in Chinese and its closeness to English *now* led us to propose that *now* might be considered as a perfect marker. Finally, finding that in the translational corpora *now* sometimes corresponds to verbal *-le*, we use contrastive analysis to examine the common features of *le* and *-le*. We conclude that *le* and *-le* are two different markers, but that *now* might cover both uses. Thus, the main criterion of use of *now* is that the situation should be viewed from the time of speech or *now*-point and that a contrast should be established between a previous situation and the situation valid at R.

In the next part, we turn to the study of temporal *then*. *Then* is the distal counterpart of deictic *now* (Schiffrin 1987, 1990, 1992). Although, like *now*, referential *then* codes an overlap between the reference time of the eventuality and the eventuality time itself, this overlap is calculated without reference to the temporal *origo* (time of speech or *now*-point of the narrative). Temporal *then* can also have a sequential use, in which case it does not refer to a time interval but simply codes a relation of sequence between two eventualities. We look at the correspondences of temporal *then* in Chinese, and find that once more, the situation is more clear-cut in Chinese than in English. While the same marker expresses overlap and sequence between two eventualities in English, with frequent ambiguities as to whether the eventualities overlap or not, in Chinese some markers are specialised for temporal location while others are markers of sequence.

## Part II

# Temporal *then* and its Mandarin equivalents

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In this second part, we examine temporal *then* and its Mandarin equivalents. While *now* is a deictic proximal marker, *then* is an anaphoric distal marker. We thus focus on temporal anaphora in English and Chinese. In Chapter 4, we distinguish between two realisations of temporal *then*, namely referential *then* and sequential *then*. We argue that both markers determine the topic time of the eventuality. Referential *then* refers to the topic time and indicates that it overlaps with the eventuality time, while sequential *then* opens the topic time interval for the upcoming eventuality and indicates that the eventuality is validated within that topic time. In Chapter 5, we contrast referential *then* with its most frequent Chinese correspondences *nashi* ‘at that time’, *dangshi* ‘at the time’, and *zheshi* ‘at this moment’. We find that these markers are more widely used in Chinese than in English and that their functions are rather compartmentalised. In Chapter 5, we contrast sequential *then* and its Mandarin correspondences *ranhou* ‘after that’, *jiezhe* ‘subsequently’, and *houlai* ‘thereafter’. We also look at divergent correspondences such as verbal *-le*. We find that the use of sequential markers such as *then* is more frequent in English than in Chinese. We argue that these findings can be directly linked to the fact that English is a tensed language while Chinese is an aspectual language: while tense conveys temporal location and reduces the necessity for referential time adverbs in English, aspect codes relations between eventualities and thus reduces the need for sequential markers in Chinese.

# Chapter 4

## Temporal *then*

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In this Chapter, we look at *then* and its temporal realisations. We distinguish between two markers: referential *then* and sequential *then*. We contrast the distribution and functions of both markers. We will see that both referential and sequential *then* establish a relation between two eventualities and determine the topic time of the second eventuality. In Section 1, we review the existing research on temporal *then* and define our line of approach. In Section 2, we briefly examine the distributional properties of the markers, before describing their distribution in our three English corpora in Section 3. Section 4 provides a detailed account of the functions of referential and sequential *then* relative to their sentence positions. We also examine and reject the parameter of [+/-overlap] as a criterion for differentiating between the two markers. Section 5 provides a brief account of the text-structuring functions of temporal *then*. Finally, in Section 6 we contrast temporal *then* with temporal *now*.

### **1. Temporal *then*: literature review and definitions**

In this first section, we review the literature on temporal *then*. Drawing from the work of Borillo (2005a), we define temporal *then* and distinguish between two functions: referential and sequential. We define the functions of referential *then* and sequential *then* before examining the deictic and anaphoric status of each marker.

### 1.1. Referential vs. sequential

It is generally agreed that *then* has two different temporal uses: it can be anaphoric and refer to a time interval generally mentioned in the left context as in (1), or it can be sequential and indicate a succession of events as in (2) (Schiffrin 1990, 1992; Glasbey 1993; Virtanen 1996; Thompson 1999; Ritz *et al.* 2012, *etc.*).

- (1) Sophie had indeed seen the initials P.S. once before, in a kind of monogram. It was the day before her ninth birthday. She was secretly combing the house, searching for hidden birthday presents. Even **then**, she could not bear secrets kept from her. (ENC)
- (2) I searched the whole area. This is all there was. This key, wedged behind the painting. I saw the Priory seal, stuck the key in my pocket, **then** we left. (ENC)

In any case, the use of temporal *then* implies a relation between at least two eventualities, that we will call Eventuality A and Eventuality B, or between their time locations. In (1), *then* establishes a relation between the time of Eventuality A ‘comb the house’ and Eventuality B ‘bear secrets kept from her’. The time location of Eventuality A is given explicitly with the NP “the day before her ninth birthday” and *then* refers to the time of Eventuality A.<sup>1</sup> In (2), *then* establishes a relation of sequence between Eventuality A ‘stick the key in my pocket’ and Eventuality B ‘leave’.

The first use of *then* has been referred to as *overlapping* (Schiffrin 1990, 1992; Ritz *et al.* 2012), *continuing* (Schiffrin 1992) and *cotemporal* (Glasbey 1993; Thompson 1999) while the second use has been referred to as *successive* (Schiffrin 1990, 1992), *updating* (Glasbey 1993) and *ordered* (Thompson 1999). Borillo (2005a) studies French temporal adverbs and distinguishes between *referential anaphoric adverbials* (such as French *alors*), which correspond to the first use of *then* and *relational temporal adverbials* (such as French *puis*), which correspond to the second use of *then*. This terminology eliminates the notion of overlap from the distinction between the two temporal uses of *then* and underlines the fact that although both uses

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<sup>1</sup> Note that Eventuality A could be removed here without modifying the interpretation of *then*: in keeping with the principle of permanence of the reference point (Reichenbach 1947) which applies when related eventualities overlap, the locating NP does not only locate the eventuality ‘comb the house’ but also the previous eventuality ‘see the initials P.S.’. As we will see in this chapter, *then* anchors to the last available reference point which is generally associated to the last available eventuality.

of *then* are temporal, the first one actually *refers* to a time span whereas the second is a non-referential connector which establishes a temporal relation between two eventualities. Since we believe that both *then* are compatible with an overlap or a non-overlap of the two eventualities linked together, we will henceforth use Borillo's terminology to distinguish between the uses of temporal *then*. However, we will use the more explicit term *sequential* rather than *relational*.

## 1.2. Referential *then*

Borillo (2005b) explains that referential adverbs are used to locate a time point or a time interval on the time axis. They are devices of temporal anchoring and correspond to an answer to the question 'when?'. In example (3) below, the expression *back then* corresponds to an answer to the question 'When did they actually exist?'

The particularity of referential *then*, according to Schiffrin (1987, 1990, 1992), is that it is both anaphoric and deictic. In example (3), the collocation *back then* is referential. It refers to the time when Pete was young and does so both anaphorically and deictically (Schiffrin 1990). On the one hand, it corresponds to an anaphor of the discourse segment 'when you were young' found above in the conversation and on the other hand it can be interpreted deictically as signalling temporal distance from the deictic centre or time of speech.

- (3) ROY: Do you have a salad spinner?  
 PETE: .. [No].  
 MARILYN: [<X They're X> cool].  
 ROY: ... Is this= like something you had when you were young, in your own family?  
 MARILYN: .. No. It's brand new. [Oh shit].  
 PETE: [Yeah, I don't think] they ever -- did they actually exist [**2back then2**]?  
 (ECC)

It is generally conceded that the meaning of *then* is linked to its sentence position. Initial *then* is usually sequential, whereas final *then* is referential (Schiffrin 1987, 1990, 1992; Virtanen 1996; Thompson 1999; *etc.*). Virtanen (1996) notes that some occurrences of referential *then* are found in initial position but that for initial *then* to mean 'at that time' rather than 'after that', it must be accompanied by reinforcing elements such as *just*. This is the case, for instance, in



example (2), with ‘even’ acting as a reinforcing element allowing for a referential reading. Similarly in (4), *just then* occurs in sentence-initial position and is referential.

- (4) a. Vernet gave him an odd look. “I have no idea what that is.” **Just then**, Vernet's cell phone rang, and he snatched it off his belt. (ENC)
- b. Vernet gave him an odd look. “I have no idea what that is.” **Then**, Vernet's cell phone rang, and he snatched it off his belt.

Without the reinforcing element *just*, *then* would be sequential and indicate a sequence between Vernet’s speaking and the mobile phone’s ringing, as in (4)b. We can note however that in (4)a there is no overlap either between Vernet’s speaking and the cell phone ringing. This shows that referential *then* is not always overlapping. We will look into this problem in detail in this chapter.

Schiffrin (1992) explains that overlapping *then* does not shift the reference time but takes a previously determined time as reference time: “final *then* does not divide OCR-1 and OCR-2, such that RT continues without a shift” (Schiffrin 1992: 757). Thompson argues that final *then* “links the Event time of its clause with the Event time of the previous clause” (Thompson 1999: 136). Although it is true that referential *then* generally takes the time of the preceding eventuality (Eventuality A) as a reference time for the eventuality that it locates (Eventuality B), we will argue that the main function of referential *then* is to refer to the topic time (TT) of the situation. We will also challenge the idea according to which final *then* is incompatible with R-shifting.

### 1.3. Sequential *then*

According to Schiffrin (1992), the main function of sequential *then* is to operate a shift of the reference time. Sequential *then* is typically found in clause-initial position and can also occur in medial position. It is used to make explicit the relation of sequence between two eventualities. Virtanen (1996) explains that “*then* is basically a local marker, signalling the sequentiality of two temporally adjacent events” (Virtanen 1996: 170). As such, according to Borillo (2005a) who examines *alors*, it cannot occur without a left context, *i.e.* it cannot initiate a discourse sequence. Eventuality A is generally found in the direct left context and initial *then* introduces a temporally adjacent Eventuality B.

One important question is that of the reason for using sequential *then* if we consider that linear eventualities in the narrative are typically interpreted as chronological. Indeed, as explained by Klein,

Many texts follow the ‘principle of natural order’, which says ‘Unless marked otherwise, order of mention corresponds to order of events’. It is this principle which explains why sequences such as *He fell asleep and turned the light off* are slightly odd. (Klein 2009: 9)

Virtanen (1996) raises that question and argues that according to the principle of experiential iconicity, the reader assumes that the event time follows the reading time that she is experiencing. She explains that,

This suggests that the basic signal of the temporal succession of two events depicted in the text, the clause-initial *then* (denoting ‘after that’), is, in its primary function, “redundant” in narrative. (Virtanen 1996: 170)

Virtanen concludes that sequential *then* must have a function in narratives; she argues that it is a foregrounding device, used to bring the eventuality that it introduces to the fore. Our analysis supports this view. We argue that sequential *then* foregrounds the eventuality by opening a new topic time interval.

However, as noted by Thompson (1999), in order to examine the question of the redundancy of sequential *then* in narrative sequences, we need to differentiate between discourse sequences in which an ordered interpretation of events is available without the use of sequential *then* and discourse sequences in which a ‘grab-bag’ interpretation is possible. Sequence (5)a below is taken from the English Narrative Corpus (ENC). (5)b is a modified version of the sequence without the connectors clarifying the way the events relate to each other.

- (5) a. She clicked her tongue and checked their boarding cards, **then** she led him back up to the front of the plane and pointed him to the empty seat in first class. (ENC)
- b. She clicked her tongue. She checked their boarding cards. She led him back up to the front of the plane. She pointed him to the empty seat in first class.

In this case, the absence of connectors does not impede the temporal interpretation of the sequence of events and they are understood to occur one after the other.

However, in the following example given by Thompson (1999: 125), the absence of connectors such as sequential *then* impedes the temporal interpretation of the sequence of events and a “grab-bag” interpretation is available in (6)a.

- (6) a. Mary went to the store. She fixed a faucet. She wrote a long overdue ‘thank-you’ letter to her nephew. She read the morning paper. (Grab-bag)
- b. Mary went to the store. **Then** she fixed a faucet. **Then** she wrote a long overdue ‘thank-you’ letter to her nephew. **Then** she read the morning paper. (Ordered)

Thus, the possibility of a grab-bag interpretation seems to depend on the nature of the events described. If the eventualities are part of a logical sequence and if they refer to actions that belong to the same semantic field, an ordered reading will impose itself. In (5), the eventualities ‘check the boarding cards’, ‘lead him to the front of the plane’ and ‘point him to an empty seat’ belong to the semantic field of flying and the reader assumes that they occurred in the same environment, *i.e.* a plane, and thus in a reduced time period during which the protagonists were in that environment. An ordered reading of the events follows quite naturally in accordance with the principle of experiential iconicity mentioned by Virtanen (1996), but more importantly because a grab-bag reading, with the events interpreted to occur in an order other than the linear order of the narrative, would not be felicitous. The events are part of a procedure and it is logical that a boarding pass would be checked before the passenger is walked through the plane and shown to his seat. In (6), however, the eventualities ‘go to the store’, ‘fix a faucet’, ‘write a letter’, ‘read the paper’ are not ideationally or contextually related and are not part of a same procedure. Therefore, the eventualities will not necessarily be interpreted as chronologically ordered and the use of connectors is the only way to ensure clarity. We will have to look into the cases in which the use of sequential *then* might be considered redundant because the default reading of events would be an ordered reading and explain why *then* still occurs in those cases.

When initial *then* is used, it forces an ordered reading of events, regardless of whether this reading makes sense or not. Thompson argues that this is due to the fact that in initial or medial position, *then* is adjoined to the IP (inflectional projection). As such, *then* has scope over the whole proposition and not just the VP. It shifts the reference point, contrary to final position *then* which is adjoined to the VP and modifies the eventuality time but not the reference time.

To sum up the distinction between referential and sequential *then*, Schiffrin explains that,

initial *then* (which conveys succession) moves events forward in discourse time; final *then* (which conveys overlap) halts that Progression in discourse time. Thus, *then* opens a clause when progression in discourse time is initiated, and *then* closes a clause when progression in discourse time stops. And this means that clause position of *then* reflects its function in discourse time — whether *then* begins or ends temporal progression. (Schiffrin 1990: 256)

In another paper, she goes on to say that “another way of saying this is that initial *then* “breaks up” OCR-1 and OCR-2, allowing RT to also shift; final *then* does not divide OCR-1 and OCR-2, such that RT continues without a shift” (Schiffrin 1992: 757). Although we do indeed find that sequential *then* opens a new sequence in the narrative, moving it forward, whereas referential *then* tends to refer to a pre-determined time interval, our analysis of cases of non-overlapping referential *then* and of overlapping referential *then* will lead us to nuance Schiffrin’s view (4.1.3. & 4.2.3.).

#### 1.4. Between deixis and anaphora

Final or overlapping *then* is traditionally considered to be anaphoric insofar as it refers back to a previously established explicit temporal referent (Glasbey 1993: 285). This is the case in (1) in which the antecedent of *then* is a time interval that includes the day before the character’s ninth birthday and in (3) where the antecedent of *then* is a rather broad time period given in the left context by ‘when you were young’. However, the temporal information serving as antecedent for *then* may not be explicitly given but accessed through an *antecedent-trigger* (Cornish 2006), typically the tense of a proposition. Therefore, in example (7) below, the antecedent-trigger for the anaphor *then* is the underlined proposition. Indeed, the actual antecedent for *then* is a time period during which Harry slept under the stairs. The antecedent can be retrieved from the tense of the antecedent-trigger proposition and from the general context.

- (7) “And under here, Hedwig” — Harry pulled open a door under the stairs — “is where I used to sleep! You never knew me **then** — Blimey, it’s small, I’d forgotten. ...” (ENC)

Schiffrin explains that both referential and sequential *then* should be considered to be anaphoric. Indeed, she writes that “anaphoric meanings arise due to a temporal dependency

between events reported in texts” (Schiffrin 1990: 249). Both referential and sequential *then* imply a dependency between two events: referential *then* typically establishes a relation of overlap between events while sequential *then* establishes a relation of sequentiality. In this respect, temporal *then* can be considered to function anaphorically. However, whereas overlapping *then*, which refers back to a predetermined time, functions as an anaphor, sequential *then* which has no referential content cannot be said to be an anaphor. Moreover, we will see that referential *then* is not always overlapping and that it can be used with an ordered reading of the eventualities (4.1.3.).

Another question present in the literature is that of the deictic status of *then*. Huddleston & Pullum (2002) explain that referential *then* can be used either deictically when it is interpreted relative to the time of speech or anaphorically when it is interpreted with reference to another element in the text:

In the deictic cases, therefore, the place or time referred to is identified relative to the place or time of the utterance-act, whereas in the anaphoric ones it is identified relative to a place or time given in the preceding text. (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1455)

Going further, Schiffrin (1990) considers that the deictic and anaphoric meanings of *then* are linked and that they are always both present, be it with referential or sequential *then*. She proposes that both referential and sequential *then* should be considered as deictic forms insofar as they express distance from the deictic centre, in the same way that *now* expresses proximity to the deictic centre.<sup>2</sup>

*Then* is always deictic and anaphoric: *then* always conveys that an event be interpreted as temporally distant from the deictic center, and as having either a successive or overlapping relationship with a previously established reference time. (Schiffrin 1990: 262)

Schiffrin gives the example of a child looking at a picture of himself and saying: “I was laughing then.” Undoubtedly in that case, the interpretation of *then* is contextually determined as

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<sup>2</sup> “In sum, deictic temporal meaning is a link between the textual and the speaking worlds: events are understood as prior to, overlapping with, or posterior to speaking time. When events are understood to overlap with speaking time, we may refer to proximal temporal meaning; when they are not, to distal temporal meaning. (...) *Then* has a distal meaning: it indicates that the time of a reported event does not overlap with speaking time.” (Schiffrin 1990: 251)

distant from the time of speech. It is in these kinds of situations that Huddleston & Pullum (2002) also consider *then* to have a deictic function, *i.e.* situations in which the speaker is watching a video or representation of something that happened earlier. Achard (1992) also notes the deictic nature of the French equivalent of referential *then* (*alors*).

However, the idea that sequential *then* could be interpreted deictically is debatable. Schiffrin argues that it is a distal deictic insofar as “it indicates that the time of a reported event does not overlap with speaking time” (Schiffrin 1990: 251). It seems that a distal deictic meaning can be retrieved when looking at sequential *then* but its relevance when it comes to the use of sequential *then* is not certain. Indeed, sequential *then* is non-referential and its linguistic meaning does not depend on situational elements.

Similarly, the status of sequential *then* with regard to anaphora is problematic. Unlike referential anaphoric *then*, it does not introduce a previously identified temporal referent but simply establishes a relation between the clause it belongs to and the preceding segment (Borillo 2005a; Ritz *et al.* 2012). Thus, sequential *then* is not an anaphor. However, if we adopt a broad definition of anaphora, such as the one proposed by Huang (1994), it seems that sequential *then* might be classified as anaphoric:

Anaphora refers to a relation between two linguistic elements, wherein the interpretation of one (called an anaphor) is in some way determined by the interpretation of the other (called an antecedent). (Huang 1994: 1)

The interpretation of sequential *then* as meaning ‘after that’ is based on the understanding of ‘that’ (*i.e.* Eventuality A) and of its boundaries. Thus, to some extent, sequential *then* can be said to be anaphoric.

Schiffrin (1990) goes even further and argues that the anaphoric meaning of *then* stems from its deictic distal meaning. According to her, the distal meaning of *then* directs attention away from the time of speech and to another reference time:

*Then* directs attention to a prior utterance because it has distal meaning: its distal meaning directs hearers away from the present discourse time and utterance time, and toward the textual world in which the utterance is situated. (...) Thus, it is because *then* is distal that it can direct attention away from a current utterance to another part of text (a prior utterance) for a reference time. (Schiffrin 1990: 262)

In this study, we consider that although *then* has a distal meaning, it does not function deictically in the same sense as *now*, *i.e.* it is not interpreted relative to the time of utterance or *now*-point in narration.

### 1.5. *Then and aspect*

Schiffrin (1992) claims that *then* conveys aspect insofar as its use has an influence on the aspectual reading of the predicate. She argues that the use of initial *then* generally prompts a time-point reading of the eventuality, *i.e.* the focus is on the initial or final endpoint of the eventuality. Conversely, final *then* leads to a durative reading of the eventuality:

Initial *then* focuses upon the opening or closing boundaries of a state (point action); final *then* focuses upon the internal duration of a state (durative), even one that was opened or closed by an achievement. (Schiffrin 1992: 767)

Although this is generally true, we will see that when Eventuality A is perfective, final *then* prompts something akin to a time-point reading of Eventuality B (*cf.* 4.1.3.). On the other hand, when Eventuality B is stative, initial *then* can be compatible with an imperfective viewpoint (*cf.* 4.2.3.).

We have seen that there are two temporal *then*: a referential marker which corresponds to the distal counterpart of temporal *now* and a sequential marker used to articulate two eventualities occurring one after the other. Unlike *now* which is a marker of proximal deixis, both realisations of temporal *then* function anaphorically. Let us now examine the syntactic properties of referential and sequential *then*.

## 2. *Then*: what part of speech (POS)?

In this section, we examine the grammatical functions of *then*. *Then* is generally considered to be a time adverb (2.1.). While referential *then* is typically clause-final, sequential *then* principally occurs in clause-initial position. We show that although the function of sequential *then* has a conjunctive value, it does not fully qualify as a conjunction, but remains an adverb (2.2.). Finally, we argue that when referential *then* functions as an adjective, it retains its anaphoric meaning (2.3.).

### 2.1. Adverb

*Then* mainly functions as an adverb. Referential *then* can be glossed with adverbials such as ‘at that time’. Quirk & Greenbaum (1985) define referential *then* as an adjunct of time, and more precisely a time position adjunct, denoting a point or period of time. They also consider sequential *then* to be a time position adjunct insofar as it denotes a point or period of time which is situated after the reference time.

Although referential *then* is often considered to be the distal pendant of the deictic adverb *now*, it does not function in the same way and cannot always occupy the same syntactic positions. Huddleston & Pullum (2002) argue that *then*, unlike *now*, functions like a pro-form. They give the following definition of a pro-form:

A pro-form is an anaphor with little inherent semantic content of its own: the interpretation derives from the antecedent, so that the anaphor need contain little descriptive information itself. (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1461)

Unlike *now* which has nominal properties and can take a complement (*cf.* Chapters 1 and 2), *then* is intransitive and its antecedent is typically a Prepositional Phrase (PP). Huddleston & Pullum (2002) outline the following properties for pro-forms such as *then*:

We take these to be (intransitive) prepositions: they could be replaced by transitive PPs and typically have PPs as antecedents. (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1462)



This explains why constructions such as *now that I am here* are possible, unlike similar constructions with *then* such as *\*then that I was there*. We will come back to this point in 5.3.

Referential *then* is typically final or medial and thus VP-oriented whereas sequential *then* is typically initial and thus clause-oriented. Huddleston & Pullum (2002) explain that VP-oriented adverbials occur predominantly in final position. They can also occur in medial position and more rarely in initial position, in which case they are usually detached, *i.e.* in apposition or stressed. This tendency of referential *then* is confirmed by Schiffrin's findings (1992) and by our own data. In other words, as noted by Thompson (1999), Schiffrin (1990, 1992), Huddleston & Pullum (2002), *etc.* and as mentioned in Chapter 1, the syntactic position of the adverb participates in its scope and meaning. Sequential *then*, as an initial marker, is less closely attached to the VP and has scope over the whole proposition that it introduces; it can thus play a pivotal role between two different propositions, be devoid of referential content and locate the referent of the predicate that it introduces relative to a previous eventuality. On the other hand, referential *then*, as a final marker, is generally directly adjacent to the VP and so more closely associated with the VP constituents, which explains why it would have a direct bearing on the VP and locate it in time.

We note that initial and final *then* cannot be used in the same proposition. This can be explained by the fact that initial *then* shifts R whereas final *then* continues it; there is therefore a clash between the two. However, sequential and referential *then* can sometimes co-occur and introduce and locate the same eventuality, as is the case in example (8) below.

- (8) REBECCA: (H) You know, I had another case, or, .. I have a .. pr- report from another case where, (H)= u=m, ... he wa--- he was crouched down, [and] doing it,  
 RICKIE: [Mhm].  
 REBECCA: and then when .. a man would walk by, he'd sit up,  
 RICKIE: [Yeah].  
 REBECCA: [(H)] And, .. you know, do nothing, **and then** once the man was through the doors, **then** he'd go back [X X] doing it. (ECC)

## 2.2. Conjunction?

Sequential *then* is sometimes considered to be conjunctive. Indeed, the sequential adverb *then* has conjunctive properties: it coordinates two elements and orders them and can be glossed with

‘immediately afterwards’. As a conjunctive adverb, temporal sequential *then* only coordinates elements of the same category. It can coordinate propositions, VPs, PPs, NPs and Adjectival Phrases. In fact, all these instances correspond to cases of ellipsis or zero anaphora of other elements such as subjects, verbs or VPs. With sequential *then*, zero anaphora is frequent, be it of the subject, verb or even the whole predicate.

In (9), we have zero anaphora of the subject “she”, as a consequence *then* coordinates the two underlined VPs and indicates that the eventualities denoted by the two VPs are chronologically ordered.

(9) She bit her thin lips, hesitated, **then** nodded and fled for the kitchen. (ENC)

In examples (10), (11) and (12), there is an ellipsis of part of the verb but not of the prepositions associated with the verb.

(10) The ceiling lights in the limo changed color from violet to blue, **then** to green and to yellow. (ENC)

(11) Sophie looked away for a moment **and then** back into his eyes. (ENC)

(12) She repeated the gesture, this time pointing firstly at him, **then** at herself, **then** at the ceiling. (ENC)

Thus, *then* coordinates Prepositional Phrases. Note the collocation of *then* with *and* in (11), which marks continuation (Schiffrin 1986). We will see several examples of *and then* throughout the analysis: as a continuative marker linking two elements together, *and* is particularly compatible with sequential *then*. In (11) *then* collocates with the conjunction *and* and is an adverb rather than a conjunction.

In example (13), both the subject and the verb are ellipsed and *then* coordinates NPs.

(13) The other man, happily toying with his sundae, mostly ignored his cigarillo, but as Shadow approached he picked it up, inhaled deeply, and blew two smoke rings - first one large one, **then** another, smaller one, which passed neatly through the first- and he grinned, as if he were astonishingly pleased with himself. (ENC)

In (14) *then* coordinates gerunds.

- (14) As he slid underneath, the nape of his Harris tweed snagged on the bottom of the grate, and he cracked the back of his head on the iron. Very suave, Robert, he thought, fumbling and **then** finally pulling himself through. (ENC)

Finally in (15), the whole proposition is ellipted and *then* alone introduces a section of direct speech, indicating that the silence mentioned in the left context precedes the speech.

- (15) “I like my theory better,” said Shadow. “What's your theory?” “That back then people used to run into the gods from time to time.” “Oh.” Silence: only the rattling of the car, the roar of the engine, the growling of the muffler-which did not sound healthy. **Then**, “Do you think they're still there?” (ENC)

However, *then* cannot be considered as a conjunction of coordination because it can occur in non-initial position, whereas conjunctions of coordination such as *and* can only occur in clause-initial position. Conversely, *then* can be moved around and occur medially with a sequential meaning, as in example (16)b below:

- (16) a. The man nodded, scribbled one final note, **then** he closed the file and put down the ballpoint pen. (ENC)
- b. The man nodded, scribbled one final note, he **then** closed the file and put down the ballpoint pen.

There is a slight difference in meaning between (16)a and b, linked to the scope of *then*. We will see in 4.2. that when *then* is initial, it has scope over the whole clause and introduces a conclusive phase, while in medial position, *then* only has scope over the first following VP and a subsequent conclusive eventuality is expected.

### 2.3. Modifying an adjective

Referential *then* can modify an adjective, as in example (17) below. In this case, it is attached to the modified adjective by a hyphen. Referential *then* can only modify an adjective if the property attributed by the adjective to the noun is valid at a predefined reference time. If we consider that the property attributed by *traditional* corresponds to a stative eventuality of the type ‘be

traditional', it follows that *then* can only modify the adjective if this stative eventuality (which corresponds to Eventuality B) and Eventuality A (the antecedent of *then*). In example (17), the antecedent of *then* is 'when Albus and I left Hogwarts'.

- (17) When Albus and I left Hogwarts we intended to take the **then**-traditional tour of the world together, visiting and observing foreign wizards, before pursuing our separate careers. (ENC)

We have seen that sequential and referential *then* are adverbs that can occur in various positions and fill different functions. Typically, sequential *then* is sentence-initial and referential *then* is sentence-final. However, both markers can occur medially and referential *then* sometimes occur in initial position. In the next section, we look at the distribution of the two markers in the English corpora in order to identify distributional variations and account for them in Section 4.

### 3. Distribution of temporal *then* in the three English Corpora

In this section, we look at the distribution of temporal *then* in the three English original corpora. We find that sequential *then* is considerably more frequent than referential *then* and that, although sequential *then* does, as expected, occur mostly in initial position, referential *then* is not exclusively final. We first give an account of the frequency of the different realisations of *then* in the three corpora (3.1.), before examining the distributional variations between the markers in the corpora in terms of sentence-position (3.2.).

#### 3.1. Frequency of Temporal *then* in the three corpora

As shown in Table 1, the English corpora count a total of 1043 occurrences of *then*. Although most of the occurrences of *then* are found in the ENC, *then* is 1.9 times more frequent in the ECC than in the ENC. On the other hand, *then* is 3.4 times less frequent in the EFC than in the ECC.

**Table 1** - Frequency of *then* in the three original corpora

	<b>Tokens of <i>then</i></b>	<b>N/1000 words</b>
<b>ENC</b>	711	2.7
<b>EFC</b>	76	1.5
<b>ECC</b>	256	5.1
<b>Total</b>	1043	2.8

Table 1 does not take into account the various uses of *then*. Table 2 below, on the other hand, distinguishes the temporal uses of *then* from its non-temporal uses. It indicates that 69.8% of the occurrences of *then* are temporal while 29.6% are non-temporal. It also shows that the difference in the frequency of use of temporal vs. non-temporal *then* is not very substantial in the EFC and the ECC. Conversely, there is a great discrepancy between the uses of temporal vs. non-temporal *then* in the ENC, in which almost 80% of the occurrences of *then* are temporal.

**Table 2** - Temporal *then* vs. non-temporal *then* in the three English corpora

	<b>Temporal</b>		<b>Non-temporal</b>		<b>Others<sup>3</sup></b>		<b>Total</b>	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>ENC</b>	564	79.3	145	20.4	2	0.3	711	100
<b>EFC</b>	35	46.1	41	53.9	0	0	76	100
<b>ECC</b>	129	50.4	123	48.0	4	1.6	256	100
<b>Total</b>	728	<b>69.8</b>	309	<b>29.6</b>	6	<b>0.6</b>	1043	100

Thus, temporal *then* is particularly frequent in the narrative corpus. In order to explain why, we must look at the distribution of referential and sequential *then* in the three corpora.

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<sup>3</sup> Collocations and unclassifiable occurrences.

**Table 3** - Distribution of *then* in each English original corpus

	Referential		Sequential		Mixed or ambiguous		Other <sup>4</sup>		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	36	5.1	467	65.7	61	8.6	147	20.7	711	100
<b>EFC</b>	3	3.9	30	39.5	2	2.6	41	53.9	76	100
<b>ECC</b>	7	<b>2.7</b>	110	<b>43</b>	12	<b>4.7</b>	127	<b>49.6</b>	256	100

Table 3 shows that in all the corpora, the most frequent use of *then* by far is its sequential use. Thus, *then* is mostly used to mark sequence, particularly in the narrative corpus in which 65.7% of the occurrences of *then* are sequential. However, the figures are even more striking when we only look at the temporal occurrences of *then*, *i.e.* the cases in which *then* either refers anaphorically to a predetermined time (referential), marks a relation of sequence between two successive eventualities (sequential), or does both (mixed).

**Table 4** - Temporal *then* in the three English corpora

	Referential		Sequential		Mixed or ambiguous		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	36	6.4	467	82.8	61	10.8	564	100
<b>EFC</b>	3	8.6	30	85.7	2	5.7	35	100
<b>ECC</b>	7	5.4	110	85.3	12	9.3	129	100
<b>Total</b>	46	<b>6.3</b>	607	<b>83.4</b>	75	<b>10.3</b>	728	100

Table 4 shows that in all three corpora, the sequential use of temporal *then* prevails by far over its referential use (83.4% *vs.* 6.3%). Thus, most of the temporal occurrences of *then* are sequential.

### 3.2. Sentence position of temporal *then* in the three corpora

Temporal *then* occurs in initial, medial, or final position. It is considered initial when it occurs before the subject, medial when it occurs after the subject and before the last argument of the

<sup>4</sup> Other occurrences of *then* include non-temporal occurrences, borderline occurrences (between temporal and non-temporal), collocations (*every now and then*), and unidentifiable occurrences (sentence interrupted, unclear reformulation).

VP, and final when it occurs after the last argument of the VP. *Then* also occurs in clauses with zero anaphora of the subject. In that case, *then* might be either initial or medial. Typically, with referential *then*, the omitted subject can be placed before *then* which is then in medial position. Conversely, with sequential *then*, the omitted subject can generally be added after *then*, which is then in initial position. However, with sequential *then*, the subject can sometimes be placed in initial position. This is why we separated the instances of *then* with zero anaphora of the subject from the initial or medial occurrences of *then* in tables 5, 6 and 7.

**Table 5** - Referential *then*: sentence position

	Initial		Medial		Final		Zero anaphora		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	8	22.86	6	17.14	20	57.14	1	2.86	35	100
<b>EFC</b>	2	66.67	0	0	1	33.33	0	0	3	100
<b>ECC</b>	4	<b>57.14</b>	0	<b>0</b>	3	<b>42.86</b>	0	0	7	100

Table 5 gives the syntactic distribution of referential *then* in the three corpora. Due to the small number of occurrences of referential *then* in the corpora, the figures given in Table 5 cannot be considered to be significant. However, we can note that despite the fact that referential *then* has traditionally been called ‘final *then*’ (Schiffrin 1990, 1992; Thompson 1999; *etc.*), it occurs initially in a majority of instances both in the English Film Corpus (almost 67% of the time) and in the English Conversational Corpus (over 57% of the time). Even in the English Narrative Corpus, only 57% of the occurrences of referential *then* are final. This is due to the fact that referential *then* often occurs in initial position in collocation with a preposition or another adverb such as *since*, *until*, *just*, *only*, *etc.* This phenomenon is particularly frequent in interaction because the speaker tends to give a time frame for the described eventuality at the beginning of the utterance, so as to guide the interlocutor and facilitate the understanding of the events. Thus in the three sections of the corpus, 12 out of the 14 occurrences of referential *then* in initial position correspond to such collocations. The compatibility of *then* with a preposition or another adverb can be considered a text to differentiate between referential and sequential *then*. When *then* collocates with *since*, *until*, *only*, *etc.*, it is referential. Referential *then* occurs in medial position only in the narrative corpus, which suggests that this use belongs to the written style.

**Table 6** - Sequential *then*: sentence position

	Initial		Medial		Final		Zero anaphora		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	349	74.89	0	0	0	0	117	25.11	466	100
<b>EFC</b>	24	80	0	0	0	0	6	20.00	30	100
<b>ECC</b>	104	<b>89.66</b>	2	<b>1.72</b>	0	<b>0</b>	10	<b>8.62</b>	116	100

Table 6 gives the sentence positions for sequential *then* in the three corpora. Sequential *then* never occurs in final position, and it occurs only rarely in medial position with a fully sequential meaning. This is due to the fact that we did not include the occurrences of overlapping sequential *then* in table 6, but in Table 7, as mixed occurrences of sequential *then*. Indeed, when sequential *then* occurs with overlapping eventualities, it takes on a referential component and can be said to have a mixed meaning, as we will see in 4.2. Sequential *then* typically occurs in initial position (81.5%), as noted by most researchers in the literature on *then*. We will see in 4.2. that this is due to the fact that initial *then* is typically used as a pivotal device that has scope over the whole right-hand part of the sentence. Its initial position means that it bears on the whole following sentence, whereas a medial position only gives it scope over the VP. Referential *then* also has scope over the VP, which explains the ambiguities and mixed meaning effects that often occur with *then* in medial position: both referential and sequential *then* might occur in medial position, and in that case they bear on the VP. It is then not always easy to distinguish between the two meanings of temporal *then*.

**Table 7** - Mixed *then*: sentence position

	Initial		Medial		Final		Zero anaphora		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	52	88.14	3	5.08	3	5.08	1	1.69	59	100
<b>EFC</b>	1	50	1	50	0	0	0	0	2	100
<b>ECC</b>	14	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	100

Table 7 shows the syntactic distribution of the mixed or ambiguous occurrences of *then*. Included in this table are the overlapping occurrences of sequential *then* and the non-overlapping occurrences of referential *then*. This explains why most of the occurrences of mixed *then* are in initial position: when referential *then* occurs in initial position without being fronted by a preposition or another adverb that would neutralise the sequential meaning typically associated with initial *then*, it often has a mixed meaning, *i.e.* instead of being interpreted as overlapping,



the two eventualities linked by *then* are understood to occur the one after the other. We will come back to this phenomenon in more detail in 4.1.3. and 4.1.4.

The corpus analysis has shown first that sequential *then* is much more frequent than referential *then*, and second that the distributional distinction generally made between sequential *then* and referential *then* does not always hold. The data shows that the opposition between a sentence-initial sequential marker and a sentence-final referential marker is not as clear-cut as has been thought. In Section 4 below, we examine each marker in more detail and endeavour to account for these variations.

#### **4. Function and meaning of temporal *then***

As explained in the previous sections, two functions are typically attributed to temporal *then*: a referential function - which typically corresponds to a sentence-final *then*, and a sequential function generally taken up by a sentence-initial *then*. However, we will see that the distinction between sequential and referential *then* is sometimes difficult to make. Indeed, in some cases the use of *then* implies both an overlap and a relation of sequence between the two eventualities. In others, *then* is referential without overlap of the two eventualities, and in others the two eventualities are interpreted as ordered. Moreover, contrary to Schiffrin's predictions (1990, 1992), we will see that final *then* sometimes shifts the reference point, while in certain cases initial *then* might continue the reference point. We propose a classification that allows for a distinction between all these cases. We first examine the function of referential *then* (4.1.), before turning to sequential *then* (4.2.). In 4.3., we try to account for mixed occurrences of *then* and look at the correlations between mixed meaning and medial position. We then focus on the overlapping of the eventualities as a means to distinguish between referential and sequential *then* and argue that this criterion is not operational (4.4.). Finally, we look at some ambiguous occurrences of *then* in which no clear interpretation is available (4.5.).

##### **4.1. Referential *then***

Referential *then* typically occurs in sentence-final position (4.1.1.), but it is also found in medial and initial position (4.1.2.). We argue that although final *then* is generally referential, initial and

medial *then* can also take on referential functions. In that case, *then* is often non-overlapping (4.1.3.). We show that the overlapping interpretation of the two eventualities linked by *then* is in fact dependant on the aspect of both eventualities more than on the use of *then* itself (4.1.4.). Finally, we look into the interaction effects of referential *then* with tense (4.1.5.).

#### 4.1.1. Final position: general meaning of referential *then*

As shown in section 3, in a majority of cases, referential *then* occurs in final position. This is illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Eventuality A – Eventuality B – *THEN*

**Figure 1** - Referential *then*

Referential *then* refers to a time point or a time interval. In most cases, it is used to identify the time of an eventuality (Eventuality B) with the time of another eventuality mentioned in the left context (Eventuality A). However, it can also refer to a time directly adjacent to the time of Eventuality A.

We argue that referential *then* refers to the topic time of the utterance. The term topic time (TT) was coined by Klein (1994) and is close in meaning to the notion of reference time developed by Reichenbach (1947). Klein defines the topic time as “the time span to which the speaker's claim is confined” (Klein 1994: 4). The notion of topic time is particularly relevant to explain the meaning of *then*. Indeed, referential *then* refers to the time span to which the speaker’s claim about the eventuality is confined. Thus, together with the lexical aspect and aspectual viewpoints of the eventualities, *then* delimits the time span of the topic time. What is more, referential *then* indicates that the topic time does not overlap with the time of speech. This is due to the fact that referential *then* has a distal meaning (Schiffrin 1990, 1992).

- (7) “And under here, Hedwig” — Harry pulled open a door under the stairs — “is where I used to sleep! You never knew me then — Blimey, it’s small, I’d forgotten. ...” (ENC)

Example (7), repeated above, illustrates the use of referential overlapping *then*. *Then* refers to the topic time, which corresponds to the time interval during which Harry slept under the stairs. Eventuality A does not refer to a time period during which Harry was sleeping but rather to a time period during which he had the habit of sleeping under the stairs. In this case, there is an exact overlap between the time of Eventuality A ‘sleep’ and the time of Eventuality B ‘know’, because both eventualities are stative and atelic. As we will see later, the existence or not of an overlap between the eventualities and the nature of that overlap depends on aspectual considerations.

Referential *then* can refer to a time situated before or after the time of speech. In (7) above, the topic time is anterior to S, but in (18) below, it is posterior to S. With *then*, the speaker indicates that the validity of the proposition ‘he’ll meet them’ is limited to the topic time, *i.e.* the time in April when they are to be back from Key West. The antecedent-trigger in this example is ‘in April’, but the antecedent itself is not exactly the month of April. The antecedent-trigger combines with the modal and lexical aspect of Eventuality A to yield the topic time. Thus, *then* refers to a time interval that starts in April, at the time when the referents of the subject ‘they’ come back from Key West, the right boundary of which remains open. Indeed Eventuality A is stative and presented as imperfective. Since it is the time of Eventuality A that corresponds to the topic time of Eventuality B, this time interval is understood to remain open. Eventuality B is predicted to be validated during this time interval. In this example the distal value of *then* is quite marked: *then* opposes the topic time to the time of utterance given by the Eventuality ‘be in Key West’, and the modal *will* highlights the distance between the two eventualities.

- (18) They're in Key West for the winter, they'll be back in April, he'll meet them **then**.  
(ENC)

In examples (7) and (18) Eventualities A and B overlap. The topic time that *then* refers to is the time of Eventuality A. It is determined by the future time reference of Eventuality A conveyed by the modal *will*, combined with the lexical aspect of the eventuality, and with any lexical indication of time such as ‘in April’. The topic time does not necessarily coincide exactly with the time of Eventuality B. In (7) it does because Eventuality B is a state, the validity of which is understood to coincide with the topic time. However in (18) the time of Eventuality B

does not coincide with the topic time; it is included within it. The utterance indicates that Eventuality B is realised within the topic time interval. This is due to the fact that Eventuality B is an accomplishment, it is telic, and thus it cannot overlap exactly with the time of a state. We will examine in 4.1.4. how different combinations of eventuality types yield different kinds of overlaps between Eventuality A and Eventuality B.

Thus, referential *then* provokes a search for a predefined reference time and anchors to it, establishing it as topic time for Eventuality B. Referential *then* must always be interpreted both as a distal marker (*i.e.* as a marker coding distance from the deictic centre) and as an anaphoric marker for a full understanding of its meaning. Indeed, in the first place, as noted by Schiffrin (1990), it indicates that there is no overlap between the eventuality that it locates and the time of speech. This is what Schiffrin (1990) calls its distal meaning. But a distal interpretation does not allow for a retrieval of the reference time that referential *then* is supposed to provide. Combined with tense or a modal providing temporal information, the distal meaning of referential *then* simply indicates that the reference time does not overlap with speech time. It might be anterior or posterior to it. The tense of the VP or a modal generally provides this parameter: with the modal *will*, *then* points to a time point posterior to S (*cf.* (18) above), with past tenses it points to a time point anterior to S (*cf.* (22)). In (18), the modal auxiliary *will* indicates that *then* points to a time posterior to the time of speech. In (7), the past tense indicates that *then* points to a time anterior to the time of speech.

But it is because *then* functions as an anaphor that its referential meaning can be retrieved. The use of referential *then* triggers a search for an antecedent to become topic time of the eventuality it modifies, *i.e.* a time point or time interval retrievable from the left context to which *then* can anchor, and that can serve as temporal location for the eventuality modified by *then*, *i.e.* Eventuality B. In (18), the modal auxiliary *will* only indicates that reference time is posterior to speech time, and it is the antecedent, “in April”, which provides the referential content of the anaphor *then*. Let us now examine the functioning of referential *then* in non-final position.

### 4.1.2. Non-final position

In the corpora, we find occurrences of *then* in initial and medial positions. In 4.1.2.1., we examine how initial *then* can yield a referential meaning, before turning to the effects of placing referential *then* in medial position (4.1.2.2.). Finally, in 4.1.2.3. we look at the use of referential *then* in cleft sentences.

#### 4.1.2.1. Initial position

Although referential *then* occurs mostly finally, we also find occurrences in initial position, typically - as mentioned by Virtanen (1996), with a reinforcing element such as *back, just, until, even, only, etc.*, as it is the case in examples (1), (3) and (4) above. But referential *then* can also occur clause-initially without being coupled with another adverb. However, in order to yield a referential meaning, as opposed to a sequential meaning, a reference time must be given in the left context for *then* to identify it as the topic time for Eventuality B. This is the case in example (8) repeated below, in which Rebecca is a lawyer preparing a case concerning a sex offender who masturbates on trains.

- (8) REBECCA: (H) You know, I had another case, or, .. I have a .. pr- report from another case where, (H)= u=m, ... he wa--- he was crouched down, [and] doing it,  
 RICKIE: [Mhm].  
 REBECCA: and then when .. a man would walk by, he'd sit up,  
 RICKIE: [Yeah].  
 REBECCA: [(H)] And, .. you know, do nothing, and then once the man was through the doors, **then** he'd go back [X X] doing it. (ECC)

The reference time is given by the conjunction *once*, which sets it after the validation of the eventuality that it modifies, *i.e.* ‘be through the doors’. *Then* refers to that time and indicates that it is the topic time.

Schiffrin argues that when referential *then* occurs in initial position, it corresponds to “VP occurrences of *then* (typically interpreted as continuing RT) [that] are preposed for reasons of textual contrast (Schiffrin 1992: 772).” Our data confirms this view. Indeed in (8), there is a clear contrast between an initial situation in which the offender does nothing, and a subsequent situation in which he does something. *Then* points to the time-point at which the man starts

again, highlighting the contrast between this time-point and the preceding time interval. Initial *then* can generally be glossed as *only then*, as is the case here. To a certain degree, referential *then* does have a contrastive value here. But more importantly, it has a restrictive value: it restricts the validity of Eventuality B to the result state interval of Eventuality A.

#### 4.1.2.2. Medial position

Referential *then* can also occur in medial position. In that case, it occurs after the matrix verb, as in example (19) below.

- (19) He was like a mole, trying to push through the earth, like a badger, climbing through the earth, like a groundhog, pushing the earth out of his way, like a bear, but the earth was too hard, too dense, and his breath was coming in gasps, and soon he could go no farther, dig and climb no more, and he knew **then** that he would die somewhere in the deep place beneath the world. (ENC)

In this example the antecedent for *then* is the time at which the character cannot go farther. The antecedent-trigger is the adverb *soon*. The time referred to by *soon* is a time interval opened after the breath of the character starts coming in gasps. It corresponds to the time of the eventuality ‘could go no farther’ (Eventuality A), and to its reference time. Since Eventuality A is stative and imperfective, its reference time is continued and used for Eventuality B, namely ‘know’. The two eventualities (‘could go no farther’, ‘know’) overlap, and *then* indicates that the time of Eventuality A is the topic time of Eventuality B. However, in addition to an overlap between the two eventualities, there is also a relation of sequence. The conjunction *and* that introduces Eventuality B only codes a continuative relation between the two eventualities (Schiffrin 1986) but does not specify a particular order. It is the context that indicates the ordered relation between the eventualities. Indeed, pragmatically, Eventuality A must start before Eventuality B can be validated. The use of *then* in medial position often yields this kind of mixed meaning. We will expand on this phenomenon in 4.3. and 4.5.

#### 4.1.2.3. *Then* in cleft sentences

Referential *then* can also occur as the focussed element of a cleft sentence. In (20), *then* identifies the time interval during which Sophie is standing “in the silence, wondering”, as topic time of Eventuality B.

- (20) a. As she descended again to the deserted living room, she stood a moment in the silence, wondering what could possibly be happening. It was **then** that Sophie heard it. Muffled voices. (ENC)  
 b. She **then** heard muffled voices.  
 c. She heard muffled voices **then**.

The use of a cleft sentence rather than a simple sentence such as ‘She then heard muffled voices’ ((20)b) or ‘She heard muffled voices then’ ((20)c) creates a pausing effect, and so in this case it is used to create suspense. Indeed, (20)b implies an overlap between Eventuality A and Eventuality B, but it also implies sequence, insofar as Eventuality A starts before Eventuality B. Thus, the use of *then* in medial position in a simple sentence would advance narrative time. Conversely, the cleft sentence does not imply a relation of sequence and an advancement of narrative action; on the contrary it produces an effect of stativity, enabling the narrator to create expectation and suspense. She further delays the giving of the new information by using cataphora with the pronoun *it* as object of the verb ‘hear’, giving its antecedent in the next sentence only (“muffled voices”). On the other hand, (20)c does not imply the successive occurrence of the eventualities, but it fails to create suspense or expectation in the reader, and corresponds to a simple recounting of the events.

Clefting might appear as a good test to identify referential occurrences of *then*. For instance, *then* in (19) above could be inserted in a cleft construction, with an undisputable referential meaning: ‘it was *then* that he knew that he would die’. However, instances of sequential *then* can also be inserted in cleft sentences, in which case they become referential. For instance, we have unambiguously identified example (2) as a case of sequential *then* (‘I saw the Priory seal, stuck the key in my pocket, *then* we left’), but if we place *then* in a cleft sentence, it becomes referential: ‘it was *then* that we left’. Thus, the cleft construction shows that although both markers function in a different way, they have a very similar effect, particularly when referential

*then* is non-overlapping as in the cleft version of (2): they both provide a topic time for eventuality B. Let us now discuss cases in which referential *then* is non-overlapping.

#### 4.1.3. Non-overlapping Referential *then*

We saw that referential *then* does not always occur in sentence-final position, and that when it occurs medially it is sometimes compatible with a relation of succession between the two eventualities that it links together. But in some cases, even final *then* does not select the time of Eventuality A as topic time for Eventuality B. Indeed, it seems that with final *then* if Eventuality A is durative and presented as imperfective, then Eventuality B is indeed understood to overlap with Eventuality A. However, if Eventuality A is telic and presented as perfective, then Eventuality B must be understood to overlap with the adjacent time interval or result state of the eventuality.

Schiffrin (1992) argues that in such cases, the use of final *then* creates a durative interpretation of Eventuality A, despite the fact that it is telic:

The position of *then* creates a durative interpretation even with achievement predicates that do not typically allow an inception-of-state reading. (Schiffrin 1992: 765)

However, we disagree with this view and argue that the stative eventuality that overlaps with the eventuality located by *then* in these cases is not Eventuality A but its result state (as defined by Lin 2000, 2003, 2006, *cf.* Chapter 3).

Since referential *then* gives the reference point, it means that when Eventuality A is telic or perfective, *then* shifts the reference point from the time of Eventuality A to a directly adjacent time interval.

(21) Shadow jabbed at Sweeney, forcing him back into a table; empty glasses and ashtrays crashed to the floor. Shadow could have finished him off **then**. (ENC)

In example (21), the antecedent the Eventuality time of which serves as reference time for final *then* is an accomplishment presented as perfective ('crash to the floor'). The time interval that *then* refers to is not the time span during which the glasses and ashtrays are crashing to the



floor but the adjacent time interval in which the result state that emerges from the validation of the accomplishment ‘crash to the floor’ is valid. This state is the state of some glass lying smashed on the floor. However, the topic time delimited by *then* is not exactly the time interval during which this result state is valid, but rather the initial subinterval of its validation. What is meant here is that Shadow could have finished his opponent off directly after the glasses and ashtrays crashed to the floor. Therefore, final *then* is referential but non-overlapping: it indicates that the eventuality that it modifies takes place after the preceding eventuality, and not that the two eventualities overlap.

The same is true of example (22):

- (22) “So, how was prison, Shadow?” “It was fine,” said Shadow. “You would have felt right at home.” She put her foot down on the gas **then**, making the engine roar, and drove on and away. (ENC)

*Then* is final and referential, and the antecedent-trigger for the topic time of the eventuality located by *then* is the act of speaking of Shadow who says, ‘you would have felt right at home’. But the topic time selected by *then* is not the interval during which Shadow is speaking. Indeed, the female character puts her foot down on the gas and drives away in reaction to those words, which are meant to be insulting. Thus, *then* actually refers to the time interval directly adjacent to the time at which Shadow utters those words. In other words, the reference point is shifted to the initial subinterval of time in which the antecedent eventuality (*i.e.* the act of speaking) is validated. The topic time for Eventuality B is the time of the result state of Eventuality A.

Thus, final *then* does not always continue the reference time as contended by Schiffrin (1992); it can also shift it. However, the fact that the shift depends on the aspect of Eventuality A suggests that it has more to do with aspectual considerations than with *then* itself. Schiffrin (1992) herself notes that shifting reference times are often associated with event verbs with perfective meanings, whereas continuing reference times are associated with more stative verbs with imperfective meaning.

It seems that the meaning of final *then* is coerced by the aspect of Eventuality A. Michaelis (2006) defines the phenomenon of *coercion* or *implicit type-shifting* as “an interpretive process

through which the meaning of a verb is shifted in order to resolve semantic conflict between a verb and its grammatical context” (Michaelis 2006: 16). In the case of referential *then*, it seems that it is not the meaning of the verbs that shifts to suit the meaning of *then*, but rather the meaning of *then* that shifts to accommodate the lexical aspect and the aspectual viewpoint of the eventualities. Thus, coding an overlap between two eventualities cannot be considered as an invariant of final *then*. The only invariant of final *then* is that it is referential and refers anaphorically: it refers to a time interval provided by Eventuality A (either the time of Eventuality A or its result state time) and identifies it as topic time for Eventuality B.

Thus, the principle of permanence of the reference point defined by Reichenbach (1947) applies with *then*. If Eventuality A is atelic, durative or imperfective, and so serves as a background for Eventuality B, its reference time continues and is used for Eventuality B as well. On the other hand, if Eventuality A is telic or presented as perfective, it cannot provide a reference point for Eventuality B, and so the initial subinterval of its result state is picked by *then* as a reference point. Unlike *now*, which coerces the interpretation of telic and perfective eventualities as coinciding with the *now*-point in narratives (*cf.* Chapters 1 and 2), *then* cannot coerce an interpretation of overlap of Eventuality A and Eventuality B when A is not stative or imperfective.

- (23) There was a thin, wintery light coming from a tiny opening far above. “Up there?” asked Shadow, wishing that one of his questions would be answered. “I’m supposed to go up there?” The dream took him **then**, the idea becoming the thing itself, and Shadow was crushed into the rock and earth. (ENC)

In (23) above, the character named Shadow is dreaming. Final *then* refers to the time at which a change in the dream occurs, from Shadow asking questions to the dream “taking” him. The last question asked by Shadow or rather the fact that Shadow asked that question corresponds to Eventuality A. This eventuality is telic and presented as perfective since its initial and final endpoints are both visible. Thus, the principle of permanence of the reference point does not apply and Eventuality A cannot provide a reference point for *then* to anchor to. *Then* anchors to the first subinterval of the time interval directly adjacent to Eventuality A. Here, the reader understands the dream to “take” Shadow just after he speaks. The topic time designated by *then* is the initial subinterval of the result state of Eventuality A.

This kind of phenomenon is also found with *then* in initial position, for instance with the temporal collocation *once-then*. Indeed, as illustrated in example (24) below, *once* provides a perfective viewpoint on the eventuality that it introduces and opens a durative result state.

- (24) Once we get the call that the cargo keys are with the recipient, **then** I get the okay to drive. Not a second before. (ENC)

In (24), Eventuality A ‘get the call’ is introduced by *once*, which presents it as perfective. Thus, Eventuality B is presented as validated only after Eventuality A is completed. However with *once*, it is not the eventuality itself only that is presented but also its result state, namely here the state of having gotten the call. The validation of the eventuality ‘get the okay to drive’ is only possible if Eventuality A is completed. Indeed, the relation between the two clauses articulated by *once-then* is a relation of subordination. Since a subordinate clause contains old information, the eventuality of the subordinate clause (*i.e.* the *once*-clause) must be validated before the eventuality of the main clause. Therefore, Eventuality B can only be validated in the time interval during which the result state of Eventuality A is valid. There is an overlap between the result state of Eventuality A and Eventuality B, but not between Eventuality A and Eventuality B. *Then* refers to the initial subinterval of the result state of Eventuality A. Note that this sequential use of referential *then* is very close to the use of *then* in *if-then* structures. Indeed, Eventuality A sets a condition for the validation of Eventuality B. We will come back to this question in Chapter 8, in which we examine the non-temporal uses of *then*.

To sum up, final *then* generally continues R by selecting the reference point of Eventuality A as topic time for Eventuality B. However, R shifts from the Eventuality time of Eventuality A to the time directly adjacent to it when Eventuality A is presented as perfective. In that case, there is no overlap between the two eventualities and the function of referential *then* is reminiscent of the function of sequential *then*: it shifts R from one point in time to another. When it is reinforced by another conjunction focussing on the result state of Eventuality A as in (24), referential *then* can also occur in clause-initial position with a shifted overlapping meaning.

#### 4.1.4. Referential *then* and aspect

The topic time of Eventuality B is given by *then* anaphorically. But as we just explained, in order to determine the time selected by *then* as antecedent, we need to examine the lexical aspect of the eventualities concerned. Indeed, the topic time of Eventuality B is generally provided by Eventuality A, and it is attributed by *then* to Eventuality B. It appears that the selection of the topic time by *then* is dependent on the situation types of Eventualities A and B.

The determining factor for the selection of the topic time is the lexical aspect and aspectual viewpoint of each eventuality. What seems to matter is whether the eventualities are durative or not, and whether they are telic or not. There is a strong correlation between atelic and durative lexical *Aktionsarten* and the imperfective viewpoint on the one hand, and between telic and non-durative *Aktionstypen* and the perfective viewpoint on the other. This is mainly due to the fact that our definition of aspectual viewpoint borrowed from Smith (1997) is based on a distinction between visible or invisible boundaries. Telic eventualities tend to have visible boundaries, whereas atelic eventualities tend to have invisible boundaries. Klein underlines the problem in the following paragraph:

The second problem is that the characterisation of different *Aktionsarten* – states, processes, events – is often based on the presence or nonpresence of a boundary. In Vendler’s widely used classification, four such “time schemata” (as he calls them) are distinguished: states, activities, accomplishments and achievements. Verbs (or verb phrases) which describe a state or an activity, such as to stand or to run, do not involve such a boundary, whereas verbs (or verb phrases) which describe an accomplishment (to paint a picture) or an achievement (to find a solution) are inherently bounded – bounded due to their lexical meaning. Now, if the semantics of grammatical aspect is defined in terms of boundaries, as well, then the difference between inherent lexical properties of the verb, on the one hand, and aspect, on the other, is entirely confounded. If the perfective aspect somehow involves a boundary, then this boundary must be of a different type than the boundary inherent to the lexical content of the verb. (Klein 2009: 20)

Thus, we have to differentiate between the *Aktionsart* and the aspectual viewpoint of the eventualities. We find that there are some restrictions as to the possible combinations of *Aktionsarten* and aspectual viewpoints with *then*. Let us look at the different constraints we can identify from the constructed examples in Table 8.

**Table 8 - Aktionsart, aspectual viewpoint and referential then: various combinations**

Eventuality A / Eventuality B	Durative atelic IMPERF	Durative atelic PERF	Durative telic IMPERF	Durative telic PERF	Instantaneous IMPERF	Instantaneous PERF
Durative atelic IMPERF	(1) a. When he was young, he was an accountant. He lived in France then. <b>O</b>	b. When he was young, he was an accountant. He lived in France for two years then. <b>O</b>	c. When he was young, he was an accountant. He was going to France every month then. <b>O (B=freq)</b>	d. When he was young, he was an accountant. He went to France then. <b>O</b>	e. When he was in France, he was an accountant. He was already dying then. <b>O (B=prelim. phase)</b>	f. When he was young, he was an accountant. He realised he wanted to become a singer then. <b>O</b>
Durative atelic PERF	(2) a. When he was young, he was married for two years. He lived in France then. <b>O</b>	b. When he was young, he was married for two years. He studied French for a year then. <b>O</b>	c. When he was young, he was married for two years. He was going to France every month then. <b>O (B=freq)</b>	d. When he was young, he was married for two years. He went to France then. <b>O (B=prelim. phase)</b>	e. When he was young, he was married for two years. He was already dying then. <b>O (B=prelim. phase)</b>	f. When he was young, he was married for two years. He realised he wanted to become a singer then. <b>O</b>
Durative telic IMPERF	(3) a. I met him on the plane. He was going to France. He was married then. <b>O</b>	b. I met him on the plane. He was going to France. He studied German for two years then. <b>NO</b>	c. I met him on the plane. He was going to France. He was reading <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> then. <b>O (B=freq)</b>	d. I met him on the plane. He was going to France. He read <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> then. <b>O/NO</b>	e. I met him on the plane. He was going to France. He was already dying then. <b>O (B=prelim. phase)</b>	f. I met him on the plane. He was going to France. He realised he wanted to become a singer then. <b>O/NO</b>
Durative telic PERF	(4) a. When he was forty, he got divorced. He was in France then. <b>O</b>	b. When he was forty, he got divorced. He lived in France for two years then. <b>NO</b>	c. When he was forty, he got divorced. He was going to France then. <b>NO</b>	d. When he was forty, he got divorced. He went to France then. <b>NO</b>	e. When he was forty, he got divorced. He was already dying then. <b>O (B=prelim. phase)</b>	f. When he was forty, he got divorced. He realised he wanted to become a singer then. <b>NO</b>
Instantaneous IMPERF	(5) a. In 1998 he was dying. He was in France then. <b>O</b>	b. In 1998 he was dying. He stayed in the hospital for two months then. <b>O</b>	c. In 1998 he was dying. He was reading <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> then. <b>O</b>	d. In 1998 he was dying. He read <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> then. <b>O</b>	e. In 1998 he was dying. He was reaching the end of his journey then. <b>O</b>	f. In 1998 he was dying. He realised he wanted to become a singer then. <b>O</b>
Instantaneous PERF	(6) a. When he was forty he realised he wanted to become a singer. He lived in France then. <b>O</b>	b. When he was forty he realised he wanted to become a singer. He studied French for two years then. <b>NO</b>	c. When he was forty he realised he wanted to become a singer. He was reading <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> then. <b>O</b>	d. When he was forty he realised he wanted to become a singer. He read <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> then. <b>NO</b>	e. When he was forty he realised he wanted to become a singer. He was already dying then. <b>O (B=prelim. phase)</b>	f. When he was forty he realised he wanted to become a singer. He died then. <b>NO</b>
		b'. Last week he realised he wanted to become a singer. He was in France then. <b>O</b>	b'. When he was forty, he read <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> for the first time. He was going to France then. <b>O</b>	b'. Last week, we went to see a movie. I drank a soda then. <b>O/NO</b>	b'. Last week, Mark and I went to see a movie about a singer. Mark realised he wanted to become a singer then. <b>O/NO</b>	b'. Mark realised he had made it back alive. He reached a whole new level of happiness then. <b>NO</b>

<sup>5</sup> **O**: the two eventualities overlap

**NO**: the two eventualities are non-overlapping

**O/NO**: both interpretations are available

**Freq**: frequentative meaning

**Prelim. phase**: type shifting of the VP which refers not to the validation of the eventuality but to its preliminary phases

The table suggests that the interpretation of a discourse sequence with final *then* does indeed depend on the aspectual type and viewpoint of Eventuality A, but it seems that the lexical aspect and aspectual viewpoint of Eventuality B is also determining to decide between an overlapping and a non-overlapping interpretation.

If Eventuality B is imperfective, the time span of B and the time span of A overlap, regardless of the lexical aspect or aspectual viewpoint of Eventuality A. The time span of B coincides exactly to that of A as in (25)a or is broader than that of A as in (28)a or (30)a. This is due to the fact that B is presented as ongoing at topic time and its boundaries are not visible, which means that they must be situated outside of the time interval denoted by Eventuality A if Eventuality A is perfective. If Eventuality A is imperfective, its boundaries are not visible either so the time span of Eventuality A and that of Eventuality B can coincide as in (25)a. Because *then* must pick a topic time interval equal or broader to the time interval of Eventuality A, when the meaning of Eventuality B suggests that the time interval of B is smaller than the time interval of A, *i.e.* when B is telic and A is atelic, Eventuality B undergoes a type-shift and is interpreted as frequentative, *cf.* (25)c and (26)c. When Eventuality B is an achievement, *i.e.* when it is an instantaneous eventuality, it is not compatible with the imperfective and will be interpreted as denoting a preliminary phase to the achievement, *cf.* (25)e, (26)e, (27)e, *etc.*

If Eventuality A is durative and atelic, then the two eventualities will be interpreted as overlapping, regardless of the aspect of Eventuality B, as in (25) and (26). Indeed in that case, *then* selects the time interval of Eventuality A as topic time for Eventuality B. We saw that if Eventuality B was imperfective, there was an overlapping reading. If however Eventuality B is perfective, it means that its boundaries are visible. In that case, when Eventuality A is durative, atelic and imperfective, its boundaries are not visible, which means that the topic time selected by *then* is unbounded. Eventuality B has visible boundaries when it is perfective, and so it is understood to be validated within the time interval selected by *then*, *i.e.* the time interval of Eventuality A. There is no conflict of boundaries, but a relation of inclusion between the time of Eventuality A and the time of Eventuality B.

However when Eventuality A is durative and atelic but perfective as in (26)b and d repeated below, an overlapping reading is possible only if Eventuality B can be understood to be validated within the time scope of Eventuality A.

- (26) b. When he was young, he was married for two years. He studied French for a year **then**.  
 b'. When he was young, he was married for two years. He studied French for five years **then**.  
 d. When he was young, he was married for two years. He went to France **then**.  
 d'. When he was young, he was married for two years. He became a priest **then**.

In (26)b the duration of Eventuality A is given by the adverbial phrase “two years”, and the duration of Eventuality B is given by the adverbial phrase “a year”. *Then* selects the time of Eventuality A as topic time for Eventuality B. Thus, the topic time corresponds to the two years during which the referent of the subject was married. Eventuality B is understood to be validated within that time interval, because its duration is shorter. If however the duration of Eventuality B was superior to that of Eventuality A as in (26)b' below, an overlapping reading is impossible.

This constraint – that an overlapping reading of Eventuality A and Eventuality B when Eventuality A is perfective, durative and atelic is only possible if Eventuality B can be understood to be validated within the time scope of Eventuality A – also implies that Eventuality A and B be compatible with simultaneous realisation. Thus, (26)d is interpreted as overlapping, but in (26)d' the incompatibility of the two eventualities blocks an overlapping reading. Clerical celibacy is an obligation in the Catholic Church, and so worldly considerations coerce a non-overlapping reading of the two eventualities. The only interpretation for (26)d' is that the event of becoming a priest occurred after the completion of Eventuality A, a two-year marriage.

When Eventuality A is telic and Eventuality B is perfective, the possibility of a non-overlapping reading is higher. This is due to the fact that the constraint just mentioned (for an overlapping reading Eventuality B must be understood to occur within the time of Eventuality A) is harder to meet when Eventuality A is telic, *i.e.* when it has a natural endpoint, and Eventuality B is perfective, *i.e.* both its endpoints are visible. The shorter the time span of Eventuality A, the less likely it is that Eventuality B will be validated within this time span.

Thus, in (27)b repeated below, Eventuality A ‘go to France’ is telic and presented as imperfective; Eventuality B ‘study German for two years’ is atelic and presented as perfective. Because the realisation of Eventuality A implies a time span shorter than two years, Eventuality B cannot be understood to be realised within the same time interval as Eventuality A, except in a very specific scenario, namely if the antecedent yielding the topic time of Eventuality B was actually not Eventuality A but another eventuality situated in the left context.

- (31) He worked in Atlanta for many years, and he often flew to New York to visit his family. I met him on the plane. He was going to France. He studied German for two years **then**.

In example (31), the overlapping reading concerns in fact the eventualities ‘work in Atlanta’ and ‘study German’. The eventuality ‘go to France’ overlaps with ‘work in Atlanta’, and thus can be interpreted to overlap with ‘study German’. But in such a configuration, it is actually ‘work in Atlanta’ which corresponds to Eventuality A.

Thus, excluding these configurations, we can say that an overlapping reading is possible only when Eventuality B is understood to fit into the time frame of Eventuality A. If this is not the case, the two eventualities are interpreted as happening in a sequence, or rather the topic time selected by *then* is not the time of Eventuality A but the time of its result state, *i.e.* ‘be in France’ in (27)b Eventuality B is understood to overlap with the result state of Eventuality A. Conversely in (27)b’, Eventuality B ‘talk for two minutes’ can be interpreted to happen within the same time span as ‘go to France’. In that case, an overlapping reading is available.

- (27) b. I met him on the plane. He was going to France. He studied German for two years **then**.  
 b’. I met him on the plane. He was going to France. We talked for two minutes **then**.  
 c. I met him on the plane. He was going to France. He was finishing *Romeo and Juliet* **then**.  
 d. I met him on the plane. He was going to France. He got divorced **then**.  
 d’. I met him on the plane. He was going to France. He read *Romeo and Juliet* **then**.

Note that as far as Eventuality B is concerned, an atelic perfective eventuality has the same effect as a telic perfective eventuality, *cf.* (27)b’ *vs.* (27)d or d’. In (27)d’ Eventuality B ‘read *Romeo and Juliet*’ is telic and imperfective, but most importantly it fills the conditions for an overlapping reading, *i.e.* it can be realised within the time span of Eventuality A ‘go to France’.



Thus, it functions exactly like (27)b. On the other hand, in (27)d Eventuality B ‘get divorced’ cannot be interpreted to be validated during a flight to France. Consequently, no overlapping reading is possible.

The same phenomenon occurs when Eventuality A is perfective. Thus, in (28)b, Eventuality A is perfective, and so is Eventuality B. However, Eventuality B cannot be understood to be completed within the time interval of Eventuality A, and so there is no overlap. The topic time selected by *then* is the time of the result state of ‘get divorced’, *i.e.* the state of being divorced. Eventuality B is understood to overlap with that state. One might argue that in this case an overlapping reading could be accepted in the context of a long divorce, but the adverbial phrase “when he was forty” indicates that the time span of Eventuality A is limited to a year, blocking any overlapping interpretation for this discourse section. The same constraint applies again when Eventuality A and Eventuality B are both telic and perfective. Thus, in (28)d, the eventualities are interpreted as non-overlapping, unless the context indicates that the divorce process was quite long and that the referent of the subject took a trip to France during the period of his divorce. In (28)d’, Eventuality B ‘drink a soda’ can be understood to be realised at the same time as Eventuality A ‘go to see a movie’.

- (28)    b. When he was forty, he got divorced. He lived in France for two years **then**.  
           b’. Last week, he gave me his number. We talked for two minutes **then**.  
           d. When he was forty, he got divorced. He went to France **then**.  
           d’. Last week, we went to see a movie. I drank a soda **then**.

This shows that context and aspect play a major role for the selection of the topic time by *then*. If *then* selects the time of Eventuality A as topic time for Eventuality B, then the two eventualities are understood to overlap. However, *then* can also select the result state of Eventuality A as topic time for Eventuality B, in which case the two eventualities do not overlap. The selection of the topic time by *then* depends on the aspectual value of both eventualities. *Then* selects the time of Eventuality A as topic time for B only if the meaning and the lexical aspect of B are compatible with the meaning and the lexical aspect of A. Semantic considerations usually override aspectual information. Thus, if an overlapping interpretation seems incongruous or illogical, a non-overlapping interpretation will be preferred.

The constraint of the possibility of inclusion of the realisation of Eventuality B within the time interval of Eventuality A when Eventuality B is perfective is even more marked when Eventuality A is instantaneous, in other words when Eventuality A is an achievement. In such a case, an overlapping reading is quite rare. When Eventuality B is durative, an overlapping reading is impossible. Therefore, in (30)b below Eventuality B ‘study French for two years’ cannot be understood to be realised within the time interval of Eventuality A ‘realise he wanted to become a singer’.

- (30) b. When he was forty he realised he wanted to become a singer. He studied French for two years **then**.  
 b’. Last week he realised he wanted to become a singer. He was stunned for a whole minute **then**.  
 d. When he was forty he realised he wanted to become a singer. He read Romeo and Juliet **then**.  
 f. When he was forty he realised he wanted to become a singer. He died **then**.  
 f’. Mark realised he had made it back alive. He reached a whole new level of happiness **then**.

In (30)b’, although the duration of Eventuality B is minimal, it is still superior to that of Eventuality A, and consequently an overlapping reading is not available either. When Eventuality A is telic and perfective, it is still impossible to produce an overlapping meaning as long as Eventuality B is durative. Indeed, if Eventuality A has no duration, it cannot provide a time interval for Eventuality B to unfold, however minimal its duration. Thus, (30)d cannot yield an overlapping meaning. What happens when both eventualities are achievements presented as perfective? Is an overlapping reading possible then? In (30)f an overlapping reading is difficult to obtain for pragmatic reasons: if death is without duration, then it cannot overlap with any other eventuality. In (30)f’ the two achievements (‘realise he had made it back alive’ and ‘reach a whole new level of happiness’) are understood to occur in a very quick succession, and their result states overlap, however an overlapping reading of the two achievements is impossible. Eventuality A is understood to be the cause for the realisation of Eventuality B.

The type of relation established between Eventuality A and Eventuality B, *i.e.* whether they overlap or not, is thus not determined by *then*, but by the aspect (both lexical aspect and lexical viewpoint) of the eventualities, as well as by contextual and pragmatic considerations. This shows that contrary to what is contended by Schiffrin (1990, 1992), final *then* is not

fundamentally overlapping. It is more accurate to define final *then* as referential and not as overlapping: although it does not always have an overlapping value, it always has a referential value. The crucial difference between what Schiffrin calls ‘final *then*’ and ‘initial *then*’ is the fact that final *then* refers to a time point or time interval, whereas initial *then* does not. It seems that all final *then* does in a consistent way is select a topic time for Eventuality B.

To sum up, when Eventuality A is durative and atelic the two eventualities are always interpreted as overlapping. However, there can be no overlapping reading of the two eventualities linked together by *then* when Eventuality A is an achievement presented as perfective and Eventuality B is perfective. When Eventuality A is durative and telic and Eventuality B is perfective, an overlapping reading is only available if Eventuality B can be understood to be realised within the time interval of Eventuality A. This means that when Eventuality B is an achievement presented as perfective, an overlapping reading is always available. Table 9 below recapitulates our findings.

**Table 9** - Referential *then*, between overlap and non-overlap: the parameter of aspect<sup>6</sup>.

Eventuality B Eventuality A	Durative atelic IMPERFECTIVE	Durative atelic PERFECTIVE	Durative telic IMPERFECTIVE	Durative telic PERFECTIVE	Instantaneous IMPERFECTIVE	Instantaneous PERFECTIVE
Durative atelic IMPERFECTIVE	Overlap (A=B)	Overlap (A≥B)	Overlap (A=B, B Freq)	Overlap (A≥B)	Overlap (A - B, B dur)	Overlap (A≥B)
Durative atelic PERFECTIVE	Overlap (A=B)	Overlap (A≥B)	Overlap (A=B, B Freq)	Overlap (A≥B)	Overlap (A - B, B dur)	Overlap (A≥B)
Durative telic IMPERFECTIVE	Overlap (A≤B)	<b>Overlap iff A≥B</b>	Overlap (A≤B)	<b>Overlap iff A≥B</b>	Overlap (A≤B, B dur)	Overlap (A≥B)
Durative telic PERFECTIVE	Overlap (A≤B)	<b>Overlap iff A≥B</b>	Overlap (A≤B)	<b>Overlap iff A≥B</b>	Overlap (A≤B, B dur)	<b>Overlap iff A≥B</b>
Instantaneous IMPERFECTIVE	Overlap (A≤B, A dur)	Overlap (A≥B, A dur)	Overlap (A=B, A dur)	Overlap (A≥B, A dur)	Overlap (A=B, A & B dur)	Overlap (A≥B, A dur)
Instantaneous PERFECTIVE	Overlap (A≤B)	<b>NO OVERLAP</b>	Overlap (A≤B)	<b>NO OVERLAP</b>	Overlap (A≤B, B dur)	<b>NO OVERLAP</b>

Having examined the interaction between the function of *then* and aspect, we now turn to the study of *then* and its interaction with tense.

<sup>6</sup> Legend for Table 9:

(A=B): A and B overlap exactly or without boundaries

(A≥B): B is realised within the time interval of A

(A≤B): A is realised within the time interval of B

Dur: type-shift from non-durative to durative

Freq: Frequentative reading

#### 4.1.5. Referential *then* and tense

In our corpora, referential *then* combines both with present forms (simple present, present perfect) and past forms (preterit, past perfect). It can also occur with modals expressing temporal relations such as *will*, *would*, *could*, *should*. There are some constraints as to the tenses referential *then* can combine with. Or rather, with certain constructions, such as the present perfect, *then* must be combined with other adverbs such as *since*. In this section, we look at the possible combinations of tenses with referential *then*. We find that with all tenses, *then* refers to the topic time of Eventuality B. Tense determines the relation between that topic time on the one hand and the time of speech in interaction or *now*-point in narration on the other. Thus referential *then* combines with tense to locate the topic time.

The most frequent tense associated with referential *then* is the preterit. Indeed, *then* expresses distance from the deictic centre, *i.e.* from the time of speech, and since our corpus is mostly composed of narrative texts relating past events, *then* is generally used to express distance between the time of speech or time of narration and a time in the past. The preterit expresses a distance between the time of speech and a past time. Let us examine some examples.

- (32) “We used to pray for freezes like this back in the old days,” said Hinzemann. “My daddy told me.” “You’d pray for days like this?” “Well, yah, it was the only way the settlers survived **back then**.” (ENC)
- (33) It all happened years and years before you were even thought of, my dear, and the truth is that those of us who were alive **then** never knew what really happened. (ENC)
- (34) Andorra, he thought, feeling his muscles tighten. Incredibly, it was in that barren and forsaken suzerain between Spain and France, shivering in his stone cell, wanting only to die, that Silas had been saved. He had not realised it at the time. The light came long after the thunder. His name was not Silas **then**, although he didn’t recall the name his parents had given him. (ENC)

In (32), *back then* refers to a topic time given by the adverbial phrase “back in the old days”. *Then* + preterit indicates that the time of the eventuality ‘be the only way’ is not valid at the time of speech. However in (32), *then* gives the topic time for ‘be alive’ and locates it before the time of speech. But this does not imply that the eventuality does not remain valid at the time of





- (36) ROY: (...) they [found] pollution on top of Mount Everest,  
 PETE: [Right]. mhm.  
 ROY: ... and at the very bottom of the ocean.  
 PETE: .. Right.  
 ROY: .. <FOOD Well, that's it FOOD>.  
 PETE: .. [Mhm].  
 ROY: [Man] has had .. some effect. On the entire absolute absoluteness of the globe.  
 PETE: .. Right.  
 ROY: .. So in principle, ... the concept of nature, a system inside of which man lives,.. [is over].  
 PETE: [Mhm],.. Right.  
 ROY: .. And then,.. in practice,.. **since then, which was fifteen years ago**,  
 PETE: .. mhm,  
 ROY: ... <MRC man has had such MRC> dramatic impact,.. on ... what we used to think of as nature,.. (H) that,.. (Hx)... that the only way to coexist with nature- --It's no longer,.. nature, the quasi religious,.. overarching, ordering principle,  
 PETE: Right.  
 ROY: in[side of which ..] mankind lives,  
 MARILYN: [Wordsworthian nature].  
 PETE: M[2hm2].  
 ROY: [2and2] uh-,you know,.. w- .. a a thing that we can all rely on as a balancing force,.. over and above ourselves,.. to order the universe. (ECC)

In examples (35) and (36), the present perfect indicates that the eventuality is validated before R, therefore, we have a structure of the type E – R, S. The relation between the reference time and the eventuality time is set by the perfect, and not by *then*. When *then* combines with a present perfect, it does not manipulate R but refers to E. However, since referential *then* indicates that the event time and the topic time – which includes R – overlap, referential *then* only occurs with the present perfect in combination with an adverb that stretches the topic time interval from E to R, such as *since*. Thus, (35)b without *since* is not felicitous.

This sheds some light on the distinction between the notions of reference time and of topic time. The reference time defined by Reichenbach (1947) is construed as a point from which the eventuality is viewed and presented. With the present perfect, the eventuality is viewed from the time of speech retrospectively, therefore R coincides with S. However, the topic time is construed as a time interval in which the predication is said to be valid. When *then* combines with *since* and the present perfect, the topic time of the eventuality is extended from E to R, consequently, although E and R do not overlap, E and the topic time do. This is the case in (35)a,







The present tense is used to indicate the genericity of the situation (Michaelis 2006). Thus, *then* refers to a hypothetical time, *i.e.* the time at which the person shoeing the horse stretches the shoe out, or rather the time directly adjacent to the time of that accomplishment. In (40) the present tense also indicates that the situation is generic.

- (40) You love it when I have problems. You love it because **then** you can be the good one.  
(EFC)

Therefore, *then* also refers to a hypothetical time, *i.e.* the time at which the speaker has problems. The value of *then* in (40) is borderline between a temporal referential meaning and a marker of consequence. We will come back to these borderline cases in Chapter 8.

We have seen that *then* combines with tense to determine the topic time of Eventuality B. It can combine with present or past tenses. It can also combine with modal auxiliaries and refer to a future or hypothetical time. However, *then* can only combine with the present perfect when another marker is there to extend the topic time from E to R.

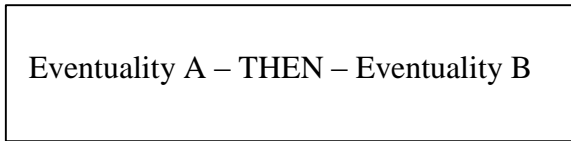
In section 4.1., we have shown that the function of referential *then* is to provide a topic time for Eventuality B. But *then* cannot determine that topic time itself: it functions anaphorically and only selects a predetermined time interval as topic time for B. The location of this time interval is calculated relative to the time interval of Eventuality A in function of its aspectual properties. It will either overlap with the time of Eventuality A, or be directly adjacent to it. Thus, *then* has a restrictive value: it restricts the topic time of Eventuality B to the time span of Eventuality B. We will see in Chapter 8 that this value is crucial for the use of *then* in conditional structures. Let us now examine the function of sequential *then*.

## 4.2. Sequential *then*

In this section, we analyse the functions and distribution of sequential *then*. We first discuss the function of sequential *then* in initial position (4.2.1.), before analysing its use in medial position (4.2.2.). Then, we turn to the study of the interaction of sequential *then* and aspect, which governs the parameter of overlap between Eventualities A and B (4.1.4.). Finally, we briefly examine the interaction of sequential *then* and tense (4.2.4.).

### 4.2.1. Initial position

Sequential *then* typically occurs in initial position. Its function is to mark a relation of sequence between Eventuality A and Eventuality B, as illustrated in Figure 6.



**Figure 6** - Sequential *then*

Although sequential *then* does not refer to a time point or time interval, it opens a new time interval in which Eventuality B is validated. The function of sequential *then* is to open a topic time interval for Eventuality B. *Then* indicates that the claim made by the speaker concerning Eventuality B is limited to the time interval adjacent to the time interval of Eventuality A.

However, the relation established between the two eventualities with initial *then* is not always one of immediate consecution. Borillo (2005a) explains that sequential adverbs generally occur in three different configurations:

- (a) Eventuality A precedes the beginning of Eventuality B (for instance, the French adverb *puis* ‘then, after that’ can only be used if Eventuality A precedes the beginning of Eventuality B.)
- (b) Eventuality A and Eventuality B are separated by a significant time interval (ex: *peu après* ‘soon after’, *plus tard* ‘later’)
- (c) The beginning of Eventuality A precedes the beginning of Eventuality B, *i.e.* there might be an overlap between A and B (ex: *alors* ‘then, at that time’)

It seems that sequential *then* can occur in all three cases in English. Examples (16) (repeated below), (41) and (42) below respectively illustrate the cases (a), (b) and (c) described by Borillo (2005a).

- (16) The man nodded, scribbled one final note, **then** he closed the file and put down the ballpoint pen. (ENC)

- (41) Wednesday pulled out a narrow gold lighter and lit the old man's cigarette. “First we come to New York,” said Czernobog. “All our countrymen go to New York. **Then**, we come out here, to Chicago.” (ENC)
- (42) “Hermione, be quiet, I can hear someone!” He was listening hard, his hands still raised, warning them not to talk. **Then**, over the rush and gush of the dark river beside them, he heard voices again. (ENC)

In example (16), Eventuality A (‘scribble a note’) is over before Eventuality B (‘close the file’) starts. In (41), there is a substantial time interval between Eventuality A (‘come to New York’) and Eventuality B (‘come out here’). Finally in (42), Eventuality A (‘listening hard’) is still ongoing when Eventuality B (‘heard’) starts.

Schiffrin (1992) considers that configuration (0) actually corresponds to an overlapping use of *then* insofar as there is an overlap between the two eventualities. We argue that this use of *then* is primarily sequential, and only marginally referential. Indeed, the referential meaning of *then* here is due to the fact that the eventualities are understood to overlap. But as we saw in 4.1.3., an overlap of the eventualities is not systematic with referential *then*. Reciprocally, sequential *then* is not incompatible with an overlap of the eventualities. We will explore this problem in more detail in 4.4.

In (16), (41) and (42) *then* opens an interval that is identified as topic time for Eventuality B. This topic time does not coincide with the time Eventuality A, on the contrary *then* indicates that there is a relation of sequence between the two. The sequence might be between the whole time interval of Eventuality A and the topic time of Eventuality B, as in (16) and (41), or between the initial subinterval of Eventuality A and the topic time of Eventuality B, as in (42).

We find a lot of occurrences of sequential *then* with zero anaphora of the subject. In those cases, the actual sentence position of *then* is sometimes unclear. Indeed, the position of  $\emptyset$ , the ellipted subject, is not always obvious, as illustrated in example (43).

- (43) a. The bearded man in a pale suit seated next to the unoccupied seat at the very front grinned at Shadow as he got onto the plane, **then** raised his wrist and tapped his watch as Shadow walked past. (ENC)

b. The bearded man in a pale suit seated next to the unoccupied seat at the very front grinned at Shadow as he got onto the plane, **then he** raised his wrist and tapped his watch as Shadow walked past.

c. The bearded man in a pale suit seated next to the unoccupied seat at the very front grinned at Shadow as he got onto the plane. **He then** raised his wrist and tapped his watch as Shadow walked past.

In (43)a, there is zero anaphora of the underlined subject and *then* seems to be clause initial. And indeed, the subject can be added after *then* without modifying the meaning of the sentence, as in (43)b. Conversely, if the subject is added before *then* as in (43)c the discourse sequence is more felicitous if it is preceded by a full stop. Moreover, the meaning of the sequence is slightly altered. Indeed, with initial *then* Eventuality B ('raise his wrist') is presented as conclusive, whereas with medial *then*, it is not presented as conclusive but rather as opening the floor for something else to happen.

This is due to the fact that the scope of sequential *then* varies depending on its sentence-position. Initial *then* has scope over the rest of the sentence, and indicates that the time interval opened after the validation of Eventuality A, *i.e.* the topic time interval of Eventuality B, corresponds to a time interval that includes the time locations of all the following eventualities of the sentence. Thus, if initial *then* is followed by several coordinated eventualities, it has scope over them all and unifies them under the same topic time. In (43)a, the two eventualities 'raise his wrist' and 'tap his watch', although they are distinct from one another and occur in a sequence, are ascribed the same topic time by initial *then*. Thus, they are presented as a whole, and it is actually these two eventualities that constitute Eventuality B, *i.e.* the Eventuality that is articulated with Eventuality A by *then*. Thus, with initial *then*, Eventuality B can in fact correspond to a sequence of eventualities that share a topic time. Conversely, in (43)c, the two eventualities 'raise his wrist' and 'tap his watch' are presented as separate and they are not bound by a single topic time. The fact that the time interval delimited by the adverbial "as Shadow walked past" locates both eventualities in (43)a and b, while it can be understood to refer only to the time of the second eventuality ('tap his watch') in (43)c is evidence of this. In the first case both the raising of the wrist and the tapping of the watch occur while Shadow is walking past, whereas in the second case the temporal location of the eventuality 'raise his wrist' is open to

different interpretations: it could happen before Shadow walks past if the two eventualities are understood to have different topic times or while Shadow walks by if the two eventualities are understood to share a topic time.

Thus, when *then* is initial it has scope over the rest of the whole sentence and unifies the following eventualities under the same topic time. This is why it conveys a sense of conclusiveness: all the following eventualities are perceived as a single eventuality (Eventuality B), which is articulated with Eventuality A, and opposed to it. The opposition between Eventuality A which precedes the topic time established by *then* and Eventuality B which is validated within the topic time interval established by *then* conveys a sense of closure.

Conversely, when sequential *then* is medial it only has scope over the following VP, *i.e.* the first of the following eventualities. The topic time is ascribed only to that first eventuality and then it shifts if there are more eventualities following. Thus, the eventuality introduced by medial *then* is not perceived to have any conclusive value, on the contrary, when it is followed by more eventualities, it is perceived as opening a new sequence of eventualities.

The fact that zero anaphora cases generally correspond to initial-*then* configurations rather than medial-*then* configurations is even more obvious in example (44).

- (44)
- a. The boy inhaled deeply, **then** held his breath. He let the smoke trickle out from his mouth, pulled it back into his nostrils. (ENC)
  - b. The boy inhaled deeply, **then** he held his breath. He let the smoke trickle out from his mouth, pulled it back into his nostrils.
  - c. ?The boy inhaled deeply, he **then** held his breath. He let the smoke trickle out from his mouth, pulled it back into his nostrils.
  - d. The boy inhaled deeply. He **then** held his breath, let the smoke trickle out from his mouth, and pulled it back into his nostrils.

In this example, adding the subject in initial position would be particularly infelicitous. The difference between examples (43) and (44) is that the series of actions articulated by *then* in (43) are quite disconnected from each other, whereas in (44) Eventuality B ('hold one's breath') is

interconnected with Eventuality A ('inhale deeply'); indeed Eventuality B follows *from* Eventuality A. What is more, *then* introduces the last eventuality of the sentence. Initial *then* indicates that the following eventuality or sequence of eventualities completes Eventuality A and corresponds to the conclusive phase of the sequence 'Eventuality A - Eventuality B'. Conversely, medial *then* in (44)c would introduce a discontinuity between Eventuality A and Eventuality B, and imply the opening of a new sequence of events. The discontinuity conveyed by medial *then* is reflected in its syntactic position; the subject separates it from Eventuality A. Thus, for (44)c to be felicitous, one would expect a pause marked by a full stop between Eventuality A and Eventuality B, and the eventualities following Eventuality B would be understood as linked to Eventuality B, as in (44)d. We will come back to this point in more detail in 4.2.2.

To sum up, sequential *then* in initial position opens a topic time for Eventuality B, thereby indicating that Eventuality B is validated within that time interval. If sequential *then* is followed by several eventualities in the same sentence, it has a 'unifying' effect on the various eventualities and presents them as an integrated sequence, particularly when there is zero anaphora of the subject. The topic time opened by initial *then* is shared by all the following eventualities. Thus, Eventuality B corresponds either to a single eventuality if sequential *then* is followed by a single eventuality, or to a sequence of eventualities presented as a whole, if initial *then* is followed by several eventualities. The fact that the single eventuality or the series of eventualities presented as a whole and introduced by initial *then* occur at the end of the sentence gives the *then*-clause a conclusive effect.

#### 4.2.2. Medial position

Sequential *then* can also occur in medial position, between the subject and the VP denoting Eventuality B. In that case, it does not have scope over the rest of the whole sentence but only over the following VP, *i.e.* it sets the topic time of the eventuality denoted by the VP only. This is the case in examples (45) and (46) below.

- (45) “What's happening?” the manager demanded. “The French police are tracking two fugitives tonight.” “So?” “Both of them just walked into our bank.” The manager cursed quietly. “Okay. I'll contact Monsieur Vernet immediately.” The guard **then hung up** and placed a second call. This one to Interpol. (ENC)
- (46) When finally he was able to totter a few steps they all accompanied him to his cupboard, watched him tuck up the locket safely in his dirty blankets, and assured him that they would make its protection their first priority while he was away. He **then made two low bows to Harry and Ron**, and even gave a funny little spasm in Hermione's direction that might have been an attempt at a respectful salute, before Disapparating with the usual loud crack. (ENC)

As mentioned in the previous section (4.2.1.), when sequential *then* occurs in medial position, it opens a new sequence of events and its use implies that another eventuality will follow, generally resulting from the eventuality modified by *then*. Thus in (45) the eventuality ‘hang up’ is followed by the accomplishment ‘place a new call’, the validation of which is dependent on the realisation of the previous eventuality. In (46), the eventuality ‘make two low bows’ is followed by ‘give a little spasm’ and ‘disapparate’.

Our examples further suggest that the eventuality following the *then*-clause, that we will call Eventuality C, is telic. Thus, the *then*-clause opens a new domain, which needs to be closed for the discourse sequence to feel complete. Thus, Eventuality C must have an endpoint.

If *then* had been clause-initial in (45) and (46), it would have had scope over the two following VPs, which would have been presented as a whole. Initial *then* puts the eventualities that it introduces on the same level, so that they are non-remarkable. Contrastively, medial *then* modifies one eventuality only and marks it as the first of a series of several eventualities.

Medial *then* also conveys a relation of immediate sequence between Eventuality A and Eventuality B. Unlike initial *then* which can indicate a sequence between two eventualities separated by a time interval, medial *then* indicates direct consecution, and implies that Eventuality B is validated as soon as Eventuality A is completed, or that the two eventualities overlap. Thus, medial *then* indicates a relation of dependence between Eventuality A and Eventuality B. Or rather, the eventuality introduced by medial *then* is understood to be a natural continuation of Eventuality A. In example (45) the eventuality ‘hang up’ is a logical follow-up to



the last speech act of the character. In (46) the bowing and leave-taking of the elf naturally comes after his master has indicated he wanted the elf to go.

To sum up, sequential *then* in medial position bears on the following VP and not on the whole utterance. As such, it only has scope over the eventuality denoted by the VP and selects a topic time for that eventuality only. Finally, it does not mark Eventuality B as a conclusive eventuality, but indicates that Eventuality A and Eventuality B are directly dependent.

### 4.2.3. Sequential *then* and aspect

Sequential *then* combines with the aspectual properties of Eventuality A and Eventuality B to convey meaning. Because sequential *then* is typically used to convey a sequential relation between events in a narrative, Eventuality A and B are typically telic and perfective, as in (16), (41), (43), (44), (45) and (46). Indeed, each narrated event is typically presented as completed and whole with a perfective viewpoint. Thus, in most cases, Eventuality A and Eventuality B do not overlap when they are linked by sequential *then*. However, when Eventuality A is imperfective as in (42) repeated below, there is an overlap of the two eventualities (*cf.* 4.2.1.).

- (42) “Hermione, be quiet, I can hear someone!” He was listening hard, his hands still raised, warning them not to talk. Then, over the rush and gush of the dark river beside them, he heard voices again. (ENC)

In that case, sequential *then* codes a relation of sequence and it is the aspectual viewpoint of Eventuality A that forces an overlapping reading of the two eventualities. Indeed, as explained in 4.1.4., the imperfective viewpoint and the durativity of Eventuality A imply that both eventualities overlap. But referential *then* does not pick the time of Eventuality A as the topic time in which Eventuality B occurs, rather it picks a time interval that is left open after Eventuality A is validated. Thus, Eventuality B is understood to be validated after Eventuality A, and Eventuality A is understood to be still ongoing when Eventuality B is incepted.

When the eventuality introduced by *then* (Eventuality B) is imperfective or stative, the effect conveyed is suddenness. In example (47) below, *then* introduces a state (‘be outside’). Sequential *then* indicates that the inception of Eventuality B follows the inception of Eventuality A. In (47), Eventuality A is perfective and thus the two eventualities do not overlap. The topic

time selected by *then* is a time interval that is interpreted to open after the completion of Eventuality A. Eventuality B is understood to be validated within that time interval. When Eventuality B is perfective as in (16) or (43), *then* indicates that it is validated within the topic time, but not necessarily that the inception of Eventuality B coincides with the left boundary of the topic time interval. Thus, there might be – and there usually is – a time interval (often very short) in which Eventuality A is completed, and Eventuality B has not yet been incepted. In (16) for instance, the point of completion of the scribbling of the note does not coincide with the point of inception of the closing of the file. There is a short time interval between the two eventualities. However, when Eventuality B is imperfective or stative, its inception is understood to coincide exactly with the left boundary of the topic time selected by *then*. Since when Eventuality A is perfective the topic time selected by *then* corresponds to a time interval directly adjacent to the time interval of Eventuality A, the validation of Eventuality B is understood to follow directly the completion of Eventuality A. Thus, in (47), the two eventualities are interpreted as directly adjacent, it seems that the right boundary of Eventuality A and the left boundary of Eventuality B almost coincide. Moreover, Eventuality B is imperfective, thus its left boundary is not really visible: it is presented as already incepted, as already validated at R, hence the impression of suddenness.

- (47) a. The house was still asleep. He crept through it, willing the floorboards not to creak, and **then** he was outside, and he walked through the snow, his feet leaving deep prints on the sidewalk. (ENC)
- b. ? The house was still asleep. He crept through it, willing the floorboards not to creak, and he was outside, and he walked through the snow, his feet leaving deep prints on the sidewalk.

The state ‘be outside’ is presented as validated directly after Eventuality A ‘creep through it’. Not all the eventualities that have been validated in between - such as open the door, go outside, shut the door - are mentioned. Thus, it seems that the character goes directly from creeping through the house to being outside, which is exactly how he must have felt. The narrator is attempting to render the state of mind of the character, for whom things happen very quickly. The inception of the state is obliterated and the state is presented as already validated at R.

Without *then* however, the sequence of eventualities would sound quite peculiar. Indeed, as we saw, although the presence of sequential *then* can be redundant when the eventualities that occur successively are lexically or logically related, its absence when they are not triggers a grab-bag reading. In this case, the juxtaposition of the eventualities ‘creep through it’ and ‘be outside’ does not necessarily imply a relation of sequence between them, or at least their seeming unrelatedness leaves the door open for a grab-bag interpretation. Thus it seems that the use of *then* is compulsory when Eventuality B is imperfective and durative, because this construction is used to link two distant eventualities and force their interpretation as directly adjacent. Without *then*, their relationship might be unclear.

Similarly in (48) below, Eventuality B is a state (‘be on that couch’). The duration of the time interval separating Eventuality A (‘put the ad in the paper’) and Eventuality B (‘be on that couch’) is given by the adverbial phrase “two weeks later”.

- (48) a. It just happened so fast. We put the ad in the paper and I thought it was gonna take months if at all and **then**, two weeks later, she’s on that couch. (EFC)
- b. It just happened so fast. We put the ad in the paper and I thought it was gonna take months if at all and two weeks later, she’s on that couch.
- c. ?? It just happened so fast. We put the ad in the paper and I thought it was gonna take months if at all and she’s on that couch.

Eventuality B is validated as a consequence of Eventuality A but the use of a stative verb and of the imperfective aspect indicates that the validation of the eventuality is unexpected, and felt to be sudden by the speaker, because the boundaries of the eventuality are not visible. This is confirmed by his words: “I thought it was gonna take months if at all”. The eventuality ‘be on that couch’ is presented from the inside as already validated, its inception is not visible. The absence of a preparatory or inception phase conveys a sense of suddenness.

Note that in this example, the use of *then* is not necessary to convey the successivity of the two distant eventualities (b). This is due to the fact that the time period separating the two eventualities is given, thus suppressing the incongruity of the juxtaposition of the two eventualities for a successive interpretation. However, if the adverbial clause “two weeks later”

is removed as in c., then the utterance is no longer felicitous. Indeed, the relation of sequence between Eventuality A and Eventuality B is not retrievable from the context, the simple present cannot be interpreted as a present of narration anchoring the events to a past reference time and the reading corresponds to a grab-bag interpretation. In this case, the most probable interpretation is that of an overlap of the eventualities, due to the durativity of Eventuality B.

In example (49), Eventuality B corresponds to the activity ‘try to explain the history of the gods in Ireland’ - which could also be considered to be an accomplishment - and is presented as imperfective with the progressive aspect marker *be -ing*.

- (49) All this and more Mr. Ibis told them in the kitchen that night. His shadow on the wall was stretched and birdlike, and as the whiskey flowed Shadow imagined it head of a huge waterfowl, beak long and curved, and it was somewhere in the middle of the second glass that Mad Sweeney himself began to throw both details and irrelevancies into Ibis's narrative (“...such a girl she was, with breasts cream-colored and spackled with freckles, with the tips of them the rich reddish pink of the sunrise on a day when it'll be bucketing down before noon but glorious again by supper...”) and **then** Sweeney was trying, with both hands, to explain the history of the gods in Ireland, wave after wave of them as they came in from Gaul and from Spain and from every damn place, each wave of them transforming the last gods into trolls and fairies and every damn creature until Holy Mother Church herself arrived and every god in Ireland was transformed into a fairy or a saint or a dead King without so much as a by-your-leave...

Thus, the eventuality is seen from the inside, without visible initial or final endpoints. In this case, the characters have been drinking and the narrator uses the combination of *then* + imperfective viewpoint to only present straps of eventualities to the reader. What the reader gets from this passage corresponds to flashes of situations in process, occurring in succession but rather randomly. Therefore, there is no logical link between Mr. Ibis’s narrative and Sweeney’s account of the history of the Irish gods. The narrator wants to emphasise the randomness of the conversation and represent the state of drunkenness of the characters. Thus, the mention of Irish Gods is surprising, unexpected and presented as sudden.

As in the previous example, the removing of *then* would not be felicitous in this example. Indeed, the durative nature of the eventuality and its imperfective viewpoint would lead to an overlapping interpretation, in contradiction to the meaning conveyed with *then*.

In (50), *then* also introduces a state ('be there').

- (50) “Ron! Ron!” Hermione called, half sobbing as she and Harry were buffeted by terrified guests: Harry seized her hand to make sure they weren't separated as a streak of light whizzed over their heads, whether a protective charm or something more sinister he did not know — And **then** Ron was there. He caught hold of Hermione's free arm, and Harry felt her turn on the spot; sight and sound were extinguished as darkness pressed in upon him; all he could feel was Hermione's hand as he was squeezed through space and time, away from the Burrow, away from the descending Death Eaters, away, perhaps, from Voldemort himself. (ENC)

The preparatory sequence preceding *then* corresponds to a whirl of actions happening very fast. The whirl is interrupted by this state, the validation of which is marked not only as far as its aspectual viewpoint is concerned but also typographically, since it is fronted by a hyphen in the text. This all demonstrates how this eventuality comes to interrupt a continuous flow of events and mark a pause in the action. If the narrator had used an accomplishment verb and a perfective viewpoint to recount the entrance of Ron on the scene, the effect of suddenness, and thus of drama, would have been lost. Thus, if we had had “and then Ron arrived”, it would simply have corresponded to a conclusive eventuality closing the whole sequence of eventualities. But with the state 'be there', the suddenness and unexpectedness of the eventuality is underlined. Its inception is not visible and thus its sudden quality is reinforced. As in the previous examples, the removing of *then* here would be infelicitous. It would elicit an overlapping reading of the eventualities.

Note that in all examples, *then* occurs with the conjunction *and*. Its use is not compulsory and it could be omitted in examples (47), (49) and (50). Its use only gives a sense of accumulation, underlining the feeling that the speaker, narrator or focalising character feels that there is a gap between Eventuality A and Eventuality B. In other words, it seems that the conjunction *and* reinforces the meaning of *then*. In (48) on the other hand, the omission of *and* would necessitate a pause marked by a full stop before *then*. We can already note that while referential *then* can occur in subordinate constructions (*cf.* 4.1.2.1.), sequential *then* is a marker of coordination. We will come back to this point in Chapter 9.

**Table 10** - Sequential *then* and aspect

<b>Eventuality B</b> <b>Eventuality A</b>	<b>Perfective</b>	<b>Imperfective</b>
<b>Perfective</b>	No overlap	No overlap – suddenness
<b>Imperfective</b>	Overlap	No overlap – suddenness

In this section, we have examined the interactions between sequential *then* and aspect. As summarised in Table 10 above, we have found that when both eventualities linked by sequential *then* are perfective, they are understood to be non-overlapping, and the context as well as their Aktionsarten provide the approximate duration of the time interval that separates their respective validations. Conversely, when Eventuality A is imperfective and Eventuality B is perfective, although Eventuality B is validated after Eventuality A, the two are interpreted as overlapping. Finally, when Eventuality B denotes a durative eventuality presented as imperfective, whatever the aspect of Eventuality A, the eventualities are interpreted as non-overlapping and the reader is given to understand that Eventuality B happens a) directly after Eventuality A, b) unexpectedly, c) that its validation is remarkable.

#### 4.2.4. Sequential *then* and tense

Having examined the relations between sequential *then* and aspect, we must say a word about the question of tense. We will not, however, expand on the interaction of sequential *then* with tense. Indeed, sequential *then* can occur with any tense. In other words, its function and meaning are not affected by the parameter of tense. Since it is not a positional adverb and does not give the location of the eventuality, its meaning cannot clash with the tense used for eventuality B. We find sequential *then* in present, past, future, and hypothetical contexts. Thus, tense is not a determining parameter for the interpretation of sequential *then*.

In Section 4.2., we have seen the sequential *then* occurs mostly in initial position. Its main function is to open a topic time interval for Eventuality B. Clause-initial *then* has scope over the whole right-hand part of the sentence and if it introduces several sequential eventualities, it presents them as a whole. On the other hand, medial *then* only has scope on the first following VP and rather than presenting all the following eventualities as a conclusive whole, it opens a

series of actions and indicates that another eventuality must follow and that the series opened must be concluded. Finally, the [+/- overlapping] parameter is not determined by *then* but by the aspect of the eventualities, which are understood to overlap only if Eventuality A is imperfective and Eventuality B is perfective. Having looked into the functions of referential *then* (4.1.) and sequential *then* (4.2.), we now propose to examine mixed occurrences of *then*, which are often found in medial position.

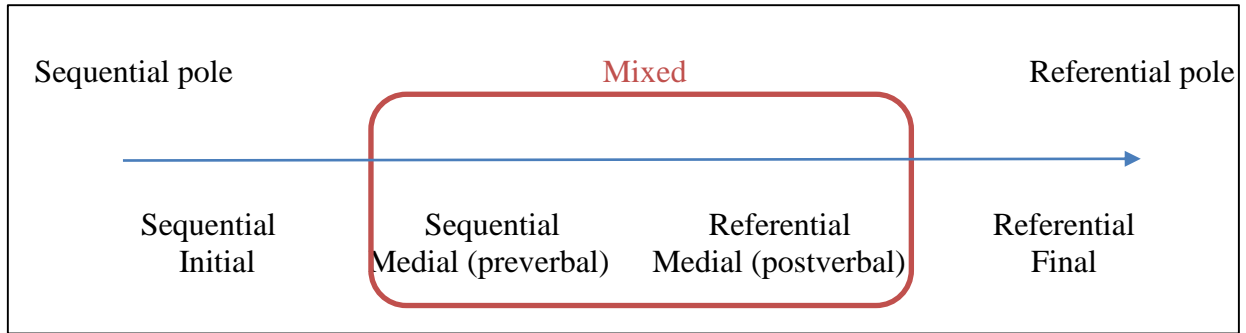
### 4.3. Medial position and mixed meaning

In this section, we give an account of mixed cases of *then* found in our corpora. We show that when *then* is medial, it has a mixed meaning and displays both [+sequential] and [+referential] features, with one of these features stronger than the other.

Preverbal *then* is sequential but it also has a referential component. Thus in (45) and (46) above, *then* indicates that Eventuality B takes place in the time interval that follows the completion of Eventuality A, but it also points to that time. Conversely when referential *then* is medial as in (19) repeated below, it refers to a particular time, but it also corresponds to a case of R-shifting, *i.e.* Eventuality B is validated after Eventuality A is validated. Thus there is, to a certain extent, a relation of sequence between the two eventualities.

- (19) He was like a mole, trying to push through the earth, like a badger, climbing through the earth, like a groundhog, pushing the earth out of his way, like a bear, but the earth was too hard, too dense, and his breath was coming in gasps, and soon he could go no farther, dig and climb no more, and he knew then that he would die somewhere in the deep place beneath the world. (ENC)

It seems that there is a logical syntactic progression from sequential *then* in initial position to referential *then* in final position. The occurrences of *then* in medial position follow a gradient going from very sequential to very referential, depending on the context and most importantly on the aspect of the successive eventualities.



**Figure 7** - From sequential to referential *then*

In (45), sequential *then* indicates that the hanging up takes place after the act of speaking, but it also refers to the *now*-point and indicates that the hanging up takes place ‘at that point in the narrative’. Thus this occurrence of medial *then* also has a referential component. Note that it is important here to differentiate between the notions of *anaphoric* or *overlapping* and *referential*, which have all been used in the literature to describe what we call referential *then*. The term ‘referential’ only indicates that *then* is a positional adverb, which refers to a time point or time interval. On the other hand, the term ‘overlapping’ implies that the times of Eventuality A and Eventuality B coincide. This is not the case here. *Overlapping* and *referential* are not synonymous, and although in this example *then* does not indicate an overlap but a sequence, it is, to a certain extent, referential.

Similarly in (46), *then* indicates that Eventuality B occurs after the validation of Eventuality A: the wizards first reassure the elf, and then the elf makes his bows. But also, *then* indicates that Eventuality B takes place during the time interval directly adjacent to Eventuality A; part of the meaning of *then* could be glossed by ‘at that time’ or ‘when they had assured him that they would make its protection their first priority’. *Then* also has a referential component.

This mixed meaning of sequential *then* suggests that using sequential *then* in medial position corresponds to a marked use of the form. Indeed, the speaker does more than simply indicate a sequence: he points to a time. Whereas sequential *then* in initial position is unmarked and neutrally conveys that the two eventualities follow each other, in medial position it marks the eventuality as a turning point or a preparatory action leading to a subsequent peak and conclusive telic eventuality. This is confirmed by the fact that medial *then* only has scope over the VP; it



introduces an eventuality that opens a series of events, which means that it is expected to be followed by at least another conclusive eventuality (*cf.* 4.2.2.).

Therefore, if we look at the two occurrences of medial *then* in example (51) below, we find that they can be interpreted both as sequential and as referential.

- (51) JIM: (H) ... what what we would have to do is, .. pull that information together.  
 (H) We would get LCL's statement, ... as of .. the end of the year. What the income was,  
 (H) and what the balance was, we would **then** have to, if they had a CD, (H) pull that  
 in, we would report that (H) up to Bankers Systems,  
 FRED: [Okay].  
 JIM: [(H)] and they would **then** combine that, and produce the report. (ECC)

Both occurrences of *then* are clearly sequential insofar as they both indicate that Eventuality A precedes Eventuality B, but rather than simply coding a relation of sequence between two eventualities they seem to point to a predefined time. This time corresponds to a hypothetical time at which Eventuality A would be completed. Indeed, in the first case Eventuality A is 'get LCL's statement'. *Then* indicates that Eventuality B '(have to) pull that in' is validated after the completion of Eventuality A. However, it also points to the time interval directly following the validation of A, and locates Eventuality B in that time interval. Thus, although there is no overlap between the two eventualities, the meaning of *then* is both referential and sequential.

The same is true of the second occurrence of *then* in (51): it could be glossed both as 'after that' and 'at that point', and conveys both meanings. Moreover, both occurrences open a new sequence of events that is closed later by the conclusive and telic eventuality 'produce the report'. The discourse here corresponds to a narrative of hypothetical successive events, and the referential value of *then* can be likened to that of *now* to locate past events in narration: *then* designates that time at which *then* occurs in the narrative, *i.e.* after Eventuality A.<sup>7</sup>

Thus medial *then*, although it is not a shifter, has a distal deictic value: it does not shift the temporal *origo* which remains in (51) with the speaker, but has a deictic distal meaning which allows it to refer directly to the *now*-point of the narrative. Unlike *now*, it does not mark the

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<sup>7</sup> Note however that the mixed value of *then* here is not linked to the hypothetical context. Indeed, the speaker could use the preterit and narrate past events with the same effect ('we then had to pull that in'; 'and they then combined that').

coincidence between the *now*-point of the narrative and the time of speech, but on the contrary emphasises the difference or distance between the two.

We have shown that medial *then*, depending on its preverbal or postverbal position, is either primarily sequential (preverbal) or referential (postverbal), but always mixed. The use of medial *then* is marked; it constitutes a point of contact between sequential and referential *then*. In the next section, we look at the [+/- overlapping] parameter and try to determine all the possible configurations of overlap or non-overlap that can arise with the use of *then*.

#### 4.4. Overlapping vs. non-overlapping

We propose here to give a complete account of all the possible configurations of temporal *then*, using the following parameters: [+sequential], [+referential], [+/-overlapping]. Our objective is to show that both sequential and referential *then* can be overlapping and non-overlapping, which means that ‘overlapping *then*’ (Schiffrin 1990, 1992) is not an adequate term to refer to final occurrences of *then*.

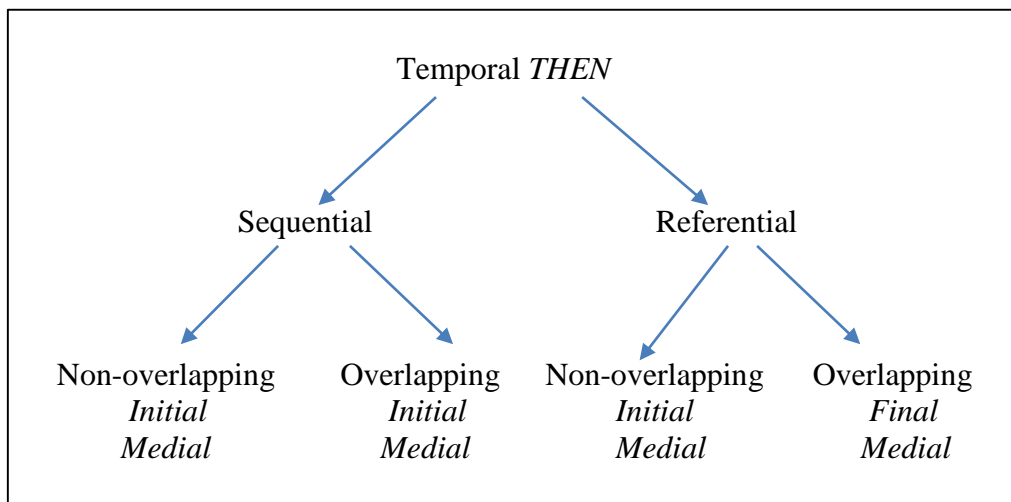
As mentioned in 4.1.3. and 4.2.3., in some cases *then* is compatible with both an overlap and a relation of sequence between two eventualities (*cf.* (42) repeated below), and in others it refers to a time point or time interval with no overlapping of the two eventualities (*cf.* (21) repeated below). In other words, the distinction established by Schiffrin (1990, 1992) between overlapping/final and successive/initial *then* is not always clear-cut: on the one hand, what she calls final *then* is compatible with successive non-overlapping eventualities as in (21), and on the other hand successive or initial *then* can occur with overlapping eventualities as in (42).

- (21) Shadow jabbed at Sweeney, forcing him back into a table; empty glasses and ashtrays crashed to the floor. Shadow could have finished him off then. (ENC)
- (42) “Hermione, be quiet, I can hear someone!” He was listening hard, his hands still raised, warning them not to talk. Then, over the rush and gush of the dark river beside them, he heard voices again. (ENC)

This is due to the fact that the overlap of Eventualities A and B is not determined by *then* but by the lexical aspect or *Aktionsart* of the eventualities. This is why we argue that the distinction

between sequential and referential is much more relevant when analysing *then* than the distinction between sequential and overlapping. *Then* cannot determine whether the two eventualities will overlap or not; it can only refer to a time, *i.e.* the topic time of Eventuality B when it is referential, or open a topic time interval directly adjacent to Eventuality A when it is sequential. In both cases, *then* sets a topic time for Eventuality B. When it is referential, it indicates that topic time and eventuality time coincide, and when it is sequential, it indicates that eventuality time is included in topic time.

Thus, if we add the parameter of overlap of two eventualities to the referential or sequential meaning of *then*, we come up with various possible combinations, *cf.* Figure 8 below. These various configurations are illustrated below.

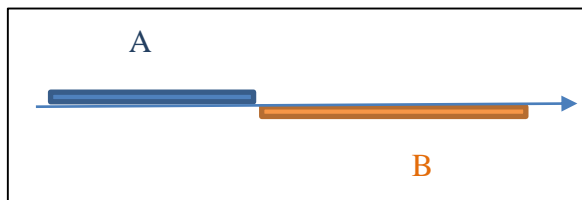


**Figure 8** - Overlapping vs. non-overlapping *then*

There are thus four different combinations when it comes to the overlapping factor. *Then* can be either sequential with no overlap of the eventualities (configuration 1, *cf.* Figure 9 below); it can be sequential with overlap of the eventualities (configuration 2, *cf.* Figure 10 below); it can be referential without the eventualities overlapping (configuration 3, *cf.* Figure 11 below) or it can be referential with the eventualities overlapping (configuration 4, *cf.* Figure 12 below). Configurations 1 and 4 correspond to the majority of the occurrences of *then*. Configurations 2 and 4 often correspond to occurrences with mixed meaning, particularly when *then* occurs in medial position. Let us look at all the possible combinations one by one.

Configuration 1 (Figure 9) corresponds to the most common use of sequential *then*: it is mostly used in cases in which Eventuality A and B are both perfective, thus yielding a sequential and non-overlapping meaning as in (2), (5), (16), (41), (43) and (44). However, Eventuality B might be imperfective as in (47), (48), (49) and (50). Both Eventualities might also be stative and imperfective as in (52). When both eventualities are atelic and durative, they are typically perceived as imperfective, and sequential *then* codes a relation of sequence between the two eventualities without overlap. In (52), *then* articulates two states ('have a yeast infection', 'have one's period') that are valid the one after the other.

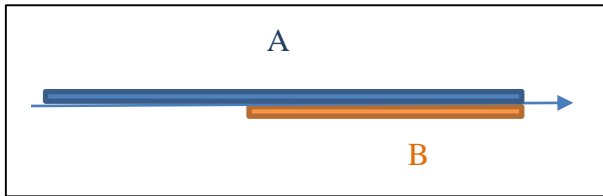
- (52) A: You haven't had sex in three weeks?  
 B: Well, she had a yeast infection, and **then** she had her period right afterwards. (EFC)



**Figure 9** - Configuration 1: [+sequential]; [-overlap]

Configuration 2 (Figure 10 below) occurs with sequential *then* when Eventuality A is durative and imperfective and starts before Eventuality B, but is still ongoing when B is validated. This configuration was classified as sequential by Borillo (2005a), and as overlapping by Schiffrin (1992). We support Borillo's view: in this configuration the overlap is due to the aspect of the eventualities and not to the presence of *then*. However, we note that the overlap of the eventualities endows *then* with a component of referential meaning. Thus, in example (42) repeated below, *then* indicates that Eventuality A 'listen hard' is validated before Eventuality B 'hear voices', but also that Eventuality B occurs when Eventuality A is validated, and could be glossed with a positional adverbial clause such as 'while he was listening with his hands raised'. Thus, it seems that the overlap of the eventualities has consequences on the interpretation of *then*: when the eventualities articulated by sequential *then* overlap, *then* has a referential component.

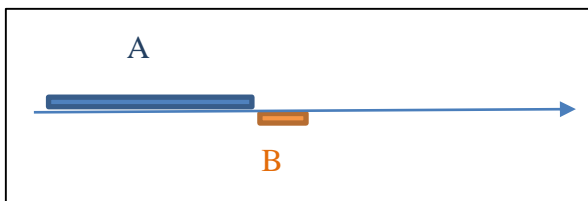
- (42) “Hermione, be quiet, I can hear someone!” He was listening hard, his hands still raised, warning them not to talk. Then, over the rush and gush of the dark river beside them, he heard voices again. (ENC)



**Figure 10** - Configuration 2: [+sequential]; [+overlap]

Configuration 3 (Figure 11) occurs with referential *then* when Eventuality A is telic or presented as perfective and Eventuality B is located in the interval directly adjacent to the final endpoint of Eventuality A, *cf.* examples (4), (7)(8), (19), (21), (22), (23) and (24) among others. Eventuality B might be perfective or imperfective, durative or not, telic or not. In examples (4), (8) and (22), Eventuality B is perfective, and it is understood to be validated and completed in the time interval directly adjacent to the time interval of Eventuality A. In other words, the topic time selected by *then* that coincides with the eventuality time of Eventuality B is the time interval directly adjacent to the time interval of Eventuality A. In (19), (21) on the other hand, Eventuality B is imperfective or atelic and the time interval of Eventuality B is extended, and its right boundary is open. However, with this configuration, the focus is on the initial subinterval of the Eventuality time. The topic time that *then* sets for Eventuality B corresponds to the initial subinterval of the time interval directly adjacent to Eventuality A.

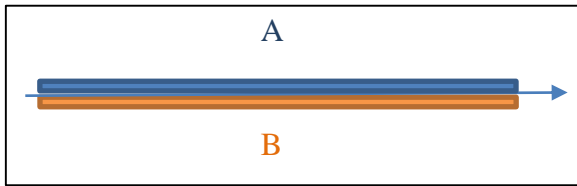
This use of referential *then* can also be assimilated to a mixed meaning in so far as *then* is referential but the two eventualities are understood to occur in a sequence.



**Figure 11** - Configuration 3: [+referential]; [-overlap]

Configuration 4 (Figure 12) corresponds to most cases of referential *then*, and typically occurs when *then* is in sentence-final position as in example (3). In that case, Eventuality A and

Eventuality B are understood to overlap for the whole duration of at least one of the eventualities (cf. 4.1.4. and Tables 8 and 9 for a detailed account of all the possible configurations).



**Figure 12** - Configuration 4: [+referential]; [+overlap]

As explained in 4.3., there is a continuum between sequential and referential *then*. Initial *then* is typically sequential, medial *then* is generally mixed, often with either a prevailing sequential meaning (typically in pre-verbal position), or a prevailing referential meaning (typically in post-verbal position), and final *then* is always referential. As for the mixed cases, configuration 2 is closer on the continuum to sequential *then* because its primary function is to indicate that Eventuality B is validated after Eventuality A. The overlap of the two eventualities is due not to the use of *then*, but to the lexical aspect of Eventuality A, which is durative. On the other hand, configuration 3 is closer to referential *then* insofar as the function of *then* is primarily to refer to a time point, and not to mark a sequence.

To sum up, sequential *then* can be used when there is an overlap of the two eventualities, and in that case it is still primarily sequential. On the other hand, referential *then* can sometimes point to a time interval adjacent to the time interval of Eventuality A, when Eventuality A is telic or presented as perfective. This confirms that the overlapping parameter should not be used as a key to differentiate between sequential and referential *then*. Let us now briefly outline some ambiguities that can arise in the use of *then*.

#### 4.5. Ambiguities

In some cases, the meaning of *then* is ambiguous between sequential and referential, particularly in the narrative corpus for which we have no sound records. Indeed, in the English Film Corpus and the English Conversational Corpus, intonation often helps to decide between referential and sequential *then*. Referential *then* is often stressed, whereas sequential *then* is not. However, things are not always that clear.

Example (53) is ambiguous between a referential overlapping *then* and a sequential non-overlapping *then*.

- (53) RICKIE: when I called the BART police, they said <Q oh no one's even said anything to us Q>, you know [and uh],  
 REBECCA: [Yeah].  
 RICKIE: (SNIFF) That was that, and then I think, uh=,.. couple of days after,.. one of the uh,.. detectives, (H) called me and **then** I made a report. He wanted to see if I can ID him first, and then, .. we just made a report and he said,.. he'll submit it and everything. (ECC)

Indeed, the speaker could mean that she made the report during the phone call: it would then be an oral account of the events given to the policeman over the phone. In that case, Eventuality A ('call me') and Eventuality B ('make a report') overlap, with *then* taking the time of Eventuality A as a reference point and referring to it, thereby locating the topic time of Eventuality B at R. In fact, depending on the interpretation of the eventuality 'call' as an accomplishment the endpoint of which would be the dialling of a number or the end of a conversation, the eventualities could be understood to overlap or not. If they overlap, we have a case similar to the one represented in Figure 12. But the speaker could also mean that the report was made after the phone call, in which case *then* would be interpreted as sequential and non-overlapping. This shows that the nature of the eventualities and their contextual association play a major role in the interpretation of *then*. Although *then* is in clause-initial position and unstressed, which would suggest that it is sequential, it can be understood to mean *only then*, in which case it would be referential. Indeed, the speaker is explaining how she first went to the police but did not have time to file a report, then called later, only to be contacted again later by the detective. Thus, *then* here seems to emphasise the fact that the report could not be made before that time.

Similarly, example (54) seems at first ambiguous between referential and sequential *then*.

- (54) PAT: And we later found out from the hospital that's because I'm, uh...  
 DOCTOR: Undiagnosed bipolar.  
 PAT: Yeah. With mood swings and weird thinking brought on by severe stress, which rarely happens, thank God. And the shower incident happened, everything snapped, so I **then** realised that, "Oh, wow, I've been dealing with this my whole life."  
 (EFC)

Indeed, *then* is medial and could take on both meanings. On the one hand, it seems clear that Eventuality B ‘realise’ occurs after Eventuality A ‘snap’, however *then* seems to refer to a precise time point, *i.e.* the time after everything snapped when the character has time to reflect on the events. What is more, *then* here is stressed by the speaker, with the effect of reinforcing referentiality. Thus, it seems that this occurrence corresponds to a referential non-overlapping occurrence of *then*. Our classification opposing sequential and referential with overlapping as an external parameter enables us to disambiguate most cases of *then*.

We have seen that *then* can sometimes have an ambiguous meaning. It is rather rare, because the context and intonation are usually sufficient to resolve such ambiguities. However, in some cases, the interpretation of *then* is unclear. The fact that this does not impede communication is a sign that referential and sequential *then* are quite close in function.

In Section 4, we have examined the respective functions of referential and sequential *then*. We have shown that both markers determine the topic time of Eventuality B. While referential *then* indicates that Eventuality B includes that topic time, sequential *then* indicates that the topic time of Eventuality B is larger than Eventuality B itself: it opens a new topic time interval in which the Eventuality B is validated. Although referential *then* typically combines with an overlapping of the two eventualities that it links together anaphorically, it is also compatible with a shift of the reference point and a non-overlap of the eventualities. Similarly, while sequential *then* typically combines with a non-overlap of the eventualities, it does sometimes occur with overlapping eventualities. Thus, we have shown that the overlapping parameter is not adequate to distinguish between the two markers. Referential *then* is typically clause-final while sequential *then* is typically clause-initial. However, both can occur in medial position, in which case they often have a mixed meaning. Having discussed the various functions of temporal *then*, we now propose to look into some of its discursive functions.

## 5. Temporal *then*: discursive functions

In Section 5, we briefly outline some discursive functions of sequential and referential *then*. As a sequential marker ordering two eventualities, sequential *then* is very useful for text-structuring.



We examine its discourse-organising function in 5.1., before turning to its global use in 5.2. Finally, we look at the global use of referential *then* in 5.3.

### 5.1. Sequential *then* as a device of discourse organisation

The use of sequential *then* is very frequent in narration in which adverbials are used to indicate progress of the action. *Then* is the most basic adverbial marker of the temporal text strategy (Virtanen 1996). However, it is not a marker of peak events. Indeed, Virtanen explains that,

the size of the temporal material signalling a textual shift can be interpreted as reflecting the size of the boundary, which thus contributes to the signalling of the hierarchy of text structure. (1996: 170)

However, sequential *then* is indeed a boundary marker. It marks a boundary between Eventuality A and Eventuality B insofar as it indicates that the left boundary of Eventuality A does not overlap with Eventuality B. Even when the two eventualities overlap, *then* splits the discourse sequence into two, indicating that Eventuality A is part of the initial phase of the sequence and that Eventuality B corresponds to the conclusive phase the sequence, or the resolution phase. *Then* functions as a pivotal device between sequence A and sequence B. Thus, the use of *then* indicates that all the eventualities that follow in the discourse sequence are brought to the same level. Whether *then* introduces one or several successive eventualities, these are presented as one phase of the whole sequence, *i.e.* the conclusive phase. Thus, sequential *then* has a unifying effect on the eventualities that follow in the sentence and presents them as a whole. Another way of putting it is to say that sequential *then* sets the topic time for all the following eventualities of the sentence. As a sentence-initial marker, it has scope over the whole right part of the sentence and all the eventualities are understood to occur within the topic time set by *then*. Often, zero anaphora of the subject reinforces the unifying effect of *then*. Indeed, zero anaphora creates an invisible link between all the eventualities because they can only be interpreted felicitously if the subject is retrieved from the left context. Consequently, the interpretation of all the following clauses with zero anaphora is dependent on that first clause which mentions the subject, as in example (55).

- (55) “(...) Got that? Do you want me to write it down for you?” “No,” said Shadow. “It’s fine. I can remember.” The man scowled fleetingly, **then** pulled a business card from his wallet, scribbled on it, and gave it to Shadow, saying, “Give this to Jacquel.” (ENC)

In this example, the eventualities ‘pull a business card’, ‘scribble on it’, ‘give it’, and ‘say’, which occur in a sequence, are seen as a whole. *Then* divides the sequence of actions into two: first, the scowling of the man (Eventuality A), and then, all the following eventualities which are part of one big accomplishment, *i.e.* that of giving a message to Shadow for Jacquel.

When several *then* appear in a same discourse sequence, they actually operate at different levels. Thus, in example (56) below, there are two occurrences of *then*, and therefore two different sequences of events are described.

- (56) a. He wrote down an address on a slip of paper, **then** passed it to Shadow, who read the address, written in perfect copperplate handwriting, **and then** folded it up and put it in his pocket. (ENC)
- b. ?He wrote down an address on a slip of paper, passed it to Shadow, who read the address, written in perfect copperplate handwriting, **and then** folded it up and put it in his pocket.

The first sequence corresponds to ‘write down an address’ (Eventuality A) – *then* – ‘pass it to Shadow’ (Eventuality B), and the second sequence, disconnected from the first, is described in a relative clause: ‘read the address’ (Eventuality A) – *and then* – ‘fold it up’ + ‘put it in his pocket’. The second occurrence of *then* sets the topic time for the last two eventualities, presenting them as parts of a same bigger sequence of events. The conjunction *and* has a continuative meaning and links together the two elements of the sequence (Schiffrin 1986), while *then* qualifies the relation as a relation of sequence.

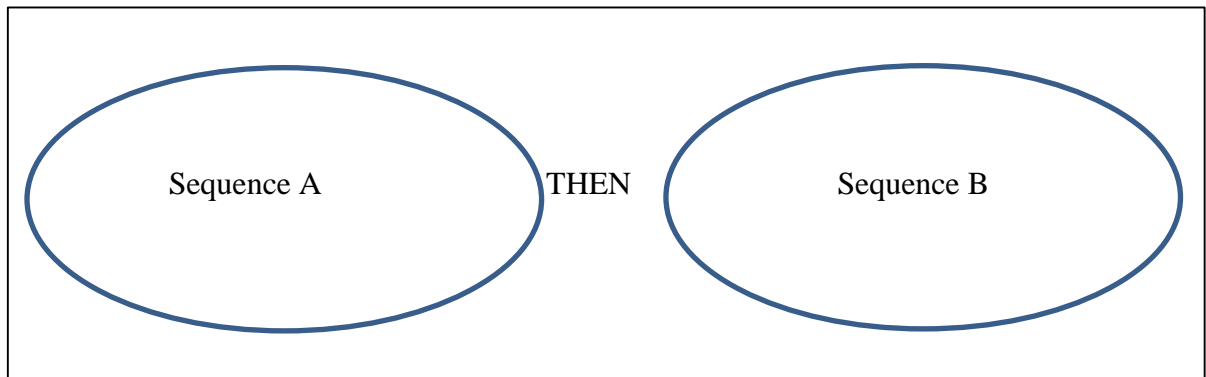
In (56) if *then* is omitted, something is missing. Or more exactly, the last subsequence introduced by *then* might, at first reading, be understood to correspond to the actions performed not by Shadow, but by the character who wrote the address. Indeed, the enumeration of a series of actions without a conjunctive adverb to relate them renders them somewhat undistinguishable from one another, and corresponds to a build-up that the reader expects to be concluded with an event or a sequence of events introduced by an adverb like *then*. The absence of *then* implies that

the first two eventualities are part of the same sequence. With *then* on the other hand, we have an opening or introduction on the left side, and then a conclusion on the right side. Therefore, *then* is conclusive: it divides the larger sequence into preliminary actions on its left, and conclusive actions on its right. Moreover, it erases the distinction between the sub-events of sequences of events: they are seen as a whole, be it on the left or on the right side.

Accordingly, in example (57) below, *then* initiates a conclusive sequence.

- (57) A car drew up, and a man got out holding a small gray sack and a key. Shadow watched as Wednesday apologized to the man, **then** made him sign the clipboard, checked his deposit slip, painstakingly wrote him out a receipt and puzzled over which copy to keep, and, finally, opened his big black metal case and put the man's sack inside. (ENC)

*Then* implies that all the eventualities that follow are part of a same sequence. *Then* could be moved to any following clause-initial position, and would then only have scope over the following sequences as a smoothing device, making them into one sequence. This is in keeping with Virtanen's (1996) analysis of *then* as a foregrounding marker: *then* opens a topic time interval that has scope over the following eventualities of the sentence, and brings them to the fore as a conclusive sequence.



**Figure 13** - *Then* as a discourse organiser

We have shown in Section 5.1. that sequential *then* can be used as a text-structuring device. It has a foregrounding unifying effect on the following eventualities within the sentence. It opens a topic time and implies that all the remaining eventualities of the sentence are validated within that same topic time. Since it presents what follows as a whole, sequential *then* has a conclusive function in a sequence: it introduces the final phase of a wider sequence, though this final phase

might be composed of several eventualities. Similarly, *then* can operate on a global scale at the level of the narrative.

## 5.2. Global use of sequential *then*

The discourse-organising function of sequential *then* can be used at the global level, *i.e.* at the level of the narrative. Schiffrin gives the following definition of the global use of a form:

Global relationships are either those found between nonadjacent propositions or those whose relationship exists at a higher level of discourse structure. (Schiffrin 1992: 789)

When used at a global level, the function of *then* is to mark a relation of sequence between larger chunks of discourse. It is often used by speakers telling a story to allow them to come back to their thread. This is the case in example (58), in which Rebecca, a lawyer, discusses a case of exhibitionism with some victims.

- (58) a. RICKIE: [Yea=h]. .. Okay.  
 REBECCA: .. So.... (H)= U=m,.. o[kay **so then**] you got off,  
 RICKIE: [(H) (Hx)=]  
 REBECCA: ... at your stop. (ECC)  
 (digression)  
 b. RICKIE: Okay.  
 REBECCA: Okay. (H) ... U=m, ... (TSK) .. **and then**, .. uh, **then** when you got off, you called .. the poli[ce]. (ECC)

Rickie (the victim) has just told her what happened, *i.e.* a man masturbated next to her on the train. (58)a corresponds to an exchange that they have just after Rickie explained what happened on the train. Then, Rebecca and Rickie digress a little and talk about the fact that a man subjected to such a situation would probably not have felt the same, insofar as he would probably not have felt as threatened as a woman could. After this digression, Rebecca comes back to the narrative to ask Rickie what she did when she got off the train in (58)b.

The first occurrence of *so then* in (58)a introduces the eventuality ‘get off’ that follows the aggression. But in (58)b the occurrences of *then* operate at a discourse level, and their role is to go back to the sequence of the narrative. The first *and then* in b is similar to a filler; it enables the speaker to think back to the last eventuality of the narrative that was mentioned some time ago

(in a). Then, she takes it up again as a real sequential *then* introducing a new eventuality. Thus, sequential *then* might be used as a filler and as a global marker, participating to discourse cohesion and enabling to go back and forth between the narrative and a parallel conversation. We will now see that referential *then* can also take on a global meaning.

### 5.3. Referential *then*: discursive function?

Unlike sequential *then*, referential *then* does not, in itself, have text-organising functions. Schiffrin considers that final *then* can also have a global meaning, but this global meaning is not linked to discourse organisation: it emerges when the time *then* refers to is not limited to the time interval of Eventuality A, but corresponds to a broader time interval relevant to the reported experience. She gives the following example of a global use of *then*:

- (59) a. And, one time he woke up, right,  
 b. and he went out to blow his nose.  
 c. And we were only kids **then**. (Schiffrin 1992: 789)

Such a use of referential *then* is frequent and occurs when Eventuality B is durative and atelic, as we saw in 4.1.4. We find a global use of referential *then* in example (1) repeated below:

- (1) Sophie had indeed seen the initials P.S. once before, in a kind of monogram. It was the day before her ninth birthday. She was secretly combing the house, searching for hidden birthday presents. Even then, she could not bear secrets kept from her. (ENC)

In this example, *then* does not simply select the time interval of 24 hours corresponding to the day before Sophie's ninth birthday as topic time for Eventuality B 'bear secrets kept from her'. Rather, *then* refers to a larger time interval that includes that day, although its exact size is not clear. It probably refers to the whole period of her childhood. However, as explained in 4.1.4., this global use of *then* depends on the *Aktionsart* of Eventuality B, which must be stative.

Thus, the global use of *then* does not participate to text-organisation. It seems that sequential *then*, which is a marker of coordination, is more compatible with global text organisation than referential *then*, which is closer to subordination. Indeed, referential *then* can be glossed with a *when*-clause. In (1) for instance, *then* could be glossed with 'when she was nine'. It is the fact that referential *then* can be the anaphor of a subordinate clause that makes it a good candidate to

introduce the consequence in *if-then* constructions. In such constructions however *then* loses part of its temporal meaning and takes on a pragmatic value. We will examine the pragmatic values of *then* in Chapter 8.

We have shown in Section 5 that sequential *then* can be used for text-structuring purposes. It foregrounds the following eventuality and has a conclusive value, be it at the sentence level or at the narrative level. As for referential *then*, it does not have discourse-organising functions. It can only take on a pragmatic value by shedding its temporal meaning. This suggests that markers with a referential content such as referential *then* are not good candidates to serve as discourse-organising devices, while referentially empty markers like sequential *then* are. We will explore this question further in Chapter 8. Let us first do a brief contrastive analysis of temporal *now* and *then*.

## 6. *Now and then*

We have seen that although referential *then* does not operate deictically, it is the distal counterpart of *now*: while *now* refers to the time of utterance, *then* refers to a time other than the time of utterance. Referential *now* and referential *then* share many semantic traits: they refer to a time interval that includes R and indicate that the eventuality that they modify overlaps with that point. However, there are some differences between the two markers: while *now* is inchoative and contrastive, referential *then* is not. Referential *then* does not code contrast or inception, but only overlap, either with the antecedent eventuality or with its result state. It also often has a restrictive value.

Considering this, we would like to draw attention to the fact that sequential *then* seems to display some of the properties associated with *now*. On the one hand, we have seen that sequential *then*, like *now*, opens a time interval which remains unbounded. Moreover, like *now*, sequential *then* implies the existence of an adjacent eventuality and marks a boundary between two eventualities.

In order to examine the common characteristics of *now* and sequential *then*, we will briefly look into two phenomena: the use of *now that* constructions, which are impossible with *then* (6.1.), and the use of *now* in narration (6.2.).

### 6.1. *Now that* vs. *\*then that*

We have seen in Chapter 1 that the adverb *now* can be used with the conjunction *that* and take a subordinate clause as in (60).

(60) a. **Now that** the guards are leaving the perimeter, we can get out of here. (ENC)

It can also take a subordinate clause in past contexts, as in example (61)a below, in which the focalising character is approaching the cemetery where his parents are buried, to see their tombs for the first time. Conversely, (61)b suggests that *then* cannot take a subordinate clause.

- (61) a. **Now that** he was so near, he wondered whether he wanted to see after all.  
 b. **\*Then that** he was so near, he wondered whether he wanted to see after all.  
 c. **Now**, he wondered whether he wanted to see after all.  
 d. **Then**, he wondered whether he wanted to see after all.  
 e. It was **now that he was so near** that he wondered whether he wanted to see after all.  
 f. **\*It was then that he was so near** that he wondered whether he wanted to see after all.  
 g. It was **now** that he wondered whether he wanted to see after all.  
 h. It was **then** that he wondered whether he wanted to see after all.

Sentence d shows that *then* is acceptable with a mixed meaning without a complement clause. Similarly, while in f, *then + that*-complement is not acceptable as the focussed element of a cleft sentence, it is acceptable alone as the focussed element of a cleft sentence in h, with a referential meaning. All these examples demonstrate that while *then* can occupy some of the nominal slots occupied by *now* (it can occur after a preposition as in *until then*, it can be the focussed element of a cleft sentence, it can be subject of a clause, *etc.*), it cannot take a complement clause. As noted in 2.1., Huddleston & Pullum (2002) have argued that this is due to the fact that *then* is a pro-form: it is the anaphor of a PP and thus cannot take a complement. In

the same vein, Boucher (1992) argues that it is *now* that displays unusual syntactic properties in allowing this construction. He links the use of *now* with a complement clause to the use of *nu* ‘now’ in Old English, which had two functions: on the one hand, it was a temporal adverb, and on the other it was a conjunctive marker equivalent to *now that*. He argues that the addition of *that* might have been motivated by a desire to disambiguate the scope of *now* (*now John has come / now that John has come*).

In addition to these factors, we would like to suggest that there might be a semantic reason behind the impossibility for *then* to take a *that*-complement, while the meaning of *now* makes it particularly compatible with it. Indeed, we have seen that *now* is a contrastive marker establishing a boundary between a past or future situation and the currently relevant situation. It is an inchoative marker, and as such presents the situation as bounded to the left, and unbounded to the right – or vice-versa if the current time interval is opposed to a future situation. When *now* takes a *that*-complement, the clause introduced by *that* is preconstructed (*cf.* Chapter 1), in other words, it is validated prior to the time of speech or, in our example, the *now*-point. Thus, ‘now that he was so near’ refers to the time interval of the result state of the eventuality ‘be so near’, which inchoative *now* declares to be relevant as of the *now*-point. With *now that* the left boundary of the eventuality is given. Conversely, *then* refers to the topic time of the eventuality, which is calculated relative to Eventuality A, and which always corresponds to a limited interval. While with *now that* the time interval selected by *now* - *i.e.* in our example the time interval of the eventuality ‘wonder’ - overlaps with the time interval of the result state given by the *that*-complement (‘be so near’), with *then*, the overlap would be minimal. Indeed, although we have seen that *then* can refer to the initial subinterval of the result state of Eventuality A in case of an R-shift, it cannot select an open-ended time interval, and thus it cannot select the result state of Eventuality A in its entirety, but only its initial subinterval. *Then* cannot refer simultaneously to the unbounded time interval of the result state and to the bounded time interval of Eventuality B. Thus, the inchoative nature of *now* and the fact that it presents eventualities as open-ended makes it particularly compatible with result states expressed by subordinate clauses.

In fact, we might consider that the function of *now that*, which involves, like *then*, two eventualities, with one described as validated before the time of speech or *now*-point, and the other described as relevant as of that point, is very close in meaning and function to sequential



*then*. Indeed, sequential *then* opens a topic time interval for Eventuality B at R, and this interval is unbounded. Since *now* marks the inception point of the relevance of the eventuality, it can also be considered to open the topic time of the eventuality.

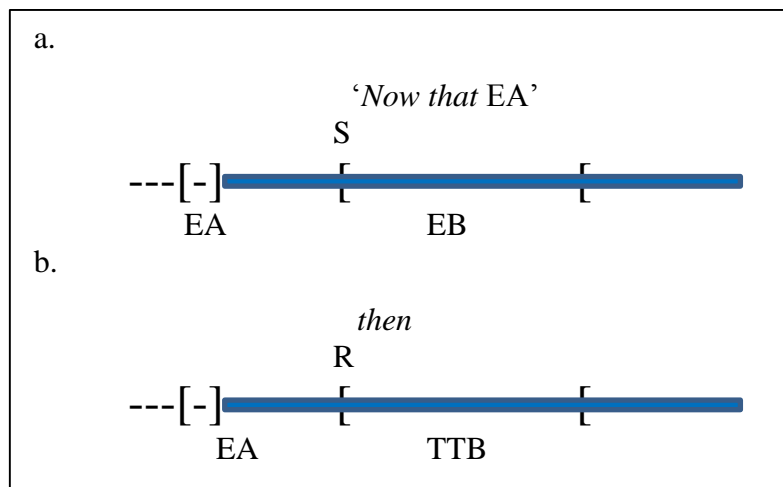
Thus, (61)a could be formulated with sequential *then* as (62):

(62) He came very near, **then** he wondered whether he wanted to see after all.

Conversely, using referential *then*, it can only be paraphrased with a cleft sentence:

(63) He came very near. It was **then** that he wondered whether he wanted to see after all.

Figure 14 below illustrates the similarity of the mechanisms induced by *now that* on the one hand, and sequential *then* on the other. Since we represent examples (61) and (62), in which Eventuality A is a state, we use short closed intervals to mark the validation of the initial subinterval of the state. All the following points are considered to be part of the result state of Eventuality A, according to Lin's (2003) definition (*cf.* Chapter 3). The thick line corresponds to the potential points of the result state, which can be interrupted at any time.



**Figure 14** - *Now that* and sequential *then* in (61)a and (62)

Thus, with *now that*, Eventuality B and the result state of Eventuality A overlap. Similarly, with sequential *then*, the result state of Eventuality A and the topic time of Eventuality B potentially overlap. Note that a similar figure appears in Chapter 3 for the description of

Mandarin verbal *-le* (Chapter 3, Figure 3), which codes the validation of either the initial subinterval of an eventuality or of the whole eventuality, and opens a result state time interval in which another eventuality must be validated. Verbal *-le* was envisaged in Chapter 3 as a possible divergent correspondence of temporal *now*, but we will see in Chapter 6 that it is also a correspondence of sequential *then*. This confirms that there is a functional similarity between the two markers. Although temporal *now* is always referential, its inchoative and contrastive values generally reveal the existence of a prior or following state of affairs against which the eventuality modified by *now* must be envisaged.

## 6.2. *Now and then in past contexts*

*Now* and *then* can both be used in past contexts to locate an eventuality at the reference time. We have suggested in Chapter 1 that the main difference between the uses of the two markers is that *now* triggers a reevaluation of the situation of utterance at the *now*-point and operates a deictic shift. Thus, while *then* codes the overlap of the eventuality time with the reference time, *now* codes the overlap of the eventuality time with the *now*-point and the reference time, implying that the temporal *origo* is shifted to the *now*-point.

We suggest that the use of *now* in past contexts is often closer to the use of sequential *then* than to the use of referential *then*. It seems that in many instances, *now* in narration cannot be felicitously replaced with referential *then*. This is linked to the contrastive and inchoative nature of *now*. Indeed, as noted by Aijmer (2002) the inchoative use of *now* endows it with a propulsive force that moves the narrative forward, which referential *then* cannot do when there is no R-shift. Moreover, like sequential *then*, *now* foregrounds the eventuality. This is due to its deictic value: *now* anchors the eventuality to the *now*-point and creates a proximity effect which brings the eventuality to the fore. In examples (64) and (17), referential *then* could not be used instead of *now* - despite the fact that *now* is clearly referential - be it in initial, medial, or final position. Indeed, *now* is not used so much to locate the eventuality in time as to contrast the current validity of the eventuality with a past situation in which it was not validated.

- (64) “My grandfather gave it to me,” Sophie replied, watching the man closely. His uneasiness seemed more evident **now**. (ENC)

- (65) “Harry —” said Hermione, stretching out a consoling hand, but he shrugged it off and walked away, his eyes on the fire Hermione had conjured. He had once spoken to Lupin out of that fireplace, seeking reassurance about James, and Lupin had consoled him. **Now** Lupin’s tortured white face seemed to swim in the air before him. He felt a sickening surge of remorse. (ENC)

This demonstrates that referential *then* lacks the contrastive component inherent to *now*. Moreover, it confirms that the use of *now* in past narration is not always motivated by its function as a shifter which triggers a Free Indirect Speech interpretation, but also by its fundamental contrastive value. This reinforces the idea developed in Chapter 3 according to which *now* might be considered as a primarily aspectual marker coding temporal contrast.

In examples (66) and (67), *now* is used with perfective eventualities, which seems contradictory with its function as an inchoative marker coding the open-endedness of the situation.

- (66) “Yes, m-my Lord,” gasped a small man halfway down the table, who had been sitting so low in his chair that it had appeared, at first glance, to be unoccupied. **Now** he scrambled from his seat and scurried from the room, leaving nothing behind him but a curious gleam of silver. (ENC)
- (67) “Return to the back wall and turn around.” Langdon obeyed. Vernet could feel his own heart pounding. Aiming the gun with his right hand, he reached **now** with his left for the wooden box. (ENC)

As explained in Chapter 1, a temporal clash is created between the inchoative function of *now* and the perfective viewpoint which presents the eventualities as a whole. This clash can be resolved if we relate the function of *now* to that of sequential *then*: *now* opens a new open-ended time interval at the *now*-point and indicates that the eventuality is validated in the initial subinterval of this time interval. The effect is a foregrounding of the eventuality and an impression of immediacy. Note that in both examples, *now* could be replaced with sequential *then*. The difference between the two markers is that *now*, with its contrastive and inchoative meaning, endows the action with more dynamicity. The effect of proximity combined with the open-endedness of the time interval contributes to the impression that the events unfold in front of the reader. Conversely, with sequential *then*, the telling of the events is more neutral, since *then* does not imply direct consecution but only codes a relation of sequence.

Note that we also find a symmetry between *now* and sequential *then* in narration at a pragmatic level: in example (68), the focalising character is enumerating the successive actions of his interlocutor, with an accumulation effect.

- (68) Fache was in utter incomprehension of this woman's gall. Not only had she just barged in on Fache without permission, but she was **now** trying to convince him that Saunière, in his final moments of life, had been inspired to leave a mathematical gag? (ENC)

The clause modified by *now* is understood to have more argumentative force than the preceding one. Here too, *now* can be replaced by *then* in initial position with an additive function: *but then she was (also) trying to convince him (...)*. We will see in Chapter 8 that the additive function of *then* is directly derived from its sequential function. Similarly, we will see in Chapter 9 that the additive function of *now* is related to its sequential use as an inchoative marker.

Thus, we have seen that although temporal *now* is often compared to referential *then*, it shares many properties with sequential *then*. While the deictic referential functions of *now* can be compared to those of referential *then*, its contrastive and inchoative values which imply updating and resultative functions can be associated to those of sequential *then*. *Now* combines the functions of the two markers: like referential *then*, it refers to the topic time of the eventuality, and like sequential *then*, it opens the topic time interval without bounding it to the right. In Part III, we shall see that the correspondences between *now* and *then* also hold at the pragmatic level. We will show in Chapters 7 and 8 that *now* shares text-structuring functions with sequential *then* (such as its additive function and a disclaimer function). Moreover, the global use of sequential *then* can be related to the text-structuring function of *now* as a framing device used to introduce a new topic (*cf.* Chapter 7). Our contrastive analysis of *now* and *then* as non-temporal markers and their Chinese equivalents in Chapter 9 will further show that *now* and *then* as PMs have common correspondences (such as *na* 'then, in this case'), which sheds some light on their common functions.

## 7. Conclusion: unified meaning of temporal *then*

In this chapter, we have shown that both referential and sequential *then* are used to provide a topic time for Eventuality B. Referential *then* indicates that the boundaries of the topic time interval selected overlap with the eventuality time of Eventuality B. Sequential *then* only indicates that the topic time of Eventuality B is adjacent to the time interval of Eventuality A, or to the initial subinterval of Eventuality A when the eventualities overlap. Unlike referential *then*, sequential *then* is not a positional adverb and does not give the time location of Eventuality B. It only provides its topic time, and indicates that the eventuality is validated within that topic time interval. Referential *then* is thus oriented to the left context, since it selects a time interval that precedes the *now*-point as topic time; whereas sequential *then* is oriented to the right context, since it selects a time interval that follows the *now*-point as topic time.

Thus, both sequential and referential *then* indicate an overlap between topic time and Eventuality Time. Since the selection of the topic time of Eventuality B is derived from Eventuality A, both markers can be considered to operate anaphorically. Referential *then* typically uses the time of Eventuality A as a topic time for Eventuality B, yielding an overlapping reading of the eventualities. It has generally has a restrictive value: the topic time of Eventuality B is generally restricted to the time span of Eventuality A. However, the time span of Eventuality B might be broader or smaller than the time of Eventuality A, as seen in 4.1.4. and 5.3. The size of the time span of the topic time depends on the aspect of Eventuality A and B (*cf.* 4.1.4.). Nevertheless, referential *then* does not always yield an overlapping meaning: when Eventuality A and B are perfective, they are understood to occur the one after the other.

Sequential *then* also selects the topic time interval of Eventuality B anaphorically. Indeed, it consistently indicates that the topic time interval of Eventuality B excludes the initial subinterval of Eventuality A. When the two eventualities do not overlap, as it is often the case, this topic time interval is directly adjacent to the time interval of Eventuality A; when the two eventualities overlap, it is adjacent to the initial subinterval of the time interval of Eventuality A. In both cases, the topic time of Eventuality B is calculated anaphorically relative to Eventuality A.

The interpretation of both markers, *i.e.* the selection of the topic time of Eventuality B is also function of the aspect of both eventualities. Thus, unlike *now*, *then* cannot override aspectual considerations. Whereas *now* always locates the eventuality either at the time of speech or at the *now*-point, *then* only indicates that the eventuality occurs during a topic time determined mostly by aspectual parameters. This is due to the fact that unlike *now*, neither sequential nor referential *then* function deictically. Although we noted with Schiffrin (1990) that they have a distal meaning, they are not interpreted relative to the situation of utterance. Their interpretation is not related to the time of speech or to the *now*-point in narration, but only to pre-determined time points or time intervals provided in the context. Their meaning does not change with every situation of utterance. It seems that deixis overrides aspect while anaphora is absolutely dependent on aspect. This is why, as we will see in Part III, deictic markers such as *now* are selected to become pragmatic markers whereas anaphoric markers such as *then* are more likely to be used as discourse organisers to code logical relations between arguments.

Table 11 below recapitulates the various functions of both markers. They share many properties, the only differences being that sequential *then* implies an ordered reading of the left boundaries of the two eventualities while sequential *then* has referential content. As we saw in 4.3., the markers can sometimes take on both referential and sequential meaning. This suggests that the two markers are closely related.

**Table 11** - Referential *then* vs. sequential *then*: recapitulative table

	Referential <i>then</i>	Sequential <i>then</i>
Refers to a time point or a time interval	yes	no
Implies an ordered reading of the left boundaries of Eventuality A and B	no	yes
Selects a topic time interval for Eventuality B	yes	yes
Implies overlap of the eventuality time and topic time of Eventuality B	yes	yes
Functions anaphorically	yes	yes
Functions deictically	no	no

We have also seen that the functions of referential and sequential *then* match a number of the functions of *now* in a complementary manner. Thus, if *now* was added to Table 11, all the properties proposed would be ticked, except the anaphoric property. Despite the fact that *now* functions deictically while *then* functions anaphorically, the two markers share most of their properties.

Having given a detailed account of the functions of the two realisations of temporal *then*, we now contrast referential *then* (Chapter 5) and sequential *then* (Chapter 6) to their most frequent Chinese correspondences.

## Chapter 5

# Referential *then* and its Mandarin equivalents

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We have seen in Chapter 4 that two temporal uses of *then* could be distinguished: a referential use, and a sequential use. In this Chapter, we explore the most frequent correspondences of referential *then* in the translational corpora. The most common correspondences of referential *then* are *na(ge)shi(hou)* ‘then, at that time’, *dangshi* ‘then, at the time’, and *zhe(ge)shi(hou)* ‘then, at this moment’.<sup>1</sup> *Cishi* ‘now, this moment’ and assimilated forms containing the demonstrative *ci* will also be examined. We show that the differences in distribution and meaning between those forms can help understand the various uses of referential *then* and mixed *then*. In the first section, the various correspondences of referential *then* are described, and their distribution is examined, and contrasted to the distribution of referential *then*. Section 2 presents an analysis accounting for the variations in use between each of the Chinese forms on the one hand, and between *then* and the Chinese forms on the other.

### 1. Distribution of referential *then* and its correspondences in the corpora

In this section, we examine the syntactic and contrastive distribution of *then* and its correspondences in our corpora. First of all, the correspondences of *then* are described from a morphological, diachronic and semantic point of view (1.1.). Then, we look at their distributional

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<sup>1</sup> *Zhe(ge)shi(hou)* and *na(ge)shi(hou)* are hereafter referred to respectively as *zheshi* and *nashi*.



patterns in our corpora (1.2.). Finally, the distributional variations of *nashi*, *dangshi*, *zheshi* and *cishi* are explored and related to the correspondence pattern of *then* (1.3.).

### 1.1. Description of the congruent correspondences of referential *then*

To begin our contrastive study, we propose to examine and contrast the morphology and syntactic distribution of the various correspondences of *then* (1.1.1.). We then provide a diachronic account of their use (1.1.2.), before describing their contemporary uses and meanings as described in the literature (1.1.3.).

#### 1.1.1. Morphology and distribution of *nashi*, *zheshi*, *dangshi* and *cishi*

The forms typically used in Chinese as correspondences of *then* in the corpora are expressions built in the form *Det. + N*, with a deictic determiner and a non-deictic noun. The determiners used are generally demonstratives such as *na* ‘that’, *zhe* ‘this’, *ci* ‘this’, followed by the noun *shi(hou)* ‘time’. Below are examples of *then* as a correspondence of *nashi* (1), *right then* as a correspondence of *zheshihou* (2), and *cishi* as a correspondence of *then* (3).

- (1) 她 想 起 來 到 東 部 的 第 一 年 ，  
Tā xiǎngqǐ lái dào dōng bù de dì yī nián,  
she remember to East Rel first year

那 時 兩 旁 的 灌 木 叢 和 植 被 還 離 人 頗 近 ，  
**nàshí** liǎng páng de guàn mù cóng hé zhí bèi hái lí rén pō jìn,  
**then** both sides Rel shrub and vegetation still from man rather near

風 景 和 動 物 都 不 太 怕 人 的 樣 子 ，  
Fēng jǐng hé dòng wù dōu bù tài pà rén de yàng zi,  
landscape and animal all Neg very fear man Rel manner

但 現 在 山 和 海 被 馬 路 推 到 很 遠 的 地 方 。  
dàn xiàn zài shān hé hǎi bèi mǎ lù tuī dào hěn yuǎn de dì fāng.  
But now mountain and sea Pass road push to very far Rel place

She remembered her first year in Haven: **then** the bush and the vegetation came quite close on either side, as if neither the terrain nor the wild animals feared the sight of man. (CNC)

- (2) 他鼓起最後一絲氣力，順手拿起一把魚槍，  
 tā gǔqǐ zuìhòu yī sī qìlì, shùnshǒu náqǐ yī bǎ yú qiāng,  
 he muster last one thread strength easily pick up one Cl fish spear

撥開他在房子附近挖的一條通往海的「地道」，  
 bōkāi tā zài fángzi fùjìn wā de yītiáo tōngwǎng hǎi de dìdào,  
 push aside he at house next dig Rel one Cl lead to sea Rel tunnel

潛入海中遁逃而去。這時候，海上瞬間落下冰雹，  
 qiánrù hǎizhōng dùn táo ér qù. Zhèshíhòu, hǎishàng shùnjiān luòxià bīngbáo,  
 submerge sea in flee escape and go **at this time** sea on in a flash fall hail

He summoned his last ounce of strength, picked up his spear gun, and uncovered the 'land lane' near his house that led all the way down to the sea. He dove right on in. **Right then** it started hailing. (CNC)

- (3) As she descended again to the deserted living room, she stood a moment in the silence, wondering what could possibly be happening. It was **then** that Sophie heard it. Muffled voices.

她下樓再度進入空蕩的客廳，在一片靜默中  
 tā xià lóu zàidù jìnrù kōngdàng de kètīng, zài yīpiàn jìngmò zhōng  
 she down floor once more enter deserted Rel living room at piece silence in

站了一會兒，想不透這到底是怎麼回事。此時蘇菲  
 Zhàn-le yīhuǐ'er, xiǎng-bù-tòu zhè dàodǐ shì zěnmē huí shì. Cǐshí Sūfēi  
 stand-le a moment think-Neg-through this finally be what Cl matter **now** Sophie

聽到了。是一種悶悶的聲音，似乎來自她腳底。(ENC)  
 tīngdào-le. Shì yīzhǒng mèn mèn de shēngyīn, sìhū láizi tā jiǎodǐ.  
 hear-le be one Cl smother Rel voice as if come from she soles of the feet

Unlike *then*, these forms are compositional (Jiang 2015); they are NPs. As such, can take a classifier. Jiang explains that a classifier can be inserted in compositional time expressions such as *na(ge)shi(hou)* (hereafter *nashi*) 'at that time' and *zhe(ge)shi(hou)* (hereafter *zheshi*) 'at this time' between the demonstrative and the noun. We find some examples of this in the Chinese Film Corpus where there is an occurrence of *nage shihou* 'that [particular] time', cf. (4), as well as in the Chinese Conversational Corpus (CCC), cf. (5) and in the translations of the ENC with *nazhong shihou* 'this sort of time', cf. (6). Unlike *then*, because *nashi* has nominal properties, it

can become subject of a sentence. Furthermore, contrary to *then*, the meaning of *nashi* is compositional: it is the sum of the meanings of *na* + *shi*. Finally, examples (6) and (7) show that *nashi* and *zheshi* can be introduced by the preposition *zai* 'at'. All this indicates that these time expressions are NPs. NPs typically refer to entities, both concrete and abstract. Thus, *zheshi* and *nashi* refer to time intervals or time points; they are, like their English correspondence *then*, referential.

- (4) 我 夢到 我 生了 一個 小孩, 然後 我 走 到 育嬰房 裡面,  
 Wǒ mèng-dào wǒ sheng-le yīgè xiǎohái, ránhòu wǒ zǒu dào yùyīngfáng lǐmiàn,  
 I dream-Res I bear-le one Cl child then I walk to nursery inside

一 個 人 都 沒 有。我 那 個 時 候 很 害 怕  
 Yī gè rén dōu méi yǒu. Wǒ nàgèshíhòu hěn hàipà  
 one Cl man all Neg have I **then** very fear

然 後 我 沒 有 力 氣 我 也 走 不 動。  
 ránhòu wǒ méi yǒu lìqì wǒ yě zǒu-bù-dòng.  
 Then I Neg have strength I also walk-Neg-move

I dreamt I had a baby. Then when I walked into the nursery no one was there. I was very afraid **then**....and I became exhausted, I couldn't move. (CFC)

- (5) A: 下 午 (short\_break) 幾 點 的 時 候  
 Xiàwǔ yīdiǎn de shíhòu  
 Afternoon what time Rel time

B: 都 是 差 不 多 一 兩 點 (inhale) 兩 點 四 五 點 這 樣 子  
 Dōu shì chàbùduō yī liǎng diǎn liǎng diǎn sì wǔ diǎn zhèyàngzi  
 All be about one two o'clock two o'clock four five o'clock like that

逛 兩 三 個 小 時 這 樣 子  
 guàng liǎng sān gè xiǎoshí zhèyàngzi  
 walk two three Cl hour like that

C: 那個時候 人 很多 (CCC)  
 Nàgèshíhòu rén hěnduō  
**Then** people very many

A: What time in the afternoon?

B: At about one or two o'clock, two o'clock four five o'clock, something like that, I walk around for two or three hours, something like that.

C: **At that time** there is a lot of people.

- (6) I don't know how it works or why it happened **then** and not any other time (...). But I was listening to the radio really early on Christmas morning and I heard ... I heard you.

我 不 知 道 為 什 麼 它 只 在 那 種 時 候 才 產 生 作 用，  
 Wǒ bù zhīdào wèishéme tā zhǐ zài nàzhǒngshíhòu cái chǎnshēng zuòyòng.  
 I Neg know why it only at **then** only produce effect

平 常 都 不 行。(...) 但 那 天 我 在 聽 收 音 機，  
 píngcháng dōu bùxíng dàn nèitiān wǒ zài tīng shōuyīnjī,  
 usually all Neg work but that day I ZAI listen radio

聖 誕 節 那 天 一 大 清 早， 然 後 我 聽 到 ..... 聽 到 了 妳。(ENC)  
 Shèngdànjié nèitiān yī dà qīngzǎo, ránhòu wǒ tīngdào..... Tīngdào-le ni.  
 Christmas that day early morning then I hear-Res hear-Res-le you

- (7) 阿 莉 思 想 了 想：「這 樣 吧，如 果 你 有 到 市 區 的 話，  
 Ālǐ sīxiǎng-le xiǎng: Zhèyàng ba, rúguǒ nǐ yǒu dào shìqū dehuà  
 Alice think-le think like this BA if you have arrive town if

多 多 少 少 幫 我 買 一 點 食 物，可 以 嗎？」 「沒 問 題。」  
 duōduōshǎoshào bāng wǒ mǎi yīdiǎn shíwù, kěyǐ ma? Méi wèntí.  
 to some extent help I buy a little food MV Interr Neg problem

就 在 這 時 候， 貓 叫 了 起 來。「什 麼 聲 音？」 「貓 啊(...)」  
 Jiù zài zhèshíhòu, māo jiào-le qǐlái. Shénme shēngyīn? Māo a  
**Just at this moment** cat call-le start what sound cat A

Alice thought for a second and said, "Well, if you go into town, could you pick me up some groceries?" "No problem." **Right then**, the cat started meowing. "What's that?" "A kitten. (...)" (CNC)

Another frequent correspondence of *then* is *dangshi* ‘at the time’ (8), whose meaning is anaphoric, but not deictic. Indeed, unlike the other main correspondences of *then* (*nashi*, *zheshi* and *cishi*), in this compositional adverbial, the noun *shi* ‘time’ is not introduced by a demonstrative but by the preposition *dang* ‘during, while, just at’.

- (8) With the help of Jesus' trusted uncle, Joseph of Arimathea, Mary Magdalene secretly traveled to France, **then** known as Gaul.

在 基督 信任 的 舅舅 亞利馬太人 約瑟 的 幫助 下，  
Zài Jīdū xìnren de jiùjiu Yǎlimätàirén Yuēsè de bāngzhù xià,  
At Christ trust Rel uncle Arimathea Joseph Rel help under

抹大拉 的 馬利亞 祕密 來 到 法國，**當時** 叫做 高盧。  
Mòdàlā de Mǎliǎ mìmì lái dào Fàguó, **dāngshí** jiàozuò Gāolú (ENC)  
Magdalene Rel Mary secret come to France **at the time** called Gaul

Like *nashi* and *zheshi*, *dangshi* may be introduced by the preposition *zai* ‘at’, as in example (9) below. This shows that *dangshi* is a NP. As we will explain in 2.1.2., *dangshi* was grammaticised from a prepositional phrase to a NP.

- (9) 你 說起 去美國 浪遊 前 在 台灣 的 另一 場 拍片  
Nǐ shuōqǐ qù Měiguó làngyóu qián zài Táiwān de língyī chǎng pāipiàn  
You mention go USA travel before at Taiwan Rel another place filmmaking

工作，你 也 在**當時** 充當了 臨時 演員(...).  
gōngzuò, nǐ yě **zài dāngshí** chōngdāng-le línshí yǎnyuán  
work you also **at the time** act as-le interim actress

Before traveling in America you had also worked as an extra from time to time in Taiwan (...). (CNC)

Like referential *then*, *nashi* can be used to refer either to a past or to a future time. It is typically used to refer to a past time, but it is also found to refer to time points or time intervals posterior to the time of speech. This is the case in example (10) below, in which *nashi* refers to a time point situated after the time of speech, namely the time at which “they” come back from Key West, which is situated in the future.

- (10) They're in Key West for the winter, they'll be back in April, he'll meet them **then**.

他們 這個 冬天 都 在 奇威 斯特,  
Tāmen zhège dōngtiān dōu zài Qíwēi Sītè,  
They this CI winter all at Key West

要 到 四 月 才 回 來 , 你 要 到 那 時 才 見 得 到 他 們 。 (ENC)  
yào dào sìyuè cái huílái, nǐ yào dào nàshí cái jiàn-dé-dào tāmen  
MV to April only come back you MV to **then** only see-DE-Res they

Thus, *nashi* is very similar in this regard to referential *then*. Its demonstrative distal value enables it to refer to any time point or time interval which does not include the time of speech. On the other hand, *dangshi* cannot refer to a future time.

*Nashi* can also be used in more complex time expressions such as *cong nashihou kaishi* ‘from that moment on’. In that case, *nashi* refers to a time point, or rather to an interval seen as a whole: *cong* ‘from’ in combination with the inchoative verb *kaishi* ‘start’ indicates that a time interval is opened at the time point designated by *then* and that it is unbounded. This is the case in example (11).

- (11) As a boy, Langdon had fallen down an abandoned well shaft and almost died (...). **Since then**, he'd suffered [from] a haunting phobia of enclosed spaces.

蘭登 小 時 候 曾 掉 進 一 個 廢 棄 的 井 狀 通 道 中 ,  
Lándēng xiǎoshíhòu céng diào jìn yīgè fèiqì de jǐngzhuàng tōngdào zhōng  
Langdon kid time once fall enter one CI abandon Rel state well middle

幾 乎 死 掉 (...). 從 那 時 開 始 , 他 對 密 閉 空 間  
jīhū sǐdiào **Cóng nàshí kāishǐ**, tā duì mìbì kōngjiān  
almost die **from then start** he towards airtight space

就 有 揮 之 不 去 的 恐 懼 症 ! (ENC)  
jiù yǒu huīzhībùqù de kǒngjùzhèng!  
At once have impossible to get rid of Rel phobia

*Nashi* refers to the time of the accident, and provides a perfective point of view on the event, which is seen as a bounded whole. The result state triggered by this event is a phobia of enclosed

space, and is still valid at speech time, which here corresponds to the *now*-point of the narrative or present of the character.

When referential *then* in English co-occurs with a preposition or an adverb such as *from*, *until*, *since*, *right*, we also find Chinese correspondences such as *congci* ‘from then on’ (12), *cihou* ‘afterwards’ (13), in which *ci*, like *then* in English, points to the left boundary for the topic time of Eventuality B which is extended up to the reference time. These adverbials which refer to an unbounded time interval are open-domain adverbials (Meisterernst 2015).

- (12) 他 僥倖 未 死，但 從此 意志 消沉，  
Tā jiǎoxìng wèi sǐ, dàn cóngcǐ yìzhì xiāochén,  
He luckily Neg die but **since then** willpower depressed

如同 只是 一 部 工作 的 機械。  
rútóng zhǐshì yī bù gōngzuò de jīxiè  
like only be one Cl work Rel machine

Jung-chin had escaped death, but he couldn't shake depression. They were his friends.  
**From then on** he just went through the motions, working like a machine. (CNC)

- (13) (...) last year Langdon's visibility had increased a hundredfold after his involvement in a widely publicized incident at the Vatican. **Since then**, the stream of self-important historians and art buffs arriving at his door had seemed never-ending.

(…) 去年 蘭登 在 梵蒂岡 教廷 介入 的 一 樁  
Qùnián Lándēng zài Fàndìgāng Jiàotíng jièrù de yī zhuāng  
last year Langdon at Vatican City get involved Rel one Cl

事件 被 廣 為 報導 後，更 讓 他的 曝光 率  
shìjiàn bèi guǎng wèi bàodǎo hòu, gèng ràng tā de pùguāng lǜ  
event Pass wide for article after more let he Rel exposure rate

暴漲 百倍。 此後， 自視甚高 的 歷史學家 和  
bào zhǎng bǎibèi. Cǐhòu, zìshìshèngāo de lìshǐxuéjiā hé  
increase a hundred times **Afterwards** think highly of oneself Rel historian and

藝術 愛好者 就 紛紛 找上門 來，  
yìshù àihào zhě jiù fēnfēn zhǎo shàngmén lái,  
art lover just numerous call on come

川流不息， 彷彿 永無止境。  
 chuānliúbùxī, fǎngfú yǒngwúzhǐjìng (ENC)  
 unending flow as if without end

*Nashi*, *zheshi* and *dangshi* can be preceded by the adverb *jiu* ‘just, precisely’ to reinforce the meaning of coincidence and simultaneity. In that case, the insertion of the preposition *zai* ‘at’ is compulsory, as in examples (7) above or (14) below.

(14) 你 抓 起 夏 日 被 單 聞 了 聞 ， 所 幸 小 可 的  
 Nǐ zhuā qǐ xiàrì bèidān wén-le wén, suǒxìng Xiǎokě de  
 You grab start summertime sheet smell-le smell fortunately Xiaoke Rel

體 味 殘 存 (...) 。 就 在 那 時 ， 你 才 發 現 你  
 tǐwèi cáncún. **Jiù zài nàshí**, nǐ **cái** fāxiàn nǐ  
 body odor survive **just at that time** you **only** discover you

整 日 的 煩 躁 來 自 於 你 的 疼 痛 ， 你 的 疼 痛 又  
 zhěng rì de fánzào láizì yú nǐ de téngtòng, nǐ de téngtòng yòu  
 entire day Rel twitchy come from you Rel pain you Rel pain yet

來 自 於 你 的 胸 部 ， 你 的 乳 頭 竟 然  
 láizì yú nǐ de xiōngbù, nǐ de rǔtóu jìngrán  
 come from you Rel breast you Rel nipple unexpectedly

受 傷 地 有 著 乾 掉 的 血 塊。  
 shòushāng de yǒu-zhe gāndiào de xiěkuài.  
 Wounded de have-Dur dry-change Rel blood clot

You grabbed the sheet to smell it, and Xiaoke's odor still remained to prove it was not your illusion. **At that moment** you realized your annoyance came from your breast. It hurt although the blood had dried out. (CNC)

*Jiu* here could be glossed as ‘precisely, exactly, just’. In (7) *jiu zai zhe shihou* is translated by *right then*, which reproduces the time-point reading of *zheshihou* forced by *jiu*.

The adverb *jiu* ‘then, at once’ also occurs after the referential adverbial in preverbal position as in example (16) below. However, we only find this collocation when the locating adverbial is used in inchoative time expressions. It is used mainly to reinforce the inchoative meaning of the



time expressions. *Jiu* is used to mark the immediate validation of the eventuality located by the adverbial, and it prompts a time-point reading of the eventuality. It also implies that there is a continuity between Eventuality A and Eventuality B. Thus in example (15), *congci* ‘from this moment’ provides the topic time interval which stretches from the time of Eventuality A, *i.e.* when the character was fifteen, to the reference time, *i.e.* the *now*-point of the narrative time. *Jiu* indicates that Eventuality B is validated immediately after Eventuality A starts being valid. As a result, the inchoative meaning of *congci* is reinforced.

- (15) 十五歲的時候，父親終於允許她開始  
 Shíwǔ suì de shíhòu, fùqīn zhōngyú yǔnxǔ tā kāishǐ  
 Fifteen year Rel time father at last allow she begin

岸上的生活，從此 莎拉 就 跟 父親 海陸 分離。  
 ànshàng de shēnghuó, **cóngcǐ** Shālā **jiù** gēn fùqīn hǎilù fēnlí.  
 Ashore Rel life **from then on** Sara **just** with father sea land separate

Her father finally permitted her to start a life on land when she was fifteen, and **from then on** they lived separate lives (...). (CNC)

- (16) 沒有像她那時候 打敗辛吉絲(short\_break)  
 Méi yǒu xiàng tā **nàshíhòu** dǎbài Xīn Jí-sī  
 Neg have like she **at that time** defeat Xin Ji-Si

那麼的 讓 人(pause) 讓人家 那麼的印象 深刻 LA  
 nàme de rang rén ràng rénjiā nàme de yìxiàng shēnkè LA  
 so Rel make man make someone like that rel impression deep LA

因為她第一次打 然後竟然 就把辛吉絲  
 yīnwèi tā dì yī cì dǎ ránhòu jìngrán jiù bǎ Xīn Jí sī  
 because she the first time strike then unexpectedly at once BA Xin Ji-Si

打敗 那時候 就 等於說 是一夕成名 A (CCC)  
 dǎbài **nàshíhòu** **jiù** děngyú shuō shì yī xī chéngmíng A  
 defeat **at that time at once** equal say be become famous overnight A

It was not like **that time** when she defeated Martina Hingis, it didn't make such a deep impression, because the first time she competed she defeated Martina Hingis quite unexpectedly. **With that fight** you might say that she became famous overnight.

In this position, we also find the adverb *cai* ‘only then’ as in (14). These adverbs each provide a different perspective on Eventuality B; *jiu* indicates that the validation of Eventuality B is immediate and perceived as adequately prompt, whereas *cai* indicates that the validation of Eventuality B is perceived as late relative to the expectations of the speaker, the narrator or focalising character in narration.

We have seen that *nashi* and *zheshi* are NPs. Like referential *then*, they refer to a time point or a time interval. However, the nature of *dangshi* is less clear insofar as *dang* ‘just at’ is not a determiner but a preposition. We now propose to adopt a diachronic approach in order to better understand the functions of these markers.

### 1.1.2. Diachronic overview

Unlike *nashi* and *zheshi* which are compositional forms in which each word has a distinctive meaning, and where *shi* ‘time’ can take a classifier, *dangshi* is a grammaticised form which cannot be broken up to insert a classifier. In Old Chinese, *dang* was frequently used in compositional expressions similar in meaning to *nashi* as a preposition to introduce a NP with *shi* as its head, as it is the case in example (17) below from *Shiji*.

- (17) 當是時，夏桀為虐政淫荒(...)。  
**Dāng shì shí**, Xià Jié wéi nüè zhèng yín huāng(...)  
**At the time** Xia Jie as oppressive government excess neglect

**At this time** Jie of Xia was oppressive, and his rule dissipated (...). 《殷本紀 - Annals of Yin》<sup>2</sup>

In this example, *dang* can be translated by ‘at’, and 是 *shi* is a demonstrative meaning ‘this’ that introduces the noun *shi* ‘time’. Note that in the CTP dictionary from which this sentence is taken, most examples provided to illustrate the use of the preposition *dang* ‘at’ are examples with the time expression *dang shi shi* (*ye*) ‘at that time’ as in example (17). Correspondingly, most examples from the entry *shi* ‘time’ are sentences in which *shi* is introduced by the preposition *dang* ‘at’ combined with the demonstrative *shi* ‘this’. This suggests that this collocation is of

<sup>2</sup> Example taken from *The Annals of Yin, Shiji*, 109 BC-91 BC by Sima Qian. Source: the Chinese Text Project, <<http://ctext.org/>>, consulted on 13/07/2015.

long standing and was already very much used in pre-modern Chinese. The demonstrative *shi* ‘this’ was subsequently dropped and the time expression was grammaticised as *dangshi*. Examples of *dangshi* are found in texts from the pre-Qin and Han period (before 220 AD), but there are more examples of the form during the post-Han period (after 220 AD). In the Chinese Text Project, only 186 occurrences of *dangshi* are listed before 220 AD against 2299 occurrences after 220 AD. Conversely, there is a clear diminution in the use of compositional forms such as *dang shi shi*, with 138 occurrences before 220 AD against 74 occurrences only after 220 AD. Example (18) below is taken from Yang Xiong’s work *Yangzi Fayan* (33 BC-18).

(18) 周 建 子弟，列 名 城，班 五 爵，  
 Zhōu jiàn zǐdì, liè míng chéng, bān wǔ jué,  
 Zhou establish child arrange name city order five nobility

流 之 十二，當時 雖 欲 漢，得 乎？  
 liú zhī shí'èr, dāngshí suī yù hàn, dé hū?  
 Class it twelve **then** although desire Han must how

The Zhou installed their sons and brothers, divided up the titles and fiefdoms, ordered the five ranks, and established the twelve kingdoms. Even **at that time**, there were some like the Han that desired to control the empire, but what could they do about it?<sup>3</sup>

This time expression originally contained a demonstrative (*shi* ‘this’), which explains that its distribution should be very similar to that of *nashi* ‘then, at that time’. However, the grammaticised form *dangshi* is not a demonstrative expression and has no distal value. Its foremost meaning is one of overlap and coincidence between two eventualities. Indeed, the preposition *dang* ‘at’ conveys the idea of direct proximity, which often equates to simultaneity. This explains the fact that in some contexts its use should be less felicitous than the use of *nashi*, as we will show presently.

The use of the expression *nashi* started much later than that of *dangshi*. Indeed in the Chinese Texts Project corpus, no occurrence of *nashi* is to be found during the pre-Qin and Han periods (before 220 AD). The expression appears after 1520 AD with 467 occurrences in the CTP corpus. Thus, during the post-Han period, *dangshi* was five times as frequent as *nashi*. In

<sup>3</sup> Example taken from *Zhong and Li, Yangzi Fayan*, 33 BC-18 by Yang Xiong. Source: the Chinese Text Project, <<http://ctext.org/>>, consulted on 13/07/2015.

our contemporary corpus, *dangshi* is twice as frequent as *nashi* in fiction, but it is not at all used in conversation, whereas the use of *nashi* in conversation is comparatively high. A similar parallel can be drawn between *cishi* and *zheshi*. *Cishi* appears very early, with 135 occurrences in the CTP's pre-Qin and Han periods' texts, and its use increases in the post-Han period with 1314 occurrences in the CTP. Conversely, *zheshi* does not occur in the CTP corpus until 1520 AD, with 91 occurrences only for the post-Han period. This means that *zheshi* is more than 14 times less frequent than *cishi* in pre-modern Chinese.

We note that the apparition of *nashi* and *zheshi* coincides with the flourishing of the vernacular novel in China. Indeed, from the Ming Dynasty in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, more and more novels are written using a vernacular Chinese closer to the spoken Chinese of the time (Idema 1974). The forms *nashi* and *zheshi* become increasingly frequent from that time on.

In this section, we have shown that *dangshi* is morphologically distinct from the compositional forms *nashi* and *zheshi*. Its early grammaticisation as a time adverbial might explain the fact that its use is more restricted than that of *nashi*. Moreover, its frequent use in Old Chinese accounts for the fact that it is nowadays reserved for written Chinese. Conversely, the fact that *nashi* remains compositional and has not grammaticised into a fixed word is linked to the fact that it is used mostly in spoken Chinese. Thus, it is preferred to *dangshi* in less formal contexts. What remains to be accounted for is the fact that the compositional form *zheshi* is more frequent in written Chinese than in spoken Chinese. We will explain this phenomenon in 2.3.

### 1.1.3. Meanings of *nashi*, *dangshi*, *zheshi* and *cishi*

Although *nashi*, *dangshi*, *zheshi* and *cishi* all occur in the translational corpora as correspondences of referential *then*, they differ slightly in meaning and are not interchangeable. In this section, we briefly outline the respective meanings of the markers through the lense of previous studies. We will develop our analysis more precisely in 2.2.

*Na* 'that' is a deictic demonstrative with a distal meaning. Chao (1968) notes that the demonstrative *na* 'that' is often used in what he calls relative time words, which are generally disyllabic words corresponding to deictic time adverbials. He explains that *na* 'that' "usually,

though not necessarily, refers to the past” (Chao 1968: 544). Thus, *nashi* could be glossed as ‘at that time’, and may refer to a future or a past time.

*Cishi* and *zheshi* differ from *nashi* in that *ci* ‘this’ and *zhe* ‘this’ are demonstratives denoting proximity. *Cishi* and *zheshi* are used to insist on the proximity between Eventuality A and B, either that they overlap, or that they are directly consecutive. Whereas *nashi* indicates that the temporal *origo* is with the speaker or narrator, *cishi* and *zheshi* indicate that the temporal *origo* is with the character. Thus, the proximity between the reader and the characters is reinforced by the use of *cishi* or *zheshi*. The translation given for *cishi* in MDBG<sup>4</sup> is ‘now, this moment’. *Zheshi* is translated as ‘at this time, at this moment’. The proximal *ci* ‘this’ is used mainly in written language and in idiomatic expressions (Jiang 2015). Chao (1968) notes that relative time words formed with the demonstrative *zhe* do not necessarily refer to the present time. Thus *zhetician* ‘this day’ does not necessarily mean ‘today’, for which *jintian* ‘today’ is preferred. Similarly, *zhenian* ‘this year’ does not necessarily refer to the year that includes the time of speech, for which *jinnian* ‘this year’ is used (Chao 1968: 544). The fact that we find most of the occurrences of *zheshi* in narration, *i.e.* in past contexts, is in keeping with this observation. We will have to explain this phenomenon (*cf.* 2.2.3.).

We will see that although it is referential, *zheshi* is often used as a correspondence for sequential *then* in English to introduce a new eventuality, and like sequential *then* it has a foregrounding function. Conversely, *nashi* is typically used to refer to a predetermined time. Thus, *zheshi* is generally used without overlap of the eventualities or with minimal overlap, whereas *nashi* is often used with an overlap of the eventualities. A parallel can be drawn between this phenomenon and the fact that Huang (1999), based on Tao (1994), argues that the distal demonstrative *na* ‘that’ is used by the speaker to refer to referents that are identifiable by the hearer, whereas its proximal counterpart *zhe* ‘this’ is used to refer to new information:

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<sup>4</sup> MDBG is a free online English to Chinese dictionary, < <http://www.mdbg.net/>>.

Tao (1994) is, to my knowledge, the first linguist to suggest, based on evidence from naturally occurring data, that demonstratives in Chinese are one set of elements which directly reflect the interactional nature of referring, and the use of different types of demonstratives indexes the speaker's varying assumptions about the addressee. Details aside, he suggests that there is a division of labor for demonstratives with regard to identifiability: the proximal *zhe* is used when the referent is assumed by the speaker to be non-identifiable and new to the addressee, whereas the distal *na* is used for referents that are assumed to be new but identifiable to the addressee. (Huang 1999: 77-78)

Thus, *zheshi* refers to a new time, which typically does not overlap with a predetermined time, whereas *nashi* refers to a given time, which often implies an overlap of two eventualities.

Chao (1968) considers that *na* 'that', *zhe* 'this' and *na* 'which' are the only demonstrative determinatives in Chinese (Chao 1968: 565). This confirms our analysis of *dang* in *dangshi* as a preposition. Thus, unlike the deictic adverbials *nashi*, *zheshi* and *cishi*, *dangshi* is not demonstrative in nature but rather used to stress the fact that two eventualities overlap. Meisterernst (2015) insists on the fact that adverbials built with the preposition *dang* mark simultaneity (Meisterernst 2015: 168, 172). She further argues that *dangshi* locates an event on the time axis and corresponds to a closed-domain adverbial:

With closed domain adverbials both boundaries of a situation, the initial and the final point, are present and they do not hold infinitely, they refer to the closed subset of moments at which the situation holds. (Meisterernst 2015: 162)

We will endeavor to show that this is not completely true. Indeed, our data suggests that *dangshi* does not imply the presence of the boundaries of the situation. On the contrary, with *dangshi* the boundaries of the Eventuality B are typically not visible. We will argue in 2.1. that *dangshi* provides an imperfective view of the situation, whereas *nashi* provides a perfective point of view. *Dangshi* is first and foremost an adverbial marking simultaneity and overlap. The focus is on the internal points of the eventuality rather than its boundaries. Like *nashi*, *dangshi* functions anaphorically and triggers the search for a previous eventuality time which it identifies as topic time for Eventuality B. Note that MDBG gives the same first two translations for *nashi* and *dangshi*: 'then, at that time'. However, we will show that the meanings of *dangshi* and *nashi* differ slightly, due to the distal nature of *nashi* and the overlapping nature of *dangshi*. But before we go further with the analysis of their functions, let us look at the distribution of the markers

under study in our corpora. Indeed, the distribution and correspondence patterns of *then* and its Chinese equivalents should help us determine the differences in meaning and function between each marker.

## 1.2. Distribution of referential *then* and its correspondences in the English and Chinese corpora

In this section, we examine the distribution of referential *then* and its correspondences in our corpora. We look at the distribution of referential *then* in the English corpora and contrast it to the distribution of the Chinese markers in the Chinese corpora. We show that the use of locating time markers such as *then* are much more frequent in Chinese than in English.

First, we can note that referential *then* occurs almost at the same frequency in the English translational corpora (ENC and EFC) and the Chinese translational corpora (CNC and CFC). However, as shown in Table 1 below, referential *then* is slightly more frequent in the translations of the Chinese corpora than in the English corpora themselves.

**Table 1** - Referential *then* in the English and Chinese translational corpora

ENC	36	CNC	39
EFC	3	CFC	8
ECC	7		
Total	46		47

If we compare the occurrences of referential *then* in the English corpora with the occurrences of *nashi*, *zheshi*, *cishi*, *dangshi*, and *congci*, which are the main congruent correspondences of referential *then* in the corpora, we find that referential *then* is considerably less frequent in English than its Chinese correspondences are in Chinese.

**Table 2** - Congruent correspondences of referential *then* in the Chinese corpora

	<i>nashi</i>		<i>zheshi</i>		<i>dangshi</i>		<i>cishi</i>		<i>congci</i>		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>CNC</b>	102	25.06	67	16.46	202	49.63	18	4.42	18	4.42	407	100
<b>CFC</b>	13	68.42	1	5.26	3	15.79	0	0	2	10.53	19	100
<b>CCC</b>	55	90.16	4	6.56	2	3.28	0	0	0	0	61	100
<b>Total</b>	170	<b>34.91</b>	72	<b>14.78</b>	207	<b>42.51</b>	18	<b>3.70</b>	20	<b>4.11</b>	487	100

Whereas referential *then* occurs 36 times in the English Narrative Corpus (ENC), its equivalent *nashi* occurs 102 times in the Chinese Narrative Corpus (CNC), in other words it is almost three times as frequent as referential *then*. Turning to the film corpora, we see that referential *then* occurs 3 times in the EFC while *nashi* occurs 13 times in the CFC, which is 4.3 times superior. Finally, there are 7 occurrences of referential *then* in the English Conversational Corpus (ECC) for 55 occurrences of *nashi* in the Chinese Conversational Corpus (CCC), *i.e.* *nashi* is almost 8 times as frequent as referential *then* in conversation. Considering that *nashi* is only one of the many congruent correspondences of referential *then*, this suggests that the type of time location provided by positional adverbials such as referential *then* and *nashi* is more frequent in Chinese than in English.

In order to confirm this tendency, we need to look at the English synonyms of referential *then* in the English corpora. Indeed, it might be the case that referential *then* is less frequent than its Chinese correspondences only because other adverbials with a similar meaning are more frequent than referential *then* in English. We examined the frequencies of occurrence of the adverbials *at that moment*, *at that time*, and *at the time* (Table 3).

**Table 3** - Referential *then* and its synonyms in the English Corpora

	<i>then</i>		<i>at that moment</i>		<i>at that time</i>		<i>at the time</i>		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	36	60	10	16.67	1	1.67	13	21.67	60	100
<b>EFC</b>	3	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100
<b>ECC</b>	7	<b>77.78</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	2	<b>22.22</b>	9	100

As shown in Table 3, these equivalents of referential *then* are significantly less frequent than referential *then* itself. Although 10 occurrences of *at that moment* and 13 occurrences of *at the*



*time* are found in the ENC, none of these adverbials appear in the EFC, and only *at the time* occurs in the CCC, twice. Thus, it seems that in English, *then* is the most widely used adverbial to refer to a predetermined past or future time<sup>5</sup>.

But if we look at Table 4 below and compare it to Table 3, we see that adverbials such as *at the time*, *at that time*, *etc.* are in fact much more frequent in the English translations of the Chinese texts than in the original texts themselves. In particular, *at that time* occurs 83 times in the Chinese Narrative Corpus. Considering that ‘at that time’ is the most direct translation of *nashi* ‘that time’, and a translation often given for *dangshi* ‘at the time, at that time’ (*cf.* MDBG), it appears that locating adverbials that code a non-overlap between the time of speech and the time of the eventuality are much more frequent in Chinese than in English. This is confirmed by the overuse of *at that time* and *at that moment* in translation: the translators tend to provide a lexical translation for Chinese locating adverbials, although native speakers might not use such forms so extensively in English. As a consequence, *at that moment* is three times more frequent in the Chinese corpora than in the English corpora, while *at that time* is 88 times more frequent in the Chinese corpora than in the English corpora. The fact that there should be no great discrepancy between the number of referential *then* in the English and the Chinese corpora can be accounted for by the fact that locating time adverbials in Chinese are compositional and thus more likely to prompt a more direct periphrastic translation rather than a translation by *then*.

**Table 4** - Referential *then* and its synonyms in the Chinese translational Corpora

	<i>then</i>		<i>at that moment</i>		<i>at that time</i>		<i>at the time</i>		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
CNC	39	23.08	29	17.16	83	49.11	18	10.65	169	100
CFC	8	50	1	6.25	5	31.25	2	12.5	16	100

Overall, this data indicates that the explicit location of an eventuality at a predetermined past or future time by means of an adverbial is much more frequent in Chinese than it is in English.

This tendency is confirmed by the data presented in tables 5 and 6 below, which show that referential *then* is much less frequent than *nashi*. Indeed, whereas *nashi* occurs 0.58 times every

<sup>5</sup> Note that like *dangshi*, *at the time* can only be used to refer to past times. This explains why *at the time* is often used in dictionaries as an equivalent for *dangshi*.

1000 words in the Chinese corpora, *then* only occurs 0.11 times every 1000 words in the English corpora. *Zheshi* and *dangshi* are also more frequent than referential *then* on the whole: *zheshi* occurs 0.12 times every 1000 words and *dangshi* 0.28 times every 1000 words. If all these correspondences of referential *then* are added together, we come up with a frequency of 1.03/1000 words. Conversely, if we add up the occurrences of referential *then* with the occurrences of its synonyms in the English corpora (*at that moment, at that time, at the time*), we arrive at a frequency of 0.46/1000 words. Thus, the use of referential *then* and adverbials with equivalent meaning is more than twice as frequent in Chinese as it is in English.

**Table 5** - Frequency of referential *then* in the English corpora

	Referential <i>then</i>	
	N	N/1000 words
<b>ENC</b>	36	0.13
<b>EFC</b>	3	0.06
<b>ECC</b>	7	0.14
<b>Total</b>	46	0.11

**Table 6** - Frequency of the congruent correspondences of referential *then* in the Chinese corpora

	<i>nashi</i>		<i>zheshi</i>		<i>dangshi</i>		<i>cishi</i>		<i>congci</i>	
	N	N/1000 words	N	N/1000 words	N	N/1000 words	N	N/1000 words	N	N/1000 words
<b>CNC</b>	102	0.38	67	0.25	202	0.75	18	0.07	18	0.07
<b>CFC</b>	13	0.25	1	0.02	3	0.06	0	0	2	0.04
<b>CCC</b>	55	1.10	4	0.08	2	0.04	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	170	<b>0.58</b>	72	<b>0.12</b>	207	<b>0.28</b>	18	<b>0.02</b>	20	<b>0.04</b>

We will have to explain the reasons for this discrepancy between the use of locating adverbials with a distal temporal meaning in English and in Chinese (2.3.2.). We assume that it is related to the absence of tenses in Chinese which compels speakers to locate the eventualities in time with lexical elements. Conversely, we hypothesise that in English, tenses are often sufficient to locate eventualities. Moreover, as we saw in Chapter 4, the aspect of the eventualities also interacts with referential *then* in English. We will have to examine in what way aspectual markings in Chinese interact with these locating temporal adverbials.

### 1.3. Variations across the corpora

Based on the data presented in 1.2., we now try to identify tendencies of use for each form under study in the corpora. We first examine the variations of use of the three markers *nashi*, *zheshi* and *dangshi* (1.3.1.) before discussing the correspondence pattern of referential *then* and its correspondences across the corpora (1.3.2.).

#### 1.3.1. Contrastive distribution of referential *then*, *nashi*, *dangshi* and *zheshi* in the various genres

In this section, we analyse the variations in the use of referential *then* and its Chinese correspondences across the corpora. As shown in Table 6, there is an important variation between the frequencies of use of the different Chinese adverbials in the corpora. On the one hand, some adverbials are consistently more frequent than the others in all the corpora, and on the other hand some adverbials occur more frequently in one genre or another.

Thus, *nashi* is considerably more frequent in the Chinese Conversational Corpus (CCC) than in the Chinese Narrative Corpus (CNC) or the Chinese Film Corpus (CFC). It occurs almost three times as much in the CCC as in the CNC, and 4.4 times as much as in the CFC. This shows that *nashi* is most frequent in conversation, which confirms that it is an oral form. Conversely, referential *then* is almost as frequent in the ENC as in the CCC, which suggests that it is register-neutral. The lesser use of referential *then* in the EFC might be accounted for by the simple fact that characters in films go about their lives and interact with others to discuss day-to-day matters; unlike participants of topic-oriented conversations, they do not constantly recount their past experiences and dwell on past events. The data from the film corpora is therefore for the most part composed of everyday dialogues, concerned with the present and the future as much as with the past, or maybe more. On the other hand, in the conversational corpora the participants analyse some topics and try to explain present situations through the retelling of past events.

Contrastively, all the other Chinese adverbials in Table 6 occur mostly in the CNC. *Dangshi* is particularly frequent in the Chinese Narrative Corpus, where it occurs twice as much as *nashi*. On the contrary, its occurrence is quite rare in the CFC and the CCC, which suggests that its use is almost exclusively reserved to the written genre. Does that mean that the Chinese distal

temporal adverbials are specialised in terms of genre, with *nashi* occurring mostly in conversation whereas the use of *dangshi* would be reserved for a more written style? We will have to look into this possibility in 2.2. Ultimately, although *dangshi* seems indeed to be reserved for a rather literary style, we will argue that the reason for the variation in use of the two forms is that the meaning of *dangshi* is not exactly the same as that of *nashi*, mostly because it does not contain a demonstrative determiner and has no deictic value.

*Zheshi*, *cishi* and *congci* occur mostly in narration. In fact, *cishi* occurs exclusively in narration, while we find 2 occurrences of *congci* in the CFC and 1 and 4 occurrences of *zheshi* respectively in the CFC and the CCC. We will try to determine if there is a correlation between the fact that these adverbials all mark proximal deixis and the fact that they appear almost exclusively in narrative contexts. Indeed, it seems that unlike distal referential *then* which is much more frequent in narration than in interaction, distal location time adverbials in Chinese are used mostly in interaction, whereas proximal markers are preferred in narration.

### 1.3.2. Correspondence pattern of referential *then* in the translational corpora

In this section, we examine the correspondence pattern of referential *then* in the translational corpora. The correspondences of referential *then* are not exactly the same in the Chinese translations of the English Narrative Corpus (ENC) and English Film Corpus (EFC), and in the source texts of the Chinese Narrative Corpus (CNC) and the Chinese Film Corpus (CFC). This means that the mutual correspondence between *then* and each of its correspondences promises to be low.

Table 7 below gives the frequency at which referential *then* is translated by *nashi*, *zheshi*, *dangshi* and *cishi* in the ENC and the EFC. It also indicates the frequency at which no correspondence can be identified for referential *then*, as well as the marginal translations or identified non-congruent translations of referential *then* ('others' in Table 6). The latter include adverbial periphrases, time adverbs such as *xianzai* 'now' or *congqian* 'once' for marginal congruent translations, and non-temporal distal deictics such as *na* 'that' and aspectual markings for the non-congruent translations. We will henceforth refer to the phenomenon of translation of a distal deictic time adverb by a non-temporal distal deictic element as *deictic displacement*.

**Table 7** - Correspondences of *then* in the English Translational Corpora (ENC and EFC)

	<i>nashi</i>		<i>zheshi</i>		<i>dangshi</i>		<i>cishi</i> <sup>6</sup>		no translation		others		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ENC	9	25	0	0	8	22.22	5	13.89	5	13.9	9	25	36	100
EFC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50	1	50	2	100

Table 8 provides the frequency at which referential *then* occurs as a translation of *nashi*, *zheshi*, *dangshi*, and *cishi* in the Chinese translational corpora. It also indicates the frequency of occurrence of referential *then* in the translation without any identifiable source in the original Chinese text, as well as a count of marginal correspondences or non-congruent correspondences of referential *then*. Among these are adverbial periphrases, connectors such as *houlai* ‘after that’, *zhihou* ‘after this’, as well as conjunctive adverbs such as *cai* ‘only then’ and *jiu* ‘then, at once’.

**Table 8** - Correspondences of *then* in the Chinese Translational Corpora (CNC and CFC)

	<i>nashi</i>		<i>zheshi</i>		<i>dangshi</i> <sup>7</sup>		<i>cishi</i> <sup>8</sup>		no source		others		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
CNC	2	5.26	6	15.79	0	0	12	31.58	3	7.89	15	39.47	38	100
CFC	3	37.5	0	0	3	37.5	0	0	1	12.5	1	12.5	8	100

The correspondence between referential *then* and *nashi* is considerably higher in the ENC than in the CNC. Whereas *then* is translated by *nashi* 25% of the time in the CNC, only 5.26% of the occurrences of referential *then* in the CNC are translations of *nashi*. We saw that there are 102 occurrences of *nashi* in the CNC (Table 6). This means that only 2 out of the 102 occurrences of *nashi* are translated by *then* in English; in other words only 1.96% of the occurrences of *nashi* are translated by *then*. Consequently, the mutual correspondence of the two forms in the narrative corpora is in fact extremely low; *then* and *nashi* are translated into each other only 13.48% of the time. As we saw earlier, the low correspondence between *nashi* and referential *then* in the Chinese translational corpora is very likely due to an overuse of the adverbial *at that time* as a translation of *nashi*. *At that time* is chosen over *then* in most cases to translate *nashi* because the two adverbials are closer in form and just as close in meaning.

<sup>6</sup> Includes all occurrences of locating adverbials containing the determiner *ci* ‘this’: *cishi* ‘this time’, *cike* ‘this time’, *cihou* ‘after this’, *congci* ‘from then on’ and *zici* ‘since then’.

<sup>7</sup> This column includes occurrences of *dangnian* ‘that same year’.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. note 6.

*Dangshi* is the next foremost correspondence of referential *then* in the ENC, with 22.22% of the occurrences of referential *then* translated by *dangshi*. However, absolutely no occurrence of referential *then* in the CNC corresponds to *dangshi* in the original text. Thus, whereas *dangshi* is never translated by *then*, *then* is relatively often translated by *dangshi*. As it is the case for the translation pattern of *nashi*, this phenomenon can be partly accounted for by the fact that adverbials such as *at that time* or *at the time* might be chosen over *then* as translations of *dangshi* by English translators. Moreover, this tendency might be the result of an overuse of the form *dangshi* in translation, due to the often overlapping meaning of referential *then*. Indeed, *dangshi* indicates an overlap between the eventuality it locates and a previously mentioned eventuality. It could be glossed as ‘at that exact time, at the same time’. When the translator chooses *dangshi* as a translation of referential *then*, he translates its overlapping meaning over its distal meaning. The MC value of *then* and *dangshi* in the narrative corpora is 11.11%, which is lower than the MC value of *then* and *nashi*. Note however that *dangnian* is translated by referential *then* in the Chinese Film Corpus three times.

Next, referential *then* is translated by *cishi* ‘at this time’ or other adverbials containing *ci* ‘this’ 13.89% of the time in the ENC. On the other hand, 31.58% of the occurrences of referential *then* in the CNC are prompted by occurrences of *cishi* or assimilated forms in the original text. Since there are a total of 137 occurrences of *cishi* or assimilated forms such as *cike* ‘now, this moment’, *congci* ‘from then on’, *zici* ‘since then’ in the CNC, among which 12 (*i.e.* 8.76%) are translated by *then*, the MC value of referential *then* and *cishi* + assimilated forms is 11.33%. Considering that *ci* ‘this’ is a proximal deictic determiner whereas *then* is a distal marker, this MC value might be considered to be rather high, particularly when compared with the MC value of *then* and other distal forms such as *nashi* (13.48%). This suggests that proximal and distal deictics are not used in the same way in English and Chinese narratives. We will look into this phenomenon in 2.3., and only hypothesise for now that the higher use of proximal temporal markers in Chinese is linked to the proximal nature of narration in Chinese. Indeed, as we saw in Chapter 2, the absence of tense in Chinese means that no distance is set between the narrator and the character, who share the same temporal *origo*. Conversely in English, narratives have recourse to past tenses to set a distance between the temporal *origo* of the narrator and the time of the events.

The correspondence between referential *then* and *zheshi* only appears in the CNC. Whereas referential *then* is never translated by *zheshi* in the ENC, *zheshi* is translated by referential *then* in the CNC 8.96% of the time. This means that 15.79% of the occurrences of referential *then* in the CNC are prompted by the presence of *zheshi* in the original Chinese text. The mutual correspondence of the two forms is 4.48%, which is particularly low. However, if we take into account the occurrences of *then* classified as mixed in the corpora, *i.e.* typically occurrences of initial *then* which can be interpreted both as referential and/or sequential, we find 4 occurrences of mixed *then* translated by *zheshi* in the ENC and 6 occurrences of *zheshi* translated by mixed *then* in the CNC. This suggests that *zheshi* is closer in meaning to mixed *then* than to referential *then*, which would explain the low MC between referential *then* and *zheshi*. We will examine this possibility in 2.2.3.

One of the divergent correspondences of *then* in the corpora is the use of a non-temporal deictic form to express distance. In that case, the translator privileges the deictic distal meaning of *then* over its temporal and overlapping meaning and renders it through a deictic displacement. This is the case in example (19) below:

- (19) Forgive me, but it was a very unusual move **then**, under imminent threat of death. Repeating it tonight in front of Death Eaters who either witnessed or heard about the first occasion was close to suicidal!

原諒 我 這麼 說， 但 以 死亡 威 脅 迫 在 眉 臚  
 Yuánliàng wǒ zhème shuō, dàn yǐ sǐwáng wēi xiépò zài Méilóng  
 Pardon I thus say but use death power force at Meilong

的 時候 來說， 那 種 行為 是 很 不 尋 常 的。  
 de shíhòu láishuō, nà zhǒng xíngwéi shì hěn bù xúncháng de.  
 Rel time talk about **that kind** behavior be very Neg common Rel

當 著 曾 經 聽 說 或 親 眼 目 睹 過 這 件 事 的  
 Dāngzhe céngjīng tīngshuō huò qīnyǎnmù dǔ-guò zhè jiàn shì de  
 In front of already hear or own eyes see-Exp this Cl thing Rel

食 死 人 面 前 再 重 施 故 技，  
 shísǐrén miànqián zài chóng shī gùjì,  
 Death Eater in front again repeat act former skill

簡直 跟 自殺 沒 有 兩樣! (ENC)  
 jiǎnzhí gēn zìshā méi yǒu liǎngyàng!  
 simply with suicide Neg have difference

In this example, referential *then* is used in English to refer to a past time at which the character Harry used a specific and unusual spell against his enemies. That time is contrasted to another time denoted by the adverbial *tonight*, a time at which a disguised Harry used that spell again against the same enemies, which caused him to be recognised. The use of *then* here goes hand in hand with the use of *tonight*. Indeed, *then* is used as a distal marker opposed to the proximal adverbial *tonight*, and the combination is used with a view to establish a relation between a temporally distant event and a recent event. In Chinese, the translation does not use temporal markers but we find distal and proximal demonstratives that indicate distance or proximity to the deictic centre in a way similar to *then* and *tonight*. The demonstrative *na* ‘that’ can be considered to be a divergent translation of the temporal deictic *then*, whereas the proximal demonstrative *zhe* ‘this’ is a trace of proximal *tonight* in the English text.

In this section, we have shown that there is an overall very low mutual correspondence between referential *then* and its various correspondences. This suggests that despite their semantic overlaps, distal locating adverbials are used in very different ways in Chinese and English. In the following section, we try to explain the differences in frequency and distribution among the Chinese forms on the one hand, and between referential *then* and the group of Chinese forms on the other.

## 2. Accounting for the variations of use of referential *then* and its correspondences

In this section, we look at the Chinese corpora and try to account for the differences in use and frequency between the various correspondences of referential *then*.

As noted, *nashi* and *dangshi* in Chinese are considerably more frequent than referential *then* in English. Moreover, both forms are more often translated in English by periphrases such as *at that time*, *at the time* than by referential *then*. There is also an important number of zero correspondences for these forms. We hypothesise that the absence of tense in Chinese makes it



more desirable to use time anchoring forms such as *nashi* and *dangshi*, which link two eventualities together and provide information as to temporal relations. We will see that although these three markers all link eventualities together and contribute to text cohesion, they do so in different ways. We will first examine the adverbials *nashi*, *dangshi*, and *zheshi*, with a view to accounting for their differences in use (2.1.). Then, we will propose explanations for the variations detected (2.2.).

## 2.1. Analysis of the Chinese markers

In this section, we examine the functions of each of the most frequent correspondences of referential *then*. We first focus on *nashi* (2.1.1.), which is the most frequent correspondence of referential *then* in our translational corpora, before turning to the analysis of *dangshi* (2.1.2.), the second most frequent correspondence of *then*, and finally we examine its third most frequent correspondence *zheshi* (2.1.3.).<sup>9</sup>

### 2.1.1. *Nashi*

*Nashi* is the Chinese marker that seems closer in meaning and use to referential *then*. Indeed, like referential *then*, *nashi* links two eventualities together by selecting the eventuality time of Eventuality A as the topic time of Eventuality B. Moreover, like referential *then*, *nashi* allows for a non-overlapping reading of the eventualities when Eventuality A and B are both telic and perfective. Thus, we find two possible modes of articulation of Eventuality A and B when they are linked together by *nashi*. The two eventualities can have an overlapping interpretation as illustrated by examples (20) and (21), or they can be understood to occur the one after the other as in (14) and (22) below. These two configurations are represented respectively in Figures 1 and 2 below. As is the case with referential *then*, the interpretation of *nashi* as [+overlap] or [-overlap] depends on the aspectual properties of the two eventualities brought in relation by *nashi*.

When Eventuality A or Eventuality B is stative and/or imperfective as in example (20) and (21) below, the use of *nashi* indicates that the two eventualities overlap, as represented in Figure 1.

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<sup>9</sup> We do not analyse the marker *cishi* which we consider to be the written counterpart of *zheshi*.

- (20) 達赫 談起 隔天 清晨 要去步行的 那條路：  
 Dáhè tán-qǐ gétiān qīngchén yào qù bùxíng de nà tiáo lù:  
 Dahu speak-start next day early morning MV go walk Rel that CI road

「我 九年前 去過 那裡，  
 Wǒ jiǔ nián qián qù-guò nǎlǐ,  
 I nine year before go-Exp there

不過 那時候 公路 還沒有 通。  
 bùguò nàshíhòu gōnglù hái méi yǒu tōng.  
 But **that time** highway still Neg have go through

Dahu told them about the route they would take the next morning. ‘I went there nine years ago, before the county highway was completed. (CNC)

In example (20), Eventuality A *qu-guo* ‘go’ is telic and marked with the perfective or experience marker *guo*. Conversely, Eventuality B *meiyou tong* ‘not have passed’ is stative and imperfective. The two eventualities overlap, with Eventuality A being included within the time span of Eventuality B.

- (21) 我 年輕 時候，唉，還 只有 四十五 公斤 呢，  
 Wǒ niánqīng shíhòu, āi, hái zhǐ yǒu sìshíwǔ gōngjīn ne,  
 I young time AI still only have forty five kilos NE

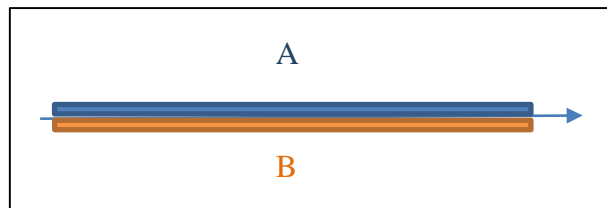
那時候 我 走 在 路上 男人 的 眼光 都 靠 過來(...).  
 Nàshíhòu wǒ zǒu zài lùshàng nánrén de yǎnguāng dōu kào guòlái (...).  
**that time** I walk at street on man Rel gaze all lean come over

When I was young I weighed all of a hundred pounds, and all male eyes would veer my way whenever I walked on by. (CNC)

In example (21), Eventuality A *you sishiwu gongjin* ‘weigh 45 kilograms’ is stative and imperfective while Eventuality B is dynamic and frequentative. Both eventualities overlap, with Eventuality B being included within the time span of Eventuality A.

In both cases, *nashihou* selects the time of Eventuality A as the topic time for Eventuality B. In example (20), the fact that the highway was not going through that area yet is only claimed to be valid during the time span of Eventuality A, *i.e.* his previous stay in that place, nine years ago.

In (21), the fact that heads would turn when she walked by is only claimed to be valid during the time span of Eventuality A, *i.e.* while she was young. Figure 1 below illustrates the overlapping interpretation of *nashi*.



**Figure 1** - Configuration 1: *nashi* [+overlap]

Although Configuration 1 corresponds to the most frequent use of *nashi*, we find some occurrences of *nashi* with non-overlapping eventualities. Indeed, when the two eventualities are telic and/or perfective as in example (14) repeated below and in (22), the eventualities are understood to occur the one after the other.

- (14) 你 抓 起 夏 日 被 單 聞 了 聞 ， 所 幸 小 可 的  
 Nǐ zhuā qǐ xiàrì bèidān wén-le wén, suǒxìng Xiǎokě de  
 You grab start summertime sheet smell-le smell fortunately Xiaoke Rel

體 味 殘 存 (... ) 。 就 在 那 時 ， 你 才 發 現 你  
 tǐwèi cáncún. Jiù zài nàshí, nǐ cái fāxiàn nǐ  
 body odor survive just at that time you only discover you

整 日 的 煩 躁 來 自 於 你 的 疼 痛 ， 你 的 疼 痛 又  
 zhěng rì de fánzào láizì yú nǐ de téngtòng, nǐ de téngtòng yòu  
 entire day Rel twitchy come from you Rel pain you Rel pain yet

來 自 於 你 的 胸 部 ， 你 的 乳 頭 竟 然  
 láizì yú nǐ de xiōngbù, nǐ de rǔtóu jìngrán  
 come from you Rel breast you Rel nipple unexpectedly

受傷 地 有著 乾掉 的 血塊。  
shòushāng de yǒu-zhe gāndiào de xiěkuài.  
Wounded de have-Dur dry-change Rel blood clot

You grabbed the sheet to smell it, and Xiaoke's odor still remained to prove it was not your illusion. **At that moment** you realized your annoyance came from your breast. It hurt although the blood had dried out. (CNC)

In (14), the eventuality *zhuaqi* ‘grab’ is telic, as is Eventuality B *faxian* ‘discover’. *Nashi* refers to a time interval posterior to the time interval of the accomplishment *zhuaqi* ‘grab’. However, rather than *zhuaqi* ‘grab’, Eventuality A could be considered to be *wen-le wen* ‘smell’, which is a perfective activity. In that case, Eventuality A and B would also be understood to occur in a sequence: the focalizing character smells the blanket before becoming conscious of the reason for her annoyance. Thus, as represented in Figure 2, Eventuality B is understood to be validated in the time interval directly adjacent to Eventuality A.

(22) 他 注意 身體 細節，包括 他 見到 你 打噴嚏 太  
Tā zhùyì shēntǐ xìjié, bāokuò tā jiàn-dào nǐ dǎpēntì tài  
He pay attention to body details include he see-Res you sneeze too

用力 以至於 鼻毛 微 露出來 時，他告訴 你：  
yònglì yǐzhìyú bímáo wēi lùchūlái shí, tā gàosù nǐ:  
strongly to the extent that nose hair tiny appear time he say you

再 優雅 的 女生 也 禁不起 露出 鼻毛。  
Zài yōuyǎ de nǚshēng yě jīnbuqǐ lùchū bímáo.  
Even graceful Rel girl also unable to stand expose nose hair

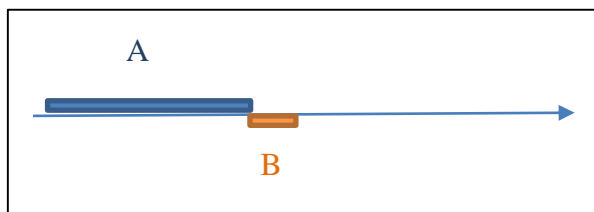
就是 那個時候，他從 浴室 拿出 一把  
**Jiùshì nàgèshíhòu**, tā cóng yùshì ná chū yī bǎ  
**exactly that time** he from bathroom take out one Cl

像 剪 指甲 的 小 剪刀 給 你 (...).  
xiàng jiǎn zhǐjiǎ de xiǎo jiǎndāo gěi nǐ (...).  
resemble cut nail Rel small scissors give you

When you had just got together and one time in his place you let out a big sneeze and inevitably exposed your nose hair, his excessive focus on the details of appearance made him say, “Nose hair kills the most elegant women.” He went to the bathroom to get a trimmer. (CNC)

In example (22), Eventuality A corresponds to an accomplishment: *gaosu ni* ‘tell you’, and Eventuality B *nachu* ‘take out’ is an accomplishment as well. Thus, the male character is understood to speak before taking out the scissors, and the two eventualities do not overlap, cf. Figure 2.

In this configuration, *nashi* still refers to the topic time of Eventuality B. But instead of selecting the time of Eventuality A as topic time for Eventuality B, it selects the initial subinterval of the result state of Eventuality A. Thus, Eventuality B is understood to occur directly after Eventuality A. *Jiushi* ‘exactly’ indicates that there is a contact between the two eventualities. Therefore, the right boundary of Eventuality A and the left boundary of Eventuality B coincide.



**Figure 2** - Configuration 2: *nashi* [-overlap]

We note that Configuration 2 is quite rare in the Chinese corpus. Moreover, when *nashi* is combined with non-overlapping eventualities, it generally co-occurs with the adverb *jiu* ‘at once’, and is in pre-subject position. This is due to the fact that when both eventualities do not overlap but are directly adjacent, *zheshi* is preferred in Chinese, as we will see in 2.2.3.

Because of its nominal nature, *nashi* is always referential: even when the two eventualities that it links together are understood to occur in a sequence, *nashi* refers to a time point or a time interval. Thus, when a mixed *then* is translated by *nashi*, the interpretation is disambiguated in Chinese and a referential interpretation is chosen. This is the case in example (23) below, in which *then* in the English text is classified as mixed insofar as it can receive both a sequential or referential interpretation: it could be glossed either as ‘at that time’ or as ‘after that’.

- (23) a. As we Disapparated, Yaxley caught hold of me (...), and he was still holding on when we arrived at Grimmauld Place, and **then** — well, I think he must have seen the door, (...) so he slackened his grip and I managed to shake him off and I brought us here instead!

b. As we Disappeared, Yaxley caught hold of me (...), he was too strong, and he was still holding on when we arrived at Grimmauld Place, and — well, I think he must have seen the door **then** (...), so he slackened his grip and I managed to shake him off and I brought us here instead!

我們 消影 的 時候， 克厲 抓住了 我， (...).  
 Wǒmen xiāoyǐng de shíhòu, Yákèlì zhuāzhù-le wǒ, (...).  
 We disappear Rel time Yaxley grab-le I

我們 到達 古旦某 街 後， 他 還是 抓著 我，  
 Wǒmen dàodá Gǔdànmǒu Jiē hòu, tā hái shì zhuā-zhe wǒ,  
 We reach Grimmauld Place after he still grab-Dur I

那時-- 哎， 我 覺得 他 一定 看見 大門了 (...),  
 nàshí--āi, wǒ juéde tā yīding kànjiàn dàmén le (...),  
**then** AI I think he no doubt see main door LE

所以他 鬆了 手， 我 乘機 用 開 他，  
 suǒyǐ tā sōng-le shǒu, wǒ chéngjī yòng kāi tā,  
 so he loose-le hand I seize the chance use turn on he

把 我們 三個 帶到了 這裡! (ENC)  
 bǎ wǒmen sān gè dài-dào-le zhèlǐ!  
 BA us three CI bring-Res-le here

If interpreted as referential *then* would be understood to refer to the time interval already predetermined by the *when*-clause in the immediate left context, *i.e.* Eventuality B ‘see the door’ would be understood to overlap with Eventuality A ‘arrive at Grimmauld Place’.<sup>10</sup> If sequential, it would indicate that Eventuality B ‘see the door’ occurred after Eventuality A ‘hold on’. Since in both cases the two eventualities are interpreted to overlap and their initial boundaries are interpreted to occur in a sequence, the difference of interpretation would only imply a shift of point of view or focus. If *then* was interpreted as referential, it would be stressed and followed by a pause. The emphasis would be on that particular moment in time, to the exclusion of all others, and *then* would take on a contrastive meaning. In that case, the objective of the speaker would be to identify the time at which Yaxley slackened his grip and the reasons for this event. This would

<sup>10</sup> In the case of a sequential reading, the eventuality selected as Eventuality A must be the one in the matrix clause, since Eventuality A and B are coordinated by sequential *then* and must thus be on the same syntactic level.

correspond to the disambiguated version with final referential *then* in (23)b. If *then* was sequential, the pause following it and represented in the text by a dash would be interpreted as a time of hesitation, used by the speaker to figure out what happened next. In that case, *then* could almost be considered to have a non-temporal meaning and to be a discourse marker.

In Chinese on the other hand, the use of *nashi* does not leave any room for ambiguity: the adverbial is referential and refers to the time interval during which the characters concerned have arrived to Grimmauld Place and Yaxkey is still holding on to Hermione (the speaker). *Nashi* locates two eventualities which overlap and constitute Eventuality B: *kanjian damen* ‘see the main door’ or rather the result state of this achievement, and *yiwei* ‘think’. *Nashi* indicates that these states – the state of having seen the door and the state of thinking that they were stopping there – are validated after they arrived at Grimmauld Place and while he was still holding on to her. Indeed, both Eventualities are durative and thus overlapping: the durative marker *-zhe* in Eventuality A indicates that Eventuality A overlaps with Eventuality B, which itself is a state. Thus, in Chinese, *nashi* disambiguates the utterance: the emphasis is on that particular moment in time and the only possible gloss is ‘at that time’, and not ‘after that’.

In example (24) below, *nashihou* is translated in English with an initial *then* that can be read as mixed, but is more likely to be interpreted as sequential rather than as referential.

- (24) 我 趕快 命令 工作人員 開始 撤離。  
 Wǒ gǎnkuài mìnglìng gōngzuòrén yuán kāishǐ chèlí.  
 I at once order staff member start evacuate

哎，情況 非常、非常、非常 混亂。」李榮祥 說。  
 Āi, qíngkuàng fēicháng, fēicháng, fēicháng hǔnlùn.' Lǐróngxiáng shuō.  
 AI situation very very very chaos Li Jung-hsiang say

「那時候 我 聽到 一種 岩磐 崩裂 的 聲音，  
**Nàshíhòu** wǒ tīngdào yīzhǒng yánpán bēngliè de shēngyīn,  
**Then** I hear one kind bedrock break up Rel sound

匡匡 兩 聲， 嚇了 一跳 (...)。」  
 `kuāng kuāng liǎng shēng, xià-le yī tiào (...).'  
 Crack crack two sound scare-le one jump

a. I immediately ordered an evacuation. Aye, it was total chaos in there,’ Jung-hsiang said. ‘**Then** I heard two pops in quick succession, like fractures in the bedrock. That scared the hell out of me. (CNC)

b. I immediately ordered an evacuation. Aye, it was total chaos in there,’ Jung-hsiang said. ‘I heard two pops in quick succession **then**, like fractures in the bedrock. That scared the hell out of me.

c. I immediately ordered an evacuation. Aye, it was total chaos in there,’ Jung-hsiang said. ‘**At that moment**, I heard two pops in quick succession, like fractures in the bedrock. That scared the hell out of me.

In Chinese, *nashihou* indicates that Eventuality B *tingdao* ‘hear’ occurs when Jung-hsiang has ordered the evacuation. We consider here that Eventuality A corresponds to the issuing of the evacuation order and not to the chaotic state of the situation. Indeed, this second sentence corresponds to a comment made by the speaker about the general situation, and it is interpreted as a background state, sharing the same reference time as the previous eventuality. Thus in Chinese, *nashihou* is understood to refer to the initial time subinterval of the result state of *mingling kaishi cheli* ‘order to start evacuating’, *i.e.* the time interval directly adjacent to Eventuality A in which the order has been given.

In English on the other hand, the interpretation of *then* is problematic. *Then* could be interpreted as a sequential marker articulating the eventualities ‘order an evacuation’ and ‘hear two pops in quick succession’; considering its initial position this is the most probable interpretation here. However, one might retrieve some referential meaning if *then* was stressed, its gloss becoming something like ‘at that very moment’ or ‘just then’. In that case, *then* would, as *nashihou* does in Chinese, refer to the initial subinterval of the result state of Eventuality A, and the eventualities would be interpreted as non-overlapping. This interpretation would theoretically prevail if *then* was in final position as in b. However, some native speakers prefer ‘after that’ as a gloss for *then* in final position here, as opposed to ‘at that time’. It seems that the closest correspondence for *nashihou* in (24) would be *at that moment*, which could have been used here as in (24)c.

In example (25) below, *nashi* occurs twice.



- (25) 然後 又 過 不 了 多 久 ， 伊 娜 開 始 和 一 個 喝 酒  
 Ránhòu yòu guò-bu-liao duōjiǔ, Yīnà kāishǐ hé yīgè hē jiǔ  
 Then again pass-Neg-finish very long Ina start with one CI drink alcohol

以後 總 是 把 她 當 沙 包 的 男 人 住 在 一 起 ， 那 個 時 候  
 yǐhòu zǒngshì bǎ tā dāng shābāo de nánrén zhù zài yīqǐ, nàgè shíhòu  
 after always BA she as sand bag Rel man live at together **that CI time**

我 已 經 開 始 上 小 學 ， 比 較 清 楚 了 ，  
 wǒ yǐjīng kāishǐ shàng xiǎoxué, bǐjiào qīngchǔ le,  
 I already start attend primary school more clear LE

我 的 記 憶 。 我 們 住 在 一 條 溪 的 旁 邊 ，  
 wǒ de jìyì. Wǒmen zhù zài yītiáo xī de pángbiān,  
 I Rel memory we live at one CI creek Rel side

沒 什 麼 水 的 溪 。 聽 起 來 很 奇 怪 是 嗎 ？ 我 們  
 Méi shénme shuǐ de xī. Tīngqǐlái hěn qíguài shì ma? Wǒmen  
 Neg any water Rel creek sound like very weird be Interr We

那 時 候 住 在 一 條 溪 裡 頭 沒 有 什 麼 水 的 溪 邊 。  
 nàshíhòu zhù zài yītiáo xī lǐtóu méiyǒu shéme shuǐ de xī biān.  
**then** live at one CI creek inside Neg have any water Rel creek side

a. Later Ina started living with this guy called Old Liao. Old Liao was always getting drunk and using her as a punching bag. **By that time** I'd already started elementary and I remember more of what happened. We were living by a creek. There wasn't too much water in the creek. Sounds strange, doesn't it? Yup, **at that time** we were living by a creek without much water in it. (CNC)

b. Later Ina started living with this guy called Old Liao. Old Liao was always getting drunk and using her as a punching bag. I'd already started elementary and I remember more of what happened. We were living by a creek. There wasn't too much water in the creek. Sounds strange, doesn't it? Yup, we were living by a creek without much water in it.

The first occurrence is used to provide a temporal anchor for the accomplishment *kaishi shang xiaoxue* 'start elementary school', while the second occurrence provides a temporal anchor to the state *zhu* 'live'. Like referential *then*, *nashi* provides a temporal anchor by selecting a topic time for the eventuality that it modifies (Eventuality B); the selection of the topic time is done

relative to the eventuality time of the previous eventuality (Eventuality A): the time interval selected by *nashi* depends on the aspectual properties of both eventualities and can be either the time of Eventuality A itself, or the time interval directly following the eventuality.

In example (25), the first occurrence of *nashihou* refers to the time when Ina started living with Old Liao, which is selected as topic time for the eventuality *yijing kaishi shang xiaoxue* ‘have already started elementary school’. This eventuality corresponds to the target state of the eventuality *kaishi shang xiaoxue* ‘start elementary school’, with *yijing* ‘already’ indicating that the latter was validated before the eventuality *kaishi zhu zai yiqi* ‘start living together’. According to native informants, the deletion of *nashihou* would render the sentence infelicitous. Indeed, the eventuality *yijing kaishi shang xiaoxue* ‘have already started elementary school’ would not be anchored in time and would thus feel incomplete. Similarly, the deletion of the second occurrence of *nashihou* might give the impression that the last sentence is not related to the left context. Thus, *nashihou* connects the eventualities together and has a cohesive role in the narrative. With *nashihou*, the eventuality *zhu* ‘live’ is given a topic time. With no information as to the topic time of the eventuality, one would not precisely know to what time interval the claim that they lived by a creek without much water in it would be restricted. This is why native speakers of Chinese feel that in that case, some temporal anchoring is needed.

In the original English translation (25)a, *nashihou* is translated first by “by that time” and then by “at that time”. The use of these locating adverbials in English can be perceived as redundant, and both adverbials could be deleted as in (25)b without altering the felicitousness of the passage. Note that the referential adverb *then* is not used here, but that the periphrasis *at that time*, morphologically closer to *nashihou*, is preferred by the translator.

We have seen that *nashi* is very close in meaning referential *then*. It refers to the topic time of Eventuality B and can be used with overlapping or non-overlapping eventualities. However, the two markers are not used in the same situations: the use of *nashi* in Chinese is often compulsory in contexts in which the use of *then* is not. We now turn to the analysis of *dangshi*.

2.1.2. *Dangshi*

Although *nashi* and *dangshi* are often interchangeable, they differ in meaning and use. In this section, we try to identify the differences between the two markers.

Firstly, unlike *nashi*, *dangshi* cannot be used to refer to a future time. The domain of reference of *dangshi* is limited to events anterior to the time of speech or time point of the temporal *origo*. Thus, we find no occurrence of *dangshi* referring to a future time in our corpora. If we alter example (10) (1.1.1.) and use *dangshi* instead of *nashi* to refer to a future time point as in (26) below, the sentence is not felicitous.

- (26) They're in Key West for the winter, they'll be back in April, he'll meet them **then**.  
(ENC)

\*他們 這個 冬天 都在 奇威 斯特,  
Tāmen zhège dōngtiān dōu zài Qíwēi Sītè,  
They this CI winter all at Key West

要 到 四月 才 回來， 你 要 到 **當時** 才 見得到 他們。  
yào dào sìyuè cái huílái, nǐ yào dào **dāngshí** cái jiàn-dé-dào tāmen  
MV to April only come back you MV to **then** only see-DE-Res they

We argue that unlike *nashi*, *dangshi* does not refer to the eventuality time of Eventuality A, but rather to a broader time interval in which the circumstances valid at the time of Eventuality A are valid. Thus, *dangshi* generally refers to a broad time interval with fuzzy boundaries. *Dangshi* can be glossed as ‘at the time, in those days’, as in example (27) below.

- (27) 車子 穿過 隧道 時，薄達夫 刻意 搖 下 車窗，  
Chēzi chuānguò suìdào shí, Báodáfū kèyì yáo xià chē chuāng,  
Car pass through tunnel time Bodafu deliberate roll down car window

仔細 感受 通過 隧道的 風、溫度 與  
Zǐxì gǎnshòu tōngguò suìdào de fēng, wēndù yǔ  
Attentive feel pass through tunnel Rel wind temperature and

人工 照明。 **當時** 工人 可是在 黑暗、冬季 陰冷  
Réngōng zhàomíng. **Dāngshí** gōngrén kěshì zài hēi'àn, dōngjì yīnlěng  
artificial lighting **at the time** worker but be in dark winter gloomy cold

夏季 燠熱 的 洞穴 裡， 挖掘了 十幾 年 的 光陰 呢。  
 xiàjì yùrè de dòngxué lǐ, wājué-le shí jǐ nián de guāngyīn ne.  
 summer warm hot Rel cave inside dig-le ten more year Rel time NE

Driving through the tunnel decades later, Detlef lowered the window to get an exact sense of the wind, temperature and artificial lighting inside. **At the time**, the workers had spent over a decade in a dark, dank cave that was cold in winter and muggy in summer. (CNC)

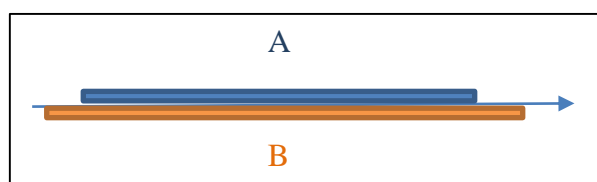
The use of the definite article *the* in the gloss rather than of the demonstrative *that* is significant: *dangshi* refers to a known but often undefined time interval. This time interval is identified anaphorically, but its boundaries remain uncertain. The use of *dangshi* does not lay the stress on the time of occurrence of the eventuality itself, but on the circumstances of its occurrence. The circumstances of occurrence of Eventuality B are presented as related to those of Eventuality A, and are generally assimilated to them. In other words, when *dangshi* locates Eventuality B, it indicates that the circumstances of Eventuality B are the same as those of a previously mentioned or constructed Eventuality A. By circumstances is meant a multitude of extra-linguistic parameters that are conducive to the validation of the eventualities. By linking the two eventualities together, *dangshi* suggests that some circumstances of Eventuality A were relevant for the validation of Eventuality B or vice versa. Thus, another gloss for *dangshi* could be ‘under the circumstances valid at the time of Eventuality A’ or ‘when the circumstances valid at the time of Eventuality A were valid’.<sup>11</sup> That meaning is not always foremost, but it is always retrievable, and its incompatibility with some contexts accounts for the cases in which *dangshi* cannot be used. Note that sometimes, mostly when Eventuality A is telic and perfective, the validation of Eventuality A becomes a circumstance conducive to the validation of Eventuality B. In other words, there can be a relation of causality between the two eventualities.

In example (27) above, Detlef is an engineer who came to Taiwan thirty years earlier to participate in the drilling of a tunnel. This circumstance is mentioned in the far left context of example (27), and built upon in the direct left context, with Detlef’s memories of his work on the tunnel. Thus, Eventuality A corresponds to a number of events and situations mentioned in the left context which together constitute Detlef’s stay in Taiwan thirty years ago. In this example,

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<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Wei-Cherng Sam Jheng for suggesting that a possible gloss for *dangshi* could be ‘under these conditions’.

*dangshi* refers to that time, thirty years ago, when Detlef came to Taiwan, or rather to a larger time period during which the circumstances of Eventuality A relevant to Eventuality B were valid. Eventuality B *zai hei'an (...)* *wajue* ‘dig in the dark’ is valid at the time of Eventuality A, *i.e.* Detlef’s stay. However, a duration is given for Eventuality B, namely more than ten years. This is longer than Detlef’s stay. Thus, the time interval of Eventuality B is broader than the time interval of Eventuality A. *Dangshi* only indicates that the two eventualities overlap, because some circumstances valid at the time of Eventuality A are conducive to the validation of Eventuality B. The meaning of *dangshi* can be represented as follows:



**Figure 3** - Typical meaning of *dangshi*: Overlap of the eventualities,  $A < B$

In example (28) below, *dangshi* can be glossed as ‘under the circumstances valid at the time of Eventuality A’.

- (28) 幾 十 年 來 因 為 暖 化 加 速 ， 陸 棚  
 Jǐ shí nián lái yīn wèi nuǎn huà jiā sù , lù péng  
 Several ten last years because warming speed up land shed

冰 封 層 的 一 些 水 合 物 溶 解 ， 因 此 產 生 了 氣 泡 。  
 bīng fēng céng de yī xiē shuǐ hé wù róng jiě , yīn cǐ chǎn shēng le qì pào 。  
 freeze over layer Rel some hydrate dissolve thus arise-le bubble

氣 泡 使 結 晶 彼 此 脫 落 ， 導 致 沉 積 層 變 得  
 Qì pào shǐ jié jīng bǐ cǐ tuō luò , dǎo zhì chén jī céng biàn dé  
 Bubble cause crystal each other drop off create sediment layer become

不 穩 定 ， 當 時 造 成 大 概 兩 百 五 十 公 尺 高 ，  
 bù wěn dìng , dāng shí zào chéng dà gài liǎng bǎi wǔ shí gōng chǐ gāo ,  
 Neg stable then cause roughly two hundred fifty meter high

數百            公里    寬 (...).  
 shù bǎi        gōnglǐ    kuān  
 several hundred kilometer wide

For the past several decades, with the acceleration of global warming, hydrates in the shelf frost layer have been melting and bubbles forming. The resulting crystal decomposition has increased sedimentary instability, causing a massive slide of a layer two hundred and fifty metres high and several hundred kilometres wide (...). (CNC)

Eventuality A corresponds to the melting of the hydrates and the formation of bubbles in the shelf frost layer. *Dangshi* locates the eventuality *zaocheng* ‘cause’ and indicates that this eventuality is validated under the circumstances valid at the time of Eventuality A, with in addition the circumstance of Eventuality A being validated. Therefore, there is almost in this case a causal relation between the two eventualities.

Thus, *dangshi* indicates that the two eventualities share the same circumstances, or rather that Eventuality B shares with Eventuality A the circumstances relevant to its validation. One of these circumstances is their time of validity. Therefore, the two eventualities linked together by *dangshi* typically overlap. If a non-overlapping interpretation is available, as in (28), then it implies a causal relation between the two eventualities, with the validation of Eventuality A becoming one of the circumstances valid at the time of Eventuality B and conducive to its validation. Note that in (28), both an overlapping and a non-overlapping interpretation are available, depending on the interpretation of Eventuality A. Accordingly, one might understand that the melting and the bubbles precede the slide, and consider only the event of the slide as Eventuality B. But one might alternatively consider that Eventuality B corresponds to the causation of the slide (*zaocheng* ‘cause’), which can be considered to be a slow process which unfolds as the hydrates melt and the bubbles form. In that case, Eventuality A and B are understood to overlap.

In our corpus, for the major part of the occurrences of *dangshi*, Eventuality B is stative and/or imperfective, its time interval includes the time interval of Eventuality A and it corresponds to a background eventuality. This is the case in example (29) below.

- (29) (...) 有 一回 有 幾個 學生 被 困 在 南湖 大 山 ,  
 Yǒu yī huí yǒu jǐ gè xuéshēng bèi kùn zài Nánhú dà shān,  
 There is one Cl have a few students Pass trap at Nanhu big mountain

搜救 隊 沿路 一直 檢到 失聯 登山  
 sōujiù duì yánlù yīzhí jiǎn-dào shīlián dēngshān  
 search and rescue team along the way always collect-Res lost climbing

隊員 的 衣服 , 但 當時 山 上 氣溫  
 duìyuán de yīfú, dàn dāngshí shān shàng qìwēn  
 team member Rel clothes but **at the time** mountain on temperature

其實 已經 接近 零度。  
 Qíshí yǐjīng jiējìn língdù.  
 actually already close to zero degree

There was this one time when several students got trapped on Nanhu Mountain. The rescue team kept finding discarded clothes along the path **at a time when** the temperature in the mountains was close to freezing. (CNC)

Eventuality A corresponds to the activity *jiandao yifu* ‘pick up clothes’, and Eventuality B corresponds to the result state of the accomplishment *jiejin* ‘get close’. Despite the fact that *jiejin* ‘get close’ is an accomplishment, the adverb *yijing* indicates that the accomplishment was validated before the time of reference, henceforth *dangshi* locates the result state of the accomplishment, *i.e.* ‘be close to freezing’. Eventuality B is a background state against which Eventuality A unfolds. *Dangshi* simply indicates that Eventuality B was valid at the time of Eventuality A, and in this case that it was valid for a broader time interval, the boundaries of which are not given.

In example (30) below, Eventuality B is not a state, but an accomplishment that could also be interpreted as an activity.

- (30) 達赫 準備 開 到 那條 七、八 年 前 硬是 被 打通  
 Dáhè zhǔnbèi kāi dào nà tiáo qī, bā nián qián yìngshì bèi dǎtōng  
 Dahe prepare drive to that Cl seven eight years before simply Pass open

的一條 縣道。 當時 地方 政客 宣稱 是 為了  
 de yītiáo xiàndào. **Dāngshí** dìfāng zhèngkè xuānchēng shì wèile  
 Rel one Cl county road **at the time** local politician claim be in order to

要 改善 偏遠 地區 交通， 和 完成  
 yào gǎishàn piānyuǎn dìqū jiāotōng, hé wánchéng  
 MV improve remote district traffic and complete

環島 公路， 才 要 開挖 的一條 路。  
 huándǎo gōnglù, cái yào kāiwā de yītiáo lù.  
 around the island highway only then want dig Rel one Cl road

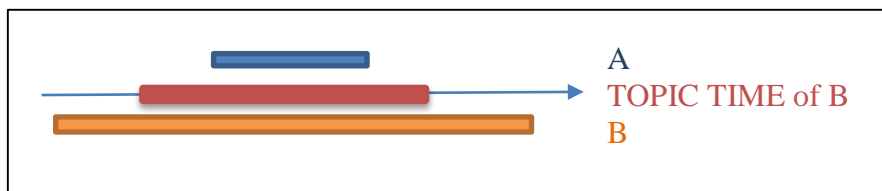
Dahu was about to turn onto a county highway that had been pushed through by the local government about seven or eight years before. Local politicians claimed that the rationale for the road was improving transportation in remote areas and completing the ring road around the island. (CNC)

Indeed, the eventuality *xuancheng* ‘claim’ does not refer to a single event but rather to the constant broadcasting of an opinion over a certain period of time, *i.e.* the period of time that *dangshi* refers to. *Xuancheng* ‘claim’ is presented as imperfective, which is the default viewpoint. The use of the perfective particle *-le* after the verb is not possible here. Thus, the activity of claiming that this road would improve transportation is not presented as bounded. Conversely, Eventuality A corresponds to the accomplishment *bei datong* ‘be opened’ which is located on the time axis by the adverbial *qi ba nian qian* ‘seven or eight years ago’. *Dangshi* refers to the time interval in which the circumstances valid at the time of Eventuality A and relevant for the validation of Eventuality B are valid. In other words, it refers to a time interval which includes the building of the road seven or eight years ago, and during which the local politicians claimed that the building of that road would be beneficial for the region. Thus, despite the fact that the inception of Eventuality B (‘claim’) precedes the validation of Eventuality A (‘be opened’), *dangshi* indicates that the two overlap: the politicians are still claiming that the opening of the road will improve transportation after the road is built. The boundaries of Eventuality B are not visible, and *dangshi* does not provide the initial or final endpoints of Eventuality B. On the contrary, it blurs the boundaries, and only indicates that the time interval of Eventuality B includes Eventuality A.



In fact, *dangshi*, like *then*, refers to the topic time of Eventuality B. But unlike *then* and *nashi*, instead of selecting the time of Eventuality A as topic time for Eventuality B, *dangshi* selects the time interval in which the circumstances of Eventuality A that are relevant for the validation of Eventuality B are valid. Thus, the time interval that *dangshi* refers to typically includes the time interval of Eventuality A, and is included within the time interval of Eventuality B. Because the boundaries of the time interval that *dangshi* refers to are not visible, the exact relation between them and the boundaries of the time interval of Eventuality B are generally uncertain: they could coincide, or Eventuality B could include the time interval of *dangshi*. Thus, in example (29) above, the topic time referred to by *dangshi* is the time during which the circumstances valid at the time of Eventuality A - *i.e.* the activity of continually finding discarded clothes - are valid, which presumably corresponds to a time interval broader than the time interval of Eventuality A but shorter than the time interval of Eventuality B. Indeed, the temperature might be close to zero for a time interval broader than the time interval during which all the other circumstances of Eventuality A are valid.

In (30), *dangshi* refers to a time interval during which the circumstances conducive to the construction of the road are valid. These circumstances might be valid for longer than it takes to build a road. *Dangshi* indicates that the politicians' claims were made during that time, which we identify as the topic time of Eventuality B. However, nothing is said as to the boundaries of the topic time and the boundaries of Eventuality B. Thus, the time span of Eventuality B might be broader than its topic time. Therefore, the meaning of *dangshi* could be more precisely represented as follows:



**Figure 4** - *Dangshi*: topic time of Eventuality B

We have mentioned that *dangshi* is very frequent in Chinese narration. Among the correspondences of referential *then* examined in this chapter, it is the most frequent form to occur in the written corpus. It is often used repetitively in successive clauses or sentences in

contexts in which the use of referential *then* would be considered redundant in English. This is the case in example (31), in which we find three occurrences of *dangshi*, with two in the same sentence.

- (31) 唯一 在健康 路 有過 健康 快樂 之 事 是：見到  
 Wéiyī zài jiànkāng lù yǒu-guò jiànkāng kuàilè zhī shì shì: Jiàndào  
 Only at healthy street have-Exp healthy happy Rel thing be see

當時 還 叫做 吳 俊霖 的 伍佰， 一身 黑 亮 的  
**dāngshí** hái jiàozuò Wú Jùnlín de Wǔ Bǎi, yīshēn hēi liàng de  
**then** still called Wu Junlin Rel Wu Bai, whole body black bright Rel

搖滾 氣味 像 是在 葬禮 狂歡 的 影舞者。  
 yáogǔn qìwèi xiàng shì zài zànglǐ kuánghuān de yǐng wǔ zhě.  
 Rock'n'roll scent like be at burial party Rel shadow dancer

當時 你 的 室友 是 一名 知名度 開始 攀升 的  
**Dāngshí** nǐ de shìyǒu shì yī míng zhī míngdù kāishǐ pānshēng de  
**Then** you Rel roommate be one Cl reputation begin rise Rel

導演，你 二十 幾 歲，他 當時 也 還 未過 四十。  
 dǎoyǎn, nǐ èrshí jǐ suì, tā **dāngshí** yě hái wèiguò sìshí.  
 director you twenty some years he **then** too still not yet cross forty

The only thing that cheered you up was sometimes you ran into a singer and song writer who later changed his name to Five Hundred and became a superstar. **At that time** his rock and roll disposition and his coal black outfit reminded you of the shadow dancers in funerals. A rising movie director became your roommate and occasional lover. **At that time** you were in your twenties; he was in his late thirties. (CNC)

The reference time for all the occurrences of *dangshi* is the same. Indeed, the narrator is describing various situations valid at the same time, *i.e.* the time when the focalising character – addressed as *ni* ‘you’ – lived on Jiankang Street. Eventuality A is a state. All three eventualities located by *dangshi* are also states, and *dangshi* indicates that they are valid at the time of Eventuality A. *Dangshi* also implies that they are valid for a longer period than the time of Eventuality A. Although the use of *dangshi*, a time adverbial of past location, indicates that the eventualities are not valid indefinitely, it does not give any indication as to the endpoints of the eventualities, which are presented as imperfective. Thus, *dangshi* indicates that Eventuality B is

valid during the whole duration of Eventuality A, and that the time interval of Eventuality B is broader than that of Eventuality A. But whereas Eventuality A is often perfective, Eventuality B is generally imperfective.

*Dangshi* is an anchoring device, used to link two eventualities together, with the eventuality located by *dangshi* serving as the background against which Eventuality A unfolds. This explains why *dangshi* is used so frequently in Chinese narration, particularly in descriptions of stative situations. It links events together by implying that they share the same circumstances. Thus, it implies a continuity between the two eventualities, which is why it is not used in the narration of events, unlike *zheshi* and sometimes *nashi*. Indeed, the narration of successive events implies shifts of reference times and changes of circumstances. The use of *dangshi* implies a continuity of the circumstances of both eventualities and of the reference time that they anchor to. Thus, in our translational corpora, we do not find any occurrence of *dangshi* as a correspondence of *then* with R-shift. *Dangshi* only occurs as a correspondence of referential and overlapping *then*. This is why despite the high number of occurrences of *dangshi* in the Chinese corpora it seldom corresponds to an occurrence of *then* in English: its use is much more restricted than that of *then*.

Moreover, *dangshi* often occurs in contexts in which no temporal anchoring other than tense is needed in English. Thus in example (31), there are two occurrences of *at that time* in the English translation of the passage. This is a typical case of overuse of the adverbial *at that time* in translation. Indeed, the deletion of both adverbials would not render the passage infelicitous. In English, past tense is enough to indicate that the eventualities were valid in the past; and juxtaposed imperfective eventualities are interpreted to overlap.

*Dangshi* is used in Chinese to provide anchorage, and not to restrict the extent of the time intervals of the eventualities. Conversely, in English, the use of *then* restricts the topic time interval of Eventuality B to the time interval of Eventuality A. *Dangshi* does not do that. Instead of having a restricting effect, it has an enlarging one. Indeed, it blurs the boundaries of the eventuality it locates, or rather of the topic time it refers to. Whereas *then* makes the boundaries of the topic time of Eventuality B visible, *dangshi* makes the boundaries of the topic time of Eventuality B invisible.

There are however some occurrences of *dangshi* locating a telic perfective event, such as example (32) below.

- (32) 三十 多 年 前 他 正 是 意 氣 風 發 的 時 候 ， 參 與 了  
 Sānshí duō nián qián tā zhèng shì yìqìfēngfā de shíhòu, cānyù-le  
 Thirty some year before he just be high-spirited Rel time participate-le

世界 最 大 型 的 全 斷 面 隧 道 鑽 掘 機 TBM<sup>12</sup>  
 shìjiè zuì dàxíng de quán duàn miàn suìdào zuān jué jī TBM  
 world most large Rel all break face tunnel drill dig mahine TBM

的 設 計 (...). 薄 達 夫 以 顧 問 的 身 分 ， 短 暫 來 這 個  
 de shèjì (...). Bó Dá fū yǐ gùwèn de shēnfèn, duǎnzàn lái zhège  
 Rel design Detlef use consultant Rel status brief come this Cl

島 嶼 ， 參 與 打 通 山 脈 的 專 家 會 議 。 當 時  
 dǎoyǔ, cānyù dǎtōng shānmài de zhuānjiā huìyì. Dāngshí  
 island participate drilling mountain range Rel expert conference **then**

薄 達 夫 匆 匆 來 去 ， 並 沒 有 認 識 太 多 的 人 ，  
 Bó dá fū cōngcōng lái qù, bìng méi yǒu rènshí tài duō de rén,  
 Detlef hurriedly come go and Neg have meet too many Rel people

因 此 他 這 次 前 來 只 通 知 了 一 個 當 時 合 作 的 ，  
 yīncǐ tā zhècì qián lái zhǐ tōngzhī-le yīgè dāngshí hézuò de,  
 thus he this time beforehand only inform-le one Cl **then** collaborate Rel

算 是 有 點 交 情 的 工 程 師 李 榮 祥 。  
 suànshì yǒudiǎn jiāoqing de gōngchéngshī Lǐ Róngxiáng.  
 Considered a little friendship Rel engineer Li Jung-hsiang

More than three decades before, when he was a feisty young man, he had participated in the biggest TBM (tunnel boring machine) design the world had ever seen. (...) Detlef had made a short trip to the island to attend a specialist meeting as a TBM consultant. He did not meet too many people during his short stay, and he only let his old colleague Jung-hsiang Li know he was coming back. (CNC)

In fact, even in that case, *dangshi* indicates that Eventuality B is a background situation against which Eventuality A unfolds. In other words it implies that the time interval of

<sup>12</sup> Tunnel Boring Machine

Eventuality A is included within the time interval of Eventuality B. The two eventualities share the same circumstances. Eventuality A is underlined in the example: *duanzan lai zhege daoyu* ‘come to this island for a short time’. Eventuality B corresponds to the accomplishment *congcong lai qu* ‘to come and go in a hurry’. Eventuality B provides information on the circumstances of Eventuality A. Indeed, it indicates that Detlef’s stay was a hurried one, and that Detlef did not take the time to make friends. Thus, Eventuality B can be considered to provide a background against which Eventuality A unfolds. Despite the fact that Eventuality B is an accomplishment, it is understood to overlap with Eventuality A, and even to include Eventuality A in its time frame. In example (33) however, the meaning represented in Figure 4 is impossible to retrieve.

- (33) 你 一 臉 呆 相 地 看 著 他 穿 過 開 了 鵝  
 Nǐ yī liǎn dāi xiāng de kàn-zhe tā chuānguò kāile é  
 You whole face blank appear de watch-Dur he pass through sart-le goose

白 黃 的 雞 蛋 花 枝 椏 ， 隱 沒 進 學 生 的 下 課  
 bái huáng de jīdàn huā zhīyá, yǐnmò jìn xuéshēng de xiàkè  
 white yellow Rel egg flower twig disappear into student Rel finish class

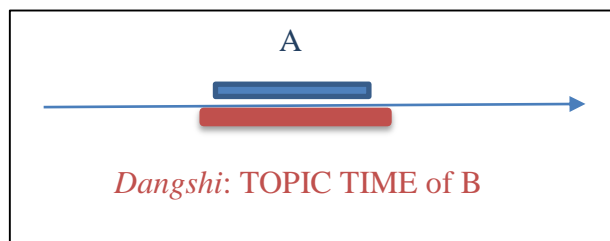
潮。你 在 當 時 才 想 起 他 確 實 是  
 cháo. Nǐ zài dāngshí cái xiǎngqǐ tā quèshí shì  
 tide you **at the time** only remember he really be

結 婚 多 年 而 沒 有 小 孩 的 事 實。  
 jiéhūn duōnián ér méiyǒu xiǎohái de shìshí.  
 married many year and Neg have child Rel fact

You watched him walking through the egg white flowers of Frangipani and disappearing among the students who had just rushed out from campus. **Now** you remembered it was true that Ah-Hung had been married for years and was still childless. (CNC)

Indeed, Eventuality B *xianqi* ‘remember’ is an achievement, the minimal time span of which cannot under any circumstances be understood to include Eventuality A *kan* ‘see’ which is modified by the imperfective marker *-zhe*. However, *dangshi* can be interpreted to refer to the topic time of Eventuality B, which would correspond to the time interval during which the circumstances for the validation of Eventuality A are valid.

Thus, even when Eventuality B cannot be interpreted to include Eventuality A, the topic time of Eventuality B that *dangshi* refers to is still interpreted as a broader time interval than Eventuality A, and *dangshi* can always be glossed as ‘under the circumstances valid at the time of Eventuality A’. The most consistent trait of *dangshi* is that it indicates that the topic time of Eventuality B includes Eventuality A. A more consistent representation of the meaning of *dangshi* would then be that of Figure 5 below.



**Figure 5** - *Dangshi*: topic time of Eventuality B

To conclude, let us look at the difference in use and meaning of *dangshi* and *nashi*. *Dangshi* and *nashi* are generally perceived by speakers to be equivalent. *Nashi* can be used instead of *dangshi* in virtually all cases. However, *dangshi* is not as flexible as *nashi*. We have found that the principal reason that induces Mandarin speakers to reject the use of *dangshi* in some contexts is the register: *dangshi* is generally not used in conversation, but is reserved rather for written contexts. Apart from that, speakers reject the use of *dangshi* and accept the use of *nashi* in the following contexts:

- When Eventuality B refers to a future time
- When Eventuality A and B do not share the same circumstances, *i.e.* there is a shift of reference time between Eventuality A and B.

Having shed some light on the respective functions of *nashi* and *dangshi*, let us turn to the analysis of the marker *zheshi* ‘at this moment’.

### 2.1.3. *Zheshi*

Unlike *nashi* and *dangshi* which are used in very similar contexts, *zheshi* appears in very specific contexts, and can generally not be substituted either by *nashi* or by *dangshi*. *Zheshi* is mostly used in narration to refer to the reference point. Unlike *nashi* and *dangshi*, it typically refers to a

time point and not a time interval. Its use in narration allows for a proximal reading of the situation. The demonstrative *zhe* ‘this’ codes a relation of proximity between the object it determines – a time interval in the case of *zheshi* – and the deictic centre. Whereas *nashi* indicates that the time referred to is distant from the deictic centre, *zheshi* indicates that the time referred to is close to the deictic centre. But more importantly, like *nashi* and *dangshi*, the main function of *zheshi* is to locate Eventuality B relative to Eventuality A: it codes proximity between the two.

Although *then* is a distal time marker coding distance between the reference time and the speech time or *now*-point, it is a frequent correspondence of *zheshi*. In fact, *then* is the most frequent correspondence of *zheshi* in the Chinese Narrative Corpus, with almost 17% of the occurrences of *zheshi* translated by *then*. This is considerably higher than the correspondence rates of *then* and *nashi* or *then* and *dangshi* in the CNC. Indeed, only 2.94% of the occurrences of *nashi* are translated by *then* in the CNC, while 0.99% of the occurrences of *dangshi* are translated by *then*.

Like *nashi* and *dangshi*, *zheshi* is a referential adverbial. It refers to a time interval or more typically a time point, and locates an eventuality (Eventuality B) at that time point. In the CNC, 5 out of the 12 *then*-correspondences of *zheshi* are instances in which *then* co-occurs with an adverb that forces a time-point reading: there are 3 occurrences of *right then*, and 2 occurrences of *just then* (cf. examples (34) and (35) below). Thus, Eventuality B is generally bounded. It is either telic or perfective. The time point or short time interval of Eventuality B is identified anaphorically relative to another given time, which often corresponds to the time of the last eventuality mentioned, or to the time point directly following the right boundary of the antecedent eventuality (Eventuality A). The exact relation between both eventualities, *i.e.* whether they overlap or not, and if they do to what extent, is determined by the aspect of each eventuality. In most cases in our corpus, *zheshi* implies both a relation of sequence and overlap between the two eventualities. Or rather, in most cases both readings are available, but there is often a certain amount of uncertainty as to the exact relation between the final endpoint of Eventuality A and the initial endpoint of Eventuality B, *i.e.* as to whether they are ordered chronologically or not.

In example (34) below, *zheshi* locates Eventuality B *youguo* ‘swim past’ and indicates that this eventuality is validated *when* Eventuality A *fushang* ‘rise to the surface’ is validated.

- (34) 一天 夜裡， (...) 我們 的 祖先 (...) 浮上 水面。  
 Yītiān yèlǐ (...) wǒmen de zǔxiān fúshàng shuǐmiàn.  
 One day at night we Rel ancestor float up water surface

但 這時 托斯托斯 魚群 游過， 牠們 的 魚鱗  
 Dàn zhèshí tuōsī tuōsī yúqún yóuguò, tāmen de yúlín  
 But **at this moment** dosi dosi fish crowd swim by they Rel fish scales

非常 閃亮， 幾乎 把 祖先們 的 眼睛 都 弄 瞎 了 (...).  
 fēicháng shǎnliàng, jīhū bǎ zǔxiānmen de yǎnjīng dōu nòng xiā le (...).  
 Extreme shiny almost BA ancestors Rel eye all handle blind LE

One night (...) our ancestors emerged upon the face of the deep. But **just then** a school of dosi dosi fish swam by, their scales glistening so brilliantly they blinded the eyes of almost all the ancestors. (CNC)

Logic tells the reader that the ancestors, or at least some of them, have to have emerged for them to be blinded. Thus, the ancestors have started to emerge from the water when the fish come swimming by. However, it is not clear whether Eventuality A is still ongoing when Eventuality B is validated. But since Eventuality A is not presented as perfective, its right boundary is not visible and an overlapping interpretation is possible. This is often the case with *zheshi*: whether Eventuality A and B overlap or not is left to interpretation, as represented in Figure 6 below. It can be inferred from the aspectual properties of the eventualities and the general context. Similarly, in example (35) below, the meaning of *zheshi* is unclear. A child is observing beetles and remarks that they are beautiful insects when a beetle stops in front of him.

- (35) 多麼 美麗 的 昆蟲 啊。 男孩 像 唱歌 一樣 說。  
 Duōme měili de kūnchóng a. Nánhái xiàng chànggē yīyàng shuō.  
 How beautiful Rel insect A boy like sing a song same say

這時候， 一隻 巨大的， 翅 鞘 上 有 迷人 綠色  
 Zhèshíhòu, yī zhī jùdà de, chì qiào shàng yǒu mírén lǜsè  
**At this moment** one Cl huge Rel wing sheath on have enchanting green



與 黃色 花斑 的 甲蟲 停 在 他 眼前 的 一顆 石頭 上。  
 yǔ huángsè huābān de jiǎchóng tíng zài tā yǎnqián de yī kē shítou shàng.  
 and yellow patches Rel beetle stop at he eye front Rel one Cl rock on

‘Such beautiful insects!’ says the boy in a singsong voice. **Just then**, a huge beetle with charming green and yellow mottling on its elytra stops on a rock in front of him. (CNC)

Two interpretations are possible: the beetle might have stopped in front of the boy while he was speaking, or just after. Eventuality A corresponds to the speech act of the boy (*shuo x* ‘say x’), and Eventuality B corresponds to the accomplishment *ting* ‘stop’. *Just then* indicates that the topic time for Eventuality B is either the time of Eventuality A or the initial subinterval of its result state. Thus, *zheshi* refers to a time interval determined by Eventuality A, but the exact location of that time interval, and particularly of its left boundary, is not necessarily available.

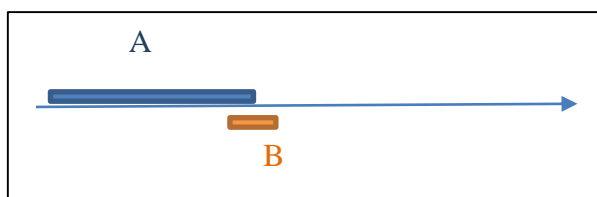


Figure 6 - Configuration 1: *zheshi* [+/-overlap]

In example (36) below, Eventuality A *zhuāqi* ‘grab’ precedes Eventuality B *zhuyidao* ‘notice’. Indeed, it is because the team leader grabs Mawaz’s leg that everyone notices the blood in the water.

- (36) 「別動!」 第一組 組長 突然 又 朝著 他 吼了 起來，  
 Bié dòng! Dìyī zǔ zǔzhǎng túrán yòu cháoze tā hǒu-le qǐlái,  
 Don’t move first team group leader sudden again facing he roar-le start

在 血益且 還 沒 反應 過來 時，蹲 下來  
 zài Xuèyìqiě hái méi fǎnyìng guòlái shí, dūn xiàlái  
 at Mawaz still Neg react come time squat come down

抓 起 風挂且 浸 在 水 裡 的 左 腳，這 個 時 候  
 zhuā qǐ Fēngguàqiě jìn zài shuǐ lǐ de zuǒ jiǎo, zhège shíhòu  
 grab start Mawaz immerse at water inside Rel left leg **this Cl time**

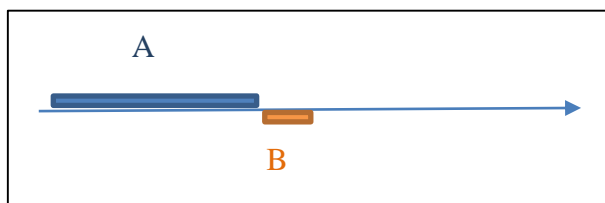
大家 才 注意到了， 廬挂且<sup>13</sup> 左腳 浸泡 在 水 裡  
 dàjiā cái zhùyì-dào-le, Lúguàqiě zuǒ jiǎo jìnpào zài shuǐ lǐ  
 everyone only pay attention-Res-le Mawaz left leg soak at water inside

的 位置，已經 有 一 長 條 的 殷紅 顏色  
 de wèizhì, yǐjīng yǒu yī cháng tiáo de yānhóng yánsè  
 Rel place already have one long Cl Rel dark red colour

隨著 水流 往 下流 去，所有 人 感到 驚嚇。  
 suízhe shuǐliú wǎng xiàliú qù, suǒyǒu rén gǎndào jīngxià  
 in the wake of river toward downstream go all people feel horrify

“Don’t move!” The team leader yelled at him again. Before Mawaz realized, he grabbed Mawaz’s left leg which was in the water. **Then** everyone started to notice that there was a red trace flowing downstream from where Mawaz’s left leg used to be. (CNC)

The causal relation between the two implies a relation of sequence. The most straightforward interpretation would be that Eventuality A is fully completed before the validation of Eventuality B, which would mean that the two eventualities do not overlap, as represented in Figure 7 below. However, one might imagine a case scenario in which the team leader would still be in the process of grabbing Mawaz’s leg when everybody notices the blood. Thus, it seems that the use of *zheshi* blurs the relation and order between the final boundary of Eventuality A and the initial boundary of Eventuality B.



**Figure 7** - Configuration 1: *zheshi* [-overlap]

Note that in example (36), the function of *then* is ambiguous: being in sentence-initial position it is likely to be interpreted as sequential, and indeed as was just explained the left boundary of Eventuality A does precede the left boundary of Eventuality B. However a referential meaning can be retrieved as well. In that case, *then* would have the same function as *zheshi* in Chinese: it would refer to the initial subinterval of the result state of Eventuality A, *i.e.*

<sup>13</sup> *Xueyiqie*, *Fengguaqie* and *Luguaqie* are different names given to the same character, Mawaz.

the state of the team leader having hold of Mawaz's leg. Thus, *then* could be glossed either as 'after that' or as 'at that moment/at that point': it is a perfect example of a mixed occurrence of *then*. In fact, *zheshi* in Chinese mostly corresponds to occurrences of mixed *then*. This is the case for instance in examples (37) and (38) below.

In example (37) Eventuality A *shi-zhe* 'try' is an activity presented as imperfective with the background marker *-zhe*.

(37) 不過 土堆 實在 不 低，於是 阿莉思 便 試著  
 Bùguò tǔduī shízài bù dī, yúshì Alisī biàn shì-zhe  
 But mound really Neg low thus Alice then try-Dur

往 旁邊 的 草叢 鑽 過去。 這時 她 聽到  
 wǎng pángbiān de cǎocóng zuān guòqù. Zhèshí tā tīng-dào  
 towards side Rel underbush drill go through **at this time** she hear-Res

啪啪啪 的 翅翼 鼓動 的 聲音。  
 pāpāpā de chiyì gǔdòng de shēngyīn.  
 Pop pop pop Rel wing agitate Rel sound

But the slide was higher than it looked, so she tried to squeeze through the grass on the other side of the path instead. **Then** she heard the sound of beating wings. (CNC)

In this example, Eventuality B *tingdao* 'hear' is an achievement giving way to an activity. Thus, Eventuality B interrupts Eventuality A. The left boundary of Eventuality A precedes the left boundary of Eventuality B, but whether the two eventualities overlap or not is a matter of interpretation. One might imagine that Alice stops trying to squeeze through the grass when she hears the sound of beating wings, in which case the interpretation is [-overlap], but one might imagine that she continues trying in which case the interpretation would be [+overlap]. *Zheshi* in Chinese indicates that there is a contact between both eventualities, either that they are directly adjacent or that they overlap. Mixed *then* in English does exactly the same thing. Indeed, even if some readers might favour a non-overlapping sequential interpretation, the direct adjacency of the two eventualities is unquestionable.

In example (38) the configuration is very similar. Eventuality A corresponds to the state *yao paochulai* 'be going to run out' and Eventuality B is an activity: *yonglai* 'rush forth'.

- (38) 不 知道 游了 多久， 胸口 疼得不得了，  
 Bù zhīdào yóu-le duōjiǔ, xiōngkǒu téng-dé-bùdéliào,  
 Neg know swim-le how long pit of the stomach sore-DE-extremely

靈魂 要 從 喉嚨 跑出來 了。 這時 一股 巨大  
 línghún yào cóng hóulóng pǎochū lái le. Zhèshí yī gǔ jùdà  
 soul MV from throat run come out LE **this time** one CI huge

的 力量 從 阿特烈的 背後 湧來， 他 直覺 是 一道 大浪，  
 de lìliàng cóng Ateliè de bèihòu yǒng lái, tā zhíjué shì yīdào dàlàng,  
 Rel power from Atelie Rel behind rush forth he intuition be one CI big wave

趕緊 放鬆 身體，任由 身體 在 浪頭 上 翻滾。  
 gǎnjīn fàngsōng shēntǐ, rènyóu shēntǐ zài làngtóu shàng fāngǔn.  
 hurriedly relax body let body at wave on roll

He swam for he did not know how long, until his chest ached terribly and his spirit was ready to leap out of his throat. **Then** a great force flooded in from behind. Sensing the approach of a huge wave, he went promptly limp and let himself get tossed about. (CNC)

Eventuality B comes as an interruption. However, it is not certain whether Eventuality A is terminated by Eventuality B or not. In this case, considering that Eventuality A indicates that the referent of the subject is feeling sick, the validation of Eventuality B (a big wave rushing forth onto him) is not likely to put an end to his feelings – on the contrary. However, as in the preceding example, the left boundary of Eventuality A precedes the validation of Eventuality B, and the two are, if not overlapping, at least contiguous. *Zheshi* refers to a subinterval of Eventuality A, time at which Eventuality B is validated. In English, *then* is mixed: it could be interpreted as sequential or referential.

However, the eventuality located by *zheshi* is not always telic or presented as perfective, as illustrated in example (39).

- (39) 達赫 談起 隔天 清晨 要去 步行的 那條 路：  
 Dáhè tánqǐ gétiān qīngchén yào qù bùxíng de nà tiáo lù:  
 Dahu mention next day early morning MV go walk Rel that CI road

「(...) 我 想 我們 最好 凌晨 出發，趕得上 看 日出。」  
 (...) Wǒ xiǎng wǒmen zuìhǎo língchén chūfā, gǎndéshàng kàn rì chū.  
 I think we best wee hours set off rush-DE-Res see sunrise

這時 小 麵 店 裡 的 電視 正在 播著 那些  
 Zhèshí xiǎo miàn diàn lǐ de diànshì zhèngzài bō-zhe nàxiē  
 this time small noodle shop inside Rel TV right at broadcast-Dur these

永不 疲倦 的 談話 節目。  
 yǒngbù píjuàn de tánhuà jiémù.  
 never tired Rel talk program

Dahu told them about the route they would take the next morning. '(...) I think we should leave at dawn, to make it there for daybreak.' **Right then** the television in the little noodle shop was broadcasting one of those tireless talk shows. (CNC)

In this example, Eventuality B *bo* 'broadcast' is doubly marked by imperfective markers: it is preceded by *zhengzai*, a marker of ongoingness at a precise time (Hsu 1998) - which is here the time referred to by *zheshi* - and modified by the suffix *-zhe*, a backgrounding imperfective marker (Huang 1987). The imperfective viewpoint and backgrounding function are translated in English with the progressive aspectual structure *be -ing*. In both languages, Eventuality B is understood to be validated throughout Eventuality A; the time interval of Eventuality B includes the time interval of Eventuality A. *Zheshi* codes the proximity between the two eventualities. But more importantly, it gives the topic time of Eventuality B. Indeed, although Eventuality B is understood to include Eventuality A, *zheshi* focusses the right boundary of Eventuality A, or rather the final subinterval of Eventuality A and the initial subinterval of its result state. *Zheshi* indicates that the topic time of Eventuality B, *i.e.* the time at which Eventuality A is claimed to be valid, corresponds to that particular time interval. Thus, like *then*, *zheshi* refers to the topic time of Eventuality B. But rather than selecting the time of Eventuality A as topic time, it selects the last subinterval of Eventuality A and the first subinterval of its result state. In example (39), despite the fact that Eventuality B is validated before Eventuality A, *zheshi* indicates that the relevant part of its validation for the narrative corresponds to the time interval directly adjacent to or slightly overlapping with Eventuality A. And indeed, when Dahu finishes speaking, the characters start focussing on the talk show, in which one of the characters is mentioned. Thus, *zheshi* focusses the time when Eventuality B becomes relevant to the larger narrative.

In fact, the use of *zheshi* implies that the adjacency or overlap of Eventuality A and B is significant. The two eventualities related by *zheshi* are linked in the narrative, and their linking is significant – if not for the characters, at least for the reader. Thus here, the characters listening to the talk show hear about another character mentioned earlier in the narrative. Although they do not know this character, the reader knows her and the story progresses. *Zheshi* implies that the occurrence of Eventuality B at that particular time is significant and its use awakens the attention of the reader and creates a sense of expectation. This is why eventualities located by *zheshi* are generally telic and/or perfective: they typically correspond to sudden unexpected events that provoke a twist in the story and advance the narrative. This is the case in all the examples given above. In (34), the fact that the fish swim by precisely when the ancestors are coming out of the water is unexpected and significant, since it results in the blinding of the ancestors. In (35), the fact that a beetle stops in front of the boy is surprising and *zheshi* indicates that it should be interpreted as significant. Thus, the reader is encouraged to see an uncanny coincidence in the fact that the boy was just looking at the beetles and thinking about them when one stopped right in front of him, which is what the boy must feel. In (36) the moment when the team's leader pulls Mawaz's leg out of the water is decisive, since it is at this precise moment that the spectators see the blood in the water. *Zheshi* focusses that moment and indicates that seeing the blood in the water was unexpected. In (37), Eventuality B (Alice hearing beating wings) is unexpected and the use of *zheshi* suggests that it is significant. And indeed, the next sentence describes how hundreds of butterflies appear in front of Alice, which is a rather extraordinary event.<sup>14</sup> In (38), Eventuality B, *i.e.* the flooding in of a huge wave from behind the character, is unexpected and significant since it threatens the life of the exhausted character. *Zheshi* indicates that something of momentum is going to happen and creates an expectation in the reader. Although in (39) Eventuality B is not telic or perfective, the use of *zheshi* creates an expectation in the reader, who knows that somehow, Eventuality B is going to be significant. And indeed, the talk show with the news of the discovery of a young pregnant woman on a small boat fills an important gap in the story since the reader knew she had left her island on a boat to find the father of her child, but didn't know until then what had happened to her.

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<sup>14</sup> “A few moments later, tens, no hundreds, of butterflies or moths that must have been hiding in the grass until Alice disturbed them flew to the other side of the slide in an undisciplined but seemingly coordinated fashion”.

Note that in each of these examples, *zheshi* could be deleted without affecting the meaning of the passages. However, the passages would be read as flat descriptive passages and no expectation would be created, no indication that an event might be more significant than another would be detected. This is why most native speakers consider that although the use of *zheshi* in these examples is not compulsory, it is “better”. *Zheshi* has a foregrounding function: it brings Eventuality B into focus, indicating that the validation of Eventuality B is relevant at a particular time, namely the time interval directly adjacent to Eventuality A or overlapping with the last subinterval of Eventuality A. This time interval is identified by *zheshi* as topic time for Eventuality B, and Eventuality B is identified as salient at that time.

As shown in Table 9 below, *zheshi* tends to be used in initial position. In the CNC, it occurs in clause initial position 73.3% of the time (combining pre-subject position and cases of zero anaphora of the subject). This indicates that *zheshi* is typically used as a clause-oriented adverbial. This explains why it can often be deleted without affecting the meaning of the sentence. It is used as a cohesion marker at a level higher than that of the clause. Its position between Eventuality A and Eventuality B is iconic of its function and illustrates the temporal contact implied between the two eventualities.

**Table 9** - Sentence position of *zheshi* in the CNC

	N	%
<b>Pre-subject</b>	46	64.8
<b>Post-subject</b>	11	15.5
<b>Zero anaphora</b>	6	8.5
<b>Other<sup>15</sup></b>	8	11.3
<b>Total</b>	71	100

The fact that *zheshi* should often correspond to mixed cases of *then*, *i.e.* cases of initial referential *then* linking two eventualities that occur in a sequence is perfectly natural, since they have the same function: they refer to a time whilst indicating that this time is posterior to the time of inception of Eventuality A, and mark this time as the topic time of Eventuality B. This topic time corresponds to the final subinterval of Eventuality A and/or the initial subinterval of

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<sup>15</sup> Other cases include presentative sentences, occurrences of *zheshi* in a cleft sentence, and occurrences of *zheshi* as an argument of the verb.

its result state. Moreover, like mixed *then*, *zheshi* is used almost exclusively in narration to convey the temporal contact existing between the two eventualities. The initial position of mixed *then*, which is remarkable considering the referential component of mixed *then*, might be explained in the light of the typical sentence position of its correspondence *zheshi*: it is, unlike referential *then*, a clause-oriented adjunct. Its initial position allows for the foregrounding of Eventuality B. Thus, mixed *then* is used for textual cohesion rather than for pure temporal location. Its main purpose is to link the two eventualities very closely together and to indicate that Eventuality B is remarkable in some way, creating expectation in the reader.

We have shown in this section that *zheshi* is a referential marker which does not allow for a clear distinction between [+overlap] and [-overlap]. It is used as a foregrounding device focussing the topic time of Eventuality B and indicating that this time is going to be determining for the storyline. It often corresponds to occurrences of mixed *then* in the translational corpora, because the two markers share many properties. Thus, the study of Chinese *zheshi* sheds some light on the mixed occurrences of *then*. Let us now turn to a contrastive study of *nashi*, *dangshi*, and *zheshi*.

## 2.2. Accounting for the variations

To conclude this chapter, we attempt to account for the variations of use between *nashi*, *dangshi* and *zheshi* on the one hand (2.2.1.), and more generally between the variations of use of anaphorical temporal markers in Chinese and in English on the other (2.2.2.).

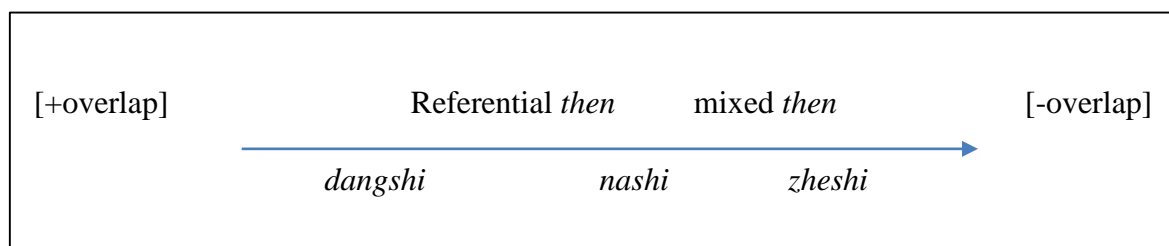
### 2.2.1. Variations in the use of the Chinese markers

The Chinese correspondences of referential *then* are more specialised than the English marker *then*. This is not surprising if we consider that *then* is a hyperonym for all distal anaphorical locating adverbial such as *at that time*, *at the time*, *at that moment*, *etc.* Each of the three markers *nashi*, *dangshi* and *zheshi* cover part of the meaning of referential *then*.

*Nashi* is very close in meaning to referential *then* when it is not mixed. Thus, referential *then* can most of the time be translated by *nashi*, and although *dangshi* is often preferred in narration, *nashi* can be considered to fill the role of hyperonym of the Chinese adverbials meaning *at that*



*time*. Unlike *dangshi*, it is compatible both with an overlap of the eventualities and a continued reference point, and with a non-overlap of the eventualities and a shifting reference point. Conversely, *dangshi* is incompatible with a shift of reference time between Eventuality A and B. As for *zheshi*, it generally implies a shift of reference time and a foregrounding of Eventuality B. Thus, *dangshi* and *zheshi* are at the opposite ends of the spectrum of meanings of referential *then* (cf. Figure 7 below), while *nashi* shares some of each marker's properties. However, *zheshi* often cannot be replaced by *nashi* because of the distal meaning of the latter. When the sequence of events is presented as happening under the eyes of the reader, which is often the case in Chinese narration due to the absence of tense and of dissociation of the present of the narrator and present of the character (cf. Chapter 2), *nashi* cannot be used to locate one of the events of the sequence. This explains why *nashi* is typically used in conversation, *i.e.* in situations in which speakers can talk about events that are distant from the time of speech or deictic centre, and not as much in narration in which the recounted events are typically not presented as past in Chinese, but as present, *i.e.* as overlapping with the deictic centre. On the other hand, it explains why *zheshi* occurs typically in narration, where successive events are represented as overlapping with the deictic centre, and not as much in conversation in which markers such as *xianzai* are preferred to refer to the time of speech.



**Figure 8** - Compatibility of the referential markers with an overlap between Eventuality A and the topic time of Eventuality B

*Zheshi* cannot be used when Eventuality A and the topic time of Eventuality B overlap completely, as in example (40) below.

- (40) a. 我 本身 以前 要 結婚 之前 我 也 不 會 講 台語 A  
 Wǒ běnshēn yǐqián yào jiéhūn zhīqián wǒ yě bù huì jiǎng Táiyǔ A  
 I myself before MV marry before I also Neg MV talk Taiwanese A

我 跟 我 父 母 那 時 候 溝 通 也 是  
 wǒ gēn wǒ fùmǔ nàshíhòu gōutōng yě shì  
 I with I parents **then** communicate also be

一 半 國 語 一 半 台 語 (CCC)  
 yībàn guóyǔ yībàn Táiyǔ  
 one half Chinese one half Taiwanese

b. 我 本 身 以 前 要 結 婚 之 前 我 也 不 會 講 台 語 A  
 Wǒ běnshēn yǐqián yào jiéhūn zhīqián wǒ yě bù huì jiǎng Táiyǔ A  
 I myself before MV marry before I also Neg MV talk Taiwanese A

我 跟 我 父 母 當 時 溝 通 也 是  
 wǒ gēn wǒ fùmǔ dāngshí gōutōng yě shì  
 I with I parents **at the time** communicate also be

一 半 國 語 一 半 台 語  
 yībàn guóyǔ yībàn Táiyǔ  
 one half Chinese one half Taiwanese

c. \*我 本 身 以 前 要 結 婚 之 前 我 也 不 會 講 台 語 A  
 Wǒ běnshēn yǐqián yào jiéhūn zhīqián wǒ yě bù huì jiǎng Táiyǔ A  
 I myself before MV marry before I also Neg MV talk Taiwanese A

我 跟 我 父 母 這 時 候 溝 通 也 是  
 wǒ gēn wǒ fùmǔ zhèshíhòu gōutōng yě shì  
 I with I parents **then** communicate also be

一 半 國 語 一 半 台 語  
 yībàn guóyǔ yībàn Táiyǔ  
 one half Chinese one half Taiwanese

Both *nashi* and *dangshi* can be used here as in (40)a and b, although *nashi* is preferred due to the oral register. For *zheshi* to be felicitous, Eventuality A needs to be telic and/or perfective, so that *zheshi* can refer to the time subinterval bounded by the right endpoint of Eventuality A, which might either be the last subinterval of Eventuality A or the initial subinterval of its result state. Similarly, *zheshi* cannot be used in (8) repeated below whereas *dangshi* and *nashi* are both felicitous there.

(8) With the help of Jesus' trusted uncle, Joseph of Arimathea, Mary Magdalene secretly traveled to France, **then** known as Gaul.

a. 在 基督 信任 的 舅舅 亞利馬太人 約瑟 的 幫助 下，  
 Zài Jīdū xìnren de jiùjiu Yǎlimǎtàirén Yuēsè de bāngzhù xià,  
 At Christ trust Rel uncle Arimathea Joseph Rel help under

抹大拉 的 馬利亞 祕密 來 到 法國，**當時** 叫做 高盧。(ENC)  
 Mǒdàlā de Mǎliyǎ mìmi lái dào Fàguó, **dāngshí** jiàozuò Gāolú  
 Magdalene Rel Mary secret come to France **then** called Gaul

b. 在 基督 信任 的 舅舅 亞利馬太人 約瑟 的 幫助 下，  
 Zài Jīdū xìnren de jiùjiu Yǎlimǎtàirén Yuēsè de bāngzhù xià,  
 At Christ trust Rel uncle Arimathea Joseph Rel help under

抹大拉 的 馬利亞 祕密 來 到 法國，**那時** 叫做 高盧。  
 Mǒdàlā de Mǎliyǎ mìmi lái dào Fàguó, **nàshí** jiàozuò Gāolú  
 Magdalene Rel Mary secret come to France **then** called Gaul

c. \*在 基督 信任 的 舅舅 亞利馬太人 約瑟 的 幫助 下，  
 Zài Jīdū xìnren de jiùjiu Yǎlimǎtàirén Yuēsè de bāngzhù xià,  
 At Christ trust Rel uncle Arimathea Joseph Rel help under

抹大拉 的 馬利亞 祕密 來 到 法國，**這時** 叫做 高盧。  
 Mǒdàlā de Mǎliyǎ mìmi lái dào Fàguó, **zhèshí** jiàozuò Gāolú  
 Magdalene Rel Mary secret come to France **then** called Gaul

In example (2) repeated below on the other hand, *zheshihou* is used in the original text, and the use of *dangshi* or *nashi* is judged poor by most native speakers.

(2) a. 他 鼓起 最後 一 絲 氣力， 順手 拿起 一 把 魚 槍，  
 tā gǔqǐ zuìhòu yī sī qìlì, shùnshǒu náqǐ yī bǎ yú qiāng,  
 he muster last one thread strength easy pick up one Cl fish spear

撥開 他在 房子 附近 挖 的 一條 通往 海 的「地道」，  
 bōkāi tā zài fángzi fùjìn wā de yītiáo tōngwǎng hǎi de didào,  
 push aside he at house next dig Rel one Cl lead to sea Rel tunnel

潛入 海中 遁逃 而去。這時候，海上 瞬間 落下 冰雹。  
 qiánrù hǎizhōng dùn táo ér qù. **Zhèshíhòu**, hǎishàng shùnjiān luòxià bīngbáo,  
 submerge sea in flee escape and go **then** sea on in a flash fall hail

?那時，海上 瞬間 落下 冰雹。  
**nàshí**, hǎishàng shùnjiān luòxià bīngbáo  
**then** sea on in a flash fall fail

?當時，海上 瞬間 落下 冰雹。  
**dāngshí**, hǎishàng shùnjiān luòxià bīngbáo  
**then** sea on in a flash fall fail

He summoned his last ounce of strength, picked up his spear gun, and uncovered the 'land lane' near his house that led all the way down to the sea. He dove right on in. **Right then** it started hailing. (CNC)

*Dangshi* is infelicitous as shown in (2)c because there is no or little overlap between the two eventualities 'dive' and 'start hailing', which means that the reference time is shifted from one eventuality to the next. *Nashi* is not perfectly felicitous for the same reason (the use of *nashi* with a R-shift is quite rare), combined with the fact that *nashi* implies a distance from the deictic centre which is not particularly marked here. Moreover, only *zheshi* can express the unexpectedness and suddenness of the validation of Eventuality B, which is highlighted by the adverb *shunjian* 'in a flash'.

These tendencies of use can be related to the characteristic opposition existing between the demonstratives *na* 'that' and *zhe* 'this'. Indeed, as noted by Tao (1994) and Huang (1999), *zhe* is typically used to refer to new information, while *na* is used to refer to old information. It seems that *nashi* and *zheshi* follow this pattern: *nashi* is used to refer to a predetermined time and thus typically codes an overlap of the two eventualities it links together, while *zheshi* is used to refer to a new time and thus typically implies a shift of reference time between the two eventualities.

We showed that the use of the Chinese referential markers is Chinese is quite compartmentalised. Although there is a possible overlap between the function of each marker, on the whole each marker has a specific use. English referential *then* covers the uses of all three markers. The particular use of the marker *zheshi* sheds some light on the way non-overlapping referential *then* and mixed *then* are used in English. Despite the fact that English *then* can be

used to translate each of the Chinese markers, it is often omitted in the translations. In the next section, we try to account for this phenomenon.

### 2.2.2. Variations in the use of anaphorical temporal markers in Chinese and in English

Anaphorical temporal markers that code distal temporal location relative to a predetermined time are more frequent in Chinese than in English. Table 10 below shows that in the CNC, *nashi* is not lexically translated in English 49% of the time, while *dangshi* remains untranslated 77% of the time, and *zheshi* 42% of the time. If we add up the occurrences of the three markers in the CNC, we thus find that almost 63% of them are untranslated in English, which is considerable.

**Table 10** - *Nashi*, *dangshi*, *zheshi* and their correspondences in the Chinese Narrative Corpus (CNC)

	<i>then</i>		<i>at that time</i>		<i>at the time</i>		Other adverbial		No translation		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Nashi</i>	3	2.9	19	18.6	8	7.8	22	21.6	50	49.0	102	100
<i>Dangshi</i>	2	1.0	21	10.4	4	2.0	19	9.5	155	77.1	201	100
<i>Zheshi</i>	12	<b>16.9</b>	3	<b>4.2</b>	1	<b>1.4</b>	25	<b>35.2</b>	30	<b>42.3</b>	71	100

This phenomenon can be accounted for by the fact that in English, lexical marking of time location is often superfluous because tense already locates the eventuality relative to the time of speech or to a reference time. We noted the same phenomenon in Chapter 2 for the adverbs *now* and *xianzai* ‘now’: the Chinese marker *xianzai* is used for situational purposes much more frequently than temporal *now*. Thus in examples (41), (32) and (42) below the lexical Chinese time markers are not directly translated in English.

- (41) 小學 的 時候 我 都 起得 很 早, (···) 可能 五 點 (···)  
 Xiǎoxué de shíhòu wǒ dōu qǐ-de hěn zǎo, kěnéng wǔ diǎn  
 Primary school Rel time I all get up-De very early maybe five o'clock

多就 出門了 吧, 沒有 錶, 都 不 知 道 幾 點。  
 Duōjiù chūmén-le ba, méiyǒu biǎo, dōu bù zhīdào jǐ diǎn.  
 at once go out-le BA Neg have watch all Neg know what time

那時候 我自以為有一種超能力，就是當同學  
**Nàshíhòu** wǒ zì yǐwéi yǒu yīzhǒng chāonénglì, jiùshì dāng tóngxué  
**Then** I myself think have one CI superpower just be when classmate

問我幾點，我都能很神準地回答出來。  
 wèn wǒ jǐ diǎn, wǒ dōu néng hěn shén zhǔn de huídá chūlái  
 ask I what time I all MV very amazing accurate DE answer come out

很神準喔，不騙妳，**那時候**我的身體裡  
 Hěn shén zhǔn ō, bù piàn nǐ, **nàshíhòu** wǒ de shēntǐ lǐ  
 Very amazing accurate O Neg cheat you **then** I Rel body inside

某個地方好像時間住在哪裡，  
 mǒu gè dìfāng hǎoxiàng shíjiān zhù zài nǎlǐ,  
 some CI place as if time live at there

它在裡頭走來走去，走來走去。  
 tā zài lǐtóu zǒu lái zǒu qù, zǒu lái zǒu qù.  
 It at inside walk come walk go walk come walk go

In elementary I used to get up real early (...). I guess I left the house at around five in the morning. I didn't have a watch, so I didn't know exactly what time it was. (...) I thought I had a kind of magic power: when my classmates asked me what time it was I was always amazingly accurate. I was incredible, I'm telling you. Time seemed to live somewhere inside me, walking around, back and forth, back and forth inside my body. (CNC)

In (41), there are two occurrences of *nashihou* that both refer to the same predetermined time *xiaoxu de shihou* 'in elementary school'. In English, none of these markers are translated directly. The eventualities located by the Chinese markers are underlined in the English translation. They are all in the preterit. An initial locator is established at the beginning of the passage: "in elementary", which refers to a broad time interval during which the speaker was in elementary school. In the absence of a subsequent locator shifting the reference time, all the following eventualities are interpreted relative to this initial locator, in keeping with the principle of permanence of the reference point (Reichenbach 1947). The preterit tense indicates that the event time coincides with the reference time. Thus, the eventualities 'think' and 'seem' are both unproblematically interpreted to occur while the speaker was in elementary school. Since the reference time is continued, no lexical marker is necessary to indicate that the eventualities

anchor to that time. The addition of a referential adverb such as *then* is possible, but because it would be supplementary its presence would be marked. In Chinese on the other hand, the use of the adverb *nashihou* to locate these two eventualities is not marked: it anchors the eventualities to the reference time. Indeed in Chinese, the principle of permanence of the reference time does not apply as strongly as in English, because a principle of deictic interpretation of the eventuality prevails (*cf.* Smith 2007) and each unanchored eventuality can potentially be interpreted relative not to a predetermined time but to the time of speech. This can be verified with the second eventuality located by *nashihou*: *haoxiang* ‘to feel like’. If the adverbial *nashihou* were to be deleted, the eventuality would anchor to speech time, particularly since the previous clause “*bu pian ni*” ‘I’m not lying to you’ is already interpreted relative to speech time. In English, the previous clause “I’m telling you” is also interpreted relative to speech time, but the preterit indicates that the eventuality ‘think’ should anchor to the latest past locator.

In (32) repeated below, there are two occurrences of *dangshi* in the original Chinese text.

- (32) 三十 多 年 前 他 正 是 意 氣 風 發 的 時 候 ， 參 與 了  
 Sānshí duō nián qián tā zhèng shì yìqìfēngfā de shíhòu, cānyù-le  
 Thirty some year before he just be high-spirited Rel time participate-le

世界 最 大 型 的 全 斷 面 隧 道 鑽 掘 機 TBM<sup>16</sup>  
 shìjiè zuì dàxíng de quán duàn miàn suìdào zuān jué jī TBM  
 world most large Rel all break face tunnel drill dig mahine TBM

的 設 計 (...). 薄 達 夫 以 顧 問 的 身 分 ， 短 暫 來 這 個  
 de shèjì (...). Bó Dá fū yǐ gùwèn de shēnfèn, duǎnzàn lái zhège  
 Rel design Detlef use consultant Rel status brief come this Cl

島 嶼 ， 參 與 打 通 山 脈 的 專 家 會 議 。 當 時  
 dǎoyǔ, cānyù dǎtōng shānmài de zhuānjiā huìyì. Dāngshí  
 island participate drilling mountain range Rel expert conference then

薄 達 夫 匆 匆 來 去 ， 並 沒 有 認 識 太 多 的 人 ，  
 Bó dá fū cōngcōng lái qù, bìng méi yǒu rènshí tài duō de rén,  
 Detlef hurriedly come go and Neg have meet too many Rel people

<sup>16</sup> Tunnel Boring Machine

因此他這次 前來 只 通知了 一個 當時 合作 的，  
 yīncǐ tā zhècì qiánlái zhǐ tōngzhī-le yīgè dāngshí hézuò de,  
 thus he this time beforehand only inform-le one CI then collaborate Rel

算是 有點 交情 的 工程師 李榮祥。  
 suànshì yǒudiǎn jiāoqing de gōngchéngshī Lǐ Róngxiáng.  
 Considered a little friendship Rel engineer Li Jung-hsiang

More than three decades before, when he was a feisty young man, he had participated in the biggest TBM (tunnel boring machine) design the world had ever seen. (...) Detlef had made a short trip to the island to attend a specialist meeting as a TBM consultant. He did not meet too many people during his short stay, and he only let his old colleague Jung-hsiang Li know he was coming back. (CNC)

The first one locates the eventuality *laiqu* ‘come and go’, while the second one locates the eventuality *hezuo* ‘work together’. Both refer to the same predetermined time period given by the adverbial *sanshi duo nian qian* ‘more than thirty years ago’. The first eventuality in English is located with the past perfect relative to Eventuality A ‘participate’, which is already in the past perfect. The past perfect indicates that the eventuality is validated before the reference time, which here corresponds to a time thirty years after his first visit to Taiwan when Detlef is driving through the tunnel he helped build. Eventuality B ‘make a short trip’ shares the same reference time as Eventuality A, and is located relative to that time, as anterior to it. The tense of the verb is enough to locate the eventuality. The second eventuality *hezuo* ‘work together’ undergoes a transposition, so that the segment “*dāngshí hézuò de gōngchéngshī*” ‘the engineer he was working at the time’ is translated as “his old colleague”. Note however that the first occurrence of *dangshi* is necessary to anchor the eventuality *laiqu* ‘come and go’ to the past time predetermined in the left context; its absence would make available a deictic interpretation of the eventuality, in which *laiqu* ‘come and go’ would be understood to overlap with the time of speech or time of narration.

Finally, (42) is an instance of *zheshi* with no correspondence in English. In fact, the conjunction *and* could be considered to correspond to Chinese *zheshi*, but it would be a weak translation, not conveying any sense of immediacy or unexpectedness, unlike *zheshi* in Chinese.



(42) 她想 呼吸 一下 空氣，遂 把 頭 伸出 窗 外。  
 Tā xiǎng hūxī yīxià kōngqì, suì ba tóu shēnchū chuāng wài.  
 She MV breathe once air proceed BA head extend window outside

這時 她 發現 窗外 一塊 漂流 的 木板 上，  
 Zhèshí tā fāxiàn chuāngwài yīkuài piāoliú de mùbǎn shàng,  
 Then she discover window outside one piece drift along Rel board on

有 一團 黑影 微微 顫動著。  
 yǒu yī tuán hēiyǐng wéiwéi chàn dòng-zhe.  
 Have one lump shadow faint tremble-Dur

She stuck her head out the window for a breath of fresh air and noticed a shivering black shadow on a piece of driftwood right outside the window. (CNC)

*Zheshi* is the marker with the highest rate of congruent correspondences among the three Chinese markers under study. This can be explained by the fact that the function of *zheshi* is more complex than those of *nashi* or *dangshi*. Indeed, *zheshi* is a foregrounding marker. It focusses Eventuality B and, in addition to providing temporal anchoring, it conveys a sense of immediacy, suddenness and unexpectedness. These meanings cannot be rendered in English by tense alone, which explains the higher rate of lexical translation of *zheshi*. *Nashi* is the second most translated marker. Indeed, its distal meaning and the fact that it refers to a time interval presented as bounded imply that it can sometimes have a contrastive value, which cannot in English be conveyed by tense only. Finally, *dangshi* remains untranslated 77% of the time because it is mostly used as an anchoring device, linking eventualities together and locating eventualities that provide background information. It refers to an unbounded interval and mostly locates states or imperfective background activities that share the same reference point as Eventuality A; in such contexts the principle of permanence of the reference point applies in English and tense is enough to successfully locate Eventuality B as overlapping with Eventuality A. Its backgrounding function also explains why *dangshi* is exclusively used in narration. Unlike *zheshi*, it does not advance the sequence of events but is a very useful marker in descriptions, which constitute an important part of novels. Thus, *zheshi* and *dangshi* are mostly found in narration for opposite reasons: *zheshi* is a foregrounding marker advancing the action, while *dangshi* is a backgrounding marker used to provide information about the circumstances of

Eventuality A. As for *nashi*, it is primarily a distal marker implying a distance from speech time or narrative time in narration, which explains its frequent use in conversations.

### 3. Conclusion

The study of the correspondences of referential *then* shows that anaphorical locating markers in Chinese are more specialised than their English equivalents. This can be accounted for by the fact that these markers are more frequently used and more necessary in Chinese for time location. The absence of tense in Chinese calls for more precise time markers whereas in English these time markers always combine with tense to locate the eventuality and are thus less frequently used and less specialised.

As recapitulated in Table 11 below, we showed that both Chinese and English referential markers are used to refer to the topic time of Eventuality A. Like referential *then*, *nashi* takes the time of Eventuality A (or its result state time if Eventuality A is telic and perfective) as topic time for Eventuality B. On the other hand, *dangshi* indicates that the topic time of Eventuality B includes the time of Eventuality A. Finally, *zheshi* indicates that the topic time of Eventuality B overlaps with the right boundary of Eventuality A.

The three Chinese markers under study account for three different uses of referential *then*: a backgrounding use, a distal use, and a foregrounding use. Thus, this contrastive study sheds some light on the various uses of referential *then*, and in particular on the non-overlapping uses of referential *then* as well as the sentence-initial uses which correspond to mixed cases. These uses have not been treated in details in the literature on temporal *then*. We showed that the study of Chinese *zheshi* sheds some light on their function. It is also these borderline uses which can be interpreted both as referential and sequential that provide a link between referential and sequential *then*. We will see in Chapter 6 that whereas there is a clear continuity between the referential and sequential uses of *then* in English, in Chinese the dichotomy between referential and sequential markers is more clear-cut.

**Table 11** - Referential *then* and its congruent correspondences: recapitulative table

	<b>Referential <i>then</i></b>	<b>Mixed <i>then</i></b>	<b><i>nashi</i></b>	<b><i>dangshi</i></b>	<b><i>zheshi</i></b>
Refers to a time point or a time interval	Yes	Interpretation available	Yes	Yes	Yes
Selects a topic time for Eventuality B	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Implies overlap of Eventuality Time and topic time of Eventuality B	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Functions anaphorically	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Implies an overlap of Eventuality A and the topic time of Eventuality B	No	No	No	Yes	No
Is a foregrounding marker	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Is a backgrounding marker	No	No	No	Yes	No

## Chapter 6

# Sequential *then* and its Mandarin equivalents

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In this Chapter, the Chinese correspondences of sequential *then* that are most frequently found in the translational corpora are examined. An analysis of the three most frequent congruent correspondences of sequential *then* – *ranhou* ‘then, after that’, *jiezhe* ‘then, directly after that’ and *houlai* ‘afterwards’ is proposed. We also look at divergent correspondences of sequential *then* such as the occurrence of verbal *-le* attached to Eventuality A. The fact that the correspondences of sequential *then* often co-occur with adverbs such as *jiu* ‘then, at once’, *cai* ‘only then’, *zai* ‘again, once more’ and *you* ‘once more’ is also looked into. Finally, we discuss variations in the use of sequential markers in English and Chinese, and show that the greater use of sequential markers in English than in Chinese is due to the fact that Chinese is an aspectual language the temporal system of which already codes temporal relations between eventualities. In Section 1, we review existing literature on all the Chinese markers discussed in the chapter. Then, we describe the distribution of sequential *then* and its Chinese correspondences in our corpora (Section 2). Section 3 is an analysis of the three most frequent correspondences of sequential *then*, *i.e.* *ranhou* ‘then, after that’, *jiezhe* ‘then, directly after that’ and *houlai* ‘afterwards’. In Section 4, we turn to the study of the divergent correspondence of sequential *then* verbal *-le* and of the phenomenon of zero correspondence of sequential *then* in the Chinese texts. Finally, we attempt to account for the discrepancy in the use of sequential markers in Chinese and English.

## 1. Literature review

We start with a review of the literature that exists on the forms under study in this chapter. The correspondences of sequential *then* are varied. On the one hand, we find congruent correspondences such as *ranhou* ‘then, after that’, *jiezhe* ‘then, directly after that’ and *houlai* ‘afterwards’, and on the other we find non congruent correspondences such as verbal *-le*. Moreover, some adverbs that are to be found in the Chinese texts often occur in collocation with other markers. This is the case of *jiu* ‘at once’, *cai* ‘only then’, *zai* ‘again’ and *you* ‘again’. In this section, we review some works focussing on *ranhou* ‘then, after that’ (1.1.), *jiezhe* ‘then, directly after that’ (1.2.) and *houlai* ‘afterwards’ (1.3.), before looking at verbal *-le* (1.4.), *jiu* ‘at once’ and *cai* ‘only then’ (1.5.) and finally *zai* ‘again’ and *you* ‘again’ (1.6.).

### 1.1. *Ranhou*

*Ranhou* ‘then, after that’ has been studied extensively over the last few years. Linguists agree to say that its use has grown over the years, and its functions have been multiplied (Su 1998; Pu 2006; Wang & Huang 2006; *etc.*). Thus, what was originally a simple marker of sequence has come to mark other types of relations such as causal relations, condition or concession, and has more recently become a verbal filler and a marker of topic succession (Su 1998).

In this chapter we are only interested in the temporal function of *ranhou* as a marker of sequence. Indeed, *ranhou* is the most frequent correspondence of sequential *then* in the translational corpora. Su explains that “*ranhou* is typically used sequentially as temporal anaphora to mark interclausal relationships between adjacent clauses” (Su 1998: 171). Like sequential *then*, *ranhou* can shift a reference time established in the left context and indicate that two eventualities occur in a sequence. Thus in example (1), *ranhou* articulates the two eventualities *shuo* ‘say’ and *fang man sudu* ‘slow down’, indicating that they occur in a sequence. Its function is similar to that of sequential *then* in the English translation.

- (1) 我 永遠 記得 那 一天 上學 時，蜘蛛 突然  
 Wǒ yǒngyuǎn jìdé nà yītiān shàngxué shí, Zhīzhū túrán  
 I forever remember that one day go to school time Spider suddenly

出現 在身後， 說：「嗨，要 上課 了。」  
 chūxiàn zài shēnhòu, shuō: Hāi, yào shàngkè le.  
 appear at behind say hi MV go to school LE

然後 他就 放慢 速度，牽著 腳踏車  
**Ránhòu** tā jiù fàng màn sùdù, qiānzhe jiǎotàchē  
**then** he at once put slow speed Pull-Dur bike

走 在 我的 後面， 跟 我 講話。  
 zǒu zài wǒ de hòumiàn, gēn wǒ jiǎnghuà.  
 walk at I Rel behind with I talk

I'll never forget what happened when I was walking to school that morning. Spider swooped in out of nowhere and said, 'Hi, it's almost time for class.' **Then** he slowed down and walked his bike behind me, talking with me as we went. (CNC)

Pu (2006) proposes a diachronic analysis of *ranhou*, and describes the original meaning of the character 然 *ran* as deictic and anaphoric: *ran* can be glossed as 'this way'. Thus, like sequential *then*, *ran* 'this way' is originally a content word with deictic meaning. However, Pu explains that although *ranhou* is often compared to English *then*, it is in fact closer in meaning to the conjunction *and* in terms of function as much as in terms of frequency of use (Pu 2006: 42). The same idea is developed by Wang & Huang (2006) who find in their study of *ranhou* that the additive use of *ranhou*, which they compare to one of the uses of English *and*, is twice as frequent as its temporal use.

Pu shows that there are nuances as to the meaning of *ranhou* depending on its context of use. According to him, when coordinating two terms, *ranhou* is understood as a boundary marker more than as a marker of sequence. When coordinating paragraphs on the other hand, the most pregnant function of *ranhou* is connectivity and the meaning it conveys is that of sequence between the two sections of text. In keeping with the findings of Su (1998), Pu explains that the function of sequence marker of *ranhou* has become weaker and weaker, particularly in spoken Chinese, with *ranhou* often being used as a discourse marker. This phenomenon might account for the higher frequency of *ranhou* found in the Conversational Chinese Corpus, in which *ranhou* is twice as frequent as in the Chinese Narrative Corpus.

Ross & Sheng Ma (2006) argue that the connector *ranhou* is not the most flexible of Chinese sequential markers. According to them, *yihou* ‘afterwards, later’ is the most neutral of the sequential adverbs in Chinese, whereas *ranhou* ‘afterwards, after that’ “can only be used to indicate sequence between two events that occur in close temporal sequence to each other” (Ross & Sheng Ma 2006: 266). Although on the whole, *yihou* is almost as frequent as *ranhou* in the Chinese translational corpora, none of the occurrences of sequential *then* in the English translational corpora is translated by *yihou*. Similarly in the Chinese translational corpora, no occurrence of sequential *then* corresponds to an occurrence of *yihou* in the original Chinese text. We will have to explain this phenomenon in Section 3.

## 1.2. *Jiezhe*

*Jiezhe* ‘subsequently’ is not an object of study as common as *ranhou*. This is in all likelihood due to two reasons: first of all, like the referential marker *dangshi* ‘at the time’, *jiezhe* is exclusively used in the written style. Secondly, and most probably as a result of this specialisation, it has not, like *ranhou*, developed into a discourse marker.

Example (2) illustrates the prototypical use of *jiezhe*: it articulates two eventualities and indicates that they occur in direct consecution. Indeed, *jie-zhe* is originally a verb – the verb *jie* followed by the durative suffix *-zhe* - meaning ‘to catch and hold on’ (MDBG). Thus, at the core of *jiezhe* is a meaning of direct contact. Here, *jiezhe* indicates that Eventuality A *chang-le yi ge ziji zuo de ge* ‘sing a song composed by herself’ is directly followed by Eventuality B *chang-le yi ge gulao de yingwen ge* ‘sing an ancient English song’.

- (2) 她先唱了一首阿美族的歌曲，又唱了一首自己  
 Tā xiān chàng-le yī shǒu Aměizú de gēqǔ, yòu chàng-le yī shǒu zìjǐ  
 She first sing-le one Cl Pangcah Rel song again sing-le one Cl oneself

做的歌，接着，她唱了一首古老的英文歌。  
 zuò de gē, **jiēzhe**, tā chàng-le yī shǒu gǔlǎo de yīngwén gē.  
 make Rel song **then** she sing-le one Cl ancient Rel English song

First she sang a Pangcah ballad, then an air she’d composed herself, **then** an English folk anthem from many years before. (CNC)

Gao Wen (2009) compares the two connectors *jiezhe* and *ranhou* and notes that they differ both in terms of syntactic distribution and in terms of meaning. He explains that whereas *jiezhe* emphasises the fact that the two linked eventualities occur in close succession, *ranhou* lays the stress on the notion of sequence and on the posteriority of Eventuality B relative to Eventuality A. Moreover, he identifies several syntactic differences between the two markers:

*Jiezhe* can often be replaced with *ranhou*. But in terms of distribution, *jiezhe* can be preceded by *jin* ‘*jin jiezhe*’: ‘closely following’, whereas *ranhou* cannot. *Jiezhe* can be used after the subject whereas *ranhou* cannot. In terms of meaning, *jiezhe* emphasises the fact that the events follow each other, while *ranhou* emphasises the fact that the one precedes the other. If the actions clearly occur in a succession, it is more appropriate to use *ranhou*. If one needs to express the fact that two events follow each other closely, then *jiezhe* is preferred. *Jiezhe* emphasises direct consecution, *ranhou* emphasises the anteriority/posteriority relation. (Gao Wen 2009: 5)<sup>1</sup>

We will identify more syntactic differences between the two markers, and argue that whereas *jiezhe* can be considered to be a sequential adverbial, *ranhou* is closer to a conjunctive function. This partly explains their differences in meaning. In example (3) below, *jiezhe* occurs in post-subject position.

(3) 由於 少女 懷了 身孕， 靠著 外部 維生 系統，  
 Yóuyú shàonǚ huái-le shēnyùn, kào zhe wàibù wéishēng xìtǒng,  
 Due to girl conceive-le pregnant depend-Dur external support system

又 昏迷了 一段 時間， 但 一直 未 真正 死去，  
 yòu hūnmí-le yīduàn shíjiān, dàn yīzhí wèi zhēnzhèng sǐqù,  
 and coma-le one CI time but continuously Neg real die

直到 醫生 剖腹 取出 胎兒 之後， 才 終於 停止了  
 zhídào yīshēng pōufù qǔchū tāi'ér zhīhòu, cái zhōngyú tíngzhǐle  
 until doctor cut open take out foetus after only at last stop-le

<sup>1</sup> This passage was translated by the author of this dissertation. Original text: “接着”和“然后”往往可以互换。但是从形式上说，“接着”可以说成“紧接着”，“然后”不能说成“紧然后”。“接着”有时可以用在主语后边，“然后”没有这样的用法。从表意上说，“接着”着重表明动作的承接，“然后”着重表明动作分先后。在动作行为明显分成先后两段时，宜用“然后”。在需要表示动作一个紧接着一个发生时，用“接着”比用“然后”显得流畅。“接着”重在“紧接”，“然后”重在“先后。”(Gao Wen 2009: 5)



腦波 的 運作。(…)哈凡 跟 達赫 都 認出來，那個 長 腿、  
 nǎobō de yùnzhuò. Hāfán gēn Dáhè dōu rènchūlái, nàgè zhǎng tuǐ,  
 brain wave Rel activities Hafay and Dahu all recognize that Cl long leg

畫著 濃 妝 的 主持人 竟然 就是 Lily(…)。  
 Huà-zhe nóng zhuāng de zhǔchírén jìngrán jiùshì Lily,  
 paint-Dur heavy make up Rel anchor unexpectedly just be Lily

報導 接著 說，胎兒 雖然 有 先天性 的 缺陷，  
 Bàodǎo jiēzhe shuō, tāi'ér suīrán yǒu xiāntiānxìng de quēxiàn,  
 Report then say foetus although have congenital Rel defect

生命力 卻 很 強，唯一 遺憾 的是，  
 shēngmìnglì què hěn qiáng, wéiyī yíhàn de shì,  
 vitality however very strong only regret Rel be

胎兒的 雙 腿 相連，彷彿 鯨 豚 的 尾鰭。  
 tāi'ér de shuāng tuǐ xiānglián, fǎngfú jīng tún de wěiqí  
 fetus Rel both legs join seem whale pig Rel tail

The girl was put on life support. She slipped back into a coma, but her brain activity only ceased when doctors performed a Caesarean and removed the foetus she was carrying from her abdomen. (...) Hafay and Dahu both realised that the leggy anchorwoman with the heavy make-up was actually Lily, the lady from the day the Trash Vortex hit. (...) The infant was vigorous, the report **continued**, despite an unfortunate congenital defect: its legs were joined together, like a cetacean tail fin. (CNC)

Gao Wen also notes that *jiu/bian* ‘at once’ and *you* ‘once again’ can appear with the marker *jiezhe*. These markers emphasise the immediate succession of eventualities (Gao Wen 2009: 3).

### 1.3. *Houlai*

Whereas the sequential markers *ranhou* and *jiezhe* both mark consecution, and are in many cases interchangeable (*cf.* Gao Wen 2009), *houlai* ‘later, afterwards’ differs from them both in distribution and meaning. Jin Hui-ting (2011) explains that *houlai* ‘afterwards’ is used to indicate a contrast between two successive actions. He shows that *houlai* is often followed by adverbs such as *jiu* ‘at once’, *you* ‘once again’, *zai* ‘once more’ and *que* ‘however’. These adverbs have a focussing function. The use of *jiu* emphasises the immediate relation between the two

eventualities, while the use of *que* indicates a contrast between expectations and the validation of the eventuality.

Like *ranhou*, *houlai* can link together words, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs. When *houlai* links clauses together, it is generally articulated with another adverb in the preceding clause such as *qichu* ‘at first’. Even when it is not, the presence of *houlai* implies that what follows is not the first step of the series of actions, and that there is a previous action that is articulated to the clause fronted by *houlai*. Although an inaugurating adverb such as *qichu* ‘at first’ can be omitted in the previous clause, *houlai* cannot be omitted (Jin 2011: 92).

According to Jin (2011), *houlai* has four functions. Its first function is temporal. This function is likened to that of *ranhou*. When it is temporal, *houlai* is used to establish a relation of sequence between two eventualities. This is the case in example (4) below, in which *houlai* could be replaced by *ranhou*.

- (4) You-Know-Who’s snake turned up, it nearly killed both of us, **and then** You-Know-Who himself arrived and missed us by about a second.

「那個人」的蛇出現了，差點把我們兩個殺了，  
 Nà gè rén' de shé chūxiàn-le, chàdiǎn bǎ wǒmen liǎng gè shā-le,  
 That CI man Rel snake appear-le almost BA we two CI kill-le

後來「那個人」還親自到場，  
**hòulái** nà gèrén hái qīnzì dào chǎng,  
**later** that CI man still in person arrive

我們兩個人 在千鈞一髮之際 逃了出來。(ENC)  
 wǒmen liǎng gè rén zài qiānjūnyīfà zhījì táo-le chūlái.  
 We two CI people at imminent peril during escape-le come out

The second function of *houlai* identified by Jin is a connective function: when it is used as a connective, *houlai* marks the direct consecution and the continuity between two eventualities. This function of *houlai* is similar to that of *jiezhe*, as in example (5) below. In this sentence, *jiezhe* could be used instead of *houlai*, indicating close sequence.

- (5) 也許 是 乙醚 的 劑量 太低，這 隻 生命力 旺盛 的  
 Yèxǔ shì yǐmí de jiliàng tài dī, zhè zhī shēngmìngli wàngshèng de  
 Maybe be ether Rel dose too low this Cl vitality vigorous Rel

鍬形蟲 只是 暫時 被 迷昏，  
 qiāoxíngchóng zhǐshì zhànshí bèi míhūn,  
 stag beetle merely temporary Pass lose consciousness

後來 又 活 轉 過來。  
**hòulái** yòu huó zhuǎn guòlái.  
**Afterwards** again live turn come over

Maybe because the dose of ether was too small, that bug, brimming with life, had only gone into a temporary coma. **Now** it was resurrected. (CNC)

The third function of *houlai* is causal: *houlai* can express a cause and effect relation between the two eventualities. This is the case in (6), in which the frequent hearing of a sound leads to people imitating it.

- (6) 以後 布農 人 上山 打獵， 或者 去 耕地  
 Yǐhòu Bùnóng rén shàngshān dǎliè, huòzhě qù gēngdì  
 Later Bunun people climb mountain go hunting or go plow land

的 時候， 有時候， 常常， 總是 聽 那個 溪 的 聲音  
 de shíhòu, yǒushíhòu, chángcháng, zǒngshì tīng nàgè xī de shēngyīn  
 Rel time sometimes often always hear that Cl creek Rel sound

很久 很久。 後來 就 有的 布農人 模仿 那個 聲音，  
 hěnjiǔ hěnjiǔ. **Hòulái** jiù yǒude Bùnóng rén mófǎng nàgè shēngyīn,  
 very long very long **later** just some Bunun man imitate that Cl sound

這個 就是 pìsus-lig (和音) 的 由來。  
 zhège jiùshì pìsus-lig (héyīn) de yóulái.  
 This Cl just be pìsus-lig harmony Rel origin

Later, when Bunun people hunted or worked on the land, they would sometimes, often or always listen to the sound of the stream for a long time. **Later** some Bunun folks imitated that sound, and that's how pìsus-lig (harmony) came to be. (CNC)

Finally, Jin explains that *houlai* can mark a turning point and have a contrastive value. In this case, *houlai* expresses the fact that Eventuality B contrasts with the expectations established by Eventuality A, as in example (7) below. Eventuality A ‘join up’ and Eventuality B ‘get cold feet and try to leave’ are qualitatively opposed.

- (7) Sirius told me about him, he joined up when he was really young **and then** got cold feet and tried to leave — so they killed him.

天狼星 跟 我提過 他，他是在很 年輕 的時候  
 Tiānlángxīng gēn wǒ tí-guò tā, tā shì zài hěn niánqīng de shíhòu  
 Sirius with I mention-Exp he he be at very young Rel time

加入的，**後來** 想 臨陣退縮-- 他們就 把他殺了。(ENC)  
 jiārù de, **hòulái** xiǎng línzhèntuìsuō--tāmen jiù bǎ tā shā-le.  
 Enter Rel **later** think get cold feet they just BA he kill-le

Chao (1968) notes that *houlai* ‘afterwards’ is used more often for past than for future events. Similarly, Ross & Sheng Ma (2006) argue that *houlai* ‘afterwards’ can only be used to indicate a sequence between two eventualities that have already occurred (Ross & Sheng Ma 2006: 267). Thus in all the examples above *houlai* is used to recount past events. This tendency is verified throughout all the corpora.

#### 1.4. Verbal *-le* and perfective aspect as a forward-linking device

As explained in Chapter 3, verbal *-le* is a perfective marker. It is attached to a VP to indicate that the eventuality is bounded and viewed as a whole (Li & Thompson 1981). Verbal *-le* is often used in sequences of eventualities in which it is attached to the first eventuality of the sequence. Indeed, as explained by Huang (1987) *-le* is a boundary marker. It is thus a useful marker to code a temporal boundary between two eventualities. Going further, Lin (2000) considers *-le* to be a *relative past tense* marker. Indeed, *-le* indicates that the left endpoint of Eventuality A is validated before Eventuality B. Li & Thompsen (1981) explain the verbal *-le* is a forward-linking marker often used in sequences. They give the following examples of this use:

- (8) Wo kan-wan-**le** bao, jiu shui.  
I read-finish-**le** paper at once sleep

I finished reading the paper **and then** I slept.

- (9) Ta chuan-shang-**le** dayi, jiu chuqu sanbu.  
He wear-on-**le** coat at once go out walk

He put on his coat **and then** went out for a walk.

Thus, when verbal *-le* articulates two eventualities, an overlapping reading between the eventuality marked with *-le* and the following eventuality is never available. This explains why verbal *-le* often appears as a correspondence of sequential *then*, although unlike sequential *then* its scope is not over Eventuality B but rather over the VP of Eventuality A. Thus, verbal *-le* can be used in a clause to indicate that the eventuality of the next clause (Eventuality B) occurs (right) after the eventuality marked by *-le* (Eventuality A). In this case, *-le* in clause A signals some dependence on clause B. Indeed, the sentence would not feel complete without the second clause. Li & Thompson (1981) explain the forward-linking function of verbal *-le* as follows:

*-le*, in signaling boundedness, is serving as a forward-linking element. The relationship is one of sequentiality, though it is not signaled directly by the meaning of *-le* (as it is by words such as *yihou* ‘after’), but rather is inferred from the boundedness meaning of *-le* together with the fact that the event named by the verb to which *-le* is attached is *not* bounded by anything in its own clause. (Li & Thompson 1981: 641)

Ross & Sheng Ma (2006) also note the sequential function of verbal *-le*. They explain that when *-le* has a forward-linking function, it is often optional and typically co-occurs with a linking adverb in clause B.

了 *le* is optional, but when it occurs, it normally follows the first verb in a series of verb phrases. Notice that 就 *jiu* or 才 *cai* often occur with 了 *le* and 以後 *yihou* in sequence sentences that indicate the relationship ‘after’. (Ross & Sheng Ma 2006: 264)

Thus, the adverbial that reinforces the sequential meaning of verbal *-le* is either an adverb providing a perspective on the nature of the sequence relation, such as *jiu* ‘at once’ which indicates immediate sequence or *cai* ‘only then’ which presents the occurrence of Eventuality B as tardy; or another connecting adverbial such as *ranhou*, *yihou*, *jiezhe*, *etc.*, which make the

relation of sequence between the two eventualities more explicit. We will see in 4.1. that the presence of a connector in clause B is sometimes compulsory for a sentence with *-le* attached to the first verb and followed by a subsequent event to be well-formed. We will have to determine the type of sequences in which the use of verbal *-le* in clause A is sufficient to express sequence, and the types of sequences in which another connector is needed in clause B.

### 1.5. *Jiu* and *cai*

*Jiu* and *cai* can both be translated by *then*. *Jiu* ‘then, at once’ indicates immediate sequence while *cai* ‘only then’ indicates that Eventuality B is validated later than expected. Thus, these markers are often found as correspondences of sequential *then* in the translational corpora. However, most of the time, they do not occur alone. They are often found in collocation with markers of sequence such as *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai*. Moreover, as just mentioned in 1.4., they also occur in clause B when clause A contains a forward-linking element such as verbal *-le*, especially *jiu*, as noted by Paris (1981: 315).

*Jiu* and *cai* are non-movable adverbs. Li & Thompson (1981) explain that they are backward-linking elements:

Unlike most of the adverbial backward-linking elements in clause-initial position, the non-movable adverbs that can function as backward-linking elements relate a clause only to the speaker’s own previous clause, not to a clause that someone else has said. The most common backward-linking adverb is *jiu* ‘then’. (...) Another non-movable adverb that can function as a backward-linking element is *cai* ‘only then’. (Li & Thompson 1981: 655)

Paris (1981: 313) explains that *cai* marks a rupture while *jiu* is a marker of identification. Indeed, *jiu* codes a relation of unproblematic continuity between Eventuality A and Eventuality B, while *cai* indicates that the relation of sequence between Eventuality A and B is problematic. This is illustrated in examples (8) and (9) above, in which *jiu* is used to mark the continuity between Eventuality A and Eventuality B. In (8), the use of *jiu* implies that the action of going to sleep after having read the paper was accomplished without problem, in a natural sequence.<sup>2</sup> The use of *cai* would have implied that because Eventuality A was completed before Eventuality B

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<sup>2</sup> We will examine the function of *jiu* as a marker of continuity and transition in Chapter 9.

could be validated, the validation of Eventuality B was tardier than the speaker expected. In (9), *jiu* indicates that the sequence ‘put on a coat – go out for a walk’ was unproblematic, while *cai* would have implied that the sequence did not unfold according to expectations. Many linguists have noted that *jiu* is used more frequently in Mandarin Chinese than its counterpart *cai* (Paris 1981; Hsieh 2005; Ross & Shang Ma 2006; *etc.*). Ross & Sheng Ma (2006) explain this phenomenon by the fact that unlike *cai*, *jiu* indicates “simple sequence” (Ross & Sheng Ma 2006: 263). Conversely, *cai*, which implies an idea of restriction, is marked and thus less commonly used. This tendency is verified when they are used as correspondences of sequential *then*. As predicted by Gao Wen (2009), we also find occurrences of *bian* ‘at once’ which is used with the same meaning as *jiu*, but is restricted to formal and literary contexts (Ross & Sheng Ma 2006: 264).

We will see that the co-occurrence of these adverbs with the connectors *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* is sometimes compulsory. Similarly, the occurrence of verbal *-le* attached to Eventuality A in a sequence sometimes makes the presence of one of these adverbs necessary. We will have to determine the contexts in which *jiu* and *cai* can occur on their own to mark sequence, and oppose them to the type of contexts in which they are bound to another marker. Let us now look at another pair of adverbs often used with sequential markers in Chinese: *zai* ‘again’ and *you* ‘once more’.

## 1.6. *Zai* and *you*

*Zai* and *you* are often studied together since they both have the same basic meaning: they mark accumulation and repetition. *Zai* is used to code that the repetition of the event has not happened (yet) while *you* is used to indicate that the repetition of the event was validated in the past or is validated in the present (Gao & Zhang 2008: 39). Chao (1968) classifies *you* as an adverb of time. Biq (1988) points out that *you* has several functions. Although she mostly dwells on its emphatic function, she gives the following gloss for the temporal use of *you* that is of interest to us here:

*You* signals not only an assertion of a certain entity *s* having certain property *v* at time *t*, but also an implicature that the same entity *s* had the same property *v* at a time prior to *t*. (Biq 1988: 103)

Gao & Zhang (2008) explain that *zai* and *you* can link together two eventualities even if they are not exactly similar. Accordingly, *zai* and *you* can indicate that Eventuality B corresponds to a repetition or continuation of Eventuality A even if Eventuality B is not an exact replica of Eventuality A (*cf.* example (2) above). Thus, the agent or the patient can change from Eventuality A to Eventuality B.

These two markers often occur in sequences because their meanings of repetition or continuation imply a relation of sequence between Eventuality A and Eventuality B. We will see in Section 3 that in the corpora, they are often used to reinforce the meaning of a sequential marker such as *ranhou* or *jiezhe*.

## 2. Distribution of sequential *then* and its correspondences in the corpora

In this section, we look at the correspondences of sequential *then* in our corpora. As explained in Section 1, we find several congruent correspondences for sequential *then* such as *ranhou* ‘after that, then’, *jiezhe* ‘subsequently, then’, *houlai* ‘afterwards’. We also find the conjunctive adverbs *cai* ‘then, only then’ and *jiu* ‘then, at once’ which frequently co-occur with a sequential adverb or with the perfective marker *-le* attached to the VP of the preceding clause. The markers of accumulation *zai* and *you* are also regularly found as correspondences of *then*; they also often co-occur with other time markers such as *ranhou*, *jiezhe* or *houlai*. Finally, a frequent divergent correspondence of sequential *then* is the perfective particle *-le*, which unlike sequential *then* does not modify Eventuality B but Eventuality A. Accordingly, we will first look at the congruent correspondences of sequential *then* before examining forms that occur most frequently in combination with those adverbs such as *cai*, *jiu*, *you* and *zai* as well as the major divergent correspondence of *then*: verbal *-le*.

As shown in Table 1, the most frequent correspondence of sequential *then* in the translational corpora is the sequential adverb *ranhou*. It occurs more than twice as much as any other form as a correspondence of sequential *then*.



**Table 1** - Major correspondences of sequential *then* in the translational corpora

	Sequential adverbials						Reinforcing adverbs								Clause A	
	<i>ranhou</i>		<i>jiezhe</i>		<i>houlai</i>		<i>jiu</i>		<i>cai</i>		<i>zai</i>		<i>you</i>		verbal <i>-le</i>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	177	37.90	93	19.91	10	2.14	54	11.56	13	2.78	10	2.14	51	10.92	74	15.85
<b>EFC</b>	13	43.33	1	3.33	3	10	7	23.33	0	0	4	13.33	1	3.33	2	6.67
<b>CNC</b>	45	19.48	16	6.93	7	3.03	28	12.12	11	4.76	16	6.93	28	12.12	24	10.39
<b>CFC</b>	11	37.93	0	0	1	3.45	9	31.03	3	10.34	4	13.79	3	10.34	3	10.34
<b>Total</b>	246	<b>32.50</b>	110	<b>14.53</b>	21	<b>2.77</b>	98	<b>12.95</b>	27	<b>3.57</b>	34	<b>4.49</b>	83	<b>10.96</b>	103	<b>13.61</b>

The figures in Table 1 correspond to the number of occurrences of sequential *then* translated by the conjunctive adverbs *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* in the English translational corpora, as well as the number of occurrences of sequential *then* translated with the adverb *jiu*, *cai*, *zai*, and *you*, and finally the number of occurrences of sequential *then* which correspond to the occurrence of verbal *-le* attached to Eventuality A in Chinese. We also counted the number of occurrences of these markers as correspondences of sequential *then* in the Chinese translational corpora. We divided Table 1 in three distinct sections: the first three adverbs in the left section correspond to sequential adverbs the meaning and distribution of which are very similar to those of sequential *then*. Note that all of them are bi-syllabic. In the second section of the table, we find monosyllabic markers that typically occur in collocation with one of the sequential adverbs and either reinforce their meaning (*zai*, *you*), or add a particular perspective on the mode of validation of the eventuality (*cai*, *jiu*). We listed the occurrences of verbal *-le* when it modifies Eventuality A in a separate section, since it can co-occur both with elements of the first and the second section of the table. Similarly, reinforcing adverbs often co-occur either with a sequential marker or with verbal *-le* in clause A. The percentages indicate the frequency at which each marker appears as a correspondence of sequential *then* in each corpus.

Table 1 shows that *ranhou* is the most frequent correspondence of sequential *then*, both in the Chinese and in the English corpora. In total, 32.5% of the occurrences of sequential *then* correspond to *ranhou* in the translation corpora. The correspondence between sequential *then* and *ranhou* is higher in the film corpora than in the narrative corpora, and it is higher in the English corpora than in the Chinese corpora. This suggests on the one hand that *ranhou* is preferred as a correspondence of sequential *then* in oral contexts, and on the other hand that *ranhou* tends to be overused in translation. In order to verify this hypothesis, we will need to

compare the total number of occurrences of *ranhou* in the Chinese translation corpora to the total number of its occurrences in the translations of the English corpora (*cf.* Section 5).

The next most frequent correspondence of sequential *then* is *jiezhe*, with 14.53% of the occurrences of sequential *then* corresponding to an occurrence of *jiezhe* in the Chinese text. Note that *jiezhe* is almost exclusively used in the narrative corpora. *Houlai* is far behind, with only 2.77% of the occurrences of sequential *then* corresponding to this marker. *Jiu* and *you* are two to three times more frequent as correspondences of sequential *then* than *cai* and *zai*. While *jiu* appears mostly as a correspondence of sequential *then* in the film corpora, *you* is more frequent in the narrative corpora. Like *jiu*, *zai* is more frequent in the film corpora while the apparition of *cai* does not seem to follow any genre-related pattern.

Table 1 only provides information about these markers as correspondences of sequential *then*. In order to have a better understanding of their distribution pattern and respective meanings, we have to look at their overall distribution in the Chinese and English corpora. Considering that *jiu*, *cai*, *zai*, *you* and *-le* are not congruent correspondences of sequential *then*, that they all have multiple uses and meanings and that they generally occur in collocation with other terms as correspondences of sequential *then*, we will only look at the frequencies of occurrence of the congruent adverbials *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai*, which are given in Table 2 below.

**Table 2** - *Ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* in the Chinese corpora

	<i>ranhou</i>		<i>jiezhe</i>		<i>houlai</i>	
	N	/1000w	N	/1000w	N	/1000w
<b>CNC</b>	181	0.68	76	0.28	148	0.55
<b>CFC</b>	31	0.60	0	0	10	0.19
<b>CCC</b>	361	7.19	0	0	42	0.84
<b>Total</b>	573	<b>1.55</b>	76	<b>0.21</b>	200	<b>0.54</b>

Table 2 shows that the correspondence pattern of sequential *then*, as far as these three Chinese sequential adverbials are concerned, is not in keeping with the actual frequencies of use of the adverbials in Chinese. Although on the one hand, *ranhou* is the most frequent of these three adverbials in Chinese and appears as the most frequent correspondence of sequential *then*; on the other hand *houlai* is more than twice as frequent as *jiezhe* in the Chinese corpora while

*jiezhe* is more than five times more frequent than *houlai* as a correspondence of sequential *then*. This suggests that sequential *then* shares many semantic and distributional properties with *ranhou* and *jiezhe* while it has little in common with *houlai*.

If we look at the mutual correspondence of *then* and its various correspondences in the translational corpora, the tendencies outlined in Table 1 are confirmed. The MC value of two forms is calculated by adding up (1) the frequency at which form A is translated into form B in the corpora in which the original language is the language of form A and (2) the frequency at which form B is translated into form A in the corpora in which the source language is that of form B; and then dividing the result by two.

**Table 3** - MC values of sequential *then* and its congruent correspondences in the translational corpora

	<i>ranhou</i>	<i>jiezhe</i>	<i>houlai</i>
<b>Narrative Corpora</b>	31.38%	24.9%	3.43%
<b>Film Corpora</b>	39.49%	1.67%	10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>35.44%</b>	<b>13.29%</b>	<b>6.72%</b>

Table 3 shows that *then* and *ranhou* have a very high MC value both in the narrative and in the film corpora. The mutual correspondence of sequential *then* and *ranhou* is 31.38% in the narrative corpora. *Ranhou* is translated by sequential *then* 24.86% of the time in the CNC while sequential *then* is translated by *ranhou* 37.9% of the time in the ENC. The MC value of the two markers is higher in the film corpora, with 35.48% of *ranhou* translated by *then* and 43.33% of sequential *then* translated by *ranhou*. In both cases, *then* is translated by *ranhou* more often than *ranhou* is translated by *then*. This discrepancy suggests that *ranhou* has a wider use than sequential *then*. Indeed, *ranhou* can be used as a discourse marker in Chinese, in which case it is usually not translated by sequential *then*. The general MC value for sequential *then* and *jiezhe* is 13.29%, which is quite high considering that *jiezhe* is almost exclusively used in written Chinese. Although there are 3 occurrences of *jiezhe* in the translations of the EFC, among the original Chinese corpora, *jiezhe* only occurs in the CNC. In the ENC, *then* is translated by *jiezhe* 28.69% of the time; in the CNC *jiezhe* is translated by *then* 21.1% of the time. Finally, the general MC value of sequential *then* and *houlai* is comparatively low (6.72%). Contrary to the correspondence pattern of *then* and *jiezhe*, the MC value of *then* and *houlai* is higher in the film

corpora than in the narrative corpora, which suggests that the meaning of *houlai* is closer to that of sequential *then* when it is used in conversation.

Let us now look in more detail at the frequency of occurrence of each marker as a correspondence of sequential *then*. Tables 4 to 11 below give a detailed account of the frequency of occurrences of the Chinese markers. Indeed, while some markers occur most of the time on their own - such as *ranhou*, *jiezhe*, and *houlai* - others (*cai*, *jiu*, *zai*, *you*) are found mostly in collocation with one or two other markers, all contributing to conveying the meaning of sequential *then*. While *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* can be considered to be congruent correspondences of sequential *then*, this is not the case for the other markers. As shown in Tables 7 to 10, *cai*, *jiu*, *you*, and *zai* almost systematically occur in collocation with one of the congruent correspondences of *then*. They complete and often reinforce the meaning of the sequential adverb and have a modal function, insofar as they provide the speaker's point of view on the situation by qualifying the mode of validation of the eventuality. Finally, verbal *-le*, which often occurs in clause A, is sufficient to code sequence only in very specific contexts, and generally co-occurs with a sequential or a reinforcing adverb in clause B.

Tables 4, 5 and 6 show that the sequential adverbials *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* mostly occur on their own as correspondences of *then*. Table 4 reveals that when *ranhou* corresponds to sequential *then*, it appears without a reinforcing marker such as *cai*, *jiu*, *zai* or *you* and without the perfective marker *-le* in the previous clause almost 60% of the time.

**Table 4** - Distribution of *ranhou* as a correspondence of sequential *then* in the translational corpora

	<i>ranhou</i>		<i>ranhou</i> + other marker		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	100	56.50	77	43.50	177	100
<b>EFC</b>	9	69.23	4	30.77	13	100
<b>CNC</b>	32	71.11	13	28.89	45	100
<b>CFC</b>	6	54.55	5	45.45	11	100
<b>Total</b>	147	<b>59.76</b>	99	<b>40.24</b>	246	100

Table 5 below shows that *jiezhe* occurs without another marker even less frequently, with 67.27% of the occurrences of *jiezhe* appearing alone.

**Table 5** - Distribution of *jiezhe* as a correspondence of sequential *then* in the translational corpora

	<i>jiezhe</i>		<i>jiezhe</i> + other marker		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	61	65.59	32	34.41	93	100
<b>EFC</b>	0	0	1	100	1	100
<b>CNC</b>	13	81.25	3	18.75	16	100
<b>CFC</b>	0	0	0	0	0	100
<b>Total</b>	74	<b>67.27</b>	36	<b>32.73</b>	110	100

Similarly, only 33.33% of the occurrences of *houlai* as a correspondence of sequential *then* are reinforced by another adverb or a perfective *-le* in clause A (*cf.* Table 6 below).

**Table 6** - Distribution of *houlai* as a correspondence of sequential *then* in the translational corpora

	<i>houlai</i>		<i>houlai</i> + other marker		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	7	70	3	30	10	100
<b>EFC</b>	3	100	0	0	3	100
<b>CNC</b>	4	57.14	3	42.86	7	100
<b>CFC</b>	0	0	1	100	1	100
<b>Total</b>	14	<b>66.67</b>	7	<b>33.33</b>	21	100

This suggests that the sequential meaning of these adverbials is strong enough for them to be adequate equivalents of sequential *then*. Moreover, it shows that *ranhou* is the most likely of the three markers to be reinforced by another marker while *jiezhe* is the less likely, which suggests that the sequential meaning of *ranhou* might be weaker than that of *jiezhe*.

Conversely, Tables 7 to 10 show that the markers *jiu*, *cai*, *you* and *zai* all mostly occur in combination with another marker, either one of the congruent correspondences of sequential *then* or perfective *-le* attached to the VP of clause A. A quick comparison of these four tables reveals that *jiu* occurs overwhelmingly more frequently than any other of these reinforcing adverbs. It is

found 850 times in total in the four translational corpora, which is more than three times as often as the three other adverbs combined. Moreover, it is the adverb that most frequently occurs in combination with another marker, since it occurs alone only 5.1% of the time. *Zai* and *cai* come second, since they are respectively used with other markers almost 68% and 78% of the time. *You* is the reinforcing marker the most likely to appear on its own, with almost 40% of *you* occurring alone.

**Table 7** - Distribution of *jiu* as a correspondence of sequential *then* in the translational corpora

	<i>jiu</i>		<i>jiu</i> + other marker		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	42 <sup>3</sup>	7.41	503 <sup>4</sup>	92.59	545	100
<b>EFC</b>	0	0	7	100	7	100
<b>CNC</b>	14 <sup>5</sup>	3.57	275 <sup>6</sup>	96.43	289	100
<b>CFC</b>	0	0	9	100	9	100
<b>Total</b>	56	<b>5.10</b>	794	<b>94.90</b>	850	100

**Table 8** - Distribution of *cai* as a correspondence of sequential *then* in the translational corpora

	<i>cai</i>		<i>cai</i> + other marker		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	2	15.38	11	84.62	13	100
<b>EFC</b>	0	0	0	0	0	100
<b>CNC</b>	3	27.27	8	72.73	11	100
<b>CFC</b>	1	33.33	2	66.67	3	100
<b>Total</b>	6	<b>22.22</b>	21	<b>77.78</b>	27	100

<sup>3</sup> Including 2 occurrences of *bian* 'then'.

<sup>4</sup> Including 2 occurrences of *bian* 'then'.

<sup>5</sup> Including 1 occurrence of *bian* 'then'.

<sup>6</sup> Including 5 occurrences of *bian* 'then'.

**Table 9** - Distribution of *zai* as a correspondence of sequential *then* in the translational corpora

	<i>zai</i>		<i>zai</i> + other marker		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	4	40	6	60	10	100
<b>EFC</b>	2	50	2	50	4	100
<b>CNC</b>	2	12.5	14	87.5	16	100
<b>CFC</b>	3	75	1	25	4	100
<b>Total</b>	11	<b>32.35</b>	23	<b>67.65</b>	34	100

**Table 10** - Distribution of *you* as a correspondence of sequential *then* in the translational corpora

	<i>you</i>		<i>you</i> + other marker		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	18	35.29	33	64.71	51	100
<b>EFC</b>	0	0	1	100	1	100
<b>CNC</b>	13	46.43	15	53.57	28	100
<b>CFC</b>	2	66.67	1	33.33	3	100
<b>Total</b>	33	<b>39.76</b>	50	<b>60.24</b>	83	100

This suggests that the marker *jiu* is, on the one hand, the marker whose meaning is closest to or most compatible with a relation of sequence, and on the other hand, that it is the marker with the weakest sequential meaning, since it hardly ever occurs as sole correspondence of sequential *then*. We will see in Section 3 that *jiu* is particularly compatible with a relation of sequence since it can express immediacy, although it does not precisely convey a meaning of consecution.

*Jiu* can occur with any of the sequential markers *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai*. Moreover, it can occur with verbal *-le*. This explains its high frequency of occurrence in combination with other markers.

Contrastively, *zai* and *you* occur alone more often as correspondences of sequential *then* because they contain a semantic component indicating sequence. This might explain why their use in collocation with another sequential adverb is less frequent in the English corpora than in the Chinese corpora, particularly in the case of *you*: the adverb *you* is typically used to express the fact that an activity is resumed or an action repeated as a continuation of a previous validation of that action. It could thus be considered to be in itself an equivalent of sequential

*then*. And indeed, *you* is frequently translated by sequential *then*, but sequential *then* is more often translated with *you* + another sequential marker. This suggests that Chinese-to-English translators consider *you* to be an equivalent of sequential *then* while English-to-Chinese translators prefer to combine it with another marker. Thus, there might be an overuse of sequential *then* in translation.

The number of occurrences of *cai* and *zai* as correspondences of sequential *then* in the translational corpora is considerably lower than those of *jiu* and *you*. We saw that *jiu* and *you* are particularly compatible with a sequential meaning, hence their frequent use as correspondences of sequential *then*. Conversely, *cai* and *zai* have more complex and thus more restricted meanings, and can only be used in certain contexts. Indeed, *zai* is usually reserved for non-validated events while *cai* is only used when the eventuality is perceived by the speaker to occur later than expected.

Table 11 below shows the correspondence pattern of sequential *then* in clause B and verbal *-le* in clause A. Note that verbal *-le* mostly appears as a correspondence of sequential *then* in the written corpora. When it occurs in the film corpora it is always combined with another marker of sequence. This suggests that the sequential meaning conveyed by *-le* is limited, and that it is insufficient in spoken Chinese, in which events need to be connected and ordered more explicitly than in written Chinese. However, although verbal *-le* is generally used with another marker to express sequence (62% of the time), it frequently occurs on its own in the written corpora. This figure is in keeping with the fact that fewer connectors are needed in written Chinese to convey sequence. Indeed in written Chinese, it seems that the linear organization of the clause is generally sufficient to interpret the ordering of the eventualities. We will come back to this tendency in Section 5.



**Table 11** - Distribution of verbal *-le* in clause A as a correspondence of sequential *then* in clause B in the translational corpora

	verbal <i>-le</i> in clause A		verbal <i>-le</i> in clause A + other marker in B		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	28	37.84	46	62.16	74	100
<b>EFC</b>	0	0	2	100	2	100
<b>CNC</b>	11	45.83	13	54.17	24	100
<b>CFC</b>	0	0	3	100	3	100
<b>Total</b>	39	<b>37.86</b>	64	<b>62.14</b>	103	100

We have seen that *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* occur mostly on their own as correspondences of sequential *then*. Among them, *ranhou* is the more likely to co-occur with another reinforcing marker, while *jiezhe* is the less likely to do so. On the other hand, *jiu*, *cai*, *zai* and *you* occur mostly as reinforcing markers, although *you* is not unfrequently found on its own as a correspondence of *then*. Lastly, verbal *-le* is often found in combination with another sequential marker in clause B. Having established these tendencies, we need to explain them. In Section 3, we contrast the three adverbials *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* and attempt to account for their various distributional properties.

### 3. Contrastive analysis of *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai*

*Ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* differ in meaning and in distribution. *Ranhou* is the most neutral of these markers, simply conveying sequence, while *jiezhe* expresses direct consecution. Finally, *houlai* is a contrastive marker implying a qualitative contrast between Eventuality A and Eventuality B. In terms of syntactic distribution, *ranhou* is a connector that can only appear in clause-initial position while *jiezhe* and *houlai* can both occur after the subject. We will show that *houlai* is closer to a referential marker than to a sequential marker, while *ranhou* is almost a conjunction comparable to English *and* rather than an adverb. Thus, it seems that *jiezhe* is the closest equivalent to sequential *then*, both in terms of meaning and in terms of syntax. In order to demonstrate these points, we first examine the syntactic distribution of each marker (3.1.), before discussing their functions (3.2.).

3.1. Contrastive syntactic distribution of *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai*

*Ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* are not subject to the same syntactic constraints. While *ranhou* is generally considered to be the most direct equivalent of sequential *then*, its use is more restricted in terms of sentence position. Indeed, *ranhou* can only occur in initial position, and not after the subject. Thus in example (1) repeated below, *ranhou* occurs in initial position. As shown in (1)b, *ranhou* cannot occur after the subject in Chinese whereas sequential *then* is perfectly felicitous in preverbal position.

- (1) a. 我 永遠 記得 那 一天 上學 時，蜘蛛 突然  
 Wǒ yǒngyuǎn jìdé nà yītiān shàngxué shí, Zhīzhū túrán  
 I forever remember that one day go to school time Spider suddenly

出現 在 身後， 說：「嗨，要 上課 了。」  
 chūxiàn zài shēnhòu, shuō: Hāi, yào shàngkè le.  
 appear at behind say hi MV go to school LE

然後 他就 放 慢 速度，牽著 腳踏車  
**Ránhòu** tā jiù fàng màn sùdù, qiānzhe jiǎotàchē  
**then** he at once put slow speed Pull-Dur bike

走 在 我的 後面， 跟 我 講話。  
 zǒu zài wǒ de hòumiàn, gēn wǒ jiǎnghuà.  
 walk at I Rel behind with I talk

I'll never forget what happened when I was walking to school that morning. Spider swooped in out of nowhere and said, 'Hi, it's almost time for class.' **Then** he slowed down and walked his bike behind me, talking with me as we went. (CNC)

- b. \*他 然後 就 放 慢 速度 (...).  
 tā **ránhòu** jiù fàng màn sùdù  
 he **then** at once put slow speed

He **then** slowed down (...).

Because *ranhou* links two eventualities together, it often appears in preverbal position with a zero anaphora of the subject as in example (10) below. Indeed, the two VPs often have the same subject, which generally results in the ellipsis of the subject in the second clause in Chinese.

- (10) 達赫開始動手把蒐集起來的物品堆放到  
 Dáhè kāishǐ dòngshǒu bà sōují qílái de wùpǐn duīfàng dào  
 Dahu start set about BA gather start Rel goods stack to

車上，然後替她打開了副駕駛座的門。  
 chē shàng, ránhòu tì tā dǎkāi le fù jiàshǐ zuò de mén  
 car on then on behalf of she open-le secondary pilot seat Rel door

Dahu loaded the things he had gathered into the back seat, **then** opened the door to the passenger side. (CNC)

Unlike *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* can both occur in pre- or post-subject position. Thus in example (2) repeated below, *jiezhe* is initial, while in (11) it is in post-subject position. Similarly in (12) *houlai* occurs in pre-subject position while in (13) it occurs in post-subject position.

- (2) 她先唱了一首阿美族的歌曲，又唱了一首自己  
 Tā xiān chàng-le yī shǒu Aměizú de gēqǔ, yòu chàngle yī shǒu zìjǐ  
 She first sing-le one Cl Pangcah Rel song again sing-le one Cl oneself

做的歌，接著，她唱了一首古老的英文歌。  
 zuò de gē, jiēzhe, tā chàng-le yī shǒu gǔlǎo de yīngwén gē.  
 make Rel song then she sing-le one Cl ancient Rel English song

First she sang a Pangcah ballad, then an air she'd composed herself, **then** an English folk anthem from many years before. (CNC)

- (11) 怎麼了，你問你的美麗室友。她說夢見  
 Zěnmēle, nǐ wèn nǐ de měilì shìyǒu. Tā shuō mèngjiàn  
 what's wrong you ask you Rel beautiful roommate she say dream about

以前的老情人死了，她接著問你愛過老師嗎？  
 yǐqián de lǎo qíng rén sǐ-le, tā jiēzhe wèn nǐ ài-guò lǎoshī ma?  
 Before Rel past lover die-le she then ask you love-Exp teacher Interr

You inquired what had happened, and your beautiful roommate said she had had a dream. In the dream, her ex-lover died. **Then** she asked you if you had ever fallen in love with your teacher. (CNC)

- (12) 我射中了山羊耳。好長一段時間父親都  
 Wǒ shèzhòng-le shānyáng ěr. Hǎo cháng yīduàn shíjiān fùqīn dōu  
 I shoot target-le goat ear very long one Cl time father all

不 跟 我 說 話 。 我 那 個 時 候 以 為 他 在 生 我 的 氣 ，  
 bù gēn wǒ shuōhuà. Wǒ nàgè shíhòu yǐwéi tā zài shēng wǒ de qì,  
 Neg with I speak I at that time think he Prog mad at me

後 來 我 才 知 道 他 是 為 我 擔 心 。  
 hòulái wǒ cái zhīdào tā shì wèi wǒ dānxīn.  
**Later** I **only** know he be for I worry

I shot the goat ear. My father wouldn't talk to me for what seemed like forever. I thought he was mad at me. **Only later** did I realise he was actually worried for me. (CNC)

- (13) 我 記 不 太 得 細 節 了 ， 總 而 言 之 ， 其 中 一 個 小 孩  
 Wǒ jì bù tài-de xìjié le, zǒng'éryánzhī, qízhōng yīgè xiǎohái  
 I remember Neg too-de details LE in short among them one Cl child

後 來 遷 到 我 們 的 家 鄉 ， 變 成 我 們 的 祖 先 。  
 hòulái qiān dào wǒmen de jiāxiāng, biànchéng wǒmen de zǔxiān.  
**Later** move to we Rel hometown become we Rel ancestor

I can't really remember the details, but the long and the short of it is that one of these kids **ended up** moving to our village and becoming our ancestor. (CNC)

Moreover, whereas *jiezhe* and *houlai* can be introduced by a conjunction such as *dan(shi)* 'but', *ranhou* cannot. In English, sequential *then* can be introduced by a conjunction such as *and* or *but*. In example (14) below, *houlai* is introduced by the conjunction *dan* 'but'. *Jiezhe* would be acceptable with *dan* as in (14)b, but *dan + ranhou* in (14)c is not acceptable.

- (14) a. 睡 眠 雖 然 是 閉 起 眼 睛 ， 但 有 時 其 實 可 以 看 得 更  
 Shuimián suīrán shì bìqǐ yǎnjīng, dàn yǒushí qíshí kěyǐ kàn-dé gèng  
 Sleep although be shut eye but sometimes in fact can see-de more

多 ， 一 開 始 她 「 刻 意 」 在 睡 前 冥 想 以 便  
 duō, yī kāishǐ tā kèyì' zài shuì qián míngxiǎng yǐbiàn  
 much in the beginning she meticulous at sleep before meditaion so that

能 夢 見 托 托 ， 但 後 來 她 盡 力 不 夢 見 他 (...).  
 néng mèngjiàn Tuōtuō, dàn hòulái tā jìnli bù mèngjiàn tā  
 can dream about Toto **but later** she try hard Neg dream about he

b. 但 接著 她 盡力 不 夢見 他(...)。  
**dàn jiēzhe** tā jìnli bù mèngjiàn tā  
**but then** she try hard Neg dream about he

c. \*但 然後 她 盡力 不 夢見 他(...)。  
**dàn ránhòu** tā jìnli bù mèngjiàn tā  
**but later** she try hard Neg dream about he

In the beginning she made a point of meditating before bed so that Toto would visit her in her dreams. **Later** she tried not to dream about Toto (...). (CNC)

The fact that *ranhou* does not share the same syntactic properties as *jiezhe* and *houlai* suggests that they do not belong to the same part of speech. Indeed, as it has been suggested by Pu (2006), it appears that *ranhou* is syntactically closer to the English conjunction *and* than to the sequential adverb *then*. *Ranhou* displays some properties typical of conjunctions: it has a fixed sentence-initial position and cannot be introduced by a conjunction. We will see in the next section that *ranhou* is also closer to *and* than to sequential *then* in meaning and use. However, like Wang & Huang (2006) who refuse to classify the marker *ranhou* into a syntactic category, we do not argue that *ranhou* is a conjunction. We only try to show that if *ranhou* were to be placed on a continuum spanning from referential markers with semantic content to non-referential or procedural markers almost devoid of semantic meaning, *ranhou* would be closer to the semantically empty pole of the continuum (*cf.* Figure 1 below).

If *ranhou* can be considered to be closer to a conjunction than to a sequential adverb, what about *jiezhe* and *houlai*? Are they sequential adverbs syntactically comparable to sequential *then*? It appears that *jiezhe* is the marker that is syntactically closest to sequential *then*. Indeed, *houlai* is closer to the category of referential adverbials than to that of sequential adverbials. Unlike *jiezhe* and *ranhou*, *houlai* is a content word: it can be introduced by the adverb *hen* ‘very’ as in (15) below; it can be used in a *de*-construction as in (16) or as an adjective as in (17). Finally, it can be introduced by the preposition *dao* ‘until’ as in (18).

(15) 認真 說 起來，像 我 這樣 的人類 算是  
 Rènzhēn shuō qǐlái, xiàng wǒ zhèyàng de rénlèi suànshì  
 Serious speak start like I this way Rel mankind considered to be

很 後來 才 住 到 這個 島上 的。  
hěn hòulái cái zhù dào zhège dǎoshàng de.  
Very later only live to this CI island on Rel

Strictly speaking, people like me are **latecomers** to Taiwan. (CNC)

- (16) 但 小 奈 還是 愛上了 她 後來 的 男朋友，  
Dàn Xiǎo Nài háishì ài shàng-le tā hòulái de nán péngyǒu,  
But Little Nai still fall in love-le she later Rel boyfriend

也 是 她 的 客人。  
yě shì tā de kèrén.  
also be she Rel customer

But Nai fell in love with a customer who **later** became her boyfriend, all the same. (CNC)

- (17) 概 連續 來了 半年 的 時間 吧。  
Gài liánxù lái-le bàn nián de shíjiān ba.  
Approximate continuous come-le half year Rel time ba

說起來 好笑， 後來 幾個月 我 竟然 開始  
Shuōqǐ lái hǎoxiào, hòulái jǐ gè yuè wǒ jìngrán kāishǐ  
When you say it funny later several month I go as far as start

想像， 自己 剛剛 才 跟他 去 吃完 晚餐(...)。  
xiǎngxiàng, zìjǐ gānggāng cái gēn tā qù chī-wán wǎncān  
Imagine oneself just recently just with he go eat-Res dinner

He kept coming for about half a year I reckon. It sounds funny but **in the last few months** I started pretending that I had just gone for dinner with him (...). (CNC)

- (18) 達赫 原本 準備 退伍 後 試著  
Dáhè yuánběn zhǔnbèi tuìwǔ hòu shìzhe  
Dahu originally prepare discharged from military service after try to

進去 研究 機構(...)， 後來 卻 決定 回 故鄉 的  
jìnqù yánjiū jīgòu hòulái què juédìng huí gùxiāng de  
Go in research organization later yet decide return home Rel

小學 裡 代一陣子 的 課。到後來， 為了  
 xiǎoxué lǐ dài yī zhènzǐ de kè. **Dào hòulái**, wèile  
 primary school inside sub a while Rel class **until later** so as to

能 更 常 見 到 小 米， 他 竟 然  
 néng gèng cháng jiàn-dào Xiǎomǐ, tā jìngrán  
 MV more often see-Res Millet he unexpectedly

決 定 到 H 市 開 計 程 車。  
 juéding dào H shì kāi jìchéngchē.  
 Decide go to H city drive taxi

Dahu originally planned to apply for a position in a research institute (...), but later he decided to return to his home village for a stint as a substitute elementary teacher. Who'd have thought he'd up and decide to move to Haven and drive a taxi, just to be able to see Millet more often? (CNC)

Unlike *houlai*, *jiezhe* and *ranhou* cannot be used as content words, *i.e.* they cannot take on an adverbial, adjectival or nominal function. In (19) *houlai* has an adverbial function and could be translated as 'later'. In (20) and (21), *houlai* has an adjectival function, which *jiezhe* and *ranhou* cannot take on as shown in b. and c. Finally in (22), *houlai* is introduced by the preposition *dao* 'until' and has a nominal function. It could be glossed as 'afterwards', 'later', a meaning that cannot be taken on by either *jiezhe* or *ranhou*.

(19) a. 我 很 後 來 才 來。  
 Wǒ hěn hòulái cái lái.  
 I very later only come

b. \*我 很 然 後 才 來。  
 Wǒ hěn ránhòu cái lái.  
 I very then only come

c. \*我 很 接 着 才 來。  
 Wǒ hěn jiēzhe cái lái  
 I very then only come

I came very late.

- (20) a. 她 後來 的 男朋友  
Tā **hòulái de** nán péngyǒu  
She **later Rel** boyfriend
- b. \*她 然後 的 男朋友  
Tā **ránhòu de** nán péngyǒu  
She **then Rel** boyfriend
- c. \*她 接著 的 男朋友  
Tā **jiēzhe de** nán péngyǒu  
She **then Rel** boyfriend

The boyfriend she had later

- (21) a. 後來 幾個月  
**Hòulái** jǐgè yuè  
**Later** several months
- b. \*接著 幾個月  
**Jiēzhe** jǐgè yuè  
**Then** several months
- c. \*然後 幾個月  
**Ránhòu** jǐgè yuè  
**Then** several months

Over the next few months

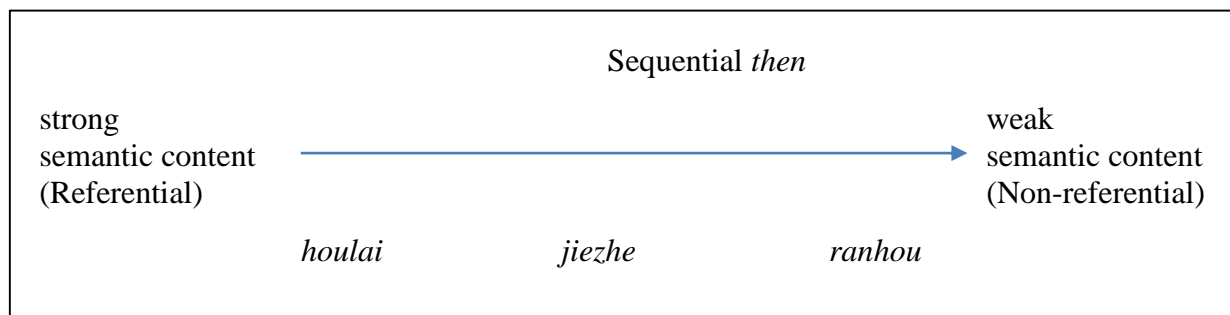
- (22) a. 我 到 後來 才 知道。  
Wǒ **dào hòulái** cái zhīdào.  
I **until later** only know
- b. \*我 到 接著 才 知道。  
Wǒ **dào jiēzhe** cái zhīdào.  
I **until then** only know
- c. \*我 到 然後 才 知道。  
Wǒ **dào ránhòu** cái zhīdào.  
I **until then** only know

I did not know until later



We have shown that *ranhou*, *jiezhe*, and *houlai* do not have the same distribution. While on the one hand *ranhou* is closer to a conjunction, *houlai* is a content word that can take on adjectival and nominal functions. *Jiezhe* is in-between: it is not as bleached as *ranhou* and is syntactically more flexible than *ranhou*, but it is not as versatile as *houlai* and it is not referential. Thus on the whole, it appears to be the closest syntactic equivalent to sequential *then*. However, unlike sequential *then*, it can be preceded by an adverb such as *jin* ‘closely’ as in *jin jiezhe* ‘closely following’. ‘Closely then’ is not possible. In English, sequential *then* can only be preceded by a conjunction such as *but* or *and*. As for *houlai*, the fact that it can be introduced by a preposition or used as an adjective suggests that it is syntactically closer to referential *then*. However, its meaning is not comparable to that of referential *then* since *houlai* indicates that Eventuality B occurs after Eventuality A. But the referentiality of *houlai* might explain why it is such an infrequent correspondence of sequential *then*. As we will see in Section 3.2.3., the use of *houlai* as a correspondence of sequential *then* is only possible in very specific contexts.

Accordingly, we can place sequential *then* and its correspondences on a continuum from referential to non-referential as in Figure 1 below.



**Figure 1** - Sequential *then* and its correspondences, from referential to non-referential

Having looked at the syntactic distribution of each of the three congruent correspondences of sequential *then*, we now propose to contrast their functions.

### 3.2. *Ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai*: variations in function

The syntactic variations between the different correspondences of sequential *then* are reflected in their respective meanings and uses. Thus, each marker covers part of the uses of sequential *then*. As we will see in 3.2.1., *ranhou* is a connector with minimal sequential meaning. Conversely, we

will show that *jiezhe* has a strong sequential meaning (3.2.2.). As for *houlai*, it is a contrastive marker used with a view to emphasise the qualitative contrast between two antithetical situations (3.2.3.).

### 3.2.1. *Ranhou*

*Ranhou* is closer in function and syntactic distribution to the English conjunction *and* than to *then*. As demonstrated in 3.1., *ranhou* can only occur in clause-initial position. Similarly *and* cannot occur between the subject and the VP of a clause. Moreover, *ranhou* cannot be preceded by a conjunction, which is also the case of English *and* (\**but and*).

The fact that *ranhou* is syntactically and semantically closer to the conjunction *and* than to sequential *then* has already been noted by Pu (2006) and Wang & Huang (2006). In the translational corpora, *ranhou* is the congruent correspondence of sequential *then* that is the most frequently combined with another adverb. We noted in 2. that *ranhou* is combined with another marker 40% of the time when it is a correspondence of sequential *then*. This might be partly due to the fact that the meaning of sequence conveyed by *ranhou* is not as strong as that conveyed by *then*, and needs to be complemented. Thus, Puliu (2006) argues that *ranhou* is in fact a boundary marker rather than a sequence marker. While a relation of sequence is often inferred from the marking of a boundary between two eventualities, such marking is sometimes insufficient and Mandarin Chinese speakers tend to complement it with a reinforcing marker. Similarly in English, when *and* binds together two clauses and indicates that their respective eventualities occur in a sequence, it does so in a weaker way than *then*. Thus, Schiffrin (1986) explains that *and* is an “unmarked mode of connection” (Schiffrin 1986: 50). Following Lyons (1977), one argument she gives for the unmarkedness of *and* is its high frequency of occurrence in texts.<sup>7</sup> Schiffrin argues that *and* is used for text organisation, either at a local or at a global level. However, she explains that *and* does not have a particular and constant meaning. Rather, it is its use in contrast to a zero form or to the use of another adverbial in a specific context that conveys meaning and participates in the organisation of ideas:

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<sup>7</sup> “Because frequency of a form implies its distribution in a relatively less restricted set of environments, frequency is often interpreted as an indication of unmarkedness (Lyons (1977: 305-311)). Thus, frequency suggests that *and* is unmarked, and that it conveys little meaning.” (Schiffrin 1986: 50)

*and* has no one particular role within idea structures: it is used at both local and global levels of structural relations which are either functionally or referentially based. In addition, *and* has a structural role only because speaker and hearer are able to interpret textual material well beyond that of *and* itself, including the overall pattern of textual connection, and the content and structure of ideas within the surrounding discourse. This dependency between *and* and its text means that *and* does not in itself create the idea structures which comprise a text; rather, *and* displays those idea structures. (Schiffrin 1986: 55).

As argued by Wang & Huang (2006), this analysis could be applied to the use of *ranhou*. Following Chu (1998) and Wu (2002), they point out that,

coordination in MC seems to depend more on parallelism and lexical cohesion (...). Besides, according to Wu (2002), the establishment of temporal reference in MC relies more heavily on the inherent semantics of the verbs deployed, rather than overt temporal markers. The previous factors could possibly contribute to the development of *ranhou* from a canonical coordinative connective toward non-temporal usage, as it could be relieved of its coordination purpose. (Wang & Huang 2006: 1007).

On the other hand, Wang & Huang suggest that the development of *ranhou* into a discourse marker with an additive meaning has participated in the weakening of its original sequential meaning: “the additive use of *ranhou* renders *ranhou* a maximally general connective” (Wang & Huang 2006: 1007).

Thus, the bleaching of *ranhou* and its predominant contemporary use as an additive marker could explain its loss of sequential force. Schiffrin (1986) shows that English *and* has a continuative function. Following Wang & Huang (2006), we argue that *ranhou* has a similar continuative function. As a temporal marker, *ranhou* simply codes continuation. When there is a relation of sequence between two eventualities articulated by *ranhou*, in general the nature of the two eventualities and their aspectual properties combined with their ordered appearance in the linearity of the narrative are enough to interpret them as occurring the one after the other, as in example (23).

- (23) 他從 窗口 看到 遠遠 站 在海灘 上 的  
 Tā cóng chuāngkǒu kàn-dào yuǎn-yuǎn zhàn zài hǎitān shàng de  
 He from window see-Res far far stand at beach on Rel

年輕 妻子 被 突如其來 的 浪 絆倒， 然後  
 niánqīng qīzi bèi tūrúqílái de làng bànào, **ránhòu**  
 young wife Pass arrive suddenly Rel wave trip **then**

無聲無息 地 被 帶走， 一點 痕跡 都 沒有。  
 wúshēngwúxī DE bèi dàizǒu, yīdiǎn hénjī dōu méiyǒu.  
 Silently DE Pass carry away one point trace all Neg have

He looked out the window only to see his young wife on the distant strand get tripped up by the sudden wave **and** taken silently away. (CNC)

In this example, Eventuality A *bei bandao* ‘get tripped’ is understood, by default, to precede Eventuality B *bei daizou* ‘be taken away’, even if *ranhou* is omitted. Indeed, the two accomplishments are already ordered both by the linearity of the narrative and by logic: it is logical that the wave should first trip the character up before taking her away. Thus in this sentence *ranhou* has an effect equivalent to that of its translation *and*: it is a connector with a continuative meaning.

Similarly, in example (24) below, *ranhou* can be omitted and its use does not foreground Eventuality B. *Ranhou* simply connects the two eventualities in a way very similar to that of *and* in the translation. It combines with the linearity of the text as well as logic to indicate that the eventualities should be interpreted in a sequence.

(24) 阿蒙森 常 在夜晚 的 時候 坐 在他的 船艙 裡，  
 Āméngsēn cháng zài yèwǎn de shíhòu zuò zài tā de chuāncāng lǐ,  
 Amundsen often at night Rel time sit at he Rel boat cabin inside

用 魚鉤 穿進 自己 手臂 上 的 皮膚，  
 yòng yúgōu chuānjìn zìjǐ shǒubì shàng de pífū,  
 use fishhook pierce oneself arm on Rel skin

然後 用 另 一隻 手 拉扯， (...).  
**ránhòu** yòng lìng yī zhī shǒu lāchě  
**then** use other one Cl hand pull

He would often sit up at night in the cabin of his boat and pierce **and** yank at his skin with a fishhook. (CNC)

In example (25) below, the speaker describes a non-factual sequence of actions. The use of *and* in English marks a relation of continuation between Eventuality A and B, and the effect of *then* is to focus on Eventuality B, to bring it to the foreground.

- (25) In an era without telephones or e-mail, anyone wanting to convey private information to someone far away had no option but to write it down **and then** trust a messenger to carry the letter.

在 那 個 沒 有 電 話 或 電 子 郵 件 的 年 代 ， 任 何 人 想  
 Zài nàgè méiyǒu diànhuà huò diànzǐyóujiàn de niándài, rènhe rén xiǎng  
 At that CI Neg have phone or email Rel era any man wish

將 自 己 的 私 密 訊 息 傳 送 給 遠 方 的 另 一 個 人 ，  
 jiāng zìjǐ de sīmì xùnxí chuánsòng gěi yuǎnfāng de ling yīgè rén,  
 BA oneself Rel private news deliver to far away Rel other one CI man

都 只 能 寫 下 來 ， 然 後 把 信 託 付 給 送 信 人 。 (ENC)  
 dōu zhǐ néng xiěxiàlái, ránhòu bǎ xìn tuōfù gěi sòngxìn rén.  
 All only MV write down **then** BA letter entrust to deliver letter man

In Chinese, *ranhou* could be omitted. Its only function is to code continuation between Eventuality A and B. It is a connector but it is unmarked; there is no foregrounding of Eventuality B with *ranhou*. Indeed, the relation between the action of writing a letter and the action of trusting it to a messenger is naturally ordered, it is a logical procedure. Thus in English *then* could be omitted and the conjunction *and* would be enough to link the two eventualities together. However, *and* alone would not have the foregrounding effect that *then* has. *Then* in English is marked and has the effect of placing the focus on Eventuality B. And indeed here, the fact that people writing letters had to trust messengers to carry them for them is at the core of the problem of the paragraph and of the whole novel that this extract is taken from (*The Da Vinci Code*): the narrator is explaining why people used coded messages to communicate.<sup>8</sup> This explains the foregrounding of Eventuality B with *then*. In Chinese, *ranhou* does not have a foregrounding effect, and the focussing effect created by *then* in English is lost.

<sup>8</sup> Here is what follows our example: “Unfortunately, if a messenger suspected the letter might contain valuable information, he could make far more money selling the information to adversaries than he could delivering the letter properly. Many great minds in history had invented cryptologic solutions to the challenge of data protection: Julius Caesar devised a code-writing scheme called the Caesar Box; Mary, Queen of Scots created a transposition cipher and sent secret communiqués from prison; and the brilliant Arab scientist Abu Yusuf Ismail al-Kindi protected his secrets with an ingeniously conceived polyalphabetic substitution cipher.”

Thus, we can consider the use of sequential *then*, with its foregrounding function, to be marked. Conversely, we argue that the use of *ranhou* as a connector coding continuation is unmarked. Therefore, when the speaker wants to highlight the relation of sequence between the two eventualities, or in translation to render the markedness of sequential *then*, she often combines *ranhou* with another marker that functions as a reinforcing marker. When *ranhou* combines with adverbs such as *jiu*, *cai*, *zai* or *you*, the temporal meaning of which implies a shift of the reference point, the sequential meaning of *ranhou* is reinforced and the result is a sequential reading. This explains why *ranhou* is so often accompanied by a reinforcing marker when it corresponds to sequential *then*.

In example (1) repeated below *ranhou* is reinforced with the adverb *jiu* ‘then, at once’.

- (1) 我永遠記得那一天上學時，蜘蛛突然  
 Wǒ yǒngyuǎn jìdé nà yītiān shàngxué shí, Zhīzhū túrán  
 I forever remember that one day go to school time Spider suddenly

出現在身後，說：「嗨，要上課了。」  
 chūxiàn zài shēnhòu, shuō: Hāi, yào shàngkè le.  
 appear at behind say hi MV go to school LE

然後他就放慢速度，牽著腳踏車  
**Ránhòu tā jiù** fàng màn sùdù, qiānzhe jiǎotàchē  
**then** he **at once** put slow speed Pull-Dur bike

走在我的後面，跟我講話。  
 zǒu zài wǒ de hòumiàn, gēn wǒ jiǎnghuà.  
 walk at I Rel behind with I talk

I'll never forget what happened when I was walking to school that morning. Spider swooped in out of nowhere and said, 'Hi, it's almost time for class.' **Then** he slowed down and walked his bike behind me, talking with me as we went. (CNC)

*Jiu* here emphasises the meaning of continuity of *ranhou* and marks immediacy. The use of *ranhou* + *jiu* implies a shift of reference time and indicates that the shift is immediate. Indeed, as explained by Liu (1993) and by Hsieh (2005), in Old Chinese *jiu* was a motion verb meaning ‘to bring oneself to the deictic centre of the GOAL’, with a strong focus on the component “TOWARDS-THE-GOAL” (Liu 1993: 221). Thus, *jiu* is oriented towards the validation of the

eventuality, and its use indicates immediate validation. The spatial meaning “towards-the-goal” has become a metaphor for the temporal meaning of *jiu*: it supposes that *jiu* provides the path of the eventuality which goes from not being validated to being validated. The use of *jiu* implies that *ranhou* is used as a marker of sequence and not as an additive marker.

In example (26), *ranhou* is reinforced by the marker *cai* ‘only then’, which indicates that *ranhou* should be interpreted temporally as a marker of sequence. The use of *cai*, which could be glossed as ‘only then and not before’ implies a non-overlap of Eventuality A and B, while the use of *ranhou* alone does not enable such a fine reading of the situation. Thus without *cai*, Eventuality B could be interpreted to overlap with Eventuality A. In that case, *ranhou* would have a non-temporal additive meaning and might be glossed as ‘in addition to that’. The fact that this interpretation should be available without *cai* results in an uncertainty for native speakers as to the felicitousness of this sentence with *ranhou* only.

(26) 只 能 等 它 停 止 怒 吼 ， 或 是 突 然 掀 蓋 ，  
 Zhǐ néng děng tā tíngzhǐ nùhǒu, huòshì túrán xiān gài,  
 Only MV wait it stop rave or sudden lift lid

脫 水 機 像 被 掐 住 脖子 似 地 乾  
 Tuōshuǐ jī xiàng bèi qiā-zhù bózi sì de gān  
 centrifuge machine like Pass clutch-firm neck seem DE dry

咳 好 大 幾 聲 然 後 才 漸 漸 委 頓 。  
 Ké hào dà jǐ shēng ránhòu cái jiànjiàn wěidùn.  
 cough very big several sound **then** **only** gradually stop

You could only wait until it finished its work. As you lifted its lid, the machine coughed like someone was strangling its neck **and then** gradually it slowed down after it coughed a few more times. (CNC)

In example (27) below *ranhou* is combined to *zai*, which indicates that Eventuality B is validated in addition to the validation of Eventuality A.

(27) 厲 害 的 獵 人 一 棒 就 可 以 敲 死 了 ，  
 lihài de lièrén yī bàng jiù kěyǐ qiāo-sǐle,  
 Awesome Rel hunter as soon as strike at once MV hit-dead-le

然後 再 剝皮。  
**ránhòu zài** bāopí.  
**then again** skin

A good hunter can kill a seal with a single blow, **then** skin it. (CNC)

The marker *zai* could be omitted but its use stresses the fact that Eventuality B occurs after eventuality A. *Zai* has an additive value and suggests that the sequence between Eventuality A and B is marked. It indicates that Eventuality B happens in addition to Eventuality A, in other words that the validation of Eventuality B was not a matter of course, not a logical sequel to the validation of Eventuality A. In this example the speaker suggests that skinning a seal is no easy task. To be recognised as a good hunter, one must not only be able to kill a seal but also to skin it.

Unlike *zai*, the adverb *you* is used to indicate that an action or activity is resumed. Thus, its use implies that an eventuality of the same type as Eventuality B has occurred before. In example (28) below, the father points at the narrator's brother first, and then he points at the narrator.

(28) 父親 指著 我 哥，「你，要 學著 當 一個  
 fùqīn zhǐzhe wǒ gē, nǐ, yào xué-zhe dāng yīgè  
 father point-Dur I brother you MV study-Dur become one CI

布農 的 獵人。」然後 又 指著 我，「你，不 能  
 Bùnóng de lièrén. **Ránhòu yòu** zhǐzhe wǒ, nǐ, bù néng  
 Bunun Rel hunter **then again** point-Dur I you Neg MV

當 獵人 了，因為 你 射中了 山羊 的 耳朵。」  
 dāng lièrén le, yīnwèi nǐ shèzhòng-le shānyáng de ěrduǒ.  
 Become hunter LE because you shoot-le goat Rel ear

My father pointed at my brother. 'You must learn to be a Bunun hunter.' **Then** he pointed at me and said, 'You cannot be a hunter any more, not after shooting the goat ear.'(CNC)

In this case, *you* can be used to mark the fact that the gesture occurs for the second time, even if the object of the VP changes. Thus, while *ranhou* codes continuation, *you* codes repetition. Eventuality B is thus perceived as a continuation to Eventuality A, as well as a



repetition of a previous eventuality. *You* cannot be translated in English. The translation generally given for *you* is ‘again’, but the insertion of *again* in the English text would imply that the father had pointed to the narrator before the validation of Eventuality B. In English, the modification of a VP by the adverb *again* indicates that the exact same eventuality has been validated before. In Chinese, *you* only implies that the same type of eventuality has been validated before. The agent or the patient might change. Thus here, *you* marks the repetition of a gesture from the same agent, but with a change of patients. By indicating repetition, the use of *you* focusses Eventuality B, which *ranhou* alone would not have been able to do. Thus, while *ranhou* only codes continuation or simple sequence, the function of *you* is to focus the attention on Eventuality B. *You* has a foregrounding effect similar to that of sequential *then* in English.

It seems that unlike sequential *then*, *ranhou* does not select a topic time for Eventuality B. Indeed, like the conjunction *and*, *ranhou* simply links the two eventualities together without implying anything as to their relation. It is the context and the aspect of the eventualities, as well as the adverbs that often complete *ranhou* that indicate whether the eventualities are organised in a sequence, and whether they overlap or not. Juxtaposed eventualities in a text tend to be interpreted to occur in an order that follows the linearity of the text, which is why most of the time, when *ranhou* articulates two eventualities, these two eventualities are organised in a sequence. The same phenomenon is true of *and* in English. However, this is not systematically the case, because *ranhou* has developed into a non-temporal additive marker. Following Wang & Huang (2006), we argue that the additive function of *ranhou* has weakened its original sequential function. Thus, in example (29) below, *ranhou* articulates two eventualities, but it does not code sequence and it does not shift the reference time from Eventuality A to Eventuality B.

- (29) 除非 長子 夭亡， 瓦憂瓦憂 島 的 次子  
 Chúfēi zhǎngzǐ yāowáng, Wǎyōu Wǎyōu dǎo de cìzǐ  
 Unless eldest son die young Wayo Wayo island Rel second son

很 少 結婚， 然後 變成 「像 海 一樣 的 老人」。  
 Hěn shǎo jiéhūn, ránhòu biàncéng xiàng hǎi yīyàng de lǎorén.  
 Very few marry then become like sea same Rel old man

因為 他們 在 出生 後 第一 百 八十 次 月 圓  
 Yīnwèi tāmen zài chūshēng hòu dìyī bǎi bāshí cì yuè yuán  
 Because they at born after first hundred eighty time moon circle

時，會 被 賦予 一趟 有 去無 回 的 航海 責任。  
 shí, huì bèi fùyǔ yī tàng yǒu qù wú huí de hánghǎi zérèn.  
 time MV Pass assign one CI have go Neg return Rel sailing duty

Unless an eldest son died young, the second son seldom married **and** went on to become an ‘old man of the sea’. Upon reaching his one hundred and eightieth full moon, he would be sent out to sea on a mission of no return. (CNC)

Eventuality A corresponds to *hen shao jiehun* ‘seldom marry’ and Eventuality B to *biancheng* ‘become’. Both eventualities refer to habitual situations which can be assimilated to stative situations. These situations overlap, they are concomitantly valid. They are linked together by *ranhou* in Chinese and by *and* in the English translation. The function of *ranhou* here is closer to additive than to sequential. Instead of implying a sequence between the two eventualities and shifting the reference point from A to B, it indicates that Eventuality B is validated on top of Eventuality A. But the additive value of *ranhou* is not very strong here, and the reader gets the sense that facts are being recounted rather neutrally. *Ranhou*, like *and*, only has a continuative value and indicates that Eventuality A and B are linked, that they are envisaged together.

Because of this additive function of *ranhou*, its sequential meaning has been diminished, and a shift of reference time is not necessarily associated with *ranhou*. However, when a reinforcing marker such as *jiu*, *cai*, *zai* or *you* combines with *ranhou*, then the only interpretation of *ranhou* is sequential and a shift of the reference time occurs. Moreover, these markers bring Eventuality B into focus because they provide a perspective on it. This means that *ranhou* combined with a reinforcing adverb has an effect closer to that of sequential *then* in English than *ranhou* alone, which is close in function to the conjunction *and*.

We have seen that *ranhou* has a weaker sequential meaning than sequential *then*, which explains why it is often accompanied by a reinforcing R-shifting marker. This weakening of the sequential value of *ranhou* is linked to its bleached use as a non-temporal additive marker (*cf.*

Chapter 9). Because of its wide use as an additional marker, *ranhou* does not systematically open a topic time for Eventuality B. Let us now look at the sequential marker *jiezhe*.

### 3.2.2. *Jiezhe*

*Jiezhe* is an adverb that codes close consecution. This does not imply that the left boundary of Eventuality B and the right boundary of Eventuality A need to touch, but that the relation between the two eventualities is presented and should be perceived as close. As explained by Gao (2009), *ranhou* does not imply direct consecution but emphasises the relation of anteriority and posteriority between the two eventualities. Sequential *then* does not necessarily imply close consecution between the two eventualities, but it implies that the topic time of Eventuality B be in direct contact with the time of Eventuality A.

We argue that like sequential *then*, and unlike *ranhou*, *jiezhe* selects a topic time interval for Eventuality B. *Jiezhe* indicates that the topic time of Eventuality B is directly adjacent to the time of Eventuality A. In most cases, this implies that the time of Eventuality B is also directly adjacent to the time interval of Eventuality A, but not always. Thus, in example (30) below, Eventuality A *ting che* ‘stop the car’ and Eventuality B *diaotou* ‘turn around’ occur in direct consecution. Although there is certainly a lapse of some seconds between the two eventualities, they are presented as occurring in close consecution, because this is how the series of actions is perceived by the focalizing character who is watching the car stop and reverse.

- (30) A dark car passed him, stopped, **then** reversed in a foggy cloud of exhaust smoke and came to a halt beside him.

一輛 黑色 汽車 從 他 身邊 經過， 突然 停車， 引擎 噴出  
 Yī liàng hēisè qìchē cóng tā shēnbiān jīngguò, túrán tíngchē, yǐnqíng pēnchū  
 One Cl black car from he side pass by suddenly pull up engine puff out

廢氣，**接著** 掉頭 朝 他 駛 來， 停 在 他 身邊。(ENC)  
 fèiqì, **jiēzhe** diàotóu cháo tā shǐ lái, tíng zài tā shēnbiān.  
 gas **then** turn around towards he speedily come stop at he side

Thus, *jiezhe* indicates that the topic time of Eventuality B, *i.e.* the time span during which the speaker’s claim is confined, is directly adjacent to the time span of Eventuality A, regardless

of whether Eventuality B is validated at the first time point of this time span or a bit later. In example (31) below, in all likelihood, some time elapses between the moment when the character's friends leave him and the moment when his wife comes to him. However, these two eventualities are presented as directly consecutive because *jiezhe* indicates that the topic time for Eventuality B is directly adjacent to the time of Eventuality A.

- (31) His friends (...) left after getting some good gags in. **Then**, when Rob's wife went to remonstrate with him, he hit her, hard, in the face.

他的朋友(...)一陣插科打諢，然後都離開了。  
 Tā de péngyǒu yīzhèn chā kē dǎtán, ránhòu dōu líkāile.  
 He Rel friend a spell insert CI harangue then all leave-le

接著，他老婆上前去勸他，  
**Jiēzhe**, tā lǎopó shàngqián qù quàn tā,  
**Then** he wife advance go urge he

他卻往老婆臉上用力揍了一拳。(ENC)  
 tā què wǎng lǎopó liǎn shàng yòng lì zòu-le yī quán.  
 He yet to wife face on with force beat up-le one fist

Although the use of *jiezhe* typically implies a non-overlap between Eventuality A and Eventuality B, we find some examples of *jiezhe* linking together overlapping eventualities. Indeed, when Eventuality A is imperfective and Eventuality B is perfective, the two eventualities are understood to overlap. Thus in example (32), Eventuality A *zhan* 'stand' is imperfective while Eventuality B *man leishui* 'fill with tears' is perfective. Eventuality A is still valid when Eventuality B starts; the man is still standing when his eyes fill with tears. Thus here, *jiezhe* indicates that Eventuality B is posterior to the left boundary of Eventuality A. Or rather, it indicates that the topic time of Eventuality B is directly adjacent to the initial subinterval of Eventuality A.

- (32) He thought the Irishman was going to hit him for a moment, but the moment passed and Mad Sweeney just stood there, holding out his gold-filled cap with both hands like Oliver Twist. **And then** tears swelled in his blue eyes and began to spill down his cheeks.

那 一瞬， 他以為 眼前 這個 愛爾蘭人 會 當場  
 Nà yīshùn, tā yǐwéi yǎnqián zhège Ài'ěrlán rén huì dāngchǎng  
 That one instant he think now this CI Irishman MV on the spot

揍 他一拳， 不過 時機 已 遲， 史溫尼 只是 站  
 zòu tā yī quán, bùguò shíjī yǐ chí, Shǐwēnní zhǐ shì zhàn  
 beat up he one fist but opportunity already late Sweeney only be stand

在 原地， 雙手 捧著 裝滿 金幣 的 帽子， 像  
 Zài yuándì, shuāngshǒu pěng-zhe zhuāngmǎn jīnbì de màozi, xiàng  
 at where one is both hands clasp-Dur fill up cold coin Rel cap like

孤兒 奧立佛 一樣。 接著， 他的 藍 眼睛 盈  
 gū'ér Aolífú yīyàng. **Jiēzhe**, tā de lán yǎnjīng yíng  
 orphan Oliver same **then** he Rel blue eye full

滿 淚水， 眼淚 開始 滑 下 臉頰。(ENC)  
 mǎn lèishuǐ, yǎnlèi kāishǐ huá xià liǎnjiá.  
 Full tears tears start roll down cheek

Because it codes direct consecution, the use of *jiezhe* is marked. It indicates that the connection between the two eventualities and the fact that they are in direct consecution is somehow remarkable. In example (32) the use of *jiezhe* indicates that the validation of Eventuality B comes as a surprise to the focalising character. In (30), the use of *jiezhe* provides a perspective on the sequence of events. It indicates that the focalising character is observing the car as it passes him, stops and reverses. The use of *ranhou* instead of *jiezhe* would only have coded a relation of sequence without providing a viewpoint on the situation. With *jiezhe*, the narrator indicates that Eventuality B is remarkable. In (31), *jiezhe* suggests that Eventuality B, or rather the juxtaposition of Eventuality A and B, *i.e.* first the subject joking with his friends and the next minute beating his wife, is remarkable.

Thus, while *ranhou* is an unmarked connector, and sequential *then* is a foregrounding marker, *jiezhe* indicates that Eventuality A and B occur in close succession and that the fact that

they occur in close succession is remarkable. This might be linked to the original meaning of *jiezhe*, ‘to catch and hold on’, which suggests that something falls in one’s hand and is held on to. Similarly, Eventuality B “falls” on Eventuality A quite unexpectedly and constitutes the next step of the story. *Jiezhe* thus often introduces a turning point in the story. This could also explain why *jiezhe* is virtually exclusively used in narration: it is a narrative device that advances the action in a way that *ranhou* does not. It brings dynamism to the narrative and provides a perspective on the events. Note that the use of *jiezhe* is more marked when it occurs in pre-subject position.

(3) 由於 少女 懷了 身孕， 靠著 外部 維生 系統，  
 Yóuyú shàonǚ huái-le shēnyùn, kào zhe wàibù wéishēng xìtǒng,  
 Due to girl conceive-le pregnant depend-Dur external support system

又 昏迷了 一段 時間， 但 一直 未 真正 死去，  
 yòu hūnmí-le yīduàn shíjiān, dàn yīzhí wèi zhēnzhèng sǐqù,  
 and coma-le one CI time but continuously Neg real die

直到 醫生 剖腹 取出 胎兒 之後， 才 終於 停止了  
 zhídào yīshēng pōufù qǔchū tāi'ér zhīhòu, cái zhōngyú tíngzhǐle  
 until doctor cut open take out foetus after only at last stop-le

腦波 的 運作。(…)哈凡 跟 達赫 都 認出來， 那個 長 腿、  
 nǎobō de yùnzhuò. Hāfán gēn Dáhè dōu rènchū lái, nàgè zhǎng tuǐ,  
 brain wave Rel activities Hafay and Dahu all recognize that CI long leg

畫著 濃 妝 的 主持人 竟然 就是 Lily(…)。  
 Huà-zhe nóng zhuāng de zhǔchí rén jìngrán jiùshì Lily,  
 paint-Dur heavy make up Rel anchor unexpectedly just be Lily

報導 接著 說， 胎兒 雖然 有 先天性 的 缺陷，  
 Bàodǎo jiēzhe shuō, tāi'ér suīrán yǒu xiāntiānxìng de quēxiàn,  
 Report then say foetus although have congenital Rel defect

生命力 卻 很 強， 唯一 遺憾 的是，  
 shēngmìng lì què hěn qiáng, wéiyī yíhàn de shì,  
 vitality however very strong only regret Rel be

胎兒的 雙 腿 相連， 彷彿 鯨 豚 的 尾 鰭。  
 tāi'ér de shuāng tuǐ xiānglián, fǎngfú jīng tún de wěiqí  
 fetus Rel both legs join seem whale pig Rel tail

The girl was put on life support. She slipped back into a coma, but her brain activity only ceased when doctors performed a Caesarean and removed the foetus she was carrying from her abdomen. (...) Hafay and Dahu both realised that the leggy anchorwoman with the heavy make-up was actually Lily, the lady from the day the Trash Vortex hit. (...) The infant was vigorous, the report **continued**, despite an unfortunate congenital defect: its legs were joined together, like a cetacean tail fin. (CNC)

Thus, in example (3) repeated above, *jiezhe* occurs in post-subject position and is used to indicate that despite the digression about Hafay and Dahu's realisation that the anchorwoman giving the report is someone they know, Eventuality A and B are validated in direct consecution. Eventuality A corresponds to the first part of the indirect speech act of the anchorwoman who relates the events and Eventuality B corresponds to her next speech act the object of which is the health of the child. *Jiezhe* is used to indicate that the narrator resumes the account of the TV report. Thus in medial position, *jiezhe* is a text-organisation device rather than a device signalling a remarkable sequence.

In (33) below, *jiezhe* indicates that the sequential relation between Eventuality A and Eventuality B is remarkable and that the validation of Eventuality B is unexpected. If *jiezhe* had been in post-subject position, the effect of suddenness of the validation of Eventuality B would be reduced, and clause B would have an effect closer to that of a *ranhou*-clause.

- (33) Harry felt the bike drop a little (...). Then the scar on his forehead burned like fire; as a Death Eater appeared on either side of the bike (...) — **And then** Harry saw him. Voldemort was flying like smoke on the wind (...).

哈利 感覺 摩托車 微微 往 下降 (...). 然後， 他 額頭  
 Hāli gǎnjué mótuōchē wéiwéi wǎng xiàjiàng Ránhòu, tā étóu  
 Harry feel motorbike slight to fall then he forehead

上 的 疤痕 像 火燒 似的 劇痛 起來。 一名 食死人  
 shàng de bāhén xiàng huǒshāo shìde jùtòng qǐlái. Yī míng Shísǐrén  
 on Rel scar like burn down as if stab start one Cl Death Eater

出現 在 摩托車 的 一邊， (...) 接著 哈利 看見 他了。  
 chūxiàn zài mótuōchē de yībiān, **jiēzhe** Hālì kàn-jiàn tā le.  
 appear at motorbike Rel one side **then** Harry see-Res he LE

佛地魔 有如 一陣 煙 似的 御 風 而 行 (...). (ENC)  
 Fúdémó yǒurú yīzhèn yān shì de yù fēng ér xíng  
 Voldemort similar to a burst smoke as if drive wind and walk

Like *ranhou*, *jiēzhe* can occur with reinforcing adverbs such as *jiu*, *cai*, *zai* and *you*. Note that in that case *jiēzhe* is almost always in pre-subject position. Indeed, these reinforcing adverbs have a foregrounding effect while medial position diminishes the effect of *jiēzhe*. Thus, to have a medial *jiēzhe* reinforced by a foregrounding adverb would be contradictory. *Jiēzhe* also occurs in combination with perfective *-le* attached to the VP of Eventuality A.

When *jiēzhe* is combined with the adverb *jiu* as in (34), *jiēzhe* still codes remarkability but does not have an effect of unexpectedness.

- (34) For a second they stood quite still, wands directed at each other's chests; **then**, recognizing each other, they stowed their wands beneath their cloaks and started walking briskly in the same direction.

在 剎那 間，兩 人 相對 佇立， 用 魔杖  
 Zài chànà jiān, liǎng rén xiāngduì zhùlì, yòng mózhàng  
 At an instant gap two man opposite stand for a long time use magic wand

直 指 對 方 的 胸 膛， 接著 他們 就 認 出  
 zhí zhǐ duìfāng de xiōngtáng, **jiēzhe** tāmen **jiù** rènchū  
 straight point opposite side Rel chest **then** they **at once** recognize

彼此， 然後 將 魔杖 塞 入 斗 篷 裡 收 好，  
 bǐcǐ, ránhòu jiāng mózhàng sāi rù dòuféng lǐ shōu-hǎo,  
 each other then BA wand stuff enter cloak inside put away-Res

踏 著 輕 快 的 腳 步 朝 同 一 個 方 向 走 去。(ENC)  
 Tà-zhe qīngkuài de jiǎobù cháo tóng yīgè fāngxiàng zǒu qù.  
 Tread-Dur brisk Rel step to same one Cl direction walk over

Indeed, *jiu* is a marker of continuation which indicates that the validation of Eventuality B is in keeping with expectations. In this example the two characters are wizards who know each



other and are exploring a hostile environment, hence the raised wands. The fact that they should recognise each other is expected by the reader. *Jiezhe* indicates that Eventuality B constitutes an interruption and that its validation is a turning point. Indeed, Eventuality A *zhi* ‘point’ is imperfective and Eventuality B *renchu* ‘recognise’ is an achievement that overlaps with it and interrupts it, with the results that the characters stop pointing their wands to each other. *Jiu* indicates that the occurrence of Eventuality B is in keeping with the expectations of the readers.

In (35) below, *jiezhe* is combined with *cai* ‘only then’. This combination is not very frequent. Indeed, *jiezhe* typically indicates that Eventuality B occurs suddenly while *cai* indicates that its validation is felt to occur later than expected. This seems contradictory.

- (35) 看我當時 年輕 的 驚慌 臉孔， 她 更 是  
 Kàn wǒ dāngshí niánqīng de jīnghuāng liǎnkǒng, tā gèng shì  
 See I at the time young Rel panic face she more be

大笑， 接著 才 說：「小 姑娘， 放心，  
 dà xiào, jiēzhe cái shuō: Xiǎo gūniáng, fāngxīn,  
 big laugh then only say little girl be at ease

遊艇 都 有 預備 的 小船 啦， 可能 把 他  
 yóutíng dōu yǒu yùbèi de xiǎochuán la, kěnéng bǎ tā  
 yacht all have ready Rel boat LA maybe BA he

送 到 最近 的 港口 了， 把 他 炒 魷魚 了。」  
 sòng dào zuìjìn de gǎngkǒu le, bǎ tā chǎoyóuyú le.  
 Send to recent Rel port LE BA he fire LE

Seeing my young, panicked face, she laughed again. “Young lady, don’t worry, they must have fired him and sent him away with a lifeboat.” (CNC)

In fact, *jiezhe* here indicates that the sequence between Eventuality A and B is remarkable and combined with *cai*, it provides the perspective of the focalising character. Indeed, in this passage the focalizing character has just learnt that a member of the crew is no longer on the boat. She is worried that he might have drowned and her interlocutor laughs at her. It is only after she has laughed at the dismay of the focalising character that her interlocutor tells her the truth. Eventuality B is remarkable precisely because it is validated later than the focalising

character expected. While *cai* highlights the fact that the narrator might have expected her interlocutor to give an explanation sooner, *jiezhe* indicates that the sequence of Eventuality A and B is remarkable. Thus, both markers combine to indicate that the narrator deems the sequence remarkable and the fact that Eventuality B comes second possibly inappropriate.

In example (36) below, *jiezhe* is combined with the adverb *zai*. This combination is not as common as *jiezhe* + *jiu* or *jiezhe* + *you* because *jiezhe* and *zai* convey very similar meanings. Indeed, one of the meaning of *zai* is ‘after something, and not until then’ (MDBG). Thus, *jiezhe* introduces a new step in a process, and *zai* indicates that Eventuality B is strictly posterior to Eventuality A. Therefore with *zai*, Eventuality A and B cannot overlap. In this example, the narrator is describing the preparations for a ceremony.

- (36) 然後 由 女巫 以及 各 家族 的 祭司 統一 祭把，  
 Ránhòu yóu nǚwū yǐjí gè jiāzú de jìsī tǒngyī jìbǎ,  
 Then from witch and each family Rel priest unite sacrifice

接著再 以 這些 穀物，更新 「嘎入瑪岸」  
**jiēzhe zài** yǐ zhèxiē gǔwù, gēngxīn Gārùmǎàn  
**then after that** use these grain renew Garumahan

內部 去年 送進來 的 穀物，並 掛 在 「嘎入瑪岸」  
 nèibù qùnián sòngjìnlái de gǔwù, bìng guà zài Gārùmǎàn  
 interior last year give Rel grain and hang at Garumahan

屋 內 兩 側 牆 上 的 橫樑 上面。  
 wū nèi liǎng cè qiáng shàng de héngliáng shàngmiàn.  
 house interior two sides wall on Rel beam on top

After that, sorceresses and priests of different clans would pray at the same time. They would use the crops to replace the outdated ones which were presented last year and hung them on the beams in the Garumahan. (CNC)

In (37) below *jiezhe* combines with the adverb *you* ‘again’ which indicates the repetition or rather the resuming of an action or activity, with a possible change of agent or patient.

- (37) Wood shook his head, as if disappointed, and kicked Shadow in the kneecap. The pain was excruciating. **Then** Wood pushed a fist slowly into Shadow's back, just above the right kidney, and knuckled it, hard (...).

阿木 搖搖 頭，彷彿 非常 失望， 然後 一 腳  
 Āmù yáo-yáo tóu, fǎngfú fēicháng shīwàng, ránhòu yī jiǎo  
 Wood shake-shake head as if extremely disappointed then one leg

踢 往 影子 的 膝蓋骨。簡直 痛 徹 心扉。  
 tī wǎng Yǐngzi de xīgàigǔ. Jiǎnzhí tòng chè xīnfēi.  
 Kick to Shadow Rel kneecap simply ache pervade soul

接著 阿木 又 往 影子 後背 補上 一 拳，  
**Jiēzhe** Āmù yòu wǎng Yǐngyú hòubèi bǔ shàng yī quán,  
**Then** Wood **again** to Shadow back fill on one fist

指關節 槌 在右 腎 上 方(...)。(ENC)  
 zhǐguānjié chuí zài yòu shèn shàng fang  
 knuckle mallet at right kidney on place

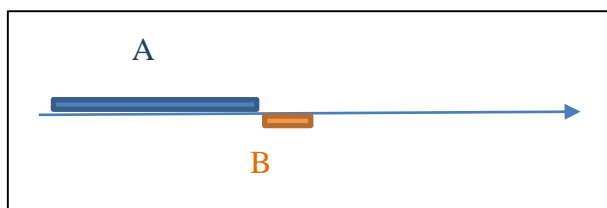
Here, Eventuality B ‘push a fist into Shadow’s back’ is not repeated, nor resumed, but *you* indicates that it is the continuation of the kick in the kneecap that occurred just before. Thus, *you* marks the resuming or continuation of an activity, *i.e.* the activity of beating Shadow up. *Jiezhe* indicates that Eventuality B is part of a procedure. The use of *ranhou* here is acceptable but would have been unmarked, insofar as it would simply have coded a relation of sequence between the kick in the knee and the fist in the back. *Jiezhe* indicates that the sequence is remarkable. In that case, it is remarkable because it is not random, but rather corresponds to a thought-out process. The succession of the actions is direct and organised. This is in keeping with the meaning of *you* which supposes the existence of a larger process that is being repeated, continued or resumed.

All these examples show that unlike *ranhou* which conveys a minimal sequential meaning, *jiezhe* has a strong semantic content. It codes close sequence and its use indicates that this close consecution is remarkable from the point of view of the speaker, narrator or focalising character. It can be remarkable for a multitude of reasons: it can be unexpected, or on the contrary planned and presented as part of a larger procedure, but in any case the occurrence of Eventuality B after

Eventuality A is not random. This means that the use of *jiezhe* creates an expectation in the reader, who knows that the validation of Eventuality A after Eventuality B must be significant. And indeed, *jiezhe* is often used to mark a turning point in the story.

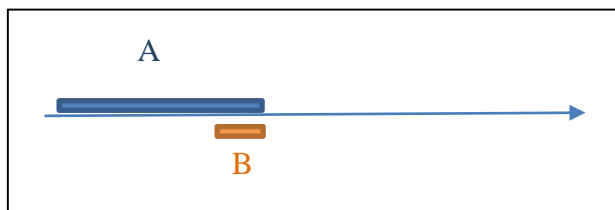
This is linked to the fact that *jiezhe* opens a topic time for Eventuality B. By opening a topic time interval for a subsequent eventuality, and by implying that the eventuality is going to be validated during the initial subinterval of that topic time, the marker *jiezhe* indicates that something remarkable is going to happen within the time interval directly adjacent to Eventuality A.

There are two possible configurations as to the exact relation between the two eventualities bound together by *jiezhe*. Most of the time Eventuality A and B do not overlap and occur the one after the other in close succession as in Figure 1 below (*cf.* examples (35), (36), (37)).



**Figure 2** - Configuration 1: *jiezhe* [-overlap]

The use of *jiezhe* implies that the left boundary of Eventuality B is visible. However, it does not necessary imply that Eventuality A is perfective and that its final endpoint is visible. Thus, Eventuality B can be validated before the end of Eventuality A as in example (32) above and as represented in Figure 2. In that case, Eventuality A is viewed as imperfective and Eventuality B is viewed as a bounded whole which interrupts Eventuality A. In such a configuration the two eventualities overlap.



**Figure 3** - Configuration 2: *jiezhe* [+overlap]

We have shown in this section that although *jiezhe* and *ranhou* often seem to be interchangeable, their respective uses do not have the same effects. *Ranhou* is an unmarked connector, which only codes continuation without giving any information as to the proximity of the two eventualities or the importance of the sequence for the narrative as a whole. Thus, *ranhou* does not provide any real information as to the time location of Eventuality B or its topic time. Conversely, *jiezhe* codes close consecution and implies that the relation of sequence between Eventuality A and Eventuality B is significant. *Jiezhe* selects the time interval directly adjacent to Eventuality A as topic time for Eventuality B, and implies that the validation of Eventuality B occurs in the initial subinterval of that topic time. Thus, *jiezhe* is closer to sequential *then* than *ranhou* is. *Jiezhe* and sequential *then* both select a topic time for Eventuality B, and indicate that Eventuality B as either marked or foregrounded. Let us now turn to the analysis of *houlai*.

### 3.2.3. *Houlai*

*Houlai* is a content word: it is closer to a locating adverbial than to a connector. Indeed as we saw in 1.3., its syntactic distribution suggests that it is referential rather than sequential. Therefore, rather than coding sequence, *houlai* would actually refer to a time interval. As mentioned in 1.3., Jin (2011) distinguishes between four functions for *houlai*, which are illustrated with the example (4), (5), (6) and (7) repeated below: *houlai* can be a temporal marker, a sequence marker, a consequential marker or a contrastive marker. We would like to suggest that *houlai* is an indefinite referential marker which could be glossed as ‘at a later time’. As stated by Jin (2011), it is always used to locate the second eventuality of a series of two eventualities, and it always implies a rupture between the two, or at least between Eventuality A and the topic time of eventuality B. Moreover, *houlai* is a foregrounding marker, insofar as it always introduces the conclusion of a series of events, suggesting that the whole narrative aimed towards this last eventuality, which corresponds to a denouement. The denouement is often a peak event.

Thus, in (4) below, *houlai* could be glossed as ‘at a later time’. It locates the eventuality *daochang* ‘show up’ relative to the previous eventuality *sha* ‘kill’.

- (4) You-Know-Who's snake turned up, it nearly killed both of us, **and then** You-Know-Who himself arrived and missed us by about a second.

「那個人」的蛇出現了，差點把我們兩個殺了，  
 Nà gè rén de shé chūxiàn-le, chàdiǎn bǎ wǒmen liǎng gè shā-le,  
 That CI man Rel snake appear-le almost BA we two CI kill-le

後來「那個人」還親自到場，  
**hòulái** nà gèrén hái qīnzì dào chǎng,  
**later** that CI man still in person arrive

我們兩個人 在千鈞一髮之際 逃了出來。(ENC)  
 wǒmen liǎng gè rén zài qiānjūnyīfà zhījì táo-le chūlái.  
 We two CI people at imminent peril during escape-le come out

*Houlai* indicates that Eventuality B occurs after Eventuality A, with absolutely no overlap of the two eventualities. The right boundary of Eventuality A and the left boundary of Eventuality B are not in contact. In fact, *houlai* codes a temporal breach between Eventuality A and Eventuality B. The use of *houlai* does not give any indication as to the length of the time span between Eventuality A and B. All it indicates is that a time span in which neither Eventuality A nor Eventuality B are validated exists between the eventualities. Thus in (4), all that is said is that first, the snake nearly killed the characters, and that ‘at a later time’, which might be some seconds after that or several hours later, You-Know-Who showed up and tried to kill them.

But if we look at example (5) below, Eventuality A and B seem to be adjacent. Eventuality A corresponds to the accomplishment *bei mihun* ‘be drugged’ and Eventuality B corresponds to the accomplishment *huo zhuan guolai* ‘come back to life’.

- (5) 也許是乙醚的劑量太低，這隻生命力旺盛的  
 Yěxǔ shì yǐmí de jìliàng tài dī, zhè zhī shēngmìnglì wàngshèng de  
 Maybe be ether Rel dose too low this CI vitality vigorous Rel

锹形蟲 只是暫時被迷昏，  
 qiāoxíngchóng zhǐshì zhànshí bèi mihūn,  
 stag beetle merely temporary Pass lose consciousness

後來 又 活 轉 過來。  
 hòulái yòu huó zhuǎn guòlái.  
 afterwards again live turn come over

Maybe because the dose of ether was too small, that bug, brimming with life, had only gone into a temporary coma. **Now** it was resurrected. (CNC)

It seems logical that the state of being unconscious ends as the state of being conscious starts again, thus it is difficult to imagine a time span separating the two. In fact, there are two possible interpretations for this sequence of events. Either Eventuality A is seen as an accomplishment ('get drugged') and not as a state ('be drugged') in which case there is indeed an indefinite time span between the two eventualities, or we might consider that what *houlai* locates is not the eventuality time of Eventuality B but rather its topic time. Thus, we argue that *houlai*, like referential *then*, refers to the topic time of Eventuality B. However, unlike referential *then*, it does not select the time of Eventuality A as topic time for Eventuality B, but rather it selects a topic time completely disconnected from Eventuality A. It selects it anaphorically because the reference to a 'later time' can only be done relative to an earlier time, but what *houlai* indicates is that the topic time of Eventuality B is posterior to Eventuality A, and that it is not directly adjacent to the time of Eventuality A but on the contrary that there is a time interval of indefinite length between Eventuality A and the topic time of Eventuality B.

In example (6) below, *houlai* has a consequential meaning. There is a causal relation between Eventuality A, which corresponds to the activity of often hearing the whispering sound of the stream, and Eventuality B, which corresponds to the activity or accomplishment of imitating that sound. The temporal relation between the two Eventualities is not clear. One might imagine that people continued to listen to the sound of the stream even after using that sound to create the psius-lig harmony. Eventuality A is a habitual eventuality and in all probability it continues throughout Eventuality B. But *houlai* presents Eventuality B as disconnected from Eventuality A. It seems that more than selecting the topic time of Eventuality B, the use of *houlai* has an impact on the topic time of Eventuality A. Indeed, it presents the time span to which the speaker's claim is confined as disconnected from Eventuality A and therefore implies that the topic time of Eventuality A is a time interval bounded to the right and non-adjacent to the left boundary of the topic time of Eventuality B. Thus in this example, *houlai* implies that the

habit of listening to the sound of the stream is claimed to be valid only for a time span anterior and non-adjacent to the topic time of Eventuality B, regardless of whether Eventuality A and B actually overlap. Eventuality A is the cause for the validation of Eventuality B, and *houlai* presents them as occurring in a non-overlapping sequence, with a view to simplifying the relation between the two eventualities and making the causal relation more visible. *Houlai* is often used to indicate that some intermediary steps or events are skipped in the description, and that the narrator chose to go directly to the conclusive event of the series. This suggests that *houlai* is a text-organisation device. It introduces a conclusion to a series of events. In (6), it is used to conclude the description of the creation process of the harmony played by the Bunun.

- (6) 以後 布農 人 上山 打獵， 或者 去 耕地  
 Yǐhòu Bùnóng rén shàngshān dǎliè, huòzhě qù gēngdì  
 Later Bunun people climb mountain go hunting or go plow land

的 時候， 有時候， 常常， 總是 聽 那個 溪 的 聲音  
 de shíhòu, yǒushíhòu, chángcháng, zǒngshì tīng nàgè xī de shēngyīn  
 Rel time sometimes often always hear that Cl creek Rel sound

很久 很久。 後來 就 有的 布農人 模仿 那個 聲音，  
 hěnjiǔ hěnjiǔ. Hòulái jiù yǒude Bùnóng rén mófǎng nàgè shēngyīn,  
 very long very long later just some Bunun man imitate that Cl sound

這個 就是 pīsus-lig (和音) 的 由來。  
 zhège jiùshì pīsus-lig (héyīn) de yóulái.  
 This Cl just be pīsus-lig harmony Rel origin

Later, when Bunun people hunted or worked on the land, they would sometimes, often or always listen to the sound of the stream for a long time. **Later** some Bunun folks imitated that sound, and that's how pīsus-lig (harmony) came to be. (CNC)

In example (7) below, the time span separating Eventuality A *jiaru* 'enter' and Eventuality B *xiang linzhentuixiu* 'get cold feet' is probably of several months, or years. *Houlai* enables the narrator to skip the description of the intervening events to go directly to the concluding eventuality of the series.

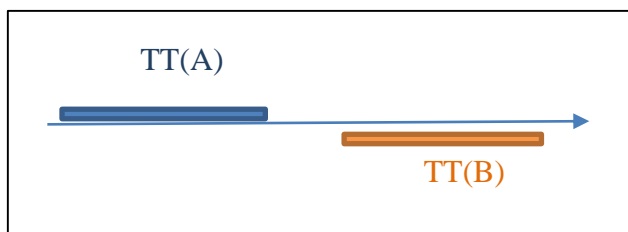
- (7) Sirius told me about him, he joined up when he was really young **and then** got cold feet and tried to leave — so they killed him.



天狼星 跟 我提過 他，他是在很 年輕 的 時候  
 Tiānlángxīng gēn wǒ tí-guò tā, tā shì zài hěn niánqīng de shíhòu  
 Sirius with I mention-Exp he he be at very young Rel time

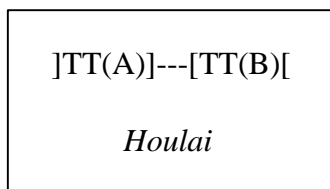
加入的，**後來** 想 臨陣退縮-- 他們 就 把他 殺了。(ENC)  
 jiārù de, **hòulái** xiǎng línzhèntuìsuō--tāmen jiù bǎ tā shā-le.  
 Enter Rel **later** think get cold feet they just BA he kill-le

The effect of *houlai* could be represented as in Figure 4.



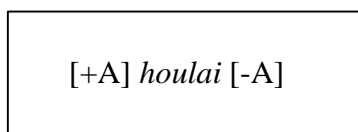
**Figure 4** - *Houlai* [-overlap]

*Houlai* has a very strong meaning, insofar as it influences both the topic time of Eventuality A and the topic time of Eventuality B. Unlike *ranhou*, *jiezhè* and sequential *then*, its use is not limited to cases in which the combination of the aspectual properties of Eventualities A and B are favourable to its occurrence. Rather, it participates to the articulation of the eventualities and qualifies it. Its use coerces a distal interpretation of the topic times of Eventuality A and Eventuality B. *Houlai* offers a particular perspective on the situation, which is generally meant as an efficient evaluation of the outcome of the sequence Eventuality A – Eventuality B. Thus, it allows for the skipping of events that might have occurred in between and even implies that there is an unaccounted for time span between the times of Eventuality A and Eventuality B, or rather between the time spans during which Eventuality A and B are claimed to be true, *i.e.* their topic times. *Houlai* delimits the right boundary of the topic time of Eventuality A when Eventuality A can be interpreted to overlap with Eventuality B, and it delimits the left boundary of the topic time of Eventuality B. However, it does not place these boundaries on the time axis: it is an indefinite locating adverb. It is referential because its first effect is to locate Eventuality B at a time posterior to Eventuality A, and it has an effect on the understanding of the topic times of both Eventuality A and B. Thus, ultimately, the meaning of *houlai* can be summed up as follows:



**Figure 5** - Meaning of *houlai*

The contrastive effect of *houlai* that can be found in examples (5) and (7) is mostly due to the fact that Eventuality A and B are often qualitatively antithetical, with Eventuality B corresponding to the negative version of Eventuality A, as represented in Figure 5 below. This is the case for instance in example (5) and (7) above. In (5), Eventuality A corresponds to the accomplishment of making the beetle unconscious, while Eventuality B corresponds to the achievement of the beetle becoming conscious again. In (7) Eventuality A corresponds to Sirius joining an organisation, while Eventuality B corresponds to Sirius wanting to leave that organisation. The fact that *houlai* creates a rift between the two eventualities or rather between their topic times, bounding the topic time of Eventuality A to the right and the topic time of Eventuality B to the left contributes to creating a contrastive effect between the two eventualities.



**Figure 6** - *Houlai* and contrast

But when Eventuality A and B are not qualitatively antithetical as in (4) and (6), *houlai* does not exactly have a contrastive effect. It appears that what is constant is the fact that *houlai* has a conclusive force which is directly linked to its temporal function. Indeed *houlai* indicates that the speaker takes a discursive shortcut in order to reach the conclusion of the narrative. *Houlai* enables the speaker to conclude a story without dwelling on unimportant events that led from Eventuality A to Eventuality B. It implies that the action progressed from Eventuality A to Eventuality B, with an indefinite time span and a series of indefinite events separating the two.

*Houlai* can be used with reinforcing markers such as *jiu*, *cai*, *you*, *zai*.<sup>9</sup> These markers are used to provide more information as to the mode of validation of Eventuality B, or rather as to the relation between Eventuality A and Eventuality B. In example (6), *jiu* indicates that there is a continuity between Eventuality A and Eventuality B. While *houlai* creates a temporal rupture between the two, *jiu* indicates that the sequence follows a logical or unsurprising order. Thus, it is in keeping with the causal use of *houlai*. *You* in example (5) indicates that the result state of Eventuality B, *i.e.* the state of living, was valid before the interruption. Thus, it indicates that the state is resumed. In example (38) below we have an example of *houlai* collocated with *cai*.

(38) 那個媳婦 來了 以後 這家 店的 餃子 口味 就  
 Nàgè xīfù lái-le yǐhòu zhè jiā diàn de jiǎozǐ kǒuwèi jiù  
 That woman come-le after this Cl shop Rel dumpling taste at once

變了 後來 達赫才 發現 是餃子 皮 變了，  
 Biàn-le, hòulái Dáhe cái fāxiàn shì jiǎozǐ pí biàn-le,  
 change-le later Dahu only discover be dumpling skin change-le

餡料 倒是 沒 變。  
 xiànlìào dǎoshì méi biàn.  
 Filling actually Neg change

After she arrived Dahu thought the taste of the dumplings changed, and **later** he realised it was the skin that had changed not the filling. (CNC)

The narrator has just indicated that the restaurant where Dahu usually eats dumplings has a new chef, referred to in the example as “she”. *Cai* simply indicates that Eventuality B is validated later than expected. *Houlai* indicates that there is an indefinite time span between the time at which the dumplings’ taste changes and the time at which Dahu discovers that the change originates from the dough used to make the dumplings and not the filling; *cai* indicates that this time span is unexpectedly long.

We have shown in this section that *houlai* is a referential marker locating the last eventuality of a series of eventualities at an indeterminate time posterior to the time of Eventuality A. The conclusive force of *houlai* is such that it forces a bound interpretation of Eventuality A and B by

<sup>9</sup> We find no occurrence of *houlai* + *zai* in our corpora.

indicating that the truth of Eventuality A is only claimed for a segment of time non adjacent to the time interval during which Eventuality B is claimed to be true. Thus, *houlai* presents Eventuality A as bounded to the right and Eventuality B as bounded to the left. *Houlai* is a marker of discontinuity. It implies a shift of reference point between the two eventualities.

We have seen that of the three congruent correspondences of sequential *then*, despite the fact that the most frequent is *ranhou*, the closer in meaning and function is *jiezhe*. Indeed, like *then*, *jiezhe* codes consecution and has a foregrounding function, while *ranhou* has a very weak sequential meaning, being closer in function to the conjunction *and*. As for *houlai*, it is very different from sequential *then*, first and foremost because it is a referential marker locating the eventuality at an indeterminate time posterior to the reference time. Let us now examine the divergent and zero correspondences of sequential *then*.

#### 4. Sequential *then* and divergent and zero correspondences

In this section we look at the non-congruent correspondences of sequential *then*. Indeed, it appears that sequence-marking in Chinese relies in great part on aspectual marking rather than on adverbial sequential markers such as *ranhou* or *jiezhe*. We will first discuss the use of the verbal particle *-le* attached to Eventuality A for sequence-marking (4.1.), before taking a brief look at the cases of zero correspondence of sequential *then* (4.2.).

##### 4.1. Verbal *-le*

Verbal *-le* is a perfective marker used to signal that an eventuality is viewed as a whole. As a result, the following eventuality is typically interpreted to be validated after the eventuality marked with *-le*. In the corpora, we find many such occurrences of verbal *-le* in clause A, often co-occurring with another marker in clause B - typically *jiu* as in (8) and (9) given by Li & Thompson (1981) - as correspondences of sequential *then* in clause B in English. In this section, we try to explain the high number of correspondences of *-le* and sequential *then*. We also endeavour to determine in which cases *-le* occurs alone as a correspondence of sequential *then*, and in which cases another marker is necessary in clause B. We argue that the high number of occurrences of verbal *-le* as a correspondence of sequential *then* is due to the fact that Chinese is

an aspectual language relying on aspect to code time relations. We further argue that verbal *-le* is sufficient to code a relation of sequence between two eventualities when that sequence is expected and unproblematic; *i.e.* when there is a topical continuity between the two clauses. Conversely, when the relation of sequence between the two eventualities is not a matter of course, another explicit marker is generally necessary.

As shown in Section 2, perfective *-le* mostly occurs as a correspondence of *then* with another marker. In (39) and (40) below, verbal *-le* in clause A combines respectively with *ranhou* and *jiezhe* in clause B. In example (4), verbal *-le* was combined with *houlai* in clause B. In example (39) below, Eventuality B occurs as an interruption of Eventuality A.

- (39) They drove in silence for a few minutes, **and then** she said, "Hey, that reminds me of my favorite god story, from Comparative Religion One-oh-one. You want to hear it?"

車子 在 靜默 中 行駛了 幾 分鐘， 然後 她 說：「嘿，這  
Chēzi zài jìngmò zhōng xíngshǐ-le jǐ fēnzhōng, ránhòu tā shuō Hēi, zhè  
Car at silence in travel-le several minutes then she say Hey this

倒 讓 我 想起 比較 宗教學 聽來 的故事。  
dào ràng wǒ xiǎngqǐ bǐjiào zōngjiàoxué tīng lái de gùshi  
actually make I recall more religious studies hear from somewhere Rel story

是 我 最 喜 歡 的 神 話 喔， 想 聽 嗎？」 (ENC)  
Shì wǒ zuì xǐhuān de shénhuà ō, xiǎng tīng ma?  
Be I most like Rel myth O wish to hear Interr

In this example, the use of verbal *-le* is compulsory because of the duration complement *ji fēnzhōng* 'a few minutes' and it is not sufficient to mark sequence between Eventuality A and Eventuality B because there is a change of subject from clause A to clause B. Verbal *-le* is usually used alone to code sequence when clause A and B share the same subject, with zero anaphora of the subject in clause B (*cf.* examples (8) and (9)). Thus, a certain continuity between Eventuality A and Eventuality B is necessary for verbal *-le* to be felicitous alone. When there is a topical discontinuity between Eventuality A and eventuality B, the use of *ranhou* (or another sequential marker) to introduce clause B is necessary.

In (40), the two successive eventualities *dian pisa* ‘order pizza’ and *fang xizao shui* ‘run a bath’ are articulated with verbal *-le* attached to Eventuality A and *jiezhe* to introduce clause B.

- (40) He ordered a cheese and meatball pizza, **then** he ran a bath, pouring all the motel's little plastic bottles of shampoo into the water, making it foam.

他 點了 一份 乳酪 肉丸 披薩，**接著** 開始 放 洗澡 水，  
Tā diǎn-**le** yī fèn rǔlào ròuwán pīsà, **jiēzhe** kāishǐ fàng xǐzǎo shuǐ,  
He order-**le** one Cl cheese meatball pizza **then** start release bath water

將 浴室 內 小 塑膠 瓶 裡 所有 洗髮精 都  
jiāng yùshì nèi xiǎo sùjiāo píng lǐ suǒyǒu xǐfàjīng dōu  
BA bathroom inside small plastic bottle inside all shampoo all

倒 進 水 裡，使 洗澡 水 冒 出 泡泡。(ENC)  
dào jìn shuǐ lǐ shǐ xǐzǎo shuǐ mào chū pàopào.  
pour enter water in make bath water emit out bubbles

The two eventualities share the same subject, with a zero anaphora of the subject in clause B. However, there is a discontinuity between the two eventualities: Eventuality A ‘order a pizza’ and Eventuality B ‘run a bath’ are not ideationally related: the relation of sequence between the two eventualities is not preconstructed in the reader’s mind; both eventualities are not part of a well-known and unsurprising procedure. Thus, the succession of the two eventualities is not a matter of course and the perfectivisation of Eventuality A is not enough to ensure a sequential interpretation of the eventualities. Although the sentence is possibly acceptable without a sequential marker, informants agree that the use of *jiezhe* ensures a sequential interpretation and makes the sentence more felicitous.

Contrastively, in examples (41), (42) and (43) below, sequential *then* corresponds only to verbal *-le* in clause A, with no other marker to explicitly code sequence. In (41), the speaker describes a culinary procedure.

- (41) 我 跟 哥哥 都 很 喜歡 烤雞 蛋糕， 一 邊  
wǒ gēn gēgē dōu hěn xǐhuān kǎojī dàngāo, yībiān  
I with brother all very like roast chicken cake one side

烤熱了 翻到另外一邊。很香 很香，  
 kǎo-rè-le fān dào língwài yībiān. Hěn xiāng hěn xiāng,  
 roast-hot-le flip to other side very fragrant very fragrant

下次我買給你吃。  
 Xià cì wǒ mǎi gěi nǐ chī.  
 next time I buy give you eat

Both my brother and I really liked baking those cakes. You bake the one side, turn it over, **then** you bake the other. They smelled so good! (CNC)

Each action follows the preceding one logically, since they are all part of a given procedure: the baking of a cake. The knowledge that the actions are performed in this order with a view to achieve a precise goal naturally leads to a sequential interpretation. Knowing that the speaker is describing a procedure, the interlocutor or reader interprets each eventuality in the linearity of the text as the next step to take in order to bake the cake. Thus, no extra sequential marker is needed to introduce Eventuality B. Note that this results in the syntactic closeness of the two eventualities, which is reflected in the sequential interpretation: the eventualities are understood to occur in direct consecution.

In example (42) below, the procedure described is not as set as a cake recipe, but the eventualities *xi yugang* ‘clean the bathtub’ and *kaishi fangshui* ‘start the water running’ are not ideationally unrelated. There is a purpose in the sequence of actions: as in (41), the succession of actions is not random; it is part of a procedure that the agent goes through in order to reach a particular goal - in this case, take a bath. The fact that a procedural interpretation is available allows for a sequential reading without a sequential marker to make the sequential relation explicit.

(42) Shadow took a towel and cleaned off the inside of the tub, **then** ran the water.

影子 拿了一條毛巾，洗了浴缸，開始放水。(ENC)  
 Yǐngzi ná-le yītiáo máojīn, xǐ-le yùgāng, kāishǐ fàngshuǐ.  
 Shadow take-le one Cl towel clean-le bathtub start turn on the water

In (43) below, the fact that the eventualities are part of a procedure is less obvious, but such a reading is still available. Indeed, the character just missed his flight and comes to the assistance

desk to get a new boarding pass printed. What the woman assisting him does can be considered to be part of a procedure: she consults with a colleague, makes a phone call to check the flights, and then issues the boarding pass.

- (43) The woman at the passenger assistance desk (...) consulted with another woman and made a phone call (“Nope, that one's out. They've just cancelled it.”), **then** she printed out another boarding card.

旅客 服務 中心 的 女 服務員(...) 詢問 另一 位 女性，  
Lǚkè fùwù zhōngxīn de nǚ fúwùyuán xúnwèn lǐngyī wèi nǚxìng,  
Traveller service centre Rel female attendant inquire another CI woman

打了 通 電話 (「那班 已經 取消 了」)，  
dǎ-le tōng diànhuà ( nà bān yǐjīng qǔxiāo le )，  
dial-le CI phone that CI already cancel LE

印 出 另一 張 登機證。(ENC)  
yìn chū lǐngyī zhāng dēngjīzhèng.  
print out another CI boarding pass

Thus, all the actions are oriented towards a goal; they are therefore ideationally related and their succession is not random or incongruous. Note however that some informants consider that the use of a sequential marker such as *ranhou* before the verb *yinchu* ‘print out’ would have made the passage more felicitous. This can be explained by the fact that the procedure, which corresponds to an emergency procedure, is not as set as that of a recipe, and its extraordinary nature would be emphasised by the addition of a sequential marker.

Clauses with verbal *-le* select a topic time for Eventuality B. Indeed, as shown by Lin (2000, 2003, 2006) and as developed in Chapter 3, verbal *-le* implies the existence of a result state of the eventuality modified by verbal *-le*. This result state coincides with the topic time of Eventuality B. Indeed, it corresponds to a state conducive to the validation of Eventuality B. This explains why clauses with verbal *-le* are felt to be incomplete if they are not followed by another clause. The use of verbal *-le* indicates that Eventuality A results in a state that is conducive to the validation of Eventuality B. The time interval of that state corresponds to the topic time of Eventuality B. It is bounded to the left, with its left boundary being directly adjacent to the right boundary of Eventuality A, and unbounded to the right. Thus, the use of verbal *-le* implies that



the validation of Eventuality A opens a time interval in which it is claimed that Eventuality B will be validated. This is why the use of *-le* alone is only felicitous in procedures, in which an Eventuality A results in a state that is conducive to the validation of Eventuality B. For instance, in example (41), the baking of the first side results in that side being baked, which is a state conducive to the validation of Eventuality B, *i.e.* the flipping of the cake. Verbal *-le*, by marking the completion of Eventuality A, opens a topic time interval for Eventuality B. In the same way as the use of sequential *then* implies the existence of an Eventuality A as a pendant to Eventuality B, in Chinese verbal *-le* implies the existence of an Eventuality B as a logical sequence to Eventuality A. However, the fact that verbal *-le* should select a topic time for Eventuality B does not mean that it has a foregrounding effect. Indeed, since it is used in procedures, Eventuality B is always presented as a logical and unproblematic follow-up to Eventuality A. Thus, Eventuality B is not focussed and not foregrounded. But when verbal *-le* is combined with reinforcing markers, Eventuality B can be foregrounded.

Verbal *-le* in clause A can also be combined with reinforcing adverbs such as *jiu*, *cai*, *zai* or *you* in clause B. Each of these adverbs reinforce the sequential meaning implied by the perfectivity of Eventuality A. In (44), *bian* ‘at once’, an equivalent of *jiu*, is used to emphasise the suddenness of Eventuality B, but also its expectedness.

- (44) 當時 阿莉思 因為 害羞 而 不好意思  
 Dāngshí Alisī yīnwéi hàixiū ér bùhǎoyìsi  
 At the time Alice because shy and embarrassed

拒絕 大家 往前 走 的 要求， 勉強  
 Jùjué dàjiā wǎngqián zǒu de yāoqiú miǎnqiáng  
 refuse everyone forward walk Rel request reluctant

走了 幾 分鐘 的 路， 便 開始 盜汗 恐慌 (...).  
 zǒu-le jǐ fēnzhōng de lù, biàn kāishǐ dào hàn kǒnghuāng (...).  
 walk-le several minute Rel road, then start sweat panic

People kept encouraging her, and at the time Alice was too timid to refuse. She carried on for another few minutes and **then** broke out in a cold sweat and suffered a panic attack. (CNC)

*Jiu* and *bian* are markers of continuity and their use in combination with verbal *-le* in clause A indicates that the occurrence of Eventuality B directly following Eventuality A is in continuity with the expectations of the interlocutor or reader. In this passage, the character Alice is being encouraged to continue hiking although she feels nauseous and scared. Unsurprisingly, this results in her having a panic attack. Note that the use of a reinforcing adverb here is compulsory. Indeed, the sequence of events is not in any way a procedure. Thus, the events cannot be ordered by verbal *-le* only. Although the events are in keeping with expectations, they are extraordinary.

In (45), the reinforcing adverb used is *cai* ‘only then’. It indicates that the validation of Eventuality B *jixù* ‘continue’ occurs comparatively late, suggesting that the break taken by the hikers is unexpectedly long. If verbal *-le* was not combined with a reinforcing marker, the sequence would have been understood to be part of a procedure, which would be rather infelicitous considering that the eventualities are not related and do not occur in a logical order.

(45) 說笑了一陣，阿怒讓他們停留了半根菸  
 Shuōxiào-le yīzhèn, Anù ràng tāmen tíngliú-le bàn gēn yān  
 Banter-le a spell Anu let they stop over-le Half Cl cigarette

的時間，才繼續帶他們轉往另一處。  
 de shíjiān, **cái** jìxù dài tāmen zhuǎnwǎng língyī chù.  
 Rel time **only** continue lead they change another place

After this burst of banter, Anu let them rest there for the time it takes to have half a cigarette, **then** guided them to another place (...). (CNC)

When verbal *-le* occurs with *you* as in (46) or with *zai* as in (47), it often appears in a diminishing reduplicative structure. In this case the VP of clause A is a dynamic and durative eventuality, typically an activity, presented as perfective with the verbal marker *-le*. Perfective activities are particularly compatible with the meaning of repetition and continuity implied by *you* and *zai*. Thus, in (46) *you* indicates that a wiping-type activity is continued, and in (47) *zai* indicates that the activity of pointing is repeated.

- (46) He stopped, wiped his nose on the side of his hand, **then** wiped his hand on his sleeve.

他一頓，用手 抹了抹 鼻子，又 用 袖子  
 Tā yī dùn, yòng shǒu mǒ-le mǒ bízi, yòu yòng xiùzi  
 He all stop use hand **wipe-le wipe** nose **again** use sleeve

擦了擦 手。(ENC)  
 cā-le cā shǒu.  
 wipe-le wipe hand

- (47) She repeated the gesture, this time pointing firstly at him, **then** at herself, then at the ceiling.

她重複 這個 動作，這一次 先 指了指 他，  
 Tā chóngfù zhège dòngzuò, zhèyīcì xiān zhǐ-le zhǐ tā,  
 She repeat this Cl gesture this time first **point-le point** he

再 指指 自己，第三次 指著 天花板。(ENC)  
 zài zhǐ-zhǐ zìjǐ, dìsān cì zhǐ-zhe tiānhuābǎn.  
**Then** point-point oneself third time point-Dur ceiling

As noted above with example (39), when *-le* is followed by a durative or quantitative complement, the use of another adverbial in clause B is compulsory. Indeed, when the durativity of Eventuality A is emphasised, which is also the case with reduplication, it is typically because what is described is not a neutral, procedure-like series of events but rather a succession of unconnected events with some presented as longer than others. In examples (48) and (49) below Eventuality A is an activity, in other words a durative eventuality, presented as perfective with verbal *-le*.

- (48) Sophie stared a moment **and then** burst out laughing.

蘇菲 果 看了 一下， 然後 爆出 一陣 笑。(ENC)  
 Sūfēi guǒ kàn-le yīxià, ránhòu bàochū yīzhèn xiào.  
 Sophie indeed look-le for a while **then** burst out a burst laugh

(49) The driver thought a moment **and then** nodded.

司機 想了 一下， 然後 點點 頭。(ENC)  
 sījī xiǎng-**le** yīxià, **ránhòu** diǎndiǎn tóu.  
 Driver think-**le** for a while **then** nod-nod head

In each case the durativity of Eventuality A is significant because it indicates that Eventuality B is delayed. Indeed, in both examples, Eventuality A corresponds to a moment of hesitation or confusion of the subject, which is resolved through the validation of Eventuality B. The sequence is not a procedure, but on the contrary a series of spontaneous and unpredictable events. Verbal *-le* is not likely to be felicitous on its own to mark sequence in such contexts.

We have argued that verbal *-le* can occur on its own to mark sequence only if the sequence of events constitutes a logical and expected procedure. When Eventuality A and Eventuality B are not part of a known procedure or are not ideationally related, the sequence needs to be marked with an adverbial in clause B. Let us now take a brief look at the cases of zero correspondence of sequential *then* in the translational corpora.

#### 4.2. Zero correspondence

Sequential *then* is often left untranslated in the Chinese target text, while a number of sequential *then* appear in English translations with no correspondence in the Chinese texts. Table 12 below shows that 18.6% of the occurrences of sequential *then* have no correspondence in the Chinese text (87/497). Considering that verbal *-le* attached to Eventuality A is counted as a divergent correspondence of *then* and thus excluded of cases of zero correspondence, this suggests that very often, Chinese simply relies on context, on the linear order of the text and on punctuation to convey sequence relations.

**Table 12** - Sequential *then* in the translational corpora: cases of zero correspondence

	zero correspondence		Total	
	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	79	16.92	467	100
<b>EFC</b>	8	26.67	30	100
<b>CNC</b>	55	23.8	231	100
<b>CFC</b>	2	6.9	29	100

In fact, when telic eventualities that are not presented as imperfective are linearly ordered in discourse, they are understood to occur in a sequence in Chinese. Although this can also be the case in English, with two successive eventualities separated only by a comma or by the conjunction *and*, it is not as frequent as in Chinese. Indeed, in Chinese, more than two successive eventualities are often juxtaposed without lexical sequential marking or aspectual markers such as verbal *-le*. In English, when more than two eventualities occur in a sequence, some sequential markers usually appear, although their use is not compulsory. Thus in examples (50) and (51) below, the Chinese text corresponds to a linear juxtaposition of successive telic eventualities separated only by a comma, while in English connectors such as *then* or *and* are used to code sequence or simply connect two eventualities.

- (50) 你 走 下 二 樓，把 鑰匙 放 在 入 口  
 Nǐ zǒu xià èr lóu, bǎ yàoshi fàng zài rùkǒu  
 You walk down two floor BA key put at entrance

小 圓 桌 旁，切 下 燈 鍵，  
 xiǎo yuánzhuō páng, qièxià dēng jiàn,  
 small round table side cut down light button

背 後 的 階 梯 層 層 暗 了。  
 bèihòu de jiētī céng-céng àn le.  
 behind Rel flight of steps layer upon layer dark LE

On your way out you left the key of the office at the small round desk. **Then** you put out the light, **and** the stairs behind you were darkened. (CNC)

- (51) The man nodded, scribbled one final note, **then** he closed the file **and** put down the ballpoint pen.

男人 點點 頭，記 下 最後 一 筆，  
Nánrén diǎn-diǎn tóu, jì xià zuìhòu yī bǐ,  
Man nod-nod head note down last one note

合上 資料夾，放下 原子筆。(ENC)  
héshàng zīliàojiǎ, fàngxià yuánzǐbǐ.  
close folder put down ballpoint pen

Thus, the fact that sequential *then* is often not translated in the Chinese text, or that it appears in the English text where there is no source marker in Chinese is linked to the very nature of the two languages. We will see in Section 5 that it is the fact that Chinese relies greatly on aspect for temporal location that explains its limited use of sequential markers.

## 5. The use of temporal connectors in English and Chinese

In this section, we show that English and Chinese differ in their use of sequential markers. English uses considerably more sequential markers than Chinese. We argue that this phenomenon is due to the aspectual nature of Chinese. Indeed, aspect provides information on the boundaries of the eventualities, and as we showed in Chapter 4, aspectual marking conveys overlap or non-overlap between eventualities. This parameter is often sufficient to interpret the eventualities as successive or not. Before proposing an analysis of this phenomenon, let us examine and contrast the overall frequencies of sequential markers in the English and Chinese texts of our corpora.

Tables 2 and 13 below provide the frequency of the markers *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* in the overall corpora. All the occurrences of the forms are counted, including those which do not correspond to sequential *then* in the English text.

**Table 2 (repeated)** – *Ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* in the Chinese corpora

	<i>ranhou</i>		<i>jiezhe</i>		<i>houlai</i>	
	N	/1000w	N	/1000w	N	/1000w
<b>CNC</b>	181	0.68	76	0.28	148	0.55
<b>CFC</b>	31	0.60	0	0	10	0.19
<b>CCC</b>	361	7.19	0	0	42	0.84
<b>Total</b>	573	<b>1.55</b>	76	<b>0.21</b>	200	<b>0.54</b>

**Table 13** - *Ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai* in the English corpora

	<i>ranhou</i>		<i>jiezhe</i>		<i>houlai</i>	
	N	/1000w	N	/1000w	N	/1000w
<b>ENC</b>	360	1.34	134	0.50	33	0.12
<b>EFC</b>	26	0.50	4	0.08	4	0.08
<b>Total</b>	386	<b>1.21</b>	138	<b>0.43</b>	37	<b>0.12</b>

The tables show that both *ranhou* and *jiezhe* are used twice as much in the translations of the English Narrative Corpus as in the Chinese Narrative Corpus. This suggests that there is a considerable overuse of these forms in translation. Conversely, *houlai* is used 4.7 times more in Chinese than it is in the translations of the English corpora. This suggest that *houlai* is underused in translation. We need to account for these variations.

It is traditionally considered that markers of coordination are not as frequent in Chinese as they are in English. As noted by Chao (1968: 264) and Li & Thompson (1981), in Chinese zero marking is the most common mark of coordination or forward-linking (Li & Thompson 1981: 631-632). With zero marking, the dependence between the two linked clauses is established by the speaker's intention, which is given by the context. Chao (1968) explains the situation as follows:

Conjunctions as markers of coordinate constructions are not as common as one would gather from reading translations of foreign languages or from writings in the style of such translations, where *and* is equated to 和 *her* (or one of its homographic synonyms) and *or* is equated to 或者 *huoojee* (or one of its synonyms) or to 還是 *hairsh*. In ordinary speech, zero is the commonest marker of coordination. The commonest spoken 'and'-word is 跟 *gen*, which, on account of its having too many strokes and on account of its relatively restricted geographical spread, has not become as widely used in writing as 和 *her*. (Chao 1968: 264)

Thus, Chao already notes a tendency to overuse coordinating markers in Chinese translations of English texts. This phenomenon is confirmed in our corpora. In Chinese, *ranhou* is overwhelmingly more frequent in conversation, while English translations use it mostly in narration. Out of the 360 occurrences of *ranhou* in the ENC, 177 correspond to translations of sequential *then*. This suggests that Chinese translators consider that *ranhou* is a close equivalent of sequential *then*, and tend to use it very often to translate sequential *then* in situations in which it might not be used in spontaneous conversation in Chinese, or in narration. Similarly, *jiezhe* is overused to translate English sequential markers into Chinese.

These phenomena confirm that the use of sequential markers is higher in English than in Chinese. As shown in 4.2., in English, when two eventualities do not overlap and occur in a sequence, a marker is generally used to code the relation between the two eventualities. Conversely in Chinese, the aspect of the eventuality generally provides enough information as to whether the eventualities overlap or occur in a sequence. Thus, sequential markers are less frequently used in Chinese than in English. In (52) below for instance, sequential *then* is not translated in Chinese. In both source and target text, Eventuality A ‘repeat the names’ and Eventuality B ‘shake one’s head’ are understood to occur in a sequence.

- (52) a. Sophie repeated the names silently in her mind and **then** shook her head.  
 b. Sophie repeated the names silently in her mind and shook her head.

蘇菲 在 心 中 默 唸 那 兩 個 姓 氏 ， 搖 搖 頭 。 (ENC)  
 Sūfēi zài xīnzhōng mò niàn nà liǎng gè xìngshì, yáoyáo tóu.  
 Sophie in one’s heart silent say that two CI name shake-shake head

In Chinese, the juxtaposition of clauses with a zero marker is typically interpreted as a juxtaposition of the eventualities in the narrative time. Conversely in English, clauses are often – although not always - linked together by a connector. The last clause of a series of coordinated clauses in particular must be introduced by a connector. Thus in example (52), the connector *and then* cannot be altogether dropped. Although the connector *and* is often compatible with sequence, it does not necessarily imply it, and if the two related eventualities are qualitatively compatible, they can be interpreted to overlap as in (52)b. The use of sequential *then* on the other hand implies a sequence at least between the left endpoint of Eventuality A and the left endpoint of Eventuality B.



Thus, whereas in Chinese a zero marking is by default interpreted as sequence marking, in English coordinators and more precisely sequential markers such as *then* are necessary to organise eventualities in sequences.

As we saw in Chapter 2 and 5, the tendency is reversed as far as referential time markers are concerned. Chinese tends to use an important number of locating adverbs such as *xianzai* and *nashi* to anchor the eventuality in time relative to the situation, while English uses less markers like referential *then* because tense already provides an anchoring. Thus, ultimately, it seems that the variation in use of referential and sequential markers in English and Chinese is related to their whole temporal system. An aspectual language such as Chinese does not necessarily need to mark sequence explicitly because aspectual markers such as verbal *-le* already provide information as to sequencing. In the absence of aspectual marking, speakers will rely on the lexical aspect of the eventualities to interpret their relations, because they are used to rely on aspect to interpret temporal relations. Conversely, a tensed language such as English does not need anchoring markers as much as Chinese does, because tense already provides temporal anchoring. This is confirmed by Tsai (2008) who shows that English and Chinese function in different ways in terms of event anchoring:

In English, the event variable is spelled out by default thanks to its full-fledged tense morphology. Chinese, by contrast, employs all sorts of eventuality construals such as event quantification, event coordination, event subordination, and event modification to bring out the event variable (...). (Tsai 2008: 681)

Thus, while English speakers rely mostly on tense for temporal location and on sequential markers to code relations between eventualities, Chinese relies mostly on temporal markers to code temporal location and on aspectual information to code relations between eventualities.

## 6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have shown that the sequential correspondences of temporal *then* are very specialised. The congruent correspondences of sequential *then* can be organised along a continuum from strong semantic content to weak semantic content. On the one hand, *ranhou*, which has evolved into an additive marker, has lost its ability to select a topic time for

Eventuality B because it does not coerce a sequential reading of the eventualities. Its semantic content is very weak and it is closer in meaning to the conjunction *and* than to the foregrounding sequential marker *then*. On the other hand, *houlai* is a referential marker which coerces a sequential meaning and implies rupture between the two eventualities. It is incompatible with an overlapping reading of the eventualities. It is less flexible than sequential *then* because it has a stronger semantic content. Between these two markers, *jiezhe* is closest to sequential *then* both in meaning and function: it codes direct consecution, foregrounds Eventuality B, and is compatible with overlapping as well as with non-overlapping eventualities.

These markers can all combine with reinforcing adverbs such as *jiu*, *cai*, *you* and *zai*. As a correspondence of sequential *then*, *ranhou* is the most likely to combine with another marker reinforcing its sequential value.

Finally, another important correspondence of sequential *then* is the perfective marker *-le*, which attaches to Eventuality A. We have shown that verbal *-le* occurs alone as a correspondence of sequential *then* when the sequence corresponds to a known and accepted procedure. Conversely, when the two eventualities are not ideationally related, or when their ideational relation is judged distant by the speaker, she will prefer to code sequence by introducing Eventuality B with a sequential marker or reinforcing adverb.

Table 14 below recapitulates the various properties of each correspondence of sequential *then*.

**Table 14** - Sequential *then* and its Chinese correspondences: recapitulative table

	Sequential <i>then</i>	<i>ranhou</i>	<i>jiezhe</i>	<i>houlai</i>	Verbal <i>-le</i> in clause A
Has referential content	No	No	No	Yes	No
Selects a topic time for Eventuality B	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Implies overlap of Eventuality Time and topic time of Eventuality B	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Functions anaphorically	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Implies a non-overlap of Eventuality A and the topic time of Eventuality B	No	No	No	Yes	No
Is a foregrounding marker	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No

Finally, we have shown that English and Chinese make different use of sequential markers. While English tends to rely on such devices to code temporal relations between eventualities, Chinese is more likely to infer temporal relations between eventualities from aspectual information.

## Conclusion Part II

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Through the study of temporal *then* and its Chinese correspondences, we have examined issues related to temporal location and the expression of temporal relations in Chinese and English. The English marker *then* can be used either to refer to a time interval or time point, or to open a time interval non-overlapping with the left boundary time interval of a previous eventuality, thus coding sequence between two eventualities. Although the two realisations of temporal *then* can be considered to correspond to two different markers, there is a clear connection between the two, as demonstrated by the mixed meaning of some occurrences displaying both referential and sequential functions and properties. Both referential and sequential *then* select a topic time interval for Eventuality B.

The study of the Chinese correspondences of temporal *then* has revealed that while temporal *then* is a very flexible and versatile marker, things are more clear-cut in Chinese, and that referential as well as sequential markers are more specialised than in English.

We have studied three referential equivalents of *then*, namely *nashi*, *dangshi* and *zheshi*. These three markers are anaphoric and refer to a predetermined reference time. Moreover, *zheshi* and *nashi*, respectively, have a proximal and distal deictic value. We showed that in English, proximal deictics such as *now* are used predominantly in interaction to refer to the time of speech, while distal deictics such as *then* are mostly used in narration to refer to a past time. Conversely, in Mandarin, the distal deictic *nashi* is used in interaction to refer to a past time, while the proximal marker *zheshi* is used in narration to refer to the ‘present’ of the character. This opposition is due to the non-shifting nature of narration in Chinese.

Our analysis has shown that *nashi* has a distal use: it is used mostly in the narration of past events to locate eventualities at a predefined time interval necessarily anterior to the time of speech, or to locate anticipated events in the future, *i.e.* at a time point distant from the time of speech and posterior to it. Its distal function is very similar to that of referential *then*. However, while referential *then* is widely used in English novels in combination with past tense to code distance from the *now*-point, it is not used in Chinese for the narration of events because the absence of past tenses in Chinese implies that there is no distance between the present of the narrator and the *now*-point. *Dangshi* is used to code continuity between the circumstances of Eventuality A and the circumstances of Eventuality B. Thus, it often locates a background eventuality, and is used virtually exclusively in narration. It corresponds to the use of *then* with stative or imperfective eventualities. Finally, *zheshi*, with its proximal meaning, is used to code immediacy and indicates that the two eventualities are so closely bound that the relation between the right boundary of Eventuality A and the left boundary of Eventuality B is blurred. Thus, although it is clearly referential in Chinese, *zheshi*, which codes both sequence and time location, often corresponds to mixed occurrences of *then*.

Similarly, the three congruent correspondences of sequential *then* studied in Chapter 6 help identify various functions of sequential *then*: while *houlai* is a referential marker coding sequence, *ranhou* is closer to a conjunction and *jiezhe* is consistently sequential. Here again, the markers can be organised on a continuum ranging from a referential or semantically strong pole to a non-referential and semantically weak one. *Ranhou*, with its weakening as a sequential marker is situated on the far non-referential end. Markers on that end have no referential content and a weak sequential meaning: they can take on a pragmatic function. The pragmatic use of *ranhou* can be compared to that of additive *then*, and it seems that both markers follow the same path from sequentiality to additive meaning. We will look into this in more detail in Chapter 9.

We have seen that sequence marking is not as frequent in Chinese as in English, while the use of locating adverbials is more frequent in Chinese than in English. This last tendency was already made evident in Part I of this work, in which we found that the adverb *xianzai* ‘now’ was used more frequently with a situational function than English *now*, which is mostly used for its contrastive value. We have argued that these inversed tendencies can be explained by the fact that the Chinese temporal system is based on aspect marking while the English temporal system

is based on tense. Thus, Chinese eventualities are marked aspectually, thereby providing information as to the temporal relations between eventualities and therefore often rendering the use of sequential markers superfluous. Conversely, English eventualities are marked for tense, *i.e.* they are located in time relative to the temporal *origo* or reference point of the utterance, which often means that lexical markers of temporal location are redundant.

Note that like *now* and *then*, several of the Chinese markers under study have pragmatic uses. This is the case of *ranhou* which can have an additive function and of the demonstrative *na(me)* which has various pragmatic uses. Moreover, the final particle *le* studied in Part I has a strong intersubjective function, and like *now*, it is a coordinator of common ground and can be used as an attitudinal marker. In Part III, we examine the pragmatic uses of *now* and *then*, as well as their Mandarin correspondences. We attempt to shed some light on the links between temporal deixis and anaphora and pragmatic functions. More precisely, we argue that it is their deictic and anaphoric nature that make *now* and *then* ideal candidates to become pragmatic markers. Similarly in Chinese, deictic and/or anaphoric markers such as *na* are more likely to take on a pragmatic function. We also look at the notion of temporal contrast and argue that the possession of this function, which is a core function of *now* and its Chinese correspondence final *le*, is particularly conducive to the development of a marker from a temporal marker into a pragmatic marker.

In Chapter 7, we will look at the pragmatic functions of *now*, which can be organised into two categories: text-structuring functions and interpersonal functions. We show that the text-structuring functions of *now* are based on its contrastive meaning while its interpersonal functions draw on its proximal deictic meaning. In Chapter 8, we examine the pragmatic functions of *then*. Finally in Chapter 9, we contrast the pragmatic markers *now* and *then* to their Chinese correspondences.

## Part III

# *Now* and *Then* and their Mandarin equivalents: non-temporal functions

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In this third part, we focus on the non-temporal occurrences of *now* and *then* in our corpora, and contrast them with their Chinese correspondences. Non-temporal uses of *now* and *then* mostly correspond to pragmatic uses in which the adverbs are in great part bleached and do not have much semantic content. Our objective is to identify to what extent the temporal traits of each marker identified in Part I and Part II account for their functions as pragmatic markers. Furthermore, we use contrastive analysis to determine whether a similar pattern is followed by the Chinese markers, and whether the correspondences of temporal *then* and *now* have evolved into pragmatic markers along the same lines as the English markers.

To this end, we explore all non-temporal uses of *now* and *then*, including borderline uses of *now* as well as some uses in which *then* is not traditionally considered to be a pragmatic marker (henceforth PM) but rather a connective. This includes for instance the logical use of *then* in conditional structures, which Schiffrin (1987) does not include in her study of *then* as a PM. Correspondingly, we examine the Mandarin correspondences of non-temporal *now* and *then*. Among these correspondences, we focus more particularly on final particle *le*, which was identified as an equivalent of *now* in Chapter 3 and which can be used non-temporally. We are also interested in the non-temporal uses of the marker *na(me)* ‘in this case’ and the connective *ranhou* ‘then, after that’ which are non-temporal correspondences of *then*. We will argue that the

line between the temporal and the pragmatic functions of each marker is not clear-cut, and therefore put forward the idea that their respective panels of functions are better understood as continuums spanning from [+temporal] to [+pragmatic]. Thus, we will have to determine to what extent each use of *now* and *then* and of their Mandarin correspondences does - or does not - qualify as a PM.

In Chapter 7, we analyse the pragmatic uses of *now*, and find that they stem from its temporal meanings of contrast and proximal deixis. In Chapter 8, we focus on the non-temporal uses of the marker *then*. We argue that the functions of non-temporal *then* have developed along two distinct paths, with causal and additive uses stemming from the sequential use of temporal *then* while conditional uses stem from the referential function of temporal *then*. Finally, Chapter 9 presents a contrastive analysis of the non-temporal uses of the English markers and their Mandarin equivalents. We find that the equivalents of PM *now* reflect its fundamentally contrastive meaning, while the equivalents of non-temporal *then* reflect its continuative meaning.



# Chapter 7

## *Now* as a pragmatic marker

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When *now* is used non-temporally, it is generally sentence-initial, almost or completely devoid of semantic meaning, and has a textual and/or interpersonal function. The pragmatic functions of *now* are all derived from its temporal uses. More precisely, we argue that the pragmatic functions of *now* emerge from its two main temporal features: temporal contrast and proximal deixis. We will first examine the notion of pragmatic marker and look at the literature on the pragmatic uses of *now* (Section 1). Then, we will discuss the functions of pragmatic *now* found in our English corpora and propose a classification of these functions (Section 2). In Section 3, we will study the distribution of pragmatic *now* in the corpora, distinguishing between its various functions. Finally, Section 4 endeavours to provide a unified account of the meaning of pragmatic *now* with reference to its temporal functions of deixis and contrast.

### 1. Pragmatic *now*: literature review and definitions

In order to study *now* as a pragmatic marker, we need to define the term *pragmatic marker* (PM) (1.1.). Having reviewed various definitions of pragmatic markers and determined the use we make of this term in this study, we will discuss the existing literature on pragmatic *now* (1.2.).

#### 1.1. Pragmatic marker: definition

What we call pragmatic markers have received many other labels. The most common terms found in the literature are *discourse marker* (DM) and *pragmatic marker* (PM). Following

Brinton (1996), we use the term *pragmatic marker* because it “better captures the range of functions filled by these items” (Brinton 1996: 30). Various linguists have given varying definitions of PMs. Schiffrin (1987) explains that markers bracket units of talk, that they appear to be multifunctional, are never obligatory, and come from various syntactic categories (Schiffrin 1987: 64). Fraser (1998) insists on the textual function of what he calls discourse markers. According to him, their main feature is that they are procedural and provide information as to the relationship between two segments of discourse:

Although drawn primarily from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbials, and prepositional phrases, they do not play the role in a sentence that their classes would suggest, but instead, they are separate from the propositional content of the sentence and function to signal the relationship between the segment of discourse they introduce, S2, and the prior segment of discourse, S1. Their meaning is procedural, not conceptual, with each discourse marker providing information on how to interpret the message conveyed by S2 vis-à-vis the interpretation of S1. (Fraser 1998: 302)

Liu (2011) studies Chinese pragmatic markers. She draws from Schiffrin (1987), Brinton (1996) and Ajimer (2002) and finds that PMs have phonological, syntactical and semantic properties:

First, they are grammatically optional or syntactically independent; without the DM, the grammaticality of the utterance remains intact. Second, they have little or no propositional meaning. If the DM is removed from the utterance, the semantic relationship between the elements they connect remains the same. Third, they have textual and/or interpersonal functions. Phonological features are a good reference for judgment of a DM; however, since some markers show phonological features more than other markers, phonological features are not a restricted criterion in this study for discourse markerhood. (Liu 2011: 369)

Brinton notes that although PMs are syntactically optional, their omission would often result in a communication breakdown:

While pragmatic markers are grammatically optional and semantically empty, they are not pragmatically optional or superfluous: they serve a variety of pragmatic functions (Brown 1977: 107; Svartvik 1979; Erman 1987: 2). If such markers are omitted, the discourse is grammatically acceptable, but would be judged “unnatural, “awkward”, “disjointed”, “impolite”, “unfriendly”, or “dogmatic” within the communicative context. (Brinton 1996: 36)

Brinton (1996) explains that pragmatic markers have two functions: an interpersonal and a textual function.<sup>1</sup> When they have an interpersonal function, they are attitudinal markers used by the speaker with a view to establishing a relation with the speaker. When their function is textual, they are used to connect discourse and create cohesion between parts of discourse.

Thus, PMs display a set of textual functions and a set of interpersonal functions. Brinton identifies seven textual functions and two interpersonal functions:

#### Textual functions

1. to initiate discourse, including claiming the attention of the hearer, and to close discourse;
2. to aid the speaker in acquiring or relinquishing the floor;
3. to serve as a filler or delaying tactic used to sustain discourse or hold the floor;
4. to mark a boundary in discourse, that is, to indicate a new topic, a partial shift in topic (correction, elaboration, specification, expansion), or the resumption of an earlier topic (after an interruption);
5. to denote either new information or old information
6. to mark sequential dependence, to constrain the relevance of one clause to the preceding clause by making explicit the conversational implicatures relating the two clauses, or to indicate by means of conventional implicatures how an utterance matches cooperative principles of conversation;
7. to repair one's own or others' discourse. (Brinton 1996: 37)

#### Interpersonal functions

1. subjectively, to express a response or a reaction to the preceding discourse or attitude towards the following discourse, including also back-channel signals of understanding and continued attention spoken while another speaker is having his/her turn and perhaps hedges expressing speaker tentativeness;
2. interpersonally, to effect cooperation, sharing, or intimacy between speaker and hearer, including confirming shared assumptions, checking or expressing understanding, requesting confirmation, expressing deference, or saving face (politeness). (Brinton 1996: 37-38)

PMs are multifunctional and can display several functions in the same utterance. Thus, we will see that *now* has a textual function of discourse organisation insofar as it can be used by the speaker to acquire the floor (2), and/or to open a new topic (4) and/or to provide new information (5); and it generally also has an interpersonal function since in many cases its use reaffirms a

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<sup>1</sup> These functions correspond to two of the three functions of language identified by Halliday (1970). The third mode proposed by Halliday is the 'ideational' mode, which is concerned with propositional meaning.

relationship of proximity between the hearer and the speaker and in doing so aims at ensuring the cooperation of the hearer (9).

## **1.2. *Now* as a pragmatic marker: previous studies**

The role of *now* as a pragmatic marker has aroused a great deal of interest. When *now* occurs in sentence-initial position it can relinquish its temporal value and become a pragmatic marker (Nef 1980; Quirk *et al.* 1985; Boucher 1986, 1993; Schiffrin 1987; Brunaud 1991; Noël 1996; Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Celle 2004; Defour 2007; *etc.*).<sup>2</sup> However, it must be noted that the boundary between the temporal and pragmatic uses of *now* is not absolute, and it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between the two (Schiffrin 1987; Defour 2007). This is linked to the fact that pragmatic *now* retains some components of its temporal meaning. In this study, we call these ambiguous occurrences ‘borderline’ cases. In this section, we review some treatments of *now* as a PM.

### **1.2.1. Schiffrin (1987)**

Schiffrin identifies textual and interpersonal functions for *now*. She explains that textual *now* is a marker of the speaker’s progression in discourse. It guides the hearer through the topical development of discourse: “*Now* occurs in discourse in which the speaker progresses through a cumulative series of subordinate units” (Schiffrin 1987: 232). Therefore, according to Schiffrin, *now* is used to articulate comparisons, lists or arguments. When the speaker is comparing two elements, disagreeing with something that was said or implied and stating her opinion on a disputable topic, she uses *now* to introduce a comparison and to guide the hearer through the discourse progression. *Now* focusses the attention of the hearer on the upcoming topic and highlights the cumulative nature of discourse. In such cases *now* has a textual function: it is used to improve the cohesion of discourse and guide the hearer through successive subordinate parts.

Another function of PM *now* identified by Schiffrin is interpersonal: it has to do with what she calls orientation, *i.e.* “the stance which the speaker is taking toward what is being said” (Schiffrin 1987: 240). *Now* can be used to mark a shift in orientation, for instance to indicate a shift from storytelling to an evaluative stance or a shift from a declarative to an interrogative

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<sup>2</sup> We will see that pragmatic *now* can also occur in final position.

mode, in which case the hearer is called upon to participate in the discourse. *Now* is also used as a floor-holder “when the speaker needs to negotiate the right to control what will happen next in talk” (Schiffrin 1987: 241). She gives examples such as “now hold it” or “now listen to me”, in which the speaker is trying to (re)gain control of the topical development of discourse. The speaker can also use *now* to try and ensure the support of the hearer, using a vocative: “now, Deborah, what did I say about [topic]”. In any case, *now* indicates that the speaker’s new move contrasts with what preceded. The use of *now* with vocatives or imperatives often echoes a prior resistance to a directive or an argument. Such a move corresponds to an appeal to the hearer to change footing and involve herself in the situation, going from passive participation to active participation in the development of the topical chain.

Finally, Schiffrin looks at the links between the use of the PM *now* and the meaning of temporal *now* as a marker of proximal deixis. She finds that PM *now* provides a temporal index in discourse time, which corresponds to the temporal relationships between utterances in discourse. She also explains that *now* is an ego-centred marker, focussing more on the speaker than on the hearer, which is due to its temporal meaning of proximal deixis. Finally, she shows that PM *now* is evaluative since proximal deictics are generally used to highlight glosses favoured by the speaker.

Schiffrin’s findings are verified in our corpus, and we draw on the interpersonal function of topic-control negotiation that she identifies to explain the authoritative use of *now*. As we will see in Section 4, what she calls an “[invitation to the] hearer to adjust the participation framework” (Schiffrin 1987: 244) is reminiscent of the function of appeal for coordination of the common ground structure attributed to the Chinese final particle *le* by Van den Berg & Wu (2006). As for the use of *now* in comparative movements to introduce a new subordinate unit, we will attempt to show that it is a direct pendant of the contrastive function of temporal *now*.

### 1.2.2. Boucher (1986, 1993)

Boucher examines the use of pragmatic *now* in narration. He finds that in narration, *now* has a connective function, and might be used to introduce a new episode in the narrative. He calls it the “storyteller’s *now*” and explains that it marks a transition in the narrative and creates

dramatic tension. It often occurs to introduce key eventualities, *i.e.* eventualities that lead the narrative towards its denouement, and calls for a re-evaluation of the situation. He gives example 0 below as an illustration of the storyteller's *now*.

- (1) There was a boy, Pete. **Now**, Pete had a dog... (Boucher 1986)

This use corresponds to the textual use of *now* identified by Schiffrin: it is used to mark the progression of the speaker in discourse time. In example (2) given by Schiffrin, *now* marks an ideational progression in the speakers' explanations.

- (2) So, Russia was split down in the middle. **Now**, the reason why Catholicism was able to creep into Poland [continue] (Schiffrin 1987: 237)

Following Fryd (1991), Boucher argues that PM *now* in discourse has a transitional value, and is used to make the discontinuity between two eventualities more visible. He explains that *now* is a boundary marker which opens a new enunciative interval: "each use of *now* "sets the referential clock at zero", to paraphrase Benveniste (1966)" (Boucher 1993: 14). Thus, Boucher proposes a representation of passing time as a constant adjustment of the articulation between what precedes the present time point and what follows it. According to him, temporal *now* establishes the rupture point between these two time intervals, and pragmatic *now* retains this function of rupture. It has a connective meaning because it articulates two moments in the narrative. He identifies the function of rupture and separation as the core meaning of *now*. We base our analysis on a similar premise: we argue that one of the core meanings of *now* is contrast.

In interaction, Boucher (1993) analyses *now* as a mark of the speaker's control of discourse production and his involvement of the hearer in the process. Moreover, he explains that pragmatic *now* focusses the attention on the speaker. Boucher also looks at compound PMs such as *now now*, *now then*, *there now*, and *here now*. He explains that the left-hand marker has a speaker-centered function while the right-hand marker has a hearer-centered function. Accordingly, *now now* is generally used to interrupt the verbal flow of the interlocutor. With *now now*, the speaker first calls attention to himself with the first marker before centering the attention on the hearer with the second marker and calling for a change in his verbal production.

*Now then* is used to introduce a new and logical eventuality. The first marker draws the attention to the speaker, and the second marker marks a transition to new material, congruent with what has just been said. *There now* is a marker of empathy: *there* indicates the speaker's desire to comfort the hearer and *now* indicates that the speaker expects a transition towards a more positive behavior from the hearer. *Here now* corresponds to a protest from the speaker: *here* signals to the hearer that he has invaded the personal sphere of the speaker and *now* corresponds to a call for a change. We did not find any occurrences of such compounds in the corpora.

### 1.2.3. Celle (1999, 2004)

Celle compares *now* with the German time adverbs *nun* and *jetzt* (1999), and with the French marker *maintenant* (2004). She finds that unlike *jetzt* and *nun*, *now* in initial position has an injunctive value. It is used in dialogues with a view to (re)activating mechanisms of intersubjectivity when the hearer is trying to end the conversation.

Comparing *now* and *maintenant*, Celle finds that the two markers introduce a bifurcation in the enunciation from assertive to non-assertive speech. Thus pragmatic *now* is often followed by hypothetical or interrogative clauses which correspond to an appeal to the hearer to provide an answer or at least to take an active part in the enunciation (Celle 2004: 92). Therefore, like Schiffrin (1987), she finds that the use of *now* establishes an intersubjective relationship between the speaker and the hearer. Unlike the non-temporal use of *maintenant* (P, *maintenant* Q) in which the validation of Q can lead to a conclusion opposed to the expectations built by P, the use of *now* does not open a domain in contradiction to that of P. Whereas *maintenant* introduces a rectifying concession (“concession rectificative” (Celle 2004: 95)), *now* opens a new non-assertive domain in which the validation of the relation is left to the hearer. Thus Q does not rectify P in any way, but on the contrary corresponds to an appeal to the hearer to confirm the assertion built in P as in example (3) below in which the speaker calls for a universal confirmation of P.

- (3) ‘American society’, she said, (...) ‘not only sanctions gross and unfair relations among men, but it encourages them. **Now**, can that be denied? No. (...)’ (Celle 2004: 98)

Celle further explains that the intersubjective quality of the domain opened by pragmatic *now* explains its use whenever the speaker aims at changing or improving a state of affairs, for instance when *now* is followed by an imperative, as in *Now, James, don't lose your temper* (Celle 2004: 100). Turning to the use of *now* to articulate reasoning, she notes that the clause Q introduced by *now* cannot correspond to the conclusion of the reasoning. It indicates that considering P, and considering Q different from P, some consequence can be drawn from Q (Celle 2004: 103). *Now* cannot introduce a qualitative stabilisation necessary for conclusiveness. Another operation is needed to reach a conclusion. This use of *now* corresponds to Boucher's storyteller's *now*, which also implies a structure of the type P, *now* Q, *thus* R. It also corresponds to Schiffrin's use of *now* to introduce a new subordinate segment and mark the speaker's progression in discourse while guiding the hearer through it.

#### **1.2.4. Aijmer (2002)**

In her study of English discourse particles, Aijmer (2002) examines *now* and argues that it has a discourse-organising function. Like Schiffrin (1987), she points out that the delimitation between the temporal and non-temporal uses of *now* is fuzzy. She looks at the grammaticalisation process of *now* and argues that the temporal meaning of *now* still colours the meaning of the PM (Aijmer 2002: 63). Following Bolinger (1989) she analyses the collocation *now then* as a marker of “transition to something new resulting in a fresh look on a state of affairs” (Aijmer 2002: 65). She notes that PM *now* is generally unstressed and is separated from the rest of the utterance by a pause.

She draws a link between the temporal and the pragmatic functions of *now*: “the core meaning ‘at the present moment’ of *now* explains that it functions as a stepping-stone to a new topic, new argument or new stage in a narrative” (Aijmer 2002: 70). Accordingly, she argues that *now* has developed into a “connective particle with propulsive or emphatic function which is typically used to mark changes or switches in the argument or narrative” (Aijmer 2002: 72).

She identifies two main discourse functions for *now*: textual and affective. Aijmer distinguishes between the textual use of *now* in dialogues for turntaking purposes and its use in monologues for text-organisation purposes. She identifies several textual functions for *now*:



topic-changer, frame between discourse units, turntaking, articulation of subtopics, marking steps in an argument or a narrative, listing. She also examines cases in which *now* has a backgrounding effect, *i.e.* when it introduces an elaboration on a subtopic or an explanation or clarification.

Further, she explains that *now* sometimes has an affective meaning, notably when it introduces a shift to an evaluative stance and is followed by other markers with affective meaning such as ‘that’s dreadful’ or ‘this is gorgeous’. It is also affective when it introduces a disclaimer indicating that the opinion of the speaker is not to be aligned with that of others (Aijmer 2002: 92), as in ‘now I think’, ‘now I do believe’. *Now* is also affective when it introduces a question changing the footing from the speaker’s perspective to the hearer’s, and when its function is to enable the speaker to take control of the conversational floor (*now wait a moment*). In that case Aijmer analyses *now* as a hearer-oriented intensifier which aims at expressing urgency. Thus, she highlights the fact that *now* is a subjective marker qualifying the attitude of the speaker regarding the speech.

#### 1.2.5. Hasselgård (2006)

Following Halliday (1994), Hasselgård (2006) considers that the textual use of *now* is continuative, insofar as it draws attention to the upcoming discourse. It can be a topic-changer when the speaker introduces a new topic, an attention-getter when the speaker issues a warning or takes control of the conversational floor, or an affective marker with a soothing effect. In that case, she notes that it can collocate with *there* as in *there now* (Hasselgård 2006: 105). She explains that with the affective use of *now*, “the soothing effect is most likely achieved because *now* expresses the speaker’s personal involvement” (*ibid.*).

In her corpus, she finds occurrences of continuative *now* in final position (*Did he now?*). Although she recognises that final pragmatic *now* has a cohesive function of continuation, she argues that it strongly resembles a final particle because it adds “a subjective flavour” to the utterance (*ibid.*) and could be replaced with *really*. We found final occurrences of pragmatic *now* in our corpus and will look into their functions in more detail in Section 2.4.2.3.

### 1.2.6. Defour (2007)

In her Ph.D. dissertation, Defour (2007) adopts a diachronic approach to compare the development of two PMs, namely *well* and *now*. In her study of *now*, she first presents a new classification drawing in great part from the analyses of Schiffrin (1987) and Aijmer (2002) for the discursive functions of *now*. She distinguishes between text-structuring functions and interpersonal functions, but adopts a classification that differs slightly from those of Aijmer's and Schiffrin's. She shows that the interpersonal functions of *now* are twofold: speaker-oriented and hearer-oriented.

Text-structuring functions:

1. Introducing a new topic
2. Indicating a shift from topic to subtopic, or between subtopics
3. Structuring or listing different steps in a narrative
4. Initiating parts of an argument which elaborate on preceding (sub)topic(s)

Interpersonal functions:

1. *Now* as an indicator of speaker-perspective
  - a) Speaker-control
  - b) Personal point of view and evaluation
  - c) Awareness of interpersonal differences
2. Interaction with the hearer
  - a) Change in footing: giving the hearer a chance to participate
  - b) Affective or intensifying meaning to create a sense of common ground

Textual function a) corresponds to the function of topic-changer identified by Aijmer (2002). The second textual function mixes what Schiffrin calls 'branching into subtopics' (Schiffrin 1987) which supposes a subordinate relation between the topic and the subtopic with what she refers to as the articulation between 'cumulative series of subtopics', which often implies an element of contrast. Aijmer also identifies *now* as a marker of a 'move between subtopics' (*ibid.*). Function c) mixes Aijmer's function 'marking steps in an argument or narrative' or what Schiffrin refers to as the introduction of a new sub-segment with the listing function mentioned both by Aijmer and Schiffrin. Function d) corresponds to one of the backgrounding functions of *now* identified by Aijmer, namely explanation or elaboration on a topic.

In the speaker-oriented interpersonal functions, function a) corresponds to the floor-holding function identified by Schiffrin, function b) corresponds to the shift to evaluation mentioned by both Schiffrin and Aijmer, and function c) corresponds to Aijmer's disclaimer function and the use of *now* to talk about what Schiffrin calls 'disputable' topics in order to show one's awareness of interpersonal differences about that topic (Schiffrin 1987: 235).

Finally, the hearer-oriented functions correspond a) to what Aijmer calls a change in footing' (Aijmer 2002: 93) and what Schiffrin refers to as a switch from declarative to interrogative speech; b) to Aijmer's 'hearer-oriented intensifier' (*ibid.*).

The advantage of Defour's classification is the distinction she makes between speaker-oriented and hearer-oriented functions. However, erasing the distinction between a subordinate move towards a subtopic and a simple move towards a new coordinated topic in the textual functions b) seems questionable insofar as subordination and coordination imply different mechanisms.

Turning to the grammaticalisation path of *now*, Defour argues that the use of *now* with past tense in narration, which is found as early as 1100 (Middle English period) can be considered a first step toward the textual use of *now* as a PM:

This temporal use of *now* offers an initial illustration of the speaker's authority in organising and directing a topical progression by referring to and by highlighting specific points within a larger discourse unit. In referring to narrative time, *now* can be used to indicate specific levels in the structure of a narrative. Though a propositional form, narrative *now* shows a close relationship to discourse strategies. In early stages of the evolution of *now*, contexts in which *now* refers to narrative time sometimes show slight overlap with functions that could be classified as textual. (Defour 2007: 193)

A second step, according to her, is the fact that *now* collocates with conjunctions such as *and*, *but*, and *so*, to convey respectively continuative, contrastive and resultative meanings.

This co-occurrence does entail a situational (topic) shift or a change in perspective from the speaker's point of view, and can therefore be seen as an initial steppingstone for the further transition between propositional meanings and text-structuring functions of *now*. (Defour 2007: 196)

Thus, Defour argues that the function of *now* as a topic-changer device originates in early collocations of temporal *now* with reinforcing elements such as *and*, *but* and *well*. Indeed, it seems that in early English *now* as an indicator of the opening of a new topic always co-occurs with a reinforcing element (Finell 1992).

However, this analysis does not take into consideration the fact that temporal *now* already has a contrastive meaning. In Part I, we have shown that temporal *now* in its contemporary use is fundamentally contrastive, and the example below taken from Defour (2007) and listed as a temporal example of *now* (*i.e.* referring to the present time) shows that *now* had a contrastive meaning as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, the use of *now* here implies the existence of a preceding time interval in which the eventuality ‘be time to harvest your said land’ was not valid.

- (4) **Now is tyme** for your maistershipp to mowe your said graunt. (CEECS, Stonor: 1424-1483)  
Translation: **Now it is time** for your mastership to harvest your said [*i.e.* as referred to] land. (Defour 2007: 189)

Thus, it could also be hypothesised that the contemporary textual topic-changing value of *now* originates in the fundamental contrastive value of temporal *now*, which is a marker of modal contrast between the eventuality that it locates at the time of speech and an antithetical anterior or posterior situation. What Finell (1992) and Defour call reinforcing markers might not be at the origin of the contrast attached to *now* as a topic-changer. Indeed, it could be argued that *and* in the topic-changing collocation *and now* has a continuative function and collocates with *now* to link the two topics together while *now* indicates that the topic on the right qualitatively contrasts with the topic on the left.

Following Quirk et al. (1985: 640), Defour shows that the text-structuring uses of *now* originate from collocations of *now* with verbs of speaking:

The semantic-pragmatic development of *now* is hypothesised to originate in a structure such as the following:

“[One can say] *now* [that...]” or “*Now* [I will say that...]”.

According to this structural frame, in which *now* co-occurs with a verb of speaking, the transition from a temporal adverb to a marker of discourse-structure evolves from a structure in which the speaker explicitly announces an upcoming topic change to the addressee. (Defour 2007: 197)

She explains that Old English *nu* ‘now’ is already used with verbs of speaking or verbs of hearing (*now you will hear...*) to mark a contrast between the previous and the upcoming discourse and direct the attention of the hearer to the upcoming discourse, making *now* a “typical switch-on signal” (Defour 2007: 212). *Now then* is already used in Old English with a bleaching of *now*, indicating that an intrinsic meaning of *now* is the taking into account of previous discourse steps. Indeed, in that expression *now* could be paraphrased as ‘in view of what has happened’ (Defour 2007: 215). Thus, Defour touches on the contrastive meaning of *now*, but she attributes it to its pragmatic use and does not imply that temporal *now* also has a fundamentally contrastive meaning:

As a temporal adverb, *now* indicates that something is assumed to be true at the time of speaking. As a discourse connective, *now* can signal that something is true because of what has been said in preceding utterances. (Defour 2007: 243)

From its use with verbs of speaking, Defour retraces the development of *now* as a pragmatic marker. In Middle English, *now* starts being used as a structuring device without verbs of speaking. It is used to introduce a new perspective, for elaboration and listing. *Now* is also used with imperatives with a propositional meaning, prefacing the hearer-oriented uses of *now* with metalinguistic expressions. In Early Modern English, the pragmatic uses of *now* diversify and *now* starts being used as a subjective and intersubjective marker indicating a shift to an evaluative stance or to an interrogative mode.

### 1.2.7. Ritz *et al.* (2012)

Ritz *et al.* (2012) look at the clitic *-rru* in Panyjima and explain that it displays functions of both *now* and *then*. One of its main functions, which it shares with *now*, is that of contrast, or rather temporal contrast. Indeed, they work within the Discourse Representation Theory framework (DRT) and explain that,

The relation of CONTRAST does not have any temporal properties, so it seems that what is needed here is a particular version of CONTRAST, maybe a relation of TEMPORAL CONTRAST, where a temporal order can be established. (Ritz *et al.* 2012: 68)

They link the development of *now* into a topic-changer to its contrastive property. Indeed, talking about the contrastive uses of temporal *now*, they argue that,

Such uses have led to the adverb becoming a discourse marker, where the contrastive value can be primary, with the adverb only involving the expression of a ‘subjective’ or ‘virtual’ time. (Ritz *et al.* 2012: 45)

Thus, according to Ritz *et al.*, there is a direct link between the temporal contrast inherent to the meaning of temporal *now* and the topic-changing function of pragmatic *now*. We support this idea and will look into it further in Sections 2 and 4.

## **2. Functions of Pragmatic *now* in our corpus**

In this section, we identify the various pragmatic functions of *now*. We argue that these functions are twofold: on the one hand, the textual functions of *now* build on its inherent contrastive meaning to organise the text. Indeed, the contrastive component attached to *now* endows it with the “propulsive force” that Aijmer talks of (Aijmer 2002). *Now* is therefore used to move narratives or arguments forward by successive contrasts such as changes of topics, comparisons, introduction of key information, *etc.*

On the other hand, we argue that the temporal deictic properties of *now* explain its development as an interpersonal marker. Indeed, temporal *now* is a marker of ‘deictic simultaneity’ (Lyons 1977: 685) insofar as unlike the entities referred to by personal or spatial deictics such as *I* or *here*, *now* refers to the same entity whether it is pronounced by one participant in the situation or another. Thus, *now* enlarges the temporal *origo* to all the participants in the situation and even as a temporal marker it can be considered to be a highly intersubjective marker. We show that the interpersonal functions of pragmatic *now* draw on the sharing of the temporal *origo* implied by temporal *now*, which become a marker that establishes a link between the speaker and the hearer.

## 2.1. Classification of the pragmatic functions of *now*

Drawing from all the studies mentioned in Section 1. as well as from our own observations, Table 1 below displays the classification of pragmatic *now* that we propose to adopt. We suggest that textual *now* is used for two different kinds of operations in terms of discourse progression. First, it is used to coordinate topics and eventualities, enabling the progression of the narrative or demonstration by highlighting the contrast between the topics or actions and focussing the attention on the upcoming speech. Sekali (2013) explains that with coordination, the linear organisation of clauses and phrases is significant, since it reflects the topical organisation of discourse. Thus, as a coordinator, *now* enables the speaker to ensure discourse progression without previous planning through successive shifts and updates. Second, *now* can be used to establish relations of subordination between topics, creating a non-conclusive bifurcation in the text with a view to providing some slightly digressive information which is presented as a key for the understanding of the narrative, or which aims at downtoning the upcoming speech, or disclaiming all responsibility for it. Indeed, as shown by Sekali (2013), with subordination the speaker does not rely on the linear organisation of discourse to organise topics, but on markers that enable her to go back and forth between foregrounded and backgrounded topics. *Now* can be such a marker: it operates a bifurcation to a background topic. However, for discourse cohesion, the speaker must come back to the main line of discourse after the digression, which explains why when *now* operates as a topic subordinator it is non-conclusive. Thus, the use of *now* to subordinate a topic requires planning. Note that coordination as a mode of discourse organisation opposed to subordination must be distinguished from the notion of coordination of the common ground, that we consider a key notion to understand the function of PM *now*. Common ground coordination designates the process through which the participants in a conversation adjust the mental representations they have of the shared knowledge existing between them and the other participants in the conversation. We will see in Section 4 that *now* triggers common ground coordination.

As for the interpersonal uses of *now*, they also fall into two categories, as suggested by Defour (2007). On the one hand, the speaker can use *now* to emphasise her own perspective in an attempt to keep or regain control of the speech process. She might be coordinating on a topic change operated by the hearer in order to regain control of the topic development, she might be

trying to hold the floor and retain the control of the speech development, or she might be proposing an evaluation of the situation. On the other hand, the speaker can build on the intersubjective component of *now* to try and influence the speaker's behaviour. She can be directly encouraging the hearer to participate in the exchange, or adopting a non-assertive stance (rhetorical questions, hypothetical statements) in order to win the adhesion of the hearer, or she might be (re)asserting her authority on the hearer in order to ensure her cooperation.

**Table 1** - Pragmatic functions of *now*

<b>TEXTUAL</b>		<b>INTERPERSONAL</b>	
<b>Topic Coordination</b> Mode of discourse progression: Contrast	<b>Topic subordination</b> Mode of discourse progression: Bifurcation	<b>Speaker-Oriented</b> Objective: controlling the discourse	<b>Hearer-Oriented</b> Objective: controlling the hearer
- Comparison  - Topic Change (coordinating two topics or subtopics)  - Procedure (coordinating two successive actions)  - Listing	- Branching to a subtopic (storyteller's <i>now</i> , introduction of a key element) P, <i>now</i> Q, <i>thus</i> R  - Disclaimer P, <i>now</i> Q, <i>but</i> R	- Coordinating on a topic change  - Floor-holding  - Evaluation	- Persuasion  - Change in footing (asking for speaker's participation)  - Assertion of authority

As noted by Schiffrin (1987), Aijmer (2002) and Defour (2007) among others, the distinction between the temporal and pragmatic uses of *now* is not always clear-cut, and borderline occurrences are frequent. Similarly, a sentence-initial occurrence of *now* can take on several pragmatic functions. Before looking at the pragmatic functions of *now* in more detail, let us examine some borderline occurrences.

## 2.2. Borderline cases

Borderline occurrences of *now* correspond to cases in which *now* retains a temporal meaning, *i.e.* can be interpreted to locate the eventuality at speech time, but also takes on one or several pragmatic functions. The most frequent occurrences of borderline *now* correspond to cases in which *now* is followed by a command. Indeed, in that case, *now* can be interpreted temporally to



indicate that the speaker requires the command to be performed right away, but it also has an intersubjective value.

### ***Now* + imperative**

In example (5) below, *now* is followed by an imperative. It retains some temporal meaning because it implies that the waitress should provide the information “now”, at the time of speech or directly after.

- (5) “I personally made it a point of honor never to pay more than five dollars for any of them,” said Wednesday. Then he turned to the hovering waitress. “**Now**, my dear, regale us with your description of the sumptuous desserts available to us on this, our Lord's natal day.” (ENC)

However, *now* also has an intersubjective function insofar as the speaker is encouraging the hearer to participate in the exchange by asserting his authority as a customer with a legitimate expectation of hearing the menu. Moreover, *now* also has a text-structuring function: it operates a clear change of focus in the situation, which is reflected in the body language of the character who turns from one hearer to the next, effectively shifting the focus and the topic of the exchange. The speaker initiates a new phase in the exchange, asserts his authority and asks for an answer at the time of speech.

### ***Now* + question**

In example (6), the characters have been waiting for a nearby police car to drive away. *Now* introduces a question directed at the hearer and has both temporal and pragmatic meanings.

- (6) The police car cruised past them slowly, then turned and went back into the city, accelerating down the snowy road. “**Now**, why don't you tell me what's troubling you,” said Shadow.

On the temporal plane, *now* could be glossed as ‘now that the police car is gone’ and indicates a contrast between the previous situation, in which the speaker could not ask the question because the presence of the police car precluded all discussion, and the current situation. *Now* opens a new time interval in which an antithetical situation is valid: as of S, the question can be asked. Thus, a change of state occurs with *now*. This example illustrates the way

*now* developed from a temporal marker of contrast into a cohesion marker coding textual progression. Indeed, it is the same contrastive component of *now* which enables a change-of-topic reading. *Now* operates a switch of focus from the police car situation to the hearer and his troubles. Finally, as in example (5), *now* introduces a request to the hearer to participate in the exchange, which corresponds to a change of footing.

### ***Now in a real-life procedure***

When *now* is used as a structuring device to articulate a procedure, it could be glossed as ‘now that this step of the procedure has been successfully carried out’. It retains its temporal meaning and designates the time of speech, but it is also used as a cohesive device to guide the hearer through the procedure step after step. In example (7), the character is describing what he is doing to guide the hearer through the procedure.

- (7) “Hey,” said Shadow to the girl. “You ever seen invisible powder before?” She hesitated. Then she shook her head. “Okay,” said Shadow. “Well, watch this.” Shadow pulled out a quarter with his left hand, held it up, tilting it from one side to another, then appeared to toss it into his right hand, closing his hand hard on nothing, and putting the hand forward. “**Now**,” he said, “I just take some invisible powder from my pocket...” and he reached his left hand into his breast pocket, dropping the quarter into the pocket as he did so, “...and I sprinkle it on the hand with the coin...” and he mimed sprinkling, “...and look-now the quarter's invisible too.” (ENC)

*Now* designates the time of speech: the speaker comments on what he is doing while doing it. However, it also marks a transition between two actions, one that is not verbalised (putting the hand forward) and one that is (take some invisible powder). More than pointing to the time of speech, *now* is a marker of sequence which coordinates two consecutive actions and focusses the attention on the upcoming one. By operating successive updates at the time of speech, coordinative *now* ensures discourse cohesion by indicating that the next predicate corresponds to the next topic.

### ***Now + imperative in a procedure***

In example (8), *now* introduces an imperative clause which corresponds to an order, but also to the second step of a procedure the steps of which are enunciated one by one by the speaker.

- (8) Vernet spoke more confidently now. “Mr. Langdon, pick up the box.” Langdon lifted the box. “**Now** bring it over to me.”

Although *now* retains some temporal meaning since the speaker’s message implies that the command should be carried out at the time of speech, *now* seems closer to a pragmatic use in terms of intonation. Indeed, the reader is more likely to imagine an unstressed *now* with a falling intonation. If *now* was stressed, its interpretation would be exclusively temporal and therefore contrastive: it would imply the existence of a previous antithetical situation. Thus, an exclusively temporal interpretation would only be felicitous if the speaker had previously implied that the box should not be brought over yet, later using *now* to mark a contrast anchored at the time of speech to indicate that the situation had changed and that the box could be brought over as of the time of speech. Here, on the contrary, *now* has an intersubjective value and is used to put the hearer under the sphere of influence of the speaker, to authoritatively coax him into performing the required action without demur. Thus, despite its temporal meaning, *now* displays both textual and intersubjective features: it structures a procedure and is used to remind the hearer of the speaker’s authority.

To sum up, in borderline cases *now* retains a temporal meaning while displaying pragmatic characteristics. We have also suggested that the pragmatic meaning of *now*, notably its textual propulsive function, can be related to its contrastive function as a temporal marker. The analyses so far have also shown that several pragmatic functions often coexist within one context. This suggests that the various functions of PM *now* are related and non-exclusive. Let us now look at the textual and interpersonal functions of PM *now* in more detail.

### 2.3. Textual functions of *now*

In its textual use, *now* is a text-structuring device used to coordinate or subordinate topics or eventualities while focussing the attention on the upcoming text. All the textual uses of *now* display contrastive components linked to the original temporal contrastive value of *now*. When two topics with a paradigmatic relation are coordinated by *now*, the opposition between them is direct, creating effects of comparison. When the two topics are not on the same level of topicality, either because they have a topic-subtopic relation or because they have different

statuses in terms of foreground/background, the opposition between them is slanted and indirect, creating an effect of bifurcation.

### **2.3.1. Topic coordination: contrast**

When *now* articulates two entities that are on the same topical and paradigmatic level, it establishes a contrast between the two. Thus, it can be used for direct comparison, for topic change, or to dynamically articulate sequences of actions. In all those cases, the contrastive meaning of *now* and its inchoative value as a temporal marker endow it with a propulsive force as a PM (Aijmer 2002), and while opposing it with what precedes *now* focusses on the upcoming discourse, indicating that it is favoured by the speaker. In direct comparison, the speaker generally indicates that the second term of the comparison has her preference; when *now* operates a change of topic it indicates that the upcoming topic is, as of S, favoured by the speaker, and when listing actions *now* operates a rupture, indicating a dismissal of what precedes and focussing the attention on the upcoming move.

#### **2.3.1.1. Comparison**

When *now* articulates two discourse segments describing each a state of affairs, its function is to emphasise the qualitative contrast between the two states of affairs, as noted by Schiffrin (1987). Indeed in its temporal use, *now* typically indicates a polarised contrast between a previous and a current situation. In discourse, the contrast is not temporal but qualitative. In example (9), the left context describes the operating mode of big funeral companies, and the right context describes the operating mode of independent funeral companies. *Now* articulates the two descriptions and contrasts them.

- (9) So when the big companies come in they buy the name of the company, they pay the funeral directors to stay on, they create the apparencey of diversity. But that is merely the tip of the gravestone. In reality, they are as local as Burger King. **Now**, for our own reasons, we are truly an independent. We do all our own embalming, and it's the finest embalming in the country, although nobody knows it but us. (ENC)

In the same way as temporal *now* focusses the situation valid at speech time, implying the existence of a previous antithetical situation, the textual contrastive use of *now* focusses the

upcoming description and ‘validates’ it, indicating that it is topically more relevant than the previous situation. The [-/+valid] opposition created by temporal *now* becomes a qualitative opposition of the type [-/+ positive] in its discursive use. As is the case with temporal *now*, the contrast might be inverted and the focus might be on the [-positive] entity as in example (10), although this configuration is less frequent. Indeed, as noted by Schiffrin, *now* is generally used to emphasise glosses favoured by the speaker (Schiffrin 1987). In example (9), the two entities being compared are “the big companies” vs. “we”, with *now* combining with the first person pronoun *we* to reveal the preference of the speaker. *Now* is a marker of qualitative opposition which could be glossed here as ‘contrastively’, ‘on the other hand’, ‘unlike them’.

- (10) WENDY: ... We can't afford to mess around with our car.  
 KEVIN: ... M\_m.  
 WENDY: You just can't. % We're \_\_ We're like, w \_ \_\_  
 KENDRA: .. Yeah, but I put great .. wipers on for five bucks. **Now** if yours cost ..  
 fifteen, that's ri[diculous]. (ECC)

In example (10), *now* contrasts the speaker’s situation with the hearer’s situation, attributing a [-positive] value to the hearer’s situation. *Now* is used to establish a contrast between two different situations and emphasise the fact that one is to be favoured over the other. Thus, the contrastive use of pragmatic *now* to compare two states of affairs often has an evaluative dimension, as shown by the evaluation that follows the *now*-clause: “that’s ridiculous”. This suggests that in situations of interaction, the speaker might have both textual and interpersonal motives to use pragmatic *now*. The fact that *now* can have several co-activated meanings shows that it is a multifunctional marker.

### 2.3.1.2. Topic change

*Now* can be used to introduce a new topic. In that case, *now* articulates two different topics; its contrastive meaning indicates that Topic B is different from Topic A and must now be focussed on. In example (11) below, the American President is on a diplomatic visit in London and has just come out of a political meeting with the British Prime Minister. The President comments on the meeting, and the Prime Minister assents before introducing a new topic.

- (11) PRESIDENT: Sorry if our line was firm, but there's no point in tiptoeing around today, then just disappointing you for four years. I mean, I have plans and I plan to see them through.  
PM: Absolutely. **Now**, there is one final thing I think we should look at. It's very close to my heart. Just give me a second. (EFC)

*Now* has a framing function: it marks a transition between Topic A (the meeting) and Topic B (the last thing the Prime Minister wants to look at). On the one hand, it achieves the closure of Topic A already initiated by the corroborative adverb “absolutely” which, failing to provide new elements to feed Topic A, operated a stalling of discourse. On the other hand, it opens a new domain in which a new topic comes to the fore.

Similarly in example (12), Wednesday uses *now* to operate a complete change of topic, moving from considerations about Charles Atlas to the fact that the characters have time for lunch. *Now* has a pivotal function and ensures a smooth transition from the one to the other by heralding the change to come.

- (12) “Is that before or after your elderly Slavic Charles Atlas crushes my skull with one blow?” “His eyesight's going,” said Wednesday. “He'll probably miss you entirely. **Now**, we still have a little time to kill -the bank closes at midday on Saturdays, after all. Would you like lunch?” (ENC)

*Now* still retains a temporal component since it locates the change of topic in time and could be glossed as ‘let’s talk about something else now’. Thus, Schiffrin explains that pragmatic *now* becomes “a temporal index for the world within the utterance” (Schiffrin 1987: 245). In addition, its contrastive and inchoative functions focus the upcoming discourse and have a dynamic effect: *now* moves the discourse forward.

### 2.3.1.3. Procedure

Another coordinating function of *now* appears in procedural narratives. We have already given a borderline example of this use in (7); in fact as noted by Aijmer (2002) and Schiffrin (1987), this use of *now* is virtually always borderline insofar as a temporal component is always retrievable. *Now* is used in procedural narratives to coordinate eventualities, organising topics linearly. Aijmer calls this the ‘listing’ function of *now* (Aijmer 2002); Schiffrin talks about cumulative

series of topics. However, here, we differentiate between the procedural use of *now* and its listing use (*cf.* 2.3.1.4.). Indeed, the procedural use implies temporality since *now* articulates chronologically successive eventualities. Conversely the listing use of *now* does not involve any temporal aspect, as we will see in 2.3.1.4.

When *now* appears in a procedural narrative, the speaker is typically performing the actions as he speaks, or directing the hearer who is performing them. Thus, the time of the eventuality does coincide with the time of speech, or at least with the time interval that includes the time of speech, hence the temporal value of *now*. In examples (13) and (14), Kathy is tutoring Nathan who has trouble with mathematics. Nathan repeatedly uses *now* followed by non-assertive clauses to check every step of the reasoning he is supposed to carry out.

- (13) NATHAN: ... So if it's pointed this way, you just put another one pointing this way over here,  
 KATHY: ... Right.  
 NATHAN: ... Okay. (...) (SIGH) (SNIFF)  
 KATHY: ... (SWALLOW)  
 NATHAN: ... (YAWN) (H) ... **Now** I just get a common denominator for the whole=thi=ng?  
 KATHY: ... Mhm... Well, take out those absolute value things, they'll screw you up.  
 NATHAN: % Yeah... And **now** this'll be six, right? (SWALLOW) (Hx) Is that right?  
 KATHY: ... Mhm.  
 NATHAN: ... **Now** what do you do.  
 KATHY: ... Subtract three=... from the middle. (ECC)
- (14) NATHAN: (H) ... <P Two ex minus= .. ex squa=red, three ex minus tw=el=v=e, you get, <WH do that side, so you get .. ex WH>,whoa. I don't want to do that. Negativ=e ex squa=red, <WH<X two ex minus XX, two minus ex, (H) um, plus twelve XXXX X>WH>P>, (TSK) (TSK) (TSK) ... **Now** do you factor this? after you do that?  
 KATHY: ... Yeah. (ECC)

*Now* indicates that the previous step of the procedure has been carried out, and its deictic meaning indicates a resetting of the clocks to zero, *i.e.* to the time of speech (Boucher 1993). *Now* opens a new time interval in which the topic is going to be different – it concerns the next step of the procedure. Once more, the focus is on the upcoming discourse, and it is the contrastive meaning of *now* which enables it to move the procedure forward to the next step.

#### **2.3.1.4. Listing**

*Now* can be used in a list with cumulative topics, as in example (15) below, in which the focalising character is being told about the inhabitants of a building by one of them. The passage corresponds to Free Indirect Speech, mixing the voice of the omniscient narrator with that of the inhabitant who is speaking to the focalising character, hence the use of the third person to refer to the focalising character combined with passages of Direct Speech. The sentence inaugurated by pragmatic *now* corresponds to Direct Speech. The speaker is making a list of the people living in the building. *Now* introduces a new item on the list and focusses the attention on the upcoming item.

- (15) There were, he was informed while the coffee dipped, four other inhabitants of his apartment building -back when it was the Pilsen place the Pilsens lived in the downstairs flat and rented out the upper two flats, now their apartment, which was taken by a couple of young men, Mr. Holz and Mr. Neiman, they actually are a couple and when she said couple, Mr. Ainsel, Heavens, we have all kinds here, more than one kind of tree in the forest, although mostly those kind of people wind up in Madison or the Twin Cities, but truth to tell, nobody here gives it a second thought. They're in Key West for the winter, they'll be back in April, he'll meet them then. The thing about Lakeside is that it's a good town. **Now** next door to Mr. Ainsel, that's Marguerite Olsen and her little boy, a sweet lady, sweet, sweet lady, but she's had a hard life, still sweet as pie, and she works for the Lakeside News. (ENC)

We have seen that in its textual function, *now* can coordinate two discourse segments that are opposed with a view either to comparing them, generally implying a preference of the speaker for Topic B, or with a view to moving the conversation or narrative forward by changing topics, indicating that the upcoming topic must now be focussed on, or finally with a view to relating step by step a procedure being carried out under the eyes of or by the speaker.

#### **2.3.2. Topic subordination: bifurcation**

When *now* introduces a subtopic, some background information or some key information for the development of the narrative, this information or subtopic are non-conclusive (Celle 2004). Indeed, in that case, the two articulated topics are not on the same level: the upcoming topic is subordinated to the main topic, and the contrast established by *now* is slanted: it becomes a bifurcation. The speaker then generally comes back to the main topic line in a subsequent



discourse move. The clause introduced by *now* corresponds to a detour taken by the speaker for a specific reason. We first look at cases in which *now* branches into a subtopic, which often occurs in narration. Boucher (1993) calls this use of *now* the ‘storyteller’s *now*’. Then we will look at the disclaimer function of *now*, in which the bifurcation aims at detaching oneself from the contention of the main topic.

### 2.3.2.1. Branching to a subtopic

When *now* operates a bifurcation in a narrative, it is usually used to introduce a key element in the narrative. This new element corresponds to a subtopic. It generally corresponds to background information that is provided as a key to understand the narrative. It directs the attention of the hearer to what is coming and creates a sense of suspense by highlighting the fact that the new information is crucial to the development of the narrative. The non-conclusiveness of the discourse segment introduced by *now* is due to the indirectness of the contrast established: the bifurcation corresponds to an anomaly in the discourse line that needs to be fixed. It creates expectation because it is an irregularity that must be resolved. Thus, the pattern of the branching is usually as follows:

P, *now* Q, *thus* R.

In example (16), the narrator is relating a hunt that took place forty years ago. He uses *now* twice to introduce background information. The first occurrence of *now* emphasises the fact that the buck he missed was particularly big; the second occurrence introduces background information about the narrator’s physical condition at the time of the hunt.

- (16) I was out hunting once-hunting for deer, and this was oh, thirty, forty years back, and I shot at a buck, missed him, and sent him running off through the woods -this was over across the north end of the lake, up near where you'll be living, Mike. **Now** he was the finest buck I ever did see, twenty point, big as a small horse, no lie. **Now**, I'm younger and feistier back then than I am now, and though it had started snowing before Halloween that year, now it was Thanksgiving and there was clean snow on the ground, fresh as anything, and I could see the buck's footprints. (ENC)

Both discourse segments introduced by *now* are descriptive and the eventualities are stative. Thus, they are background information. But the use of *now* brings them to the foreground and

they are identified as key elements in the story. The first occurrence of *now* indicates that the size of the buck is key: the hearer is given to understand that because of the remarkable size of the buck, the speaker went after it. However, at that point in the narrative, the hearer does not know that the speaker went after the buck (which he did): the clause introduced by *now* opens the expectations of the hearer and creates suspense. Another interpretation for the foregrounding of the size of the buck is that this information leads to the conclusion that the buck is going to be difficult to catch:

P = the buck ran off

Q = *now* he was a big buck

R = *thus* he was going to be difficult to catch

This possible assumption is addressed in the next sentence. Indeed, this sentence is directly followed by another sentence introduced by *now*, which creates a new bifurcation in the narrative. The speaker indicates that he was younger and in better shape at the time of the hunt and that the buck's footprints were visible in the snow, with a view to invalidating possible assumptions on the part of the hearer regarding the speaker's capacity to catch the buck. Thus, while the first occurrence of *now* creates uncertainty regarding the success of the hunt, the second occurrence creates expectations of success.

P = the buck was going to be difficult to catch

Q = *now* I was young and strong and the trail was fresh

R = *thus* I caught it

*Now* can also be used in argumentative developments to introduce a bifurcation supposed to lead the hearer to a foregone conclusion. Thus, in example (17), the speaker is an old god trying to convince his fellow old gods to take action against the new gods of the land, which he argues are a threat to them.

- (17) “When the people came to America they brought us with them. They brought me, and Loki and Thor, Anansi and the Lion-God, Leprechauns and Kobolds and Banshees, Kubera and Frau Holle and Ashtaroth, and they brought you. (...) Soon enough, our people abandoned us, remembered us only as creatures of the old land, as things that had not come with them to the new. (...) We have, let us face it and admit it, little influence. (...) Old gods, here in this new land without gods.” Wednesday paused. He looked from one to another of his listeners, grave and statesmanlike. (...) Wednesday cleared his throat, and he spat, hard into the fire. (...) “**Now**, as all of you will have had reason aplenty to discover for yourselves, there are new gods growing in America, clinging to growing knots of belief: gods of credit card and freeway, of Internet and telephone, of radio and hospital and television, gods of plastic and of beeper and of neon. (...) They are aware of us, and they fear us, and they hate us (...). They will destroy us, if they can. It is time for us to band together. It is time for us to act.” (ENC)

His reasoning can be summed up as follows:

P = we are old gods losing power

Q = *now* there are new gods growing

R = *thus* we have to unite and fight them

*Now* introduces the key element of the argument: it is because new threatening gods are growing that the old ones should take action. *Now* articulates the argument and indicates that the topic it introduces is non-conclusive but must lead to a conclusion in the next move. In (17) below the speaker directly addresses the hearers in order to win them over and implies that the element Q is known to all with the insertion of “as all of you will have had reason aplenty to discover for yourselves”. He thus emphasises the universality of the key element and pressures the hearers to reach the same inevitable conclusion. It guides the hearer through the reasoning, pushing her to follow it.

The use of *now* to introduce a bifurcation in an argument in order to convince the hearer that the upcoming conclusion is the only one to be reached is linked to its interpersonal use in non-assertive contexts with a view to winning the hearer over to a specific cause, as we will see in 2.4.2. Thus, although this function of *now* is primarily textual, it can display some interpersonal traits.

Example (18), in which the conclusion to be reached is not provided by the speaker but inferred by the hearer, illustrates this characteristic of *now* as a non-conclusive marker: if the

speaker does not provide the conclusion himself, the discourse is left in a non-conclusive state which typically encourages the hearer to infer the conclusion for motives of communicational efficiency.

- (18) JIM: he's seen ... charges, to maintain a self-directed IRA, anywhere from forty (H) to a hundred fifty dollars. **Now** I think a hundred fifty dollars (H) is a lot, (H) [to maintain] a self-directed IRA.  
FRED: [Mhm]. [2So you mean2],  
JIM: [2%=2] --  
FRED: .. that you --w=e could pass that back to the customer? [That's] what you're saying,  
JIM: [Right]. Right. (ECC)

In (18), the bifurcation introduced by *now* corresponds to an evaluation of the hearer. This evaluation provides a different perspective on the situation. *Now* does not create a complete contrast but introduces an opinion that departs from the assumptions linked to the previous statement (that the charges are from 40 to 150 dollars). The fact that this is the regular charge range implies that people generally find it adequate, or at least that they accept it. With *now*, the speaker indicates that his opinion differs. His statement is non-conclusive but he chooses not to provide the conclusion of his reasoning immediately, to let the hearer come to the conclusion by himself, *i.e.* that this money should be passed back to the customer. Thus, *now* here also has a strong subjective and intersubjective function: it introduces an evaluation of the situation, and its non-conclusiveness is interpreted by the hearer as a call to provide the conclusive move himself.

To sum up, when *now* introduces a bifurcation in a narrative or a reasoning the new subtopic is non-conclusive and provides a key element that is going to lead to an inevitable conclusion. The topic introduced by *now* is subordinated to a topic yet to come, which accounts for the non-conclusiveness of the *now*-clause. The conclusive move comes back to the main line of the discourse and ends the bifurcation and non-conclusiveness attached to it. *Now* focusses the attention on the upcoming discourse and calls for a conclusive move. The non-conclusiveness attached to the topic introduced by *now* can be related to the open-ended nature of the time interval opened by temporal *now*. Lastly, although this pragmatic use of *now* is textual, it displays some interpersonal traits which crop up in many textual uses of *now*. Indeed, as we will show in 2.4., the use of *now* is highly subjective. As a pragmatic marker *now* retains the

subjective traits of temporal *now*, which is a shifter and implies a subjective point of view. Thus, pragmatic *now* can display several functions at the same time.

### 2.3.2.2. Disclaimer

*Now* is often used in discourse to introduce some nuance to a previous statement and shift the responsibility of the previous statement from the shoulders of the speaker. In this case, the bifurcation introduced by *now* corresponds to an attempt by the speaker to detach herself from the discursive line and to disclaim responsibility or at least full adhesion to the current claim or topic. In the disclaimer use of *now*, the bifurcation itself is also non-conclusive because the clause introduced by *now* is subordinated to the next clause. Instead of leading to a logical conclusion directly resulting from the information in the *now*-clause, the bifurcation is followed by a return to the topic. Thus, the bifurcation is temporary and its function is simply to indicate that the speaker rejects full responsibility of the truth and support of the main topic. It functions almost like an aside. The structure of disclaimers is as follows:

P, *now* Q, *but* R

In R, the speaker picks up P again. In example (19) below, the participants are discussing numbers provided by a medical worker of a hospital pertaining to the HIV positive male population of the area. They are not certain about the criteria of the study, and the figures they remember are very high.

- (19) MILES: she said that, this doesn't seem like it can be true, but she said that, ninety per cent of gay men, are HIV positive, and fifty percent of a=ll males, are HIV positive.  
HAROLD: [Yeah.  
MILES: [That's what she said].  
HAROLD: .. Fifty perc-] --It was some -- Like, a- m- --half or more than half of, (H) and it was .. fairly young men, but, were, had been exposed to HIV virus. It wasn't necessarily that they were ... infected.  
MILES: (H) .. Well, if you're HIV positive, it's the same difference,  
HAROLD: ... [Mhm].  
MILES: [since they] feel that, sooner or later [2you'll come2] down [3with the3] actual disease.  
PETE: [2Mhm2].  
JAMIE: [3Yeah3].  
MILES: ... But that's what she sai=d. **Now** I [don't] know if she meant the Bay area or San Francisco,  
JAMIE: [X]  
MILES: (H) **but** those are some ferocious numbers, if [one] [2out of2] &  
PETE: [Yeah].  
JAMIE: [That's] [2<X just X>2] horrible. (ECC)

Because he is unsure about the figures, Miles keeps detaching himself from the contentions he makes with the insertion of comments such as “this doesn’t seem like it can be true, but...”; “that’s what she said”. Thus, from the start, he shifts the responsibility of his statement that 50% of men are infected with HIV onto his source. However, he does not dispute the figures but rather acknowledges that they are surprisingly high. His constant reference to his source, who is supposed to be reliable, aims at backing up his words. *Now* introduces a point of uncertainty: the numbers could apply to the whole Bay Area or simply to the city of San Francisco. But the speaker then comes back to the main topic and asserts that the numbers are very high regardless. Thus, the discourse movement can be represented as follows:

P = 50% of men are HIV positive

Q = *now* I don’t know to what area this statistics applies

R = *but* in any case, the numbers are very high

In (20), Muriel is suggesting that the death of Ariana was suspicious, and she uses *now* to introduce the idea that Kendra might have killed her own daughter.

- (20) “Ariana was delicate!” said Doge desperately. “Her health was always too poor to permit her —” “— to permit her to leave the house?” cackled Muriel. “And yet she was never taken to St. Mungo’s and no Healer was ever summoned to see her!” “Really, Muriel, how you can possibly know whether —” “For your information, Elphias, my cousin Lancelot was a Healer at St. Mungo’s at the time, and he told my family in strictest confidence that Ariana had never been seen there. All most suspicious, Lancelot thought!” (...) “**Now**, if Kendra hadn’t died first,” Muriel resumed, “I’d have said that it was she who finished off Ariana —” “How can you, Muriel?” groaned Doge. “A mother kill her own daughter? Think what you are saying!” “If the mother in question was capable of imprisoning her daughter for years on end, why not?” shrugged Auntie Muriel. “**But** as I say, it doesn’t fit, because Kendra died before Ariana — of what, nobody ever seemed sure —” (ENC)

She sets a distance between herself and her own statement by using the hypothetical mode: the bifurcation is counterfactual and corresponds to a bifurcation from the actual situation. The speaker comes back to the main line of discourse later with a *but*-clause in which she invalidates the possibility evoked in the *now*-clause. Thus, the discourse movement is P, *now* Q, *but* R. However, the disclaimer is not a bifurcation from the previous topic but a bifurcation from reality. The speaker opposes the actual situation to an antithetical counterfactual situation in which the relation <I - say that it was she who finished off Ariana> would be validated. The speaker aims at implying that Kendra was indeed, according to her, capable of killing her own daughter. Here the disclaimer corresponds to a distance set not between the speaker and the previous statement but between the speaker and reality, in order to contemplate, for an instant, what might have been, before returning to the main topic and ending the bifurcation with the *but*-clause. The use of *now* indicates that the speaker is aware that her opinion is disputable. Indeed, as noted by Schiffrin, “when *now* occurs with an opinion about a disputable topic, it is displaying the speaker’s recognition of interpersonal differences about that topic” (Schiffrin 1987: 235).

#### 2.4. Interpersonal functions of *now*

While the textual functions of pragmatic *now* are based on its contrastive meaning as a temporal marker, its interpersonal functions are based on its deictic meaning which often implies the establishment of a shared deictic centre. *Now* can be either speaker-oriented in which case its deictic temporal meaning is recuperated mostly to operate a re-centering of the speech on the speaker, or hearer-oriented in which case the speaker draws on the intersubjective value of

temporal *now* the use of which corresponds to an affirmation of the temporal link that exists between the participants of a same situation (*cf.* Boulin 2014).

### **2.4.1. Speaker-oriented**

Using *now* in sentence-initial position might be a way to control the discourse by asserting one's authority as the speaker, holder of the discourse floor. Indeed, like its temporal counterpart which refers to the time of speech, pragmatic *now* resets the enunciative clock to zero, *i.e.* to the time of speech, forcing the participants to focus on that point and on the upcoming discourse. The speaker establishes himself as the deictic centre of the discourse.

#### **2.4.1.1. Coordinating on the change of topic previously operated by the interlocutor**

The speaker can use *now* to coordinate on a change of topic previously operated by the interlocutor when the change of topic is deemed relevant. In example (21), *now* co-occurs with the marker *oh*, which is a response marker used to indicate reception of a message (Aijmer 2002). The speaker thus acknowledges the change of topic with *oh*, before setting the enunciative clocks to zero with *now* in order to coordinate on the new topic judged relevant. This is confirmed by the following clause "I'm glad you mentioned Grindelwald". In this example, the speaker uses *now* to retake control of the discourse floor by appropriating the new topic. Thus, the coordinating use of *now* can have an authoritative or condescending colour.

- (21) But the importance of some of Dumbledore's achievements cannot, I venture, be denied. What of his famous defeat of Grindelwald? "Oh, **now**, I'm glad you mentioned Grindelwald," says Skeeter with a tantalizing smile. "I'm afraid those who go dewy-eyed over Dumbledore's spectacular victory must brace themselves for a bombshell — or perhaps a Dungbomb. Very dirty business indeed. (ENC)

This coordination on what the interlocutor just brought up is not necessarily the sign of a conflict. The use of *now* can correspond to an appropriation of the new topic proposed by the interlocutor in order to elaborate on it. This corresponds to the 'elaboration' and 'explanation' uses of *now* identified by Aijmer (2002) and Defour (2007). Thus, in example (22) below, Angela is telling her friends about her chair which had a broken spring and which she had fixed.



- (22) ANGELA: [They're on] salary with the c- --with the company any[2way2].  
 DORIS: [2Yeah2]. Sure. (H)  
 ANGELA: (TSK) (H) But they were so jovial, a=nd &  
 DORIS: Yeah.  
 SAM: Was [that spring] from your seat or the back of th- your chair.  
 ANGELA: & [nice].... **Now**, it was a,... a tight little spring, H) .. [that um],  
 DORIS: [(SIGH)]  
 ANGELA: .. governed the mechanism. And held the chair together, when you .. put  
 out &  
 SAM: ... Oh, the [footrest].  
 ANGELA: & [the foot]rest. (ECC)

*Now* introduces an explanation in response to the question put to her by Sam. Angela indicates that she coordinates on the new topic with *now*, which could be glossed as ‘now, as to that’. The use of *now* indicates that the speaker takes up the topic because she deems it relevant as the next topic to be discussed. In this example, the speaker favours this topic because she has information to contribute.

#### 2.4.1.2. Floor-holding

We have seen that *now* is multifunctional and that its floor-holding function often surfaces even when *now* is used for other purposes as well. Indeed, because interpersonal *now* re-centers the attention on the speaker and his speech thanks to its deictic value, a floor-holding effect can often emerge. There are several kinds of floor-holding situations. First, *now* can be used by the speaker to win her some time to think about her upcoming speech as in example (23) taken from Schiffrin (1987: 241), or it can be used to interrupt the interlocutor to forcefully take control of the floor and of the topical development of discourse, as in examples (24) and (25). In those cases *now* is speaker-oriented because it operates a re-centering of the discourse on the speaker and his will.

In our corpus, although many examples of pragmatic *now* have, to some degree, a floor-holding function since the use of *now* often aims at controlling the discourse flow, there is no example of *now* as a pure floor-holder. When *now* is used to win the speaker some time, it often has an injunctive value because it is followed by an imperative as in (23) from Schiffrin (1987). Thus, it is disputable whether *now* can be said to have a pure floor-holding value in itself.

(23) No. The Catholic is – **Now** hold it. It varies. (Schiffrin 1987: 241)

The most common floor-holding value displayed by pragmatic *now* is linked with the topical progression of the discourse, and corresponds either to an attempt to forcefully change topics or forcefully interrupt and dispute a change of topics operated by the interlocutor and deemed irrelevant. When the speaker uses *now* to forcefully change topics, the function of *now* is very close to the textual function of topic change of *now*, the only difference being that floor-holding is specific to interaction and linked to turn-taking since it supposes the existence of a struggle for the discourse floor, and thus the existence of some kind of opposition to this topic change on the part of the hearer.

Example (24) is taken from a lecture. Montoya is discussing the reasons for the drop of voter participation levels among Chicanos since the 1970s with his students. He is trying to get his students to link the drop with the Vietnam War. Two students come up with two different explanations for the drop in voter participation (lack of representation and lack of trust).

- (24) MONTROYA: Why do you suppose that has changed. (...) (H) Because you've had, (H) .. declining voter participation levels=, since= the nineteen-seventies. And I'm giving you the answer.... Wa- what what what what has been the problem. (...)  
RAMON: ... Well,(...) I think m- maybe one of the reasons could be, they're not being represented, (...)  
MONTROYA: That's true. What would you add to [f-].  
(...)  
GILBERT: .. I don't think [2there's as2] much [3trust3], (...)  
MONTROYA: Trust.  
GILBERT: Trust in the system.  
MONTROYA:.. [Why].  
GILBERT: [A lot] more corruption, [2<X I mean X>2] you had Nixon,  
MONTROYA:[2Why2].  
GILBERT: (H) to [3Watergate3],  
MONTROYA:[3What did you have in the3] seventies. **Now** l- let's talk about that. What what did --What did --[What did] we have,  
GILBERT: [Okay].  
MONTROYA:.. <X You X> --  
GILBERT: Well, in the beginning, well even in the late sixties you had Vietnam, [you had uh=],  
MONTROYA:[Good. Excellent]. (ECC)

Montoya picks up on the trust issue and tries to elicit the wanted answer by asking why there were trust issues. When his students do not mention the Vietnam War but talk about corruption and the Watergate, he forcefully re-takes control of the floor to re-orient the discussion towards the relevant topic, cutting Gilbert in his sentence. *Now* is supplemented by an imperative that leaves no doubt as to the appropriation of the floor with a view to orienting the discussion towards a specific topic. Indeed, Montoya clearly orders the participants to adjust their speech to the new topic that he imposes with “Now, let’s talk about that”. The speaker uses *now* to position himself as deictic centre of the discourse, and thus affirms his right and power to control it. However, although this re-centering of the topic and forceful holding of the discourse floor corresponds to a speaker-oriented use of *now*, it also has an intersubjective hue since the speaker calls for the participation of the hearers.

Another floor-holding configuration corresponds to a refusal to coordinate on the topic change or digression proposed by the interlocutor because it is judged irrelevant. In that case the interlocutor who is straying from the topic judged relevant by the speaker is interrupted and the speaker uses *now* to force coordination on the main topic. This is the case in example (25) below, in which Rickie, who was the victim of an aggression, is describing to her lawyer Rebecca her interview with the police when she reported the aggression. “Everyone” and “they” in her speech refer to the police. She first focusses on the clothes and accessories of her aggressor, and then prepares to report the reaction of the police when she described the man, but Rebecca wants more information on the bag the aggressor was carrying and interrupts her with *now*.

- (25) RICKIE: (H) well,.. everyone's telling me he has this bag, he carries around, and he has a bowtie, like that, and I [go],  
 REBECCA: [Yeah].  
 RICKIE: .. that's the only difference, he had a different bag this time a year later, and a different bow tie.p  
 REBECCA: [Yeah].  
 RICKIE: [(H)] (SNIFF) And they were like <Q okay Q>,you know,  
 REBECCA: **Now** the bag that he was carrying around this time, what was it.  
 RICKIE: ... M=,.. let me see, I think, a duffel bag? I [th=ink],  
 REBECCA: [Okay]. (ECC)

By doing that, Rebecca re-centers the attention of Rickie on the time of speech, on herself (the speaker), and on the upcoming speech. She retakes control of the floor because she does not

want Rickie to stray from the main topic. Just as in example (24), the use of *now* supposes the mutual recognition of the authority of the speaker in terms of speech control. In (24), floor-holding *now* is used by a teacher, who is in charge of the topical development of discourse in his classroom; in (25) it is used by a lawyer who is questioning her client, and is thus master of the topical development of the interrogation. Thus, the perlocutory effect of *now* as a floor-holder is linked to the legitimacy of the speaker's claim on the discourse floor. *Now* can only be used as a floor-holder by a speaker who detains a legitimate authority to hold the floor.

Because the floor-holding use of *now* centers the attention of the speaker and attributes speech control to her, we classified it as a speaker-oriented marker. However, as noted above, it also triggers intersubjective mechanisms insofar as it also implies speaker's control over the hearer.

#### **2.4.1.3. Evaluation**

As noted by Aijmer (2002), Schiffrin (1987) and Defour (2007), *now* can be used to operate a change of stance towards an evaluative mode and introduce an evaluation of the speaker. Like the previous speaker-oriented uses of pragmatic *now*, the evaluative use of *now* draws on what Schiffrin calls its "ego-centered" value (Schiffrin 1987: 245): *now* centers primarily on the speaker because in its temporal use it refers to the time of speech, which corresponds to the temporal *origo*, a coordinate of the deictic centre represented by the speaker (*cf.* Chapter 1). Thus, *now* focusses the attention on the speaker and indicates that she deems the upcoming topic relevant. This mechanism makes the use of *now* ideal to introduce an opinion. Note that the evaluative function of *now* is also closely related to its textual contrastive function since it implies a shift in stance. Moreover, the use of *now* as an evaluative marker implies that the evaluation made by the speaker contrasts with either his expectations or the norm.

In example (26), Sweeny uses *now* to call the attention of all the hearers – he is addressing the whole room. His intention is to pass a judgement on Shadow who has just refused to fight, and to humiliate him in front of the audience.

- (26) “It's the simplest trick in the world. I'll fight you for it.” Shadow shook his head. “I'll pass.” “**Now** there's a fine thing,” said Sweeney to the room. “Old Wednesday gets himself a bodyguard, and the feller's too scared to put up his fists, even.” (ENC)

Thus, his evaluation is ironical. With *now* Sweeney centres the attention on himself and on his upcoming speech, and indicates that this upcoming evaluation contrasts with his expectations. Here, since he is addressing the whole audience and makes them witnesses of the situation, he implies that the evaluation contrasts with everyone's expectations: he suggests that as a bodyguard, no one would have expected Shadow to refuse to fight, and that his doing so makes him a coward. Thus, *now* as an evaluative marker has subjective, intersubjective, and contrastive components. Indeed, by underlying the contrast between what should be and what is the case, Sweeney is trying to win the audience over and force them to agree with his evaluation.

In example (27), the English Prime Minister and the American President sit down to coffee in the PM's office after a day-long meeting during which the American President was very firm on not changing his line of action.

- (27) PRIME MINISTER: **Well, now**, that was an interesting day.  
 PRESIDENT: Sorry if our line was firm but there's no point in tiptoeing around today, then just disappointing you for four years. I have plans and I plan to see them through.  
 (EFC)

*Now* collocates with *well*, which according to Schiffrin (1987) is a response marker “used to signal (ideational, deictic or evaluative) shifts in orientation, in a non-optimal discourse situation where a need has arisen to establish coherence between the expectations of speaker and addressee” (Defour 2007: 23). The dialogue is taken from a movie and the scene starts with this exchange. The discourse situation, which is directly subsequent to the rather tense meeting, does indeed present some non-optimal elements and the speaker uses *well* to signal a shift in orientation with a view to re-establishing harmony between him and the American President. *Now* then introduces an evaluative stance and indicates that the evaluation contrasts with the expectations of the speaker. The PM thus diplomatically indicates that the meeting did not go as he expected. The hearer coordinates on that, in other words he takes the hint and offers an explanation for his inflexible attitude during the meeting, which did not meet the expectations of the British PM.

In example (28), there are two evaluative occurrences of *now*. Pamela and Darryl are discussing the legitimacy for anyone to write a book about death, in view of the fact that living beings have not experienced death.

- (28) DARRYL: ... (H) Anyone who sits down to write a book about d=eath, with the hopes of enlightening, his fellow human beings, (H) .. is in my book a schmuck.  
PAMELA: ... (TSK) (H) **Well now**, <VOX them's fightin' [wor=ds,  
DARRYL: [@@@@@]  
PAMELA: boy= VOX>. @ <@ You could @> -- (H)  
DARRYL: Who the hell is someone, anyone, who's <@ living, to sit down @> and write a book about dea=th. @[@]@@@@ (H)  
PAMELA: [ @ ]  
DARRYL: **Now really**.  
PAMELA: (H)  
DARRYL: You know? (ECC)

The first evaluative *now* co-occurs with *well*, and is used by Pamela as a comical response to Darryl's statement. She mimics a big chiding voice which is probably supposed to be that of the author that Darryl just called a schmuck. *Well* is a marker of response indicating that the non-optimal discourse situation (*i.e.* Darryl insulting the author) must be fixed. *Now* introduces an evaluation of the previous discourse segment, signalling that it contrasted with the expectations of the speaker. The second occurrence of *now* co-occurs with *really*, which expresses surprise and incredulity of the speaker. Here, *now* centres the attention on the speaker, resets the enunciative clock to zero, dismissing what has been said before to indicate that the valid evaluation is upcoming. *Now* also indicates that the object of the evaluation contrasts with the expectations of the speaker. Moreover, the temporal *origo* represented by temporal *now* is shared by all the participants of a situation, and the evaluative use of *now* draws from this to attribute the evaluation and the thwarting of expectations that it implies not just to the speaker but also to the hearer. The fact that *now really* is followed by a direct interpellation of the hearer stresses its intersubjective value: the speaker tries to win the hearer over to his opinion by on the one hand underlining the extraordinary nature of what the author has done with *really*, and on the other by underlining the fact that such doings defy all expectations with *now*. Thus, the expression of an evaluation with *now* is used by the speaker to stress his own authority on the subject. *Now*, by indicating a contrast between reality and expectations which are presented as part of the shared

common ground, enables the speaker to position himself as a judge and thus the evaluation proposed gains in perlocutionary force.

Thus, we have seen that like the other speaker-oriented uses of *now*, the evaluative use of *now* draws both on the contrastive effect of temporal *now* and from its intersubjective value as a marker of shared deixis. We will see in the next section that these two fundamental properties of temporal *now* are also useful to account for the hearer-oriented uses of *now*.

### **2.4.2. Hearer-oriented**

While the speaker-oriented uses of *now* correspond first and foremost to an attempt by the speaker to control the speech flow and have a strong illocutionary force, the hearer-oriented uses of *now* correspond to an attempt to influence the hearer in some way and have a strong perlocutionary force. The hearer-oriented uses of *now* are pragmatic in the sense that they are oriented towards action and are used with a view to operating a change in the world. As a hearer-oriented marker, *now* (re-)establishes a hierarchical bond between the speaker and the hearer and asserts the position of authority of the speaker. We will show that authoritative *now* can be used to force or convince the hearer to adopt the point of view of the speaker (2.4.2.1.), to require of the hearer that he take part in the linguistic exchange (2.4.2.2.), or as a pure marker of authority to require the hearer to perform an action or simply remind her that the speaker has authority over her (2.4.2.3.).

#### **2.4.2.1. Persuasion**

When *now* introduces a rhetorical question, its function is to focus the attention of the hearer on the upcoming question and to force him to look at the situation from the point of view of the time of speech by resetting the discursive clocks to zero. In that case, it enables the speaker to compel the hearer to view the situation through his own perspective in order to win her over to the speaker's opinion. This is made possible by the fundamentally intersubjective value of *now*. Indeed, as a temporal marker *now* includes the hearer within the deictic centre of discourse by highlighting the fact that the temporal *origo* – represented by *now* - is the same for the hearer and the speaker, as confirmed by Lyons' concept of deictic simultaneity (Lyons 1977). It is this shared deictic centre that enables the speaker to present her own perspective to the hearer

through the resetting of the coordinates of the situation with *now* and thus the emphasis on the shared *origo*. Thus, pragmatic *now* retains its deictic mechanism and it is through the operation of the allocation of the deictic centre to both the speaker and the hearer that the speaker has the ability to include the hearer within his deictic sphere.

- (29) “Work for me. There may be a little risk, of course, but if you survive you can have whatever your heart desires. You could be the next king of America. **Now**,” said the man, “who else is going to pay you that well? Hmm?” (ENC)

In example (29), *now* is used to get the hearer to reset the discourse clock to zero at the time of utterance of *now* and look at the situation from that perspective, which in pragmatic terms corresponds to the standpoint of the speaker. *Now* is a marker of coordination of the common ground of the participants: it indicates that the hearer should adjust his view of the situation to that of the speaker. The speaker uses the intersubjective function of deictic *now* to get the hearer to see things from his point of view, and thus persuade him to take the job. *Now* is followed by a question, which is in fact a rhetorical question with the function of an assertion and is meant as a challenge to the hearer to provide an answer, which from the point of view of the speaker is impossible. The non-assertive form of the clause introduced by *now* compels the hearer to ask himself the question the answer of which will lead him to share the speaker’s perspective.

#### **2.4.2.2. Change of footing**

*Now* can be used to call on the hearer to participate in the linguistic exchange. In that case, the objective is not to convince the hearer but to get him to take some action. This use of *now* draws from the contrastive use of temporal *now*: it indicates that the speaker wants something in the world to change. *Now* opens a new time interval in which a modification of the current state of affairs by the hearer is expected. Although this mechanism is stronger when *now* is followed by a direct order, it is already present when *now* is followed by a direct question to the hearer who is urged to produce speech as a response. This use of *now* also draws on the deictic meaning of *now* since the hearer is included in the deictic centre by the speaker, and the change that is required must come from the hearer. Examples (30) and (31) below are taken from a lecture by Professor Montoya. In both examples, Montoya uses *now* to introduce a question to which he expects a quick answer from his students.



- (30) MONTROYA:(H) So if we're talking about politics, politics is tied into the whole concept of power. right?... And if we're talking about .. empowerment as a concept, (H) we must have an understanding of the notion of what is power. (H) **Now** does .. power come in one form, does it come in many different forms.  
 MARIA: ... Different.  
 MONTROYA:... Different forms. (ECC)

*Now* sets the enunciative clock to zero and requires the hearer to coordinate on this resetting and focus on the upcoming question, and more importantly to act appropriately by answering it. This use of *now* has textual dimensions insofar as it also operates a switch from the declarative to the interrogative mode. Moreover in (30) it opens a subtopic. The main topic is the notion of power and the professor asks about one specific aspect of power, *i.e.* he branches to a subtopic which constitutes a key point in the development. The key point is developed into a question and an answer and thus is combined with the change of footing.

In example (31) the first occurrence of *now* is textual and operates a branching to a key subtopic. The second occurrence of *now* introduces a reformulation of the key subtopic.

- (31) MONTROYA:Let's get into= .. discussion on voter participation, (...) **Now**, a democracy, the participation of the citizenry is imperative... It is ... absolutely imperative, if it's to be a democracy, to have the people participate. (H) **Now** what am I trying to say.... What am I trying to say. It is .. imperative for the people to participate in the political process. Another way of saying it. What am I saying.  
 CAROLYN: ... We have to vote, <X everyone X>. (ECC)

However, the teacher wants the students to provide the reformulation, and for that he uses *now* to operate a change of footing. *Now* calls for a coordination of the common ground: the hearer is asked to decode what the speaker has established as common ground in order to show his understanding and to operate the coordination of the speaker's and the hearer's common ground, *i.e.* of their respective representation of their shared knowledge. Thus, *now* is often used in lectures to call for a change of footing on the part of the hearer and encourage the students to coordinate on the newly introduced common ground.

We have seen that *now* can be used to encourage the hearer to take part in the exchange in order to confirm coordination of the common ground. In that case, *now* both calls for a change in the world and asserts a hierarchical bond between the speaker and the hearer. Going further, *now*

can be used as a marker of authority to assert this hierarchical bond that it establishes between the speaker and the hearer.

### **2.4.2.3. Marker of authority**

The authoritative use of pragmatic *now* is the most common of the intersubjective uses of *now*, and it can occur in various configurations. We will first examine its most frequent function, namely its injunctive function when it is followed by a direct order. We will then see that *now* can also be used as an almost pure marker of authority in collocation with *okay* to enjoin the hearer to change her attitude and acknowledge the authority of the speaker. After that, we will examine cases in which authoritative *now* occurs in final position, in which case the violence linked to the assertion of the authority of the speaker with a sentence-initial marker is somewhat neutralised and the injunction is softened. *Now* can also be used as a ‘gentle’ marker of authority signalling the benevolence of the speaker towards the hearer, notably when *now* is followed directly by the name of the speaker who is thereby included within the deictic sphere and placed under the benevolent eye of the speaker. When *now* introduces an imperative sentence starting with a personal pronoun, the authoritative stance established by *now* is also presented as benevolent. Because authoritative *now* draws on the contrastive function of temporal *now* to call for change and on the fundamentally intersubjective value of deictic *now* to place the hearer within the deictic centre - and thus within the sphere of the speaker, authoritative *now* can be used to indicate reproach on the failure of the hearer to coordinate on a request for change or a failure to respect the established authority of the speaker. Thus, authoritative *now* is often used to re-establish the authority of the speaker following a break of the assumption of her authority by the hearer, in which case it has a value of reproach.

#### **Injunctive value**

As explained in 2.2, when *now* introduces an injunction, it is generally borderline and has a strong temporal meaning. Indeed, the use of *now* before a direct order indicates that the speaker wishes the order to be carried out within the time interval opened by *now* at the time of speech. However, *now* is generally unstressed and low-pitch which signals pragmatic function. When the speaker opens a statement or an injunction with *now*, she places the hearer within her sphere of authority. The participants-bonding function of temporal *now* is activated for pragmatic purposes

and the use of *now* corresponds to an affirmation of this bond, which might have been broken by the hearer. As with other pragmatic uses of *now*, authoritative *now* often displays multifunctionality.

In examples (32) and (33) below *now* introduces a direct order that the speaker means to be carried out right away. In (32) *now* signals that the hearer should perform the action ‘go’ right away.

- (32) “How the hell did you find me here?” he asked his dead wife. She shook her head slowly, amused. “You shine like a beacon in a dark world,” she told him. “It wasn't that hard. **Now**, just go. Go as far and as fast as you can. Don't use your credit cards and you should be fine.” (ENC)

The mere action of requiring an order to be carried out at once is the sign of an authoritative stance. *Now* has a contrastive value because it calls for a change, requiring the hearer to perform the change. As a marker of change *now* also has, to some extent, a textual value since it articulates two different topics. But more importantly, the speaker uses *now* to operate a resetting of the enunciative clock to zero and focus the attention of the hearer on the time of speech and the time interval opened by *now* in which the order must be carried out. This mechanism triggers a re-evaluation of the deictic centre and since the speaker and hearer are two participants in the same situation, sharing the discourse time, *now* signals that they share the same deictic centre. Since the speaker controls the speech, she also controls the allocation of the coordinates of the deictic centre and it is she who forces the re-evaluation of the deictic centre by using *now* in order to place the hearer within the deictic sphere controlled by her, and thus within her influence.

In (33), *now* is used to re-establish the deictic and hierarchical bond between the two participants. Wednesday is Shadow's boss and reproaches him with a transgressive behaviour.

- (33) “Shadow,” he said. “You're asking too many questions. You are not paid to ask questions.” “Sorry.” “**Now**, stand over here and help us up,” said Wednesday (...). (ENC)

Wednesday first chides Shadow for having broken the hierarchical bond existing between them through his inappropriate behaviour. *Now* is used to re-establish the bond at the time of

speech. It thus has a strong authoritative value but also displays some magnanimity on the part of the authoritative figure who dismisses the previous transgression by resetting the situation clocks to zero, asserting his authority and focussing the attention on the upcoming command, which corresponds to a chance given to the inferior member to acknowledge his subaltern position and the re-tying of the hierarchical bond. The order introduced by *now* corresponds to a required modification of the state of affairs by the hearer, and the use of *now* supposes that the speaker expected the hearer to carry out the order earlier. Thus, *now* expresses impatience (it calls for immediate change) and consequently has a rebuking effect. This is the case both in (32) and (33).

### **Asserting one's authority**

*Now* can be used as an authority signal by the speaker to remind the hearer that he is bonded to the speaker in a hierarchical relation. Thus in (34) below the speaker uses the collocation *okay now* as a warning.

- (34) "Everything's just peachy, thank you, officer," said Shadow. "We're just out for a morning walk." "Okay **now**," said the cop. He did not look as if he believed that everything was okay. He waited. Shadow put a hand on Mad Sweeney's shoulder, and walked him forward, out of town, away from the police car. (ENC)

*Okay* is a response marker signalling assent and acceptance on the part of the speaker, generally used to signal the resolution of a problematic situation. However, the right context shows that the situation is in fact not resolved. This suggests that the intonation of the policeman is rising, indicating his words are non-conclusive and therefore that the resolution of the problem is suspended. *Now* is an intersubjective marker used to assert an authority position considered legitimate by the speaker. And indeed, the speaker, as a policeman facing a suspicious situation, has a legitimate authority to see the situation resolved. The use of *okay* signals to the hearer that the policeman is inclined to accept and dismiss the situation as resolved, and the use of *now* aims at reminding the hearer that a bond exists that forces the hearer to bend to the authority of the speaker. This is why authoritative *now* is often used by parents or teachers with children. Most of the time, *now* as an authoritative marker is used by speakers in socially accepted positions of authority: in (33) the speaker is the hearer's boss, in (34) he is a policeman, in (39) below she is the hearer's mother, and in (41) and (40) the speaker is an individual much older than the hearer and positioning himself as a sort of father figure to the hearer. Thus, in all those cases the

hierarchical relation already exists between the two participants but it might have been loosened or broken by the hearer. The use of *now* corresponds to an attempt by the speaker to re-establish the broken bond.

### **Final *now***

When *now* occurs in final position, its injunctive value is softened. Indeed, the sentence-initial position of pragmatic *now* with its contrastive value implies a rather abrupt reminder of the speaker's authority. In final position on the other hand, the assertion of the speaker's authority comes as an afterthought and as a gentle reminder that the hearer ought to do as the speaker says. The framing function of *now*, which marks a boundary between a prior state of affairs and the current state of affairs, is activated: while initial authoritative *now* signals that a new interval is opened, in which the hearer must adjust his behaviour, final *now* indicates the closure of the current state of affairs, *i.e.* the speaker urges the hearer to modify her current behaviour.

In example (35) the clerk reminds Shadow that he ought to open the window if he smokes in his room, which is a non-smoking room. The injunction is not very weighty insofar as the clerk is himself breaking a rule by letting Shadow smoke in his room. Thus, final *now* comes as a weak tentative to assert his authority and re-establish his authority as an enforcer of rules in the hotel.

- (35) He asked the night clerk for a book of matches. "You're in a nonsmoking room," said the clerk. "You make sure you open the window, **now**." He passed Shadow a book of matches and a plastic ashtray with the Motel America logo on it. "Got it," said Shadow. (ENC)

In example (36), the speaker is trying to convince the hearer to hand over the gun that he is pointing at him. Final *now* enables him to assert his authority and thus encourage the hearer to submit. Final *now* is unstressed and low-pitch which reduced the illocutionary force of the command.

- (36) You've never fired a gun before? Well, just give it to me **now**. (EFC)

Placing *now* after the eventuality put as a command reverses the typical syntactic configuration of commands reinforced by *now*. In general the syntax reflects the pragmatic

mechanism at work: *now* opens a time interval and the order to be validated is placed within that time interval, *i.e.* in syntactic terms directly after *now* and thus within its scope. Placing the required eventuality before *now* can be interpreted to present the validation of the eventuality as already certain, with a view to convincing the hearer that he is going to perform the action.

In example (37) the order “easy” can be glossed as ‘take it easy’. By placing *now* in final position the speaker tries to convey both firmness and gentleness. Harry having just been harmed, he is being looked after by the speaker. The hierarchical relation existing between the characters is a socially accepted one: it corresponds to the relation existing between a nurse and his patient. Interactions between nurse and patient are typically characterised by expressions of firmness and gentleness on the part of the nurse.

- (37) Harry sat up too quickly: Lights popped in front of his eyes and he felt sick and giddy. “Voldemort —” “Easy, **now**,” said Ted Tonks, placing a hand on Harry’s shoulder and pushing him back against the cushions. (ENC)

Final *now* also has a strong framing function: the contrast is oriented towards the left and what is often focussed is not so much the opening of a new situation as the closing of a previous one. This is the case in (36), (37), and in (38). In (38) below, the closing of the situation is illustrated by the closing of the door by the speaker.

- (38) “How's Tessie?” “Hibernating. She'll be out in the spring. You take care **now**, Mr. Ainsel.” And he closed the door behind him as he left. (ENC)

In (36), the speaker uses final *now* to signal the closure of the situation and thus convince the hearer to give him the gun. This mechanism is linked to the function mentioned earlier of signalling the certainty of the immediate validation of the eventuality. Final *now* indicates a transition towards a new situation which must be accomplished by the validation of the eventuality. In (37), the speaker indicates that the hearer should stop being agitated. In (38) below, final *now* is used to put an end to the exchange. Even in (35), the final position of *now* indicates that the speaker aims at closing a situation in which Shadow has no intention of opening the window to open one in which Shadow is going to open the window.

We have seen that *now* in final position aims at signalling the hierarchical bond existing between the speaker and the hearer in a gentle way, in order to coax the hearer into performing the required action, while representing to him that the current situation in which the eventuality has not been validated is as good as over. On the other hand, we will now see that when *now* is sentence-initial and directly followed by the name of the hearer or a personal pronoun referring to the hearer, the hierarchical relation between speaker and hearer is reinforced.

### ***Now* + direct interpellation**

When *now* is followed by a direct address to the hearer, with either her name, a nickname, or a second person pronoun, the syntactic organisation of the sentence reflects the inclusion of the hearer in the deictic sphere established by the speaker. *Now* opens a domain in which some action is required of the speaker, and by naming the hearer directly after opening this new speaker-controlled domain, the speaker places the hearer under her sphere of influence.

- (39) “Yes, good point,” said Mrs. Weasley from the top of the table, where she sat, spectacles perched on the end of her nose, scanning an immense list of jobs that she had scribbled on a very long piece of parchment. “**Now**, Ron, have you cleaned out your room yet?” (ENC)

In example (39) Mrs. Weasley is asking Ron whether a required action has been performed. The hierarchical relation between the two participants is socially accepted since they are mother and son. *Now* strengthens the authority of the speaker and implies that if the hierarchical bond existing between the two has been broken by the hearer, *i.e.* if he failed to perform the required action, it is hereby re-instituted and the hearer is required to perform the action directly. By inserting Ron’s name just after *now*, the speaker includes him in the deictic sphere that she controls and asserts his lower hierarchical position, reinforcing her authority a little more.

In example (5) repeated below, the speaker enjoins the waitress to present the menu of the day. The use of *now* reminds her of his legitimate right as a customer to expect her to perform this action. The term of endearment by which he calls her, placed directly after *now*, reinforces his authority over her by effectively placing her within his sphere of authority.

- (5) “I personally made it a point of honor never to pay more than five dollars for any of them,” said Wednesday. Then he turned to the hovering waitress. “Now, my dear, regale

us with your description of the sumptuous desserts available to us on this, our Lord's natal day." (ENC)

This demonstration of authority might be perceived as condescending or disrespectful, even sexist, considering the bond between a waitress and a customer is not supposed to be hierarchical. Some things might be expected of a waitress such as presenting the menu, but the use of *now* combined with a term of endearment implies a strong authoritative stance on the part of the speaker. Thus, in the right context, another participant to the situation is said to resent his addressing the waitress with such an assumption of his own authority over her. The waitress responds by blushing, which also suggests that the assumption of authority displayed by Wednesday is inappropriate.<sup>3</sup>

In example (40) the speaker calls the hearer to task over her inappropriate behaviour. By mocking her interlocutor she has broken the hierarchical bond that he thinks exists between them. Indeed, she has hired him to protect her, and he is much older than her.

- (40) A: Time's just going to fly by, I can tell.  
B: **Now** just you change your tune, young lady. You were a lot less lippy in the car-park, sobbing about ancient oaks. (ENC)

The use of the pronoun *you* preceded by *just* and combined with the nickname "young lady" aims at replacing her within his sphere of influence, under his authority. The phrase 'young lady' infantilises her in an attempt to recreate the primary human hierarchical relation: that of a parent and his child. It is the respect of this hierarchical relation that ensures the survival of the child, and the speaker implies that the hearer need to abide by this bond for survival.

The use of *now* followed by a direct address to the hearer can be benevolent. In that case, the speaker's injunction typically corresponds to advice that his superior knowledge and wisdom

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<sup>3</sup> Here is the whole excerpt from *American Gods* by Neil Gaiman: "I personally made it a point of honor never to pay more than five dollars for any of them," said Wednesday. Then he turned to the hovering waitress. "Now, my dear, regale us with your description of the sumptuous desserts available to us on this, our Lord's natal day." He stared at her-it was almost a leer-as if nothing that she could offer him would be as toothsome a morsel as herself. Shadow felt deeply uncomfortable: it was like watching an old wolf stalking a fawn too young to know that if it did not run, and run now, it would wind up in a distant glade with its bones picked clean by the ravens. The girl blushed once more and told them that dessert was apple pie à la mode-"That's with a scoop of vanilla ice cream"-Christmas cake à la mode, or a red-and-green whipped pudding. Wednesday stared into her eyes and told her that he would try the Christmas cake à la mode.



enable the speaker to confer on the hearer. Once again, *now* establishes parent-child type of relation. This is the case in example (41) in which the old man roughly but benevolently enjoins the hearer to be careful.

- (41) “Merry Christmas, Hinzemann,” he said. The old man shook Shadow's hand with one red-knuckled hand. It felt as hard and as callused as an oak branch. “**Now**, you watch the path as you go up there, it's going to be slippery.” (ENC)

Thus, when *now* is followed by a direct address to the speaker, it reinforces the hierarchical bond between the speaker and the hearer and thus often reproduces a parent-child relationship. When the assertion of such a relation is illegitimate or inappropriate, it takes on a condescending and even sometimes insulting meaning.

We have seen that although the uses of *now* as a marker of authority are varied, they all revolve around the same principles: as a marker of deixis *now* resets the enunciative clock to zero, focussing the attention on the upcoming speech. Its contrastive meaning indicates that a change is needed; and the principle of deictic simultaneity that confers its intersubjective value to *now* enables the speaker to include the hearer within the deictic centre controlled by her, thereby asserting her authority over the hearer. The use of authoritative *now* only has a perlocutory effect if the authority of the speaker over the hearer is legitimate and validated by social rules. The use of *now* is typically a means for the speaker to bring a hearer who strayed back under her authority, which explains the note of reproach often associated with authoritative *now*. But when the speaker uses *now* with no legitimate authority, her assumption of authority can take on an insulting value.

The analysis of the functions of pragmatic *now* has shown that *now* is a multifunctional marker which often displays several interconnected functions. The identification of the functions of pragmatic *now* is dependent on the context, and when *now* occurs in a context which is both interactive and contrastive, it can have several concomitant functions. This is due to the fact that temporal *now* already has several concomitant core functions: it is a deictic marker of temporal location which is fundamentally contrastive and has subjective as well as intersubjective functions. The pragmatic uses of *now* are derived from these core meanings of temporal *now*.

### 3. Distribution of pragmatic *now* in our corpus

In this section we study the distribution of pragmatic *now* in the three English corpora. We examine the frequency of use of each textual and interpersonal function in each corpus. We find that the most frequent function of pragmatic *now* is its authoritative function.

As we saw in 2.2., many occurrences of pragmatic *now* also have a temporal meaning. Table 2 below shows the proportions of borderline cases and fully pragmatic occurrences. Although borderline realisations of *now* are less frequent than absolutely non-temporal occurrences, they constitute 37% of the total number of occurrences of *now* with pragmatic meaning. Since the temporal and pragmatic uses of *now* are closely related, they are not exclusive, and considering that borderline cases have a pragmatic function, we included them in the rest of the corpus study.

**Table 2** - Pragmatic *now* in the three English Corpora

	PM <i>now</i>		Borderline		Total	
	N	N/1000w	N	N/1000w	N	N/1000w
<b>ENC</b>	26	0.10	25	0.09	51	0.19
<b>EFC</b>	9	0.17	7	0.13	16	0.31
<b>ECC</b>	31	0.62	7	0.14	38	0.76
<b>Total</b>	64	<b>0.18</b>	39	<b>0.10</b>	105	<b>0.28</b>

Table 3 below presents an overview of the repartition of textual vs. interpersonal functions of pragmatic *now* in the three corpora. The occurrences classified both as textual and interpersonal have been identified as such according to their two most salient functions. Thus, each occurrence has been attributed a maximum of two functions. However, when a non-salient function could be retrieved in an occurrence with another salient function, the non-salient function was not taken into account in the classification. Thus, when an occurrence is attributed two functions, it is because these two functions are virtually equally salient. Note that although some occurrences have concomitant interpersonal functions, they never have concomitant textual functions. This shows that textual functions are more clear-cut and exclusive, while there is an overlap between some interpersonal functions, such as the floor-holding and authoritative functions, or the authoritative and evaluative functions.

**Table 3** - Frequency of textual and interpersonal uses of pragmatic *now*

	Textual only		Interpersonal only		Textual and interpersonal		Other <sup>4</sup>		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	20	39.22	17	33.33	14	27.45	0	0	51	100
<b>EFC</b>	8	50	6	37.5	2	12.5	0	0	16	100
<b>ECC</b>	13	34.21	17	44.74	7	18.42	1	2.63	38	100
<b>Total</b>	41	<b>39.05</b>	40	<b>38.10</b>	23	<b>21.90</b>	1	<b>0.95</b>	105	100

Table 3 shows that overall, textual occurrences of *now* are as frequent as interpersonal ones. However, while interpersonal uses are more frequent in the spoken corpus, the textual use is more frequent in the narrative and the film corpora. This might seem unsurprising considering that interpersonal uses include intersubjective uses which are typical of interaction and are thus more likely to be found in the conversational corpus. Textual uses, on the other hand, are concerned with text cohesion and text organisation and seem more likely to be found in the narrative corpus. However, almost all examples of pragmatic *now* in the narrative corpus (all but one) occur in Direct Speech, which corresponds to a representation of spoken English, and not in narrative passages. We have to look in more detail at the textual and interpersonal functions most frequent in the narrative corpus in order to explain the higher frequency of textual uses. Similarly, we need to look at the various uses of *now* in the film corpus in order to understand why textual uses are more frequent than interpersonal ones. However, the number of occurrences in the EFC is so limited that the numbers might not be representative or reveal significant patterns.

Table 4 below takes a closer look at the repartition of the textual vs. interpersonal functions of *now* in the three English corpora. The occurrences that display two different functions are counted twice, once for each identified salient function, which explains the higher total than in Table 2. Among the 23 multifunctional occurrences of pragmatic *now*, 4 have a double interpersonal function and are both hearer-oriented and speaker-oriented, while 18 have textual and interpersonal functions.

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<sup>4</sup> Unclassified because the utterance is interrupted abruptly.

**Table 4** - Coordinative and subordinative vs. speaker-oriented and hearer-oriented

	Textual				Interpersonal				Total	
	Coordinative		Subordinative		Speaker-oriented		Hearer-oriented			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	26	40	8	12.31	2	3.08	29	44.62	65	100
<b>EFC</b>	7	38.89	3	16.67	1	5.56	7	38.89	18	100
<b>ECC</b>	11	25.00	9	20.45	7	15.91	17	38.64	44	100
<b>Total</b>	44	<b>34.65</b>	20	<b>15.75</b>	10	<b>7.87</b>	53	<b>41.73</b>	127	100

Table 4 shows that the most frequent set of functions is the hearer-oriented one, while the less frequent functions are the speaker-oriented functions. This suggests that *now* is mostly used to apply pressure on the hearer. Its inherently intersubjective value accounts for the rarity of a speaker-oriented use. *Now* is twice as frequent as a coordinative marker as it is as a subordinative marker. However, there are variations across the corpora. While the discrepancy between its coordinative and subordinative utterances is important in the ENC, it is not that considerable in the ECC. This can be explained by the fact that in conversation speakers are more prone to bifurcation when telling stories or explaining a reasoning. Conversely, in the written style, bifurcations are not as frequent because discourse is planned and often more purposeful. In order to explain these variations, we need to look at each set of functions more closely.

Table 5 gives the frequency of each coordinative use of textual *now*. Unsurprisingly considering the fundamentally contrastive nature of *now*, the most frequent coordinative function of *now* is topic change. The fact that the comparison function is so rare can be explained by the fact that as pointed out by Schiffrin (1987), most pragmatic uses of *now* include a comparative component. Thus, we only counted as comparative occurrences those that were purely comparative, *i.e.* those the main purpose of which was to operate a comparison. But all topic change occurrences have, to some extent, a comparative or contrastive value, as well as a number of interpersonal functions, as we saw in section 2.

**Table 5** - Coordinative uses of textual *now*

	Comparison		Topic change		Procedure		Listing		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	2	7.69	16	61.54	6	23.08	2	7.69	26	100
<b>EFC</b>	0	0	5	71.43	0	0	2	28.57	7	100
<b>ECC</b>	1	9.09	3	27.27	7	63.64	0	0	11	100
<b>Total</b>	3	<b>6.82</b>	24	<b>54.55</b>	13	<b>29.55</b>	4	<b>9.09</b>	44	100

Table 6 below reveals that among the subordinative functions of *now*, the branching use is more common than the disclaimer use. Indeed, while the branching function of *now*, despite the bifurcation that it implies, has a propulsive force and can be used to advance a narrative or a reasoning since it leads to a conclusion in the next move, the disclaimer function of *now* does not advance the narrative or reasoning but on the contrary stalls it and leads to a repetition of old information in the next move. Although *now* has a text-structuring function in the disclaimer structure, the disclaimer structure itself is used to stall the action and register some interpersonal difference (Schiffrin 1987).

**Table 6** - Subordinative uses of textual *now*

	Branching		Disclaimer		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	6	75	2	25	8	100
<b>EFC</b>	3	100	0	0	3	100
<b>ECC</b>	8	88.89	1	11.11	9	100
<b>Total</b>	17	<b>85</b>	3	<b>15</b>	20	100

The speaker-oriented functions of pragmatic *now* are the less frequent functions in our corpus. This is due to the fact that the intersubjective value of *now* is stronger than its subjective value, since interpersonal *now* almost systematically includes the hearer within the deictic centre. However, *now* is relatively frequently speaker-oriented in the conversational corpus. Indeed, unlike most exchanges in the EFC or the ENC, the conversations in the ECC are not oriented solely towards action: what is at stake in everyday interaction is the expression of opinions as much as the desire to convince the hearer to act. Speakers in the ECC rely greatly on speech-control strategies to express their opinions and gain the upper-hand in the conversation.

**Table 7** - Speaker-oriented uses of interpersonal *now*

	Coordination on topic change		Floor-holding		Evaluation		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	1	50	0	0	1	50	2	100
<b>EFC</b>	0	0	0	0	1	100	1	100
<b>ECC</b>	2	18.18	2	18.18	7	63.64	11	100
<b>Total</b>	3	<b>21.43</b>	2	<b>14.29</b>	9	<b>64.29</b>	14	100

The authoritative use of pragmatic *now* is overwhelmingly more frequent than any other hearer-oriented use of *now*, particularly in the narrative corpus in which 93% of the hearer-oriented uses of *now* are authoritative (*cf.* Table 8 below).

**Table 8** - Hearer-oriented uses of interpersonal *now*

	Persuasion		Change of footing		Authoritative		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	1	3.45	1	3.45	27	93.10	29	100
<b>EFC</b>	0	0	2	28.57	5	71.43	7	100
<b>ECC</b>	0	0	9	52.94	8	47.06	17	100
<b>Total</b>	1	<b>1.89</b>	12	<b>22.64</b>	40	<b>75.47</b>	53	100

In Section 2, we have shown that the authoritative use of *now* can take several forms, but the mechanism at play is always the same: the speaker draws the hearer within her sphere of influence in order to re-assert a hierarchical link that exists between them. At the same time, the speaker often requires the hearer to perform some action, and it is the contrastive value of *now* which signals the necessity of a change. Thus, the authoritative function is often compatible with coordinative functions. In the corpora, there are 18 occurrences of authoritative *now* combined with a coordinative function. Particularly, *now* is often authoritative when it forcefully operates a topic change as in example (42) below or is used to articulate a procedure that the speaker is enjoining the hearer to follow as in example (8). Thus, it appears that the authoritative function of *now*, with its contrastive as well as intersubjective value, is the most frequent function of pragmatic *now*, in part because it can easily combine with other functions.

- (42) “Muffliato,” she whispered, waving her wand in the direction of the stairs. “Thought you didn’t approve of that spell?” said Ron. “Times change,” said Hermione. “**Now**, show us that Deluminator.” (ENC)

We have seen that pragmatic *now* is used on average as often for textual as for interpersonal purposes. These various functions often combine because they rely on similar underlying features of *now*, particularly its contrastive value. The most frequent use of pragmatic *now* is its authoritative use, *i.e.* *now* is mainly used to apply pressure on the hearer with a view to leading her to perform an action in the world or modify her behaviour. Thus, it appears that the authoritative use of *now* might be a key to understand the core function of pragmatic *now* and unify its pragmatic meanings. In the next section, we try to define the core meaning of pragmatic *now* and determine its relations to temporal *now*.

#### **4. Unified meaning of Pragmatic *now***

In this section we put forward the idea that the pragmatic functions of *now* stem from the defining features of its temporal function, namely temporal contrast and proximal deixis. We propose that the unifying feature of *now* is that it is a marker of coordination of the common ground. In 4.1., we examine the notions of contrast and proximal deixis as defining traits of both temporal and pragmatic *now*. In 4.2., we look at the notion of common ground and explain how it relates to the use of *now*.

##### **4.1. From temporal *now* to pragmatic *now***

Previous studies examining the links between temporal *now* and pragmatic *now* have attributed the pragmatic functions of *now* to its deictic temporal meaning, *i.e.* ‘at this moment in time’ (Schiffrin 1987; Aijmer 2002; Hasselgård 2006). However, as this study has shown (*cf.* Part I), another inherent characteristic of temporal *now* is its contrastive function. If we consider that the main function of temporal *now* is not to convey time location but to express a qualitative contrast between what precedes and what follows the time of speech, we might be better able to account for and find some unity among the pragmatic functions of *now*. We argue that pragmatic *now* has two fundamental meanings, present to some extent in all its functions: contrast and intersubjectivity.

#### 4.1.1. Contrast

We argue that one of the fundamental traits common to all the pragmatic uses of *now* is a contrastive meaning. Of course, the contrastive meaning of temporal *now* is related to its temporal meaning, but we believe that *now* would not have developed into the pragmatic marker it is if it had not first developed into a contrastive marker. Temporal *now* can be assimilated to an aspectual marker in the same way as final *le* in Chinese (*cf.* Chapter 3) because it provides a perspective on the situation: it indicates that the situation is new, and opposed to a previous antithetical situation. This aspectual function is derived from its deictic function: *now* primarily points to the deictic centre, excluding all other points and creating a contrastive effect. Thus, we argue that to some extent, every pragmatic function of *now* indicates a contrast between two situations, and that pragmatic *now* functions as a boundary in discourse between the left-hand discourse and the right-hand discourse. Like temporal *now*, pragmatic *now* further emphasises the newness of the right-hand situation or topic and thus brings it to the foreground.

In its coordinative uses, pragmatic *now* functions as a boundary that closes one discourse segment and opens a new one, bringing the right-hand discourse to the fore and emphasising its newness: when it is used in comparisons it contrasts the left-hand and right-hand elements, usually indicating a preference of the speaker for the right-hand element; when it introduces a new topic, it operates the change from the left-hand topic to the right-hand topic, calling the attention of the hearer to the right-hand topic; when it is used in procedures it marks a boundary between a previous bounded eventuality and a new foregrounded eventuality; when used in lists it marks a boundary between two elements of the list, bringing the focus on the right-hand one. The subordinative uses of *now* are also all contrastive: *now* marks a boundary between the main line of discourse and a bifurcation, foregrounding the new element and presenting it as key to understand the development of discourse.

The interpersonal uses of *now* also display contrastive features, since *now* always introduces a change or bifurcation, albeit at another level and less markedly, particularly the speaker-oriented functions: when the speaker coordinates on a change of topic with *now*, she confirms the change with contrastive *now*; when *now* is used to hold the floor, it indicates a desire to maintain the current topic against expectations; and finally the evaluative use of *now* marks a transition



from a mode of discourse to another, typically from narration to evaluation. As for the hearer-oriented functions of *now*, they are more strongly contrastive than the speaker-oriented functions because their use indicates an intention to change something: with the persuasive use, the speaker wants to change the perspective and opinion of the hearer, and she uses *now* to indicate that a change is needed. When *now* operates a change of footing, the speaker is asking the hearer to go from being a passive participant in the exchange to becoming an active participant. Finally, the authoritative use of *now*, which generally introduces a command to act, is highly contrastive since it opposes a required state of affairs to the current, inadequate state of affairs.

Thus, we have seen that all the pragmatic uses of *now* have some contrastive component. However, it seems that the textual uses of *now* rely much more on contrast than its interpersonal uses. It appears that while the textual functions of *now* rely mostly on its fundamentally contrastive aspect, its interpersonal functions are first and foremost related to its proximal deictic value which makes it a marker of intersubjectivity.

#### 4.1.2. Intersubjectivity

In addition to being fundamentally contrastive, we argue that *now* is fundamentally intersubjective. *Now* points to the deictic centre which implies that *now* is centred on the speaker. However, we have shown that the fact that *now* refers to the time of speech, which is shared by all the participants to the situation (Lyons 1977), implies that the temporal *origo* is not restricted to the speaker but shared by all participants. The effect, with the use of *now*, of this mechanism of inclusion of all participants in the deictic sphere is to call for the attention of the participants. *Now* becomes a signal for attention, and implies that the attention must focus on the speaker and his upcoming speech. Indeed the speaker remains the controller of discourse and the point of origin of the deictic centre which he simply extends to the other participants with the use of *now*. The speaker-oriented uses of *now* put the emphasis on the fact that the speaker is the point of origin of the temporal *origo* and that she controls the speech. The hearer-oriented uses of *now* are based on the intersubjective component of *now* and on the power of the speaker to extend the deictic sphere – *i.e.* her sphere of influence – to the hearer, with a view to (re)gaining some control over her. In all cases, the function of *now* relies on speaker-control and on hearer-inclusion.

As for the textual uses of *now*, although their primary function is text-structuring, most of them display some intersubjective value. First and foremost, they subjectivise the discourse and make the speaker or narrator and her discourse strategy visible to the hearer or reader. Pragmatic *now* retains its deictic function of shifter and the mere use of non-temporal *now* signals the presence of a subjectivity manipulating the discourse in some way, and acknowledging the presence of a hearer or reader. Thus, in its textual functions, *now* reconstructs the basic temporal link binding the speaker and hearers or narrator and reader or character and reader together and emphasises or simulates co-temporality. *Now* also constitutes a discursive signal calling for attention and bringing the right-hand discourse segment to the foreground. Thus, the use of *now* to articulate a text emphasises the intersubjectivity of the text and the fact that there is a speaker or narrator controlling the discourse and a hearer or reader that is being guided through the successive steps of the narrative of reasoning.

Thus, the pragmatic functions of *now* derive both from its contrastive function and its deictic function. Although both these traits are to a certain extent to be found in all uses of *now*, the textual functions of pragmatic *now* rely mostly on contrast while its interpersonal functions are derived primarily from its function of intersubjective deictic marker. An interesting way of unifying these two meanings is to look at the notion of coordination of the common ground developed by Van den Berg & Wu (2006) with reference to the Mandarin marker of change of state *le*.

#### **4.2. *Now*: a marker of common ground coordination**

In this section, we examine the function of coordination of common ground and argue that pragmatic *now* is a marker of coordination or update of the common ground of the situation. As we argued in Chapter 3, in Chinese the final particle *le* is first and foremost a marker of change of state and contrast, and from the validated change emerges a need for coordination of the common ground. Van den Berg & Wu (2006) define the common ground as a shared basis for communication that can be reflected upon and augmented in conversation. It includes the communal common ground (cultural community, norms and procedures) and the personal common ground (personal experiences with other people of the community). Thus, in a situation of utterance the common ground corresponds to the knowledge and experiences shared by the

participants. The use of *le* in Chinese, by indicating that a change has taken place, operates an update of the common ground – which has been modified by the change and the speaker’s knowledge of the change, on which the hearer is required to coordinate, *i.e.* the hearer is required to take the change into account in his mental model of the common ground. Van den Berg & Wu define the intent behind the use of *le* as “‘coordinate now’ on the content being signalled” (Van den Berg & Wu 2006: 64). They explain that *le* is a pragmatic coordination device that requests the addressee to pay special attention to the exchange process at that point in the interaction, and to coordinate on the content provided (Van den Berg & Wu 2006: 69).

Like *le*, temporal *now* calls for coordination of the common ground, because of both its temporal and contrastive meanings. *Now* indicates that something has changed in the structure of the common ground and that this change must be coordinated on by the participants at the time of speech. In its pragmatic use, *now* does exactly this: it indicates that a change takes place at S, either in discourse (textual uses) or in the relation between the speaker and the hearer (interpersonal uses) and that as a result the common ground has been modified, making it a necessity for the hearer to coordinate on the change and take it into account in his mental model of the common ground that lies between himself and the speaker.

When *now* has a textual use, the hearer is asked to pay attention because something is changing in the text-structure, and to take that change into account in order to follow the discourse line: when it is coordinative, *now* requires coordination of the common ground from the hearer at key points in which the discourse shifts towards a new element. When it is subordinative, *now* signals a bifurcation and warns the hearer to coordinate on that bifurcation in order to follow the argument. The speaker-oriented uses of *now* aim at signalling to the hearer that the speaker controls the speech flow and that the hearer should yield the control of the common ground to the speaker and simply coordinate on it. When *now* is hearer-oriented, it requires the hearer to update her common ground so that it may be in harmony with that of the speaker. The speaker represents to the hearer what the new common-ground is (the change operated by *now* is typically the assertion of the authority of the speaker over the hearer) and indicates that the hearer is required to change perspectives or act in order to adjust her common ground to that of the speaker.

Thus, in Chinese, the pragmatic particle *le* is followed, most of the time, by an assent from the hearer who indicates that the coordination of the common ground has been successful (Lu & Su 2009). Similarly, *now* is used as an intersubjective marker only by people with a legitimate authority over the hearer, ensuring an adequate response of coordination. When *now* is used interpersonally without the speaker having a legitimate right to control the common ground and require coordination, then the coordination might fail and the hearer might refuse to coordinate, or express embarrassment.

## 5. Conclusion

We have shown that pragmatic *now* is a multifunctional marker with textual as well as interpersonal functions. The core aspects of pragmatic *now* are derived from its temporal meanings of contrast and shared deixis. On the one hand, the textual functions of *now* draw mostly on the contrastive meaning of *now*, while on the other hand, the interpersonal functions of *now* draw mostly from its intersubjective deictic function. In both cases, *now* is a coordinator of common ground which registers and/or requires a coordination of the common ground of the situation. This shows that English *now* and Chinese *le*, in addition to sharing temporal uses, have developed similar pragmatic functions. We will examine them contrastively in more details in Chapter 9.

The multifunctionality of *now* can be explained by the fact that temporal *now*, which is a temporal marker with contrastive and intersubjective functions, is already multifunctional. The fact that a single occurrence of *now* might have several functions, with typically one textual function and one pragmatic function, can be explained by the fact that these two core meanings of *now* are present in its pragmatic realisation and when both are activated to an equal degree, the result is that *now* has a contrastive textual function on the one hand, and an intersubjective function on the other.

Although the various functions of *now* identified could be organised differently and sometimes seem to overlap, the classification proposed of pragmatic *now* allows for a better understanding of its multifunctionality. On the one hand, some pragmatic functions have

developed from the contrastive meaning of *now* (*i.e.* the textual functions), and on the other hand some have developed from its deictic meaning with intersubjective value (the interpersonal functions).

Having examined the pragmatic functions of *now* and its path of grammaticalisation in view of its proximal deictic meaning and its contrastive meaning, let us turn to the study of non-temporal *then*, a marker of distal deixis and anaphora with a much weaker contrastive meaning, also used as a sequential marker with little semantic content. We will see to what extent the non-temporal uses of *then* build on its temporal meanings with a view to contrasting the grammaticalisation path of *now* and *then*.

## Chapter 8

### Non-temporal *then*

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In this chapter, we examine the non-temporal uses of *then*. Like its proximal counterpart *now*, the distal marker *then* can be used as a pragmatic marker. While the pragmatic functions of *now* draw on its temporal proximal deictic value, the pragmatic functions of *then* draw on its distal and anaphoric temporal values. One of the main questions raised by the study of non-temporal *then* is the question of its polysemy. Indeed, while the two core meanings of temporal *now*, *i.e.* proximal deixis and contrast, can be identified in all the pragmatic functions of *now*, the situation with *then* is more complex. We showed in Chapter 4 that there are two realisations of temporal *then*, namely a referential marker and a sequential one. In this chapter, we attempt to show that each of these markers has become the basis for a grammaticalisation process. Thus, we argue that the non-temporal functions of *then* can be divided into two groups: some are derived from the referential use of *then*, and some are derived from its sequential use.

We identify six pragmatic functions for *then*: three textual functions, and two interpersonal functions. *Then* is used for text-structuring in causal structures as a consequential marker, in conditional structures as a logical marker and in lists. It is also used as an interpersonal marker in the compound marker *but then (again)* (hereafter *BT(A)*), in clause-final position (including initiation/response/evaluation (I/R/E) sequences (Schiffrin 1987, 1992)), and as a final particle (Haselow 2011). We show that while the functions of *then* in conditionals draw from the referential use of temporal *then*, the causal and additive functions draw from its sequential use. In order to demonstrate this, we will first present a review of the literature on the non-temporal functions of *then* (Section 1), before proposing a classification of its uses based on our corpora

(Section 2). Finally, in Section 3, we examine the distribution of non-temporal *then* in our corpora.

## 1. Non-temporal *then* : literature review and definitions

In this section we attempt to define what we mean by ‘non-temporal use’ of *then*, and to establish a distinction between ‘non-temporal’ and ‘pragmatic’. To this end, we look at prior studies on *then*. First, we endeavour to determine the scope of *then* as a pragmatic marker (1.1.), before reviewing several studies on non-temporal *then* (2.2.).

### 1.1. *Then* as a pragmatic marker

Although we broadly defined the notion of pragmatic marker in Chapter 7 (1.1.) when examining the non-temporal functions of *now*, new questions arise with the study of *then*. Indeed, the labelling of non-referential *now* as a pragmatic marker is unproblematic: when *now* is not used for temporal location, it is a pragmatic marker. However, the identification of the pragmatic uses of *then* is more challenging. This is, first of all, linked to the fact that there are two temporal *then*. Although there is an overlap between the meanings of these two markers displayed in what we called mixed occurrences of temporal *then* - which suggests that these two functions are related - in non-mixed cases their meanings are quite distinct. While referential *then* refers to an entity, *i.e.* a time interval, sequential *then* codes a relation of sequence between two entities, *i.e.* two eventualities. The double use of temporal *then* raises several questions as regards the semantic change process of *then*. First, should both realisations of temporal *then* be considered to be equally basic, or did one use evolve from the other? If that is the case, should sequential *then* be considered as more pragmatic than referential *then*? Furthermore, should logical *then* be considered as a pragmatic marker?

Functions such as the logical use of *then* in *if-then* structures or even the sequential use of temporal *then* fit broad definitions of pragmatic markers while they are excluded from more narrow definitions. For instance, on the one hand, Fraser (1998, 1999) considers that any marker specifying the relation between two segments of discourse should be considered to be a pragmatic marker. According to this definition, sequential *then*, which is not conceptual, has a

procedural meaning and specifies the type of relation that links Eventuality B to Eventuality A, namely a relation of sequence, qualifies as a pragmatic marker. Conversely, Schiffrin (1987) adopts a narrower definition of pragmatic markers and does not treat sequential *then* as a marker, but as an adverb.

One characteristic of PMs on which everyone agrees is the fact that PMs are peripheral markers which do not participate in the propositional content of the clause and can be omitted without changing the meaning of the clause (Fraser 1998; Brinton 2006; Liu 2011; *etc.*). Sequential *then*, which does not modify the propositional content of the clause it introduces, fills this condition. However, the key element that can help determine the pragmatic status of sequential *then* is the effect of its removal on larger discourse sequences. Indeed, although it is accepted that the removal of a PM might render the discourse “awkward”, “disjointed” or “unnatural” (Brinton 2006: 36; *cf.* Chapter 7, 1.1.), the general meaning conveyed and the relationship between the elements articulated by the PM should not change with the omission of a PM. Indeed, as noted in Chapter 7 (1.1.), Liu (2011: 369) argues that “if the DM is removed from the utterance, the semantic relationship between the elements they connect remains the same”. It is this criterion which leads us to reject the classification of sequential *then* as a PM. Indeed, following Thompson (1999), we have seen in Chapter 4 that although the linear organisation of juxtaposed eventualities is sufficient to induce a sequential interpretation when the eventualities are ideationally related or are part of a known procedure, this is not the case when the eventualities are ideationally unconnected. In such a situation, a grab-bag interpretation is available, as in example 0a below taken from Thompson (1999: 125). The use of sequential *then* in (38)b, on the other hand, coerces an ordered reading.

- (1) a. Mary went to the store. She fixed a faucet. She wrote a long overdue ‘thank-you’ letter to her nephew. She read the morning paper. (Grab-bag)
- b. Mary went to the store. **Then** she fixed a faucet. **Then** she wrote a long overdue ‘thank-you’ letter to her nephew. **Then** she read the morning paper. (Ordered)

This shows that the relationship between the elements connected by *then* is modified by the presence of *then*, and its removal can modify the interpretation of the discourse sequence. Accordingly, sequential *then* cannot be considered to be a PM.



Another question is the status of the argumentative uses of *then*, namely causal *then* and logical *then* in *if-then* structures. Indeed, although Schiffrin (1987, 1992) considers that *then* in I/R/E sequences - which are directly derived from the logical use of *then* - is a PM, she does not explicitly treat *if-then* structures as pragmatic. Similarly, Degand & Fagard (2011) study the French marker *alors* ‘at that time, then, as a consequence, in this case’ and exclude causal and logical functions from the PM category. Rather, they consider that both causal and logical *alors* can be interpreted temporally. Brinton (2006) considers that *then* in these uses is a conjunction and not a pragmatic marker. She notes that this conjunctive use might be a step leading from temporal *then* to pragmatic *then*. However, she explains that diachronic studies of Old English *þa* ‘then’ have shown that it is not certain whether the grammaticalisation path of such adverbs was adverb > conjunction > pragmatic marker, or whether the pragmatic marker evolved directly from the adverb (Brinton 2006: 328).

In 2.1., we will attempt to show that although a temporal relation can be retrieved when causal and logical *then* are used, part of their meaning is non-temporal, particularly as regards logical *then* for which the semantic change is more advanced than for causal *then*. In fact, it seems that causal and logical *then* are situated in-between temporal and pragmatic *then* on the grammaticalisation path of the marker. The study of each function of *then* exposes a progressive evolution of meaning from purely temporal meanings to purely pragmatic meanings. Accordingly, we chose to refer to ‘non-temporal’ functions of *then* rather than to ‘pragmatic’ functions as the focus of this chapter. Indeed, in addition to purely pragmatic functions of *then*, we will examine uses that stem directly from temporal uses of *then* and serve as a basis for the development of pragmatic functions. These uses express logical relations of causal and conditional nature, and are a step towards the development of *then* as a PM.

## 1.2. Literature review

In this section, we review some studies produced on *then* as a non-temporal marker. One of the most prolific writers on the subject is Schiffrin (1987, 1990, 1992), who has explored many facets of *then*. Having reviewed her work on non-temporal *then* (1.2.1.), we will present some works by Degand & Fagard (2011) and Degand (2014) on a French equivalent of *then*, namely the marker *alors* ‘at that time, then, so, in this case’ (1.2.2.). We will then give an account of

Haselow's (2011) analysis of non-temporal *then* in final position (1.2.3.), and finally review the work of Deléchelle (2011) on the compound expression *but then (again)* (1.2.4.).

### 1.2.1. Schiffrin (1987, 1990, 1992)

Schiffrin focusses on *then* as a listing device on the one hand, and as an epistemic marker on the other. She first explains that *then*, drawing on its sequential temporal use, can organise successive topics. It does not imply an ordered temporal relation between the topics, but rather, the listed topics are presented as “members of a group of entities that share some common defining feature, and whose cumulative presence in discourse can reinforce (but not create) the notion of them as similar” (Schiffrin 1992: 771). Thus, in example (2) taken from the ECC, the speaker uses *then* to code accumulation. She first indicates that three men came to a party, identifies a common defining feature - *i.e.* they are categorised as “geeks” - and proceeds to describe them successively. She uses *and then* to introduce the last member of the list.

- (2) And these three guy=s walk in and, (H) one guy,... was so geeky, he's in a suit.... Who the hell do you know, goes to a party in a suit. (H) I mean who .. is this g=eek. (H) So anyway, the .. other guy had a real nice shirt on, **and then** there was some other geek. (ECC)

In this case, unlike *now* which can also be used in lists, *then* points backward in discourse and does not mark the speaker's progression (which *now* does) but rather marks the succession between topics (Schiffrin 1987). Schiffrin attributes this difference in focus to the deictic meanings of each marker: *then* is distal, while *now* is proximal. Thus, she notes that while *now* can occur with an initial subtopic in a list, *then* can only be used to introduce a later subtopic. For instance in example (2), while *now* could be inserted at the beginning of the list ((*now*), *one guy...*, (*now*) *the other guy...*, (*\*now*) *there was some other geek*), *then* can only introduce a subsequent element of the list ((*\*then*), *one guy...*, (*then*) *the other guy...*, (*then*) *there was some other geek*).

She links this distributional particularity of PM *then* to an intersubjective use which enables the speaker to pick up her argument after the hearer has expressed her disagreement (“And *then* again, I still feel...”) (Schiffrin 1987: 254). We did not find any such uses of *then* in our corpus,

but we found occurrences of *and then (again)* in monologues that are closely related to it. We will examine these forms in 2.3.

Apart from these uses, Schiffrin focusses on what she calls the epistemic functions of *then*. After giving a brief account of *then* in the epistemic structure *if-then*, she turns to what she calls initiation/response/evaluation (I/R/E) sequences (Schiffrin 1992), which are derived from the logical use of *then* in *if-then* structures. She defines the role of *then* in conditional structures as follows:

*Then* conveys the possibility that a proposition (Y) holds in case another (possibly hypothetical) proposition (X) also holds, that is, that Y warrants the inference of X. (Schiffrin 1992: 774)

Schiffrin notes that *then* is often omitted in conditional structures, in which the use of *if* is often sufficient to convey conditional meaning. Moreover, she shows that when *then* is present, temporal antecedents in the protasis of the conditional sequence occur more frequently than when *then* is omitted (Schiffrin 1992). Schiffrin relates this phenomenon to the anaphoric meaning of *then* and more particularly to its temporal meaning. Indeed, she considers that,

What might be considered to be conditional *then* — grammatically distinct from temporal *then* — is actually temporally anaphoric both locally (for example, with the *as* clause) and globally (indexing an event as one of a pair of contrasting possibilities). And it is this dual role that suggests that *then* in conditional sentences is no different from temporally anaphoric *then*. (Schiffrin 1992: 776)

Moreover, she argues that the position of *then* in *if-then* sequences indicates that there is a shift of reference time, in other words that initial logical *then* should be interpreted as a sequential marker. Conversely, the use of logical *then* in final position in I/R/E sequences would continue the reference time on the model of final temporal *then*:

Initial *then* in *if X then Y* resembles clause-initial temporal *then* that shifts RT; final *then* resembles clause final *then* that continues RT. (Schiffrin 1992: 778)

In our study of the use of *then* in conditional contexts, we suggest that *then*, both in *if-then* sequences and in I/R/E sequences, is in fact derived from referential *then*, *i.e.* it typically continues the reference time of Eventuality A. We call the use of *then* in conditional contexts

‘logical’, because it establishes a logical relation between a condition and a result. We will argue that the continuation of R from Eventuality A to Eventuality B is central to the mechanism of hypothetical sequences, and that as a consequence the eventuality introduced by logical *then* can only be understood to overlap with the eventuality of the protasis or its result state.

The main object of study of Schiffrin as regards pragmatic *then* is I/R/E sequences (Schiffrin 1987, 1992). They occur only in situations of interaction and are constituted of an initiation move from the speaker, a response from the hearer, and finally an evaluation by the speaker typically concluded by *then*. Example (3) is part of a conversation between two friends, and is taken from Schiffrin (1987).

- (3)     Sally:        Um, how many years of school did you get a chance to finish?  
           Zelda:        Twelve.  
           Sally:        Twelve. So you went through high school, **then**.  
           Zelda:        Umhmm. (Schiffrin 1987: 255)

Sally asks Zelda for information about the number of years she went to school (initiation), Zelda then provides the information (response), and finally Sally infers from her answer the school-level she must have reached (evaluation), asking for confirmation (which is given directly with an agreement token) with *then*. The objective of this exchange is to confirm shared knowledge, and the intonation of the evaluation segment is falling.

Requests for confirmation are the most common types of I/R/E, but the speaker can also initiate the sequence to obtain information or request action. The criterion for this use of *then* is that the prior discourse should provide a warrant licensing the inference made by the speaker and given through the response move of the sequence (Schiffrin 1987: 257). When the evaluation is not absolutely warranted by prior speech, *then* can occur in initial position with a contrastive value similar to the contrastive value displayed by clause-initial referential *then* as in (4) below:

In sum, epistemic **then** in interactive sequences is typically clause-final; when it is clause-initial, it seems to be used as a marker of contrastive focus (...), that is, when the inference is not totally warranted. (Schiffrin 1992: 783)

Schiffrin notes that *then* in I/R/E sequences often co-occurs with another marker, particularly in initial position, with the marker reinforcing the contrast induced by *then* (cf. *well* in (4) below).

- (4) Irene: [Really. That's how ] =  
 Henry: [Then you're prejudiced.]  
 Irene: = I feel about it.  
 Henry: Well **then** you're prejudiced. (Schiffrin 1992)

Schiffrin draws on the parallel between temporal initial *then* and initial logical *then* on the one hand, and the parallel of final temporal *then* and final *then* in I/R/E sequences on the other hand to explain their differences in meaning. Thus, final *then* in I/R/E implies continuity of R because the warrant has established shared knowledge and continuity is implied. Conversely, initial *then* is used when the common ground is questionable in I/R/E sequences, and when there is a shift in the epistemic realm from Eventuality A to Eventuality B:

*Then* in conditionals is more like 'it follows that' ('if X, it follows that Y'), and this is a clear extension in an epistemic realm of the successive meaning of initial *then* ('shift RT) in a temporal realm. (Schiffrin 1992: 784)

Thus, final *then* in I/R/E sequences is closer to the realis pole and logical *then* in *if-then* structures is closer to the irrealis pole:

Although I/R/E sequences and conditional sentences share an underlying functional structure, they differ because a conditional sentence PROPOSES A HYPOTHETICAL WARRANT and an I/R/E sequence CREATES AN ACTUAL WARRANT. This difference suggests that conditionals are closer to the irrealis end, and I/R/E sequences are closer to the realis end, of the epistemic continuum proposed by Akatsuka (1987), such that we may paraphrase a conditional warrant/inference structure as "if X, Y," and an I/R/E warrant/inference structure as "because X, Y." (Schiffrin 1992: 783)

Although we agree with this last analysis, we will challenge the view according to which logical *then* derives from sequential *then*.

### 1.2.2. Degand & Fagard (2011), Degand (2014)

Degand and Fagard examine the French adverb and pragmatic marker *alors* ‘at that time, then, so’. This marker has a lot in common with English *then*, although they differ on several points. We will only focus on the aspects of Degand & Fagard’s analyses that are relevant for the study of the marker *then*.

Degand & Fagard (2011) examine the semantic change of *alors*, from its temporal meaning (‘at that time, then’) to its causal (‘so’), logical (‘in this case’) meanings and finally pragmatic meaning (‘well, and then’). They carry out a diachronic study showing that the logical meaning of *alors* emerged later than its causal meaning. Moreover, they draw a link between syntactic change and semantic change, contending that “syntactic change is a prerequisite for semantic change” (Degand & Fagard 2011: 49). Thus, while *alors* was originally mostly found in medial position as a temporal adverb, it moved to initial position, becoming a sentence adverb and a good candidate to turn into a particle. This grammaticalisation cline was identified by Traugott (1997) as a typical path for adverbs to become PMs. Degand & Fagard show that *alors* moves from clause-internal position to peripheral position with discourse-structuring functions. They note that in final position, *alors* can be exclamative and intersubjective. Moreover, similarly to final *then* in I/R/E sequences, it can be used to request confirmation.

In Degand (2014), Degand explores the differences in meaning and function between sentence-initial and sentence-final *alors*. She shows that in the left periphery, *alors* has a subjective meaning, *i.e.* it is speaker-oriented, while in the right periphery it has an intersubjective meaning, *i.e.* it is hearer-oriented. We will examine the situation with PM *then* in left and right peripheries and see whether these findings are confirmed with PM *then* in our corpora.

### 1.2.3. Haselow (2011)

Haselow examines the pragmatic functions of final *then* and finds that there are two distinct uses of *then* in right periphery. On the one hand, he identifies the PM use defined by Schiffrin (1992) as an epistemic use in I/R/E sequences, and on the other hand, he identifies a modal particle use,

which links the utterance to a non-verbalised proposition. This use has been hinted at by Degand & Fagard (2011) and Degand (2014) for final *alors*, but never as clearly stated.

He opposes left and right periphery, attributing text-structuring functions to initial *then*, while final *then* occurs as an afterthought to modify a pre-established relation and involves a re-processing of the preceding utterance:

Adverbial connectors which are placed in initial position are explicit signposts that guide the hearer or reader through the text and mark it as standing in a specific semantic relation (*e.g.* cause, concession, contrast) to the preceding part, thus facilitating the interpretation and the processing of a textual unit while moving from the first to the second connect. (...) Final connectors, however, require a re-processing of the preceding assertion, or even a reinterpretation, particularly if they also modify the illocutionary force of an utterance. (Haselow 2011: 3603)

Moreover, final *then* is shown to operate at the illocutionary level:

It signals a contrastive relation between an expected and an actual state of affairs, thereby strengthening the illocutionary force of the utterance it accompanies, and it is used to express surprise or impatience on the side of the speaker. (Haselow 2011: 3604)

Haselow explains that with requests for action that are prompted by a prior utterance of the hearer, final *then* marks a contrast between the clause concluded by *then* and a previous assumption: therefore, *then* is a marker of intersubjectivity. It can either soften or strengthen the request, and often makes the utterance sound friendlier (Haselow 2011: 3611). Haselow calls such utterances ‘reactive directives’. In non-reactive directives on the other hand, *i.e.* directives that are not a response to a need of the hearer, the speaker expresses impatience. Indeed, *then* indicates a contrast between the behaviour of the hearer and what was expected by the speaker. Thus, non-reactive directives are face-threatening. While reactive directives are an attempt to resolve a face-threatening contrast, non-reactive directives emphasize the contrast with a view to getting the hearer to change her attitude.

Haselow identifies four illocutionary types compatible with final *then*: directives (information-seeking, non-reactive, and reactive), commissives (*I’ll come back then*), expressives (*I’m sorry everybody then*) and assertives (*other people must have picked them up then*). He notes that more than 80% of the occurrences of final *then* are directives.

Haselow argues that some of these final uses of *then* fit the description of a modal particle. He bases this view on the definition of modal particles in German: they are used to express an attitude assumed to be shared by the hearer and add an emotional tone to the utterance. Therefore, an utterance with a final particle conveys agreement, rejection, restriction, surprise, or interest towards prior talk. Modal particles “link the utterance that includes a modal particle with a state of affairs” which is often not verbalised (Haselow 2011: 3612). Thus, modal particles refer to a proposition outside the discourse and inscribe the utterance within a dialogue. Accordingly, Haselow (2011: 3613) considers that final *then* corresponds to a final particle when it links the utterance to an implied proposition, *i.e.* typically in information-seeking requests expressed as *wh*-interrogatives that seem to occur rather abruptly in the conversation such as, *so what did you do today then?* In such an utterance,

final *then* indicates a contrast between an expected information supply as to the activities performed by A on that day, and the lack of information supply at a specific moment in the conversation. (Haselow 2011: 3614)

Although the request opens a new topical unit, no real disruption is perceived because the use of *then* relates the request to a prior utterance that remains non-verbalised. According to Haselow, “the function of final *then* can be paraphrased as: ‘from what I know about the current situation I consider it a given that I ask: proposition P?’” (Haselow 2011: 3614). Thus, the presence of *then* makes the existence of the non-verbalised proposition explicit. Final *then* orients the utterance both backwards - towards the implied proposition - and forward – towards the fulfilment of the request.

Haselow accounts for the evolution of *then* into a particle through the concept of *functional adaptation* defined by Croft (2003), according to which functional evolution occurs as a response to speakers’ need for more efficiency. While PM final *then* still retains its logical meaning, the final particle corresponds to an abstraction of the conditional relation. However, the anaphoric mechanism of *then* and therefore its basic lexical meaning is retained in all its realisations. The passage from PM to final particle cannot, according to Haselow, be called a grammaticalisation process but should rather be termed pragmaticalisation. He proposes the following cline for *then*: time adverb *þa/þonne* in Old English > optional conjunct > discourse marker > modal particle (Haselow 2011: 3620).



#### 1.2.4. Deléchelle (2011)

Deléchelle (2011) studies the compound connector *but then (again)*. He notes that this connector is a very flexible phrase which functions at discourse level. It can take various forms: *but then, then again, but then again, but again*. Deléchelle explains that *but* is a marker of contrast, while *again* indicates the resuming of a topic and introduces either an explanation of a previous discourse or an opinion that differs from it. As for *then*, Deléchelle does not identify any particular meaning relevant to the phrase under study but only states that *then* is an anaphoric temporal marker with an inferential meaning, which can be continuative or additive.

The form *but then (again)* marks contrast and alterity. Deléchelle notes that the two segments separated by *BT(A)* are relatively autonomous and display a prosodic detachment which reflects the contrast existing between the segments and their autonomy. Dictionaries generally give two uses for *BT(A)* in <P *BT(A)* Q>: when introduced by *BT(A)*, Q can present another aspect of P and be glossed with *on the other hand* as in, *Perhaps it will be easier to wade the river, but then again, perhaps not*.

Such uses of *BT(A)* open a bifurcation in the discourse, opposing P to an alternative proposition P'. They can introduce an evaluation (*I always thought that. But then I'm probably wrong.*) in which the speaker questions the validity of P. *BT(A)* Q corresponds to a reevaluation of P and proposes an alternative, but not a resolution of the opposition. *BT(A)* articulates two points of view. Q can be a rhetorical question, in which case the hearer is invited to share the speaker's point of view (*You're not from 'ere – But then again, who is?*). Deléchelle argues that *BT(A)* is not a marker of concession:

*BT(A)* is not part of a syntactically integrated concessive structure : Q is interpreted relative to P only retrospectively, which attenuates the dependency between P and Q and makes their relation more indirect. Thus, the relation between P and Q is better described as 'adversative'.<sup>1</sup> (Deléchelle 2011: 232)

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<sup>1</sup> "BT(A) n'entre pas dans un système concessif syntaxiquement intégré: P ne constitue que rétroactivement un repère pour Q, ce qui atténue et rend plus indirect le rapport entre P et Q que l'on qualifiera plutôt d' 'adversatif'." (Deléchelle 2011 : 232)

Another use of the form corresponds to cases in which P and Q are semantically co-oriented (*He was part of my dream, of course - but then I was part of his dream, too!*). In this case *BT(A)* operates a retrospective readjustment of P and corresponds to an argumentative move, the exact nature of which can vary depending on the context. Q often amplifies or generalises the point of view given in P in order to explain or justify the utterance. The motivation for such a move is the feeling that P might give rise to inadequate inferences. For instance in the previous example, *he was part of my dream* might be interpreted contrastively as implying that the speaker was not part of the subject's dream, and that the speaker's dream was one-sided. She uses *BT(A)* to eliminate this potential alterity. The use of *BT(A)* implies that P is not self-sufficient and must be qualified further, explained or justified. Thus, despite the fact that Deléchelle considers that *BT(A)* is typical of monologues, he also acknowledges that the will to adjust the discourse for the hearer to better grasp the situation is the trace of an intersubjective relation.

Deléchelle's study is one of the only analyses of the form *BT(A)*. Although it is very enlightening, it does not precisely account for the use of the marker *then* in such constructions. We shall attempt to propose an explanation for the use of *then* further in *BT(A)* constructions in 2.4. Having described the major studies on non-temporal *then* to date, we will now draw from them to attempt to classify all the non-temporal uses of *then*.

## 2. Non-temporal functions of *then* in the corpora

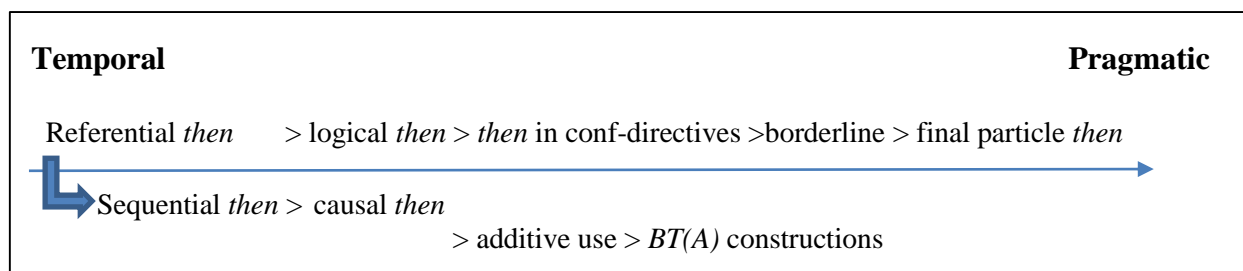
In this section, we define and analyse each function of non-temporal *then*. Following Degand & Fagard (2011) and Hansen (2012) among others, we assume that semantic change follows a path from content-level to context-level (Hansen 2012: 595), in other words in the case of *then*, from temporal adverb to discourse marker. Accordingly, we propose to answer the following question: should it be considered that the various uses of non-temporal *then* result from a unique grammaticalisation process from temporal adverb to logical and discourse marker or should several grammaticalisation paths be envisaged?

We put forward the idea that the semantic change of *then* results from two different grammaticalisation paths: on the one hand, part of the non-temporal functions of *then* draw from

referential *then* and its usual R-continuing value (causal and logical functions, final logical uses and final particle), while others draw from sequential *then* and its R-shifting value (causal function, additive function, *BT(A)* constructions). In 2.1., we propose a general classification of the non-temporal realisations of *then*. Then, we look at the sequential-based uses of non-temporal *then*, *i.e.* its causal use (2.2.), its additive use (2.3.) and *but then (again)* constructions (2.4.). Finally, we analyse referential-based uses: the use of *then* as a logical marker in conditional structures (2.5.), final uses of logical *then* (2.6.) and the use of *then* as a final particle (2.7.).

## 2.1. General classification: from temporal to pragmatic uses

We identify a total of six non-temporal functions of *then*. We noted in 1.1. that the classification of *then* in causal and conditional structures as a PM or not is problematic, since while some definitions of PMs accommodate its function as a text-structuring logical connector, others do not. We will consider that the various functions of *then* can be placed on a continuum from temporal to pragmatic functions, with causal and logical uses being located in the central area, as in Figure 1 below.



**Figure 1** - Functions of *then*, from temporal to pragmatic

We identify two major paths of grammaticalisation emerging from temporal *then*. Indeed, sequential *then* is a temporal connector and as such, it can be assumed to have evolved from referential *then* following the same path as *alors* (Degand & Fagard 2011). The existence of medial mixed occurrences of temporal *then* already suggests that referential and sequential *then* are linked. Although a diachronic study of the use of *then* in English would be needed to confirm that the sequential use of *then* emerged from its referential use, we can hypothesise here that this is the case, following Degand & Fagard (2011) and Traugott (1997) who propose the following

path of grammaticalisation for adverbs which are grammaticalised into PMs: Clause-internal Adverbial > Sentence Adverbial > Discourse Particle (Traugott 1997).

Sequential *then* is typically initial and thus corresponds to a sentence adverbial, which corresponds to the second stage of the grammaticalisation process and indicates that the sequential function of *then* must have evolved from another more basic function. Moreover, sequential *then* tends to have a mixed meaning in medial position (*cf.* Chapter 4. example (45): *The guard then hung up*), *i.e.* when it is clause-internal, which confirms that clause-internal position is linked to referential meaning. Referential *then* is typically final and VP-oriented, *i.e.* clause-internal, but it can be found in initial position in which case it implies a sequence between Eventuality A and Eventuality B (*cf.* Chapter 4. example (8): *once the man was through the doors, then he'd go back doing it*). The development of sequential *then* can be assumed to stem from the initial use of referential *then*, which implies a sequence. This would be in keeping with Traugott's (1997) and Degand's (2014) findings which indicate that semantic change is prompted by syntactic change. Accordingly, we can consider that it is the syntactic distribution of referential *then* which, having evolved from a fixed final position to a possible initial position with a sequential meaning, prompted the development of a new sequential function associated to *then*. This syntactic evolution seems to follow the semantic evolution from referentiality to progressive bleaching.

Note that we identify two paths of grammaticalisation for *then*, with logical uses emerging from referential *then* while causal and additive uses emerge from sequential *then*, which itself probably developed from the syntactic evolution of referential *then*. However, causal uses of *then* and additive uses of *then* are not directly linked: each emerges from a specific function of sequential *then*, or rather, from two different types of contexts. Thus, two branches of sequential-based functions can be identified. On the one hand, sequential *then* developed into an additive marker, and as such started being used in *BT(A)* constructions. On the other hand, sequential *then* developed into a causal marker. This is due to the compatibility of sequential *then* with both causally unrelated sequential events and causally related sequential events. Thus, context participates in the emergence of the non-temporal uses of *then*. When *then* occurs in non-causal contexts, *i.e.* when the validation of Eventuality B is not related to the validation of Eventuality A, it can easily take on an additive function. Conversely, if there are reasons to suppose that

Eventuality B depends on Eventuality A for validation, *then* will be interpreted causally. This explains why both additive and causal uses of *then* can both be mixed.

We can organise the functions of non-temporal *then* along two criteria: in Table 1 we followed the distinction between textual and interpersonal uses of pragmatic markers (*cf.* Chapter 7), while in Table 2 we differentiate sequential-based from referential-based functions.

**Table 1** - Non-temporal functions of *then*: textual vs. interpersonal functions

<b>TEXTUAL</b>		<b>INTERPERSONAL</b>	
<b>Topic Coordination</b> Sequential-based	<b>Topic subordination</b> Referential-based	<b>Speaker-Oriented</b> Sequential-based	<b>Hearer-Oriented</b> Referential-based
- causal - additive use	- logical: <i>if - then</i>	- <i>But then (again)</i> - Logical <i>then</i> (no <i>if</i> -clause)	- Final <i>then</i> in directives - Final particle

**Table 2** - Non-temporal functions of *then*: referential-based vs. sequential-based functions

<b>Referential-based</b> <b>Subordination</b>	<b>Sequential-based</b> <b>Coordination</b>
- Logical structures ( <i>if-then</i> ) - Logical <i>then</i> (no <i>if</i> -clause) - Final particle	- Causal use - Additive use - <i>BT(A)</i> constructions

As we did for pragmatic *now* in Chapter 7, we use the notions of coordination and subordination to describe the functions of *then*. We find that referential-based functions of *then* are anaphors of subordinate clauses while sequential-based functions are coordinative. Sekali (2013) shows that subordination and coordination structures differ in terms of topic structure and linear organisation. On the one hand, the operation of subordination dissociates topical

organisation from the linear order of the predicates, while coordination associates topical organisation with the linear chain of discourse. Thus, with subordination, predicative linearity does not affect the organisation of the eventualities, on the contrary their relation is given by the subordinator. Conversely, with coordination, the linear order of discourse is inextricably associated with the topical order of the coordinated elements (Sekali 2013: 126-127).

We propose that referential-based functions of *then* operate on a subordinative mode while sequential-based uses are coordinative. In other words, logical *then* and particle *then* operate on discourse anaphorically regardless of the linearity of events. Conversely, when *then* articulates causal relations, lists and occurs in *BT(A)* structures it relies on the linear organisation of the elements in discourse to convey meaning.

We argue that the coordinative and subordinative characteristics of the non-temporal functions of *then* are directly derived from their temporal functions: indeed, while sequential *then* is a temporal connector that coordinates two chronologically ordered elements, thus depending on the linearity of discourse for interpretation, referential *then* associates eventualities regardless of their position in discourse.

Having given a general picture of the non-temporal uses of *then*, we now propose to examine them one by one. We start with the uses that are derived from the sequential function of temporal *then*, before turning to the referential-based functions of non-temporal *then*.

## 2.2. Causal *then*

In causal contexts, *then* introduces the consequence or result of an eventuality, and can be paraphrased by ‘so, as a consequence’. Causal meaning is very difficult to distinguish from the temporal use of *then*; indeed, when *then* expresses a causal relation, its meaning is generally connected to the temporal link between the two related eventualities, with the validation of Eventuality A leading to the validation of Eventuality B. This is linked to the fact that causal *then* links together clauses in the content domain.

Sweetser (1990) distinguishes between three semantic domains for causal and conditional relations: the content domain, the epistemic domain, and the speech act domain. When the

validation of Eventuality A causes the validation of Eventuality B in the real world, as in (5) below, the relation is in the content domain. In the epistemic domain, the truth of A implies the truth of B (*If John went to that party, he was trying to infuriate Miriam*). We will examine this type of relations in more detail in 2.5. In the speech act domain, the performance of the speech act is dependent on the validation of a certain condition. *Then* often relates eventualities in the speech act domain when it occurs in final position as an anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause (A: *I never said that*. B: *What did you say, then?*) (cf. 2.5.; 2.6.; 2.7.). We will see in Section 3 that our corpus contains very few unmixed occurrences of causal *then*, because cause-consequence relation are generally found in the content domain, implying a relation of temporal sequence between the cause and the consequence. Example (5) below has a causal and sequential meaning.

- (5) MARY: I mean ~Tim gets .. in- .. himself into a=, uncomfortable situation or whatever, (H) and his first reaction is to blow up about it.  
 ALICE: Mhm.  
 MARY: ... You know, cause he let --he lets it pile up.  
 ALICE: .. Yep.  
 MARY: ... He doesn't do nothing ... positive about it, **and then** he just blows up.  
 (ECC)

In (5), Eventuality B, *i.e.* the fact that Tim should blow up when he is in an uncomfortable situation is caused by the validation of Eventuality A, *i.e.* the fact that he does not do anything about the situation. Degand & Fagard (2011) identify the following criteria to determine full causal meaning:

- p and q are two independent states of affairs (SoA) or utterances
- *alors* can be paraphrased by *par conséquent, du coup, donc* ‘consequently, therefore, so’ and/or *si bien que* ‘so that’
- the causal reading remains in the absence of *alors*
- the SoA described in q is not possible without the SoA described in p. (Degand & Fagard 2011: 34)

In (5), all these characteristics are present. The two states of affairs are independent; there is a cause/consequence relation between the two; without *then* the causal relation holds, and Eventuality A is necessary to the validation of Eventuality B, since Tim would not blow up if he did something positive about the situation. Note however that *then* co-occurs with the marker

*and*. If *and* is removed, then the causal meaning does not hold. Thus, it is the combination of continuative *and* with *then* that conveys causal meaning. Note also that the causal meaning of *then* is comparable to what we called the resultative meaning of *now* in Chapter 1, which also implied the use of *and*. Thus, if Mary was describing an ongoing situation, she could say: ‘He didn’t do anything about it, and now he just blows up’.

We found some rare cases in which the causal use of *then* is not related to its temporal meaning. This is the case in example (6), in which *then* can be glossed as ‘so, as a consequence’.

- (6) ... (H) It's just, it s- it sounds easy, but it's really hard to do, **and then**, (H) I would never do it, cause I'd never trust myself to do it. (ECC)

In this example, the speaker is talking about the task of shoeing a horse, which she has just described to the hearer. There is no temporal relation between Eventuality A ‘be really hard to do’ and Eventuality B ‘do it’. Indeed, the relation between the two markers does not belong to the content domain but to the epistemic domain: it is not an event in the real world that causes the validation of Eventuality B, but an idea. This shows that the interpretation of *then* as temporal or not is determined by the context. Having seen that the causal meaning of *then* is generally linked to its temporal function, we now turn to the additive use of *then*.

### 2.3. Additive use

In its additive use, *then* links topics or subtopics together in a list. As noted by Schiffrin (1992), *then* underlines the fact that the members of the list share some defining properties as explained with example (2) repeated below.

- (2) And these three guy=s walk in and, (H) one guy,... was so geeky, he's in a suit.... Who the hell do you know, goes to a party in a suit. (H) I mean who .. is this g=eek. (H) So anyway, the .. other guy had a real nice shirt on, and then there was some other geek. (ECC)

Hansen (1997) and Bacha (2005) analyse the French equivalent of additive *then*, (*et puis*), and note the accumulation effect produced. Borillo (2005b) calls *puis* ‘then’ an enumerative connector (‘connecteur énumératif’). Bacha notes that additive *et puis* has an argumentative value, and that it is used more frequently with an argumentative value in interaction while its use



in narration generally conveys a relation of sequence. When *et puis* is used in an explanation or a justification, Bacha notes that it presents the subsequent element of the list as a supplementary element with more argumentative force than the preceding one and could be glossed with ‘in addition to that’.

Additive *then* functions much in the same way. Like French *puis*, additive *then* frequently co-occurs with the conjunction *and*. Thus, in example (7) we find two occurrences of additive *then*.

- (7) I can tell you about Lord of the Flies. It's a bunch of boys on an island **and** they have a conch, a shell, **and** whoever has the conch has power and can talk. You don't have the conch, don't have power. **Then** there's a little chubby boy, Piggy, **and** they're mean, **and then** there's a murder. (EFC)

In this example the speaker is talking about a story, but rather than telling it chronologically, he presents it subjectively as an accumulation of elements that he judges constitutive of the narrative. Thus, what the elements have in common is that they are elements of the same story. He first expresses accumulation with *and*, which loosely codes continuation between the various topics (Schiffrin 1986). The first occurrence of *then* is clearly additive, since it introduces another element to the story. Note that like sequential *then*, additive *then* presents the left-hand elements as a whole which is placed on the same level as the right-hand elements. Therefore in this example, all the elements articulated by *and* are presented as one single member of the list, while what follows *then* is presented as another member. As noted by Bacha about *et puis*, *then* gives argumentative force to the following element. This is due to the foregrounding effect of sequential *then*. *Then* coordinates the two members of the list and brings the one it introduces to the fore. The clause introduced by *and* directly following the *then*-clause is under the scope of additive *then*. Indeed, thanks to its foregrounding effect, the additive force of *then* is stronger than that of *and*. In the same way as sequential *then* unifies the following eventualities and presents them as a whole, additive *then* presents what follows as a conclusive whole. Therefore, it is typically used to introduce the last element of the list as in example (2). In example (7), the scope of the first occurrence of *then* is limited to the following two clauses because another *then* introduces another element. Accordingly, the structure of the utterance can be represented as follows:

- (8) [A *and* B *and* C] **then** [D *and* E] **and then** [F]  
                   1                                  2                                  3

(8) shows that the effect of *then* is to reduce the list to three elements, with each new element foregrounded and given more force than the preceding one. The marker *and then* which introduces the last element of the list is ambiguous between a temporal and an additive meaning. Indeed, logic suggests that the murder occurs after all the previously mentioned eventualities are validated. Indeed, the speaker first sets the background elements of the story, presenting the place and the characters. The last eventuality is understood as a disruption, *i.e.* as the modifying element of the story. Thus, an ordered and an additive reading are both possible. This confirms Schiffrin's (1990) and Haselow's (2011) view that the context of use of the markers shapes and changes their meanings. Indeed, it shows that the interpretation of *then* as a sequential or an additive marker is dependent on contextual information.

We have suggested that the additive use of *then* was directly derived from its sequential meaning. The following examples illustrate the path from temporal sequence to subjective accumulation.

- (9) You know, I just wanted to say that you've been really great these last couple of weeks. **And then** today making me breakfast and coming with me. It's just really great. (EFC)
- (10) I couldn't do it, Leah! It smelled like a dentist office in there, and there were these horrible magazines with water stains. **And then** the friggin' receptionist is trying to give me these condoms that looked like grape suckers, and just babbling away about her friggin' boyfriend's pie balls. (EFC)

In examples (9) and (10) *and then* could be glossed both as 'after that' and 'in addition to that, on top of that'. In (9), the speaker enumerates elements that make his girlfriend "great". He enumerates the elements in a chronological order but the foregrounding effect of *then* brings the second element ("making me breakfast and coming with me") to the fore and gives it a greater argumentative force. The list he makes is supposed to explain or justify the statement "it's just really great". Thus, the objective of the list being to explain a positive situation, the element of the list introduced by *then* is presented as even more positive than the previous one. The additive meaning of *then* is derived from its sequential foregrounding effect. In (10), on the other hand,

the speaker is explaining why she could not go through with her abortion when she went to the clinic. The element introduced by *then* (the receptionist trying to give her condoms and babbling away) is presented as having a stronger argumentative force than the preceding one (the smell and water stains), because it is foregrounded. All these elements are presented as justifications for her failure to get an abortion, with the element introduced by *then* presented as having a stronger explanatory weight than the preceding one. The accumulative effect combined with the context endow the element introduced by *then* with a negative connotation, which is stronger than that of the preceding element. In fact, it seems that a positive or negative orientation is necessary to allow for an additive interpretation of sequential *then*. Thus, sequential *then* takes on an additive value when the sequence is evaluative and enunciated with a view to explaining or justifying a state of affairs or an event which is either considered highly positive or highly negative by the speaker.

Example (11) below shows how temporal sequence is particularly fit to convey a sense of accumulation, which explains the emergence of the additive use of sequential *then*.

- (11) REBECCA: [Did he s]top walking?  
 RICKIE: n=,just kinda (H) loo=ked,.. **and then** loo=ked, **and then** .. (H) walked.  
 (ECC)

In this example, Rickie is describing the attitude of a sex offender on a train. She describes him walking down the aisle and looking at her. She uses *and then* to articulate two identical eventualities. *Then* here can be interpreted as sequential: first, he looked, and after that, he continued looking. The continuation of the activity conveys the subjectivity of the speaker, and implies that the sequence was perceived as protracted. The sequence of two identical eventualities corresponds to the addition of these eventualities, and suggests that their juxtaposition is unexpected, and evaluated either with a positive or with a negative orientation. Here, since the situation described is painful to the speaker, the accumulation denotes a negative orientation.

Although we have argued that the additive use of *then* derived from its temporal sequential use, it has evolved into an independent function and can be found in non-temporal contexts, *i.e.* in enumerations in which the elements articulated by *then* are not eventualities but objects, ideas,

*etc.* However, we find that even if these enumerations are not associated with temporal order, the topical organisation generally follows a particular order. This can be related to the operation of coordination, which depends for the interpretation of its topical organisation on the linear order of the topics. Thus, we have seen that when eventualities are enumerated, they will typically be chronologically ordered. Similarly, when physical entities are enumerated they will be linearly ordered according to a particular criterion. Thus, in example (12), Jamie enumerates cows, and chooses to order them relative to their age.

- (12) JAMIE: There's two young ones, and one .. who's like twel=ve?  
 HAROLD: Oh, the [cow=].  
 JAMIE: [who has] .. frie=nds?  
 PETE: [2Unhunh2].  
 JAMIE: [2The-2] the cow=.  
 PETE: [3Hm3],  
 JAMIE: [3The3] older cow, **and then** there's .. (H) the middle cow, [and there's]  
 [2a little2] [3young cow? (ECC)

Note that additive *and then* introduces the middle cow and not the last one. In fact, the two younger cows are referred to as a whole above (“there’s two young ones”), and the use of the additive form *and then* separates the older cow from the two younger cows seen as a whole.

When body parts are enumerated, they will typically be ordered relative to their position in the body, and contiguous parts will be contiguous in the enumeration as in example (13) below.

- (13) So we had to know these tendons, and ligaments, (H) **and then**, all the bones,... and,.. you know, all the way up- from the shou=lder down, **and then** from the hip down. (ECC)

When people are listed, they will typically be linearly ordered according to a particular principle. In example (14), the enumeration follows the position of the enumerated people in space relative to the speaker’s position at the time of speech.

- (14) MILES: .. He was sitting there, there were two guy=s sitting at a table right where you are... **And then** these two women are sitting here. (H) So= uh=,he comes over there, and is talking with that woman. (ECC)

Similarly, objects are often enumerated according to their position in space relative to the speaker, as in (15) below.

- (15) It looks like you can see through the wall, cause there's, you know,.. (H) plastic first, **and then**, this stuff behind it or= whatever it is. (ECC)

Additive *then* might be used to articulate a contrast between two elements as in example (16) below. Indeed, *then* marks a boundary between the two elements articulated. If these elements are ideationally opposed, *then*, as a boundary marker, will reinforce the contrast.

- (16) MILES: cause there're a lot of women out there who .. apparently don't believe in using condoms.  
 PETE: ... Hm.  
 MILES: ... I'm just ama=zed.  
 JAMIE: [XX dumb mo=ve].  
 HAROLD: [See I'd heard that it was main]ly,  
 JAMIE: [2Really dumb2].  
 HAROLD: [2%in .. %t's mainly2] [3urban3] areas,  
 PETE: [3Yeah3].  
 HAROLD: that had this really ... disproportionately high= .. propor- ---... um, percentage. **And then** like,.. r- rural areas, or, like, you know, central Iowa and stuff,.. had like ... ten percent or less,... of the males,.. had been infected. (ECC)

We have seen that the additive use of *then* is derived from its sequential use. When *then* marks an accumulation of events, it conveys an evaluation of the speaker, either with a positive or with a negative orientation. When the connected elements are not temporally ordered, they follow another organisational principle, generally linked to their nature. In spatial sequences, the coordinated elements are often ordered in relation to the speaker who is the spatial *origo* of the utterance. The element introduced by *then* is foregrounded and presented as a whole. *Then* as an additive marker retains its unifying value: the right-hand part of the enumeration is seen as one member of the list, namely the last one if no other *then* is used to introduce a subsequent member. We have also seen that additive *then* can articulate contrasting elements. This explains why *then* can combine with the adversative adverb *but* with a strong contrastive meaning in *but then (again)* constructions. In the next section, we will show that *but then (again)*, like additive *then*, is a marker of coordination. Further, we will show that the use of *then* in this expression

derives from the sequential and additive meanings of *then*, which are foregrounding and compatible with contrast.

#### 2.4. *But then (again)*

As noted by Deléchelle (2011), the use of *but then (again)* is varied, and this expression can occur in different interactional slots. Although in our corpora, we find it exclusively clause-initially in monologues or subjective narration, Deléchelle presents occurrences of this form in utterance-final position, with ellipsis of the predicate, and Schiffrin (1987) observes a turn-initial use to pick up the thread of one's argument after another participant has just proposed a counter-argument. In this section, we focus on the uses of *BT(A)* found in our corpora, and use Deléchelle's (2011) analysis to account for their meaning.

Deléchelle identifies two main functions for *P TB(A) Q* constructions: marking an opposition between a proposition *P* and another proposition *P'*, and proposing another perspective on *P*. In example (17) below, the situation is presented through the subjective point of view of the focalising character Shadow.

- (17) a. Mulligan sat down at a table and Shadow sat opposite him. He suspected that Mulligan was doing this to get a feel for the stranger in town. **Then again**, the police chief might simply be what he appeared: friendly, helpful, good. (ENC)
- b. ? **Now**, the police chief might simply be what he appeared: friendly, helpful, good, (but...).

The narrator first presents a situation *P*, *i.e.* the suspicion that Mulligan is sitting down with Shadow only to try and discover what kind of a man Shadow might be. *Q* presents the situation from the opposite point of view, *i.e.* the view that the policeman might just be trying to be friendly. Consequently, *Q* sheds light on an alternative reality represented by *P'*. The effect of the use of *then again* to introduce *Q* is to reduce the responsibility of the focalising character as regards assertion *P*.

Thus, the use of *BT(A)* corresponds to a retrospective operation of hedging, *i.e.* it aims at reducing the impact of *P* and has a mitigating effect. The speaker typically realises that

proposition P might represent too strong a commitment towards a certain evaluation of the situation and follows it with a proposition the implicature of which is in contradiction with P. However, note that the prevailing viewpoint, *i.e.* the viewpoint ultimately attributed to the speaker, is that of P. The effect of the *BT(A)* clause is simply to attenuate it; it corresponds to a retrospective withdrawal of part of the commitment of the speaker or point of view bearer towards the point of view expressed in P.

Similarly in (18), there is a direct opposition between the evaluation given by P and the situation described by Q.

- (18) Somehow Langdon had not expected the captain of the French police to broadcast his religion so openly. **Then again**, this was France; Christianity was not a religion here so much as a birthright. (ENC)

P and Q correspond to two points of view on the same state of affairs. Q provides an explanation or justification for the situation implied by P, *i.e.* the captain of the French police broadcasting his religion. With this explanation, the focalising character attempts to account for a surprising situation in order to retrospectively attenuate his own surprise.

As noted by Deléchelle (2011), *BT(A)* constructions can also be used with ideationally co-oriented clauses. This is the case in example (19) below, in which Q corresponds to an enlargement of the scope of P.

- (19) The jukebox began to play the Velvet Underground's "Who Loves the Sun?" Shadow thought it a strange song to find on a jukebox. It seemed very unlikely. **But then**, this whole evening had become increasingly unlikely. (ENC)

The objective here is not to put P into perspective: since the whole evening is described as unlikely, the importance of the unlikeliness of finding a song on a jukebox is diminished.

As pointed out by Deléchelle, the relation between P and Q is not concessive. Indeed, *BT(A)* is a coordinator and not a subordinator. Concession is supported by subordination. Here, the attenuation is retrospective and the mechanism triggered by these constructions relies on coordination and linear organisation: it is because the topical organisation of the utterance

follows the linear organisation of the topics that the clause introduced by *BT(A)* can be interpreted as an afterthought.

The use of *BT(A)*, particularly in adversative cases such as (17) above, is reminiscent of the disclaimer function of pragmatic *now* analysed in Chapter 7. However, (17)b shows that using *now* instead of *BT(A)* would imply the continuation of the utterance. Indeed, as explained in Chapter 7, disclaimer *now* introduces a bifurcation in the topical progression of the discourse, and this bifurcation needs to be resolved in a following proposition. Conversely the clause introduced by *BT(A)* is conclusive and does not call for a subsequent conclusive clause. This is linked to the nature of sequential *then* as a coordinator: it foregrounds the following segment and unifies all the remaining clauses of the sentence, presenting the whole as the concluding phase of the utterance. This mechanism has been noted for sequential *then* in Chapter 4, it is also a basis for the additive reading of *then* as shown in 2.2., and is also at work in *BT(A)* constructions.

The objective of *BT(A)* constructions is to juxtapose two clauses to establish a contrast, either between them, thereby creating a hiatus leading to a reevaluation of P as in (17), or between the scope of P and the scope of Q as in (19), with a view to diminishing the significance of P by replacing it within a larger context. In example (20) below, the speaker gives an evaluation of the appearance of Laura under the hallway lighting. This evaluation is quite negative: he indicates that she looks dead.

- (20) She opened the door to the hall. The fluorescent light in the hallway was not kind: beneath it, Laura looked dead, **but then**, it did that to everyone. (ENC)

*BT(A)* is used as an afterthought to diminish the significance of the evaluation. Indeed, since everyone looks dead under this lighting, the fact that Laura should look dead is retrospectively reevaluated as relatively insignificant. However, because *then* is coordinative, the linear organisation of topics is significant, and the fact that the attenuation should occur as an afterthought indicates that eventually, the evaluation provided with P prevails, despite the fact that it is nuanced with Q.

Similarly in (17) above, the reader is left with the impression that the evaluation of the policeman given in P prevails, and that the character favours P over Q, *i.e.* that he remains



convinced that the intentions of the policeman are not disinterested. In the same way in (20), P is still presented as a favoured evaluation. Q only serves to relieve the conscience of the speaker in presenting such a derogatory point of view. In fact, in (20), the nuance given by the *BT(A)* clause is humorous, since Laura, described as ‘looking dead’, is in fact the focalising character’s dead wife who has come back from the dead to visit him. Thus, the show of contrition at having suggested that she looked dead, which is implied by the use of *BT(A)*, is ironical. *BT(A)* is characteristic of Free Indirect Speech (FIS). Indeed, despite the fact that the narrative is in the third person, *BT(A)* conveys the subjectivity of the focalising character.

Let us now look at the possible configuration for *BT(A)* expressions: we can note that in our corpora, the conjunction *but* does not appear in the adversative uses of *BT(A)* (cf. (17) and (18)), while it is used in co-oriented uses (cf. (19) and (20)). Thus, in our two adversative examples *BT(A)* appears as *then again*, while in our co-oriented examples it appears as *but then*. The use of *again* implies a continuity between shared knowledge and the information presented in Q. Therefore, *again* activates the intersubjective relationship insofar as it implies the existence of a common ground between the speaker and the hearer, from which the speaker draws the generalisation proposed in Q, inviting the hearer to share this point of view in order to modify her perception of P and of the speaker’s commitment regarding P. *Again* is used in adversatives in order to soften the contrast between P and Q and force the hearer to accept Q as part of the common ground. *But* could be added in examples (17) and (18), but it is not necessary insofar as the contrast is already marked by the opposition of P and Q. Conversely, in co-oriented structures, *but* is used to mark a contrast that would not otherwise appear. *But* codes a contrast between the state of affairs described and the expectations or assumptions of the speaker. The use of *again* in the co-oriented sequences (19) and (20) would not however be felicitous insofar as Q is presented as new information. *Again* would imply that Q is part of the common ground shared by the hearer, which it is not. While in adversative uses of *BT(A)* Q corresponds to an assumption presented as shared by the hearer, in co-oriented uses Q corresponds to a piece of new information of which the hearer might not be aware, and which is supposed to attenuate the significance of P. In both cases, *then* is used to mark a boundary between the two clauses. Its coordinative function indicates that Q corresponds to a subsequent move, and that although Q attenuates or explains P, P is still favoured by the speaker because it is topicalised. The use of

*then* in *BT(A)* is derived from its additive use: it presents Q as an additional element which must be interpreted relative to P as having an explanatory value.

Example (21) below illustrates the path from sequential *then* to *BT(A)*.

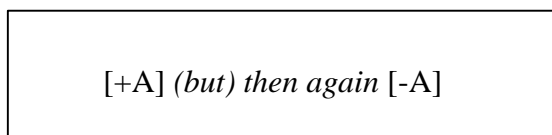
- (21) a. I look around when I come in, and I thought, where's the rest of us? **But then** I thought, just because we are few and they are many, we are weak, and they are powerful, it does not mean that we are lost. (ENC)
- b. I look around when I come in, and I thought, where's the rest of us? **But then** just because we are few and they are many, we are weak, and they are powerful, it does not mean that we are lost.

The speaker describes a sequence of thoughts. *But then* is followed by the introductory clause “I thought”. If this clause is removed as in (19)b, *but then* becomes a *BT(A)* marker, and not a sequential marker with adversative meaning.

This illustrates the process implied by *BT(A)*: the clause that it introduces corresponds to an afterthought, *i.e.* something that came to the mind of the speaker after P was uttered or conceptualised. Thus, *BT(A)* constructions imply a relation of sequence, and rely on the fundamental meaning of sequential *then* for topic organisation. The removal of the conjugated introductory verb implies that the utterance is no longer simply subjective but intersubjective, because Q is presented as a universal truth that the hearer is invited to acknowledge. *BT(A)* builds on sequential and additive meanings, combining them with an adversative component expressed by *but* or by the ideational contrast between P and Q, and also combining *then* with an intersubjective component expressed either by *again* which implies the acknowledgement of a common ground between the speaker and the hearer, or by the use of a generalisation the universal value of which is forced onto the hearer.

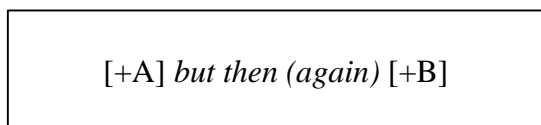
Thus, the adversative use of *BT(A)* can be represented as in Figure 1: Q is opposed to P, such that if P = [+A], Q = [-A]. *But* is not necessary to express the contrast between P and Q. *Then* marks a boundary between P and Q, indicating that P precedes Q and that Q is subsequently added in order to provide an additional perspective on the situation. Thus, *then* draws from sequential and additive meanings to express the subjectivity of the speaker. *Again* triggers a

search in the common ground shared by the speaker and the hearer for elements that can confirm Q, and thus activates intersubjectivity.



**Figure 2** - Adversative use of *BT(A)*

With the co-oriented use of *BT(A)*, *but* is generally used to code contrast, because contrary to the adversative use, P and Q are not opposed but ideationally co-oriented. In general, Q corresponds to an enlargement of the scope of P, thus diminishing the significance of P itself. Accordingly, in Figure 2 [+A] corresponds to a property that can be included within the scope of [+B]. *But* indicates that there is a contrast between P and the expectations of the speaker, which is supposed to be resolved by the hearer outside of discourse based on the new information provided in Q. Thus, the resolution of the contrast is not explicit but must be inferred by the hearer.



**Figure 3** - Co-oriented use of *BT(A)*

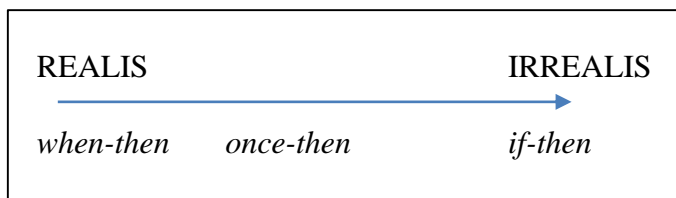
In this section, we have analysed the two realisations of *BT(A)* constructions found in our corpora. We have shown that *BT(A)* is used to retrospectively provide a different perspective on the situation, with a view to justifying, explaining, or diminishing one's commitment to proposition P. The use of *then* in *BT(A)* constructions is derived from the temporal and additive uses of *then*, *i.e.* it is based on coordination and introduces a foregrounded element. Having examined the non-temporal uses of *then* derived from its temporal sequential use, we now turn to the functions derived from its temporal referential use.

## 2.5. Logical uses of *then* in *when-then*, *once-then* and *if-then* structures

Causal and logical meanings might seem closely related and difficult to distinguish. Degand & Fagard (2011), who examine the evolution of the French adverb *alors* 'then', find that the causal

use of *alors* appears in the 13th century while the conditional use appears in the 14th century. However, we will see that causal and logical *then* operate on different bases: while causal *then* relies on the sequential properties of *then* and its coordinative use, logical *then* builds on the referential use of *then* and functions as the anaphor of a subordinate clause. In this section, we examine the logical use of *then* in various logical structures.

Logical *then* can be glossed as ‘in this case’. We find *then* as a logical marker in several constructions: *when-then* constructions, *once-then* constructions, and *if-then* constructions. In all these constructions, the first element of the subordinate clause introduces a condition which leads to a consequence introduced by *then*. However, these constructions vary in terms of mood and semantic domain: while *when-then* and *once-then* constructions belong to the realis domain, and often express relations in the real world, *i.e.* in the content domain), *if-then* constructions are on the irrealis extremity and often express relations in the epistemic domain.



**Figure 4** - Logical *then*: from realis to irrealis

In *when-then* and *once-then* constructions, clause A refers to a time, namely the time of Eventuality A or its result time. *Then* in clause B is the anaphor of the time interval determined by clause A. Thus, this use of *then* is directly derived from its temporal referential function as an anaphor. Similarly in *if-then* conditional structures, *then* refers to the hypothetical time constructed by clause A at which Eventuality A is validated.

(22) and (23) below are examples of *when-then* structures. In (22), Rebecca is a lawyer explaining a rule about the handling of lawsuits.

- (22) REBECCA: [(H)] **When we have to prove**, in this case we have to prove specific intent to= expose himself to a person,.. for sexual arousal. (H)  
 RICKIE: <P Mm P>.  
 REBECCA: U=m, **when we have to prove** something like specific intent, (H) um, or we have to prove identity. Because he's disputing identity in a coup- --in ... at least one of the cases.  
 RICKIE: [Hm].  
 REBECCA: [(H)]= U=m (Hx)=, **then**, w=e are allowed to bring in prior similar conduct. (ECC)

Rebecca is talking about the current situation (“in this case”) and relating it to the general rule with a generalising *when*-clause. The *when*-clause with a present tense marks a generalisation. Although *then* can be glossed as ‘in this case’, it operates in the exact same way as temporal referential *then*. Indeed, it selects the time of Eventuality A (‘have to prove x’) as a topic time for Eventuality B (‘be allowed’).

One of the differences between temporal *then* and logical *then* is that when *then* is used in a *when-then* structure, its syntactic position is constrained – it is clause-initial, and it has a contrastive value. Once more, a parallel can be drawn between these two specificities. Indeed, Schiffrin (1992) notes that referential *then*, although it mostly occurs in final position, can be found in initial position with a contrastive stress (*And he had been on the beach last summer, y'know when he was about two months, like you- your other grandson. And then he just slept in his carriage*). Following Schiffrin (1992) and Degand & Fagard (2011), who show that syntactic change is a prerequisite for semantic change (Degand & Fagard 2011: 49), we suggest that it is the use of referential *then* in initial position with a contrastive stress that led to the development of its use as a logical marker. Thus, in (22), *then* can be glossed as ‘only then’ or ‘in this case only’. Similarly in (23) below, *then* refers to the time interval of Eventuality A ‘have problems’.

- (23) You love it **when I have problems**. You love it because **then** you can be the good one. (EFC)

Note that in our two examples, *then* indicates that eventuality A and Eventuality B overlap. However, as shown in Chapter 4, this is due to the stativity of the eventualities in each case, which is linked to the use of the present tense which has a stativising effect (*cf.* Michaelis 2011). Yet, if Eventuality A and B had been perfective, *then* would have referred to the result state of

Eventuality A. In this regard logical *then* functions in the same way as referential *then*. In examples (24) and (25) below, *then* is the anaphora of a non-verbalised *when*-clause introducing a perfective eventuality.

- (24) “We’ve got to get back to the Burrow and find out —**then** we’ll be able to send you word, or — or Tonks will, once she’s —” (ENC)
- (25) Since you have the square root of two on the bottom, to make that a square, you have to multiply by the square root of two.... (H) **And then** you get two=, (H) and you multiply the top by the square root of two, and you get,.. square root of two. (ECC)

In these examples Eventuality A and Eventuality B do not overlap. In (24) *then* could be glossed as ‘when we get there’, and in (25) it could be glossed as ‘when you multiply the square root of two’. Note that because the relation established by *then* is in the content domain (*cf.* Sweetser 1990), a causal meaning is also retrievable. This is due to the fact that *then* in examples (24) and (25) has a mixed meaning: it can be glossed as ‘when Eventuality A is validated’ or as ‘after Eventuality A is validated’. This confirms one more time that there is a point of contact between referential *then* and sequential *then* at which the choice of interpretation between the one or the other only results in a variation in the perspective given on the relation between the eventualities.

*When-then* structures are mostly used with generic or potential eventualities: they are a first step towards the fully conditional use of *then*. A second step towards irrealis and the conditional use of *then* is the use of *then* in *once-then* structures. While *when-then* structures typically imply an overlap of the eventualities, *once-then* structures imply an overlap between the result state of Eventuality A and Eventuality B, *i.e.* an ordered relation between Eventuality A and Eventuality B. Example (26) below was examined in Chapter 4.

- (26) **Once we get the call** that the cargo keys are with the recipient, **then** I get the okay to drive. Not a second before. (ENC)

The utterance refers to an actual situation and not a hypothetical one, and *then* has a temporal function. It refers to the result state of Eventuality A ‘get the call’. Note that as is the case in *when-then* structures, initial *then* has a contrastive meaning here, and could be glossed as

‘only then’. In fact, the contrastive meaning is stronger because when Eventuality A is introduced by *once*, it is presented as perfective and Eventuality A and B do not overlap. The subordinate clause introduced by *once* corresponds to the condition for the validation of Eventuality B. *Then* introduces the consequence of the validation of Eventuality A. *Then* corresponds to an anaphor of the subordinate clause. Indeed, ‘once I get the call that the cargo keys are with the recipient’ and ‘then’ refer to the same time.

In example (27), the *once-then* sequence is closer to the irrealis pole, since the situation described is theoretical. Note that both *when* or *if* could be used instead of *once*, as in (27)b and (27)c.

- (27) a. So I had !Cookie .. turn on the ignition and turn it off. So, cause see, **once you turn that key on,... then** you hear the%, the fuel pump .. come on. (ECC)
- b. **When you turn that key on, then** you hear the fuel pump come on.
- c. **If you turn that key on, then** you hear the fuel pump come on.
- c'. **If you turn that key on,** you hear the fuel pump come on.

The difference between *when* and *once* is that *once* stresses the articulation between the validation of Eventuality A and the inchoation of Eventuality B, while *when* conveys overlap. While the *when*-clause implies that the validity of Eventuality A is concomitant with the validation of Eventuality B, the *once*-clause implies a relation of sequence between the two. While *when* does not necessarily imply a relation of causality between Eventuality A and Eventuality B, *once* implies that Eventuality A is a condition for the validation of Eventuality B, and that Eventuality B is a direct and necessary consequence of the validation of Eventuality A. As for the *if*-clause, it pushes the relation between clause A and clause B farther towards the irrealis pole, implying that Eventuality A is completely hypothetical. However, the relation established by *then* between clause A and clause B is the same as with *once*: the validation of Eventuality A necessarily triggers the validation of Eventuality B, and the validation of Eventuality B can only be brought about by the validation of Eventuality A. Note that if (27)c is compared to (27)c' in which *then* has been removed, the interpretation is different. Without *then*,

the validation of Eventuality A does necessarily trigger the validation of Eventuality B, but it does not imply that the validation of Eventuality B can only occur if Eventuality A is validated. Indeed, *then* in (27)c is an anaphor of the subordinate *if*-clause and it restricts the validation of Eventuality B to the scope of the validation of eventuality A. In the same way as temporal referential *then* restricts the temporal scope of the topic time of Eventuality B, logical *then* restricts the application scope of the conditional relation. It indicates that Eventuality B is validated exclusively under the condition stated in A.

We have shown that a progression can be observed from temporal uses of referential *then* which can be used as an anaphor of *when*-clauses and *once*-clauses to its logical use in *if-then* clauses, which retains some temporal properties but places the relation in the realm of irrealis. *Then* is particularly suitable to the expression of conditional relations because of its anaphoric nature and its distal meaning. In conditionals, *then* can become the anaphor of the *if*-clause and thus restrict the domain of application of the main predicate. Moreover, its distal meaning reflects the distance between the time of speech and the time of validation of the predicate, which is a hypothetical time. The next step in the grammaticalisation path of referential *then* is the use of *then* as an anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause.

## 2.6. Logical *then* with a non-verbalised *if*-clause

In this section, we examine the use of *then* with a logical meaning with ellipsis of the *if*-clause or ellipsis of a whole assumption. Although, as we will see, logical *then* can occur without an *if*-clause in clause-initial, clause-medial, or clause-final position, we are particularly interested in its occurrence in final position, with a view to attempting to determine the difference between final logical *then* and final particle *then*.

Logical *then* mostly occurs without an *if*-clause in interactions as a way for the speaker to establish a link with prior talk of the hearer. Indeed, it is the prior talk of the hearer that provides the proposition on which the non-verbalised *if*-clause or assumption is based. Therefore, this use of *then* must be distinguished from the logical use of *then* in *if-then* clauses: unlike the latter, final logical *then* relies on mechanisms of intersubjectivity. Thus, following Haselow (2011), we consider that it constitutes a step in the grammaticalisation process of referential *then*.



According to Haselow, final *then* constructions correspond to reduced conditional constructions in which only the consequence is given. They are thus paratactic constructions, in which the semantic order of the processing must be linearly followed. Final *then* retrospectively creates a link between two independent units. Like Schiffrin (1992), Haselow considers that final logical *then* is closer to the realis pole while *then* in *if-then* constructions is closer to the irrealis pole: while *if* builds a possible world in which the consequence introduced by *then* is valid, “final *then* typically takes propositions into its scope which are seen as representing factual (presupposed) information” (Haselow 2011: 3607). Thus, according to Haselow, paratactic constructions with final *then* do not derive from hypotactic constructions. They are simply a specificity of spoken English, in which speakers utter unplanned discourse and retrospectively link it to what precedes. Conversely, hypotactic *if-then* constructions require planning. Final *then* is used to express conditional relations in the speech-act domain: it indicates that the validation of the speech act is dependant on the truth or validation of the condition of the non-verbalised *if*-clause.

Following Haselow (2011) we distinguish between two types of final logical *then*: on the one hand, we find directives which require a supply of information, a confirmation or request the hearer to perform an action. The perlocutionary force of these directives is dependent on the validity of the condition of the non-verbalised *if*-clause. On the other hand, we find non-directives such as assertives, commissives and expressives which denote the attitude of the speaker towards the content of the utterance (Searle 1969). Assertives are used to make a statement or describe something; commissives express a commitment of speaker towards the performance of an act; expressives convey the emotional status of the speaker regarding a situation. Final *then* indicates that the assertion, commitment, or evaluation made by the speaker is only endorsed if the condition of the non-verbalised *if*-clause is verified or realised. Thus, while directives are hearer-oriented, assertives, commissives and expressives are speaker-oriented. Moreover, we will see that among directives, requests for confirmation are closer to the pragmatic end of the temporal-pragmatic continuum than the other types of directives. Let us first examine non-directive speech acts punctuated with final *then*, before studying directives.

In examples (28), (29) and (30) below, logical *then* is used as an anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause.

- (28) Isn't Harry Potter here? I was hoping to meet him. I thought he was a friend of yours, Ronald, or have you merely been boasting?" "No — he couldn't come —" "Hmm. Made an excuse, did he? Not as gormless as he looks in press photographs, **then**. (ENC)
- (29) I'm telling you, if there was one place Vol —" "Oi!" "YOU-KNOW-WHO, **then**!" Harry shouted, goaded past endurance. (ENC)
- (30) "Do you really think she knows who you are?" "Yes," said Harry, looking down into the milky eyes fixed upon his own, "I think she does." "Well, **okay then**, but be quick, Harry." "Lead the way," Harry told Bathilda. (ENC)

In each case, *then* can be interpreted as an anaphor of an *if*-clause. In (28), *then* could be glossed as 'if he did make an excuse'; in (29), *then* could be glossed as 'if you really can't bear to hear his name'; in (30) it could be glossed as 'if you really think she knows who you are'. This can only occur when the non-verbalised *if*-clause does not refer to a hypothetical situation but to an actual situation which has just been warranted by the hearer. Thus, as noted by Haselow (2011), when the condition that prompts the use of *then* is not verbalised, the sequence belongs to the realis realm. The *if*-clause places the conditional relation in the irrealis domain, and its absence makes the conditional relation compatible with realis.

The use of logical *then* as an anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause as in (28), (29) and (30) is a further step on the path towards the hearer-oriented use of *then* in directives or I/R/E sequences. The mechanism involved is close to that of I/R/E sequences, but these are not requests for information, confirmation or action, but rather reactions to the prior speech of the hearer. They each perform a speech act: in (28) the utterance containing *then* can be interpreted as an expressive or assertive speech act: the speaker makes an assertion that can be interpreted as an evaluation, which means that it has an expressive value. In (29) the utterance conveys the emotional state of the speaker towards the situation. Ron, the hearer, has been trying to get Harry to stop using the name Voldemort and use instead the nickname 'You-know-who'. Harry is irritated by this request and this emotion is conveyed in the utterance containing *then*. In (30), the speech act is a commissive: Hermione commits to letting Harry go upstairs with a stranger.

Note that this use goes with an interactive context which was not a parameter in simple *if-then* conditional structures. Several linguists have noted the link between right periphery and

intersubjective functions (Brinton 1996; Degand (2014)). In the *if-then* structure, *then* has a text-structuring function at sentence level and is part of a larger construction. The use of *then* as the anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause only occurs in interactional structures. Indeed, the eventuality introduced by the non-verbalised *if*-clause is implied and warranted by the hearer's prior speech. It need not be verbalised but can directly be anaphorically picked up because it was implied by the prior talk of the hearer. With *then*, it is acknowledged to be part of the common ground of the participants by the speaker.

Note that logical *then* can occur in interactional contexts without an *if*-clause in initial or medial position. In initial position, it is often introduced by another marker, as in (31) below in which it is introduced by *well*.

- (31) PAMELA: ... I could read you some.  
 DARRYL: [No].  
 PAMELA: [I] mean is that allowed?  
 DARRYL: ... No I I don't want to hear anything out of a book with, chapter called heaven and hell.  
 PAMELA: You don't.  
 DARRYL: .. No.  
 PAMELA: Nkay. **Well then** let's talk about [our vacation]. (ECC)

This example is a directive for action. Pamela is proposing an alternative topic of conversation to her husband Darryl who does not want her to read him a passage from her book. As noted by Schiffrin (1987, 1992), the initial position is more contrastive and the proposition introduced is presented as less certain than it is with final *then*. The reason for that is that nothing in prior speech warrants the proposition introduced by *then*. Because it is not warranted by the hearer's prior talk, the speaker feels that the directive is less likely to be agreed to, and the use of initial *then* shows that she does not take the hearer's assent for granted. Whereas with final *then*, the speaker would have indicated that she took the response to the proposition 'let's talk about our vacation' for granted, with initial *then* the directive is presented as a possible alternative, favoured by the speaker but negotiable.

- (32) a. "Do you think you will be here for supper?" "I would hope so," said Wednesday.  
 "Then you had better give me some money to buy more food." (ENC)

- b. You had better give me some money to buy more food, **then**.

In (32), the speaker uttering *then* is requesting the hearer to give her money to buy food. As noted by Schiffrin (1987, 1992), the initial use of *then* is contrastive, and could be glossed as ‘I would ask you if you were not here for supper, but since you are’. With *then*, the speaker is indicating that her request is directly linked to the situation that has been established in the prior dialogue. However, with initial *then* she shows that she considers that nothing in the hearer’s speech warrants that he will give her money. The initial use of *then* is thus more tentative and polite than its final use. Indeed, *then* is the anaphora of a non-verbalised *if*-clause. With *then* in initial position, to introduce the proposition that has yet to be accepted as true by the hearer, the request is softened, because its validation is presented as dependent on the validation of the *if*-clause, and as being outside of the field of responsibility of the speaker. With *then* in final position on the other hand, the consequence is announced before the condition. Thus, the condition is presented as warranted and the proposition as as good as validated. Therefore, although it marks a retrospective linking with a previous warranting clause, the softening of the directive is not as marked as with initial *then*. Thus, with final *then*, the same mechanism that produces a friendly effect can also produce an impression of rudeness. Indeed, final *then* implies that the speaker takes the validity of the proposition for granted based on an assumption, which might be either very friendly or very rude.

In (33)a below, *and then* establishes a conditional relation between the eventualities ‘give you a lift’ and ‘talk about this state business’, and can be glossed as ‘so that’.

- (33) a. Well, listen, why don't I give you a lift, **and then** we can talk about this state business in the car? (EFC)
- b. Well, listen, why don't I give you a lift, **and** we can talk about this state business in the car **then**?

In this case, the removal of *and* would result in a non-overlapping reading of the eventualities, unless *then* were stressed and detached. Since the conditional relation is linked to the overlap of the eventualities (the speaker wants to give the hearer a lift so they can talk in the car), this would not be completely felicitous. Note that *then* could not occur in final position with

a conditional meaning in this example. In b, *then* takes on a full temporal meaning. Why is this the case? The answer has to do with interactionality: *then* cannot take on a pragmatic function if its antecedent, *i.e.* the non-verbalised *if*-clause, is given by the speaker himself without being warranted by another participant. Thus, in example (28) above, although the antecedent is given by the speaker, it was implied by the hearer in prior speech, warranting the use of final pragmatic *then*. Conversely here, the speaker makes a brand new proposal, not warranted by the prior speech of the hearer, which blocks a conditional interpretation. Thus, the pragmatic use of final *then* is founded on interactionality. We will see below that this is due to the fact that its function is based on the existence of a shared common ground between the participants.

Logical *then* is also found in medial position with ellipsis of the *if*-clause, as in (34) below.

- (34) a. “I am here, as I’m sure you know, because of Albus Dumbledore’s will.” Harry, Ron, and Hermione looked at one another. “A surprise, apparently! You were not aware **then** that Dumbledore had left you anything?” (ENC)
- b. **Then** you were not aware that Dumbledore had left you anything?
- c. You were not aware that Dumbledore had left you anything, **then**?

Medial logical *then* only occurs in directives. Medial position underlines the contrast between the content of the *then*-clause and the expectations of the speaker, and often conveys the unwillingness of the speaker to accept the proposition. With initial *then* the request is more tentative and conveys uncertainty (*cf.* b). Lastly, with final *then* the request is more casual; it is a request for confirmation on a proposition that the speaker has already almost accepted as true (*cf.* c).

We consider that expressive, assertive and commissive uses are already a sign of the pragmaticalisation of *then*, but at a lower level than directives. Indeed, while these uses are conditionals that convey the subjectivity of the speaker, directives go a step further in that they trigger intersubjective mechanisms.

Directives with *then* are not always conditionals. Indeed, *then* in directive sequences is not always the direct anaphor of an *if*-clause and cannot necessarily be glossed as ‘in this case’. The

conditional relation is often less direct than it is in assertives, commissives and expressives in which the consequence clause concluded with *then* follows directly the condition that is retrievable in the direct left context. Thus, in the three examples of non-directives above, the conditional structure can be schematised as follows:

1)	A
2)	(if A)
3)	then B

**Figure 5** - Final logical *then* with a non-verbalised *if*-clause

In Figure 4 above, A is typically uttered by the hearer. However, note that in (28), the speaker provides A herself in the form of a rhetorical question, which imitates an interactional structure. This interactional characteristic is enough to warrant the use of *then* as a final logical marker with a non-verbalised *if*-clause. The move in 2) is not verbalised by either the hearer and the speaker, and 3) is given by the speaker. Examples (28), (29) and (30) follow this pattern, as shown in Table 3 below.

**Table 3** - Final non-directive *then*: some examples

	<b>A</b>	<b>(If A)</b>	<b><i>Then B</i></b>
(28) <b>Expressive/assertive</b>	He made an excuse	If he made an excuse	<i>Then</i> he is not as gormless as he looks in the press photographs
(29) <b>Expressive</b>	Oi! (= do not use that name)	If 'oi' (= If I cannot use that name)	<i>Then</i> (I will use) You-know-who
(30) <b>Commissive</b>	I think she does	If you think she does	<i>Then</i> okay (you can go up with her)

Conversely, in some directives, the relation between A and B is less direct. We must distinguish here between directives requesting a confirmation of an assumption on the one hand, and directives requesting an information input or the performing of an action on the other. While requests for actions and information follow the same pattern as non-directives, requests for confirmation are different. Below are two examples of requests for action ((35) and (36)) and an example of a request for information (37).

- (35) “Yes?” “How do you do, ma'am. I'm Mike Ainsel. I'm your next-door neighbor.” Her expression did not change, not by a hair. “Yes?” “Ma'am. It's freezing in my apartment. There's a little heat coming out of the grate, but it's not warming the place up, not at all.” She looked him up and down, then a ghost of a smile touched the edges of her lips and she said, “Come in, **then**. If you don't there'll be no heat in here, either.” (ENC)
- (36) A: Sammy! Fantastic show! Classic drumming, Son.  
 B: Thanks. Plan didn't work, though.  
 A: Tell her, **then**.  
 B: Tell her what?  
 A: Tell her that you love her. (EFC)

Both requests for action follow the pattern presented in Figure 4: the content of the non-verbalised *if*-clause warranting the use of *then* is directly given in prior speech. In (35), the non-verbalised *if*-clause corresponds to ‘if it’s not warming the place up’. In (36), the non-verbalised *if*-clause can be glossed as ‘if the plan didn’t work’ (the plan being for Sammy to impress the girl he loves with his drumming).

In example (37), the *then*-clause is a request for information. *Then* is an anaphor of the non-verbalised *if*-clause ‘if we had problems long before I got sick’.

- (37) A: Okay, Adam, we had problems long before you got sick. And then when you got sick, I just didn't know what to do.  
 B: Well, **then**... Why are you here **then**? Why do you spend every night in my bed?  
 (EFC)

Thus, these three examples follow the pattern described in Figure 4, as shown in Table 4 below.

**Table 4** - Final directive *then*, action and information requests: some examples

	<b>A</b>	<b>(If A)</b>	<b><i>Then B</i></b>
(35) <b>Action request</b>	It's not warming the place up	If it's not warming the place up	<i>Then</i> come in
(36) <b>Action request</b>	Plan didn't work	If the plan didn't work	<i>Then</i> tell her that you love her
(37) <b>Information request</b>	We had problems long before you got sick	If we had problems long before you got sick	<i>Then</i> why are you here

Conversely, requests for confirmation of an assumption follow a different pattern. In example (38) below, the speaker asks Wednesday to confirm his assumption, which was based on a proposition implied by Wednesday's prior talk.

(38) "This is the only country in the world," said Wednesday, into the stillness, "that worries about what it is." "What?" "The rest of them know what they are. No one ever needs to go searching for the heart of Norway. Or looks for the soul of Mozambique. They know what they are." "And...?" "Just thinking out loud." "So you've been to lots of other countries, **then**?" Wednesday said nothing. Shadow glanced at him. "No," said Wednesday, with a sigh. "No. I never have." (ENC)

As noted by Haselow (*cf.* 1.2.3.), *then* can be glossed as 'from what I know about the current situation I consider it a given that I ask: proposition P?' (Haselow 2011: 3614). In fact, in confirmation-directives the speaker draws from his common ground to make an assumption, and retrospectively decides to check the validity of that assumption, *i.e.* to coordinate with the hearer on their shared common ground.

1)	A
2)	Construction of the assumption B (if the hearer says A, then B)
3)	Request for confirmation of the assumption B (then B?)

**Figure 6** - Final logical *then* in confirmation-directives

As shown in Figure 5, confirmation-directives imply the construction of an assumption by the speaker, inferred from the prior talk of the hearer and the common ground of the speaker, *i.e.*



what the speaker believes to be true. Thus, in (38), the speaker judges from the speech of the interlocutor that he knows a lot about other countries, and from his own set of beliefs (*i.e.* his common ground) he derives that you need to have travelled a lot to know about other countries. The resulting assumption is that the hearer must have travelled a great deal. The construction of this assumption can be expressed in the form of an *if-then* clause. Following Figure 5, the exchange in (38) can be presented as in (39) below, with the non-verbalised reasoning leading to the construction of the assumption between brackets:

- (39) 1) Hearer: Norway and Mozambique know what they are.  
 2) Speaker: (If he knows so much about Norway and Mozambique, then he must have travelled a lot.)  
 3) Speaker: Have you travelled a lot, **then**?

Thus, unlike the use of *then* non-directives and action- or information-directives which imply that A is the condition for B, in confirmation-directives it is the fact that the hearer should assert A that is assumed to lead to the consequence B. Thus, the relation between the actual speech segment warranting the use of *then* and *then* itself is more remote than with non-directives and action- or information-directives, in which it is the content of the warranting speech segment that becomes the condition of the *if*-clause, and not the fact that the hearer should produce such a speech segment. If the dynamic presented in Figure 4 was applied to (38), the result would be quite different, *cf.* (40) below:

- (40) 1) A: Norway and Mozambique know what they are.  
 2) (if A): (If Norway and Mozambique know what they are,)  
 3) **then** B: \***then** you must have travelled a lot.

(40) shows that the dynamics of confirmation-directives is different from that of the other speech acts, which do not involve the construction of an assumption and in which the non-verbalised *if*-clause is a direct anaphora of the previous speech.

In general, directives are more pragmatically oriented since they are requests for information, confirmation or action. Instead of merely providing information as to the attitude of the speaker, they require an involvement of the hearer. In confirmation-directives, the intersubjectivity triggered by the use of *then* goes deeper: it involves the assumption by the

speaker of a common ground that is not directly warranted by the prior talk of the hearer. Indeed, *then* refers to an element that the speaker assumes to be part of the common ground existing between herself and the hearer. The interrogative form indicates that the speaker is asking for a validation of the proposition P containing *then* by the hearer in order to add it to the shared common ground.

Let us define in more detail what we understand by ‘common ground’. Bross (2012) notes that the notion of common ground is problematic: the speaker cannot know for sure what the hearer knows and considers to be true. The speaker can only make assumptions about what the hearer knows. Therefore, the common ground is not a reality but a representation, and to each speaker is attached a representation of the common ground existing between herself and the hearer. The only elements that are actually shared knowledge between the participants are the elements that have been placed within the shared common ground through speech, *i.e.* through information and confirmation requests, and information input. Thus, we must distinguish between the speaker’s personal common ground and the hearer’s personal common ground on the one hand, and the asserted shared common ground on the other. When the speaker utters a proposition the content of which is not part of the shared common ground, it is added to the common ground. However, if the content of this proposition is in contradiction with the beliefs of the hearer, she will not add it to her personal common ground. If she expresses disagreement or rejection, then the proposition will not be added to the shared common ground. However, if she chooses not to explicitly reject the addition of the proposition to the shared common ground, it is automatically added to it. Indeed, in such a situation, the speaker believes the hearer to have added P to the common ground, and the hearer lets the exchange proceed as if it had been added, *i.e.* as if she considered P to be true. Thus, as far as the exchange is concerned, P is part of the shared common ground insofar as it is a basis on which the exchange proceeds. Situations of misunderstandings and communication failures are often linked to the fact that personal and shared common ground do not absolutely overlap.

Thus, although Bross (2012) differentiates between several layers of common ground depending on the various levels and acknowledgements of knowledge and beliefs of each participant, we will here limit ourselves to two sorts of common grounds in linguistic exchanges:

- the personal common ground of each participant, which is constituted by the elements that she believes herself and the other(s) to share,
- and the asserted or shared common ground which corresponds to the elements which have been acknowledged to be shared by the participants, either through an explicit acknowledgement of their addition to the shared common ground by all participants, or through their addition to the shared common ground by one participant without any expressed objection of the others.

Both sorts of common grounds evolve constantly during linguistic exchanges. Confirmation-directives correspond to a request from the speaker for authorisation to add a proposition P that is already part of her personal common ground to the shared common ground. Thus, with a request for confirmation, the speaker is trying to coordinate her personal common ground with that of the hearer. As noted by Haselow (2011), confirmation-directives with final *then* often sound friendly. This is due to the fact that the speaker assumes the existence of a common ground shared with the hearer that has not been built through speech (*i.e.* with propositions being uttered by the speaker and acknowledged as shared common ground by the hearer), but that exists outside of discourse. Indeed, a confirmation-directive is composed of the assumption constructed by the speaker, which is generally a declarative sentence, followed by *then* which provides the anaphoric link from this assumption to the non-verbalised *if*-clause stating the condition for the assumption to be valid. Thus, the assumption based on shared common ground is first presented as an assertion, before its validation being questioned with the logical anaphor *then*. Thus, depending on the context of course, the speaker often sounds friendly because he indicates that he assumes the hearer and he share some knowledge. Moreover, a confirmation-directive corresponds to a change in footing: the floor is given over to the hearer, encouraging him to operate a coordination on the shared common ground. When the context and particularly the content of the assumption are neutral or positive, this ensures a friendly effect. This is the case in example (38) above. However, it is not the case in examples (41) and (42) below. Examples (41) and (42) are further instances of the use of final *then* to request confirmation of an assumption.

- (41) “You’ve never heard of The Tales of Beedle the Bard?” said Ron incredulously. “You’re kidding, right?” “No, I’m not!” said Hermione in surprise. “Do you know them, **then**?” “Well, of course I do!” (ENC)

In (41) the non-verbalised reasoning leading to the assumption that Ron knows the Tales of Beedle the Bard can be paraphrased as ‘if you’re surprised at my never having heard of The Tales of Beedle the Bard, then you must know them’. The understanding of the situation by the speaker disposes her to add the proposition ‘you know them’ to her common ground, and she requests confirmation. The confirmation is given, and P is added to the shared common ground. Note that in example (38) it was not the case: the assumption of the speaker was false, and the addition of P to the shared common ground was rejected.

Although in (41) the confirmation-directive is meant to be friendly, the hearer interprets it as insulting because of a lack of overlap between the personal common grounds of the participants on the topic of the tales of Beedle the Bard. On the one hand, Ron assumes that this book is part of their common ground, because it is a children’s book known to all his friends, and on the other hand, Hermione assumes that Ron has not read this book, because she cannot believe that Ron, who doesn’t read, would know of a book that she – who reads a great deal – has never heard of. Thus, the request for confirmation, prompted by Hermione’s incredulity as to Ron’s having read the tales, is perceived as ridiculous by Ron, who assumed that the proposition ‘Ron knows the tales of Beedle the Bard’ was already part of the shared common ground.

In (42), Scrimgeour has come to deliver some objects which the late headmaster bequeathed on Ron, Hermine and Harry. He gives Harry a Snitch, which is a small sphere with wings used in Quidditch games, famous in the wizarding world.

(42) As Harry’s fingers closed around the Snitch, its tired wings fluttered and were still. Scrimgeour, Ron, and Hermione continued to gaze avidly at the now partially concealed ball, as if still hoping it might transform in some way. “That was dramatic,” said Harry coolly. Both Ron and Hermione laughed. “That’s all, **then**, is it?” asked Hermione, making to rise herself off the sofa. “Not quite,” said Scrimgeour, who looked bad-tempered now.

The assumption leading to Hermione’s question is warranted by the fact that Scrimgeour remains silent and does not reach for another object after having given Harry the last object, and her reasoning could be paraphrased as ‘if you are not speaking nor making a move to take out another bequest, then there are probably no more objects to be given’. The fact that the non-verbalised *if*-clause anaphorically referred to by *then* can be prompted not by the hearer’s prior

speech but by his silence, in other words by an evaluation of the situation by the speaker is a first step towards a further grammaticalisation of *then*, *i.e.* towards its use as a final particle.

To sum up, while in expressives, assertives, commissives, information- and action-directives, final *then* is the anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause introducing a condition given in the left context, in confirmation-directives *then* is the anaphor of a condition based on the attitude or speech of the hearer. Thus, while the non-verbalised *if*-clause with other speech acts can be glossed as ‘if P’, in confirmation-directives it should be paraphrased as ‘if the hearer says P’.

Our analysis has confirmed Haselow’s (2011) view according to which logical *then* in final position can be used with several kinds of speech acts, namely assertives, expressives, commissives and directives. We have shown that one type of directives, namely confirmation-directives, should be distinguished from the other uses of *then*, insofar as the mode of reference of *then* in confirmation-directives is not quite the same as with the other uses of final logical *then*. In confirmation-directives, the conditional link between prior speech and the *then*-clause is more tenuous, or at least more remote, than in the other configuration in which *then* is the anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause built directly from a prior utterance. Further, we have seen that the assumption warranting the use of final *then* in confirmation-directives might be prompted not by speech but by its absence, *i.e.* by the interpretation by the speaker of the extra-linguistic situation. In the next section, we examine the use of final *then* as a particle, and argue that the semantic change leading to the complete grammaticalisation of *then* is linked to the fact that the use of final *then* can be warranted by an assumption based on extra-linguistic elements.

## 2.7. Final particle

Final or modal particles convey the attitude of the speaker and relate the utterance to the situation. Haselow (2011) explains that they carry some emotional meaning that is assumed to be shared by the hearer. They operate by linking the utterance that includes a modal particle with a non-verbalised state of affairs (Haselow 2011: 3612). Bross (2012) studies German modal particles and explains that,

The function of German modal particles is said to create a common basis for continuing a conversation by the speaker's appraisal of the mutual knowledge. (Bross 2012: 183)

Note that both authors base their definition on the notion of common ground. Following Haselow (2011) and Bross (2012) we consider that the notion of common ground is crucial to understand the function of particle *then*. Another crucial element is the operation of anaphora. Indeed, it is because of its anaphoric function that *then* developed into a final particle. We argue that final *then* goes from being a PM to being a particle when *then* is used to establish a link between the clause in which *then* appears and a state of affairs, without anything in the prior exchange warranting this link. While an antecedent or an antecedent trigger is always retrievable from prior speech with final logical *then*, particle *then* has neither antecedent nor antecedent trigger in the left context. Particle *then* builds on the use of final logical *then*, and takes the grammaticalisation process yet farther. First, in *if-then* conditionals, *then* anaphorically refers to the *if*-clause; then, in interaction, final logical *then* refers to a non-verbalised *if*-clause; lastly, in its particle use, *then* does not have referential content. Final particle *then* only retains as a semantic trait the dynamic linking process induced by the fundamentally anaphoric nature of *then* between a non-verbalised entity and the utterance. If we consider that the use of logical *then* in final position triggers the search for an antecedent or rather an antecedent-trigger in prior speech, we can say that final *then* should be identified as a particle when the search triggered is fruitless, *i.e.* in conversation-opening utterances which have no left context to warrant the use of *then* and provide an antecedent, as is the case in example (43) below.

(43) So what do you reckon to our new prime minister **then**? (EFC)

This sentence corresponds to the initial utterance of a conversation between two co-workers. Both are very shy and this directive, concluded by *then*, has the function of an ice-breaker. Firstly, the directive initiates a dialogue by requesting the hearer to provide information. Secondly, *then* establishes an anaphoric link between the utterance and an assumed common ground, *i.e.* the knowledge that a new prime minister has been elected. Thus, final particle *then* is used to reduce the abruptness of a conversation-initial utterance by indicating that the utterance is linked to a state of affairs. With *then*, the speaker indicates that he believes the speech act to be warranted by the situation, and thereby invites the hearer to consider it as such. Final particle

*then* is therefore used to operate a coordination of the shared common ground between the hearer and the speaker.

However, the distinction between *then* as a PM and *then* as a particle is not clear-cut. Indeed, a discursive warrant justifying the use of *then* can often be retrieved from a prior conversation in the far left context. If some part of the shared common ground (propositions that have been validated as part of the common ground by the participants) warrants the use of final *then*, then a conditional meaning can be retrieved, and *then* is not completely a particle. Let us examine some borderline cases to show how final logical *then* became a final particle. In the following examples, although the antecedent-trigger for *then* cannot be found in the direct prior speech, it is warranted by prior speech, and is thus part of the shared common ground. Therefore, although the relation between *then* and its antecedent is more remote than with final logical *then*, it is still apparent.

- (44) A: So what's this big news **then**?  
 B: We've been given our parts in the nativity play, and I'm the lobster. (EFC)

In (44), speaker A has just hung up the phone and addresses her daughter who was telling her something before the phone call. Thus, *then* is used to resume an interrupted linguistic exchange. It creates a topical link between the current directive and a prior conversation. The existence of a prior conversation warranting the request for information indicates that final *then* is not really a particle. Indeed, its antecedent is retrievable in the shared common ground, since it was established before that B had something to tell A. *Then* could be paraphrased as ‘since you have something to tell me’.

We saw in section 2.5. that the use of final *then* can be warranted by situational elements, *i.e.* elements observed by the speaker as warranting the assumption leading to a confirmation-directive (*cf.* example (42)). When these elements are not linked to the ongoing conversation but to the general situation, the sentence containing *then* might seem to be uttered rather abruptly, suggesting that *then* is a final particle. However, when the situational elements warranting the use of *then* are linked to the shared common ground, an antecedent can be retrieved from the common ground by the participants, and therefore the function of *then* is borderline:

- (45) “Take one of Mafalda’s tokens,” Hermione told Harry, “and let’s go, it’s nearly nine.” They stepped out of the alleyway together. Fifty yards along the crowded pavement there were spiked black railings flanking two flights of steps, one labeled GENTLEMEN, the other LADIES. “See you in a moment, **then**,” said Hermione nervously, and she tottered off down the steps to LADIES. (ENC)

In example (45), Hermione, Harry and Ron are breaking into the ministry of magic. They have tokens that enable them to enter through an official entrance situated in public toilets. The utterance containing *then* uttered by Hermione before they part ways seems to be conversation-initial since they have not said anything to each other for some time. This would suggest that *then* is used as a particle. However, an antecedent can be recovered for *then*: the characters have a well-rehearsed plan to break into the ministry, and going through the toilets is part of the plan. *Then* could be paraphrased as ‘since we have to part for now, as planned’. Thus, the antecedent of *then* can be retrieved from the shared common ground existing between the participants: they have had conversations about the break-in before, and *then* can be understood to refer to all this shared knowledge. Therefore, when the use of *then* is based on elements of the shared common ground, it is exactly as if it referred to an *if*-clause warranted by prior speech: the elements of the shared common ground, as explained in 2.5., are propositions that have been uttered and have been collectively added to the common ground, which means that they imply the existence a prior speech than *then* attaches to. Similarly in (46), the three friends have made a ministry employee sick in order to get him to go home while one of them impersonates him to get into the ministry.

- (46) “It would have made much less mess to Stun him too.” “Yeah,” said Ron, emerging from under the cloak holding the wizard’s bag, “but I still think a whole pile of unconscious bodies would have drawn more attention. Keen on his job, though, isn’t he? Chuck us the hair and the potion, **then**.” (ENC)

They are following a precise plan of action, and when Ron asks to be given the employee’s hair which is to be mixed with the potion so that on drinking the potion he might transform into the sick employee, he is introducing the next step of the plan. Thus, although *then* might seem to have no antecedent and be used as a particle, its use is in fact warranted by the shared common ground. By using *then* and triggering a search for an antecedent, Ron is directing everyone’s attention to that antecedent, *i.e.* the plan, and thus encouraging them to move forward according



to the plan. Thus, the use of *then* here is borderline. In example (47), the characters have just entered the ministry and meet inside.

- (47) “You got in all right, **then?**” Hermione whispered to Harry. “No, he’s still stuck in the bog,” said Ron. “Oh, very funny ... It’s horrible, isn’t it?” she said to Harry, who was staring up at the statue. (ENC)

The antecedent for *then* is situational and could be glossed as ‘if you are here’. Her request for confirmation is a little odd, considering that Harry is standing in front of her, which means that he did get in without problem. Ron notices this and refuses to give confirmation, despite the fact that the situation itself confirms Hermione’s assumption. His refusal is meant to underline the uselessness of such a question, and has an ironical effect. In fact, Ron deems Hermione’s request inappropriate because he considers the assumption that she wants to see confirmed (‘Harry got in alright’) to be already part of the shared common ground, which would mean that it does not need to be added to it by an explicit validation. Thus, the communication glitch here is due to a lack of agreement on what constitutes the shared common ground. The objective of the speaker is to pick up the proposition from the shared common ground, examine it again, and decide whether to once more validate its addition to the shared common ground or not. This move is a sign of anxiety concerning the truth of the proposition P. If the hearer does not share the speaker’s anxiety about the validity of P – like Ron – he will be irritated by the requested reevaluation of the shared common ground, because it violates the maxim of relevance that must be respected to ensure fluid communication (Grice 1975).

If, on the other hand, the speaker does not base her use of *then* on an element of the shared common ground, *i.e.* an element already agreed on by the participants, but on an element of her own personal common ground that is not warranted by the situation or the prior speech, *i.e.* an element that she assumes to be part of the shared common ground but that is not, then final *then* does correspond to a final particle. This is the case in (43) in which the speaker assumes that the state of affairs ‘a new prime minister has been elected’ is part of the shared common ground, despite the fact that its addition to the shared common ground has not been validated by the hearer. It is also the case in (48) below, in which the prime minister has just walked in on the American president (speaker A) standing inappropriately close to Natalie (speaker B) and touching her hair.

- (48) A: It's great Scotch.  
 B: I'll... I'll be going, **then**. (EFC)

The American president acts as if the situation was unproblematic and makes a comment about the prime minister's Scotch. As for Natalie, she is upset and leaves the room, announcing her exit with a commissive concluded by final *then*. There is nothing in the situation or prior discourse to warrant the use of *then*. Thus, the antecedent for *then* cannot be retrieved. *Then* establishes a link between the utterance and an assumed shared common ground that does not exist. This use of *then* corresponds to a tentative to normalise the situation by establishing a link between the utterance and an unproblematic state of affairs in which the three participants share a common ground.

Thus, the use of *then* as a final particle 'mimicks' its logical use, and enables the speaker to pretend that her speech is warranted by prior speech or by the situation, in other words that it is warranted by an element of the common ground. In example (49) below, Harry's aunt, uncle and cousin are preparing to leave.

- (49) "Ready, Diddy?" asked Aunt Petunia, fussily checking the clasp of her handbag so as to avoid looking at Harry altogether. Dudley did not answer, but stood there with his mouth slightly ajar, reminding Harry a little of the giant, Grawp. "Come along, **then**," said Uncle Vernon.

Petunia and Vernon's son Dudley does not respond when asked whether he is ready, not providing any element suggesting that the proposition 'Dudley is ready' should be added to the shared common ground. However, his father chooses to use *then* to force the adding of that proposition to the shared common ground and to warrant the commissive 'come along' with a view to accelerating their departure.

Thus, final *then* in commissives, assertives and expressives is used to create a link between the proposition P concluded by then and an element or state of affairs identified as part of the shared common ground, with a view to presenting the adding of P to the shared common ground as unproblematic. When the state of affairs that *then* refers to is not actually part of the shared common ground, *then* is a particle: although there is no antecedent to be retrieved for *then*, the speaker pretends that there is one. Thus in (48) the speaker pretend that her leaving the room is a

matter of course and *then* could be glossed as ‘if you don’t need me anymore’, which state of affairs is not warranted by speech or by the situation. In (49) the speaker pretends that their going is a matter of course, and *then* could be glossed as ‘if you’re ready’, which has not been warranted by the situation or by any sign of agreement from Dudley. Note that if Dudley had acquiesced, *then* would not be interpreted as a final particle but as a final logical marker, as in (50) below, in which a non-verbalised *if*-clause is retrievable and warranted by Dudley’s response (‘if you’re ready’).

- (50) A: Ready, Diddy?  
 B: Yes.  
 C: Come along, **then**.

Thus, unlike Haselow (2011), who indicates that *then* as a final particle occurs mostly in *wh*-interrogatives, we find examples of *then* as a final particle with other speech acts. By reducing our definition of particle *then* to cases in which no antecedent or antecedent-trigger can be found in the shared common ground to warrant the use of *then*, we see that it is possible to identify an intermediary class of occurrences of *then*. Borderline final *then* is used to link the proposition concluded by *then* to an element of the shared common ground which cannot be retrieved in the direct left context but has been added to the shared common ground some time ago. When no state of affairs already added to the shared common ground can warrant the use of *then*, *then* is a final particle. Particle *then* draws on final logical and borderline cases to enable the speaker to pretend or assume that a link exists between the proposition concluded by *then* and the shared common ground, despite the fact that the state of affairs that is supposed to warrant the use of *then* is not actually part of the shared common ground, *i.e.* it has not been consciously added to the propositions of the shared common ground by the participants. It is the assertion of the existence of a common ground between the participants that produces a friendly effect. Thus, the use of final *then* in situations of crisis corresponds to an attempt at de-dramatising the situation by relating it to the common ground, *i.e.* to a known and ‘normal’ state of affairs.

We have seen that non-temporal *then* has varied functions. While some non-temporal uses have developed from the sequential function of temporal *then* (causal, additive and *BT(A)* uses), others are directly derived from its referential function (*if-then* logical uses, final logical uses and

final particle). In the next section, we examine the distribution of each use of *then* in our three English corpora.

### 3. Distribution of non-temporal *then* in the corpora

In this section, we briefly discuss the distribution of non-temporal *then* in the three English corpora. We first contrast the frequency of use of sequential-based vs. referential-based uses before examining the frequency of each function of non-temporal *then* in each corpus.

**Table 5** - Non-temporal *then* in the three English corpora: sequential-based uses vs. referential-based uses

	Sequential-based		Referential-based		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	30	20.69	115	79.31	145	100
<b>EFC</b>	9	21.95	32	78.05	41	100
<b>ECC</b>	69	56.1	54	43.9	123	100
<b>Total</b>	108	<b>34.95</b>	201	<b>65.05</b>	309	100

Table 5 shows that overall, sequential-based uses of *then*, *i.e.* the causal, additive and *BT(A)* uses are much less frequent than referential-based uses; *i.e.* logical and final particle uses. This can be explained by the fact that the range of logical uses of *then* is wider than its range of additive uses. However, the numbers vary greatly from corpus to corpus. While in the ENC and the EFC, an overwhelming majority of the non-temporal uses of *then* are logical and particle uses (around 79%), in the ECC almost 44% are sequential-based. This suggests that the causal and additive uses of *then*, as well as *BT(A)* constructions, are much more frequent in conversation. In order to explain these tendencies, let us look at the numbers in more detail.

Table 6 below provides an account of the sequential-based uses of non-temporal *then*. It appears that additive uses are more frequent than *BT(A)* structures or causal uses, since we find 0.18 occurrences every thousand words against 0.04 occurrences of *BT(A)* constructions and 0.068 occurrences of causal *then*.

**Table 6** - Sequential-based uses of *then* in the three English corpora

	Mixed temporal / causal		Causal		Mixed temporal / additive		Additive		BT(A)		Total	
	N	/1000 w	N	/1000 w	N	/1000 w	N	/1000 w	N	/1000 w	N	/1000 w
<b>ENC</b>	8	0.03	0	0	10	0.04	2	0.01	10	0.04	30	0.11
<b>EFC</b>	2	0.04	0	0	4	0.08	3	0.06	0	0	9	0.17
<b>ECC</b>	12	0.24	3	0.06	24	0.48	26	0.52	4	0.08	69	1.38
<b>Total</b>	22	<b>0.06</b>	3	<b>0.008</b>	38	<b>0.10</b>	31	<b>0.08</b>	14	<b>0.04</b>	108	<b>0.29</b>

However, more than half of them are mixed; they retain a temporal component and their additive meaning is linked to their sequential meaning. The same is true of causal uses of *then*. This confirms that the causal and additive meanings of *then* are indeed tightly related to their temporal meaning, which explains why Degand & Fagard (2011) consider that causal *alors* ‘then’ corresponds to a temporal use of *then*. Moreover, both causal and additive uses are more frequent in the conversational corpus than in the others. Considering the fact that causal and additive *then* generally occur with the conjunction *and*, we can suppose that the use of *and then* to mark causal or additive relations is more oral than the use, for instance, of *as a consequence*, *so*, *so that*, *etc.* to express causal relations and of *in addition to that*, *moreover*, *additionally*, *etc.* to express additive relations.

This might also suggest that the additive and cause-consequence modes of discourse organisation and are more frequent in spontaneous conversation than in narration (ENC) or in scripted conversation (EFC). Indeed, additive *then* enables the speaker to add elements to a list – often a list of events, which often follows the chronological order of the listed events with no necessity to plan the discourse ahead. Similarly, the causal relation expressed by *then* enables the speaker to add a subsequent consequence to an event without obligation to plan ahead. This is possible because of the organising function of temporal *then*. The coordinative nature of the sequential-based uses of *then* makes them useful text-structuring tools in spontaneous conversation.

*BT(A)* constructions also function based on the linear organisation of the text, in other words based on coordination. However, they are not very frequent. In the ENC, as we saw in 2.3., they

occur in Free Indirect Speech (FIS) passages. They are more frequent in conversations in the ECC. Conversely, there are no occurrences of *BT(A)* in the EFC.

Table 7 below presents the frequency of logical and particle uses of *then*.<sup>2</sup>

**Table 7** - Logical and particle uses of *then*

	Logical		Final particle		Total	
	N	/1000w	N	/1000w	N	/1000w
<b>ENC</b>	100	0.37	15	0.06	115	0.43
<b>EFC</b>	27	0.52	5	0.10	32	0.62
<b>ECC</b>	53	1.06	1	0.02	54	1.08
<b>Total</b>	180	<b>0.49</b>	21	<b>0.06</b>	201	<b>0.54</b>

It reveals that the logical use of *then* is considerably more frequent than its particle use. Moreover, logical uses of *then* are much more frequent in the spontaneous oral corpus than in the two others. In order to understand these numbers, we need to look at the detail of each category. Table 8 below gives a more detailed account of the uses of logical and particle *then* in the corpora.

**Table 8** - Referential-based uses of *then* in the three English corpora

	<i>If-then</i>		Initial logical (no <i>if</i> -clause)		Medial logical (no <i>if</i> -clause)		Final logical		Borderline logical		Final particle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>ENC</b>	21	0.08	41	0.15	7	0.03	31	0.12	13	0.05	2	0.01	115	0.43
<b>EFC</b>	5	0.10	13	0.25	1	0.02	8	0.15	2	0.04	3	0.06	32	0.62
<b>ECC</b>	14	0.28	25	0.50	0	0.00	14	0.28	1	0.02	0	0.00	54	1.08
<b>Total</b>	40	<b>0.11</b>	79	<b>0.21</b>	8	<b>0.02</b>	53	<b>0.14</b>	16	<b>0.04</b>	5	<b>0.01</b>	201	<b>0.54</b>

Logical uses of *then* are more frequent in initial position. When we combine the initial use of logical *then* in *if-then* structures and in other contexts, we arrive at a frequency of use of 0.32 every 1000 words. Medial position corresponds to a marginal use, with only 0.02, while final *then* occurs 0.14 times every 1000 words. Initial logical *then* with a non-verbalised *if*-clause is also more frequent than final *then*, particularly in the oral corpora in which it is almost twice as

<sup>2</sup> The borderline occurrences were included in the final particle uses. A more detailed account is presented in Table 8.

frequent in initial position as in final position. All the occurrences of initial logical *then* without an *if*-clause occur in direct speech in the ENC, and all except two are turn-initial. Twelve of them occur in collocation with another marker such as *well, right, okay, but*. The higher rate of initial logical *then* in the spoken corpora can be explained by the fact that speakers in conversation are in constant negotiation. They propose the addition of new propositions to the shared common ground, and when nothing in the previous speech warrants the cooperation of the hearer, they use *then* in initial position to show that they do not take the assenting of the hearer for granted and avoid to be rude (*cf.* example (32)).

Finally, occurrences of *then* as a final particle are quite rare. Indeed, for most occurrences of non-logical final *then*, an antecedent can still be retrieved in the far left context, and in this case the occurrence is classified as borderline. Note that there are no occurrences of final particle *then* in the spontaneous corpus, which might seem surprising considering that the particle use of *then* is intersubjective and conveys the attitude of the speaker. Since our conversational corpus is American, and since in our corpora, we only find final particle *then* in British films (all the occurrences from the EFC come from the film *Love Actually*, 2003) and British novels (*American Gods* by Neil Gaiman and *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* by J.K. Rowling), we conclude that final particle *then* is mostly used in British English. Since our conversational corpus is American, it is thus not surprising that it should not contain any occurrences of final particle *then*. It would be interesting in further research to parse American data to identify a potential final particle *then* in American English and contrast it to British final particle *then*.

We have seen that overall, the most frequent use of non-temporal *then* is its logical use. In the ECC however, *then* is often additive. Additive and causal uses of *then* are frequently mixed, and they often have a temporal meaning. This suggests that in interaction speakers rely more easily on coordinative uses of *then* to organise their speech as they speak, while in written and scripted discourse they prefer referential-based uses, which are syntactically more constraining in terms of discourse structure. Regardless of its function, non-temporal *then* is significantly more frequent in the ECC than in the other corpora. This tendency mirrors the use of pragmatic *now* in the ECC (*cf.* Chapter 7). However, we note that there are no occurrences of particle *then* in the ECC, which we suggest is linked to the fact that it is an American corpus.

#### 4. Conclusion

We have proposed in this chapter that the non-temporal uses of *then* have developed along two different paths: logical and particle uses are based on the referential meaning of temporal *then*, while causal, additive and *BT(A)* uses are based on its sequential meaning.

While sequential-based markers are fundamentally coordinative, referential-based markers and more particularly logical markers are anaphors of an *if*-clause and thus they code a subordinate relation. All these uses do not qualify as pragmatic marker uses. Although logical uses have text-structuring functions, they are closer to logical connectors than to pragmatic markers insofar as they do not express the attitude of the speaker. However, the uses of final *then* in confirmation-directives and of borderline final *then* are closer to the pragmatic pole of the continuum from temporal to pragmatic. They are attitudinal markers and have intersubjective functions such as common ground coordination.

As for the sequential-based uses of *then*, except for its causal use, they can be considered to be full pragmatic markers. Additive *then* is used to foreground an element of a list with a view to endowing it with a strong argumentative value. *BT(A)* is used by the speaker to provide a different point of view on a situation.

Sequential-based and referential-based uses of *then* are not easy to unify under a common core meaning. While referential-based uses link the proposition to a state of affairs and ensure coherence within discourse, sequential-based uses function as boundaries between different elements of discourse. Thus, while the former code continuity, which makes them good candidates to become marker of common ground coordination, the latter code boundary and separation. We believe that contrastive analysis might help us better understand the core meaning of *then*. Thus, in the next chapter, we will contrast the pragmatic functions of *now* and *then* to their Chinese equivalents.



## Chapter 9

# Non-temporal *now* and *then* and their Mandarin equivalents

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In this chapter, we conclude the study of non-temporal uses of *now* and *then* by a contrastive analysis. The discussion has a double orientation: on the one hand, we compare the non-temporal uses of *now* and *then*, and try to determine and account for the similarities and differences in their functions. On the other hand, we examine the correspondence patterns of pragmatic *now* and non-temporal *then* in our corpora in order to identify their Chinese equivalents and contrast them to the English markers. In fact, we use the Chinese-English contrastive analysis to shed some light on the meanings and functions of *now* and *then*. Reciprocally, our study of non-temporal *now* and *then* in Chapters 7 and 8 might provide some new perspectives on their Mandarin equivalents.

The starting point for this study will be the Chinese markers identified in our corpus as the most frequent correspondences of pragmatic *now* and non-temporal *then*. We will first review the literature on the correspondences of pragmatic *now* and *then* (Section 1). Then, we will carry out a corpus study in order to examine the correspondence patterns of pragmatic *now* and *then* (Section 2). Finally, in Section 3, we will propose a contrastive analysis of the markers. We will discuss the functions of discontinuity and closure of some markers (*hao* ‘well, good’, final *le*) and relate them to the contrastive value of their correspondence *now*. Then, we will focus on the continuative function of referential-based *then* and its most frequent correspondence *na(me)* ‘then, in this case’. Lastly, we will examine transition markers, which display features of continuity as well as discontinuity: we will first study the reinforcing marker *jiu* ‘then, at once’

before turning to *ranhou* ‘and (then)’. We will show how these transition markers relate to *now* as well as *then*.

## 1. Literature review

This section presents an overview of some studies on the Chinese markers that occur most frequently as correspondences of PM *now* and non-temporal *then*. We first review the research on *hao* ‘okay’, which is a frequent correspondence of PM *now*, but also of PM *then* (1.1.). Then, we give an account of some works on the PM *na(me)* ‘then, in this case’ (1.2.) and on non-temporal *ranhou* ‘and (then)’ (1.2.). Finally, we look at some final particles found as correspondences of PM *now* and *then* (1.4.).

### 1.1. *Hao*

Miracle’s (1991) study is one of the first studies of Chinese pragmatic markers. He focuses on the marker of closure *hao* ‘good, well, okay’, the contrastive markers *danshi* ‘but’, *buguo* ‘but’ and *keshi* ‘but’, and the continuative marker *na(me)* ‘then, in this case’. In this chapter, we are particularly interested in his findings on *hao* ‘good, well’ and *na(me)* ‘then, in this case’, which are correspondences of *now* and *then*.

Miracle (1989) finds that *hao* is a marker of closure: it marks closure of social actions, acknowledgment of a statement or assent to a command. In example (1), the speaker has just given the hearer a present and uses *hao* to mark the closure of the present-giving and present-accepting situation.

(1) Think of it as a Christmas bonus. **Now**, let me walk you down to the Greyhound.

就 當 是 耶 誕 獎 金 吧。  
 Jiù dāng shì yé dàn jiǎngjīn ba.  
 Just act as be Christmas bonus BA

好 啦，我 陪 你 去 灰 狗 巴 士 站。(ENC)  
**Hǎo** la, wǒ péi nǐ qù Huīgǒu bāshì zhàn  
 Well LA I accompany you go Greyhound bus station

Miracle (1989) also suggests that *hao* is used in answer to commissives and directives. In his 1991's study, he confirms these findings. He explains that *hao* can mark transitions: “*hao* closes one subsidiary issue and sets the stage for the introduction of another subsidiary issue” (1991:40). This trait is reminiscent of the function of *now* as a topic changer (Schiffrin 1987; Aijmer 2002; *etc.*). *Hao* can also be used to move from a subtopic back to the main topic. Moreover, Miracle notes that the use of *hao* is similar to that of *okay* in English as defined by Merritt (1984): it signifies approval, acceptance, confirmation, and constitutes a linking device between two stages. It can also be used to close disagreements or complaints between intimates or between people with a hierarchical relation. Lastly, it can mark the completion of a physical action.

Finally, *hao* can also be used turn-internally as a topic-changer to articulate the speaker's own discourse. In this case, “*hao* is not only marking the transition from one [speech] act to another, but also signaling that some sort of mental deliberation has occurred and has been completed” (Miracle 1991: 52).

Wang & Tsai (2005) argue that the basic meaning of *hao* is ‘positive evaluation’ (Wang & Tsai 2005: 223). They explain that *hao* as a PM can be a closure or transition marker at the textual level; it can be an agreement or acceptance marker at the interactional level. When *hao* is used with the particles *ma*, *la* or *ba*, there is a lengthening of the marker and a reinforcing of the speaker's dejected attitude towards what she is agreeing to. For instance, in the following example, the hearer has just refused to accede to the request of the speaker who asked him to stop videotaping. The speaker uses *hao ma* to mark his reluctant acceptance of the situation and his frustration regarding the situation:

- (2) **Hao ma**, lu lu lu  
**All right MA**, videotape videotape videotape

All right. Just keep videotaping! (Wang& Tsai 2005: 250)

Wang & Tsai show that as a marker of closure, *hao* is often followed by a topic shift. We will see that this feature explains its regular correspondence to PM *now* in our corpora. Like

Miracle, Wang & Tsai compare *hao* to the English marker *okay*. They suggest that *hao* is used “to enhance the relevance and coherence of utterances” (Wang & Tsai 2005: 235).

## 1.2. *Na(me)*

Biq (1990) studies the marker *na(me)* ‘so, then, in this case’ and finds that *na(me)* can be used in conditional relations, for topic succession, and for topic change. She notes that while *na(me)* in conditionals can occur in any type of setting, topic change *na(me)* and topic succession *na(me)* tend to occur in spontaneous discourse (Biq 1990: 188).

Biq explains that *na(me)* in conditional structures is used like English *then*: it connects the premise and the conclusion. The premise, which in Chinese is not necessarily morpho-syntactically marked, has a topic function, and “*na(me)* indicates a warranted continuation relation between the preceding antecedent as the background/topic and the upcoming consequent as the elaboration/comment” (Biq 1990: 190). In example (3), the premise is introduced by *ruguo* ‘if’.

- (3) Ruguo mei yige ren dou xiang qu yanjiu xinzang dehua,  
If every one CI person all want go study heart in-the-case-of

**name** ganmao shei zhi ne?  
**NAME** cold who cure NE

If everyone wants to study heart (diseases), **then** who cures colds? (Biq 1990: 189)

When *na(me)* marks topic succession, it is a marker of continuation. It introduces an elaboration of the main topic presented in the left context. Two configurations are possible: the succession can be direct, in which case *na(me)* introduces an elaboration on the left adjacent clause, or it can be distant, in which case *na(me)* introduces an elaboration on a more distant topic in the left context. These elaborations can be introduced by the same speaker or by a different one, as in example (4) in which the succession is direct:

- (4) A: Tamen nei shihou ye shi bu dong. Ta dui niunai guomin.  
They that time also be Neg understand he to milk allergic

B: Oh, oh, **na** xianzai hao le?  
Oh oh **NA** now OK LE

A: They (the parents) didn't know (what it was) at that time. (It was that) he was allergic to milk.

B: Oh. Oh, **so** (is he) OK now? (Biq 1990: 1992)

The last function of *na(me)* identified by Biq is topic change. While topic succession *na(me)* displays ideational cohesiveness, topic change *na(me)* displays interactional cohesiveness. In example (5), the participants A and B have been discussing tofu before remaining silent for a while. Then A introduces a new topic:

(5) A : **Na** ni yao zai zhei bian dai duojiu ?  
**NA** you want at this side stay how-long

B: Dai dao Libaier.  
Stay to Tuesday

A: **So** how long are you going to stay here?

B: To Tuesday. (Biq 1990: 196-197)

Biq only finds this occurrence of *na(me)* as a topic changer in her corpus. This use is reminiscent of what we identified in Chapter 7 as the function of borderline and final particle *then*. Biq explains that the speaker is pretending to continue the topic with *na(me)*, drawing from the common ground, in response to the pressure existing in conversation for topic cohesiveness. She compares the use of *na(me)* in such situations to that of *so* in English (*So, what have you been doing lately?*). With the use of this continuative marker to change the topic, the speaker demonstrates other-attentiveness: he changes the topic to the hearer. Biq argues that *na(me)* cannot be used for a topic change without a display of other-attentiveness. We will examine this function of *na(me)* in (3.3.).

Drawing on Schiffrin (1987), Biq argues that the functions of *na(me)* as a connective are linked to its distal deictic meaning, which accounts for its development as a distal succession marker and topic change marker. Indeed, she explains that while *na(me)* can mark distant topic succession at the textual level, its function of topic change corresponds to distant succession at a

pragmatic level, since the speaker draws from prior discourse and shared knowledge. Thus, it appears that Biq's function of topic change is comparable not to the final particle use of *then* in English, but to the borderline use which implies distant topic succession.

Miracle also analyses the marker *na(me)*. He notes that all its uses are linked to its meaning as a distal marker and a conjunction (Miracle 1991: 92). Miracle considers *na* and *name* to be variants of the same marker, since they are functionally equivalent, with *na* used mostly in informal conversation while *name* is reserved for more formal settings. He studies the use of *na(me)* in conditionals, in which it introduces a consequence. It can also introduce a relation of sequence between two propositions, or be used at the discourse level to link together two parallel events. This last use corresponds to Biq's (1990) topic succession use. Additionally, Miracle identifies *na(me)* as a connector of topic-related segments of talk. It can mark the progressive development of a topic, it can introduce a topic shift, or on the contrary mark a return to a previous topic, building on the common ground. Moreover, like Biq, he notes that *na(me)* can be used to introduce a new topic. In that case, it has an "other-attentiveness" feature. Finally, *na(me)* is used as an evincive marker, *i.e.* it indicates that the speaker has just been thinking. In this case, *na(me)* indicates that the speaker intends to resume her turn.

Liu (2011) distinguishes between the non-pragmatic use of *na* "in that case" as a logical marker (*cf.* example (6)), and its PM use as a connective with no result meaning (*cf.* examples (7) and (8)).

(6) Women de chengji bi tamen hao, suoyi **na** ni jiu hui juede  
 we Rel score Comp they good, so **in that case** you just will think

yiqian de liu nian shi-bu-shi jiu baifei le ya, dui ba?  
 previous Rel six year be-Neg-be just waste LE YA right BA

Our score is higher than theirs, so in that case you would feel the previous six years is a waste of time, right? (Liu 2011: 380)

Liu argues that PM *na* has two textual functions. First, it can be used turn-internally to shift the topic or subtopics as in (7) below.

- (7) Yeyu aihao a, **na** wo juede, ting ge a, ranhou ... kan shu.  
Extra hobby A **in that case** I think listen song A then read book

Hobbies, I think, listening to music, and ... reading. (*ibid.*: 381)

It can also be used to initiate a new turn as in (8).

- (8) **Na** Riben you shenme haowan de?  
**in that case** Japan have what fun Rel

What does Japan have for fun? (*ibid.*)

This last use corresponds to the topic shift use identified by Biq (1990), which she also explained corresponds to distant topic succession at a pragmatic level. We will see in 3.3.1. that this last use is very similar to the borderline use of *then*: *then* could be added in final detached position in the translation of (8). Let us now look at some modal particles that often occur as correspondences of *now* and *then*, alone or with other markers.

### 1.3. *Ranhou*

Su (1998) analyses *ranhou* in spoken discourse. She argues that *ranhou* ‘then’ is a hesitation marker, which occurs mostly in unplanned speeches. Thus, *ranhou* marks a “conceptual planning operation” (Su 1998: 168). Su explains that *ranhou* as a sequential marker can code temporal sequence, consequence, and be used to structure lists. Although she considers that this last use is non-propositional, the sequential uses of *ranhou* are not classified as PM uses. According to Su, *ranhou* is a PM when it codes condition (*Ni zuo x, ranhou wo zuo y*: if you do x, I will do y) or concession (*qu dagong a, ranhou you gong de shihou jiu yue pengyou yiqi qu youyong*: I go to work, and okay, when I have the time, I go swimming with a friend), when it is a verbal filler, and when it marks topic succession, *i.e.* when a speaker takes over the floor by adding to what another speaker has just said. Su considers that the sequential uses of *ranhou* are ideational while its PM uses are interactional.

Wang & Huang (2006) examine the grammaticalisation path of *ranhou*. They confirm Su’s (1998) analysis and find two more functions for *ranhou*: it can be used as a resumptive opener, and have an additive meaning. As a resumptive opener, *ranhou* “resumes an old digressed topic”

(Wang & Huang 2006: 1003). The additive use of *ranhou* is described as “piling new information onto old” (Wang & Huang 2006: 1005). *Ranhou* is used as an additive marker to make explicit the connection between successive sentences, with a view to reinforcing discourse cohesion. *Ranhou* establishes a loose connection between ideationally-related elements. Wang & Huang give the following example:

(9) A: Ni weishenme yao zheyang chang a?  
You why MV this way sing A

B: Qishi zhe shi zhizuoren gen wo juede zhe shou ge... shi bijiao yaogun,  
Actually this be producer and I feel this CI song be more rock-and-roll

**ranhou**, women xiwang ba ta chenxian weidao shi bijiao kuazhang de.  
**and** we hope BA it present flavor be more exaggerative Rel

A: Why do you want to sing this way?

B: Actually, this is because the producer and I thought that this song is more rock-and-roll, **and** we wanted to present it with a more exaggerative flavor.

(Wang & Huang 2006: 1006)

Thus, *ranhou* is described as a marker of continuation. Wang & Huang argue that the bleaching of *ranhou* from a temporal connective to a non-temporal marker can be explained by the fact that Chinese relies mostly on lexical cohesion for coordination, relieving *ranhou* of its coordinative purpose (Wang & Huang 2006: 1007). As mentioned in Chapter 6, *ranhou* is compared to the English conjunction *and*, which is a marker of continuation. It enables the speaker to indicate her wish to hold the floor without being face-threatening to the hearer, since the connection implied justifies floor-holding. Moreover, its continuative value establishes the relevance of what follows.

Liu (2011) adopts a restricted definition of PMs. According to her, if *ranhou* is not syntactically optional, it does not qualify as a PM. On this ground, she rejects the idea that *ranhou* is a PM when it structures lists. She gives the following example, in which *ranhou* is not syntactically optional:

(10) En aihao, you a ... en aihao ... jianshen, dao gym limian qu  
uh hobby have A uh hobby work out to gym in go



duanlian, **ranhou** music ... ting yinyue.  
exercise **then** music listen music

Uh hobby, yes I have ... Uh hobby ... working out, going to gym and doing exercises,  
and then music ... listening to music. (Liu 2011: 377)

According to Liu, *ranhou* as a PM has only two functions: topic-succession and verbal filler. Unlike Liu, we consider that the additive function of *ranhou* is pragmatic, though it is less bleached than others - particularly when it is not syntactically optional - since a meaning of temporal successive can often be retrieved.

#### 1.4. Final particles *a/ya*, *ba*, *le/la*

Liu (2011) examines the final particles *a/ya*, *ba* and *ne*. She groups *a* and *ya* together. She finds three functions for these markers which do not have propositional uses. Following Li & Thompson (1981), she considers that *a/ya* operates at the interpersonal level to reduce forcefulness, as in (11). She also explains that *a/ya* can be used for self-correction in utterance-medial position, and to express surprise.

- (11) Zhoumo **a**, gen pengyou kan-kan dianying **a**, ranhou nage dasao-dasao fangjian.  
weekend **A**, with friend see-see movie **A** then that clean-clean room

On weekends, I go to see a movie with friends, and clean my room. (Liu 2011: 396)

Li (2006) also examines the function of *a* as a discourse marker. She explains that *a* is used to “highlight the relevance of the utterance in which it occurs to the discourse context” (Li 2006: 50). She notes that the particle *a* can have low or high pitch. Low pitch denotes speaker orientation, while high pitch denotes hearer orientation.

In her analysis of *ba*, Liu (2011) excludes the use of *ba* at the end of an interrogative sentence from its PM uses, because in such a context it is not syntactically optional. *Ba* is identified as an interpersonal PM in affirmatives, in which it codes tentativeness.

- (12) Binmei: Weishenme xuanze zhe dushu?  
why choose here study

Jun: Xuanze dushu de hua, wo xiang you ji ge yuanyin **ba**. Diyi ge yuanyin shi  
choose study if I think have several Cl reason **BA** first Cl reason be

Binmei: Why did you choose to study here (at UF)?

Jun: I think there may be several reasons for me to choose to study here. The first reason is (...). (*ibid.*)

Li (2006) also studies and compares the final particles *ba* and *ma*. She argues that *mal* (interrogative particle) and *ma2* (obviousness particle) are actually the same element, and that like *ba*, they are used to mark degree. Li & Thompson (1981) argue that *ba* is used to solicit agreement. Chu (1998) argues that *ba* expresses the speaker's uncertainty. Li (2006) argues that *ba* expresses a low degree of commitment of the speaker towards the proposition, while *ma* expresses a high degree of commitment.

Another final particle often found as a correspondence of PM *now* is final *le*. We have analysed the functions of final particle *le* in Chapter 3. However, we only examined the temporal and contrastive functions of *le* as they reflected the uses of temporal *now*. In this chapter, we will study the use of final *le* as an attitudinal marker expressing the subjective evaluation of the speaker. As explained by Van den Berg & Wu (2006), and as argued in Chapter 7 (Section 4), the pragmatic function of *le* is to mark or call for coordination of the common ground. Chang (2009) explains that the function of *le* is to “emphasize the speaker's viewpoint through a cooperative effort between the speaker and the hearer” (2009: 1). Lu & Su (2009) examine the hearer's response following the use of *le* by the speaker, and note that the hearer usually uses a reactive token to show the success of common ground coordination. Thus, they argue that *le* is a marker of intersubjectivity: it “appears at Transition Relevance Places, a point in the conversation where change of speakership is possible” (Lu & Su 2009: 165). We will examine the pragmatic function of the final particle *le* and attempt to determine in what way it relates to the pragmatic meaning of *now* in Section 3.1.

Having reviewed some studies on the Chinese markers that are frequent correspondences of PM *now* and *then*, we will now examine their distribution in more detail.

## 2. Correspondence patterns of *now* and *then*

In this section, we contrast the frequencies and correspondence patterns of non-temporal *now* and *then* in the four translational corpora (ENC, EFC, CNC, CFC). We find that although the same markers appear as correspondences of PM *now* and *then*, their frequencies vary: some markers such as *hao* ‘okay’ and *le* are preferred to translate PM *now*, while other markers such as *na(me)* ‘then, in this case’ and *jiu* ‘then, at once’ are generally used to translate *then*.

Let us first examine the frequency of *now* and *then* as non-temporal markers in the various corpora. Table 1 shows the frequencies of PM *now* in the English and the Chinese translational corpora.

**Table 1** - Distribution of PM *now* in the translational corpora

	PM <i>now</i>		Borderline		Total	
	N	N/1000w	N	N/1000w	N	N/1000w
ENC	26	0.10	25	0.09	51	0.19
EFC	9	0.17	7	0.13	16	0.31
<b>Total EC</b>	35	<b>0.11</b>	32	<b>0.1</b>	67	<b>0.21</b>
CNC	5	0.02	5	0.02	10	0.04
CFC	5	0.10	9	0.17	14	0.27
<b>Total CC</b>	10	<b>0.03</b>	14	<b>0.04</b>	24	<b>0.08</b>

Table 1 shows that PM *now* is almost three times more frequent in the English translational corpora than in the Chinese translational corpora. It thus seems that there is an underuse of PM *now* in the English translations, due to a lesser use of *now*-like PMs in Chinese. However, the discrepancy is considerably more marked in the narrative corpora than in the film corpora. PM *now* occurs almost as frequently in the CFC as in the EFC, but it occurs almost five times more often in the ENC than in the CNC. This suggests that while the use of *now*-like PMs is relatively balanced in spoken English and Chinese, it differs greatly in written texts. We can assume that Chinese, which tends to be more concise in its written form (*cf.* Li & Thompson 1984, and discussion in Chapter 2), makes a lesser use of PMs in narratives than English. Indeed, as non-propositional markers, PMs might be omitted when the narrator aims at concision.

Table 2 and 3 below provide the frequencies of occurrence of the sequential-based uses of non-temporal *then* (Table 2) and of its referential-based uses (Table 3) in the translational corpora.

**Table 2** - Distribution of the sequential-based uses of *then* in the translational corpora

	Mixed temporal / causal		causal		Mixed temporal / additive		Additive		BT(A)		Total	
	N	% w	N	% w	N	% w	N	% w	N	% w	N	% w
ENC	8	0.03	0	0	10	0.04	2	0.01	10	0.04	30	0.11
EFC	2	0.04	0	0	4	0.08	3	0.06	0	0	9	0.17
<b>Total EC</b>	10	<b>0.03</b>	0	0	14	<b>0.04</b>	5	<b>0.02</b>	10	<b>0.03</b>	39	<b>0.12</b>
CNC	4	0.01	0	0	2	0.01	1	0.00	0	0	7	0.03
CFC	2	0.04	0	0	1	0.02	2	0.04	0	0	5	0.10
<b>Total CC</b>	6	<b>0.02</b>	0	0	3	<b>0.01</b>	3	<b>0.01</b>	0	<b>0</b>	12	<b>0.04</b>

Table 2 shows that sequential-based uses of *then* are more frequent in the English original corpora than in the translations of the Chinese corpora. The discrepancy is particularly manifest when it comes to the additive uses of *then* and its *BT(A)* uses, which are virtually absent in the translations of the Chinese corpora. The lesser use of *then* as an additive marker in the translations of the Chinese texts is not surprising if we consider that among the most frequent sequential correspondences of *then*, *i.e.* *ranhou*, *jiezhe* and *houlai*, only *ranhou* has developed into a non-temporal marker. *Jiezhe* can be used with an additive meaning, but its use implies a chronological ordering of the linked elements. Thus, we find one occurrence of *jiezhe* as source for temporal/additive *then*, as well as one occurrence of *ranhou*. Considering the high frequency of *ranhou* in the translational corpora, this low correspondence suggests that sequential-based uses of *then* and non-temporal uses of *ranhou* differ. We will contrast their functions in 3.2.

Table 3 below presents the frequency of occurrence of the referential-based uses of *then* in the English and Chinese translational corpora.

**Table 3** - Distribution of the referential-based uses of *then* in the translational corpora

	<i>If-then</i>		Initial logical (no <i>if</i> -clause)		Medial logical (no <i>if</i> -clause)		Final logical		Borderline logical / final particle		Final particle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ENC	21	0.08	41	0.15	7	0.03	31	0.12	13	0.05	2	0.01	115	0.43
EFC	5	0.10	13	0.25	1	0.02	8	0.15	2	0.04	3	0.06	32	0.62
<b>Total EC</b>	26	<b>0.08</b>	54	<b>0.17</b>	8	<b>0.03</b>	39	<b>0.12</b>	15	<b>0.05</b>	5	<b>0.02</b>	147	<b>0.46</b>
CNC	10	0.04	12	0.04	0	0	6	0.02	0	0	0	0	28	0.10
CFC	7	0.13	51	0.98	0	0	25	0.48	6	0.12	0	0	89	1.71
<b>Total CC</b>	17	<b>0.05</b>	63	<b>0.20</b>	0	<b>0</b>	31	<b>0.10</b>	6	<b>0.02</b>	0	<b>0</b>	117	<b>0.37</b>

As explained in Chapter 8, the referential-based uses of non-temporal *then* are logical and logical-derived uses. When we look at the total frequency of occurrence of these logical uses of *then*, the gap between the English and Chinese corpora does not appear to be too great: these forms are only 1.2 times more frequent in English than in Chinese. However, when we look at each use of referential-based *then* and contrast its frequency in Chinese and English corpora, as well as in the film and narrative corpora, some gaps become apparent. Thus, while initial logical *then* with a non-verbalised *if*-clause occurs 0.25 times every thousand words in the EFC, it occurs 0.98 times in the CFC. In other words, initial logical *then* is almost four times more frequent in the CFC than in the ENC. Similarly, final logical *then* is three times more frequent in the CFC than in the EFC. Within the Chinese corpora, there is overall a great difference of use of referential-based *then*: it is 17 times more frequent in the CFC than in the CNC. Conversely, the difference between the written and spoken English corpora is only of 1.4. This seems in keeping with the idea that written Chinese is more concise than spoken Chinese. We can assume that spoken Chinese makes a greater use of logical markers such as logical *then* than written Chinese.

Let us now look at the correspondence patterns of non-temporal *now* and *then*. Table 4 below gives the most frequent correspondences of PM *now*.

**Table 4** - Correspondences of PM *now*

	<i>hao</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>le/la</i>	<i>na(me)</i>	<i>jiu</i>	<i>xianzai</i>	Para-phrastic expression	zero	other <sup>1</sup>
ENC	10	9	4	2	3	7	6	9	12
EFC	1	2	3	0	1	1	3	7	1
Total EC	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>13</b>
CNC	1	0	1	1	0	3	2	1	2
CFC	2	0	2	2	0	3	0	4	4
Total CC	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>

In Table 4, we included the borderline occurrences of *now* as PMs, because although they retain a temporal meaning, they also have PM properties (*cf.* Chapter 7). Moreover, *now* often corresponds to a combination of several markers in the Chinese text. Thus, each occurrence of the Chinese markers was counted, which explains that the numbers do not match those in Table 3. For instance, the composite marker *hao le* was counted twice, once for *hao*, once for *le*. We will look at the composite correspondences of *now* in more detail in Section 3. The most frequent correspondences of PM *now* are the PMs *hao*, *na(me)*, the final particles *ba*, *le/la*, as well as the adverb *xianzai*. The frequent occurrence of the marker *xianzai* can be explained by the fact that we included the borderline occurrences of *now* in this table. In borderline cases, *now* retains a temporal meaning and therefore often corresponds to *xianzai*. But when it does, *xianzai* is often combined with another marker, typically a final particle, which renders the pragmatic component of borderline *now*. When it does not, then either the pragmatic meaning of *now* is lost in translation, or if the English text is the translation, some pragmatic meaning is added, typically when *now* is initial and followed by a command (*cf.* Chapter 2). Zero correspondences are frequent, particularly when *now* is in the source text. This seems to confirm that PMs are more frequent in English than in Chinese. However, the speech in the translational corpora is not spontaneous which might explain the low frequency of PMs, which might be more frequent in spontaneous Chinese conversation. Yet, the English translational corpora are not spontaneous and we do find *now* as a PM more often than in the Chinese corpora.

<sup>1</sup> Includes single or double occurrences of interjections such as *hai*, *en*, *a*, *aya*, *ha*, *ma*, *na*.

The following tables aim at determining whether there is a correlation between the pragmatic function of *now* and its correspondences. Table 5 presents the functions and translations of PM *now* in the ENC and the EFC, while Table 6 presents the correspondences of PM *now* and their functions in the CNC and CFC.

**Table 5** - Functions and correspondences of PM *now* in the ENC and the EFC

	<i>hao</i>		<i>ba</i>		<i>le/la</i>		<i>na(me)</i>		<i>jiu</i>		<i>xianzai</i>		paraphasis		zero		Total <i>now</i>
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Comparison	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Topic change	4	19.1	6	28.6	4	19.1	1	4.76	3	14.3	2	9.52	6	28.6	2	9.52	21
Procedure	0	0	1	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	16.7	0	0	3	50	6
Listing	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	50	4
Branching	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	22.2	1	11.1	5	55.6	9
Disclaimer	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	2
<b>Total TEXTUAL</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>18.2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2.27</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6.82</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>44</b>
Coord. topic change	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	1
Floor-holding	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Evaluation	0	0	0	0	1	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Persuasion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Change in footing	0	0	1	33.3	1	33	0	0	0	0	1	33	0	0	1	33.3	3
Authority	7	21.9	7	21.9	6	18.8	1	3.13	2	6.25	5	16	5	15.6	8	25	32
<b>Total INTERPER.</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>20.5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2.56</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5.13</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>15.4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>15.7</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>19.3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2.41</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6.02</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>15.7</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>83</b>

Table 5 shows that there is a certain homogeneity between the correspondences of textual and interpersonal *now*. The same Chinese markers are used to translate both functions. However, we can note that final particles such as *le/la* and *ba* are more frequent with interpersonal functions. We will see that this is due to the fact that final particles are attitudinal markers that often imply the existence of a common ground (Bross 2012), which explains why they are preferred in interpersonal uses which generally occur in interaction, and not in monologues or narratives. Since the very little number of occurrences of textual *now* in the Chinese corpora cannot serve as a reliable basis to identify tendencies of correspondence patterns, we do not present here the functions of the correspondences of PM *now* in the CNC and the CFC. The overall limited number of occurrences of PM *now* in our translational corpora, combined with the important number of varied correspondences means that we cannot really extract tendencies

from our data. Thus, as far as *now* is concerned, we will focus on a qualitative analysis in Section 3.

Let us examine the main correspondences of non-temporal *then*. The overall important number of occurrences of non-temporal *then* enables us to extract some tendencies from the correspondence pattern detected in each corpus, particularly for the referential-based occurrences of *then*. Table 6 gives the frequencies of the correspondences of non-temporal *then* in the ENC, while Table 7 gives the frequencies in the EFC.

Table 6 provides the frequency of occurrence of the most frequent Chinese correspondences of *then* in the ENC.<sup>2</sup> The upper part of the table presents the correspondences of the sequential-based uses of *then*, while the lower part presents the correspondences of the referential-based uses of *then*. As was the case in Tables 4 and 5, the percentages do not add up because some forms often co-occur and each form is counted. The percentages indicate how often a certain form is found as (part of) a correspondence of non-temporal *then* in the ENC.

**Table 6** - Functions and correspondences of non-temporal *then* in the ENC

	<i>na(me)</i>		<i>jiu</i>		<i>le/la</i>		<i>ranhou</i>		<i>ba</i>		<i>zheyang</i> <sup>3</sup>		<i>hao</i>		<i>danshi</i> <sup>4</sup>		zero		Total <i>then</i>
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Csq	0	0	2	25	1	12.5	3	37.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	8
Add	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8.33	12
<i>BT(A)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	60	0	0	10
<b>Total Seq-B</b>	0	0	2	6.67	1	3.33	7	23.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	20	2	6.67	30
<i>if-then</i>	10	47.6	12	57.1	5	23.8	0	0	1	4.76	0	0	0	0	2	9.52	0	0	21
Initial-medial	36	75	2	4.17	9	18.8	0	0	2	4.17	2	4.17	2	4.17	2	4.17	0	0	48
Final	17	54.8	7	22.6	7	22.6	0	0	4	12.9	2	6.45	1	3.23	0	0	1	3.23	31
Bord.-particle	7	46.7	5	33.3	4	26.7	0	0	4	26.7	1	6.67	3	20	0	0	0	0	15
<b>Total Ref-B</b>	70	60.9	26	22.6	25	21.7	0	0	11	9.57	5	4.35	6	5.22	4	3.48	1	0.87	115
<b>TOTAL</b>	70	48.3	28	19.3	26	17.9	7	4.83	11	7.59	5	3.45	6	4.14	10	6.90	3	2.07	145

<sup>2</sup> Other correspondences not included in the table because relatively infrequent include the particles *ne* and *a*, the adverbials *zhongyu* ‘at last’, *houlai* ‘afterwards’, *hai* ‘still’, *jiezhe* ‘subsequently’, *cai* ‘only then’ and the connector *suoyi* ‘so’.

<sup>3</sup> Includes other demonstrative expressions such as *zheme yilai* ‘in that case’, *zheme shuo* ‘if that is the case’.

<sup>4</sup> Includes other contrastive adverbials such as *keshi* ‘but’, *buguo* ‘but’, *dan* ‘but’, *ran'er* ‘however’.



Table 6 shows that there is a considerable difference in terms of translation between sequential-based and referential-based uses of non-temporal *then*. While sequential-based functions of *then* are often translated with *ranhou* ‘and then’ or *danshi* ‘but’, the major correspondence of referential-based uses is *na(me)* ‘then, in this case’. *Danshi* ‘but’ is used exclusively to translate *BT(A)* forms, which themselves contain the contrastive marker ‘but’ in English. When *danshi* ‘but’ appears in translations of logical *then*, the corresponding form in English is always *but then*. The fact that *na(me)* should be the first correspondence of referential-based uses of *then* is quite significant: the marker *na(me)* is derived from the demonstrative *na* ‘that’, which is a major component of the main correspondence of referential *then*, namely *nashi* ‘at that time’. This confirms the accuracy of the classification proposed in Chapter 7 according to which logical uses of *then* derive from its referential meaning. It seems that in Chinese, conditional meaning also derives from referential meaning, and is also expressed with a distal anaphoric marker. We will analyse this phenomenon in detail in 3.3. Let us first examine the situation in the other corpora.

Table 7 below provides the frequencies of occurrence of the Chinese markers in the EFC. Because of the little number of occurrences of non-temporal *then* in the EFC, the numbers are very small and the results cannot be said to be representative of the situation, particularly as far as the sequential-based occurrences of *then* are concerned. As for the logical uses of *then*, the results are in keeping with those of the ENC: *na(me)* is the most frequent correspondence of logical *then*. *Jiu* is rather frequent too, as well as the particle *ba*.

**Table 7** - Functions and correspondences of non-temporal *then* in the EFC

	<i>na(me)</i>		<i>jiu</i>		<i>le/la</i>		<i>ranhou</i>		<i>ba</i>		<i>zheyang</i> <sup>5</sup>		<i>hao</i>		<i>danshi</i> <sup>6</sup>		zero		Total <i>then</i>
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Csq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50	0	0	2
Add	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	57	7
<i>BT(A)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total Seq-B</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11.1	4	44	9
<i>if-then</i>	3	60	0	0	1	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	40	5
Initial- medial	8	57.1	2	14.3	1	7.14	0	0	0	0	2	14.3	2	0	0	0	0	0	14
Final	1	12.5	1	12.5	0	0	0	0	4	50	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	2	25	8
Bord.- particle	0	0	1	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	2	40	5
<b>Total Ref-B</b>	12	37.5	4	12.5	2	6.25	0	0	4	12.5	2	6.25	6	3.13	0	0	6	19	32
<b>TOTAL</b>	12	29.3	4	9.76	2	4.88	0	0	4	9.76	2	4.88	6	2.44	1	2.44	10	24	41

Tables 8 and 9 below present the data from the Chinese translational corpora. We find that the results concerning the correspondences of sequential-based *then* cannot yield any significant information, due to the small number of occurrences. As mentioned earlier, the limited number of sequential-based occurrences of *then*, particularly in the Chinese corpora, suggests that additive uses are not as frequent in Chinese as in English. Moreover, the limited proportion of occurrences of *ranhou* as correspondences of additive uses of *then* indicates that the pragmatic use of *ranhou* differs from that of sequential-based *then*. We will have to look into this idea in 3.2.

<sup>5</sup> Includes other demonstrative expressions such as *zheme yilai* ‘in that case’, *zheme shuo* ‘if that is the case’.

<sup>6</sup> Includes other contrastive adverbials such as *keshi* ‘but’, *buguo* ‘but’, *dan* ‘but’, *ran'er* ‘however’, *que* ‘however’.

**Table 8** - Functions and correspondences of non-temporal *then* in the CNC

	<i>na(me)</i>		<i>jiu</i>		<i>le/la</i>		<i>ranhou</i>		<i>ba</i>		<i>zheyang</i> <sup>7</sup>		<i>hao</i>		<i>danshi</i> <sup>8</sup>		zero		Total <i>then</i>
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Csq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	1	25	4
Add	0	0	1	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
<i>BT(A)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total Seq-B</b>	0	<b>0</b>	1	<b>16.7</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	1	<b>16.7</b>	1	<b>16.7</b>	6
<i>if-then</i>	2	20	5	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	30	10
Initial- medial	8	66.7	5	41.7	3	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8.33	12
Final	2	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	16.7	0	0	1	16.7	7
Bord- particle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	0
<b>Total Ref-B</b>	12	<b>42.9</b>	10	<b>35.7</b>	3	<b>10.7</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	1	<b>3.57</b>	0	<b>0</b>	5	<b>17.9</b>	29
<b>TOTAL</b>	12	<b>35.3</b>	11	<b>32.4</b>	3	<b>8.82</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	1	<b>2.94</b>	1	<b>2.94</b>	6	<b>17.7</b>	35

A rapid comparison of Tables 8 and 9 shows that the use of *then* to translate *na(me)* is more frequent in the oral corpus than in the written corpus. Conversely, *jiu* is more frequent in the written corpus than in the oral corpus. Moreover, there seems to be a correlation between the position of *na(me)* and the position of *then*: when *then* translates *na(me)*, it is typically initial. This suggests an overuse of the initial position of conditional *then* in English due to the compulsory clause-initial position of *na(me)* in Chinese.

<sup>7</sup> Includes other demonstrative expressions such as *zheme yilai* 'in that case', *zheme shuo* 'if that is the case'.

<sup>8</sup> Includes other contrastive adverbials such as *keshi* 'but', *buguo* 'but', *dan* 'but', *ran'er* 'however'.

**Table 9** - Functions and correspondences of non-temporal *then* in the CFC

	<i>na(me)</i>		<i>jiu</i>		<i>le/la</i>		<i>ranhou</i>		<i>ba</i>		<i>zheyang</i> <sup>9</sup>		<i>hao</i>		<i>danshi</i> <sup>10</sup>		zero		Total <i>then</i>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Csq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Add	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33.3	0	0	3
<i>BT(A)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total Seq-B</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	4
<i>if-then</i>	2	28.6	5	71.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Initial- medial	38	71.7	9	17.0	3	5.7	0	0	1	1.9	5	9.4	5	9.4	0	0	6	11	51	
Final	11	42.3	7	26.9	6	23.1	0	0	3	11.5	0	0	6	23.1	0	0	4	15	26	
Bord.- particle	3	50	2	33.3	3	50	0	0	0	0	2	33.3	1	16.7	0	0	0	0	6	
<b>Total Ref-B</b>	54	58.7	23	25	12	13	0	0	4	4.3	7	7.6	12	13	0	0	10	11	90	
<b>TOTAL</b>	54	56.3	23	24.0	12	12.5	1	1.0	4	4.2	7	7.3	12	12.5	1	1.0	10	10	94	

When the data on *now* and *then* are compared, it appears that the same markers occur as correspondences of non-temporal *now* and *then*: *na(me)*, *hao*, *le*, *ba*, *jiu*, are used as correspondences of both PM *now* and non-temporal *then*. This suggests that *now* and *then* have common functions, represented by the Chinese markers. In the next section, we examine these markers and compare their uses as correspondences of *now* and *then* in order to determine the functional similarities existing between PM *now* and non-temporal *then*.

### 3. From discontinuity to continuity: *now* and *then* and the manipulation of the common ground

In this section, we examine the main Chinese correspondences of *now* and *then* as PMs, and contrast them to *now* and *then*. Our aim is to use contrastive analysis to provide a different perspective on the English as well as on the Chinese markers. We also use contrastive analysis to attempt to determine the common properties of *now* and *then*. We first focus on the most frequent correspondences of *now*, namely *hao* ‘okay’ and *le/la*, which code discontinuity and contrast and are markers of coordination of the common ground (3.1.). Then, we analyse the

<sup>9</sup> Includes other demonstrative expressions such as *zheme yilai* ‘in that case’, *zheme shuo* ‘if that is the case’.

<sup>10</sup> Includes other contrastive adverbials such as *keshi* ‘but’, *buguo* ‘but’, *dan* ‘but’, *ran’er* ‘however’.

continuative marker *na(me)* ‘then, in this case’, which is often used as correspondences of referential-based *then* (3.3.). Finally, we examine the transition markers *jiu* ‘then, at once’ and *ranhou* ‘and (then)’, which, between continuity and discontinuity, share functions with both *now* and *then* (3.2.).

### 3.1. Coding discontinuity and contrast: addition to and coordination of the common ground

In this section, we examine two correspondences of *now* and *then* which code discontinuity and contrast between the left and the right contexts, and which are used to add new propositions to the common ground and express a resulting necessity of a coordination of the common ground. *Hao* ‘okay’ and *le* are markers of closure and change of state. They are in most cases correspondences of the contrastive PM *now*, but we also find them as correspondences of *then*. We first look at the marker of closure and transition *hao* ‘well’ (3.1.1.), before analysing the final particle *le/la* (3.1.2.).

#### 3.1.1. *Hao*

In our corpora, *hao* as a correspondence of *now* or *then* often co-occurs with another marker, typically a particle such as *ba* as in example (17), or *le/la* as in (1), (15), (16), (18) and (19) below. It can also be prefaced with *na* ‘then’ and occur in final position followed by *le* when it corresponds to logical *then*, as in (18) and (19). Similarly, when *now* and *then* correspond to *hao*, they often co-occur with another marker, such as *okay* (*okay now*, *okay then*) as in (15) and (17), or alright (*alright then*) as in (16).

*Now* and *then* can also occur alone as correspondences of *hao*, as in (13) and (14) below. We have seen in Section 1 that *hao* is a marker of closure and transition. Miracle (1991) and Wang & Tsai (2005) all note that *hao* is close in meaning and function to English *okay*. However, it is the most frequent correspondence of PM *now* in our corpus. In example (13), PM *now* is translated by *hao*.

- (13) Go abroad if you can. Just get well away from the Ministry. That's the — er — new official position. **Now**, if you'll just follow the Patronuses, you'll be able to leave from the Atrium.

可以的話，出國去，反正就是離魔法部越遠越好。  
 Kěyǐ dehuà, chūguó-qù, fǎnzhèng jiùshì lí Mófǎbù yuè yuǎn yuè hǎo.  
 MV if go abroad anyway just from Magic Ministry more far more good

這是--呃--新的官方立場。好，請各位跟著護法，  
 Zhè shì è xīn de guānfāng lìchǎng. Hǎo, qǐng gèwèi gēn-zhe Hùfǎ  
 this is er new Rel official position okay please everybody follow Patronus

馬上就可以由中庭離開了。(ENC)  
 mǎshàng jiù kěyǐ yóu zhōngtíng líkāi le.  
 right away at once MV from atrium leave LE

The function of *now* in this example is twofold: it is a topic changer and a marker of authority. As shown in Tables 5 and 6 in Section 2, *hao* almost systematically appears as a correspondence of *now* when the latter is a topic changer and/or a marker of authority. Indeed, it is in such uses that *hao* and *now* can be used to the same purpose. While *hao* closes the topic, and thereby opens a new situation in which the previous topic is resolved and added to the common ground, *now* opens a new situation, and therefore closes a previous situation in which the new proposition, which is added to the common ground, was not valid. Thus in (13), both are markers of transition, with *hao* closing topic A, and *now* opening topic B. When *hao* is sentence-initial as in the example, it has a rising intonation, which creates expectancy, and announces the opening of a new topic. However, it is the resolved topic that *hao* adds to the common ground. Conversely, the deictic and intersubjective value of *now* enables it to add the currently valid situation or topic to the common ground. Thus, as a marker of closure, *hao* is oriented towards the left, while as an opener, *now* is oriented towards the right. In this example, both markers also mark an authoritative stance of the speaker: Miracle (1991) explains that *hao* can be used with authority to close a conflictual topic or situation. Here, Harry uses *hao* to put an end to the questions of his interlocutors, thereby closing a problematic issue. The use of *hao* as an authoritative marker implies that the speaker has legitimate authority to resolve a problematic situation: here, Harry impersonates a Ministry employee. As for *now*, we have seen in Chapter 7

that it allows for the inclusion of the hearer within the deictic sphere, which corresponds to the sphere of influence of the speaker.

We also find *hao* as a correspondence of logical *then*, as in example (14) below, in which A is afraid of not being able to sleep if B snores.

(14) A: 上 次 那 個 叔 叔 打 呼 好 大 聲 喔 , 害 我 睡 不 著  
 Shàng cì nàgè shūshu dǎhū hào dàshēng ō, hài wǒ shuì-bù-zháo  
 Last time that Cl uncle snore really loud O cause I sleep-Neg-Res

B: 好 , 我 讓 你 先 睡  
 Hǎo, wǒ ràng nǐ xiān shuì  
 Okay I let you first sleep

A: This other guy I had to stay with the last time snored up a storm, kept me awake all night.

B: Why don't you go to sleep first, **then**. (CFC)

In this example, both *then* and *hao* indicate that the speaker has taken into account A's speech. B provides a solution to resolve the problem raised by A. With *hao*, B indicates that the situation is resolved and marks closure. Because it is sentence-initial and has a rising intonation, it also opens a new unproblematic situation. As for *then*, it indicates that the proposition that precedes is warranted by the common ground. Thus, like *hao*, it indicates that B has taken A's speech into account. However, unlike *hao*, it does not add to the common ground the fact that the situation is resolved. As we will argue in detail in 3.3., *then* draws from the common ground – it is an anaphor of an element of the common ground – but does not add to it. This is due to the fact that *then* is anaphoric and referential: it can refer to an element of the common ground and suggest that this element warrants the validity of another proposition but cannot add that proposition to the common ground.

When *hao* is followed by a particle such as *la/le* or *ba*, in English *now* and *then* collocate with the markers *okay* or *alright*. In (15), *okay* marks the acceptance of B regarding the request formulated by A, and thus the closure of the topic.

- (15) A: Don't change my seat adjustment, okay? It's all in places I like.  
 B: **Okay. Okay. Now** the first thing...

A: 別 調 座椅，我 調 好 了 的。  
 Bié diào zuòyǐ, wǒ diào hǎo le de.  
 Neg move seat I move okay LE Rel

B: 好 了，首先 就是... (EFC)  
 Hǎo le, shǒuxiān jiùshì...  
 Okay LE, first just

In Chinese, *le* reinforces the meaning of closure. As a marker of common ground coordination, it indicates that B has coordinated her common ground according to the resolution coded by *hao* and opens a new situation in which the situation is resolved, and in which the resolution is part of the shared common ground. Thus in English, *now* corresponds to *le* rather than to *hao*. While *okay* has exactly the same function of closure as *hao*, *now*, like *le*, opens a new situation.

In (16), the speaker has just explained to his interlocutor the procedure they are to follow.

- (16) “(...) **All right then,**” he went on, (...) “I make it three minutes until we’re supposed to leave.”

『(...) 好 了，』他 說 著， (...) 『三 分 鐘 後 我 們 就 離 開。』 (ENC)  
 Hǎo LE,” tā shuō-zhe, “sān fēnzhōng hòu wǒmen jiù líkāi  
 Okay LE he say-Dur three minute after we just leave

*Hao le* corresponds to *alright then* in English. Both composite forms mark the closure of the explanation on the one hand, and the opening of a new situation in which the procedure must be executed on the other. *All right* indicates the resolution of the situation, in other words the end of the explanation, while *then* could be glossed as ‘since everything is clear’. Once again, *then* draws from the common ground, *i.e.* the left context, but does not add to the common ground.

In example (17), *hao* collocates with the modal particle *ba*, and they are translated by *okay then* in English.



(17) A: 來 這 邊 請  
Lái zhè biān qǐng  
Come this side please

B: 喔 好 吧  
**ō hǎo ba**  
**O okay BA**

A: Have a seat, please.  
B: **Okay then.** (CFC)

*Ba* is a marker of tentativeness (Liu 2011), which expresses a low degree of commitment on the part of the speaker (Li 2006). While *hao le* implies the opening of a new situation and the continuation of discourse, *hao ba* does not. Indeed, with *ba*, the resolution marked by *hao*, which corresponds here to the acceptance of B to accede to the request formulated by A, is mitigated. The acceptance and so the resolution are downtoned and the speaker expresses her uncertainty as to the proposition. In English, *okay* renders the acceptance expressed by *hao*, and *then*, with its logical meaning, has the same attenuating effect as *ba*: it expresses a low degree of commitment, since the scope of the acceptance is restricted to the application of the condition. *Then* is an anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause which could be glossed as ‘if you insist, since you ask me’.

We also find occurrences of *hao le/la* in final position, which co-occur with initial *na(me)* and correspond to *then* in English. Although we will see in 3.1.2. that *le* and *la* differ slightly in function, for now we treat them as one particle. Let us focus on the combination *hao le/la*, which we find in examples (18) and (19) below.

(18) A: 給 舅舅 好 啦  
Gěi jiùjiu hǎo la  
Give uncle **okay LA**

B: 舅舅 有 Cheese Cake 了 啦  
jiùjiu yǒu Cheese Cake le la  
uncle have Cheese Cake LE LA

A: 那 給 三 樓 的 好 啦  
**nà gěi sān lóu de hǎo la**  
**then give three floor Rel okay LA**

B: 三 樓 出 國 了  
 sān lóu chūguó le  
 three floor go abroad LE

A: 那 妳 吃 掉 好 了  
 Nà ni chī-diào hǎo le  
 then you eat-Res okay LE

A: Give it to Uncle.

B: He already has some cheesecake.

A: **Then** give it to that guy on the third floor.

B: He's abroad.

A: **Then** eat it yourself! (CFC)

(19) 妳 姐 很 喜 歡? 那 送 妳 好 啦  
 Nǐ jiě hěn xǐhuān? nà sòng nǐ hǎo la  
 You sister very like then give you okay LA

Your sister likes them? **Then** it's hers. (CFC)

Chang (2009) explains that when final *le* is preceded by a lexical item such as *hao*, it corresponds to an evaluative stance of the speaker regarding the proposition. Thus, according to him, *hao le* has the preceding proposition within its scope. Yap *et al.* (2010) consider that the final collocation *hao le* corresponds to a final particle, “indicating that the speaker is urging or encouraging the speaker into a course of action” (Yap *et al.* 2010: 80). According to them, the analysis of *hao le* as a final particle is supported by intonation: there is no detachment between the preceding clause and *hao le* (Yap *et al.* 2010: 82). Thus, with *hao le* in final position, the situation is presented as resolved: in example (18), the speaker proposes several solutions to the hearer who does not know how to dispose of her Tiramisu. Final *hao le* often collocates with *na(me)* because it is generally used to indicate the solution to a problem formulated above, *i.e.* a long-lasting problem that has not yet been resolved, despite the fact that solutions have been searched for. Thus, *na(me)* can be glossed as ‘if that is problematic’ and corresponds to an anaphor of the problematic situation. Therefore, *then* is a correspondence of *na* rather than of *hao le*. These occurrences show that when logical *then* corresponds to *hao*, it does not present the same perspective on the situation. *Then* is an anaphor of the issue that *hao* marks as resolved. While *then* is the anaphor of an element of the common ground, *hao*, like *now*, participates in the building of the common ground.

We have shown that *now* and *hao* add a new element to the common ground. We have also mentioned that the final particle *le/la* has a common ground coordinating function. In the next section, we explore the function of *le* as a pragmatic marker, and contrast its functions to those of PM *now*.

### 3.1.2. *Le/la*

In Chapter 3, we have compared the functions of the final particle *le* with those of temporal *now*. We have suggested that like temporal *now*, *le* is a temporal marker coding R-anchoring and change of state. We now suggest that final *le*, when used pragmatically in interaction, is also in some respects similar to PM *now*: its contrastive function and its deictic interpretation activate mechanisms of intersubjectivity and trigger a reevaluation of the common ground, underlining the situational bond existing between the speaker and the hearer.

We examine the particles *le* and *la* together. Indeed, Chao (1968) explains that the particle *la* corresponds to a merging of *le* + *a*. We mentioned in 1.5. that *a* is used to reduce forcefulness (Liu 2011) and mark the relevance of the utterance relative to the general discourse (Li 2006). Van den Berg & Wu explain that *a* denotes “an emotional voice setting” (Van den Berg & Wu 2006: 11). In this study, we propose that when *le* is used as a pragmatic marker expressing the stance of the speaker, it belongs to the same paradigm as *la*. The use of *la* instead of pragmatic *le* indicates that an emotional limit has been reached and that the speaker takes an emotional stance on the situation. Thus, *la* can mark surprise, impatience, delight, *etc.*, while *le* does not involve such a display of emotions. We thus follow Van den Berg & Wu who argue that “both *le* and *la* can be accepted as representations of the same grammatical marking” (*ibid.*), keeping in mind that the degree of emotion involved with the use of *la* is higher than with the use of *le*. In our corpus, *la* does not appear as a correspondence of temporal *now*, but only as a correspondence of pragmatic *now*, often in collocation with *hao*. This is linked to the emotional implications of *la*: although it can generally replace temporal *le*, it will add an emotional component to the meaning of change of state and become a pragmatic marker.

Thus, when looking at what Chao (1968) calls the “obviousness” *le*, we see that *le* could be replaced by *la* as in b.

(20) a. Zhege ni dangran dong **le**.  
This Cl you of course understand **LE**

b. Zhege ni dangran dong **la**.  
This Cl you of course understand **LA**

This, you understand, of course.

The discrepancy between (20)a and b is not as great as between (21)a and b below. This example is a constructed example. In a, *le* marks a temporal contrast between a prior situation in which the speaker was not married and the current situation in which she is. Moreover, *le* denotes the current relevance of the situation. In b, *la* does not mark temporal contrast, but emotional contrast. The speaker indicates that an emotional limit has been reached, and that there is a contrast between her usual or normal emotional state and her current emotional state.

(21) a. 我 結 婚 了 。

Wǒ jiéhūn **le**.  
I marry **LE**

I am married **now**.

b. 我 結 婚 啦 。

Wǒ jiéhūn **la**.  
I marry **LA**

I am married! (**I am so happy**)

Examples (20) and (21) illustrate the fact that while temporal *le* cannot be replaced by *la* without an important change of meaning, it can be replaced by *la* with only a nuance of meaning when the context already indicates that the use of *le* is pragmatic. When the context allows for a temporal interpretation of *le* as in (21) (*i.e.* an interpretation of *le* as marking change of state and relevance of the new situation as of R), then *le* is temporal. When, however, the context does not support a temporal interpretation of *le* as in (20), then its interpretation is pragmatic and close to that of *la*. The core meaning of *le* as a boundary marker coding the passage from one side of the boundary to the other is preserved, since pragmatic *le* indicates the crossing of a boundary: either there is a contrast between the speaker's expectations and the current situation or between her

usual or prior emotional state and her current emotional state. Thus, we can imagine the following context for example (20):

(22) A: 可以請你教我數學嗎?  
Kěyǐ qǐng nǐ jiào wǒ shùxué ma?  
MV ask you teach I math Interr.

B: 沒問題，如果我會的話。  
Méi wèntí, rúguǒ wǒ huì dehuà.  
Neg problem if I MV if

A: 這個你當然懂了，你的數學這麼好。  
Zhège nǐ dāngrán dǒng le, nǐ de shùxué zhème hǎo.  
This Cl you of course understand LE you Rel math so good

A: Can I ask you to help me with Math?

B: No problem, if I'm able to.

A: **Come on**, of course you're able to, you're really good at Math.

In this case, the speaker codes a contrast between what B just implied (*i.e.* that he might not be able to understand the math problem) and her own expectations (*i.e.* that he will understand). We propose to use 'come on' as a correspondence for *le*; in French, *le* could be translated as 'voyons'. Both *come on* and *voyons* code obviousness. The meaning of obviousness is linked to the use of *dangran* 'of course' which is compulsory here, but also to the coordinating function of *le*. Indeed, more than coding a contrast between two states of affairs, *le* is a marker of common ground coordination: it requires the hearer to add the proposition to the shared common ground, in other words to accept it as true, which contributes to the general meaning of obviousness. *Come on* and *voyons* have the same effect in English and French.

Note that *le* and *la* can co-occur, as in example (18) partly repeated below:

(18) A: 給舅舅好啦  
Gěi jiùjiu hǎo la  
Give uncle okay LA

B: 舅舅 有 Cheese Cake 了 啦  
 jiùjiu yǒu Cheese Cake **le la**  
 uncle have Cheese Cake **LE LA**

A: Give it to Uncle.

B: He already has some cheesecake. (EFC)

When *le* and *la* co-occur, *le* always has a temporal meaning. Indeed, it is because the context is compatible with a temporal reading of *le* that the pragmatic reading is not available, prompting the subsequent use of *la* to add an emotional colour to the utterance. Here, *le* indicates that Uncle having some Cheese Cake is registered as relevant at the time of speech. *La* indicates a contrast between A's suggestion and B's expectations, and thus marks irritation on the part of B in face of the inadequacy of A's suggestion.

We suggest that pragmatic *le* and pragmatic *now* share many features: they both create a contrast at the discursive level and require common ground coordination from the hearer. Thus, *le* mostly appears as a correspondence of *now* when *now* codes topic change and/or has an authoritative value (cf. Table 5). Although we do not find occurrences of pragmatic *now* translated exclusively by pragmatic *le* in Chinese, *le* frequently appears in addition to another marker. When *le* occurs with *hao* in sentence initial position, we have seen that its contrastive meaning adds force to the closure conveyed by *hao*. While *hao* conveys closure, *le* has a value of topic changer and can also convey authority. Thus in example (23), the speaker uses *now* in English and *hao le* in Chinese to operate a change of topic with authority.

(23) “Hello again, Barry, or whatever your name is,” she said to Harry. “**Now**, what were you saying about Rita Skeeter, Elphias?”

『哈囉，又 見面 了，巴利，或 什麼 的，』她 對 哈利 說，  
 Hāluō, yòu jiànmiàn le, Bālì, huò shénme de, tā duì Hālì shuō,  
 Hello again meet LE Barry or what Rel she to Harry say

『好 了，你 說 麗塔·史譏 怎麼著， 道奇? (ENC)  
**hǎo le**, nǐ shuō Lìtǎ . Shǐjī zěnmě-zhe, Dàoqí?  
**okay LE** you say Rita Skeeter how-Dur, Elphias

While *hao* indicates closure, *le* is used to require the hearer to coordinate on the closure, and add the change to his common ground. Similarly, *now* indicates a change of topic and focusses

the attention of the hearer on what follows. Seen from another perspective, we can say that it requires the hearer to consider what has passed as resolved and thus as part of the shared common ground.

In fact, when *le* is a pragmatic marker, it can often be translated by PM *now*. Thus in example (22) above, *come on* could be replaced by *now* to mark a contrast between the situation as described by the hearer and the expectations of the speaker, and to require common ground coordination. Note that *la*, on the other hand, cannot often be translated by PM *now*: indeed, when *la* occurs in contexts in which the use of *le* would have triggered a temporal reading as in (21), a temporal reading of *now* is also available in English

*Le* is often found as a pragmatic marker in cases similar to (24) in which it indicates that there is a contrast between the price expected by the speaker and the actual price.

- (24) 太 貴            了!  
       Tài guì        le!  
       Too expensive **LE**

**Now**, that's too expensive!

We argue that this pragmatic use of *le* can be translated with PM *now* with an authoritative value: it is an attitudinal marker expressing the subjectivity of the speaker, marking a contrast between what was expected and reality, and calling for a coordination of common ground. Indeed, when telling a seller that his product is too expensive using *le*, the speaker expects the seller to respond: like authoritative *now*, *le* indicates that expectations that the speaker judges to be fair are not met, and requires an adjustment of common ground, in all likelihood under the form of a lowering of the price. Like *now* which draws on its intersubjective value as a deictic marker to place the hearer within the deictic sphere, *le* demands coordination from the hearer. Final *le* has the same function when used in the final marker *hao le*: it authoritatively calls for coordination of the common ground, often to be operated in the form of an action performed by the hearer (*cf.* example (18)).

We have shown that *now* and *le*, as well as sharing temporal functions, share pragmatic functions: when used initially in collocation with *hao*, *le* draws on its contrastive function to

operate a change of topic, which can be authoritative. When PM *le* is final, it indicates a contrast between expectations and the current situation, and calls for a coordination of the common ground, inviting the hearer to respond and adjust her common ground. Thus, the pragmatic functions of *le*, like those of *now*, are linked to its contrastive and intersubjective values. The fact that it should only take on a pragmatic function in interaction, *i.e.* in contexts in which *le* is usually interpreted deictically, suggests that the same mechanism of intersubjectivity is at work as with *now*: temporal *le* functions as an index marking a change or contrast at the time of speech, indicating that the change is true for both the speaker and the hearer, who share the same temporal coordinates. Thus, the request for common ground coordination seems linked to the proximal deictic use of the markers: by using markers that anchor to the time of speech, a coordinate shared by the participants, the speaker reminds the hearer of their co-presence and of the temporal link that unites them. Thus, the pragmatic meanings of both *le* and *now* rely on their temporal meanings of deixis and contrast. Conversely, we will see in the next section that *then* and *na(me)*, which are anaphoric distal deictic markers, base their pragmatic uses on anaphora and continuity.

### 3.2. Coding continuity with *na(me)*: drawing from the common ground

In this section, we examine the functions of the equivalent of referential-based *then na(me)* ‘in this case’. *Na(me)* codes continuation by triggering a search for its antecedent in the shared common ground.

*Na(me)* is a logical marker and PM which developed from the distal marker *na* ‘that’, which we find in *nashi* ‘at that time’. As shown in Section 2, *na(me)* is a frequent correspondence of logical *then*. Thus, in Chinese as well as in English, distal anaphoric markers are used to express conditional relations. This confirms that the semantic change of temporal referential *then* from anaphoric temporal reference to conditional marking is not random, but that there is a link between temporal reference and distal anaphora on the one hand, and conditional meaning on the other. The fact that French *alors* followed a similar grammaticalisation path (*cf.* Degand & Fagard 2011, in Chapter 8), also endorses this idea. In this section, we examine the links between the markers *na(me)* and referential-based *then*. We argue that both are continuative markers that draw on their anaphoric function as well as their distal value to express conditional relations.



While *now* and *le*, because they rely on deixis, are used to add something to the common ground and require coordination, referential-based *then* and *na(me)*, because they rely on anaphora, only extract a proposition from the common ground in order to use it in an argumentative move.

We have seen in Chapter 8 that referential-based *then* can be used in conditional structures, as well as in interaction, in which case it is an anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause. *Na(me)* has the same functions. However, *na(me)*, unlike logical *then*, can only be used in clause-initial position. Moreover, we will see that it is not compatible with confirmation-directives.

Like *then*, *na(me)* can be used in conditional structures establishing a relation in the content domain, as in example (25) below.

- (25) But if we get you out of here, and make it to your embassy, **then** your government will protect your rights while you and I prove you had nothing to do with this murder.

但 如果 你 設法 離開 這裡, 去了 貴 國 的 大使館,  
Dàn rúguǒ nǐ shèfǎ líkāi zhèlǐ, qùle guì guó de dàshǐguǎn,  
But if you try leave here go-le your country Rel embassy

那麼 貴 國 政府 就 會 保護 你, 讓 你 我 有 時間  
nàme guì guó zhèngfǔ jiù huì bǎohù nǐ, ràng nǐ wǒ yǒu shíjiān  
**then** your country government **just** will protect you let you and I have time

證明 你 和 這樁 謀殺 案 根本 無關。(ENC)  
zhèngmíng nǐ hé zhè zhuāng móushā àn gēnběn wúguān.  
prove you and this Cl murder case simply unrelated

In this example, the validation of the eventuality ‘get you out of here’ in the real world results in the validation of the eventuality ‘protect your rights’. This relation is expressed with conditional *then* in English and *na(me)* in Chinese. Note that *na(me)* combines with the reinforcing marker *jiu*, which indexes the meaning ‘towards the goal’ (Hsieh 2005), coding the immediacy of the validation of the consequence. We will examine the function of *jiu* in more detail in the next section. For now, let us focus on the marker *na(me)*.

Like logical *then*, *na(me)* can occur in interaction as an anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause, establishing a conditional relation in the speech act domain. Like *then*, *na(me)* can be

used with expressives, assertives, commissives, and directives. However, we will see that its use in directives is limited. In example (26), the relation is in the speech act domain: the speaker expresses his condolences to the hearer, who has just revealed to him that her grandfather had died. In this case, the *if*-clause is verbalised, but it is warranted by the prior speech of the hearer. Indeed, conditionals in the speech act domain usually occur in interaction. *Na(me)* is the anaphor of the *if*-clause, which is introduced by *ruguo* ‘if’ in Chinese.

(26) If this is true, **then** I am truly sorry for your loss.

如果 這 是 真 的，**那麼** 我 很 抱 歉 你 失 去 了 祖 父。(ENC)  
 Rúguǒ zhè shì zhēn de, **nàme** wǒ hěn bàoqiàn nǐ shīqù-le zǔfù.  
 If this be real Rel **then** I very sorry you lose-le grandfather

*Na(me)* can also be used in assertives as in (27). In this example, *na(me)* is the anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause directly inferable from the hearer’s speech, which can be glossed as ‘if you’re looking for two criminals’.

(27) “We’re looking for two criminals.” Vernet laughed. “**Then** you came to the right spot”.

「我們 在 找 兩 個 罪 犯。」 維 賀 內 笑 了。  
 Wǒmen zài zhǎo liǎng gè zuìfàn. Wéihènnèi xiào-le.  
 We Prog look for two CI criminal Vernet laugh-le

「**那** 你 們 來 對 地 方 了」。(ENC)  
**Nà** nǐmen lái duì dìfāng le.  
**then** you come right place LE

We also find *na(me)* with commissives, *i.e.* when the speaker makes a commitment. In example (28), Sophie has found a riddled key that she was not supposed to see, and is excited about, because she likes the flowers on the key. Her grandfather proposes a deal to Sophie based on her prior speech, which warrants that the deal will be agreeable to her: he offers to give her the key when she grows up. Thus, the non-verbalised *if*-clause corresponds to ‘if they are you favorite’.

(28) "They're my favorite too!" "Then I'll make a deal with you."

「那 也 是 我 最 喜 歡 的 花！」 「那 我 們 來 約 定。」 (ENC)

Nà yě shì wǒ zuì xǐhuān de huā! 'Nà wǒmen lái yuēding.

That also be I most like Rel flower **then** we come agree

*Na(me)* also occurs with directive requesting action as in (29) or information as in (30). In (29), A and B are enemies, and each is trying to convince a third person holding a gun to hand it over. *Na(me)* can be glossed as 'if you don't give it to me'.

(29) A: He'll shoot you.

B: I will not. You saved my life. Why would I shoot you?

A: Don't.

B: Just lay it down **then** where he can't get it.

A: 他 會 打 死 你 的

Tā huì dǎsǐ nǐ de

He MV kill you Rel

B: 我 不 會 的, 你 救 了 我 的 命, 我 幹 嘛 要 打 死 你?

wǒ bù huì de, nǐ jiù-le wǒ de mìng, wǒ gànma yào dǎsǐ nǐ?

I Neg MV Rel you save-le I Rel life I why MV kill you

A: 別 給 他

Bié gěi tā

Neg give he

B: 那 就 放 在 他 夠 不 到 的 地 方 吧

nà jiù fàng zài tā gòu-bù-dào de dìfāng ba

**then** just put at he reach-Neg-Res rel place BA

In (30), the speaker's request for information is justified by the non-verbalised *if*-clause 'if I can't become a hunter' warranted by the prior speech.

(30) 「孩子, 你 追 不 上 任 何 一 頭 山 豬 的, 你 注 定

Háizi, nǐ zhuī-bù-shàng rènhé yī tóu shānzhū de, nǐ zhùdìng

Child you follow-Neg-Res any one Cl boar Rel you be fated

沒 辦法 成為 一個 好 獵人。」 「那 我 能 做 什麼？」  
 méi bànfǎ chéngwéi yīgè hǎo lièrén. Nà wǒ néng zuò shénme?  
 Neg means become one Cl good hunter then I MV do what

“Child, you are fated never to catch a boar, never to become a good hunter.” “What can I do **then**?” (CNC)

In all the above speech act domains conditionals, *na(me)* is the anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause the content of which is directly inferred from the hearer’s prior speech (or another participant’s prior speech, as in (29)). Thus, as shown in Chapter 8, in such cases the assumption on which the speech act is based is part of the shared common ground. However, we argued in Chapter 8 that in requests for confirmation, another level of pragmaticalisation was reached for *then* insofar as the assumption prompting the request for confirmation is not part of the shared common ground. Indeed, with a request for confirmation, the speaker is asking the hearer’s acceptance to add the proposition to the common ground. It seems that in such configurations, *na(me)* cannot be used. In example (31), Scrimgeour asks Harry to confirm an assumption. Harry has received a snitch from the late headmaster and when asked why, he says that Dumbledore probably gave it to him to remind him of values of perseverance. The hearer interprets this as meaning that for Harry, the gift is just meant as a souvenir, but since this proposition has not been added to the shared common ground, he asks for confirmation.

(31) “Why did Dumbledore leave you this Snitch?” asked Scrimgeour. “No idea,” said Harry. “For the reasons you just read out, I suppose ... to remind me what you can get if you ... persevere and whatever it was.” “You think this a mere symbolic keepsake, **then**?”

- a. 所以 你 認為，這 只 是 一 件 象 徵 性 的 紀 念 品？(ENC)  
 Suǒyǐ nǐ rènwéi, zhè zhǐ shì yī jiàn xiàngzhēngxìng de jìniànpǐn?  
 So you think this only be one Cl symbolic Rel souvenir
- b. ?那 你 認為，這 只 是 一 件 象 徵 性 的 紀 念 品？  
 Na nǐ rènwéi, zhè zhǐ shì yī jiàn xiàngzhēngxìng de jìniànpǐn?  
 then you think this only be one Cl symbolic Rel souvenir

In this example, the use of *suoyi* ‘so’ is preferred to that of *na(me)* ‘then’. Indeed, as shown in Chapter 8, Figure 5, the progression leading to the confirmation request implies the construction of an intermediary assumption which is not supported by the shared common

ground. The non-verbalised *if*-clause given by *then* is not a direct anaphor of the previous speech but of a non-verbalised assumption. Thus, the dialogue can be represented as follows:

- 1) Hearer: A:  
He left it to me to remind me what you can get if you persevere.
- 2) Speaker: Construction of the assumption B (if the hearer says A, then B):  
If he says Dumbledore simply left it to him to remind him to remind him what you can get if you persevere, then he thinks this is just a souvenir.
- 3) Speaker: Request for confirmation of the assumption B (then B?):  
*You think this a mere symbolic keepsake, then?*

It seems that unlike *then*, *na(me)* is not compatible with confirmation requests. This suggests that *na(me)* is less flexible than *then*, probably because it has retained a stronger semantic content. As an anaphor and a distal deictic, it can refer to an element in the left context but not to an intermediary non-verbalised assumption. Let us look at some more examples to confirm this variation between conditional *then* and *na(me)*.

In example (32), the characters have been looking for an object. One of them used a spell to reveal the object, which failed. The speaker infers from this that the object is not in the room. His assumption is only valid in his common ground, and he wants to add it to the shared common ground. Since the content of the *if*-clause which is the antecedent of *then* is not part of the shared common ground, *na(me)* cannot be used (b).

- (32) Is that it, **then**? It's not here?
- a. 就 這樣 了嗎? 不 在 這裡? (ENC)  
Jiù zhèyàng le ma? Bù zài zhèlǐ?  
Just like this LE Interr Neg at here
  - b. ?那 就 這樣 了嗎? 不 在 這裡?  
**Na** jiù zhèyàng le ma? Bù zài zhèlǐ?  
**Then** just like this LE Interr Neg at here

In (33), the speaker has just entered the house in which his friends (Harry, Hermione and Ron) are staying. Before allowing him to proceed forward, the guardian of the house (*i.e.* a jinx) has asked him whether he was Severus (who, as an enemy, would not have been allowed to

enter). After providing proof of his identity, he comes in to meet his friends, and asks them whether they have seen Severus.

(33) “No sign of Severus, **then**?” he asked.

『這麼說，你們沒看到賽佛勒斯?』他問。(ENC)  
**Zhème shuō**, nǐmen méi kàn-dào Sàifùlèsī? Tā wèn.  
**Like this say** you Neg see-Res Severus he ask

?『那，你們沒看到賽佛勒斯?』他問。  
**na**, nǐmen méi kàn-dào Sàifùlèsī?” Tā wèn.  
**then** you Neg see-Res Severus he ask

His assumption is: ‘if there is a jinx asking me whether I am Severus Snape, then he has probably not showed up yet’. In this case, the assumption warranting his request is not part of the shared common ground but only part of the personal common ground of the speaker, who assumes that the interlocutors will infer the nature of his assumption from the situation. While with *then*, the reconstitution of the assumption is possible, *na(me)* cannot be the anaphor of a non-verbalised *if*-clause which has not already been added to the common ground.

Example (34) was examined in Chapter 8: the hearer has been talking about Norway and Mozambique, which prompts the speaker to make the assumption that the hearer has traveled extensively. However, the hearer has not warranted this assumption, which can therefore not become an antecedent *if*-clause for *na(me)*, as shown in b.

(34) So you've been to lots of other countries, **then**? (ENC)

a. 看來 你去過很多國家?  
**Kànlái** nǐ qù-guò hěn duō guójiā?  
**Apparently** you go-Exp very many country

b. ?那 你去過很多國家?  
**Na** nǐ qù-guò hěn duō guójiā?  
**then** you go-Exp very many country

Thus, we have seen that *na(me)* can only be used when the proposition that it refers to has already been added to the shared common ground through prior speech. This explains the

possibility to use *na(me)* to change the topic or to introduce a new topic while displaying other-attentiveness. Biq (1990) and Miracle (1991) have both noted that this use necessarily involved a component of other-attentiveness for the communication to be successful, as in example (5) repeated below.

(5) A: **Na** ni yao zai zhei bian dai duojiu ?  
 NA you want at this side stay how-long

B: Dai dao Libaier.  
 Stay to Tuesday

A: **So** how long are you going to stay here?  
 B: To Tuesday. (Biq 1990: 196-197)

This function of *na(me)* corresponds to what we termed the borderline uses of *then*. Indeed, despite the fact that within the conversation, *na(me)* and *then* can operate a topic shift, this is only possible if the newly introduced topic is in fact part of the common ground of the participants. In this example, the speaker is changing the topic after a pause in the conversation. However, for such a question to be asked, the speaker must know that B is only there for a short time. Thus, this information is part of the shared common ground, and an antecedent already added to the shared common ground can be retrieved for *na(me)* (e.g. ‘if you are visiting’). Thus, when *na(me)* is used to change the topic, it draws its antecedent from the shared common ground.

However, it is more difficult to use *na(me)* in the same contexts as particle *then*. Indeed, with particle *then*, the speaker broaches a topic that has never been discussed before and involves elements that are not part of the shared common ground but only of the personal common ground of the speaker. In other words, the speaker uses *then* to refer to elements that he assumes are shared knowledge, but these elements have not actually been added to the shared common ground through prior speech. This is the case in example (35) below.

(35) So what do you reckon to our new prime minister **then**?  
 a. 你 覺得 我們 的 新 首相 怎麼樣?  
 Nǐ juéde wǒmen de xīn shǒuxiàng zěnmeyàng?  
 You think we Rel new prime minister how

- b. ?那 你 覺得 我們 的 新 首相 怎麼樣?  
**Na** nǐ juéde wǒmen de xīn shǒuxiàng zěnmeyàng?  
**Then** you think we Rel new prime minister how

No particle uses of *then* correspond to *na(me)* in our data. However, the fact that *na(me)* is not felicitous in such contexts seems related to pragmatic and cultural factors rather than to linguistic factors as in confirmation-directive. Indeed, several informants have judged that opening a topic unrelated to the common ground with *na(me)* would be perceived as rude. Thus, while in English final particle *then* is used in a friendly manner to bond with the hearer by pretending that a shared common ground exists, in Chinese, basing an utterance upon an unshared premise can be perceived as rude.

Having examined the functional variations existing between *na(me)* and *then*, let us take a brief look at *na(me)* as a correspondence of PM *now*. We find only a small number of such instances in our corpus. When *na(me)* is used repetitively to link parallel eventualities, it can be considered to share properties with PM *now* as a listing marker. Thus, in example (36), Miracle (1991: 107) uses PM *now* to translate *na(me)* in a series of parallel propositions linearly ordered.

- (36) A : Bu shi, ta xianzai zhao-dao yige fangzi a  
 Neg be he now find-Res one CI house A

B: O, dui  
 O, right

A: **Na** neige fangzi shi, jiushi sanfangdong, neiyang  
**NA** that CI house be just sublet that way

**Na** neige shi waiguoren  
**NA** that CI be foreigner

**Na** ta yao leisi jiao, jiaohuan yuyan neiyang  
**NA** he want similar exchange exchange language that way

A: No, now she's found a house.

B: Oh, right.

A: **Now**, that place, it's a sublet, like that, **and** he's a foreigner, **and** he wants to exchange language too, that kind of thing. (Miracle 1991: 107)



Moreover, when *na(me)* is used to change the topic, we find it as a correspondence of *now*. In example (37), *now* and *na(me)* are both topic changers, but they present the situation from two different perspectives.

- (37) 那 我 來 說 一 個 台 北 的 故 事 好 了  
 Nà wǒ lái shuō yīgè Táiběi de gùshi hǎo le  
**Then** I come say one CI Taipei Rel story okay LE.

**Now** I'm going to tell you a story set in Taipei (CFC)

The speaker is a customer at a café in which you can exchange something of your own with any of the objects available in the café, if you deem the value equivalent. This customer usually exchanges stories for objects. Here, after a long silence between him and the café owner, he starts speaking again and inaugurates his utterance with *na(me)*. This use of *na(me)* corresponds to what Biq (1990) calls topic change. As in example (5) above, *na(me)* is used to link the new proposition to the shared common ground, making the speech less abrupt.

The English translator chose to use *now* to translate *na(me)*. *Now* has a borderline meaning: it can be interpreted temporally or pragmatically as a topic changer. While *na(me)* is a continuative marker, drawing from the common ground to ensure discourse and conversational cohesion, *now* is a marker of discontinuity, suggesting a desire in the speaker to dynamically operate a change of topic: both markers achieve the same goal, but through different means. While *now* marks discontinuity and has an authoritative colour, forcing the hearer to adjust her common ground to the change imposed with *now*, *na(me)*, like *then*, is a marker of continuation smoothing the passage from one topic (or from a period of silence) to the next through a reference to the common ground.

In this section, we have seen that *na(me)*, like *then*, triggers a search for an antecedent in the common ground of the participants. They are markers of continuation which enable the speaker to ensure discursive cohesion. *Then* can go further than *na(me)*: as a final particle, it can create anaphoric links without the existence of an antecedent, thus creating cohesion where there was none. The use of *na(me)*, on the other hand, is only felicitous if an antecedent can be found in the shared common ground of the participants. This explains why requests for confirmation of an assumption and conversational ice-breakers can generally not be introduced by *na(me)*. We have

also seen, as we did in the last two sections, that the Chinese marker is sometime translated by the proximal counterpart of *then*: *now*. This illustrates the fact that *now* and *then* as PMs have common meanings. However, they operate in different ways: while *then* is a continuative marker drawing from the shared common ground to maintain cohesion, *now* is a marker of discontinuity used authoritatively to add an element to the shared common ground, forcing the hearer to coordinate on it.

### 3.3. Between discontinuity and continuity: coding transition

*Now* and *then* have functions that denote both continuity and discontinuity. Their Chinese correspondences reflect their transitional values. In this section, we analyse the marker *jiu* ‘then, in this case’, which like *now*, has an inchoative value and like referential-based *then*, has a continuative value (3.3.1.). We have seen in Chapter 4 that *now* and sequential *then* share some properties: they are both used to introduce new eventualities in narratives and bring them to the foreground. Through the study of pragmatic *ranhou* ‘and then’, we will see that the same transition values can be found in their pragmatic uses (3.3.2.).

#### 3.3.1. *Jiu*

Reinforcing marker *jiu* is often found co-occurring with *na(me)* in conditionals. It can also appear on its own as a consequential marker. Some links can be drawn between the function of *jiu* in conditionals and its temporal function when it co-occurs with sequential markers such as *jiezhe* and *ranhou* or with the referential marker *xianzai* ‘now’. We argue that *jiu* is a marker of continuity because it introduces the direct consequence of the previous eventuality, but it is also a marker of discontinuity because like *now*, it has an inchoative function. Thus, *jiu* codes identification and immediate validation.

Paris (1981) explains that *jiu* indicates a distance or an interval bounded by two terms, with one functioning as a locator and the other as a *locatum*. In example (25)(38), the locator is *na(me)*, which corresponds to *then* and is an anaphor of the condition ‘if we get to your embassy’ (cf. 3.3.) and the *locatum* is the consequence ‘your government will protect your rights’.

- (38) But if we get you out of here, and make it to your embassy, **then** your government will protect your rights while you and I prove you had nothing to do with this murder.

但 如果 你 設法 離開 這裡, 去了 貴 國 的 大使館,  
 Dàn rúguǒ nǐ shèfǎ líkāi zhèlǐ, qùle guì guó de dàshǐguǎn,  
 But if you try leave here go-le your country Rel embassy

那麼 貴 國 政府 就 會 保護 你, 讓 你 我 有 時間  
 nàme guì guó zhèngfǔ jiù huì bǎohù nǐ, ràng nǐ wǒ yǒu shíjiān  
**then** your country government **just** will protect you let you and I have time

證明 你 和 這樁 謀殺 案 根本 無關。(ENC)  
 zhèngmíng nǐ hé zhè zhuāng móushā àn gēnběn wúguān.  
 prove you and this Cl murder case simply unrelated

*Jiu* indicates that the condition is sufficient to lead to the validation of the consequence. Thus, *jiu* codes the validation of the relation between the locator and the *locatum*, representing the trajectory from the non-validation of the eventuality to its validation. This function of *jiu* might be linked to the fact that it originates from a verb meaning ‘towards the centre of the goal’ (Hsieh 2005). When *na(me)* articulates a content domain conditional relation, it is often reinforced with *jiu*. Thus, we suggest that *jiu* in conditionals acts as an operator of positive validation: it indicates immediate validation of the eventuality, provided that the condition repeated by *na(me)* is validated. Jin (1988: 132) argues that “*jiu* in fact is the conjunction marking the consequent clause while *na(me)* is a pronoun whose antecedent is the prior clause” (Miracle 1991: 95). There is no equivalent of the consequential use of *jiu* in conditionals in English: *then* has the same anaphoric function as *na(me)*, but nothing in the consequent clause is an operator of validation.

As explained by Paris (1981), because *jiu* indicates that the validation of Eventuality A warrants the validation of Eventuality B, it reduces the interval between the condition and the consequence to a minimum, and therefore codes identification between the two terms of the relation and, at the level of temporal relations, immediacy.

When the condition corresponds to a stative, atelic and/or perfective eventuality, as in example (39) below, there is no clear boundary definable between the condition and the consequence, which explains why *na(me)* is used without *jiu*.

- (39) If you can keep my key a secret, and never talk about it ever again, to me or anybody, **then** someday I will give it to you.

如果 你 可以 守著 我那 把 鑰匙 的 祕 密，  
 Rúguǒ nǐ kěyǐ shǒu-zhe wǒ nà bǎ yàoshi de yòu mì,  
 If you MV keep-Dur I that Cl key Rel protect secret

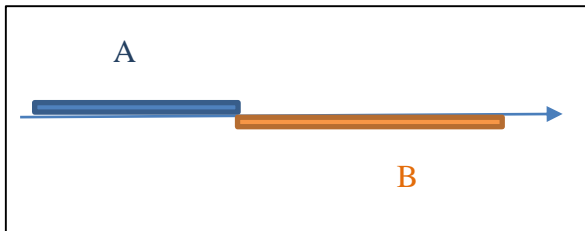
而且 從此 永遠 不 再 提起， 那麼 有 一天，  
 érqiě cóngcǐ yǒngyuǎn bù zài tíqǐ, nàme yǒu yītiān,  
 but also from now on forever Neg again mention **then** have one day

我 會 把 那把 鑰匙 給 你。(ENC)  
 wǒ huì bǎ nà bǎ yàoshi gěi nǐ.  
 I MV BA that Cl key give you

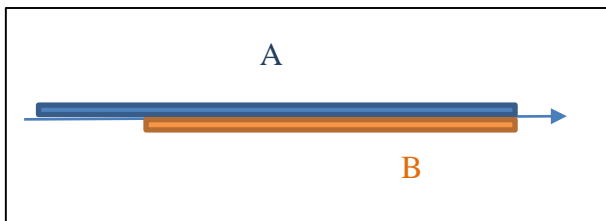
In this example, the condition is a state presented as imperfective. *Then* and *na(me)* indicate that the validation of Eventuality A warrants the validation of Eventuality B. However, since the final boundary of Eventuality A is not visible, the validation of its initial subinterval is sufficient to warrant the validation of Eventuality B. Nevertheless, the length of the initial subinterval of Eventuality A is indeterminate. As anaphoric markers, *na(me)* and *then* select the time interval in which the conditional eventuality is validated as topic time for the validation of Eventuality B. Thus, their function is similar to that of referential *then*. But as explained in Chapter 4, the identification of the topic time of the eventuality does not warrant the identification of the time of the eventuality itself. When the aspectual properties of the eventualities do not provide clear boundaries for Eventuality B, the use of *jiu* is still possible but it cannot mark immediacy, which implies the identification of boundaries. However, *jiu* still codes the passage from non-validation to validation, and the meaning of temporal immediacy becomes a meaning of unproblematic validation. In this example, the use of *jiu* would express the willingness of the agent to perform Eventuality B provided that Eventuality A is validated. Thus, *jiu* is a marker of subjectivity, and can be considered to be a modal marker expressing the subjectivity of the speaker. Indeed, the

use of *jiu* always expresses the speaker's evaluation of the relation between the condition and the consequence, and its use does not affect truth-conditions.

When the condition corresponds to a telic or perfective event as in example (25), *jiu* indicates that in case of total validation of this condition, the left boundary of the time interval of the consequent eventuality is directly adjacent to the right boundary of time interval of the condition, as represented in Figure 1 below. With only *na(me)*, the distance between Eventuality A and Eventuality B is unclear. When, on the other hand, the locator is stative, atelic and/or imperfective as in example (39), *jiu* indicates that the validation of the initial subinterval of Eventuality A (the final endpoint of which is indeterminate) is enough to warrant the validation of Eventuality B, as represented in Figure 2. Since *na(me)* alone would give the same information in terms of temporal relation, *jiu* in such sentences takes of a non-temporal meaning and indicates that the validation of B is unproblematic, provided the initial subinterval of Eventuality A is validated.



**Figure 1** - Conditional relation with a telic/perfective condition + *jiu*



**Figure 2** - Conditional relation with an atelic/stative/imperfective condition + *jiu*

Note that *jiu*, as a marker coding a passage from non-validation to validation, can be described as an inchoative marker. Indeed, its use in conditionals necessarily marks the inception of Eventuality B. This explains its frequent apparition as a collocation of *xianzai* 'now' when *xianzai* is a correspondence of *now*. Similarly, it accounts for its frequent collocation with

sequential markers such as *ranhou* and *jiezhe* (cf. Chapter 6). We have seen in Chapter 6 that *ranhou*, because of its weak sequential meaning, could not open a topic time interval for Eventuality B. When *ranhou* is combined with *jiu* however, the inception of Eventuality B is marked as immediate relative to Eventuality A, and the interpretation is sequential. As for its collocation with *xianzai* ‘now’, we saw in Chapter 2 that *xianzai* is not an inchoative marker but activates an imperfective reading of the eventuality. When *xianzai* is combined with *jiu*, it codes the inchoation of the relevance of the eventuality at the time of speech or *now*-point. In that, it is very similar to final particle *le*. Paris (1981) noted the great compatibility between the two markers. But while *le* codes change of state, current relevance, and open-endedness, *jiu* focusses the point of inception of the eventuality. With *jiu*, the speaker indicates that what matters is not the continued validation of the eventuality but the very fact that it should be validated at R – taking into account that *jiu* shifts R before focussing it. Thus, when *jiu* modifies a sequential relation, it focusses the point of inception of Eventuality B, and when it occurs with *xianzai* it focusses the time of speech or *now*-point - or rather the time point directly adjacent to the *now*-point - and in that case corresponds in English to occurrences of situational *now*. This is the case in example (40):

(40) Don't you dare! Give it back **now**!

你 休 想! 現 在 就 還 我! (ENC)  
 Nǐ xiū xiǎng! **Xiànzài jiù** huán wǒ!  
 You stop think **now** **at once** return I

In this example, *now* in English, with its inchoative meaning, marks the urgency of the validation of the eventuality. In Chinese, *xianzai* does not convey urgency, because of its imperfective meaning. On the other hand, it is *jiu* that implies immediacy. *Jiu* functions anaphorically: it indicates immediacy relative to a reference point. In conditionals, the reference point is the point of validation of the condition. With *xianzai*, the reference point is the point given by *xianzai*, i.e. the time of speech. *Jiu* restricts the focus to the point directly adjacent to the reference point, which explains its use as a limiting marker in non-temporal contexts.

We can conclude that *jiu*, like *na(me)*, is a marker of continuation: they both function anaphorically, insofar as they are interpreted relative to an element situated in the left context.

However, while *na(me)* is oriented to the left, establishing a link between the shared common ground and the discourse, *jiu* is oriented to the right, focussing a shifted point of reference. While the distal meaning of *na(me)* enables it to reach quite far into the left context to select an antecedent, the identification meaning of *jiu* makes it a proximal marker. *Jiu* can only reach into the direct left context to search for the reference point and shift it. Thus, *jiu* can be considered as a transition marker: it codes identification, R-shift and inchoation.

### 3.3.2. *Ranhou*

In this section, we analyse the use of *ranhou* as a correspondence of sequential-based *then*, and attempt to identify common properties existing between these markers and *now*. Indeed, the three markers, in their sequential temporal function, are used to advance a narrative involving successive actions. In other words, they introduce a proposition that is added to the common ground. We have shown in Chapter 4 that temporal *now* combined with the simple past had a propulsive effect reminiscent of the R-shifting function of sequential *then*. We have also shown in Chapter 6 that *ranhou* was a frequent equivalent of sequential *then*. Accordingly, on the one hand we have to determine whether sequential *then* and *ranhou* have the same non-temporal functions, and on the other hand we propose to compare these functions to some coordinative functions of PM *now*. In order to do that, let us first take a look at some temporal realisations of *now*, sequential *then* and *ranhou*.

The fact that temporal *now* in narration can have a use that is very close to that of sequential *then* suggests that *now*, when modifying a past action, should be able to take *ranhou* as a correspondence. We find such examples in our translational corpora. Thus, in examples (41) and (42), below, temporal *now* is translated by *ranhou*.

- (41) a. Aiming the gun with his right hand, he reached **now** with his left for the wooden box.  
 b. He **then** reached with his left for the wooden box.

他 右 手 拿 著 槍 瞄 準 ，  
 Tā yòu shǒu ná-zhe qiāng miáozhǔn,  
 He right hand take-Dur gun aim

然後 伸出 左手 去拿 那個 木 盒。(ENC)  
**ránhòu** shēn-chū zuǒshǒu qù ná nàgè mù hé.  
**then** extend left hand go take that CI wood box

- (42) a. “(...) This symbol communicates femininity, womanhood, and fertility.” Langdon looked directly at her **now**.  
 b. **Then** Langdon looked directly at her.

『(…) 這個 符號 傳達了 女性 氣質、女人 身分，  
 Zhège fúhào chuándále nǚxìng qìzhì, nǚrén shēnfèn,  
 This CI mark convey-le woman traits woman identity

以及 生育能力。」 然後 蘭登 盯著 她。(ENC)  
 yǐjí shēngyùnénglì. **Ránhòu** Lándēng dīng-zhe tā.  
 And fertility **then** Langdon watch-Dur she

In both examples, *now* could be replaced by sequential *then* as in (41)b and (42)b, which explains the translation by *ranhou* ‘then’. A translation with *xianzai* is not possible, as shown in Chapter 2, because *xianzai* has no inchoative meaning and therefore, it does not have the propulsive value necessary to articulate successive actions in narration.

We now propose to compare the non-temporal functions of *ranhou* and sequential *then*. In example (43) below, *and then* has a causal value.

- (43) Let us return to town. We should be in perfect time for our bank robbery, **and then** I shall have a little spending money.

我們 該 回 鎮 了。搶 銀行 要 準時 才 行，  
 Wǒmen gāi huí zhèn le. Qiǎng yínháng yào zhǔnshí cái xíng,  
 We MV go back town LE rob bank MV punctual only okay

然後 我 就 有 零用錢 可 花 了。(ENC)  
**ránhòu** wǒ **jiù** yǒu língyòngqián kě huā le.  
 Then I **at once** have pocket money MV spend **LE**

Since this causal relation is a content domain relation, *i.e.* the validation of Eventuality A in the real world causes the validation of Eventuality B, it implies an ordering of the eventualities and is linked to a temporal sequential meaning. In Chinese, *ranhou* is combined with *jiu* ‘at once’ to reinforce the meanings of sequence and consequence. Note that the combination of the



two markers is felt to be more felicitous by our informants than the use of *ranhou* alone. Indeed, *jiu* has a dynamic and inchoative function that *ranhou*, a loose connective, lacks.

Example (44) below illustrates the use of *then* and *ranhou* as additive markers in lists. The speaker is giving advice to a friend whose wife has left him and who wants to get her back. In this example, *ranhou* and *then* have the same additive function: they are used to articulate elements of a list.

- (44) 我 跟 你 講， 你 明 天 見 到 她 的 時 候， 記 得，  
 Wǒ gēn nǐ jiǎng, nǐ míngtiān jiàn-dào tā de shíhòu, jìdé,  
 I with you speak you tomorrow see-Res she Rel time, remember

買 一 束 花， 然 後 多 說 幾 句 甜 言 蜜 語  
 mǎi yī shù huā, **ránhòu** duō shuō jǐ jù tiányánmìyǔ  
 buy one CI flower **then** more say a few CI sweet speech

Listen to me, when you see her tomorrow, remember to get her some flowers, **then** say something sweet. (CFC)

This function differs from what Wang & Huang (2006) call the additive function of *ranhou*. Indeed, according to Wang & Huang, *ranhou* has an additive use when it acts as a loose connector of ideationally related elements, which are not part of the same paradigm. Here, the use of *ranhou* corresponds to what Sue (1998) calls the use of *ranhou* in lists, and to what we called in Chapter 8 the additive use of *then*: it links together elements of a list and indicates that the elements of the list have at least one common feature. In our example, the speaker is enumerating things that his friend should do in order to reconquer his wife.

In example (45) below, the speaker is explaining the consequences of his shop being flooded. He uses *ranhou* to establish a loose connection between two ideationally related clauses: this is what Sue (1998) calls topic succession and what Wang & Huang (2006) call the additive use of *ranhou*.

- (45) 停 業 差 不 多 (pause) 一 個 多 月 (inhale) 然 後 (short\_break)  
 Tíngyè chàbùduō yīgè duō yuè **ránhòu**  
 Close down almost one CI more month **and**

對 我們 公司 來講(pause) 影響 也 蠻 大 的 (CCC)  
 duì wǒmen gōngsī lái jiǎng yǐngxiǎng yě mǎn dà de  
 to we business as to effect also quite big Rel

We had to close down for about a month, **and**... it affected our company considerably.

*Then*, or rather *and then* can have the same use in English, as in example (46) below, in which Angela is telling some friends about a group of people who meet up early in the morning to exercise in a mall.

- (46) ANGELA: ... And they go= [i=n],  
 DORIS: [They go] in and walk.  
 ANGELA: ... **and then** they know X, (H) so many times around, [you know],  
 DORIS: [Mhm]...  
 ANGELA: [2(H)2] will um, (TSK) make a mile. **And then** there's a=,soft drink place  
 up there that they all congregate.  
 SAM: Oh. (ECC)

In this example, *and then* only loosely connects various clauses that are ideationally related. This topic succession use can be assimilated to an additive use of *then*: the speaker is listing elements that have a common feature since they are ideationally related.

In our corpus, we also find *ranhou* used as a topic filler. However, the distinction between the topic succession use of *ranhou* and its filler use is not clear-cut: indeed, when using *ranhou* as a topic filler, the speaker is typically trying to come up with an ideationally related clause. This is the case in example (47) below:

(47) 我們(short\_break) 公司(pause) 是[i] (pause) 是 做(pause)  
 Wǒmen gōngsī shì shì zuò (pause)  
 We company be be do

俱樂部的(inhale) (pause) 然後(pause) (inhale) 在 內湖 還 有  
 jùlèbù de ránhòu zài Nèihú hái yǒu  
 club Rel and at Neihu also have

大直(inhale) 有 兩(short\_break) 〇南港 也 有(inhale) 有(short\_break)  
 Dàzhí yǒu liǎng 〇 Nángǎng yě yǒu yǒu  
 Dazhi have two 〇 Nangang also have have

店(short\_break)在那邊 然後 都 淹水 然後 (laugh) 那邊  
 Diàn zài nàbiān **ránhòu** dōu yānshuǐ **ránhòu** nàbiān  
 shop at that Cl **and** all flooded **and** that Cl

就 收了(pause) O 有 一家 店 就 收起來了 (CCC)  
 jiù shōu-le O yǒu yījiā diàn jiù shōu-qǐlái-le  
 just collect-le O have one Cl shop just collect-start-le

Our company makes clubs... **and** ... in Neihu and in Dazhi there are two, in Nangang there is also a club there **and** it was all flooded **and** over there they shut down... one of the clubs just had to be shut down.

*Ranhou* is used three times in this discourse segment. Only the first occurrence qualifies as a filler because there is a pause before and after its utterance, which indicates that the speaker is thinking and mentally preparing the rest of his speech. The other two are used as loose connectors between ideationally related topics, with an additive value. The first occurrence of *ranhou* also has an additive value: it links together two clauses that are ideationally related. Thus, because a filler is often used to enable the speaker to mentally build some utterance ideationally related to prior speech, the only way to distinguish between these two uses of *ranhou* is to look at the pausing intervals between the discourse segments.

The use of *then* as a filler is also found in English, and it is also difficult to distinguish it from its additive use or its global use. This is the case in example (48) below.

- (48) SHARON: First she hires me n- like, the Friday before school starts. (H) ... And expects me to get my room ready, and then I find out on Thursday, in the first week of school, that I might lose my job.  
 KATHY: .. Yeah you told me.  
 SHARON: Come Friday. Yeah... **and, and then, th-** .. so I come into class,... and they've put like, all these third-grade students in there. Did I tell you about that? (ECC)

In this example, *and then* is used as a filler as much as a linking marker resuming a topic. It also has a floor-holding function, since it enables the speaker to keep the floor despite Kathy's interruption.

Thus, the comparison of the non-temporal functions of *ranhou* sheds some light on the sequential-based non-temporal uses of *then*, and enables us to propose a finer distinction between

various additive uses of *then*: like *ranhou*, it can be used to articulate elements of a list, to articulate ideationally related topics, to resume a digressed topic (which corresponds to the global use of sequential *then* identified by Schiffrin 1992, *cf.* Chapter 4), and it can also be used as a filler. However, in these last three functions *then* never appears on its own. It always co-occurs with the conjunction *and* or another linking marker such as the causal marker *so*. As we showed in Chapter 6 when comparing the functions of sequential *then* and temporal *ranhou*, this is due to the fact that *ranhou* is closer in function and meaning to the conjunction *and*, particularly in its pragmatic use, than to the sequential marker *then* (Wang & Huang 2006). *Ranhou* follows the same path as the conjunction *and*, which is considered a PM by Schiffrin (1986), Hansen (2012) and Fraser (1999). Fraser (1999: 931) gives example (49)a to illustrate the use of *and* as a PM, which corresponds to an additive use typical of *ranhou* (*cf.* (49)c), *i.e.* *and* connects ideationally related elements.

(49) a. John can't go. **And** Mary can't go either. (Fraser 1999: 931)

b. John can't go. **And then** Mary can't go either.

c. John 不 能 去 , 然 後 Mary 也 不 能 去 。  
 John bù néng qù, **ránhòu** Mary yě bù néng qù.  
 John Neg MV go **and** Mary also Neg MV go

Thus, the functions of loose connector, resumptive marker and filler are generally attributed to the conjunction *and* in English (Schiffrin 1986). In fact, *then* cannot always be used as a correspondence of *ranhou*: in examples (45) and (47), we used the simple conjunction *and* to translate *ranhou*, because the use of *and then* is not entirely felicitous. Similarly, while (49)c is a fair translation of (49)a, it does not exactly translate (49)b. This is due to the fact that the link established by *then* between the two elements is not as loose as that established by *ranhou* or *and*. *Ranhou* is a semantically weak marker, while *then* remains a foregrounding marker in its additive uses. Thus, when *then* is used as a non-temporal connective, it foregrounds the upcoming clause and focusses the attention of the hearer on the upcoming talk, giving it argumentative force. Accordingly, in (49)b, *and then* gives an argumentative force to the following clause, and rather than a loose connection between the two clauses, there is an effect of accumulation between the two, which suggests that the utterance is part of an argument and that

*and then* could be glossed as ‘on top of that’. Thus, one might imagine a context in which the speaker is arguing that the event planned should be cancelled, because not only will John be absent, but so will Mary. In (48), Sharon is a teacher explaining how the principal in her school was mean to her when she just started teaching. *Then* is stressed and followed by a pause; it can be considered to have a filler use, since it gives Sharon enough time to recollect what she wanted to say before being interrupted, but it also focusses what follows and gives it argumentative force. The upcoming focussed element corresponds to another despicable doing of her principal. It comes as the fourth element in the list (with the first three elements articulated with *and*, *first* and *and then*), and *then* gives it a stronger argumentative force than the first three elements: filling her class with third-grade students is presented as worse than the principal’s other actions, since Sharon is unexperienced and unqualified to teach third grade.

Thus, the difference between sequential *then* and *ranhou* identified in Chapter 6 leads to differences at the pragmatic level: while *then* has a foregrounding effect, *ranhou* is a loose connector with a weak semantic meaning.

Like sequential-based uses of *then*, PM *now* has a focussing effect on the upcoming element. We have seen in Chapter 7 that PM *now* could be used to articulate procedures and lists: in these uses PM *now* often has the same function as additive *then*. Thus, in examples (13) and (15) from Chapter 7, *now* could be replaced with *then*.

- (50) NATHAN: ... So if it's pointed this way, you just put another one pointing this way over here,  
 KATHY: ... Right.  
 NATHAN: ... Okay. (...) (SIGH) (SNIFF)  
 KATHY: ... (SWALLOW)  
 NATHAN: ... (YAWN) (H) ... **Now** I just get a common denominator for the whole=thi=ng?  
 KATHY: ... Mhm... Well, take out those absolute value things, they'll screw you up.  
 NATHAN: % Yeah... And **now** this'll be six, right? (SWALLOW) (Hx) Is that right?  
 KATHY: ... Mhm.  
 NATHAN: ... **Now** what do you do.  
 KATHY: ... Subtract three=... from the middle. (ECC)

- (51) There were, he was informed while the coffee dipped, four other inhabitants of his apartment building -back when it was the Pilsen place the Pilsens lived in the downstairs flat and rented out the upper two flats, now their apartment, which was taken by a couple of young men, Mr. Holz and Mr. Neiman, they actually are a couple and when she said couple, Mr. Ainsel, Heavens, we have all kinds here, more than one kind of tree in the forest, although mostly those kind of people wind up in Madison or the Twin Cities, but truth to tell, nobody here gives it a second thought. They're in Key West for the winter, they'll be back in April, he'll meet them then. The thing about Lakeside is that it's a good town. **Now** next door to Mr. Ainsel, that's Marguerite Olsen and her little boy, a sweet lady, sweet, sweet lady, but she's had a hard life, still sweet as pie, and she works for the Lakeside News. (ENC)

In (13), *now* is used as a procedural marker, and thus retains some temporal meaning. It could be replaced by sequential *then* with the same sequential meaning. The difference would be that with *now*, the procedure is presented with an internal point of view through the subjectivity of the speaker while with *then* the procedure is presented with an external point of view. This is linked to the fundamental proximal meaning of *now* as opposed to the distal meaning of *then*. Example (15) corresponds to a listing use of *now*. In both cases *now* has a propulsive force and creates a break with the preceding text, indicating that what follows corresponds to a new element on which the attention of the participants must now be focussed. Thus, with the use of *now*, the attention of the hearer is required at the time of speech and the hearer or reader is projected within the procedure or list, while with *then*, the articulated eventualities are viewed from a distance. The use of *ranhou* in such contexts in Chinese is possible as well. However, its use would simply indicate a loose connection between the elements of the procedure or the list, without any foregrounding or focussing effect.

We have shown that PM *ranhou* is a loose connective. It shares properties with both PM *now* and sequential-based *then* when they have additive, causal or procedural uses. In these uses, all these markers function as coordinative markers, enabling the speaker to proceed step by step, without the necessity of planning her speech. The parallel between the procedural and listing functions of *now* on the one hand, and the sequential and additive functions of *then* on the other, confirms that there is a link between *now* and sequential *then*: they can both code sequence, with *now* presenting the sequence from the inside, thanks to its proximal value, while distal *then* presents the sequence from the outside. On the pragmatic level, they have the same respective effects: while *now* presents elements of a procedure or list as immediate and new, and to be

focussed on at S or at the *now*-point, *then* presents them as foregrounded but viewed from an external viewpoint.

However, there is a difference in terms of common ground manipulation: while *now* operates a re-evaluation of the situation at S and authoritatively marks the addition of new proposition to the shared common ground without reference to previous elements of the common ground, *then* implies a continuity between the shared common ground and the new proposition. Indeed, the new proposition is understood to be added to the common ground upon consideration of the common ground: additive *then* foregrounds the new eventuality relative to what precedes; its accumulation effect is directly linked to its anaphoric value which implies an acknowledgment of the elements of the common ground.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined various correspondences of pragmatic *now* and *then*. We have shown that although the two markers have common correspondences, which indicates that their meanings are sometimes similar, they each present a different perspective on the situation, reflected in their most frequent correspondences. Thus, *now* is a marker of discontinuity and contrast used to indicate a necessity for the hearer to coordinate on the common ground, while referential-based *then* does not participate to the building of the common ground. Rather, it picks antecedents from the common ground, thereby establishing links between the left context and the present discourse, as well as strengthening the interpersonal bonds existing between the participants through a reminder of shared knowledge. Moreover, while *now* has an authoritative meaning linked to the coercion of coordination made possible by its proximal deictic function, *then* has a friendly meaning linked to its distal anaphoric function.

In Chinese, the markers used to translate PM *now* and *then* are varied, due to the multifunctionality of the English markers. While the closest equivalent of topic changer and authoritative *now* was identified as the compound marker *hao le*, the closest equivalent of logical *then* is *na(me)*, with the difference that *na(me)* has a more restricted use than logical *then* since it

can only draw its antecedent from the shared common ground while *then* can draw from the personal common ground of the speaker.

Although *ranhou* can appear as a close equivalent of the sequential-based uses of *then*, it is in fact closer in meaning and function to *and then*, or even to the conjunction *and* alone. As for *jiu*, it has no equivalent in English. It is used to code identification, immediacy and inchoation. It is anaphoric, and when no reference point is available for it to anchor to, it anchors to the time of speech and codes immediate validation. We find it in our corpus as a reinforcing marker: it is used with *xianzai* and *ranhou* to provide dynamicity and time-point reading, as well as with *na(me)*. When distal *na(me)* and proximal *jiu* co-occur, *na(me)* is oriented to the left, *i.e.* to the common ground while *jiu* is oriented to the right, *i.e.* to the new proposition. When no temporal reading of *jiu* is available, it becomes a subjective marker indicating the perception of the speaker on the relation between the locator and the *locatum*.



## Conclusion PART III

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In the last three chapters, we have examined the pragmatic realisations of *now* and *then* and of their Mandarin correspondences. We have shown that the non-temporal functions of *now* and *then* have developed from their temporal functions. The textual functions of PM *now* build on its contrastive meaning as a temporal marker while its interpersonal functions build on its intersubjective value as a marker of deictic simultaneity. As for non-temporal *then*, it developed progressively into a PM along two distinct paths of grammaticalisation: on the one hand, sequential *then* developed into a causal and additive marker while on the other hand, referential *then* developed into a logical marker, and then progressively into a final particle with no referential content. Each path of grammaticalisation is related to the fundamental anaphoric meaning of *then*, as well as to its deictic meaning as the distal counterpart of *now*: logical *then* is the anaphor of an *if*-clause and represents the distance existing between the time of speech and the hypothetical time of validation of the eventuality it introduces, while causal and additive *then* imply that the introduced element is located relative to the previous one.

Contrastive analysis revealed that there are no unique Mandarin equivalents for PM *now* and *then*. This is not surprising considering that the English markers are multifunctional, and that their temporal equivalents are already numerous. There is however a certain continuity between the temporal and the non-temporal equivalents of *now* and *then*. Indeed, in Chapter 3 we saw that final *le* is a close equivalent of temporal *now*; its study as a pragmatic marker revealed that it shares many properties of PM *now* as well. Similarly, *nashi* is the main equivalent of referential *then*, and *na(me)* - which contains the same distal anaphoric determiner as *nashi* - is the main correspondence of logical *then*. Finally, *ranhou*, the most frequent equivalent of sequential *then*, remains its correspondence as a pragmatic marker. This shows that the English and Chinese

markers have evolved from temporal to pragmatic meanings along the same lines. Considering the absolute unrelatedness of English and Mandarin Chinese, we conclude that the semantic evolution of *now* and *then* from temporal markers to PMs is not random. The temporal and pragmatic functions of *now* and *le* suggest that properties of temporal contrast and S-anchoring lead to pragmatic meanings involving coordination of the common ground at S because of the emergence of a contrast. The functions of referential *then* and *nashi* / *na(me)* indicate that distal reference and anaphora lead to the construction of logical meanings of the type *if-then*: referential *then* and *nashi* often have a restrictive meaning, since *then* indicates that the topic time of Eventuality B is restricted to the time interval of Eventuality A. This restrictive meaning combined to their anaphoric function enables them to link a proposition Q to a distant proposition P and to restrict the validation of Q to the validation of P. Moreover, just as referential *then* and *nashi* pick an antecedent in the left context, logical *then* and *na(me)* pick an antecedent in the common ground. As for sequential *then* and *ranhou*, they operate on a middle ground between the function of boundary of *now* and its correspondences on one end, and the function of continuity of referential *then* and its correspondences on the other. Indeed, they are transition markers: on the one hand, they mark discontinuity insofar as they indicate that a new element is going to be added to the common ground, and on the other hand, they create a continuing effect since the pragmatic or temporal status of this new element can only be interpreted relative to the prior element. Indeed, when temporal, they indicate that B occurs after A, and when additive, they indicate that B occurs in addition to A.

Thus, we have shown in Part III that each marker under study has a core meaning that determines its evolution from temporal to pragmatic uses. Moreover, we have shown that there is a certain continuity in the correspondences of *now* and *then* from the temporal to the pragmatic domain. Finally, we saw that while *now* is a marker of discontinuity that modifies the common ground and requests coordination of the common ground, *then* is a marker of continuity that draws from the common ground. The sequential uses of *now* and *then*, with their transitional meanings, meet in the middle.

# Conclusion

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In this study, which falls within the general frameworks of Systemic Functional Linguistics, we have proposed an analysis of temporal deixis and anaphora in English and Chinese through the study of the markers *now* and *then* and their Mandarin equivalents. More generally, we have compared the encoding of temporal location and time relations in English and Chinese. We arrive at the following conclusions.

## 1. Expressing temporal location: tense vs. adverbs

While in English, tense is often sufficient to locate an eventuality relative to the time of speech or reference time, Chinese, which has no tense, relies in great part on the use of adverbials of temporal location. Thus, location time adverbials such as *xianzai* ‘now’, *nashi* ‘at that time’ and *dangshi* ‘at the time’ play a more crucial role for temporal location in Chinese than *now* and *then* do in English. Because tense already locates the eventuality relative to the time of utterance, deictic locating adverbs are redundant in English, particularly when they have minimal semantic content. Unlike *now* and *then*, deictic adverbs such as *today* or *yesterday*, which provide information as to the location of the eventuality that cannot be given by tense, are less likely to be redundant. *Now* and *then*, on the other hand, are the hyperonyms of all adverbials referring to time intervals that include the time of speech (for *now*) or that exclude the time of speech (for *then*). Since, as location adverbs, they provide information already given by tense, in other words, since they are redundant, their use in addition to tense is marked: *now* takes on a

contrastive meaning, while referential *then* generally has a restrictive function. The markedness of temporal *now* and *then* and their redundancy made them perfect candidates to develop into pragmatic markers. Indeed, functions such as contrast and restriction are particularly suited for text-structuring and for the regulation of interpersonal communication.

Conversely, the location adverbs *xianzai* ‘now’, *nashi* ‘at that time’, *dangshi* ‘at the time’ and *zheshi* ‘at this time’ play a crucial role as temporal location adverbs, which explains why none of them has developed pragmatic uses.

## 2. Expressing temporal sequence: aspect vs. sequential markers

While temporal deictic and anaphoric adverbs that relate the eventuality to the situation of utterance or to a reference point are more frequent and necessary in Chinese than in English, sequential markers that code time relations between eventualities are more frequent and necessary in English. Thus, Mandarin sequential adverbials like *ranhou* ‘then, after that’ and *jiezhe* ‘then, subsequently’ are less frequent and less needed in Chinese than in English. We have suggested that this is due to the aspectual nature of the temporal system of Mandarin. Indeed, Mandarin has an array of aspectual markers coding inchoation, progression, completion, *etc.*, which provide information as to the aspectual viewpoint of eventualities. Combined with the aspectual information given by the *aktionsart* of the verb and with contextual data, these aspectual markers provide information as to the temporal relations of the eventualities. Simply put, while juxtaposed bounded eventualities are interpreted to occur in a sequence, juxtaposed unbounded eventualities are interpreted to overlap. As Thompson’s (1999) analysis of grab-bag interpretation shows, in English the use of sequential markers is generally preferred to make temporal relations explicit.

This does not mean that English does not have aspectual markers. It only means that English does not rely on aspectual information for temporal interpretation. Thus, aspectual information carries less weight in English than in Chinese. Similarly, the fact that Chinese does not have tense does not imply that temporal location adverbials are absolutely necessary for temporal location in every utterance. Indeed, as shown by Smith (2007), when no lexical information is

given as to the temporal location of an eventuality in Chinese, it is by default located relative to the time of speech or to the reference point. Thus, a temporal interpretation is available regardless of whether there is an adverb making things explicit. Only, just as English speakers often prefer to rely on sequential markers to make temporal relations explicit between eventualities, Mandarin speakers often choose to use temporal location markers to make temporal location explicit, because they are not comfortable with simply inferring temporal location. This opposition is due to the fact that, on the one hand, Chinese is an aspectual language, in other words, aspectual information and interpretation is at the core of the temporal system in Mandarin, while on the other hand, English is a tensed language, which means that the temporal system of English is based on temporal location relative to the time of speech or to a reference point.

Thus, like situational *now* in English, the use of *ranhou* ‘then, after that’ is often superfluous in Chinese. This can explain its evolution into a pragmatic marker with more varied functions than sequential-based *then*. Indeed, while sequential-based uses of *then* generally retain a temporal component, *ranhou* can be used as a filler, in which case it is completely bleached.

Having presented our general conclusions on the variations between English and Chinese in terms of temporal location and temporal relations, let us examine the prominence of the operations of deixis and anaphora for temporal reference in the two languages.

### **3. Temporal deixis and anaphora**

As explained, this study has revealed that Chinese relies much more than English on the use of both deictic and anaphoric time adverbials for temporal location. We have shown that this is due to the fact that in English, absolute tenses already have a deictic value and anchor utterances in the situation. Conversely in Chinese, only deictic adverbs can anchor propositions in the situation of utterance. As for temporal anaphora, we have shown that *then* displays two modes of anaphora: referential and relational. While English makes little use of referential *then*, it makes considerable use of sequential *then*. In Chinese, the situation is reversed.

In addition to that, we find that English and Chinese tend to make different uses of temporal deixis and anaphora. While English uses temporal deixis in interaction and tends to use markers of anaphora such as referential *then* in narration, Chinese uses temporal deixis in all situations and reserves anaphoric markers such as *nashi* ‘at that time’ for interaction or direct speech. Moreover, in Chinese, some proximal deictic markers such as *zheshi* ‘at this moment’ are reserved for narration. This is connected to the absence of tense in Chinese which implies that narratives are represented as unfolding at speech time, and not in the past. Thus, while proximal markers like *zheshi* are used to locate eventualities in narration, distal markers like *nashi* are used to locate past eventualities in conversation. Conversely, in English, fictional narratives are often represented as unfolding in the past, which explains the use of distal markers such as referential *then*.

The use of past tenses in narration in English implies that deictic temporal markers such as *now* have discursive functions that Chinese markers do not have. Indeed, Chinese markers such as *xianzai* ‘now’ cannot be shifters in narratives. In English, markers of temporal deixis such as *now* can be used in past narrative contexts to create a shift of the deictic centre to the *now*-point and produce an impression of proximity between the reader and the deictic centre, generally represented by the focalising character. Proximal markers of temporal deixis such as *xianzai* ‘now’ can also be used in Chinese narratives but the absence of tense in Chinese implies that temporal deictic markers do not create deictic shifts. Indeed, in English the shift is brought about by the clash between past narrative tenses that locate the eventuality as anterior to the temporal *origo* and *now* which locates the eventuality as overlapping with the temporal *origo*. In the absence of lexical items conveying past tense, Chinese narratives are already perceived as unfolding in front of the reader, as present rather than past. Thus, the use of *xianzai* does not create a shift.

Thus, markers of temporal deixis such as *xianzai* are more stable and less flexible than their English counterparts: while in Chinese the main function of *xianzai* is to anchor the proposition to the situation of utterance and serve as a clear temporal landmark, be it in narration or in interaction, in English the marker of deixis *now* has contrastive and discursive uses.

#### 4. From *now* to *then*

This study has shown that the relation between *now* and *then* is complex. On the one hand, as referential markers, they have opposed meanings, since *now* refers to the time of speech while *then* refers to any point other than the time of speech. On the other hand, we found correspondences between *then* and *now* in narration: *now* and *then* can sometimes both be used to locate a given past eventuality (*She was now twenty years old / She was then twenty years old*). In that case, the difference is that *now*, as a deictic marker, is marked and shifts the discourse, creating an effect of proximity between the reader and the character.

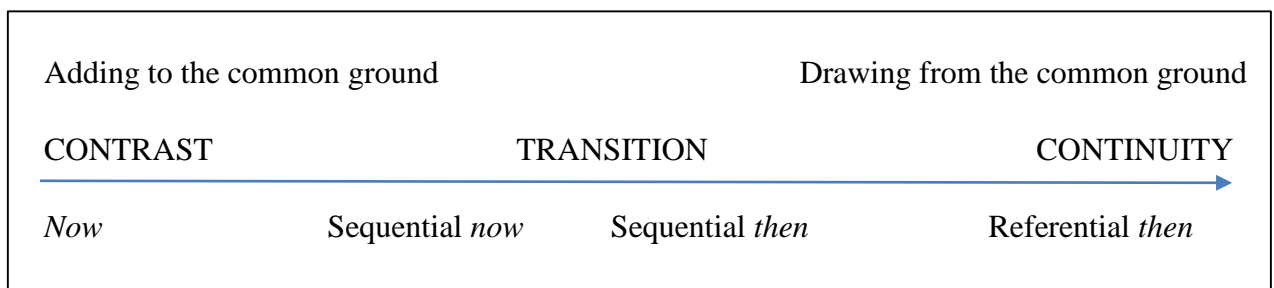
*Now* can sometimes also be used in narration instead of sequential *then* (*Then, he reached for the gun / He now reached for the gun*). In that case, what is mobilised with *now*, in addition to its deictic meaning which triggers a deictic shift and creates an impression of proximity, is its contrastive function. Indeed, *now* has an inchoative value which endows it with enough propulsive force to serve as a sequential marker.

Thus, there are correspondences between temporal *now* as a temporal location adverb and referential *then* on the one hand, and between *now* as a contrastive marker foregrounding a new eventuality and sequential *then* on the other hand. This is confirmed by the fact that *now* and *then* have common correspondences such as *xianzai* ‘now’ when they are temporal location markers and *ranhou* ‘then, after that’ when they mark sequence.

Although the correspondence between sequential *then* and *now* is not limited to past narration, the correspondence between *now* and *then* as temporal markers is. In present contexts, because of their opposed deictic meanings, proximal *now* and distal *then* are not interchangeable. *Now* codes overlap with the time of utterance while *then* codes non-overlap with the time of utterance. Similarly, at the pragmatic level, referential-based uses of *then* and pragmatic uses of *now* do not overlap because the pragmatic functions of *now* are based on its deictic and contrastive functions while the pragmatic functions of referential-based *then* are based on its anaphoric meaning. Thus, while PM *now* codes contrast and calls for the addition of a proposition to the common ground, logical uses of *then* code continuity by picking an antecedent from within the shared common ground. As for sequential-based uses of *then*, as well as additive

uses of *now*, they can be placed in a middle ground between discontinuity and continuity marking: they code transition between two different elements, adding an element to the common ground but also implying some continuity between that element and the preceding one.

Thus, although temporal *now* and *then* can sometimes both be used in past narration to locate a given eventuality, in other contexts the temporal location markers *now* and *then* can be understood to represent opposite ends of a functional continuum spanning from contrast and deixis to continuity and anaphora, and applicable in the temporal as well as in the non-temporal domain.



**Figure 1** - *Now* and *then*: between contrast and continuity

## 5. The advantages of contrastive analysis

This study has confirmed that contrastive analysis can help provide a different perspective on linguistic forms and shed light on their functions and meaning (Degand 2009). Through the contrastive analysis of *now* and *xianzai*, we confirmed the fundamental contrastive nature of *now*. Moreover, the contrastive analysis of *now* and final *le* suggested, on the one hand, that temporal *now* should be considered not simply as a temporal location marker, but rather an aspectual marker providing a particular view of the eventuality as an inchoative marker and, on the other hand, that *le* should be considered as a temporal marker close in meaning to temporal *now*. We have also clarified the differences in use of lexical temporal location markers and sequential markers in each language. Moreover, the analyses of the Chinese correspondences of *then* have further elucidated its meaning: the fact that several markers must be used in Chinese to cover a meaning given by only *then* in English enabled us to make distinctions in the uses of *then* through the contrastive analyses of the Chinese markers. In particular, the study of *zheshi* ‘this



moment' shed some light on the mixed uses of *then*. Finally, contrastive analysis enabled us to provide a new perspective on the pragmatic use of the final particle *le*, which can be compared to some uses of PM *now*. It also allowed us to identify some restrictions - which do not apply to *then* - in the use of the pragmatic logical marker *na(me)*. Finally, it helped provide a new perspective on the meaning of the marker *jiu* 'then, at once': its correspondence with the marker *now* suggests that it has an inchoative function, while its frequent correspondence with logical *then* indicates that it has a continuative function.

## 6. Perspectives

This study uses contrastive analysis to propose a new perspective on the uses of *now* and *then* and their equivalents in Chinese. It shows that using translational corpora for contrastive analysis has significant advantages, as translation choices can provide some insights into the various shades of meaning of each marker (*cf.* Degand 2009). However, our analysis is far from being exhaustive. As the size of our corpora was relatively restricted, the scope of our quantitative results is very limited. Thus, in future research, the tendencies detected in our corpora should be confirmed through the parsing of a large-scale corpus. Moreover, we limited our research to Taiwanese Mandarin. The same type of investigation could be carried out using data from mainland China, in order to ascertain whether our results can be expanded to Mandarin Chinese or if they are specific to Taiwanese Mandarin.

Moreover, it would be worthwhile to look into the diachronic development of the markers under study in more detail. We have made parallels between the temporal and the pragmatic functions of *now*, *then* and some Chinese markers such as final *le*. We have seen that Defour (2007) carried out a diachronic analysis of the pragmatic marker *now*. A contrastive analysis of the grammaticalisation paths of *now* and *then* and their Chinese equivalents would enrich the results presented in this study. In particular, a diachronic analysis could confirm if and how the pragmatic marker *na(me)* 'in this case' is related to the temporal marker *nashi* 'then, at that time'.

Furthermore, we have shown that the pragmatic uses of *now* and *then* have emerged from their deictic and anaphoric functions, with PM *now* coding coordination of the common ground while logical *then* triggers the search for an antecedent in the common ground. It seems that their deictic and anaphoric meanings predisposed these markers to become PMs. In Chinese, *na(me)* has a distal and anaphoric meaning and final *le* is interpreted deictically in interaction. Future research could focus on other pragmatic markers that have developed from deictic and anaphoric markers such as *there, here* in English and the fillers *nage* ‘that’ and *zhege* ‘this’ in Chinese to enlarge the analysis of the links between deixis, anaphora and pragmatic markers.

Finally, this study could be extended to the analysis of equivalents of *now* and *then* in other languages, in order to see whether equivalents of *now* in other tensed languages also develop contrastive meanings and whether these meanings result in pragmatic functions similar to those of *now*. For instance, we have seen that French has an adverbial pair equivalent to *now/then*, namely *maintenant/alors*. We know that the French adverb *maintenant* is also contrastive in its temporal meaning and has contrastive pragmatic meanings (Nef 1980; Celle 2004). Moreover, we have seen that *alors* ‘then, after that, so’ shares many semantic and pragmatic features with *then*. It would be interesting to see whether the pair *now/then* exists in all tensed languages and whether the temporal markers follow a grammaticalisation path similar to those of the English and the French markers. The functions of *now/then* pairs of deictic adverbs should be contrasted in more tensed and tenseless languages: do other tenseless languages have adverbial pairs equivalent to *now/then*? Can these markers evolve into pragmatic markers? With what functions? This could help ascertain whether the characteristics of *now* and *then* and their Chinese equivalents are, as we have proposed, linked to the fact that English is a tensed language while Chinese is tenseless.

More concretely, our findings can have applications in the fields of language teaching and translation studies. Indeed, drawing parallels between linguistic forms in English and Chinese and pointing out their similarities and differences in meaning and function can help learners better understand the proper use of some forms. For instance, the use of the final particle *le*, which codes change of state and current relevance, is difficult to assimilate for English learners. Indeed, it has always been assumed that final *le* had no equivalent in English. Drawing the

## Conclusion

attention of English learners on the functional similarities between *le* and English *now* might help them master the use of *le* more easily.

Finally, in this study we describe and distinguish the functions of several Chinese markers that have not been given a great deal of attention until now, such as *nashi*, *dangshi*, *zheshi* and *xianzai*. This might be of some use to translators. We also noticed tendencies of overuse and underuse of some forms in translation and related them to the semantic and functional differences between the forms in each language as well as the temporal systems of each language. This analysis can help explain similar phenomena in the translation of other adverbs of sequence and of temporal location.

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