

國立臺灣大學文學院語言學研究所



碩士論文

Graduate Institute of Linguistics

College of Liberal Arts

National Taiwan University

Master Thesis

中文時間副詞的時長與認知視角關係：

以「這下」、「當下」、「現在」為例

Time Span and Perspectivization in Chinese Temporal Adverbs:

zhèxià, dāngxià, and xiànzài—A Cognitive Linguistics Study

康容榕

Jung-Jung Kang

指導教授：呂佳蓉 博士

Advisor: Chia-Rung Lu, Ph.D.

中華民國 112 年 6 月

June 2023

致謝



熬了這麼久終於等到了致謝躍然紙上的這一天，身心疲憊之餘，更多的是掩不住的喜悅與欣慰。這份論文的完成需要感謝那些在燈火闌珊處支持我的人。首先感謝我的指導教授，呂佳蓉老師，一直以來包容我的小叛逆與急躁的性格，以及兩位口委老師—蔡宜妮老師與蕭惠貞老師連夜加工審稿，讓我在五月時順利完成口試。也謝謝團隊中的其他成員：睿良學長、Chris 學長、清華學姊、Andrew 學長、穎昌學長、冰貞學妹所給予的指教及建議，並在研究的路上一步一步引領我更加成熟。

其次，謝謝 R08 的同學們：俊宏、莊勻、凱弘、晴方、峻維、好蓁、永賦，陪我一同度過酸甜苦辣，沒有你們我的碩班生涯將會黯然許多。在此特別感謝俊宏和晴方在我寫論文過程中不厭其煩地給予我鼓勵與經驗談，我才有勇氣持續面對論文。

其三要感謝的是我的大學同窗及其他各路好友們。謝謝佳雯總是願意傾聽我脆弱的心聲、對我溫柔以待；謝謝昭儀自從一起去西點以來便總是予以我最真誠的關切；謝謝宇廷和我一起開讀書會，即使不是同個研究領域的你仍舊耐心地聽我報告、給我回饋；謝謝弘雲樂意做我的人生嚮導，並在我困頓時為我禱告。謝謝毓尹分享工作經驗也聽我吐苦水。謝謝奕忻在學業及人生課題上的理解與相伴。謝謝我的室友紫琳、滄妃、子晴為我帶來多采多姿的宿舍時光，每天和你們談天說地是我最主要的快樂來源，要離開女六舍真的很捨不得。謝謝教我彈吉他的企鵝貓乃慧、綺娟老師，以及我最喜歡的吉他手 Josephine Alexandra。每每孤軍奮戰，在研究中迷失方向時，音樂是唯一引領我獨自走出困境的力量。音樂也帶給我許多人生哲理，讓我了解到不是每一件事情都必須完美無缺，我才有繼續努力的理由。

另外特別感謝語言所的蘇以文老師、馮怡蓁老師、邱振豪老師、江文瑜老師，中文系的張麗麗老師，以及我在清華大學的恩師陳淑芬老師、沈婉霖老師、王蒞文老師、何立行老師在語言學知識上給我的啟蒙與啟發。

感謝我人生中最大的支柱——我最親愛的父母及弟弟。謝謝你們總是為我的決定給予莫大的支持，從沒有因為我的拖延而展現任何的不悅或責備。最後，這份論文的最大功臣獻給自己。謝謝自己一直以來的堅持與努力，才能咬著牙撐過挫折、挺過一路上的風風雨雨。雖然在這個過程中我可能早已失去了自己的初衷，但也獲得了許多甜美的果實。我想跟自己說聲辛苦了！



摘要

人類如何表達抽象的時間概念是長久以來扣人心弦的議題之一。在語言學領域，過去學者經常關注的時間議題像是：動詞的表現隱含時間的定位與跨度、具象的空間詞彙可能演變為抽象的時間詞彙、時間詞語可於篇章中標示特定連貫功能等等。語言學在時間研究上似乎已取得非常豐富的成果，也有不少專論針對不同時間詞進行討論。然而當筆者關注近義時間副詞「這下」、「當下」、「現在」時，發現過去的研究角度仍不足以闡釋箇中差異，因其除了時長的不同以外，還牽涉認知視角的問題。因此本研究將從時長與視角兩個面向切入，並以認知語法理論為框架，探討這三個時間副詞。

首先，本文採用胡裕樹、范曉(1995)的情狀分類系統，分析「這下」、「當下」、「現在」的謂語搭配傾向。經過標記與統計，我們發現「這下」經常與「結果類」情狀作搭配，顯示其為時點，且與結果義息息相關。「當下」可與「瞬間類」、「持續類」情狀作搭配，分別表達不同語意：與「瞬間類」搭配時，意為「這/那個時刻、立刻」，時間上表示時點；與「持續類」搭配時，意為「說話時候的情況」，可與「現在」替換。「現在」可與「結果類」、「瞬間類」、「持續類」的情狀搭配，表示其可為時點或時段，然而因「持續類」的搭配比例較高，顯示「現在」傾向表達時段的概念。

本文的第二部分以 Langacker 認知語法中的入場 (grounding) 及 Traugott 的主觀化 (subjectification) 為框架，分析時間副詞「這下」、「當下」、「現在」展現的說者視角和語用。研究結果發現，以 Langacker 的觀點可將這三個詞彙的用法區分為兩個類別：「低主觀性類」與「高主觀性類」。

「這下」與「當下」具有「低主觀性類」用法，用於「較客觀」的語境中，例如描述故事、過去經驗或假設性事件。雖然在此情況下，二者可互換而不造成語法問題，然而「識解」仍造成兩者意涵的不同。說者(敘述者)在使用「這下」時較涉入情節，形成類似自由間接引語 (Free indirect discourse) 的手法；而「當下」使用時，說者則不涉入情節，通常在間接引語 (indirect discourse) 中出現。

「這下」、「當下」、「現在」皆有「高主觀性類」用法，它們以說話者時間為參照點，用於對話或描述現實的語境中。在這類用法下，三者語意有重疊之處，因此某些情況下可以互換。然而由於說者對說話時刻的識解不同，這三個詞也不是所有情況都能夠互相替換。首先，「這下」表示說話者近距離說話時間，並將目光導向未來。第二，「當下」暗示說者站在距離說話時間較遠的位置，導致其視野範圍較廣。第三，「現在」也表示說話者是近距離於說話時間，然其目光導向附近的範圍。

最後，由於 Langacker 的理論仍不足以比較三詞之間的主觀化程度，因此我們也納入了 Traugott 的觀點補充說明。我們發現「這下」是三個詞彙中主觀化程度最高的，其次是「當下」，最低是「現在」。

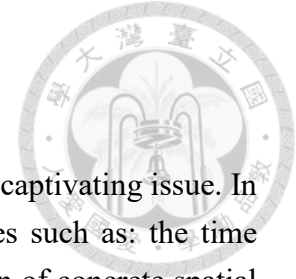
本文顯示時間副詞「這下」、「當下」、「現在」可由動詞、語法標記體現時間跨

度的不同，亦可從說者的視角解釋語用上的差異。期望本研究能夠為未來的時間研究或文學作品研究者提供新的切入視角。

關鍵詞：這下、當下、現在、時間詞、時間長度、視角、主觀化



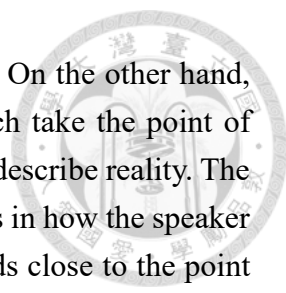
Abstract



How humans express abstract concepts of time has long been a captivating issue. In linguistics, previous scholars frequently focused on temporal issues such as: the time locations and time spans indicated by verbs and tenses, the evolution of concrete spatial words into abstract temporal words, and the specific discourse functions prompted by temporal words. Plentiful achievements have been made in studying time in linguistics, and there are also many studies discussing particular temporal adverbs. However, as we explore the near-synonymous temporal adverbs *zhèxià* (這下), *dāngxià* (當下), and *xiànzài* (現在), it is observed that the frameworks provided by previous research are insufficient to explain the differences among them, as they involve not only differences in duration but also issues related to cognition. Therefore, this thesis aims to investigate these three temporal adverbs with regard to duration and cognition via approaches based on cognitive grammar.

Firstly, Hu & Fan's (1995) situation classification system was adopted to analyze and mark the type of situations that tend to collocate with *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài*. The total number of corpus data analyzed is 1504, which consists of 581 tokens of *zhèxià*, 450 tokens of *dāngxià*, and 473 tokens of *xiànzài*. After these data have been categorized through Hu & Fan's system, it is discovered that *zhèxià* often co-occurs with result-type situations, which indicates its "punctual" nature and the relation with the "result" meaning. *Dāngxià* can collocate with instant-type and continuous-type situations, but expresses different meanings depending on the collocation. With instant-type situations, *dāngxià* conveys the meaning of "immediately or at this/that moment"; with continuous-type, it means "a situation that exists at the time of speaking" which is interchangeable with *xiànzài*. *Xiànzài* can collocate with result-type, instant-type, and continuous-type situations, which suggests it has both punctual and durative properties; however, due to the higher proportion of collocations with continuous-type situations, *xiànzài* is more likely to express a durative concept.

The second part of this thesis takes Langacker's "grounding" and Traugott's subjectification as frameworks to analyze the speaker's perspectives and pragmatic functions of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài*. From Langacker's viewpoint, the usage of the three terms can be divided into two categories: less subjective class and more subjective class. *Zhèxià* and *dāngxià* have less subjective uses, which are used to describe stories, past experiences, or subjunctive events. Although these words are interchangeable in these contexts, they convey different senses due to different construals. When *zhèxià* is used, the speaker (narrator) is more involved in the narrative scene, thus creating the effect of free indirect discourse. In contrast, *dāngxià* is typically used in indirect discourse,



suggesting that the speaker (narrator) stays away from the storyline. On the other hand, *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* all possess more subjective uses, which take the point of speech as a reference and are employed in dialogues or contexts that describe reality. The three words are interchangeable, but not always due to the differences in how the speaker construes speech time. Firstly, *zhèxià* indicates that the speaker stands close to the point of speech and directs his attention to the future. Secondly, *dāngxià* suggests that the speaker is more distant from the point of speech, where his temporal perspective is broader. Thirdly, *xiànzài* implies that the speaker also stays close to the speech time but directs his attention to the nearby temporal region.

Finally, since Langacker's theory is still insufficient to compare the degree of subjectivity between the three words, we also included Traugott's perspective to provide supplementary explanations. It is discovered that *zhèxià* has the highest degree of subjectivity, *dāngxià* is the second, and *xiànzài* the lowest.

This study reveals that the temporal adverbs *zhèxià* (這下), *dāngxià* (當下), and *xiànzài* (現在) can reflect differences in the time span through verbs and grammatical markers, and can also explain the pragmatic distinctions through the speaker's perspectives. We hope that this study provides new angles for future research on time or literary works.

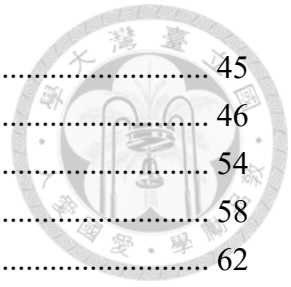
Keywords: *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, *xiànzài*, temporal terms, time span, perspective, subjectivity



Table of Contents

致謝	i
摘要	ii
Abstract.....	iv
List of Glossing Abbreviations	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Tables	x
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Motivation & Research Questions.....	1
1.2 Organization of the Thesis.....	3
1.3 Data Collection and Methodology.....	4
1.4 Working Definition.....	5
Chapter 2 An Overall Review of <i>Zhèxià</i> , <i>Dāngxià</i> , and <i>Xiànzài</i>	7
2.1 Dictionary & Literature of <i>Zhèxià</i>	7
2.1.1 Dictionary Definitions for <i>Zhèxià</i>	7
2.1.2 Previous studies of <i>Zhèxià</i>	9
2.2 Dictionary & Literature of <i>Dāngxià</i>	12
2.2.1 Dictionary Definitions for <i>Dāngxià</i>	12
2.2.2 Previous Studies of <i>Dāngxià</i>	14
2.3 Dictionary & Literature of <i>Xiànzài</i>	15
2.3.1 Dictionary Definitions for <i>Xiànzài</i>	15
2.3.2 Previous Studies of <i>Xiànzài</i>	16
2.4 Chapter Summary and Research Gaps	20
Chapter 3 Theoretical Frameworks	23
3.1 Concepts Related to Time.....	23
3.1.1 Temporal Location.....	23
3.1.2 Time Span.....	25
3.2 Hu & Fan’s (1995) situation classification system.....	26
3.3 Langacker—Construal.....	32
3.3.1 Focusing	33
3.3.1.1 Foreground and Background	33
3.3.1.2 Scope	34
3.3.2 Prominence: Profiling.....	35
3.3.3 Perspective & Grounding	37
3.4 Traugott: Subjectivity and Subjectification.....	42
3.5 Chapter Summary.....	43
Chapter 4 The Duration of Temporal Adverbs: Collocated Situation Analysis.....	45

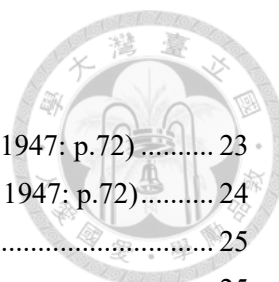
4.1 Result and Discussion.....	45
4.1.1 <i>Zhèxià</i> and the collocated verb situations.....	46
4.1.2 <i>Dāngxià</i> and the collocated verb situations.....	54
4.1.3 <i>Xiànzài</i> and the collocated verb situations	58
4.2 Chapter Summary	62
Chapter 5 The Perspectives of <i>zhèxià</i> , <i>dāngxià</i> and <i>xiànzài</i>	63
5.1 <i>Zhèxià</i> Subjectification.....	63
5.2 <i>Dāngxià</i> Perspective	70
5.3 <i>Xiànzài</i> Perspective	78
5.4 An Intercomparison	83
5.4.1 The Less Subjective Class— <i>zhèxià</i> ³ and <i>dāngxià</i> ²	85
5.4.2 The More Subjective Class— <i>zhèxià</i> ⁴ , <i>dāngxià</i> ³ , and <i>xiànzài</i> ³	90
5.4.3 Degrees of subjectivity of <i>zhèxià</i> , <i>dāngxià</i> , and <i>xiànzài</i>	94
5.5 Chapter Summary	100
Chapter 6 Conclusion	102
6.1 Recapitulation.....	102
6.2 Limitation & Future Study	104
Chapter 7 References.....	105





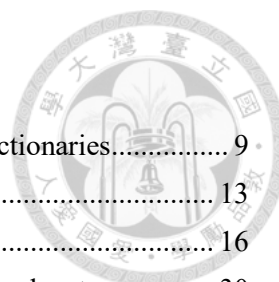
List of Glossing Abbreviations

- 1SG: first person singular pronoun *wǒ* (我)
1PL: first person plural pronoun *wǒmen* (我們)
2SG: second person singular pronoun *nǐ* (你)
2PL: second person plural pronoun *nǐmen* (你們)
3SG: third person singular pronoun *tā* (他)
3SG-F: third person singular pronoun feminine (她)
3PL: third person plural pronoun *tāmen* (他們)
ASSOC: associative *-de* (的)
BA: preposition *bǎ* (把)
BEI: *bèi* (被)
CAI: adverb *cái* (才)
CL: classifier
CRS: currently relevant state *le* (了)
C/F: copula/focus marker *shì* (是)
CSC: complex stative construction *de* (得)
DAM: durative aspect marker (正在、在、著)
FP: final particle
GEN: genitive *de* (的)
I: interjection
JIU: adverb *jiù* (就)
NEG: negation words *bù/bú* (不); *méi* (沒)
NOM: nominalizer *de* (的), *zhī* (之)
PFV: perfective aspect marker *le* (了)
PLM: Plural Marker (們)
PRG-P: progressive particle *zhe* (著)
Q: question marker *ma* (嗎)
QILAI: inchoative complement *qǐlái* (起來)



List of Figures

Figure 3.1 English simple tenses represented by time points (Reichenbach, 1947: p.72)	23
Figure 3.2 English perfect tenses represented by time points (Reichenbach, 1947: p.72)	24
Figure 3.3 Comrie’s representation of time (Comrie, 1985: p.2)	25
Figure 3.4 Representation of punctual and durative situations on timeline	25
Figure 3.5 Chinese Situation System (Hu & Fan, 1995)	27
Figure 3.6 Scope representations of different verb aspects	35
Figure 3.7 Cognitive schema of come and arrive	36
Figure 3.8 Cognitive schema of next year	37
Figure 3.9 Objective and subjective construal	38
Figure 3.10 Expressions related to the ground	40
Figure 4.1 Collocated verb situation distribution bar plot	45
Figure 5.1 The four stages of semantic development of <i>zhèxià</i>	64
Figure 5.2 The three stages of semantic development of <i>dāngxià</i>	72
Figure 5.3 The three stages of semantic development of <i>xiànzài</i>	78
Figure 5.4 Egocentric viewing arrangement	79
Figure 5.5 The categorization for the modern senses of <i>zhèxià</i> , <i>dāngxià</i> , and <i>xiànzài</i>	85
Figure 5.6 The grounding difference between <i>zhèxià</i> ³ & <i>dāngxià</i> ²	89
Figure 5.7 The perception of <i>dāngxià</i>	92
Figure 5.8 The perception of <i>xiànzài</i>	93
Figure 5.9 The perception of <i>zhèxià</i>	93



List of Tables

Table 2-1 The definitions of <i>zhèxià</i> and <i>zhèxiàzi</i> in Revised and Dangdai dictionaries.....	9
Table 2-2 The definitions of <i>dāngxià</i> in dictionaries.....	13
Table 2-3 The definitions of <i>xiànzài</i> in dictionaries.....	16
Table 3-1 classification criteria for situations and illustrative examples for each category.....	30
Table 4-1 Percentage table of collocated situation.....	46
Table 5-1 A comparison of the viewing arrangements of <i>zhèxià</i> senses	83
Table 5-2 A comparison of the viewing arrangements of <i>dāngxià</i> senses.....	84
Table 5-3 A Comparison of the viewing arrangement of <i>xiànzài</i> senses.....	84
Table 5-4 Comparison of perspective between <i>zhèxià</i> 3 & <i>dāngxià</i> 2	86
Table 5-5 A Comparison of perspective between <i>zhèxià</i> 4 & <i>dāngxià</i> 3 & <i>xiànzài</i> 3	90
Table 5-6 A Comparison Among Three Temporal Adverbs with Traugott's Approach	95
Table 5-7 Top 20 collocates of <i>zhèxià</i> (sorted by Effect)	99

Chapter 1 Introduction



1.1 Motivation & Research Questions

Time has been a fascinating subject in linguistics for a long time. Due to its abstract nature, time reflects complex concepts in language expressions, which has intrigued researchers to explore and attempt to reveal the systems behind it. For instance, Reichenbach (1947) proposed three time points to depict the tense system in English, Vendler (1957) noticed the relationship between verbs and time, and Comrie (1985: p.56-58) distinguished absolute and relative time references. Chinese, as an analytic language, makes use of rich temporal terms to express time, and many scholars have focused on how Chinese expresses tenses and aspects through temporal terms (Zhu, 1982: p.43; Lu & Ma, 1985: p.107; Zhang, 2002: p.194). Fewer studies, however, discuss temporal expressions beyond conceptions of “time” per se. This thesis aims to describe three Chinese temporal adverbs: *zhèxià* (這下), *dāngxià* (當下), and *xiànzài* (現在) from cognitive aspects of time spans and the speaker’s perspective.

There are two motivations behind exploring this issue. First, it has been observed that *zhèxià* has not yet been fully described in Chinese dictionaries or the research field, and there are still a number of aspects that can be discussed. One such aspect is related to the “time” sense of *zhèxià*, which is not commonly associated with this word. In this way, we come across a group of similar temporal adverbs to conduct a comparative study so as to discern the characteristics of *zhèxià*. Second, although the three temporal adverbs—*zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài*—seem to be different in many ways, in some cases they are not easily to distinguish. For example,

(1-1) *Zhèxià* ↔ *dāngxià* (*Red Rose White Rose*, Cao, 1784)

嬰兒 的 頭腦 與 成熟 的 婦人 的 美

yīngér de tóunǎo yǔ chéngshú de fùrén de měi
 infant GEN brain and mature NOM woman GEN beauty
 是 最 具 誘 惑 性 的 聯 合 。
shì zuì jù yòuhuò xìng de liánhé
 C/F most have lure property NOM combine
 這 下 (當 下) 振 保 完 全 被 征 服 了 。
Zhèxià/dāngxià Zhèn-bǎo wánquán bèi zhēngfú le
zhèxià/dāngxià Zhèn-bǎo complete BEI subdue CRS



“The infant-like brain and the beauty of a mature woman was the most mesmerizing combination. At this moment, Zhèn-bǎo was completely subdued.”

(1-2) Dāngxià ↔ xiànzài (CWS: Sinica)

既 然 無 法 改 變 已 經 發 生 的 事 實 ，
jìrán wúfǎ gǎibiàn yǐjīng fāshēng de shìshí
 Now.that incapable change already happen NOM truth
 而 往 後 要 走 的 人 生 路 還 很 長 ，
ér wǎnghòu yào zǒu de rénshēng lù hái hěn cháng
 and afterward want walk NOM life road still very long
 所 以 當 下 (現 在) 妳 最 重 要 的 就 是
suǒyǐ dāngxià/xiànzài nǐ zuì zhòngyào de jiù shì
 therefore dāngxià/xiànzài 2SG-F most important NOM JIU C/F
 從 受 傷 的 生 命 中 勇 敢 地
cóng shòushāng de shēngmìng zhōng yǒnggǎn-de
 from hurt NOM life middle courageously
 走 出 來 。
zǒu-chūlái
 walk-out

“Now that it is a fait accompli and then the road of life is still very long, the most important thing now is to come out of the hurt courageously.”

(1-3) Zhèxià ↔ xiànzài (CWS: gigaword2all)

昨 天 深 夜 ， 在 桃 園 中 正 國 際 機 場
zuótiān shēnyè zài Táoyuán zhōngzhèng guójì jīchǎng
 yesterday late.night at Taoyuan Zhōngzhèng international airport
 看 到 政 府 全 程 接 運 返 國
kàn-dào zhèngfǔ quáchéng jiēyùn fǎnguó
 see.reach government all.process transport return.country

的	第	四	批	僑民	和	遊客	平安
<i>de</i>	<i>dì</i>	<i>sì</i>	<i>pī</i>	<i>qiáomín</i>	<i>hé</i>	<i>yóukè</i>	<i>píngān</i>
ASSOC	number	four	group	expatriate	and	tourist	safe
抵達	後，	程建人		向	外交部	同事	表示：
<i>dīdá</i>	<i>hòu</i>	<i>Chéng.Jiàn-rén</i>		<i>xiàng</i>	<i>Wàijiāobù</i>	<i>tóngshì</i>	<i>biǎoshì</i>
arrive	after	Chéng.Jiàn-rén		to	MOFA	colleague	express
「	這下（現在）	真的	安心	了。	」		
	<i>zhèxià/xiànzài</i>	<i>zhēnde</i>	<i>ānxīn</i>	<i>le</i>			
	<i>zhèxià xiànzài</i>	really	relieve	CRS			



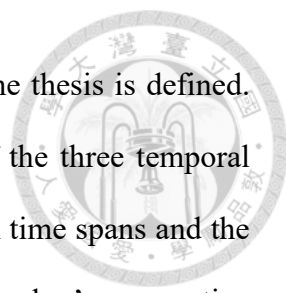
“Seeing the fourth group of expatriates and tourists returned safe and sound at Taoyuan International Airport last night, Chéng Jiàn-rén said to the MOFA colleagues, “Now we can relieve!”

This arouses our curiosity about their overlaps and disparities, and what has contributed to the differences. These questions cannot be simply resolved by examining the syntactic features of the three temporal adverbs, which has been carried out in many Chinese linguistic studies (Chang, 2016; Shen, 2014; Zhao, 2009; Fu, 2016; Zhu, 2018), but has to delve into human cognitions in perceiving these words. In short, the goal of this thesis is to answer the following questions:

- (1) How do *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* compare in terms of their lengths of time?
- (2) In what ways do the time spans of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* correspond to their syntactic and grammatical characteristics?
- (3) How do speaker’s perspectives result in the different construals in the three temporal adverbs?
- (4) In which situations are they interchangeable, and in which situations are they not?

1.2 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is organized as follows. First, Chapter 2 provides a review of the dictionary definitions and previous discussions about *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài*. Second, in Chapter 3, theoretical frameworks related to time in language and Langacker’s Cognitive

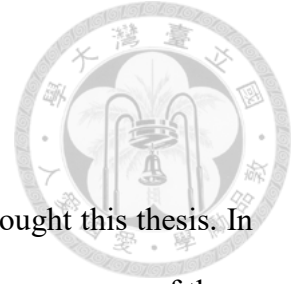


Grammar approaches are introduced, and terminology throughout the thesis is defined. Third, Chapter 4 presents the result of the collocation tendency of the three temporal adverbs with main situations, and discusses the relationship between time spans and the syntactic performance based on the result. Fourth, in Chapter 5, Langacker's perspective and grounding theory is applied to discuss the construal differences among the three temporal adverbs in subjectification and speaker involvement. In addition, Traugott's viewpoint on subjectification, is offered as a complement to the limitations of Langacker's method. Lastly, Chapter 6 concludes the thesis.

1.3 Data Collection and Methodology

The modern Chinese data of this study are mainly extracted from the Sinica and gigaword2all corpus of Chinese Word Sketch Engine (abbr. CWS). These tokens mostly represent written forms of Chinese used in the Taiwan region and partly in other Chinese communities (e.g. China and Singapore), ranging from 1991 to 2004. Since our research target has been narrowed down to the comparison of the adverb uses, those tokens that belong to categories other than adverbs (i.e. nouns, adjectives, etc.) are rooted out. As a result, our data collection consists of 581 tokens of *zhèxià*, 450 tokens of *dāngxià*, and 473 tokens of *xiànzài*. In addition, a part of our study will analyze the subjectification of the three words by examining the diachronic data. For this purpose, we collected ancient Chinese tokens from previous scholars' works and the Center for Chinese Linguistics corpus (abbr. CCL).

The analysis of this thesis is grounded in the methodological frameworks of cognitive linguistics, including verb situation, temporal locations, and approaches of Cognitive Grammar proposed by Langacker. We will discuss these concepts in more detail later in the thesis.



1.4 Working Definition

Several terms and theoretical concepts are explained and applied through this thesis. In order to enhance the clarity of reading, this section provides a concise summary of these terms along with brief definitions, ensuring that the reader can readily access them whenever necessary.

Temporal terms: a general term for all kinds of temporal words/ time words that is not limited to *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài*.

Temporal location: a general concept of using linguistic devices, such as tenses or temporal adverbs, to indicate the position of an event or point in time on a timeline.

Point of speech/ speech time: the time when a token/sentence is uttered.

Point of event/ event time: the time when the event happens.

Point of reference: the time point when an event is viewed.

Time span: the length of time or duration of an event, including punctual and durative.

Punctual: an event that occurs instantly.

Durative: an event that takes a longer time duration to complete.

Situation: it mainly indicates the verb (and some with additional grammatical markers) of a sentence, and describes the state and style that a verb performs in a sentence. We use “**main situation**” to indicate the event or predicate directly specified by the temporal adverbs.

Subjectivity: linguistic expressions that involve the speaker’s internal, subjective experience and often convey his own attitude, evaluation, and judgment toward a proposition.

Subjectification: the process by which the meaning or interpretation of an expression

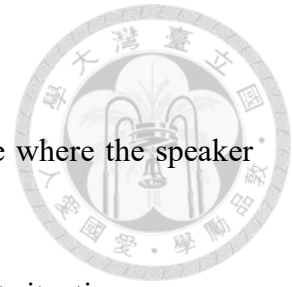
shifts from objective to subjective.

Speech ground: the speaker's vantage point, or the space and time where the speaker locates.

Reference: an event (situation) taken by the speaker to direct a target situation.

Perceived Object: the time range indicated by the temporal adverb. We also switch between the verb forms: profile/refer to/indicate to mean the perceived object.

Perspectivization: it is basically about “position taking” or “perspective shifting” that humans learn what others see from taking others' perspectives. From a linguistics standpoint, perspectivization involves the verbal techniques that the speaker uses to represent perspective in communications. Examples include choosing particular forms of pronouns, case markers, adverbs and modalities to indicate the speaker's role in a discourse.



Chapter 2 An Overall Review of Zhèxià, Dāngxià, and Xiànzài



2.1 Dictionary & Literature of Zhèxià

In this section, we provide an overview of the definitions in several dictionaries and studies that related to *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* so far. The dictionaries we have consulted for this purpose include *Revised Mandarin Chinese Dictionary* 教育部重編國語辭典修訂本 (2014) (abbr. *Revised*), *Dangdai Hanyu Cidian* 當代漢語詞典 (2009) (abbr. *Dangdai*), *Xiandai HanYu ShuangXiang Cidian* 現代漢語雙向詞典 (2001) (abbr. *ShuangXiang*), *TongYiCi Da Cidian* 同義詞大詞典 (2010) (abbr. *TongYiCi*), *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn* 現代漢語詞典 (2016) (abbr. *Xiàndài*), *A Dictionary of Chinese Usage: 8000 Words* 漢語 8000 詞詞典 (2000) (abbr. *8000 Words*), and *Chinese WordNet* (2010) (abbr. CWN).

2.1.1 Dictionary Definitions for Zhèxià

Among the published dictionaries, only a few of them coded the definition of *zhèxià*, only *Revised* and *Dangdai* include this lemma. This may indicate that *zhèxià* has not been considered officially lexicalized. Nevertheless, from the diachronic data and its fixed syntactic features, this study argues that *zhèxià* has a coded meaning and requires further explanation. Regardless of the scarce references about *zhèxià*, we still present its current existing definitions in this section.

First, *Revised* provides two lemmas related to *zhèxià*: one is *zhèxià*, and the other is *zhèxiàzi* (這下子)¹. *Zhèxià* is defined as “now or the time near the present”, while the definition of *zhèxiàzi* is “at this moment, it indicates the current situation where things have developed to this point.” The following two sentences are examples of the two

¹ In this study, *zhèxià* and *zhèxiàzi* are regarded as variants. We do not plan to deal with the differences between them.

lemmas.



(2-1) Zhèxià dictionary example (*Revised Mandarin Chinese Dictionary*, 2014)

這下 可 好 了， 他 一 出 門
Zhèxià kě hǎo le, tā yī chūmén
Zhèxià can good PFV 3SG one out.door
就 被 逮 個 正 著
jiù bèi dǎi ge zhèng zháo
JIU BEI catch CL just achieve

“Great! He was caught as soon as stepping out of the door”

(2-2) Zhèxiàzi dictionary example 1 (*Revised Mandarin Chinese Dictionary*, 2014)

這下子 看 他 怎麼 擺平 這 件 事
zhèxiàzi kàn tā zěnmě bǎipíng zhè jiàn shì
zhèxiàzi look 3SG how settle.flat this CL matter

“Now, let’s see how he is going to settle this matter.”

Dangdai only includes the lemma of *zhèxiàzi*, which is defined as “indicating a recently occurred event”, and is labeled as a pronoun.

(2-3) Zhèxiàzi dictionary example 2 (*Dangdai Hanyu Cidian*, 2009: p.1834)

這下子 可 把 她 忙壞 了
Zhèxiàzi kě bǎ tā máng-huài le
Zhèxiàzi can BA 3SG-FEM busy-bad PFV

“This made her terribly busy.”

The following table summarizes the Chinese definitions and their translations of *zhèxià* and *zhèxiàzi* provided by *Revised* and *Dangdai*.

Table 2-1 The definitions of *zhèxià* and *zhèxiàzi* in Revised and Dangdai dictionaries

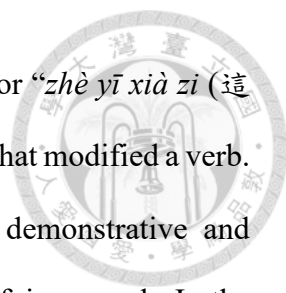
	<i>Revised</i>	<i>Dangdai</i>
Definitions	1. 近期或現在 “now or the time near the present” 2. 就在這時候。指事情演變到目前的局面。 “at this moment, it indicates the current situation where things have developed to this point.”	發生於近期的事件 “indicating an event occurred recently”

According to these definitions and examples, we may see that the explanations provided by the dictionaries are not clear enough. For example, how *zhèxià* is different from *xiànzài*? What are the distinctions between those similar temporal conceptions, such as “now”, “near present”, “at this moment”, “occurred recently”? These questions are related to the core issues of this study.

2.1.2 Previous studies of *Zhèxià*

Until now, only a few journal papers in the field of Chinese linguistics have focused on *zhèxià*, including Li (2007), Jin (2008), Chang (2016), and Zhang, Fang and Zhang (2018).

Li (2007) analyzed numerous contexts where *zhèxià* appears and categorized its usage into two basic functions: time marking function and logical connective function. With regards to the time marking function, Li argued that *zhèxià* can be used to highlight the “present” time or work as a transitional marker in a paragraph to attract the reader’s or addressee’s attention. On the other hand, the logical connective function is mainly used to connect different situations by placing it between two sentences. In addition, the grammaticalization of *zhèxià* was also discussed. Li argued that *zhèxià* originated in Yuan

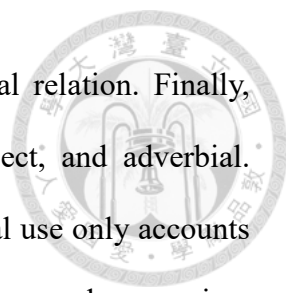


Dynasty and was initially used in the form of “*zhè yī xià* (這一下)” or “*zhè yī xià zi* (這一下子)”. These expressions served as an adverbial or a complement that modified a verb. In the second stage during the Qing Dynasty, *zhèxià* became a demonstrative and functioned anaphorically, referring to an event rather than just modifying a verb. In the third stage, as *zhèxià* occurred more frequently at the beginning of a clause, it became a clause connector, linking two clauses to make the logic of two clauses flow smoothly. It was not until near modern Chinese that *zhèxià* developed as a discourse marker, which could be used to attract the listener/ reader’s attention. Although the grammaticalization only takes up a small portion in Li’s study, we agree with the overall summary that *zhèxià* derives from a “demonstrative + numeral + verbal quantifier” structure (i.e. “*zhè yī xià*”). This provides a foundation for our later discussion on subjectification.

Jin’s (2008) study presented a different viewpoint and challenged Li’s opinion. She argued that the “time marking function” of *zhèxià* actually originates from the “short time” meaning carried by *xià* (下). This semantic feature began to develop in the Tang-Song Dynasty (618-1127 A.D.) with the usage of *yī xià* (一下), which indicates the short duration of an action. Later in Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.), *zhè* and *yī xià* were combined to denote “an action completed instantly” and “the time when an event happens (similar to “*dāngshí* 當時)”” (Jin, 2008).

Chang (2016) explored the syntactic properties, anaphoric and cohesive functions of *zhèxià* in his master's thesis. He found that *zhèxià* can function as an anaphor, referring back to a motion, event, situation, or spoken words in the preceding context. In addition, the author applied Liao’s (1986) model² to analyze the cohesive function of *zhèxià*, and

² Liao (1986) divided the Chinese connectors into two categories: temporal connectors (時間關係連接成分) and logic connectors (邏輯關係連接成分). The temporal connectors are further divided into two subtypes, including successive connecting (序列時間) and sequential connecting (先後時間), and the logic connectors include three: addition (順接), contrast (逆接), and transition (轉接).



concluded that *zhèxià* serves to connect temporal order and logical relation. Finally, Chang identified three syntactic roles for *zhèxià*: adjectival, subject, and adverbial. However, there are some issues with his analysis. First, the adjectival use only accounts for a few tokens according to his data, and thus is not the typical temporal expression. Second, the subject uses he provided should all be categorized as adverbial use. Third, the most common usage of *zhèxià* is the adverbial use, which can be placed before the predicate or at the head of a clause.

Zhang, Fang and Zhang's (2018) study examined the connective functions of *zhèxià* and categorized them into two types: 'narrator-hiding connective' and 'narrator-showing connective.' The former purely describes a series of events without the narrator giving any personal evaluation, while the latter implies the narrator's evaluation, judgment, and speculation and is independent of the main storyline. In addition, the study discussed the characteristics of *zhèxià* in different speech styles and discovered that it is primarily used in written discourse, such as novels, to create a sense of "close distance intersubjectivity." This indicates that when *zhèxià* is stated, the narrator goes beyond the storyline, and interacts with the listeners/readers as if they are in the same space. In other words, the speaker's evaluation implied by *zhèxià* provides information for the listeners/readers beyond a pure description of the event.

We consider Zhang, Fang and Zhang's findings insightful, as they are partially related to subjectivity, which is one of the core topics in our study. However, we also identify some problematic aspects of their arguments. First, the claim that *zhèxià* is mostly used in written discourse in novels but not colloquial discourse (Zhang, Fang and Zhang, 2018) may be limited by their chosen corpus. Moreover, while *zhèxià* does account for numerous tokens in novels, it mostly appears in the characters' dialogues, which weakens their assertion that the colloquial discourse has fewer instances. Secondly, their discussion



can be enriched by taking different discourse types and levels of subjectivity into account.

2.2 Dictionary & Literature of *Dāngxià*

2.2.1 Dictionary Definitions for *Dāngxià*

Dāngxià is mainly defined as “immediately, instantly, and right away” in the dictionaries (*Revised, ShuangXiang, TongYiCi*). Some of them noticed that *dāngxià* implies the sense of “at that moment”, such as *Dangdai* and *TongYiCi*. *TongYiCi* also compares *dāngxià* with *dāngshí*, specifying that *dāngxià* refers to the event that occurred in the past or present time, but *dāngshí* can only indicate something happened in the past.

The CWN contains distinct explanations for *dāngxià*. The first one is “expressing the immediate occurrence of the later event,” which is similar to the words denoting “immediately,” such as *likè* (立刻), *mǎshàng* (馬上). In the following example, the event “Dr. Chen prescribes medicine” followed right after *Měiqí* finished her words.

(2-4) *Dāngxià* dictionary example 1 (CWN)

他	問	美琪	哪裡	不	舒服，	美琪	說完，
<i>tā</i>	<i>wèn</i>	<i>Měiqí</i>	<i>nǎlǐ</i>	<i>bù</i>	<i>shūfú</i> ，	<i>Měiqí</i>	<i>shuō-wán</i> ，
3SG	ask	<i>Měiqí</i>	where	NEG	comfortable	<i>Měiqí</i>	say-finish,
陳	醫師	<u>當下</u>	就	要	開	藥	
<i>Chén</i>	<i>yīshī</i>	<i>dāngxià</i>	<i>jiù</i>	<i>yào</i>	<i>kāi</i>	<i>yào</i>	
Chén	doctor	<i>dāngxià</i>	JIU	have	open	medicine	

“He asked *Měiqí* where she felt uncomfortable. As soon as *Měiqí* finished, Dr. Chen was going to prescribe medicine.”

The second one is “the reference point where the speaker locates”, and a given example reads:

(2-5) *Dāngxià* dictionary example 2 (CWN)

當下 流行 的 果酸換膚 術，

dāngxià liúxíng de guǒsuānhuànfū shù ,
dāngxià popular NOM fruit.acid.change.skin technique
 可以 用 來 治療 青春痘
kěyǐ yòng lái zhìliáo qīngchūndòu
 can use come treat young.pimple



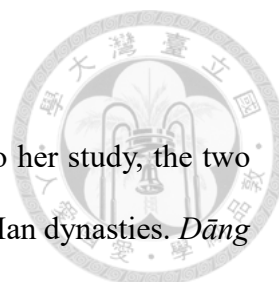
“The recently prevailing chemical peeling surgery can be used to treat pimples.”

Dāngxià in sentence (2-5) refers to the present time so that *xiànzài* is listed as its synonym. However, this explanation can be unclear and indistinguishable from *zhèxià*, since the two both take the time of the speaker as reference point. In this way, the differences between *zhèxià*, *xiànzài* and *dāngxià* require deeper discussions and descriptions.

In summary, Table 2-2 presents the definitions of *dāngxià* provided by multiple dictionaries.

Table 2-2 The definitions of *dāngxià* in dictionaries

	<i>Revised, ShuangXiang, TongYiCi</i>	<i>Dangdai</i>	<i>TongYiCi</i>	CWN
Definitions	即刻、立刻 “immediately, instantly, and right away”	就在那個時刻、立刻 “at that moment”	就在那個時刻、立刻，適用的對象可以是過去或現在某事情發生的時候 “at that moment, which indicates a time in the past or present when an event occurs”	1. 表後述事件緊接著發生。 “expressing the immediate occurrence of the later event” 2. 說話者所在的時間參考點。 “the reference point where the speaker locates”



2.2.2 Previous Studies of *Dāngxià*

Shen (2014) summarized the lexicalization of *dāngxià*. According to her study, the two units *dāng* and *xià* first occurred together as a phrase in the Qin and Han dynasties. *Dāng* was an auxiliary verb denoting “should”, and *xià* was the head verb meaning “to conquer”, “to sow” or “to kneel down”. Later in the Tang Dynasty, the Buddhist scriptures started to code *dāng+xià* as a time-related term, and emerged the meaning of “then or at that time”. *Dāngxià* was lexicalized, developed the adverbial use, and denoted “immediately” in about the Late Tang Dynasty. Then in the Song Dynasty, the lexicalized *dāngxià* was common in genres other than the Buddhist scriptures, such as novels and storytelling scripts (話本). Lastly, *dāngxià* emerged as the meaning of “now or present moment”, referring to the speech time recently in the 21st century. The emergence of this expression is believed to be related to the syntactic position, the similar word formation as “*mùxià* (目下)” and “*yǎnxià* (眼下)” and the fact that the speaker takes the present as the default time (Xia, 2009; Shen, 2014). However, the explanation seems tenuous since the author did not (and still no one) elaborate much on this issue.

Other studies discussed *dāngxià* from syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic aspects. First, the adverbial use of *dāngxià* can appear at the sentence-initial position or be placed before the predicate (Shen, 2014; Fu, 2016; Zhu, 2018), and often collocates with the adverb *jiù* (就), which indicates an event immediately follows another one (Fu, 2016; Zhu, 2018). Zhu (2018) noted that *dāngxià* denotes time sequence, which forms a connection between the descriptions of two events. In addition, *dāngxià* can co-occur with particle *le*, *zhe* and complement QILAI (起來), all of which convey the immediate and connected meaning of *dāngxià*. Second, in the semantic aspect, *dāngxià* is identified to carry “punctual, immediate” meaning. It orients to time in the past, denoting “at that time, that moment” (Shen, 2014; Fu, 2016), and shows an objective tone (Zhu, 2018). Besides, Shen

(2014) noticed that *dāngxià* does not only indicate the past time, but also includes a meaning pointing to “now”, and thus is synonymous with *xiànzài*. This meaning does not emerge until modern Chinese in the 21st century. Third, for the pragmatic aspect, Fu (2016) found that *dāngxià* is largely used in colloquial and literary works. Zhu (2018) counted the distribution of *dāngxià* in different sentence types, and discovered that it mostly appears in declarative sentences; however, it is also used in exclamatory and imperative sentences. For the former, *dāngxià* shows a sudden and strong emotion. As for the latter, *dāngxià* indicates an irrealis state. For example,

(2-6) *Dāngxià* in imperative sentence (Zhu, 2018: p.75)

如	有	未	完善	事宜	，	請	當下
<i>rú</i>	<i>yǒu</i>	<i>wèi</i>	<i>wánshàn</i>	<i>shìyì</i>	,	<i>qǐng</i>	<i>dāngxià</i>
if	have	NEG	perfect	matter,	please	<i>dāngxià</i>	
告知		施工		人員	立即		處理
<i>gàozhī</i>		<i>shīgōng</i>		<i>rényuán</i>	<i>lìjǐ</i>		<i>chùlǐ</i>
tell		construction		staff	immediate		cope

“If there is anything with which you are dissatisfied, please contact the construction staff to solve the problem right away.”

In this example, the speaker proposes an assumed situation, so that *dāngxià* also signifies an imagined time. This usage is dissimilar to the aforementioned meanings and expressions for the background and context and will be further discussed in the later chapter.

2.3 Dictionary & Literature of *Xiànzài*

2.3.1 Dictionary Definitions for *Xiànzài*

Many dictionaries agree with an explanation for *xiànzài*—that is, “this moment, which is the time of speaking, and sometimes includes a short/long period before and after the

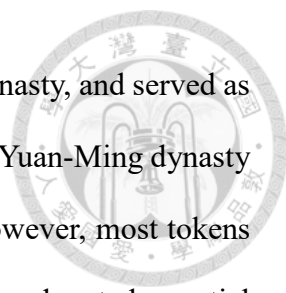
speaking time (but is distinct from the past and the future).” (*Xiàndài, Dangdai, 8000 Words, TongYiCi*) Another definition given by CWN is “the reference point where the speaker locates”. *Revised* only defines it with several synonyms, including “now (*xiànjīn* 現今)”, “currently (*mùqián* 目前)”, this moment (*cǐkè* 此刻)”, etc. The original Chinese definitions sourced from various dictionaries were displayed in Table 2-3.

Table 2-3 The definitions of *xiànzài* in dictionaries

	<i>Revised</i>	<i>Xiàndài, Dangdai, 8000 Words, TongYiCi</i>	CWN
Definitions	現今、目前。 “now, currently”	這個時候，指說話的時候，有時包括說話前後或長或短的一段時間（區別於「過去」、「將來」）。 “this moment, which is the time of speaking, and sometimes includes a short/long period before and after the speaking time (but is distinct from the past and the future)”	說話者所在的時間參考點。 “the reference point where the speaker locates”

2.3.2 Previous Studies of *Xiànzài*


Xiànzài is a combination of morphemes *xiàn* (現) and *zài* (在). According to etymology dictionaries, *xiàn* was originally written as 見, which was a verb and denoted “to see” or “to appear” (Duan, 1808). These meanings later extended as “on hand” and finally developed as a time word, meaning “immediately” or “now”. Besides, the origin of *zài* was also a verb, meaning “to exist” (Duan, 1808). In Hu’s (2006: p.34-35) study, the lexicalization of *xiànzài* is introduced. According to him, the components *xiàn* and *zài*



were first combined in the Buddhist Scriptures in the Eastern Han Dynasty, and served as a verb phrase that did not bear temporal meaning. It was not until the Yuan-Ming dynasty that *xiàn zài* was coded in genres other than Buddhist Scriptures. However, most tokens of *xiàn zài* at this stage were still VP and used with a location, and thus denoted a spatial meaning. Nevertheless, during this period, a few tokens appeared as adjectives, which could be interpreted as “now existing”. This suggests that *xiàn zài* was undergoing “reanalysis” and emerging the temporal meaning. The temporal usage of *xiàn zài* was then frequently used in the later Ming. In Qing Dynasty, *xiànzài* was completely lexicalized as a time word meaning “now”.

Zhao (2009) discussed three kinds of expressions that frequently co-occur with *xiànzài*: synonymous time words, temporal adverbs, and prepositions. First, *xiànzài* is often used with other near synonyms, e.g., *yǎnqián* (眼前), *yǎnxià* (眼下), which all express “present” meaning. Second, *xiànzài* is used to select temporal adverbs: *yīzhí* (一直), which denotes longer duration; *zhànshí* (暫時), which is short in time duration; *yǐjīng* (已經), indicating a motion has happened before the speech time, and the result state still exists at the speech time; *zhèngzài* (正在), indicating a motion is in progress; *jiāng* (將), suggesting something will happen in the near future; *jīngcháng* (經常), expressing the repetitive of a motion during a period of time; *yòu* (又), which denotes a repeated motion at a time point. Accordingly, by choosing different temporal adverbs, *xiànzài* presents different time concepts. Third, the prepositions that are inclined to collocate with *xiànzài* are *cóng* (從) and *dào* (到). *Cóng xiànzài...* (從現在...) and *dào xiànzài...* (到現在...) take *xiànzài* as the start and end point of time respectively. However, it is redundant to place a location preposition *zài* (在) before *xiànzài* to form **zài xiànzài* (*在現在).

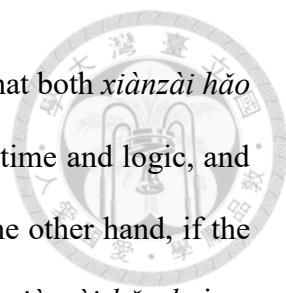
Other studies about *xiànzài* discuss it in terms of its discourse function. Li (2014) argued that *xiànzài* can work as a connector and a discourse marker. As the former



function, *xiànzài* connects two clauses with time order, in which the former clause carries a lexical unit with past time meaning or implies a past experience, such as *guòqù* (過去). As for the discourse marker functions, *xiànzài* has two uses: result marker and procedure transition marker. The result marker function is to indicate a result caused by an event mentioned in the previous clauses. Moreover, the procedure transition marker is used colloquially, which connects a sequence of events and signifies the start of the next one. This use of *xiànzài* resembles the transitional adverbs “*xiàmiàn* (下面)” and “*jiēxiàlá* (接下來)”.

However, Boulin (2017) doubted Li’s argument of *xiànzài* having the discourse function. She conducted a contrastive study on *xiànzài* and English “now” on the basis of written translation corpus. According to the analysis, even though the two words are translations, they are dissimilar in many aspects. Firstly, *now* displays pragmatic value, but *xiànzài* does not. From the author’s explanations, *now* can work as attention attraction, transitional, and argumentative marker, whereas *xiànzài* cannot be a discourse marker since discourse markers are non-referential (Fraser, 1998). Secondly, *now* is intrinsically contrastive, it signals a qualitative contrast between a new state of affairs and a former state of affairs, and thus *now* is usually translated into inchoative verbs (e.g. *biàncéng* 變成) or particle *le* to indicate a change of state. In contrast, *xiànzài* can only perform contrastive when the past or future situation is explicit, since its main function is a situational marker, which relates the event to the situation of utterance or reference. The possible reasons for the divergences are: (1) the grammatical system differences between the two languages—Chinese lacks grammaticized markers for tense; English, on the other hand, lacks aspect markers for inchoative meaning; (2) *xiànzài* is purely deictic, while (3) the temporal deictic usage of *now* is often redundant.

Han (2021) studied the discourse marker use of “*xiànzài hǎo le* (現在好了)”, which



is considered to be similar to “zhèxià hǎo le (这下好了)”. She held that both *xiànzài hǎo le* and *zhèxià hǎo le* connect two closely related clauses in terms of time and logic, and both of them express the speaker’s expectation and complaint. On the other hand, if the context is mainly about the opposite between the past and present, *xiànzài hǎo le* is a better choice than *zhèxià hǎo le*. This is because the denotation of “now” of “*xiànzài*” is more obvious than “*zhèxià*”.

The main section of Han’s thesis is the discussion of the counter-expectation implication of *xiànzài hǎo le*. Firstly, the author argued that *xiànzài hǎo le* must connect two clauses with adversative relation. Also, *xiànzài hǎo le* carries a “specific expectation”, which counteracts the current proposition³. For example,

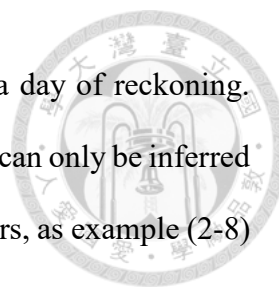
(2-7) *Xiànzài hǎo le* with “specific expectation” (Han, 2021: p.23)

大哥哥	抱怨	那些	不	聽話	的	
dàgēge	bàoyuàn	nàxiē	bù	tīnghuà	de	
big.brother	complain	those	NEG	behave	NOM	
弟弟	們	說：	「我	不是	對	你們
dìdì	men	shuō	wǒ	bùshì	duì	nǐmen
young.brother	PL	say	1SG	NEG	to	2PL
不	可	傷害	那	孩子	嗎？	可是
bù	kě	shānghài	nà	háizi	ma	kěshì
NEG	can	hurt	that	kid	Q	but
我	的	話，	現在	好了，	我們	該
wǒ	de	huà	xiànzàihǎole	wǒmen	gāi	zāo
1SG	GEN	word	xiànzàihǎole	1PL	should	befall
						karma
						CRS

“The older brother complained to his brother, and said, “I told you, you should not hurt that kid, but you didn’t listen. Now, there must be a day of reckoning.”

In this example, *xiànzài hǎo le* implies the speaker’s expectation of “not to hurt the kid”,

³ According to a citation of the study, counter-expectation emerges when the proposition of the expectation contradicts the current proposition (Qiang, 2020; Han, 2021).



which is opposite to the truth (the kid was hurt), so there must be a day of reckoning. Secondly, sometimes the “specific expectation” within *xiànzài hǎo le* can only be inferred by the hearer when there is a common ground between the interlocutors, as example (2-8) shows.

(2-8) *Xiànzài hǎo le* with a common ground expectation (Han, 2021: p. 25)

大半夜	的	開	一	罐	咖啡	喝，
dàbànyè	de	kāi	yī	guàn	kāfēi	hē
middle.of.the night	NOM	open	one	CL	coffee	drink
現在好了，	睡	不	著	了	吧。	
<i>Xiànzài-hǎo-le</i>	<i>shuì</i>	<i>bù</i>	<i>zhào</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>ba</i>	
<i>xiànzài-hǎo-le</i>	sleep	NEG	RVC	CRS	PT	

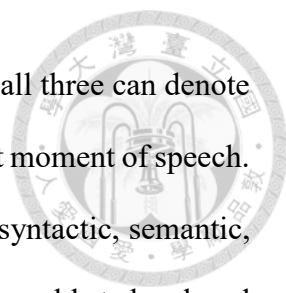
“Drink a can of coffee in the middle of the night. See, you can’t sleep now.”

This example is based on the common ground of “coffee refreshes a person” thus, the expectation that the speaker was not supposed to drink coffee in the middle of the night can be inferred. Thirdly, the author noted that the “specific expectation” of *xiànzài hǎo le* is always speaker-oriented, which means it is always expressed from the speaker’s perspective, even though the agent and the patient of the result may be someone else.

From the review of the previous studies, we can draw some conclusions: (1) *xiànzài* is basically agreed to indicate the speech time, whether it denotes long or short in duration; (2) its semantic change is in accordance with spatial to temporal metaphor; (3) The collocations of *xiànzài* reflects the human cognition about the present time; (4) Whether *xiànzài* has discourse function is still a controversial issue.

2.4 Chapter Summary and Research Gaps

This chapter provides an overview of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* by reviewing the explanations from dictionaries and related studies. It is noticed that there are some



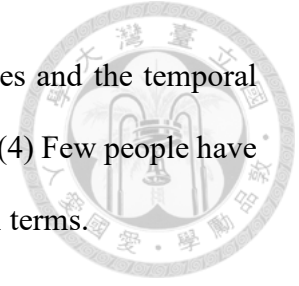
overlaps in meaning among the three temporal adverbs. Specifically, all three can denote a specific point in time as well as a time range that includes the present moment of speech. In addition, we also see the similarities and differences among their syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties through previous studies. For example, they are able to be placed at the beginning of sentences and before predicates; some scholars argued that they all show connective functions in discourse. On the other hand, they differ in the grammatical markers they are able to take. However, some problems and research gaps can be addressed. Firstly, the definitions offered by the dictionaries are overly simplistic and imprecise, and even do not match the examples. For instance, the definition of *zhèxiàzi* is “at this moment, which implies an event has developed into a state” (see p.7). However, upon reexamining example (2-2, p.7), it becomes apparent that this explanation does not accurately correspond to the provided example. For clarity, the example (2-2) will be reiterated here.

(2-2) *Zhèxiàzi* dictionary example (Revised Mandarin Chinese Dictionary, 2014)

這下子 看他 怎麼 擺平 這件事
“Now, let’s see how he is going to settle this matter.”

In this example, *zhèxiàzi* does not convey any sense of change or reflect the state of an event. Additionally, few of the dictionaries mentioned their functions for use in discourse. Secondly, we discerned four problems from the previous studies: (1) Some studies conducted comparisons on the temporal synonyms, such as “now” type (*xiànzài* with *mùqián* 目前, *dāngxià*, and *yǎnxià* 眼下); “__ xià” type (*yǎnxià* 眼下, *shíxià* 時下, *dāngxià* 當下), but no one has compared the synonyms of *zhèxià*. (2) When studying Chinese lexical items, most scholars focus on discussing the traditional aspects, namely, the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties. However, such discussions may not be

profound enough. (3) The relation between these syntactic properties and the temporal durations of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* has not yet been specified. (4) Few people have noticed the concept of the speaker's perspective in Chinese temporal terms.



Chapter 3 Theoretical Frameworks



3.1 Concepts Related to Time

3.1.1 Temporal Location

In 1947, Hans Reichenbach proposed the three time-related terms: point of speech, point of event, and point of reference to distinguish English tenses by recognizing the position of time on a timeline. This has become a classic standard for describing temporal concepts in linguistic expressions. The **point of speech** is the time when a token is uttered. The **point of event** is the time when the event happens. The **point of reference** is the time point when an event is viewed. These three time points are also known as speech time, event time, and reference time.

The three basic tenses in English—simple past, simple present, and simple future, can be distinguished by the relationship between the point of event and the point of speech. “Event before the point of speech” denotes simple past, “Event aligning with the point of speech” denotes simple present, and “Event after the point of speech” denotes simple future. The figures below are the illustrations of the three tenses, within which the point of speech, point of event and point of reference are represented as uppercase S, E, and R respectively, and R coincides with E.

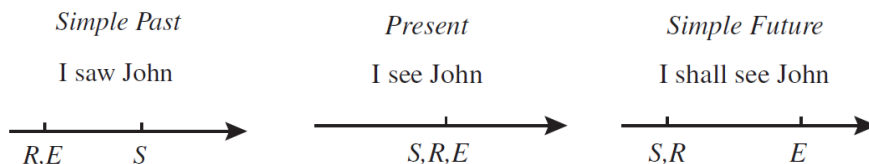
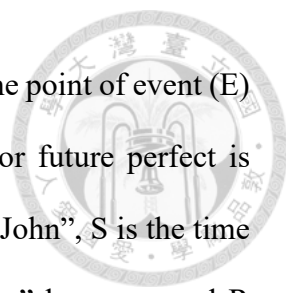


Figure 3.1 English simple tenses represented by time points (Reichenbach, 1947: p.72)

The function of the point of reference (R) is used for identifying the perfect aspects.



In other words, perfect aspects concern mainly the relation between the point of event (E) and the point of reference (R). And whether it is past or present or future perfect is determined by the point of speech (S). In the example of “I had seen John”, S is the time when the speaker says this sentence, E is when the event “see John” happens, and R indicates a past time when the speaker has done the action “see John”. Similarly, in present perfect and future perfect, E also precedes R as past perfect, but is different in the position related to S. The following three diagrams depict the relations between E, R and S of the perfect aspects.

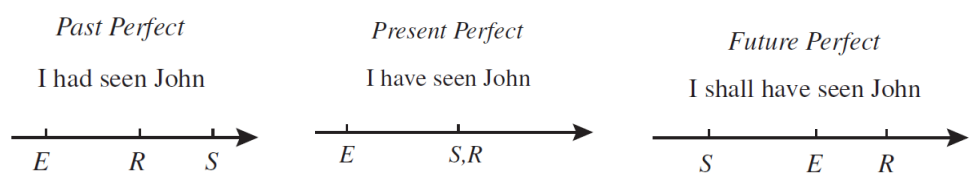


Figure 3.2 English perfect tenses represented by time points (Reichenbach, 1947: p.72)

The R of an individual sentence as the one given above has no definite position. However, in a discourse with more information, e.g. a story, R can be determined by the context. For example, in the sentence “I had mailed the letter when John told me the news”, the R is the past event of John’s telling the news, and the main event ‘I mail the letter’ occurred before John told me the news, so that it is in past perfect (Lin, 2013: p.43).

Different representations of temporal locations were proposed by scholars for dissimilar purposes. For example, Comrie (1985: p.2) specified the “present moment” as 0 on the timeline, which is an absolute time point and a reference for the past and the future (Figure 3.3).

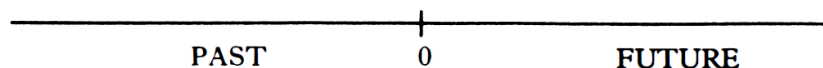


Figure 3.3 Comrie's representation of time (Comrie, 1985: p.2)



3.1.2 Time Span

Apart from temporal locations, time can also be conceptualized through its internal contour, specifically as punctual or durative. These terms, corresponding to “time point” and “time extension” in Reichenbach's terminology (although we adopt Comrie's terminology in this study), are collectively referred to as “time span” (Klein, 1994: p.62). According to Comrie, an event that occurs instantly is represented as a **punctual**, e.g. *sneeze*, *arrive*, and *see*, etc. The examples of the above time location terms are all expressed in time points. On the other hand, an event carrying longer time durations are called **durative**, e.g. continuous and repetitive, and presented as a stretch of line on the timeline (Reichenbach, 1947: p.73; Comrie, 1985: p.6; Klein, 1994: p.62; Saeed, 1997: p.111).

The following diagram provided by Comrie gives a sum for this section. First, situations A, B, and C are punctual, and situations D, E, F, G, H, and I are durative. Second, situations that are marked below the timeline express the overlaps, e.g. D and E cover the same time stretch, meaning the two situations occur simultaneously. In addition, 0 represents the present moment, and thus situations locate at the left are in the past; those at the right are in the future. Among them, situation G covers the present moment 0, which indicates currently ongoing (Comrie, 1985: p.6).

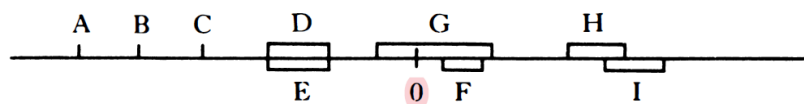


Figure 3.4 Representation of punctual and durative situations on timeline



3.2 Hu & Fan's (1995) situation classification system

Verb categorization has been a complex and fascinating issue in the linguistic field, and many scholars have attempted to classify verbs into systems according to different standards (Hu & Fan, 1995: p.119). One way to classify them is through the “situation.” Situation describes the state and style that a verb performs in a sentence. For example, it may show a static or dynamic state, continuous or instant style, and result-including sense (Hu & Fan, 1995: p.167).

The classification adopted for the analysis of this research is Hu & Fan's system (1995). The reasons we reject Vendler's schemata (1957), which is much more well-acclaimed, to be the categorization standard for our research are: (1) Vendler's system is too broad and general, and is not able to present rich situation performances in Chinese. For example, “*dòng qǐ lái* (動起來)” could be an activity or achievement; however, with Hu & Fan's system, it is clearly a result-instant situation for its verb-complement structure. (2) The “accomplishment” class gives less information, since our goal is to identify the durations and the focuses of the temporal words. (3) Hu & Fan's system presents the features of the situations (e.g., whether they are instant or continuous), which is advantageous for the punctual-durative classification. (4) Their system is fundamentally designed for Chinese and hence can describe our data more precisely. Even though no perfect system has been established for verb categorization, we contend that Hu & Fan is so far the most suitable for this study.

Hu & Fan considered that situations should be divided into three levels (from left to right), as Figure 4.1 presents:

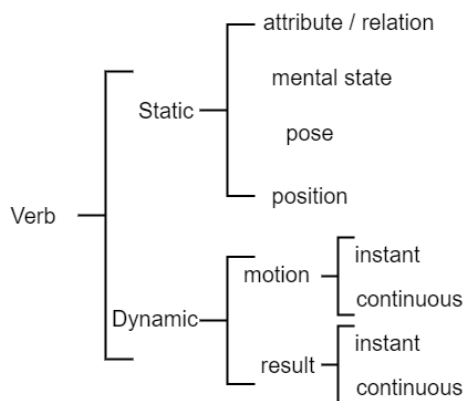


Figure 3.5 Chinese Situation System (Hu & Fan, 1995)

The first level includes static and dynamic classes, which can be distinguished by adding particles “*le* 了” and “*zhe* 著”. Verbs that can be followed by the two particles belong to the dynamic class, while those that cannot (in general) are static verbs.

The second level is subcategories of static and dynamic classes. In the static class are attribute/relation, mental state, pose, and position verbs. First, attribute/relation contains verbs that are pure static, such as “*shì* 是”, “*xìng* 姓”, “*děngyú* 等於”, “*biāozhì zhe* 標誌著”, etc.; predicative adjectives or state verbs are also subsumed into attribute/relation category. Second, mental state verbs are not able to take grammatical markers in general, but a few verbs can take *le* in a specific context, denoting “getting into the state.” For example, “*xiāngxìn le* 相信了” indicates a person becomes “believe in” from the state of “not believe.” Third, examples of pose verbs are “*zhàn* 站”, “*zuò* 坐”, “*tǎng* 躺”, “*zhù* 住”, etc. they have both static and dynamic properties, but have stronger static sense. Verbs followed by complements, i.e., “*qǐlái* 起來”, “*xiàqù* 下去”, show the dynamic feature, while those that carry the particle *zhe* or *le* suggest static and continuous meaning. Fourth, position verbs, such as “*ná* 拿”, “*guà* 掛”, “*diào* 掉”, can indicate static or dynamic as well. Attaching the particle *zhe* to position verbs presents static meaning, which is also known as an “existential sentence.” On the other hand, using

the preposition “*zài* 在” before or “*dào* 到” after position verbs convey dynamic meaning, and the results caused by the verbs will still be continuing after the actions are done. However, despite the static characteristics, the grammatical performances and temporal properties of pose and position verbs actually resemble motion-continuous. In addition, the two types only account for a small proportion in our tokens. Hence, we classify these two types into the **motion-continuous situation**.

The second level of the dynamic class consists of motion and result subcategories. The motion verb is purely dynamic, which does not reflect the result, but if a motion verb takes a complement, it becomes a result situation. For example, in the example (3-1) motion verb *zǒu* 走 is attached with a complement *jìn* 進, indicating the result state is inside a location.

(3-1) Motion verb with a complement (Hu & Fan, 1995: p.172)

我們 走進 學校。
wǒmen zǒu-jìn xuéxiào.
1PL walk-in school.
“We walk in the school.”

The motion and result categories are both further divided into the third level—instant and continuous classes. First, the motion-instant class contains verbs with **punctual** time span, such as “*tī* 踢”, “*kǎn* 砍”, “*késòu* 咳嗽”, etc. Besides, motion-instant verbs can take the particle *zhe*, denoting the repeating and longer duration of the motion. The second branch is the motion-continuous class, in which the verbs carry **durative** time span, occupying a period of the timeline. In addition, the motion-instant verbs carry *zhe* denoting repetition, while motion-continuous verbs with *zhe* show the processing of the motion; both suggest a longer duration of the motion, and can be subsumed into durative. The following two examples show the difference between the repetitive motion-instant



and motion-continuous verbs with *zhe*.

(3-2) Motion-instant verb with *zhe* (Hu & Fan, 1995: p.173)

小張 踢 著 球。

Xiǎozhāng tī zhe qiú.

Xiǎozhāng kick DAM ball.

“Xiǎozhāng is kicking a ball.”

(3-3) Motion-continuous verbs with *zhe* (Hu & Fan, 1995: p.173)

小張 看 著 書。

Xiǎozhāng kàn zhe shū.

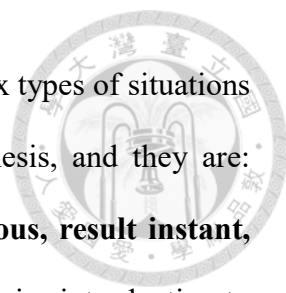
Xiǎozhāng read DAM book.

“Xiǎozhāng is reading a book.”

The third class is the result-instant verb. The feature of this class is that the result occurs instantly, such as “*sǐ* 死”, “*xǐng* 醒”, “*bàozhà* 爆炸”. The opposite class is the result-continuous. The verbs of this class denote a process before achieving the result. For example, “*biàn* 變”, “*zhǎngdà* 長大”, etc. Although the two classes of the result situations have slight differences, they are both **punctual** as the result achieved.

The introduction above highlights that certain grammatical markers can alter the situation class of a verb from its original classification. However, due to the richness of the adjuncts and attaching markers in Mandarin Chinese, only a limited number of examples can be provided in this section. First, the preposition *zài* and particle *zhe* cause the verbs to become dynamic, continuous situation, and durative time span. Second, the use of *le* turn the situation into a motion or result type and punctual time span. Third, attaching complements, such as “*dào*”, “*qílái*”, “*xiàqù*”, etc. to the verbs restrain them as motion or result and punctual situation.

Chapter 4 will be applying this classification system to the analysis of the situations



collocating with the temporal adverbs. Table (3-1) summarizes the six types of situations which will be employed for the later sentence analysis in this thesis, and they are: **attribute/relation**, **mental state**, **motion instant**, **motion continuous**, **result instant**, and **result continuous**. The right column of the table provides a concise introduction to the categorization criteria for each type, accompanied by illustrative examples.

Table 3-1 classification criteria for situations and illustrative examples for each category

Situation types		Criteria and examples
Situation	Static	Attribute/ relation Pure static verbs and adjectives. <i>shì</i> (是: is) 、 <i>děngyú</i> (等於: equal) 、 <i>biāozhì zhe</i> (標誌著: mark) 、 <i>ānxīn</i> (安心: relieved) 、 <i>gāoxìng</i> (高興: happy)
		Mental state Psychological verbs. <i>zhīdào</i> (知道: know) 、 <i>xiàngxìn</i> (相信: believe) 、 <i>juéde</i> (覺得: feel) 、 <i>míngbái</i> (明白: realize) 、 <i>pà</i> (怕: afraid)
	Dynamic	Motion instant Verbs with punctual time span. <i>tī</i> (踢: kick) 、 <i>kǎn</i> (砍: chop) 、 <i>pèng</i> (碰: touch) 、 <i>késòu</i> (咳嗽: cough)
		Motion continuous Verbs with durative time span; verbs with “zhèngzài”, “zhe”. <i>kàn</i> (看: see) 、 <i>chī</i> (吃: eat) 、 <i>xǐzǎo</i> (洗澡: bath) 、 <i>zhàn</i> (站: stand) 、 <i>zuò</i> (坐: sit) 、 <i>ná</i> (拿: take) 、 <i>guà</i> (掛: hang)
		Result instant Verbs with a result occurring instantly.

			<i>sǐ</i> (死: die) 、 <i>xǐng</i> (醒: wake) 、 <i>jiàn</i> (見: see) 、 <i>bàozhà</i> (爆炸: explode)
		Result continuous	Verbs with a process before a result occurs, usually take a complement. <i>biànhuà</i> (變化: change) 、 <i>zhǎngdà</i> 長大 、 <i>zǒujìn</i> (走進: walk in) 、 <i>pǎodào</i> (跑到: run to)

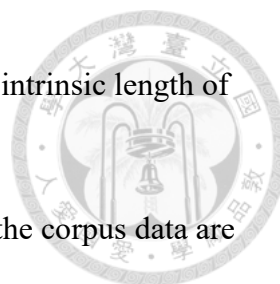
In addition, given the focus of our research on the adverb usage of these temporal terms, those belonging to other grammatical classes (i.e. noun or adjective) will be excluded at this point.

The purpose of analyzing the situations which collocate with our target words is to identify their innate contours and the part of the situation they tend to profile. As Zhang (2004: p.173, 185) noted, temporal adverbs restrict the tenses and aspects of the verbs or situations. For example, a durative temporal adverb attracts a homogeneous situation lacking a change and maintaining the same state for a period of time; a punctual adverb takes one that is heterogeneous and bears a change (which is completed instantly) in the state. For example, attribute situations are inclined to follow durative temporal adverbs,

(3-4) Temporal adverb takes attribute situation (Zhang, 2004)

在 母親 眼裡， 我 永遠 是 孩子
zài mǔqīn yǎn-lǐ , wǒ yǒngyuǎn shì háizi
At mother eye-in 1SG always C/F child.
“In Mother’s eyes, I’m always a child.”

In example (3-4), the copula *shì* is an attribute situation and follows a durative adverb *yǒngyuǎn* (永遠: forever) to indicate a long-lasting state.



Therefore, the scrutiny of the situations may give us a clue about the intrinsic length of these temporal adverbs.

The analysis procedure comprises two sequential steps. Firstly, the corpus data are categorized according to the situations following the temporal adverbs based on Hu & Fan's system. For example,

(3-5) *Zhèxià*-Know: *zhèxià* with mental state situation

這下	我	明白	了。
<i>zhèxià</i>	<i>wǒ</i>	<i>míngbái</i>	<i>le</i>
<i>zhèxià</i>	1SG	<u>realize</u>	le

In example (3-5), the main situation follows *zhèxià* is *míngbái* (明白: realize), which pertains to the subject's mental state. Consequently, this situation is classified as belonging to the mental state category. Secondly, after completing the categorization, the number and proportion of the situations that collocate with each temporal adverb are calculated in order to see their collocation tendency.

3.3 Langacker—Construal

In Cognitive Grammar (2008), Langacker held that an expression does not merely involve the definition and meaning, but also relate to the way how the content is being construed. He compared our construal and perception of an expression to “visual metaphors”, since they usually include which angle we stand to view it, how closely we examine it, which part we pay most attention to, and what we choose to look at, etc. The terms he used to describe these phenomena are: **focusing**, **prominence**, **perspective**, and **grounding** (Langacker, 2008: p.55).



3.3.1 Focusing

Focusing is fundamentally about **selection**. Due to the limitation of human perception, linguistic expressions guide our attention to a particular portion of a content. Within this portion, focusing discusses the degree of centrality, and associates with the following important concepts: **foreground**, **background**, and **scope**.

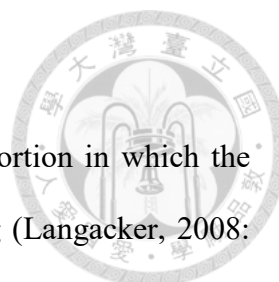
3.3.1.1 Foreground and Background

An expression prompts a certain **background** that has a loose, but essential relation with our understanding of its conception. On the contrary, a **foreground** is the target of that expression, or the central part standing out against the background elements. Various aspects of linguistic performances manifest the foreground and background notion. An example provided by Langacker is a narration, in which the descriptions of the characters and situations serve as the background, and a series of events are placed upon the foreground stage (Langacker, 2008: p.58). Another instance is a communicative discourse as the sentences below:

(3-6) (Langacker, 2008: p.59)

- (1) *I think* Victoria would make a good candidate.
- (2) I definitely anticipate that Victoria would make a good candidate.

The (3-6-1) utterance shows that the speaker's main topic is "Victoria would make a good candidate", and thus serves as the foreground, while the phonologically lower pitch part "I think" stays in the background. However, in example (3-6-22) the main predicate of the speaker "anticipate" is described in fuller detail, it is brought into the foreground (Langacker, 2008: p.59).



3.3.1.2 Scope

Scope stands for the “coverage” of an expression, it denotes the portion in which the expression actually evokes and utilizes as the basis for its meaning (Langacker, 2008: p.62). Note that a scope is always bounded, that is, since a human has “restricted viewing frame,” an expression can only encompass a limited range of content at a time. For example, the word *cousin* evokes a small part of an individual’s kinship relationship and needs not the unlimited extension of the network. When scope is viewed with foreground and background arrangement, we have **maximal scope** and **immediate scope** distinction. The former represents the background, which denotes the full extent of the coverage, while the latter is the foreground that accentuates the portion directly relevant to a particular purpose. An illustration is the whole-part relation of body parts. For example, an *elbow* and a *hand* both prompt the conceptions of ARM and BODY. ARM is the most directly relevant part for *elbow* and *hand*, and therefore serves as their immediate scope. On the contrary, BODY has indirect relation with the two, and thus is the maximal scope. This form conceptual hierarchies in the scope of the body parts, i.e. body > arm > elbow/hand.

Langacker did not confine the scope conception to only whole-part relation, but also applied it to contrast the verb aspects, such as a bounded event and the progressive correspondence (e.g. examine vs examining). The following provided diagrams (Figure 3.6) illustrate the verb events viewed from different scopes. Diagram (a) depicts the verb in a simple form. Since the full bounded event designated by the verb is the focus in this use, it is put onstage in the scope where the maximal and immediate scope are not distinguished. Diagram (b), opposite to (a), manifests that in a progressive aspect, in which we “zoom in” to a specific temporal scope (namely, immediate scope), excluding the boundaries of the event; however, the entire bounded event is still in the maximal



scope. The boldfaces in both diagrams are the prominent parts to which we will pay attention in the next section (Langacker, 2008: p.65).

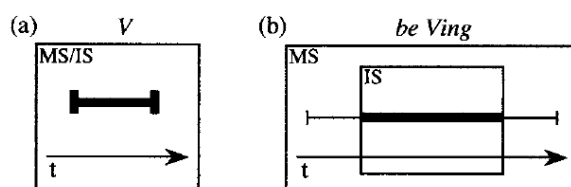


Figure 3.6 Scope representations of different verb aspects

3.3.2 Prominence: Profiling

Prominence (or salience) discusses further specific facets in linguistic composition than focusing, such as concrete versus abstract and explicit versus implicit. One of the conceptions that Langacker created to describe prominence is **profiling**. The profile of an expression stands out as the specific focus of attention within its immediate scope. Considering the previous body-part example, both *elbow* and *hand* actually evoke the same immediate scope (i.e. ARM), but profile distinct elements of the ARM. Therefore, profiling and immediate scope are disparate conceptions, although they might be hard to distinguish sometimes. In order to be more specific, we provide the morphological composition of body parts in Chinese for the exposition of profiling and immediate scope. *Shǒu* (手) is a general term indicating any parts of the arm and hand in Chinese. If one wants to be more precise, a morpheme denoting a specific part will be attached to *shǒu*, e.g. *shǒubì* (手臂: arm), *shǒuzhǒu* (手肘: elbow), *shǒuzhǎng* (手掌: hand), *shǒuzhǐ* (手指: finger), to name but a few. Since the specific terms are composed of a repetitive morpheme *shǒu* with an additional morpheme, it is explicit that *shǒu* represents the immediate scope, and that the second morphemes profile particular parts in the immediate scope. In the Chinese case, Langacker's notions perfectly match its linguistic formation.

Apart from profiling a thing or an object, an expression can also profile a relationship. This includes verb performances designated by the grammatical forms, such as the verb-progressive example mentioned in the last section. Another example differentiates the verb synonyms, such as the lexemes *come* and *arrive*. Both verbs evoke a scope including a moving object, time, path and an end location; however, *come* profiles the full motion event, while *arrive* highlights only the portion in which the object reaches the goal. Figure 3.7 presents the schemas of the two verbs.

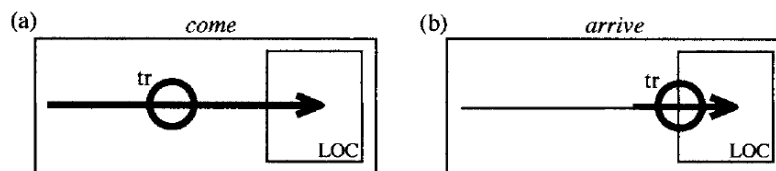


Figure 3.7 Cognitive schema of come and arrive

Additionally, profiling usually denotes metonymy and polysemy with “a shift in profile.” Taking *come* again as an example, it may convey different senses as example (3-7) shows:

(3-7) (Langacker, 2008: p.70)

- (a) They came all the way from Los Angeles.
- (b) He came at precisely 7:45 p.m.

Come in sentence (3-7a) profiles the full event moving through the path, as diagram (a) depicts. Sentence (3-7b), however, it only profiles the segment of arriving at the destination, making it similar to the sense of *arrive*. It has been pointed out that the shift in profile results not merely from the verb per se, but also from other elements co-occurring with the verb. To be more specific, adverbials in the two sentences: *all the*



way from Los Angeles and at precisely 7:45 p.m. affect the shift of sense in *come* (Lin, 2013: p.53).

3.3.3 Perspective & Grounding

Perspective is the **viewing arrangement**, which is overall about relationship between the viewers and the situation being viewed. There is some preliminary knowledge in Langacker's conception of perspective. The first is **conceptualizers or viewers**, namely, the speaker and hearer. The second is the situation being viewed, or the **object**. The third is **vantage point** (abbr. VP), which represents the actual location of the viewer (speaker or hearer). Langacker used the temporal example *next year* to demonstrate these three elements:

(3-8) (Langacker, 2008: p.76)

- (a) *Next year* will be full of surprises.
- (b) Joe believed that *next year* would be full of surprises.

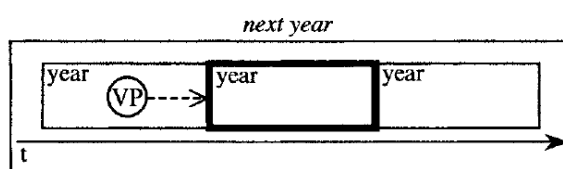
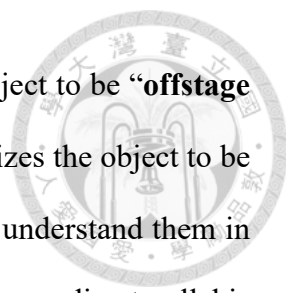


Figure 3.8 Cognitive schema of next year

In Figure 3.8, whether it is sentence (a) or (b) in example (3-8), “next year” evokes a scope of a series of years, with a profiled year next to the one where the VP is positioned. The VP here represents different viewers in the two sentences: the speaker's point of speech for (a) and the time of Joe's belief for (b); whichever the VP stands for, it stays in the same year that directs the viewer's sight to the year in the future.

A significant aspect related to perspective known in construal is **subjectivity** vs



objectivity. Subjectivity describes the viewing perception of the subject to be “**offstage** locus” and is “itself not perceived”. In contrast, objectivity characterizes the object to be “**onstage** focus of attention”, which does not engage in viewing. To understand them in a simpler way, imagine the example of watching a play. The viewer directs all his attention to the object onstage, but is hardly aware of oneself, while the object receives attention from the viewer, and is explicitly mentioned. In sum, an objectively construed entity is more prominent than that construed subjectively.

The linguistic expressions present the difference of subjectivity and objectivity regarding **mental scanning**, as shown in the following examples of *across*.

(3-9) (Langacker, 2002: p.21)

- (a) Mulroney jumped across the table.
- (b) Mulroney was sitting across the table.

The *across* in the two sentences conveys dissimilar senses with respect to the visual perceptions. Langacker (2002) illustrated with two slightly different figures:

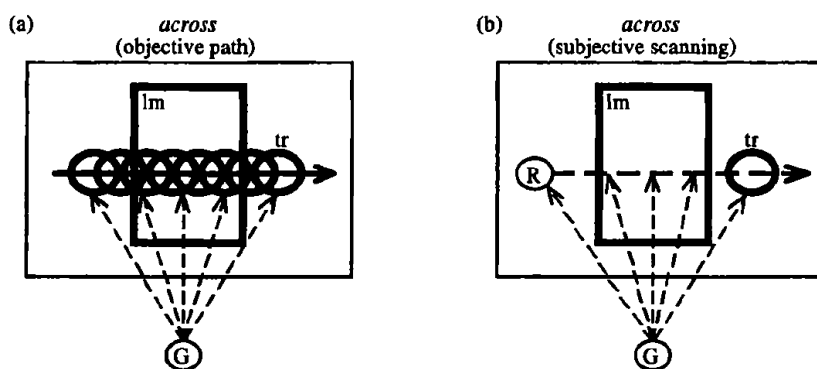
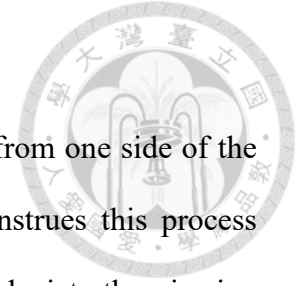


Figure 3.9 Objective and subjective construal⁴

⁴ There are some elements in the figure we did not introduced previously. The “lm” stands for landmark; “tr” stands for trajector; “R” stands for referent; “G” stands for ground, which will be discussed in the next section.



In Figure 3.9, (a) depicts a trajector moving through a spatial path from one side of the landmark object to the other, and the speaker in sentence (a) construes this process objectively from the G (stands for “ground”) position. Figure (b) depicts the viewing arrangement of sentence (b). The dashed arrow in the middle of the figure does not represent a real motion or path, and the trajector’s position is static relative to the landmark (lm). Here, the viewer takes a reference point in the space and indicates the trajector’s position relative to the reference point, where there is a similar hypothetical path between the two points being traced mentally by the viewer.

The above examples and figures manifest that subjectivity involves more abstract, metaphoric, and mental implications vis-à-vis objectivity. From the diachronic point of view, two *across* also suggest a semantic shift, where objective meaning underwent “subjectification”, and emerged the subjective construal.

Another concept related to perspective in Langacker’s theory is “**grounding**”. It refers to the way in which expressions interact with the speech event, the participants involved, and the time and place of speaking.

First of all, the term **ground**, by definition, is the speech event—it is the time and place and the immediate circumstances where the interlocutors (the speaker and hearer) interact.

Grounding is that the speaker uses specific linguistic elements (i.e. **grounding elements**, such as articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, time words, etc.) to direct the hearer’s attention to the intended discourse referent vis-à-vis the ground, so as to ensure that their communication is relevant and appropriate to the situation at hand. In addition, making use of **grounding elements** is to select a particular **instance** from a general **type**, and transforming a general concept into a specific one. For example, *girl like boy* (Langacker, 2008: p.265) is an expression without grounding, all three words indicate types of things.



On the contrary, in *the girl likes this boy*, the expression is specified with the use of article *the*, third-person suffix *-s*, and demonstrative *this* in order to direct the hearer's attention to particular instances in the current discourse context.

The grounding elements frequently used in English include demonstratives, articles, quantifiers, and deictic expressions, tense markers, etc. The following figures in Figure 3.10 extracted from Langacker 1990's work depict the simplest three kinds of expressions related to the ground. First, figure (a) represents the isolated common noun and verbs (e.g. lamp, tree, day, twist, die). These words are not specified by grounding elements, namely that the viewer(s) has little relation with the object (the expression per se), so that he/she is located in the entirely offstage position. Second, figure (b) depicts deictic expressions such as *yesterday*, *tomorrow*, and *last year*. These usages take the speaker as the implicated referent, and designate a temporal position relative to the speaker. Thus, the ground is diagrammed unprofiled in the MS (maximal scope) region. Third, figure (c) presents another type of deictic expressions such as *I*, *you*, *here*, and *now*. These expressions focus on the position or time of the viewer him/herself, and thus the ground is at the center of the IS (immediate scope) region and profiled.

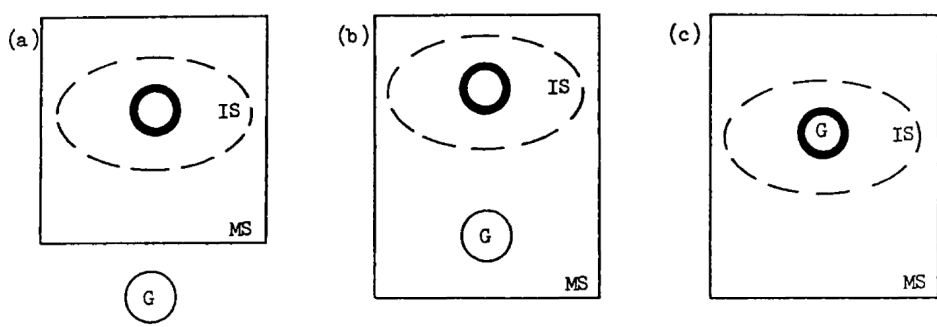
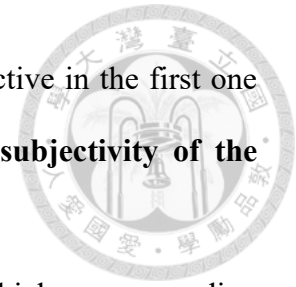


Figure 3.10 Expressions related to the ground

The similarity between these three figures suggests that these linguistic expressions

are associated with subjectivity. **The construal of G** is most subjective in the first one and more objective in the third. In other words, **the degree of subjectivity of the expression increases** from (a) to (c).



In Chinese, aspect markers like *le* and *guò*, and time adverbials are grounding element that profiles the time concepts in Chinese (Ren, 2020). According to this perspective, the temporal adverbs *zhèxià*, *xiànzài*, and *dāngxià* must also relate to grounding.

Since grounding, to put it in a simpler way, is about the object perceived, perspectives, and background information, it is important for us not to merely duplicate Langacker's schema, but to provide information that fits the analysis of our research topic. Hence, we make use of the terms in Langacker's grounding system and integrate the aforementioned concepts of construal and temporal location to define the terminology for our later analysis. The following are the terms which will be used analyze our corpus data:

- (1) **Speech ground**: the space and time where the speaker locates, which can be either offstage or onstage. It also equals the speaker's vantage point.
- (2) **Reference**: an event (situation) taken by the speaker to direct the target (i.e. perceived object)
- (3) **Perceived Object**: the time range indicated by temporal adverb, which is usually time of the event or predicate directly specified by temporal adverb. We also switch between the verb forms: profile/refer to/indicate to mean the perceived object.

An example presented below is to demonstrate the application of these terms in the process of analysis.



(3-10) Greedy

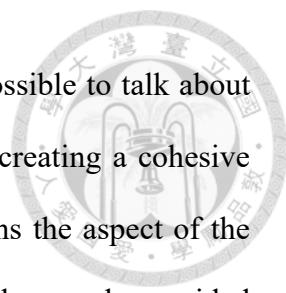
[當 貪心 一起 我們 就 露出 餓鬼相]reference ,
dāng tānxīn yī qǐ wǒmen jiù lùchū èguǐxiàng
 when greedy one occur 1PL JIU show hungry.ghost.appearance
 當下 [就 墮入 餓鬼道]perceived object ,
dāngxià jiù duò-rù èguǐdào
dāngxià JIU fall.into hungry.ghost.path
 不 是 死 後 才 墮入 。
bù shì sǐ hòu cái duòrù.
 NEG C/F die after CAI fall.into.

“When greediness occurs to us, we will show the hungry-ghost appearance, and fall into the hungry-ghost path at that time, but not after we die.

In example (3-10), the time range that mainly indicated by *dāngxià* is the situation *jiù duò-rù èguǐdào*: “fall into the hungry-ghost path”, and is thereby regarded as a **perceived object**. The preceding clause, which states *dāng tānxīn yī qǐ wǒmen jiù lùchū èguǐxiàng*: “when greediness occurs to us”, functions as a **reference** to target the main situation. The **speech ground** is not explicitly presented in the surface structure but is determined based on the speaker's perspective, which is implied by the speaking mode. Example (3-10) describes a hypothetical situation, which is a state that departs from the speaker’s temporal and spatial context. Therefore, the speech ground of this example situated in the offstage region.

3.4 Traugott: Subjectivity and Subjectification

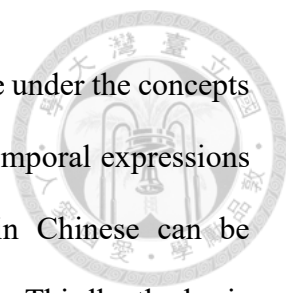
“Subjectification” is also a main focus of Traugott’s research. Different from Langacker, Traugott’s “subjectivity and subjectification” concerns the conceptual **content**, which discusses the process of the meaning becoming more subjective (Langacker, 2006). In her 1982 study, she argued that the semantic-pragmatic change of grammar markers or lexical items follows a three-stage order: propositional → textual → expressive. Specifically,



proposition involves the resources of the language for making it possible to talk about something. **Textuality** pertains to the function of the language for creating a cohesive discourse, such as connective and conjunctions. **Expressive** concerns the aspect of the language that expresses personal attitudes (Traugott, 1982). A typical example provided by Traugott is the development of *while*. In Old English, *while* was written as *pa hwile pe*, meaning ‘at the time that’, which reflected the propositional sense that referred to a temporal situation of a verifiable state-description. Later in Middle English, *while* developed the sense of ‘during’ which signals a cohesive time relation not only between two events in the world but also between two clauses, and thus bears the textual function. In Present Day English, *while* emerges the concessive sense of ‘although’, which shows the expressive sense of speaker’s attitude (Traugott, 1989). However, not many linguistic expressions exhibit the full development of the three-stage order as *while*, Traugott concludes three general tendencies to explain the meaning change observed in individual cases. First, meanings change from external described situation to internal described situation. For instance, the pejoration ‘*boor*’ originally has the neutral meaning of ‘farmer’. Second, meanings will change from external or internal described situation to textual or metalinguistic situation. This includes development of lexical forms into connectives (textual situation) or the shift from a mental-state to a speech-act meaning (metalinguistic situation). Third, meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition, as demonstrated by the transformation of *while* from a temporal to a concessive meaning.

3.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, several classic theories are reviewed and important terminology, which will be consistently used throughout this thesis, is defined. Firstly, we introduce the points



of speech/ event/ reference, and punctual and durative which subsume under the concepts of temporal location and time span that are feasible for describing temporal expressions in languages. Secondly, we present a summary of how verbs in Chinese can be categorized through situations with Hu & Fan's classification system. Thirdly, the basic notions of Cognitive Grammar proposed by Langacker are summarized. To recapitulate, focusing pertains to the scope that a language expression can cover; prominence indicates the specific facet of an object that an expression accentuates; perspective and grounding concern the position and the method that the observer takes to view an object, which encompasses the key elements such as speech ground, reference, perceived object, and main situation. Finally, we provide a review of Traugott's subjectification, in which she posits that semantic shifts in language expressions often begin with propositional meaning and evolve towards textual or expressive meaning.

Chapter 4 The Duration of Temporal Adverbs: Collocated Situation Analysis



This section presents the result of analyzing the situations collocating with the three temporal adverbs and discusses their relationship with the temporal length and grammatical constraints.

4.1 Result and Discussion

After completing the marking work and calculation, we discover each time word has a tendency of situation collocation. The result is presented in Figure 4.2 and Table 4-1. This section will explain the association between the collocation tendency and the denotation of each time adverbial by examining the examples.

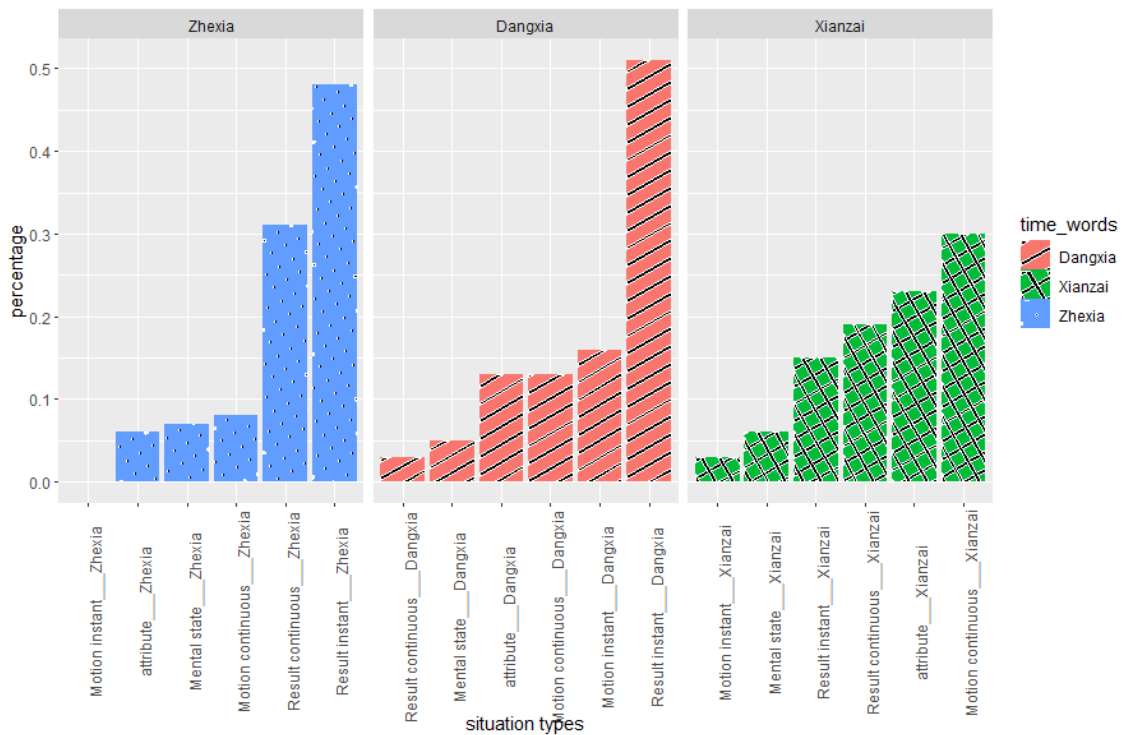


Figure 4.1 Collocated verb situation distribution bar plot



Table 4-1 Percentage table of collocated situation

	<i>zhèxià</i>		<i>dāngxià</i>		<i>xiànzài</i>	
	percentage	tokens	percentage	tokens	percentage	tokens
Result continuous	31%	180	3%	13	18%	85
Result instant	48%	279	52%	234	15%	71
Motion continuous	8%	46	9%	40	30%	142
Motion instant	0%	0	17%	77	2%	9
Attribute	6%	46	13%	58	29%	137
Mental state	7%	29	5%	23	6%	28
Total	100%	580	99%	445	100%	472

4.1.1 *Zhèxià* and the collocated verb situations

Figure 4.1 and Table 4-1 illustrate that *zhèxià* mostly collocates with result types situations (48% and 31% for result-instant and result-continuous respectively), this validates the high relation between *zhèxià* and the resultative meaning. The following provides examples of result-instant and result-continuous respectively.

(4-1) Taxi: *zhèxià* with result instant situation (CWS: gigaword2all)

等 計程車 送 坎特 夫婦 到 家 後 ，
děng jìchéngchē sòng Kǎntè fūfù dào jiā hòu,
 Wait taxi send Kanter couple arrive home after
 司機 向 坎特 索費 九十三 點 一五 美元 ， 。
sījī xiàng kǎntè suǒfèi jiǔshísān diǎn yīwǔ měiyuán ...
 driver towards Kanter charge.fee nine.ten.three dot one.five US.dollar
 曾 和 無數 外國 經貿 部長 在 談判桌
céng hé wúshù wàiguó jīngmào bùzhǎng zài tánpànzhuō



ever with numerous foreign economy.trade minister at negotiate.table
 前 交 手 的 坎 特 ， 這 下 可 當 場 翻 臉 ，
qián jiāoshǒu de kǎntè, zhèxià kě dāngchǎng fānliǎn,
 front socialize NOM Kanter, zhèxià just at.the.scene turn.face,
 不 僅 和 司 機 對 罵 ， 還 用 手
bùjǐn hé sījī duì mà , hái yòng shǒu
 not.only with driver face scold, also use hand
 拍 打 計 程 車 的 後 車 蓋
pāidǎ jìchéngchē de hòu chēgài
 slap taxi GEN back car.hood

“When the taxi driver sent Mr. and Mrs. Kanter to their house, he charged Kanter ninety-three point one-five dollars. At the moment, Kanter, who had numerous negotiating experience with foreign trade ministers at the conference table, turned against the taxi driver. Not only was he being mean to the driver, but also slapping the back hood of the taxi.”

(4-2) False Accusation: zhèxià with result continuous situation (CWS: gigaword2all)

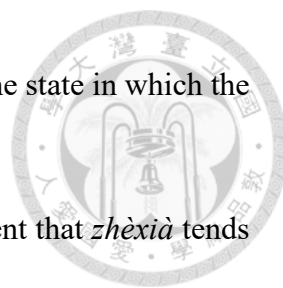
民主進步黨 高雄市 議員 候選人 陳春生
Mínzhǔjìnbùdǎng GāoXióngshì yìyuán hòuxuǎnrén ChénChūnshēng
 DPP Kaohsiung.city councilman candidate ChénChūnshēng
 昨 天 以 一 卷 「 桃 色 錄 音 帶 」 指 控 吳 敦 義
zuótiān yǐ yī juàn táo sè lùyīndài zhìkòng WúDūnyì
 yesterday use one roll sex.scandal audio.file accuse WúDūnyì
 有 婚 外 情 ， 在 高 雄 市 引 起 軒 然 大 波 。
yǒu hūnwàiqíng zài GāoXióngshì yǐnqǐ xuānrándàbō
 have extramarital.affair at Kaohsiung.city lead.to uproar
 吳 敦 義 …… 隨 後 前 往 地 檢 署 控 告
WúDūnyì ……suíhòu qiánwǎng dìjiǎnshǔ kònggào
 WúDūnyì later head.to District.Prosecutors.Office accuse
 陳 春 生 誹 謗 與 違 反 選 罷 法 規 定 。
ChénChūnshēng fěibàng yǔ wéifǎn xuǎnbàfǎ guīdìng
 ChénChūnshēng libel and violate Election.And.Recall.Act rule
 鄭 德 耀 直 言 證 據 薄 弱 地 可 憐 ，
ZhèngDéyào zhíyán zhèngjù báoruò-de kělián
 ZhèngDéyào outspoken evidence groundlessly pitiful
 根 本 可 以 「 八 卦 」 來 看 待 。 …… 鄭 德 耀 告 訴
gēnběn kě yǐ bāguà lái kàndài ZhèngDéyào gàosù

simply can use gossip come treat ZhèngDéyào tell
 吳敦義，「我也想像當市長，但不用
WúDūnyì wǒ yě xiǎng dāng shìzhǎng dàn búhuì yòng
 WúDūnyì 1SG also want undertake mayor but NEG use
 這種手段」他還向吳敦義打趣說，
zhè zhǒng shǒuduàn tā hái xiàng WúDūnyì dǎqù shuō
 this kind method 3SG still to WúDūnyì banter say
 「……這下婦女票全都被你吸走了。」
zhèxià fùnǚpiào quán dōu bèi nǐ xīzǒu le
zhèxià woman.vote entire all BEI 2SG suck.away CRS

“DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) candidate Chén Chūn-shēng took advantage of an audio file to accuse Wú Dūn-yì of having an extramarital affair, and led to an uproar in Kaohsiung City. Wú Dūn-yì later went to the District Prosecutors Office to sue Chén Chūn-shēng for libel and violation of the Election And Recall Act. Zhèng Dé-yào stated outright that the evidence was groundless and could simply treat it as a gossip. . . . Zhèng Dé-yào told Wú Dūn-yì, “I want to be the mayor as well, but I won’t use this kind of trick.” He also made fun of WúDūnyì and said, “Now, all the women’s votes are sucked away by you.”

Example (4-1) shows that a taxi driver’s charge of huge fares caused Kanter to fly into a rage. The predicate *fānliǎn* (to turn against someone) is a punctual situation with a result that will not extend, which suggests that *zhèxià* takes a short moment on the timeline and profiles the ending point of the situation.

Example (4-2) presents a reason (candidate Chen’s false accusation) that has led candidate Wu to win females’ votes. The VP in the *zhèxià* clause, “*xī-zǒu le* (sucked away)”, is a result-continuous situation that implies the process *xī* has lasted for a while before reaching the result state. However, in this example, *zhèxià* still **profiles only the endpoint** of the situation owing to two reasons. First, the currently relevant state *le* in the sentence-final indicates only “the current moment” is focused (Li & Thompson, 1989: p.255). Second, because the election has not yet taken place in this case, the event “*fùnǚ piào quán dōu bèi nǐ xī-zǒu le* (You sucked away the females’ votes.)” is the speaker’s



anticipated result. This means the speaker and hearer are located in the state in which the main event is going to happen in the near future.

In fact, both result-instant and result-continuous examples present that *zhèxià* tends to collocate with punctual situations. This corresponds to the fact that the morpheme “*xià*” carries a sense of “the short time period near the observer” (Zhang, 2004: p.9; Chiang, 2013: p.195), and explains *zhèxià* occupies a point on the timeline.

On the other hand, from the examination of corpus data, we also discover that *zhèxià* clause tends to express with irrealis mood, using modal verbs such as “*dàgài* (大概)”, “*huì* (會)”, “*kěnéng* (可能)”, “*yīnggāi* (應該)”, “*děi* (得)”, “*yào* (要)”, etc. to denote potential events which might happen in the future time (Elliot, 2000). For example,

(4-3) College entrance exam: Modal Verbs within *zhèxià* clause (CWS: gigaword2all)

就 在 土 耳 其 全 國 大 學 聯 考 前 夕 ，
Jiù zài tǔěrqí quánguó dàxué liánkǎo qiánxì
 JIU at Turkey all.country college entrance.exam last.night
 一 個 顯 然 腦 筋 短 路 的 傢 伙 ， 從 國 立
Yī gè xiǎnrán nǎojīn duǎnlù de jiāhuo cóng guólì
 one CL obvious brain short.circuit NOM guy from national
 馬 爾 馬 拉 大 學 神 學 院 偷 走 一 份 聯 考 試 題 ，
Mǎěrmǎlā dàxué shénxuéyuàn tōuzǒu yī fèn liánkǎo shìtí
 Marmara college seminary steal-away one CL entrance.exam test.sheet
 官 方 最 高 教 育 委 員 會 獲 知 這 項 消 息 後 ，
guānfāng zuìgāo jiàoyù wěiyuánhui huòzhī zhè xiàng xiaoxi hòu
 official highest education committee gain this CL news after
 當 晚 即 透 過 所 有 媒 體 宣 佈 取 消 第 二 天
dāngwǎn jí tòuguò suǒyǒu méitǐ xuānbù qǔxiāo dìèr tiān
 that.night immediate through all media announce cancel second day
 的 考 試 。 …… 一 些 來 自 偏 遠 鄉 鎮 的 考 生 ，
De kǎoshì yīxiē láizi piānyuǎn xiāngzhèn de kǎoshēng
 NOM exam some come.from remote country GEN examinee
 為 參 加 考 試 ， 至 少 在 一 個 月 前 ， 即 已
wèi cānjiā kǎoshì zhìshǎo zài yī ge yuè qián jíyǐ

for participate exam at.least at one CL month before already
 「進駐」 試場 附近 的 親友 家 中
 jìnzhù shìchǎng fùjìn de qīnyǒu jiā zhōng
 enter test.site nearby ASSOC friend.family house inside
 或 旅館，這下 又 得 盤算 是否 繼續 「紮營」
 huò lǚguǎn zhèxià yòu děi pánsuàn shìfǒu jìxù zháyíng
 or hotel zhèxià again must plan or.not continue camp

下去。

xiàqù

go.on

“Just at the last night of Turkey’s college entrance exam, someone who had rock in his head stole a question sheet of the exam. Right after learning the news, the official immediately announced the second-day exam was canceled through all kinds of media. However, the examinees from remote areas have stayed in friends’ or relative’s home or hotels nearby the testing site at least one month ago. Now, they have to decide whether to continue staying or not.”

In our collected tokens, 34% of *zhèxià* co-occurs with these modal verbs. This as well verifies that *zhèxià* has the implication of “pointing to the future”, since the component “*xià*” carries the sense of “next, later”, which also implies the future. (Chen, 2010; Shan & Xiao, 2009).

Apart from the result-type situations, *zhèxià* can as well collocate with motion-continuous, mental state, and attribute situations, yet these collocations do not account for large proportions. Zhang remarked that the temporal adverbs’ regular restriction to the verb might be some exceptions in specific contexts in which particular grammatical markers are needed (2004). Here we provide one example for the three situations respectively to elaborate this argument.

Firstly, the example (4-3) is a token collocating with motion-continuous situation (i.e. *pánsuàn* 盤算: “plan”). In this example, the background was that the ministry of education of Turkey immediately canceled the college entrance exam, after discovering

the exam paper was stolen before the exam. Because of this incident, many students who came from remote areas would have to come up with a new plan. The main predicate “*pánsuàn* (plan)” in the *zhèxià* clause belongs to motion-continuous class. However, *pánsuàn* could not appear independently, if it were not for the modal adverb “*děi* (得: must)” in the front. This modal suggests that the starting point of the situation is profiled, namely, *zhèxià* only focuses on the short phase of the entire situation and therefore still carries a punctual sense.

Considering the main predicate in the *zhèxià* clause is expressed with a progressive state (as example 4-4 shows), the sentence will become syntactically and semantically ill-formed.

(4-4) *Zhèxià* with *zhèngzài*

*這下	正在	<u>盤算</u>	是否	繼續	「紮營」	下去
<i>zhèxià</i>	<i>zhèngzài</i>	<i>pánsuàn</i>	<i>shìfǒu</i>	<i>jìxù</i>	<i>zāyíng</i>	<i>xiàqù</i>
<i>zhèxià</i>	DAM	plan	whether	continue	encamp	down.go

As we noted above, *zhèxià* implies punctual and future orientation, so it contradicts the progressive marker *zhèngzài* which forces the situation to take a durative time span. This is also a significant difference with *xiànzài*, which is grammatically correct to take *zhèngzài*. Compare the sentence (4-5) with (4-4).

(4-5) *Xiànzài* with *zhèngzài*

現在	正在	<u>盤算</u>	是否	繼續	「紮營」	下去
<i>xiànzài</i>	<i>zhèngzài</i>	<i>pánsuàn</i>	<i>shìfǒu</i>	<i>jìxù</i>	<i>zāyíng</i>	<i>xiàqù</i>
<i>xiànzài</i>	DAM	plan	whether	continue	encamp	keep.on

“Now (they are) considering whether they should keep staying.”

Second, a token with mental-state situation is presented in example (4-6).



(4-6) Twin: zhèxià with mental state situation (CWS: Sinica)

然後 兄弟 倆 開始 像 在 對
ránhòu xiōngdì liǎng kāishǐ xiàng zài duì
 Then brother two start like DAM match
 賓果 般 的 ， 說出 彼此 的 老二
bīnguǒ bān de shuō-chū bǐcǐ de lǎoèr
 bingo like NOM say-out each.other GEN second.kid
 都 是 在 民國 四十一 年 生 的 ，
dōu shì zài Minguó sìshíyī nián shēng de
 all C/F at ROC forty.one year bear NOM
 老三 都 是 在 四十三 年 生 的 。
lǎosān dōu shì zài sìshísān nián shēng de
 third.kid all C/F at forty.three year bear NOM
 …… 大哥 這下 明白 為什麼 他們 是 對
…… dàgē zhèxià míngbái wèishíme tāmen shì duì
 elder.brother zhèxià understand why 3PL C/F pair
 雙胞胎 了
shuāngbāotāi le
 twin CRS

“Then the two brothers were like playing Bingo, confirming that both of their second kid was born in ROC 41, and the third kid was born in the year of 43...Now, the elder brother understood why they were twins.”

This example implies a background of twin brothers who finally got in touch after 40 years and found that their offspring were coincidentally born around the same years. The coincidence made the older brother certain that they were twins. In this example, the main predicate “*míngbái* (realize)” coming after *zhèxià* is a mental state verb and bears durative property; however, since the final place is marked by *le*, the clause still indicates a changing point in the situation (from unrealized to realized). In short, *zhèxià* in this example is also punctual, and profiles the ending part of the situation.

Third, *zhèxià* can carry an attribute situation, such as “*rènào* (lively)” in example (4-7).



(4-7) Cinderella: zhèxià with attribute situation (CWS: Sinica)

她的 媽媽，在她還小的時候，
tā de māma zài tā hái xiǎo de shíhòu
3SG GEN mother at 3SG still little NOM time
就病逝了。女孩的父親，
jiù bìngshì le nǚhái de fùqīn
JIU die.of.illness PFV girl GEN father
娶了個新媽媽回來，新媽媽並帶來
qǔ le ge xīn māmā huílái xīn māmā bìng dàilái
marry PFV CL new mother back new mother with bring
兩個新姊妹。「哇，這下家裡可
liǎng gè xīn jiějie wa zhèxià jiā lǐ kě
two CL new sister I zhèxià home in just
熱鬧了。」女孩非常地高興。家裡
rènao le nǚhái fēicháng-de gāoxìng jiā lǐ
lively CRS girl very happy home in
突然間變的生氣勃勃，熱鬧起來
tūrán jiān biàn de shēngqìbóbó rènao qǐlái
suddenly inter become CSC vibrant lively QILAI

“The girl’s mother had died of illness when she was little. And then her father married a new mother. The new mother brought two new sisters back together. “Wow, now my home will become lively.” The girl was extremely happy that her home suddenly became vibrant and lively.”

In this sentence, the background that the girl’s father brought back a new mother, and her two daughters had been expected to create liveliness at home. The attribute situation “rènao” should originally be denoting a durative state; however, it is marked by (1) the preceding modal verb *kě* indicating a non-occurred situation, and (2) the CRS *le* in the final position signaling a change of state in the future. Therefore, *zhèxià* of this example profiles the starting point of the situation.

In conclusion, *zhèxià* fundamentally collocates with the result-type situations and profiles the ending point of the situation. When *zhèxià* is followed by a situation other

than the result type, then the modal adverbs and CRS *le* can express a changed state (profiles ending point) or an impending change of state (profiles starting point). In this way, we can say that those exceptional situations following *zhèxià* are only different from the typical collocations in syntactic forms but intrinsically all convey a resultative, punctual sense.

4.1.2 *Dāngxià* and the collocated verb situations

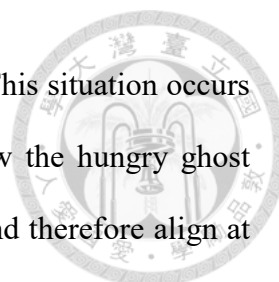
Similar to *zhèxià*, *dāngxià* is also inclined to collocate with result-instant situations (51%), due to their overlapping of the morpheme *xià*, which explains that *dāngxià* takes the “punctual” sense. On the other hand, the lexical component of *dāng* originally meant “equal, offset, and match” (Duan, 1808; Wu, 2008; Wang & Ye, 2006; Wu, 2014), and thus the combination of *dāng* and *xià* derives “at this moment” in the temporal sense, in which the happening time of an event matches the other event. The structure and content in the example (4-8) demonstrates this idea.

(4-8) Greedy: *dāngxià* with result-instant situation (CWS: Sinica)

當	貪心	一	起	我們	就	露出	餓鬼相	，
<i>dāng</i>	<i>tānxīn</i>	<i>yī</i>	<i>qǐ</i>	<i>wǒmen</i>	<i>jiù</i>	<i>lùchū</i>	<i>èguǐxiàng</i>	
when	greedy	one	occur	1PL	JIU	show	hungry.ghost.appearance	
當下	就	墮入	餓鬼道	，	不	是	死	後
<i>dāngxià</i>	<i>jiù</i>	<i>duò-rù</i>	<i>èguǐdào</i>	，	<i>bù</i>	<i>shì</i>	<i>sǐ</i>	<i>hòu</i>
<i>dāngxià</i>	JIU	fall.into	hungry.ghost.path	NEG	C/F	die	after	CAI
墮入	。							
<i>duòrù</i>								
fall.into.								

“When greediness occurs to us, we will show the hungry-ghost appearance, and fall into the hungry-ghost path at that time, but not after we die.

In this sentence, the main predicate in the scope of *dāngxià* is “*duò-rù èguǐdào* (fall into



the hungry-ghost path),” which is a result-instant type of situation. This situation occurs at the same time as the previous situation, “*lùchū èguǐxiàng* (show the hungry ghost appearance)”. Both of the two situations have punctual properties and therefore align at the same point on the timeline. The next section will elaborate more on the temporal location issue.

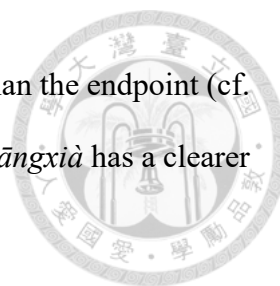
In addition, *dāngxià* can also take motion-instant type situations, as in the following example (4-9). This is different from *zhèxià*, which includes none of motion-instant collocation in our data, 16% of *dāngxià* is collocated with motion-instant.

(4-9) Marathon: *dāngxià* with motion instant (CWS: gigaword2all)

陪跑	一	段	後	稍	事	休	息	的
<i>péipǎo</i>	<i>yī</i>	<i>duàn</i>	<i>hòu</i>	<i>shāoshì</i>	<i>xiūxi</i>	<i>de</i>		
accompany.for.run	one	section	after	slightly	rest	NOM		
中華田徑協會				理	事	長	紀	政
<i>ZhōngHuáTiánJìngxiéhuì</i>				<i>lǐshìzhǎng</i>	<i>Jìzhèng</i>			
Chinese.Taipei.Athletics.Association				chairman	Jìzhèng			
看到	這	幅	感	人	的	場	面	，
<i>kàndào</i>	<i>zhè</i>	<i>fú</i>	<i>gǎnrén</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>chǎngmiàn</i>			
see-RVC	this	piece	touching	NOM	scene			
當下	又	衝	下	車	，	繼	續	參
<i>dāngxià</i>	<i>yòu</i>	<i>chōng</i>	<i>xiàchē</i>	<i>jìxù</i>	<i>cānjiā</i>	<i>chángpǎo</i>		
<i>dāngxià</i>	again	dash	off.car	continue	participate	long.distance.run		

“Jìzhèng, the chairman of Chinese Taipei Athletics Association took a short rest after accompanying the running for a section. However, as he saw this moving scene, he rushed off the car immediately and continued to take part in the long-distance running.”

In the above example, *dāngxià* takes the motion-instant situation *chōng* 衝 (dash) as the main predicate. It parallels the aforementioned situation *kàndào zhè fú gǎnrén de chángmiàn* (saw the touching scene), where *kàndào* “看到 (saw)” also bears the punctual property. The fact that *dāngxià* accepts more motion-instant situations than *zhèxià*



indicates that *dāngxià* profiles the full range of the situation, rather than the endpoint (cf. *zhèxià* usually profiles the endpoint), and that the punctual sense of *dāngxià* has a clearer boundary, which starts and ends in accordance with the motion.

However, *dāngxià* also collocates with durative situations, such as motion-continuous (13%), and attribute (10%). This highlights the differentiation between *zhèxià* and *dāngxià*. The following provides examples and possible reasons.

(4-10) Nikola Jokic: *dāngxià* with motion-continuous situation (CWS: Sinica)

金塊	招牌	球星	Nikola Jokic	得知	入選
<i>jīnkuài</i>	<i>zhāopái</i>	<i>qiúxīng</i>	<i>Nikola Jokic</i>	<i>dézhī</i>	<i>rùxuǎn</i>
Denver.Nuggets	franchise star	Nikola Jokic	learn	select	
明星賽	當下	「正在	打	遊戲」。	
<i>míngxīngsài</i>	<i>dāngxià</i>	<i>zhèngzài</i>	<i>dǎ</i>	<i>yóuxì</i>	
All-star.Game	<i>dāngxià</i>	DAM	play game		

“The franchise star of the Denver Nuggets, Nikola Jokic, was playing video games when he learned he was selected in All-Star Game.”

The situation in *dāngxià*'s scope of example (4-10) “*zhèngzài dǎ yóuxì* (playing video game)”, in which the progressive particle *zhèngzài* indicates the continuity of the situation of Nikola Jokic's playing video game. According to the last example, *dāngxià* takes a situation as a reference, and another situation occurs at the time of reference. In this example, a short moment of the progressive situation *dǎ yóuxì* is profiled by *dāngxià*, since it only emphasizes the moment occurring with the punctual situation “*dézhī rùxuǎn míngxīng sài* (learned he was selected in All-Star Game)”.

In the next example, *dāngxià* is followed by an attribute situation that reflects a currently existing phenomenon.

(4-11) Gender Stereotype: *dāngxià* with attribute situation (CWS: Sinica)

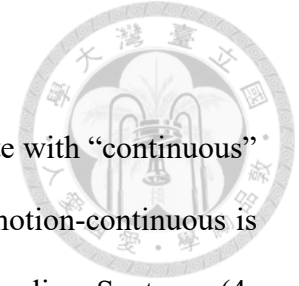
任何 醫學 科學 都 帶 著 歷史 的 烙印 ，

Rèn hé yī xué kē xué dōu dài zhe lì shǐ de lào yìn
 Any medicine science all take PRG-P history ASSOC stigma
 多多少少 都 會 反映出 當下 (現在) 社會
 duō duō shǎo shǎo dōu huì fǎn yìng - chū dāng xià (xiàn zài)
 more.or.less all will reflect-out dāng xià (xiàn zài) society
 的 性 別 成 見 , 可 惜 我 們 的 醫 學 專 家 們
 de xìng bié chéng jiàn kě xī wǒ men de yī xué zhuān jiā men
 GEN gender stereotype pity 1PL GEN medicine expert PLM
 鮮 少 對 自 己 的 專 業 和 這 個 專 業
 xiǎn shǎo duì zì jǐ de zhuān yè hé zhè ge zhuān yè
 seldom to own GEN expertise and this CL expertise
 的 性 別 成 見 加 以 反 省 批 判
 de xìng bié chéng jiàn jiā yǐ fǎn shěng pī pàn
 GEN gender stereotype add retrospect criticize

“Any fields of medicine and science carry the historical stigma and more or less reflect the gender stereotype in today’s society. However, it’s a pity that our medical experts seldom retrospect and be critical to their own expertise and the gender stereotype within this profession.”

The situation “*shè huì de xìng bié chéng jiàn* (the gender stereotype in the society)” shows that the speaker is indicating a phenomenon existing in the current reality, which is a durative and unbounded state, and thus is interchangeable with *xiàn zài*.

In short, *dāng xià* mainly co-occurs with instant-type situations, and denotes punctual property, which validates its morphological sense, “facing a short moment”. In addition, distinct from *zhè xià*, *dāng xià* takes many durative type situations (a total of 26%), that is, motion-continuous and attribute, and the two have separate senses. The motion-continuous collocation *dāng xià* is allowed to be followed by progressive markers, such as *zhèng*, *zhèng zài*, or *zhe*. On the other hand, the attribute collocation *dāng xià* denotes “nowadays”.



4.1.3 *Xiànzài* and the collocated verb situations

Different from *zhèxià* and *dāngxià*, *xiànzài* is more likely to collocate with “continuous” types of verb situations. From Table 4-1, the total of attribute and motion-continuous is 53%, which represents that *xiànzài* denotes a longer period on the timeline. Sentence (4-12) is an example of *xiànzài* with an attribute situation.

(4-12) Doctor: *xiànzài* with attribute situation (CWS: Sinica)

醫生 一直 到 現在 還 是 很 有 地位 的 職業 ，
yīshēng yìzhí dào xiànzài hái shì hěn yǒu dìwèi de zhíyè
 Doctor always arrive *xiànzài* still very have status NOM profession
 爸爸 一直 希望 我們 三 兄弟 有 一 個
bàba yìzhí xīwàng wǒmen sān xiōngdì yǒu yí ge
 father always hope 1PL three brother have one CL
 能 去 學 醫 ， 不過 我們 都 走 了 別 行
néng qù xué yī, búguò wǒmen dōu zǒu le bié háng
 can go learn medical, but 1PL all walk PFV other job
 “Doctor is still a high-status profession nowadays, therefore my father has hoped one of we three brothers can study medicine. But eventually we all walked other paths.”

The predicate that accompanies *xiànzài* is “*háishì hěn yǒu dìwèi de zhíyè* (is still a high-status profession)”, in which the main verb “*shì*” belongs to the attribute situation. This situation states a fact in today’s society so *xiànzài* must cover a period of time which includes the speech time and its before and after parts.

Xiànzài with a motion-continuous collocation has a similar conception as the case of the “attribute” in terms of time. But it may have two interpretations, if the context is taken into consideration.

(4-13) Street Construction: *xiànzài* with motion-continuous situation 1 (CWS: Sinica)

我 很 想 找 山 西 省 的 哪 個 部 門



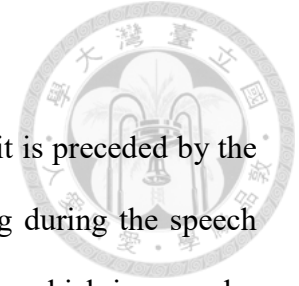
wǒ hěn xiǎng zhǎo Shānxī-shěng de nǎ ge bùmén
 1SG very want find Shanxi.province GEN which CL department
 建議，下 一 個 不 大 的 決心，盡力
jiànyì xià yī gè bù dà de juéxīn jìnli
 suggest make one CL NEG big NOM decide make.effort
 恢復 平遙 西 大街 的 原貌。
huīfù Píngyáo xī dàjiē de yuánmào
 recover Pingyao west big.street ASSOC original.form
 現在 全 國 許 多 城 市 都 在
xiànzài quán guó xǔduō chéngshì dōu zài
 xiànzài whole country many city all DAM
 建造 唐代 一 條 街、宋代 一 條 街
jiànào Tángdài yī tiáo jiē, Sòngdài yī tiáo jiē
 construct Tang.Dynasty one CL street, Song.Dynasty one CL street
 之類，那 大多 是 根據 歷史 記載 和 想像
zhīlèi nà dàduō shì gēnjù lìshǐ jìzǎi hé xiǎngxiàng
 kind that most C/F based.on history record and imagine
 在 依稀 遺跡 間 的 重起 爐灶，
zài yīxī yíjì jiān de chóngqǐ lúzuò
 at rough remain between NOM rebuild stove
 看 多 了 總 不 大 是 味道
kàn duō le zǒng bùdà shì wèidào
 see many PFV general not.very CL feeling

“I would really like to suggest a department of the Shanxi Province to make some effort to recover the original appearance of the West Pingyao Street. Since today many cities in the country are constructing sort of ‘Tang Street’ and ‘Song Street’, but most of them are rebuilt based on historical records and imaginations. It just doesn’t feel right to see them.”

(4-14) Boy: xiànzài with motion-continuous situation 2 (CWS: Sinica)

你們 知道 那 個 男孩 現在 心 中
nǐmen zhīdào nà ge nánhái xiànzài xīn zhōng
 2PL know that CF boy xiànzài heart middle
 在 想 什麼 嗎？
zài xiǎng shíme ma
 DAM think what Q?

“Do you know what the boy is thinking about now?”



The main predicate in sentence (4-13) is “*jiànzào* (construct)”, and it is preceded by the progressive preposition “*zài*”, indicating that the verb is continuing during the speech time. *Xiànzài* in this sentence can be understood as the last example, which is a regular state, suggesting “nowadays”, a longer range of time that is opposite to the past and the future. The other interpretation relates to the progressive aspect. In sentence (4-14), the speaker is inquiring about the boy’s thoughts when he kissed a girl, and *xiànzài* only focuses on the part of speech time in the boy’s ongoing thinking motion.

Xiànzài also co-occurs with result-continuous (19%) and result-instant (15%) situations, but is distinct from the case of *zhèxià* in that *xiànzài* can be used with the adverb “*yǐ* or *yǐjīng* (已、已經)”. In the example (4-15), the situation “*guīdǎng* (archived)” in *xiànzài*’s clause belongs to the result-continuous type. However, the adverb *yǐ* indicates the situation has lasted for a period of time, which turns it more like an “attribute” situation, and thus is allowed to collocate with *xiànzài*. On the other hand, both *zhèxià* and *dāngxià* are ungrammatical to co-occur with *yǐ* or *yǐjīng*.

(4-15) Hu Shih: *xiànzài* with result-continuous situation (CWS: Sinica)

在	大家	的	努力	下	，	現在	(*這下 / *當下)	
<i>zài</i>	<i>dàjiā</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>nǔlì</i>	<i>xià</i>		<i>xiànzài</i>	(* <i>zhèxià</i> / * <i>dāng xià</i>)	
at	all	GEN	hard.work	down		<i>xiànzài</i>	(<i>zhèxià</i> / <i>dāng xià</i>)	
適之	先生	的	文稿	多	已	歸檔	，	
<i>Shì-zhī</i>	<i>xiānshēng</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>wéngǎo</i>	<i>duō</i>	<i>yǐ</i>	<i>guīdàng</i>		
Shi-zhī	Mr.	GEN	draft	most	already	archive		
除了	消極	保存	之外	，	他們	還	希望	
<i>chúle</i>	<i>xiāojí</i>	<i>bǎocún</i>	<i>zhīwài</i>		<i>tāmen</i>	<i>hái</i>	<i>xīwàng</i>	
besides	negative	preserve	other		3PL	still	hope	
讓	這	批	資料	發揮	更	積極	的	功能
<i>ràng</i>	<i>zhè</i>	<i>pī</i>	<i>zīliào</i>	<i>fāhuī</i>	<i>gèng</i>	<i>jījí</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>gōngnéng</i>
let	this	batch	document	bring	more	positive	NOM	function

“Thanks to everyone’s hard work, now most of Dr. Hu Shih’s manuscripts has

already been archived. Aside from negative preservation, they hope these documents can also bring positive functions.”



However, if *xiànzài* takes an instant-type situation and the precedent context includes causal information, it can be perfectly substituted with *zhèxià*, as the example (4-16) shows.

(4-16) Environmental Destruction: *xiànzài* with result-instant situation (CWS: Sinica)

當年 為了 一年 幾 千萬 的 利益，放任
dāngnián wéile yī nián jǐ qiānwàn de lìyì fàngrèn
In.those.year for one year several ten.million NOM benefit connive
破壞 山林 污染 河川，現在（/這下）才 發現
pòhuài shānlín wūrǎn héchuān xiànzài/zhèxià cái fāxiàn
destroy forest pollute river *xiànzài/zhèxià* CAI discover
就算 再 花 幾 十 億 都 無法 補救！
jiùsuàn zài huā jǐ shí yì dōu wúfǎ bǔjiù
even.if than spend several ten billion all incapable remedy
“In order to earn millions of dollars in those years, (we) allowed the forests and rivers to be destroyed and polluted. Now, we found that even if billions of dollars is unable to remedy.”

In this sentence, *xiànzài* is followed by a result, “*cái fāxiàn jiù suàn zài huā jǐ shí yì dōu wúfǎ bǔ jiù* (found that even if billions of dollars is unable to remedy)”, in which the verb “*fāxiàn*” denotes a punctual situation. The cause of this result is the clause before *xiànzài*, “*dāngnián wéi le …… , fàngrèn pòhuài shānlín, wūrǎn héchuān* (To earn the millions of dollars at that time, (we) allowed the forests and rivers to be destroyed and polluted)”. With the explicit cause and result, and the punctual situation in the main clause, *xiànzài* is interchangeable with *zhèxià* in this example.

In short, *xiànzài* is able to take both punctual and durative situations, yet it has a higher preference for the durative ones. This explains that the intrinsic temporal property

of *xiànzài* is more likely to be durative, which is a key difference between *zhèxià* and *dāngxià*.



4.2 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, we discuss the situations collocating with the temporal adverbials, *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài*, so as to understand their time spans in the language users' cognition. This benefits the differentiations of the syntactic and grammatical limitations of the three adverbials, since the verbs and markers, such as prepositions and complements in Mandarin Chinese are highly related to time.

First, *zhèxià* tends to collocate with result types situations, which indicates it bears a punctual concept. This property prohibited it from taking progressive markers, such as *zhèngzài*, *zài*, and *zhe*. In addition, it often attracts the sentence-final particle *le*, which suggests a change of state and the situation of the speech context that is relevant to “now”.

Second, *dāngxià* is able to collocate with instant and continuous type situations and can be interpreted as two senses. *Dāngxià* with instant type situations (e.g. result instant and motion instant) is read as “at this moment”; the one with attribute situation is read as “nowadays”. Dissimilar to *zhèxià*, *dāngxià* can co-occur with progressive markers and does not have to go with a CRS *le* in the sentence-final place.

Third, *xiànzài* can be both punctual and durative, depending on the situation followed by. However, it is more likely to be conceptually durative since durative situations account for more proportion (motion continuous + attribute = 53%). This is also presented by its natural collocation with a progressive marker. Additionally, *xiànzài* is allowed to be used with the temporal adverb “*yǐjīng*”, which is a fundamental difference between *zhèxià* and *dāngxià*.

Chapter 5 The Perspectives of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià* and *xiànzài*



In the preceding section, the correlation between situation types and the temporal adverbs' duration was examined. However, the corpus data indicate that each of the three temporal adverbs has different meanings and uses in different situations, beyond their duration. This is due to the perspective and direction of the speaker's attention. Therefore, in this section, we apply a fusion of grounding and other concepts (e.g., scope, profiling) in Langacker's CG approach to analyze the semantic shift and subjectification of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài*. It is important to note that during the initial phases of semantic development, the words may not have achieved full lexicalization. Consequently, we represent them in separate lexicons (e.g., *dāng xià*).

5.1 *Zhèxià* Subjectification

According to historical and modern data, *zhèxià* can be divided into four senses in terms of perspective, which differ in the degree of subjectivity. Taking into account their time of emergence, it can be shown that the four senses of *zhèxià* follow the path of subjectification. For the clarity of reading, the form, function and meaning of the four senses of *zhèxià* is firstly summarized as Figure 5.1.

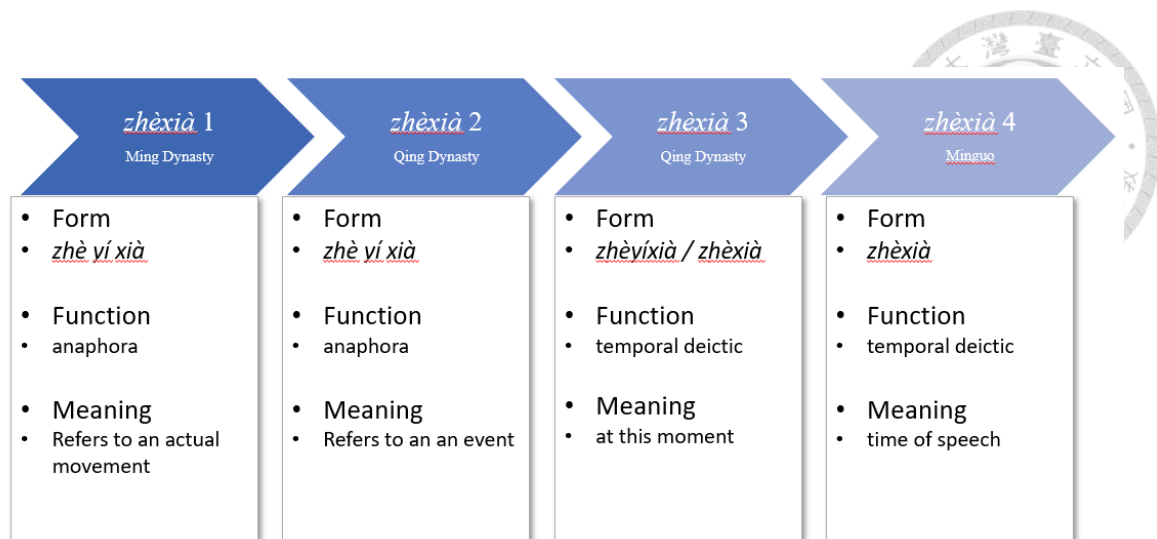


Figure 5.1 The four stages of semantic development of *zhèxià*

Sense 1

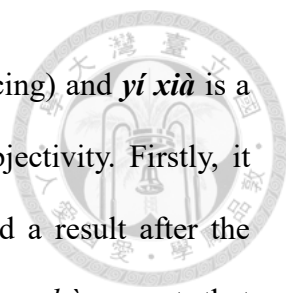
As mentioned in the literature review, the first sense was reflected as *zhè yí xià* and appeared in the Ming Dynasty. The following is a token from a novel.

(5-1) *Zhèxià*-Hit (CCL)

連忙的	取出	寶貝	來，	照	國師
<i>liánmángde</i>	<i>qǔchū</i>	<i>bǎobèi</i>	<i>lái,</i>	<i>zhào</i>	<i>guóshī</i>
immediately	take-out	treasure	come,	towards	GuóShī
頂陽骨 上	就 是 一 下。			這 一 下	就 打 得
<i>Dǐngyánggǔ shàng</i>	<i>jiù shì yí xià,</i>			<i>zhè yí xià</i>	<i>jiù dǎ de</i>
parietal.bone on	JIU C/F one CL			<i>zhè yí xià</i>	JIU hit CSC
佛 爺爺	金 光 萬 丈，	現 出		丈 六 紫 金 身	
<i>fó yéye</i>	<i>jīnguāngwànzhàng,</i>	<i>xiànchū</i>		<i>zhàngliùzǐjīnshēn.</i>	
Buddha elder.man	sparkle.with.light,	expose		six.purple.gold.stature.	

“(He) immediately took out the treasure and hit the parietal bone of GuóShī. This hit caused the elder man to sparkle with golden lights, and expose his six-purple-gold stature.” (*Sanbao Eunuch’s Journey To The West Ocean* [*Sānbǎo Tàijiān Xīyáng Ji*], Ming Dynasty: ca. 1597 A.D.)

Zhè yí xià in this example **refers to an actual hit** in the preceding clause (“*zhào guóshī Dǐngyánggǔ shàng jiù shì yí xià*”: hit the parietal bone of GuóShī). In this context, **zhè** is



a proximal demonstrative functioning as **an anaphor** (back-referencing) and **yí xià** is a **pronoun for the hit**. This usage shows high but not complete objectivity. Firstly, it represents a concrete movement, involving an agent, a patient, and a result after the movement has been imposed on the patient. Secondly, the demonstrative *zhè* suggests that the observer is not completely outside the scope, but is proximally related to the movement, which has just been mentioned in the preceding discourse. All in all, we can conclude that this sense of *zhèxià* is viewed from a relatively **objective perspective**.

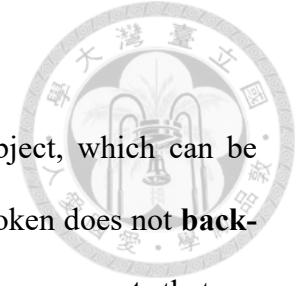
Sense 2

The second sense of *zhèxià* emerged during the Qing Dynasty. In this stage, the meaning started to bleach, and the sense of time emerged. This can be observed in the example (5-2).

(5-2) *Zhèxià*-Trick (Li, 2007: p.60)

忽	又	見	他	伸	開	一	腿	，	用	一	腿	盤	住			
<i>hū</i>		<i>yòu</i>	<i>jiàn</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>shēn-kāi</i>	<i>yì</i>	<i>tuǐ</i>	，	<i>yòng</i>	<i>yì</i>	<i>tuǐ</i>	<i>pán</i>	<i>zhù</i>			
suddenly	then	see	3SG	spread.open	one	leg	use	one	leg	coil	stop					
旗	杆	，	身	體	一	平	，	雙	手	一	伸	，	卻	在	黃	旗
<i>qí gǎn</i>	<i>shēntǐ</i>	<i>yì</i>	<i>píng</i>	<i>shuāngshǒu</i>	<i>yì</i>	<i>shēn</i>	<i>què</i>	<i>zài</i>	<i>huángqí</i>							
flagpole	body	one	balance,	two.arm	one	spread	but	at	yellow.flag							
一	旁	，	又	添	了	一	個	順	風	旗	。					
<i>yì páng</i>	，	<i>yòu tiān le</i>	<i>yī</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>shùnfēng</i>	<i>qí</i>	。									
one	side,	then	add	PFV	one	CL	follow.wind	flag								
……	這	一	下	把	眾	人	嚇	了	一	跳	。					
……	<i>zhè yí xià</i>		<i>bǎ</i>	<i>zhòngrén</i>	<i>xià</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>yí tiào</i>	。								
……	<i>zhe yí xia</i>	BA	crowd	shock	PFV	one	jump.									

“He then spread one leg, grasped the flagpole with another leg, stretched his body horizontally, and spread out the arms. Suddenly he was at the side of the yellow flag. And then he added another wind-follow flag..... This had shocked the crowd.” (*Three Knights and Five Righteous Heroes [Sān Xiá Wǔ Yì]*, Qing Dynasty: 1879 A.D.)



In this sentence, the syntactic role of *zhè yí xià* is a nominal subject, which can be understood as a pronoun indicating an actual entity. However, this token does not **back-refer** to ‘one’ actual movement like the last token, but to **a series of movements** that are packaged as an event (i.e., the character spread one leg, ...added another wind-follow flag). This event shocked the crowd. Unlike the first sense, the movement is not directly imposed on the patient; rather, it produces an abstract ‘effect’ on them.

In addition, the character completed the entire performance in a short time. This sense of temporal compactness is also embedded in *zhè yí xià*. In short, this use is overall more abstract and more subjective than the first sense.

Sense 3

The third stage of *zhèxià* (though still reflected as *zhèyíxià*) completely developed into a temporal word and was lexicalized, i.e., it was a lexical item but not a phrase, and the components could not be changed freely. The following sentence (5-3) is a token from a Late Qing novel.

(5-3) *Zhèxià*-Lost Son (CCL)

同寅	當中，	一	人	傳	十，	十	人	傳
<i>tóngyín</i>	<i>dāngzhōng</i>	<i>yì</i>	<i>rén</i>	<i>chuán</i>	<i>shí,</i>	<i>shí</i>	<i>rén</i>	<i>chuán</i>
colleague among		one	person	pass	ten,	ten	person	pass
百，	已經	有	許多	人	知道	他	遭	了
<i>bǎi,</i>	<i>yǐjīng</i>	<i>yǒu</i>	<i>xǔduō</i>	<i>rén</i>	<i>zhīdào</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>zāo</i>	<i>le</i>
hundred,	already	have	many	person	know	3SG	meet	PFV
喪明之痛；	及	至	明日，	轅門抄		上	刻出	了
<i>Sàngmíngzhītòng</i>	<i>jí</i>	<i>zhì</i>	<i>míngri</i>	<i>Yuánménchāo</i>		<i>shàng</i>	<i>kèchū</i>	<i>le</i>
son.death.grief;	reach until	tomorrow	house.door.copy	on	carve-out	PFV		
「苟某人	請	期	服	假	數天」，	這	一
“ <i>Gǒu mǒurén</i>	<i>qǐng qī</i>	<i>fú</i>	<i>jià</i>	<i>shùtiān</i> ”			<i>zhèyíxià</i>	

“Gǒu certain.person take period take leave several.day, *zhèyíxià*
 更 是 通 國 皆 知 了， 於 是 送 奠 禮 的.....
gèng shì tōng guó jiē zhī le yúshì sòng diànlǐ de
 evenC/F whole country all know CRS, then send mourn.gift NOM
 都 紛 紛 來 了。
dōu fēnfēn lái le。
 all one.by.one come PFV.



“(The news) had spread quickly from one person to another among his colleagues, so many people learned the news of his losing the son. The next day, the house door copy wrote “Mr. Gou has to take several days leave,”At this time, the whole country knew it, and therefore people brought mourning gifts and came to the funeral.” (*The Strange State of the World Witnessed Over 20 Years [Er Shí Nián Mùdǔ Zhī Guài Xiàn Zhuàng]*, Qing Dynasty: 1909 A.D.)

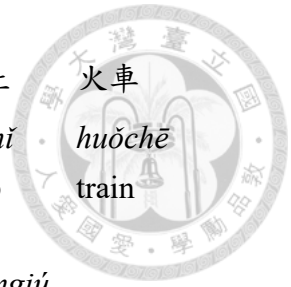
Zhèyíxià in this example **refers to** (and profiles) the **time of the main situation** in a story (i.e. the time when the whole country learned his news), and can thereby be considered the synonym of “*zhèshí* 這時”. The speaker still takes **the time of speech (the speech ground) as the reference**. This can be explained if we consider it from the textual angle: the story unfolds following the speaker’s timeline. In this way, the time when the main situation is uttered is close to the speaker. Besides, the aforementioned event (i.e. the house door copy wrote an announcement) here functions as a **background**⁵ for the occurrence of the main situation. In short, this sense takes the speaker’s time and space as the reference point and invokes a scope of a story or a past event.

Sense 3 of *zhèxià* also exists in modern Chinese, as example (5-4) shows.

(5-4) *Zhèxià*-Huge Mistake (CWS: Sinica)

⁵ This term is also inspired by Langacker. Langacker (2008: p.59) argued that as the discourse unfolds, the prior discourse function as a background (i.e. given information) for the formation of the new information in the current discourse space (CDS). Since the information prior to *zhèxià* determines the expression in *zhèxià* clause, we consider it a background. But our background here has a causal implication.

他	心急如焚，……便	橫臥	鐵軌	阻止	火車
tā	xīnjírúfén , ……biàn	héngwò	tiěguǐ	zǔzhǐ	huǒchē
3SG	anxious, ……then	horizon.lie	railway	stop	train
啟動。	這下	犯	了	大忌，	工程局
qǐdòng.	zhèxià	fàn	le	dà jì	gōngchéngjú
start.	zhèxia	violate	PFV	big inhibition,	construct.bureau
黨委	說	他	破壞	建設	
dǎngwěi	shuō tā	pòhuài	jiànshè		
party.chair	say 3SG	damage	construction		



“He was anxious like a cat on hot bricks, ...so he lay down on the railway to prevent the train from initiating. But this act was a huge mistake. The chair of the construction bureau accused him of damaging the construction.” (Modern Chinese)

This example is presented with a displaced mode (Chafe, 1994)—a narrator tells a story of a character (i.e. *tā* in this sentence). Thus, *zhèxià* invokes a scope of a story, and **refers to the time when the character made the huge mistake** (i.e., *fàn le dà jì*).

In conclusion, *zhèxià*³ is characterized by narration. It takes **the speaker’s position as the reference**, and the **time/space profiled by *zhèxià* is proximal to both the character and the speaker**. In addition, since **the speaker** narrates the text, but does not fully involve in the time and space of the story, his location remains in the **offstage** region. We can therefore conclude that *zhèxià*³ is still objective but more subjective than the former two senses.

Sense 4

Sense 4 emerged in about the age of Minguo, and is the most frequently used sense in modern Chinese. With clues available from the discourse, we see that this sense of *zhèxià* bears the highest subjectivity, as shown by the following examples.

(5-5) *Zhèxià*-Relieve (CWS: gigaword2all)



昨天 深夜， 在 桃園 中正 國際 機場
zuótiān shēnyè zài Táoyuán zhōngzhèng guójì jīchǎng
 yesterday late.night at Taoyuan Zhōngzhèng international airport
 看到 政府 全程 接運 返國
kàn-dào zhèngfǔ quánhéng jiēyùn fǎnguó
 see.reach government all.process transport return.country
 的 第 四 批 僑民 和 遊客 平安
de dì sì pī qiáomín hé yóukè píngān
 NOM number four group expatriate and tourist safe
 抵達 後， 程建人 向 外交部 同事 表示：
dīdá hòu Chéng.Jiàn-rén xiàng Wàijiāobù tóngshì biǎoshì
 arrive after Chéng.Jiàn-rén to MOFA colleague express
 「這下 真的 安心 了。」
zhèxià zhēnde ānxīn le
zhèxià really relieve CRS

“Seeing the fourth group of expatriates and tourists returned safe and sound at Taoyuan International Airport last night, Chéng Jiàn-rén said to the MOFA colleagues, “Now we can relieve!” (Modern Chinese)

(4-2) False Accusation

他還向吳敦義打趣說，「……這下婦女票全都被你吸走了。」

He also made fun of WúDūnyì and said, “Now, all the women’s votes are sucked away by you.” (Modern Chinese)

(5-6) Zhèxià-South Korea (CWS: gigaword2all)

昨晚 的 事件， 是 金泳三 就任 一年
zuówǎn de shìjiàn shì Jīn Yǒng-sān jiùrèn yī nián
 Last.night ASSOC incident C/F Jīn Yǒng-sān take.office one year
 多 來 發生 在 首都 的 最 嚴重 暴力
duō lái fāshēng zài shǒudōu de zuì yánzhòng bàoli
 More come happen at capital NOM most severe violence
 事件， 南韓 政府 原本 定 今年 為 南韓
shìjiàn Nánhán zhèngfǔ yuánběn dìng jīnnián wéi Nánhán
 incident Korean government original set this.year as South.Korean
 觀光年， 這下 計畫 可能 要 泡湯。
guānguāngnián zhèxià jìhuà kěnéng yào pàotāng
 tourism.year zhèxià plan probably will screw.up

“The incident occurred last night most severe violence during *Jīn Yǒng-sān*’s office. The South Korean government had hoped to set this year as the tourism year. Now the plan might screw up.” (Modern Chinese)



(4-4) 這下又得盤算是否繼續「紮營」下去。

Now, they have to decide whether to continue staying or not.” (Modern Chinese)

According to Chafe’s criterion, the styles of the above examples are all immediate modes. Specifically, the first two examples of *zhèxià* occur in the character’s direct quotation or dialogue, and the next two are reports of events in current reality. The four tokens have one commonality— all of them take **the time of speech** as the reference. This is different from sense 3 in that the scope it **invokes is the place and time of the speaker**, and thereby is mostly interchangeable with *xiànzài*. Also, *zhèxià* specifies/implies a background (which can be implicit or explicit) as a cause in the preceding text, and **profiles the time when an event is about to happen (example 5-6 and 4-3) or has already happened with a result (example 5-5)**. Whichever situation of the event it refers to, *zhèxià* takes a predicate that expresses the speaker’s own feelings or speculations. All in all, in expressing *zhèxià*⁴, the speaker takes his **own position as the reference** and places **himself onstage**. This sense has the **highest subjectivity**.

In sum, the above analysis presents how the semantic extension of *zhèxià* is consistent with subjectification. Although senses 1 and 2 are less common in modern Chinese, senses 3 and 4 still demonstrate that their references have changed from the location of the character to the speaker, and the speaker has moved from the offstage to the onstage region.

5.2 *Dāngxià* Perspective

Dāngxià underwent a three-stage process of subjectification similar to that of *zhèxià*.



However, there are fundamental differences between the two words in terms of perspective, including the profiling aspect, the perceived entities, reference, the speaker's vantage point, and the distance between the speaker and the entity.

First and foremost, it should be noted that the previous study is problematic to argue that *dāngxià* originates from ‘auxiliary verb + verb’ combination, which reads “should conquer”, “should sow” or “should kneel down” (Shen, 2014: p.64-65). We contend that this expression is only a temporary collocation of the two components, which has no direct relation to the temporal meaning of *dāngxià*. This is because (1) it is unlikely for an auxiliary verb like *dāng* to be transformed into a preposition that carries the temporal sense. In fact, the emergence of the auxiliary verb and preposition *dāng* happened almost simultaneously, and both stemmed from the original meaning; (2) the preposition *dāng*, which is used to mark the time, derives from the original meaning, but not from the auxiliary verb use (Wu, 2008: p.128); (3) the ‘auxiliary verb + verb’ expression of *dāng xià* still occurred in later works in the Ming-Qing Dynasty. For example,

(5-7) *Dāng xià*-Rescue

知	井	有	仁	者，	當	下
Know	well	have	kind	person	should	go.down
而	從	之	否？			
And	save	3SG	Q			

“If (gentleman) finds out that someone benevolent is trapped in a well, should he descend and rescue him?” (*Zhu Xi’s Quote Categories [ZhūzǐYǔLèi]*, Northern Song Dynasty: 1270 A.D.)

Accordingly, these pieces of evidence validate that the combination of *dāng* and *xià* in ancient Chinese has little to do with the temporal sense.

The provided figure offers an overview of the three stages of semantic development

of *dāngxià*, illustrating the changes in its form, function, and meaning. This serves to establish a broader understanding before delving into further elaboration.

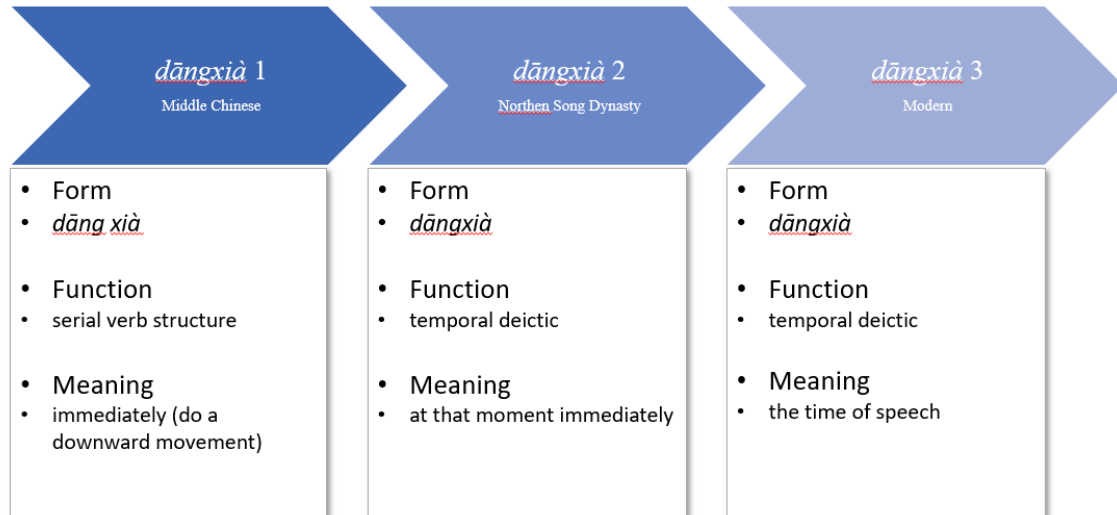
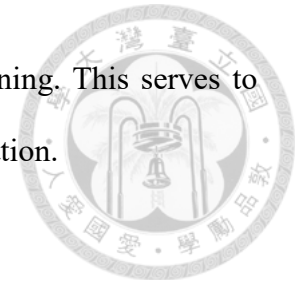


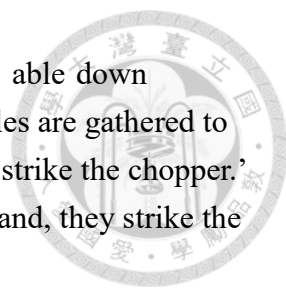
Figure 5.2 The three stages of semantic development of *dāngxià*

Sense 1

We contend that *dāngxià* has developed its temporal sense from its earliest usage, as illustrated by the following examples from Buddhist Scriptures.

(5-8) *Dāng xià*-Chop wood (Sinica Corpus of Middle Chinese)

即	往	問	佛	:	『我	諸	弟子
<i>jí</i>	<i>wǎng</i>	<i>wèn</i>	<i>fó</i>		<i>wǒ</i>	<i>zhū</i>	<i>dìzǐ</i>
immediate	go	ask	Buddha		1SG	PLM	disciple
向	共	破	薪，				
<i>xiàng</i>	<i>gòng</i>	<i>pò</i>	<i>xīn</i> ，				
toward	together	chop	wood				
斧	皆	舉	而	不	下	。』	
<i>fǔ</i>	<i>jiē</i>	<i>jǔ</i>	<i>ér</i>	<i>bù</i>	<i>xià</i>		
chopper	all	raise	and	NEG	down		
佛	言	:	『當		下！』	應	聲
<i>fó</i>	<i>yán</i>	<i>dāng</i>	<i>xià</i>	<i>yīng</i>	<i>shēng</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>xià</i> 。



Buddha say immediate down respond sound able down
 “He immediately went to the Buddha and said, ‘All of us disciples are gathered to chop wood together, but we are hesitant and none of us dares to strike the chopper.’ The Buddha then said, “Chop it, now!” Upon hearing his command, they strike the chopper.” (*Lalitavistara* [*Pǔ Yào Jīng*], West Jin, 265-316 A.D.)

(5-9) *Dāng xià*-Buddha Country (Sinica Corpus of Middle Chinese)

見 已， 皆 大 歡 欣 踊 躍，
jiàn yǐ , jiē dà huān xīn yǒng yuè
 see FP all big joy happy dance jump
 自 念 言：『我 曹 義 不 可 於
zì niàn yán : 『 wǒ cáo yì bù kě yú
 self read say 1SG PLM virtue NEG can at
 車 上 載， 當 下 步 入 國 耳。』
chē shàng zài dāng xià bù rù guó ěr
 car on stay immediate down walk into country FP
 “Upon seeing the sight, everyone was filled with exultation. He said to himself, ‘We should not stay on the car. Let’s get down the car and enter the country right away!’” (*Astasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* [*Dào Xíng Bō Re Jīng*], Late Han Dynasty: ca. 947-950)

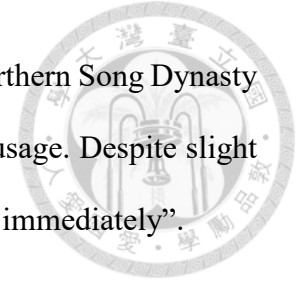
The two tokens of *dāng xià* are non-lexicalized verb phrases. In the first token, *dāng* is an adverb meaning ‘immediately’⁶; *xià* is a verb indicating downward movement, and the entire expression is an order, conveying the meaning ‘Chop (it), now!’. The second example of *dāng xià* also connotes ‘immediate’, meaning ‘Let’s get off (the car) now’, and can be interpreted as an adverbial or predicate of a serial verb construction, which indicates that it is transforming from a verb to an adverb.

Sense 2

Dāngxià became lexicalized during the Song Dynasty, with the temporal sense

⁶ *Piān Hǎi Lèi Biān* (Geography) [篇海類編•地理類•田部] notes that “*Dāng*, is equivalent to ‘immediately’(當，即也。)”

remaining its main usage in modern Chinese. Example (5-10) is a Northern Song Dynasty token, while examples (5-11) and (5-12) are from modern Chinese usage. Despite slight differences in their scope, all three examples mean “at that moment; immediately”.



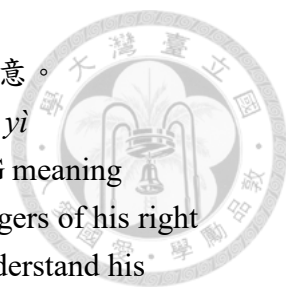
(5-10) *Dāngxià*-Fault (Sinica Corpus of Early Mandarin Chinese)

今人	做	錯	一	件	事，
<i>jīnrén</i>	<i>zuò</i>	<i>cuò</i>	<i>yī</i>	<i>jiàn</i>	<i>shì</i>
today.people	do	wrong	one	CL	thing
說	錯	一	句	話，	
<i>shuō</i>	<i>cuò</i>	<i>yī</i>	<i>jù</i>	<i>huà</i>	
say	wrong	one	sentence	word	
不	肯	當下	覺悟	便	改，
<i>bù</i>	<i>kěn</i>	<i>dāngxià</i>	<i>juéwù</i>	<i>biàn</i>	<i>gǎi</i>
NEG	willing	<i>dāngxià</i>	realize	then	change
卻	只	管	去	救	其 失，
<i>què</i>	<i>zhǐ</i>	<i>guǎn</i>	<i>qù</i>	<i>jiù</i>	<i>qí shī</i>
but	only	care	go	save	3SG-NEU lose
少	間	救	得	過失	越 大。
<i>shǎo</i>	<i>jiān</i>	<i>jiù</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>guòshī</i>	<i>yuè dà</i>
little	time	save	gain	error	more big
無	不	是	如此。		
<i>wú</i>	<i>bù</i>	<i>shì</i>	<i>rúcǐ</i>		
NEG	NEG	C/F	like.so		

“If modern people did or said something wrong, they would not realize and change, but only manage to make up the mistakes. Rarely did they correct them but the errors turned out to be larger. Everyone is like so.” (*Zhu Xi’s Quote Categories* [*ZhūzǐYǔLèi*], Northern Song Dynasty: 1270 A.D.)

(5-11) *Dāngxià*-Fingers (CWS: gigaword2all)

李文秀	低頭	一	看，	只	見	他	右手	兩	根
<i>Lǐ Wén-xiù</i>	<i>dītóu</i>	<i>yī</i>	<i>kàn</i>	<i>zhǐ</i>	<i>jiàn</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>yòushǒu</i>	<i>liǎng</i>	<i>gēn</i>
Lǐ Wén-xiù	low.head	one	look	only	see	3SG	right.hand	two	CL
手指	間	挾	著	一	枚	細	針，	當下	伸
<i>shǒuzhǐ</i>	<i>jiān</i>	<i>xiá</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>yī</i>	<i>méi</i>	<i>xì</i>	<i>zhēn</i>	<i>dāngxià</i>	<i>shēn</i>
finger	between	hold	PRG-P	one	CL	thin	needle	<i>dāngxià</i>	stretch



手指 拿住 了， 卻 不 明 其 意。
 shǒuzhǐ ná-zhù le què bù míng qí yì
 finger take-stop CRS but NEG understand 3SG meaning
 “*Lǐ Wén-xiù* looked down and saw a needle between the two fingers of his right hand. She immediately used her fingers to hold it, but didn’t understand his meaning.” (*Swordswoman Riding West on White Horse [Bái Mǎ Xiào Xī Fēng]*, Modern Chinese)

(5-12) *Dāngxià*-Plotting (CWS: Sinica)

五月 初 的 一 天 下午， 他 告 訴 我
 Wǔyuè chū de yī tiān xiàwǔ, tā gàosù wǒ
 Five.month start ASSOC one day afternoon 3SG tell 1SG
 圖 形 已 繪 出， 而 且 和 實 測 曲 線 很 像。
 túxíng yǐ huì-chū, érqiě hé shí cè qǔxiàn hěn xiàng
 graph already plot-out, also with real.measure curve.line very alike
 我 當 下 跑 到 螢 幕 前 一 看，
 wǒ dāngxià pǎo-dào yíngmù qián yī kàn,
 1SG dāngxià run-achieve screen front one see,
 兩 曲 線 果 真 相 像
 liǎng qǔxiàn guǒzhēn xiàngxiàng
 two curve.line true alike

“One afternoon at the start of May, he told me that the graph had been plotted out, and was highly similar to the curve line drawn in the actual measurement. I run to the screen right away, and found that it was truly alike.” (Modern Chinese)

In each of these sentences, *dāngxià* serves to **profile the time of the main situation**, using a **previously happened event as a reference time** (i.e. *jīnrén zuò cuò yī jiàn shì, shuō cuò yī jù huà*: If modern people did or said something wrong; *zhǐ jiàn tā yòushǒu liǎng gēn shǒuzhǐ jiān xiá zhe yī méi xì zhēn*: She saw a needle between the two fingers of his right hand; *tā gàosù wǒ túxíng yǐ huì-chū, érqiě hé shí cè qǔxiàn hěn xiàng*: he told me that the graph had been plotted out, and was highly similar to the curve line drawn in the actual measurement). Also, the two time points are almost synchronized. This synchronizing feature is attributed to the component *dāng*, which originates from

the meanings of “to equal, to match” and “to face” (Duan, 1808; Wang & Ye, 2006: p.56; Wu, 2014: p.93), and later extends as a preposition to locate a time point. The time point is indicated by *xià*, which emerges from the noun sense “the short time period near the observer” at this time. Moreover, in the above three examples, *dāngxià* **invokes a hypothetical condition, story, and past event** respectively and all of them can be categorized into the displaced mode, which is distant from the speaker’s consciousness (Chafe, 1994: p.198-200). This suggests that the speaker’s vantage point stays **offstage**, and that this sense is a more **objective use** of *dāngxià*.

Sense 3

According to Shen (2014), the third sense of *dāngxià*, meaning “now or present moment” has emerged recently in 21st century. The following are two examples.

(4-11) Gender Stereotype

任何醫學科學都帶著歷史的烙印，多多少少都會反映出當下社會的性別成見，可惜我們的醫學專家們鮮少對自己的專業和這個專業的性別成見加以反省批判。(Modern Chinese)
 “Any fields of medicine and science carry the historical stigma and more or less reflect the gender stereotype in today’s society. However, it’s a pity that our medical experts seldom retrospect and be critical to their own expertise and the gender stereotype within this profession.”

(5-13) *Dāngxià*-Hurt (CWS: Sinica)

既然	無法	改變	已經	發生	的	事實，
<i>jìrán</i>	<i>wúfǎ</i>	<i>gǎibiàn</i>	<i>yǐjīng</i>	<i>fāshēng</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>shìshí</i>
Now.that	incapable	change	already	happen	NOM	truth
而	往後	要	走	的	人生	路
<i>ér</i>	<i>wǎnghòu</i>	<i>yào</i>	<i>zǒu</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>rénshēng</i>	<i>lù</i>
and	afterward	want	walk	NOM	life	road
而	往後	還	很	長，		
<i>hái</i>	<i>hěn</i>	<i>cháng</i>				
and	still	very	long			
所以	當下	妳	最	重要	的	就是
<i>suǒyǐ</i>	<i>dāngxià</i>	<i>nǚ</i>	<i>zuì</i>	<i>zhòngyào</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>jiù shì</i>

therefore	dāngxià	2SG-F	most	important	NOM	JIU	C/F
從	受傷	的	生命	中	勇敢地		
cóng	shòushāng	de	shēngmìng	zhōng	yǒnggǎn-de		
from	hurt	NOM	life	middle	courageously		
	走出來	。					
	zǒu-chūlái						
	walk-out						



“Now that it is a fait accompli and then the road of life is still very long, the most important thing now is to come out of the hurt courageously.” (Modern Chinese)

Both of the texts are immediate modes, in which (4-11) is a report, and (5-13) is a dialogue. This indicates that *dāngxià* invokes the scope of **the present time or the time of speech**, and is directly related to the speaker’s consciousness. Different from the last sense, whose reference is an aforementioned event, *dāngxià*³ takes the **speaker’s time and space** as the reference. In addition, the **profiling objects** (i.e., *shèhuì de xìngbié chéngjiàn*: “the gender stereotype in today’s society” and *zuì zhòngyào de jiù shì cóng shòushāng de shēngmìng zhōng yǒnggǎn-de zǒu-chūlái*: “the most important thing now is to come out of the hurt courageously”) refer to a **progressive or continuous event** that takes place over a longer time span. Thus, this sense of *dāngxià* is able to be substituted with *xiànzài*, which has **higher subjectivity**, and the **speaker’s** position is at the **onstage** region. However, these explanations are not enough to distinguish *dāngxià*³ from *zhèxià*⁴ and *xiànzài*⁴. We will elaborate more on the comparisons of the two in the next section.

To summarize, the evolution of *dāngxià* from sense 1 to sense 3 indicates a shift in the reference time from other events to the speaker’s time, along with a corresponding shift in the speaker’s vantage point from offstage to onstage. This process of change reflects a gradual subjectification of *dāngxià*.



5.3 Xiànzài Perspective

In the preceding two sections, the subjectification of *zhèxià* and *dāngxià* was discussed. In this section, the analysis will focus on *xiànzài*. The process of lexicalization of *xiànzài* also adheres to the principles of subjectification; however, distinctions exist between *xiànzài* and the preceding two terms, which will be elaborated in the following discussion.

Similarly, this section commences with a concise overview of the semantic evolution of *xiànzài*:

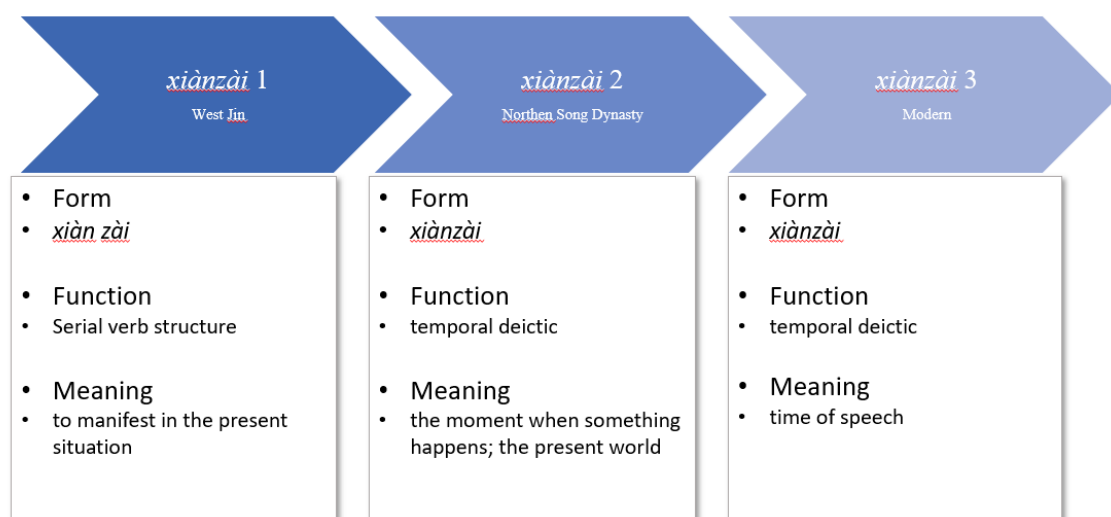


Figure 5.3 The three stages of semantic development of *xiànzài*

Sense 1

The earliest tokens appeared in the Buddhist Scriptures, which were codified around the age of the Eastern Han Dynasty (Hu, 2006). In these works, *xiàn zài* were two collocated components, and performed as a verb phrase, meaning “to manifest in the present situation” (Buddhism Dictionary), as shown in the example (5-14).

(5-14) *Xiàn zài*-Buddhas (Sinica Corpus of Middle Chinese)

云 何 行 ， 心 一 等 念
Yún hé xíng xīn yī equal niàn

Say	why	do	heart	one	wait	think	
十	方	諸	佛	悉	現	在	前
<i>shí</i>	<i>fāng</i>	<i>zhū</i>	<i>fó</i>	<i>xī</i>	<i>xiàn</i>	<i>zài</i>	<i>qián</i>
ten	side	all	Buddha	all	appear	exist	front



“What should we do so that Buddhas from all directions appear in one thought?”
 (Pratyutpanna Samādhi Sūtra [*Bō Zhōu Sān Mèi Jīng*], Late Han Dynasty: ca. 947-950)

The example indicates that the components in *xiàn zài* reflect their individual meanings, which are two concrete motions (‘appear’ and ‘exist’) that form a serial verb structure. This shows that the spatial sense dominates and the temporal sense has not yet emerged. From the perspective aspect, since this sense is directly associated with the speaker’s vision, the **speaker stays on the stage**, acts as **a reference**, and focuses his attention on the perceived object in front of him. These features correspond with Langacker’s egocentric viewing arrangement, as shown in the Figure 5.4. To sum up, this sense already has a high but not full subjectivity.

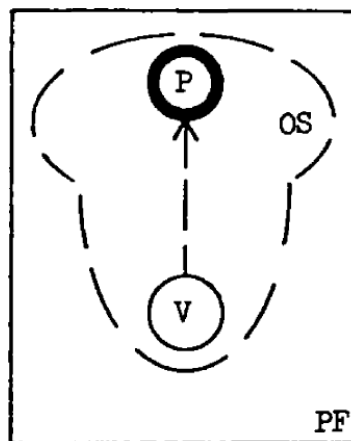
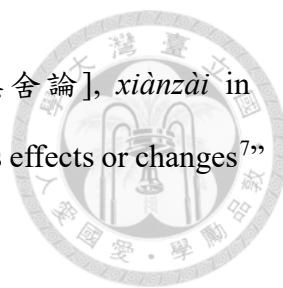


Figure 5.4 Egocentric viewing arrangement

Sense 2

In the Buddhist Scriptures, *xiàn zài* is used as a lexicalized term to denote temporal



meaning. According to *Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya* [*Jù Shè Lùn* 俱舍論], *xiànzài* in Buddhism is a term for “the moment when something happens, brings effects or changes⁷” or “the present world.” For example,

(5-15) Xiànzài-Bear

若 現在 生， 現在 生 無 住。
ruò xiànzài shēng xiàn zài shēng wú zhù
 If at.this.moment bear at.this.moment bear NEG stay
 “If it (dharma, ‘rule’ in Buddhism) appears at this moment, then it won’t stay long.” ([*Wéi Mó Jié Jīng*], *Middle Chinese*)

(5-16) Xiànzài-Mind

現在 心 不 可 得。
xiànzài xīn bù kě dé
 at.this.moment mind NEG can gain
 “At this moment, the mind does not gain (Bodhi, ‘wisdom or enlightenment’)”
 (The Diamond Sutra [*Jīn Gāng Jīng*], *Middle Chinese*)

(5-17) Xiànzài-the Present World (Sinica Corpus of Middle Chinese)

如 此 之 人， 在 世 不 久，
 Rú cǐ zhī rén zài shì bù jiǔ
 as this NOM person at world NEG long
 必 得 解 脫， 離 諸 苦 厄。
 bì dé jiě tuō lí zhū kǔ è
 must gain untie shed leave all bitter adversity
 所 以 者 何？ 此 染 衣 者，
 suǒ yǐ zhě hé cǐ rǎnyī zhě
 as because NOM why this dye.robe person
 過 去 未 來 現 在 三 世 聖 人 標 相，
 guòqù wèilái xiànzài sān shì shèngrén biāoxiàng
 Past future xiànzài three world sage appearance
 我 若 害 之， 則 為 惡 心 趣 向
 wǒ ruò hài zhī , zé wéi è xīn qù xiàng

⁷ This sentence is a translation of “指事物正在發生作用、變遷的剎那間。”

1SG if harm 3SG then C/F evil heart go forward
 三 世 諸 賢 聖 人。
sān shì zhū xián shèngrén
 three world all wise saint



“This type of person will not remain in the world for long and must liberate themselves from all suffering and hardship. Why? Such a person with his robe dyed, bears the mark of a saint in the past, present, and future. Therefore, harming such a person would mean going against the three-world saint and showing an evil intent in my heart.” (The Sutra of the Wise and Fool [*Xián Yú Jīng*] , Middle Chinese)

The first two tokens of *xiànzài* indicate that the appearance of something is ephemeral and does not last long (The Origin of Buddhism Slangs, 2013). In addition, their adverbial properties signify their temporal senses in these sentences. Token (5-17) is a noun form, indicating the present world which contrasts with the past (i.e. *guòqù*) and the future (i.e. *wèilái*) (The Origin of Buddhism Slangs, 2013). These expressions position **the speaker as the reference point** and profile **the moment of the predicate** or **the duration of one’s life**. In other words, the speaker is situated in the “onstage” region.

Although these uses of *xiànzài* in Buddhism are not entirely identical to the modern meaning, we argue that sense 2 and sense 3 have a direct influence on the generation of the modern use.

Sense 3

The sense 3 of *xiànzài* emerged in Ming-Qing Dynasties and has no difference with today’s meaning (Hu, 2006). Example (5-18) present a token found in A Dream of the Red Chamber, and the other two are modern examples.

(5-18) Xiànzài-Pear Blossom

如今 從 南 帶 至 北，

rújīn cóng nán dài zhì běi ,
 Today from south take to north
現在 就 埋 在 梨花 樹底 呢
xiànzài jiù mái zài líhuā shù-dǐ ne
 now JIU bury beneath pear.blossom tree-under PT



“Before then, he brought from the South to the North. Now, it is buried under the pear blossom tree.” (*The Dream of the Red Chamber [Hóng Lóu Mèng]*, Qing Dynasty: 1784 A.D.)

(4-13) Street Construction

現在全國許多城市都在建造唐代一條街、宋代一條街之類

“Now, there are many cities constructing ‘Tang Street’ and ‘Song Street’, etc.”
 (Modern Chinese)

(5-19) Xiànzài-Cancer (CWS: Sinica)

因為 我 沒 有 太多 時間 了 ， 再 過
yīnwèi wǒ méi yǒu tài duō shíjiān le , zài guò
 because 1SG NEG have too much time CRS again pass
 不 久 ， 她 就 會 發現 我的 落髮 、 乾癟
Bù jiǔ tā jiù huì fāxiàn wǒ de luòfà gānbǐě
 NEG long 3SG-F JIU will discover 1SG GEN hair.loss shrivel
 和 一切 發生 在 癌症 末期 病患 的
hé yīqiè fāshēng zài áizhèng mòqī bìnghuàn de
 and everything happen at cancer final.phase patient GEN
 異常 現象 **現在** 我就 快要 成功 了 ，
yìcháng xiànxiàng xiànzài wǒ jiù kuàiyào chénggōng le
 abnormal phenomenon xiànzài 1SG JIU almost succeed CRS
 絕 不 能 在 緊要 關頭 自亂陣腳
jué bù néng zài jǐnyào guāntóu zìluànzhènjiǎo
 absolute NEG can at critical moment put.self.into.confusion

“Because I am running out of time, soon she is going to discover my hair loss, shriveled skin, and all the other symptoms that occur in a patient in the final stages of cancer. Now, I’m on the verge of success, I must not mess it up”(Modern Chinese)

These examples manifest *xiànzài* mostly appear in the immediate mode, such as

reports and dialogues, and reflect a direct connection to the speaker's consciousness. This suggests that the **speaker takes his own position as reference**, which is similar to the last sense discussed. Their difference, however, lies in the **profiling part**. Based on the above examples, *xiànzài*³ profiles **the duration of an ongoing/lasting situation** (example 5-18 and 4-13), or **the imminent occurrence of a situation** (example 5-19). All in all, sense 3 is a subjective use and the speaker's vantage point is **on the stage**.

In conclusion, the above discussion demonstrates that although *xiànzài* has undergone semantic change, the **speaker's point of view has constantly remained onstage** and been used subjectively.

5.4 An Intercomparison

Based on the analysis in the previous section, we can summarize the differences among *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* in their viewing arrangements (including reference, profiles, location of the speech ground) in the following table:

Table 5-1 A comparison of the viewing arrangements of *zhèxià* senses

	<i>zhèxià</i> 1	<i>zhèxià</i> 2	<i>zhèxià</i> 3	<i>zhèxià</i> 4
Reference	speech ground	speech ground	speech ground	speech ground
Profiles / refers to / indicate	Actual movement	A short-lasting event	The time when the resultative situation happened.	The time when a situation is about to happen / the time when a situation has already happened with a result
Speech ground (speaker's vantage point)	offstage	offstage	Offstage	Onstage



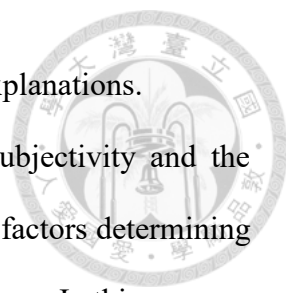
Table 5-2 A comparison of the viewing arrangements of *dāngxià* senses

	<i>dāngxià</i> 2	<i>dāngxià</i> 2	<i>dāngxià</i> 3
Reference	(NA)	Previously mentioned event	speech ground
Profiles / refers to / indicate	An actual movement	The moment when a situation happened	The time range of an existing fact
Speech ground (speaker's vantage point)	onstage	offstage	onstage

Table 5-3 A Comparison of the viewing arrangement of *xiànzài* senses

	<i>xiànzài</i> 1	<i>xiànzài</i> 2	<i>xiànzài</i> 3
Reference	speech ground	speech ground	speech ground
Profiles / refers to / indicate	The space near the front of the speaker	The moment when a situation happens; One's life	The time range of a progressive or existing situation / The time when a situation is about to happen / The time when a situation has already done.
Speech ground (speaker's vantage point)	Onstage	onstage	onstage

In light of our research question, whether or not the three temporal adverbs in modern Chinese are interchangeable in certain situations needs to be answered. In this



section, we will elaborate on this topic by providing examples and explanations.

From the comparison, we can conclude that the degree of subjectivity and the position of the speech ground (speaker’s VP) are the most important factors determining the interchangeability of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* in modern Chinese. In this way, we can divide their senses into two classes—the less subjective class, which includes *zhèxià*₃ and *dāngxià*₂, and the more subjective class, which includes *zhèxià*₄, *dāngxià*₃, and *xiànzài*₃. Figure 5.5 depicts the categorization of the less and more subjective classes for *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài*. The senses within the same class are sometimes able to be interchanged under specific circumstances, and will be explained in the follow-up section.

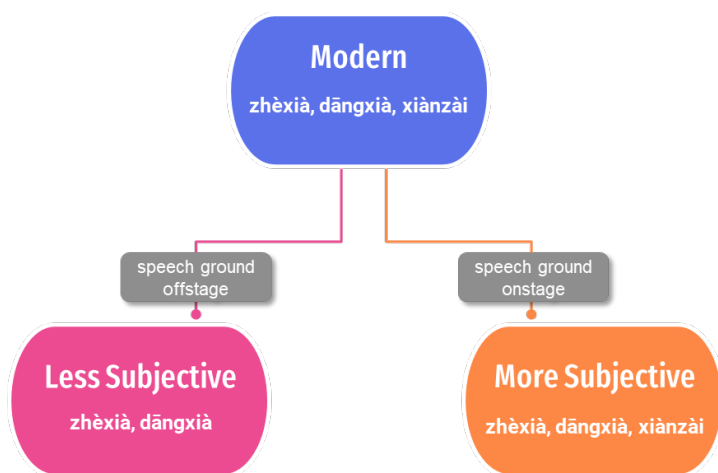


Figure 5.5 The categorization for the modern senses of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài*

5.4.1 The Less Subjective Class—*zhèxià*₃ and *dāngxià*₂

For the convenience of comparison, the perspective elements of *zhèxià*₃ and *dāngxià*₂ are repeated in Table 5-4, which describes the similarities and differences between the two. Next, we duplicate the examples given in the last section to test the interchangeability of the two words.



Table 5-4 Comparison of perspective between *zhèxià* 3 & *dāngxià* 2

	<i>zhèxià</i> 3	<i>dāngxià</i> 2
Reference	speech ground	Previously mentioned event
Profiles / refers to / indicate	The time of a happened situation	The time of a happened situation
Speech ground (speaker's vantage point)	Offstage	Offstage

(5-20) Red Rose White Rose: *zhèxià* ↔ *dāngxià*

嬰兒 的 頭腦 與 成熟 的 婦人 的 美
yīngér de tóunǎo yǔ chéngshú de fùrén de měi
 infant GEN brain and mature NOM woman GEN beauty
 是 最 具 誘惑 性 的 聯合。
shì zuì jù yòuhuò xìng de liánhé
 C/F most have lure property NOM combine
 這下 (當下) 振保 完全 被 征服 了。
Zhèxià/dāngxià Zhèn-bǎo wánquán bèi zhēngfú le
zhèxià/dāngxià Zhèn-bǎo complete BEI subdue CRS

(Red Rose and White Rose, MinGuo)

“The infant-like brain and the beauty of a mature woman was the most mesmerizing combination. At this moment, Zhèn-bǎo was completely subdued.”

(5-11) *Dāngxià*-Fingers: *dāngxià* ↔ *zhèxià*

李文秀低頭一看，只見他右手兩根手指間挾著一枚細針，當下 (這下) 伸手指拿住了，卻不明其意。

“*Lǐ Wén-xiù* looked down and saw a needle between the two fingers of his right hand. She immediately used her fingers to hold it, but didn’t understand his meaning.”

(5-12) *Dāngxià*-Plotting: *dāngxià* ↔ *zhèxià*

五月初的一天下午，他告訴我圖形已繪出，而且和實測曲線很像。我當下



(這下)跑到螢幕前一看，兩曲線果真相像。

“One afternoon in the starting of May, he told me that the graph had been plotted out, and was highly similar to the curve line drawn in the actual measurement. I run to the screen right away, and found that it was truly alike.”

(5-5) *Zhèxià*-Relieve: *zhèxià* ⇔ *dāngxià*

昨天深夜，在桃園中正國際機場看到政府全程接運返國的第四批僑民和遊客平安抵達後，程建人向外交部同事表示：「這下（*當下）真的安心了。」

“Seeing the fourth group of expatriates and tourists returned safe and sound at Taoyuan International Airport last night, Chéng Jiàn-rén said to the MOFA colleagues, “Now we can relieve!”

Their similarities are reflected in three aspects. First, they are both used in the displaced mode of discourse to tell a story, a past event, or a hypothetical situation. Second, their speech grounds are both located in the offstage region, which denotes relatively lower subjectivity. Third, both of them profile the moment of the main situation, i.e. “*Zhèn-bǎo wánquán bèi zhēngfú le* (Zhèn-bǎo was completely subdued)”, “*shēn shǒuzhǐ ná-zhù le* (immediately used her fingers to hold it)”, and “*pǎo-dào yíngmù qián yī kàn* (run to the screen right away)” in the above three examples. In brief, when the situations connected by *zhèxià* and *dāngxià* occur almost simultaneously, they can be used interchangeably.

Although *zhèxià*³ and *dāngxià*² can be substituted for each other in the three examples, they are not semantically identical. This is owing to several differences between the two.

Firstly, both of them connect two events in sentence structures, but their previous events have different properties. In the case of *zhèxià*³, the previous event serves as a background, and the two events it connects have a causal relationship but do not necessarily occur at the same time. On the other hand, the previous event of *dāngxià*²

serves as a reference for the succeeding event, resulting in two events that occur synchronously but need not to have a causal relationship.

Secondly, their references are not the same. *Zhèxià*³ takes the speech ground as the reference, while *dāngxià*² takes a previously mentioned event as the reference. In other words, although their speech grounds are both offstage, *zhèxià*³ has grounding relationship (as defined by Langacker, 1990) with it, whereas *dāngxià*² does not. This concept can be presented by Figure 5.2 proposed by Langacker (1990). To be more specific, in examples 5-11 and 5-12, *dāngxià* suggests an indirect discourse, which means the story experienced by the protagonist is reported through the narrator's own context or deictic center (Maier, 2015: p.5). However, if *zhèxià* is used instead, it can be interpreted as either a direct discourse or a free indirect discourse. A direct discourse is the narrator directly reporting the character's thought (or word) verbatim, as presented by example 5-5. On the other hand, a free indirect discourse (FID) expresses the character's thoughts with a fusion of the two voices of the character and the narrator, which creates an effect that the narrator is more involved in the story scene (Lodge, 1990: p.126; Pascal, 1977: p.26; Bray, 2007: p.16-17). The *zhèxià* tokens in examples 5-20, 5-11, and 5-12 all demonstrate this feature of free indirect discourse. According to Maier (2015: p.7), an FID typically includes indexicals that suggest the character's context (e.g. proximal demonstrative 'this'), while the pronouns and tenses match the narrator's perspective. (Maier, 2015: p.7). All in all, both direct discourse and free indirect discourse indicate that *zhèxià* establishes a close relationship between the story content and the speaker.

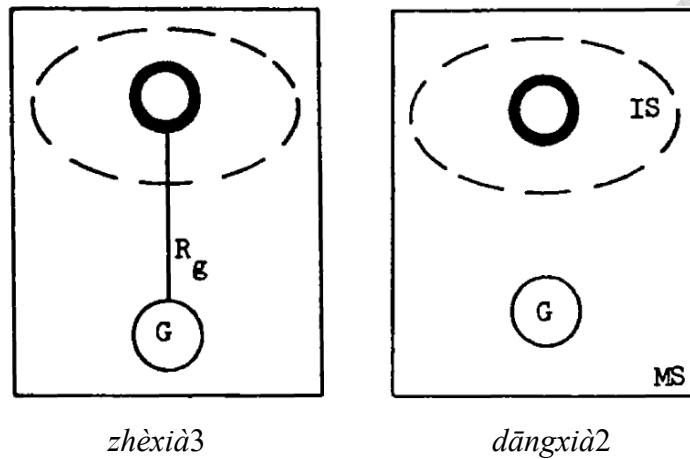
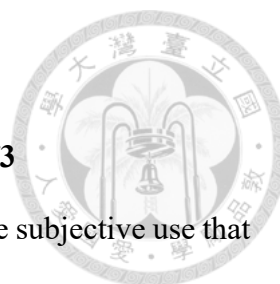


Figure 5.6 The grounding difference between *zhèxià3* & *dāngxià2*

The aforementioned phenomenon can be referred to as “perspectivization,” which involves a shift in perspective from the speaker or narrator to another character. According to Sanders & Spooren (1997: p.85), “perspectivization” is that the speaker lends their subject of consciousness—the entity responsible for the information—to the character in the discourse. However, the referential center may be aligned with either the speaker or the character, depending on the use of deictics or tense in the discourse. From their viewpoint, we can say that *dāngxià* is usually used in an indirect discourse, where the subject of consciousness is with the character, and the referential center is with the speaker. In contrast, a direct speech where the subject of consciousness and the referential center are with the character, only takes *zhèxià* but excludes *dāngxià*, as seen in example 5-5. This is because the time and position within the embedded speech refer solely to the character. Furthermore, the usage of *zhèxià* in examples 5-20, 5-11, and 5-12 can be considered as free indirect discourse, since the subject of consciousness is attributed to the character, and the referential center is attributed to the implicit speaker. However, the lack of explicit tense markers in Chinese suggests that the narrator is referring to his or the character’s time, and thus this can also explain why *zhèxià* and *dāngxià* appear to be interchangeable.



5.4.2 The More Subjective Class—*zhèxià*4, *dāngxià*3, and *xiànzài*3

As mentioned earlier, each of the three temporal adverbials has a more subjective use that the speaker's vantage point is placed onstage, and they are—*zhèxià*4, *dāngxià*3, and *xiànzài*3. Table 5-5 summarized the comparison of their perspective elements.

Table 5-5 A Comparison of perspective between *zhèxià* 4 & *dāngxià* 3 & *xiànzài* 3

	<i>zhèxià</i> 4	<i>dāngxià</i> 3	<i>xiànzài</i> 3
Reference	speech ground	speech ground	speech ground
Profiles / refers to / indicate	The time when a situation is about to happen / the time when a situation has already happened with a result	The time range of an existing fact	The time range of a progressive or existing situation / The time when a situation is about to happen / The time when a situation has already done.
Speech ground (speaker's vantage point)	Onstage	onstage	onstage

Table 5-5 illustrates that the main difference between *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* lies in their profiled time ranges, which is further exemplified by the predicates in the following examples. In some situations, they are able to interchange but some are not.

(5-13) *Dāngxià*-Hurt: *Dāngxià* ↔ *xiànzài*

既然無法改變已經發生的事實，而往後要走的人生路還很長，所以當下（現在/*這下）妳最重要的就是從受傷的生命中勇敢地走出來

“Now that it is a fait accompli and then the road of life is still very long, the most important thing now is to come out of the hurt courageously.” (Modern Chinese)



(4-13) Street Construction: *Xiànzài* ↔ *dāngxià*

我很想找山西省的哪個部門建議，下一個不大的決心，盡力恢復平遙西大街的原貌。現在(當下/*這下)全國許多城市都在建造唐代一條街、宋代一條街之類，那大多是根據歷史記載和想像在依稀遺跡間的重起爐灶，看多了總不大是味道

“I would really like to suggest a department of the Shanxi Province to make some effort to recover the original appearance of the West Pingyao Street. Since today many cities in the country are constructing sort of ‘Tang Street’ and ‘Song Street’, but most of them are rebuilt based on the historical records and imaginations. It just doesn’t feel right to see them.” (Modern Chinese)

(5-19) *Xiànzài*-Cancer: *Xiànzài* ↔ *zhèxià*

因為我沒有太多時間了，再過不久，她就會發現我的落髮、乾癟和一切發生在癌症末期病患的異常現象。現在(這下/*當下)我就快要成功了，絕不能在緊要關頭自亂陣腳(現代)

“Because I am running out of time, soon she is going to discover my hair loss, shriveled skin, and all the other symptoms that occur in a patient in the final stages of cancer. Now, I’m on the verge of success, I must not mess it up”(Modern Chinese)

(5-5) *Zhèxià*-Relieve: *Zhèxià* ↔ *Xiànzài*

昨天深夜，在桃園中正國際機場看到政府全程接運返國的第四批僑民和遊客平安抵達後，程建人向外交部同事表示：「這下(現在/*當下)真的安心了。」

“Seeing the fourth group of expatriates and tourists returned safe and sound at Taoyuan International Airport last night, Chéng Jiàn-rén said to the MOFA colleagues, “Now we can relieve!” (Modern Chinese)

(5-6) *Zhèxià*-South Korea: *Zhèxià* ↔ *Xiànzài*

昨晚的事件，是金泳三就任一年多來發生在首都的最嚴重暴力事件，南韓政府原本定今年為南韓觀光年，這下（現在/*當下）計畫可能要泡湯了。

“The incident occurred last night most severe violence during *Jīn Yǒng-sān*’s office. The South Korean government had hoped to set this year as the tourism year. Now the plan might screw up.”

First, *dāngxià* and *xiànzài* are interchangeable in that both of them take the speech ground as the reference and profile **the duration of an existing situation**, as shown in examples 5-13 and 4-13. However, the time range that *dāngxià* profiles does not extend to the **immediate future**, making it unsuitable for use with unrealistic situations, (e.g. Example 5-19): “*wǒ jiù kuàiyào chénggōng le* (I’m at the edge of success)”. In contrast, *xiànzài* can be used with such situations. This phenomenon suggests that the speaker perceives the present time at different distances with these two adverbs. When *dāngxià* is used, the speaker is targeting the present at a farther place, which means his visual field is larger, and therefore he sees a longer range of time (as Figure 5.7 shows). On the contrary, while *xiànzài* is used, the speaker is targeting the present closer, resulting in a narrower visual field and a shorter range of “now”, and thus the speaker can see the future event closer to his location (as Figure 5.8 shows).

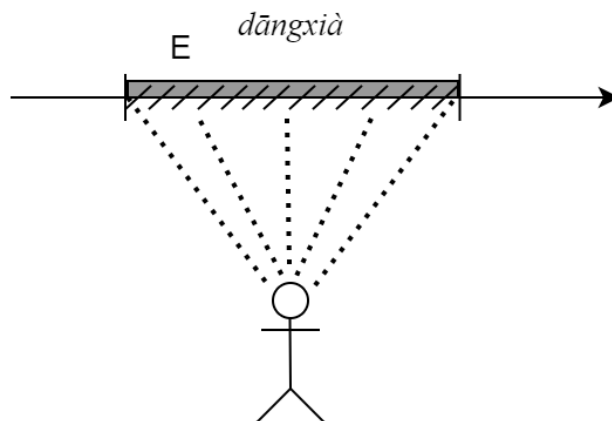


Figure 5.7 The perception of *dāngxià*

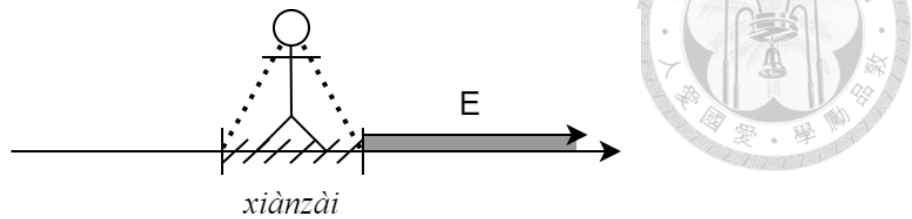


Figure 5.8 The perception of *xiànzài*

Second, *zhèxià* can be replaced with *xiànzài* in the subjective class, since they both indicate the **immediate future** (examples 5-19 and 5-6) or **currently happened situation** (example 5-5: “*zhēn de ān xīn le* (we can relieve)”). On the other hand, *xiànzài* is unable to be substituted with *zhèxià* in that (1) *zhèxià* does not profile the time range of a progressive or existing situation; (2) *xiànzài* does not necessarily imply a background as *zhèxià* does.

Third, *zhèxià* and *dāngxià* are generally not interchangeable, as demonstrated in examples 5-13, 5-5, and 5-6. This is also mainly due to differences in distance and perspectives. Compare to the construal of *dāngxià* in Figure 5.7, *zhèxià* suggests that the speaker stands closer to the perceived object and directs his attention to the immediate future, as depicted in Figure 5.9.

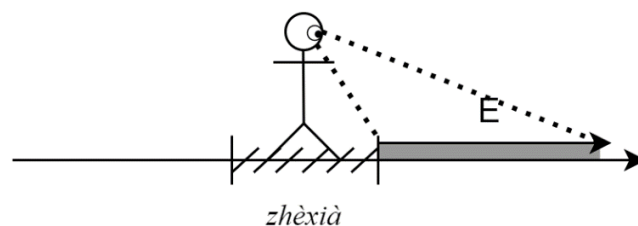


Figure 5.9 The perception of *zhèxià*

The two figures highlight the distinctions between the two adverbs: while *dāngxià* typically indicates the time range covering an existing situation, *zhèxià* refers to the time

range when a situation is about to occur.



5.4.3 Degrees of subjectivity of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài*

In addition to their time properties, we have discovered in the last section that the temporal terms *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* differ in the speaker's perspective, even though they refer to same amount of time. However, Langacker's framework does not make a clear distinction between their degrees of subjectivity. This is because Langacker's definition of "subjectification" is a narrower sense, which mainly pertains to the matter of **construal** and has less to do with the meaning of an expression. On the contrary, Traugott's definition of "subjectivity and subjectification" concerns the conceptual **content**, which discusses the process of the meaning becoming more subjective (Langacker, 2006). She considered that the subjectification of many linguistic uses experienced three stages of shifts in meaning: propositional → textual → expressive (Traugott, 1982). The three-stage of meaning shift reflects the tendencies from concrete to abstract, and from externally described situation to internally described situation (i.e. evaluative/cognitive/perceptual) (Langacker, 2006: p.17). Based on this theory, the expression which carries the expressive function has the highest subjectivity.

In this way, we argue that the degrees of subjectivity of the three temporal adverbs: *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* can be better differentiated through Traugott's theory. Accordingly, the three adverbs are in different stages of development, which is summarized in Table 5-6. *Zhèxià* includes all the propositional, textual, and expressive components; *dāngxià* has propositional and textual features, while *xiànzài* has only the propositional meaning. From this information, we can conclude that *zhèxià* bears the highest subjectivity among the three.



Table 5-6 A Comparison Among Three Temporal Adverbs with Traugott’s Approach

	propositional	textual	expressive
<i>zhèxià</i>	✓	✓	✓
<i>dāngxià</i>	✓	✓	
<i>xiànzài</i>	✓		

First, Traugott mentioned in her study that the propositional aspect of a language use also “includes various categories which cannot be interpreted solely in terms of truth-conditional relations, such as deictics to places, times, and persons (Traugott, 1982).” As such, the propositional meanings of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* are essentially their temporal senses.

Second, *zhèxià* and *dāngxià* reflect the textual functions linking at least two propositions in the discourse. As previously mentioned, *zhèxià* establishes a causal relation between two events, where the first event serves as the background for the subsequent one. Our corpus data shows that this background can be either explicit or implicit, as illustrated in examples (5-5) and (4-2).

(5-5) Zhèxià-Relieve

昨天深夜，在桃園中正國際機場[看到政府全程接運返國的第四批僑民和遊客平安抵達後]，程建人向外交部同事表示：「這下真的安心了。」

“Seeing the fourth group of expatriates and tourists returning safe and sound at Taoyuan International Airport last night, Chéng Jiàn-rén said to the MOFA colleagues, “Now we can relieve!”

(4-2) False Accusation

陳春生昨天以一卷「桃色錄音帶」指控吳敦義有婚外情，在高雄市引起軒然大波。吳敦義……隨後前往地檢署控告陳春生誹謗與違反選罷法規定。……鄭德耀告訴吳敦義，「我也想當市長，但不會用這種手段」他還向吳敦義打

趣說，「……這下婦女票全都被你吸走了。」

“...Chén Chūn-shēng took advantage of an audio file to accuse Wú Dūn-yì of having extramarital affair, and led to an uproar in Kaohsiung City. Wú Dūn-yì later went to the District Prosecutors Office to sue Chén Chūn-shēng for libel and violation the Election And Recall Act.Zhèng Dé-yào told Wú Dūn-yì, “I also want to be the mayor, but I won’t use this kind of trick.” He also made fun of WúDūnyì and said, “Now, all the women’s votes are sucked away by you.”

In example (5-5), the result is that the character, Chéng Jiàn-rén, felt relieved, and the background is explicitly stated in the previous context, which is “seeing the fourth group of expatriates and tourists returning safe and sound at the airport.” However, in example (4-2), although the background (the incident of Chén Chūn-shēng’s false accusation) is included, the readers still have to make an additional inference, in order to understand why Zhèng Dé-yào said “*zhèxià fùnǚpiào quán dōu bèi nǐ xīzǒu le* (Now, all the women’s votes are sucked away by you.)” This is because women tend to sympathize with the candidate who has been falsely involved in an extramarital affair. All in all, when *zhèxià* is uttered, there always implies a background as a premise, whichever it is directly or indirectly mentioned in the context.

Similarly, *dāngxià* also serves the textual function of linking the discourse. However, it differs from *zhèxià* in that it takes the time of the aforementioned situation as the reference, thereby highlighting the main situation. In other words, the context of *dāngxià* reflects a relative time relationship. Several scholars agree on the textuality of *dāngxià*. For instance, Xia (2009: p.59) and Zhu (2018: p.76) have indicated that the adverbial use of *dāngxià* forms a connecting link between the preceding and the following propositions. Zhu (2018: p.75-76) has also pointed out that a singular clause of *dāngxià* (as in example (5-12): “*wǒ dāngxià pǎo-dào yíngmù qián yī kàn* (I run to the screen right away)”) cannot stand alone, and there must be another clause serving as a background.



(5-12) *Dāngxià*-Plotting

五月初的一天下午，他告訴我圖形已繪出，而且和實測曲線很像。我當下跑到螢幕前一看，兩曲線果真相像。

“One afternoon in the starting of May, he told me that the graph had been plotted out, and was highly similar to the curve line drawn in the actual measurement. I run to the screen right away, and found that it was truly alike.”

Third, among the three temporal adverbs in this study, only *zhèxià* developed the expressive component, which not only holds the general meaning, but also shows the speaker’s attitude and evaluation. Tang & Tang (2006) regards this type of adverb as **modal adverb**, in which “modal (情態: *qíng tài*)” indicates the speaker’s viewpoint, attitude and judgment, including authenticity, cognition, evaluation, probability, possibility, etc., toward the proposition. Through the corpus data, we discovered that *zhèxià* possesses three characteristics in its expressive function: (1) it expresses the speaker’s anticipation/expectation and emphasis; (2) the anticipation/expectation is usually a negative one; (3) if the anticipation/expectation is positive, it usually implies a negative presupposition, highlighting a discrepancy between the presupposition and the result, synergizing the speaker’s exclamation. For example,

(5-6) *Zhèxià*-South Korea

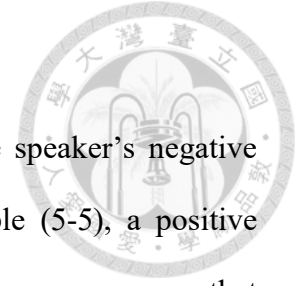
昨晚的事件，是金泳三就任一年多來發生在首都的最嚴重暴力事件，南韓政府原本定今年為南韓觀光年，這下計畫可能要泡湯了。

“The incident that occurred last night was the most severe violence during *Jīn Yǒng-sān*’s office. The South Korean government had hoped to set this year as the tourism year. Now the plan might screw up.”

(5-5) *Zhèxià*-Relieve

程建人向外交部同事表示：「這下真的安心了。」

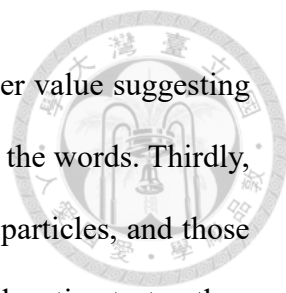
Chéng Jiàn-rén said to the MOFA colleagues, “Now we can relieve!”



In example (5-6), a negative background of violence leads to the speaker's negative expectation that the plan will fail. On the other hand, in example (5-5), a positive background and positive anticipation are present, but the speaker expresses concern that the tourists might not return safely, implying a negative emotion. This discrepancy between the assumption and the actual result intensifies the speaker's exclamation: “*zhèxià zhēnde ānxīn le* (Now we can relieve).” These examples show that *zhèxià* is not solely a temporal adverb, but has also developed an epistemic function due to the speaker's anticipation, attitude, and implication.

To effectively demonstrate the negative connotation of *zhèxià*, this section incorporates a collocation analysis utilizing a larger corpus dataset. As Partinton (1998) noted, connotational coloring can extend beyond a single-word boundary, supporting the idea that words are influenced by their surrounding context. For instance, the adjective *impressive* frequently collocates with positive sentiment-evoking terms like *achievement*, *dignity* and *talent*. Furthermore, numerous scholars (Bublitz, 2006; Adolphs and Carter, 2002; Hunston, 2002) emphasize that to study the relationship between a word and its environment should examine large corpora.

To provide a succinct overview of our methodology, the following outlines the approach step by step. Firstly, the corpus data comprises a total of 4132 tokens, including 581 tokens from the original CWS dataset and an additional 3551 tokens sourced from the CCL corpus and BCC (BLCU Chinese Corpus) corpus. Secondly, the data is inputted into Antconc and subjected to analysis using the “Collocate” function. For our examination, we establish a window range of 0L~8R, indicating an exploration of the target word's context from 0 positions to the left and 8 positions to the right, and the results are sorted with the Effect criterion. To provide further clarity, the Effect criterion



in Antconc indicates the collocability between two words, with higher value suggesting stronger association, which elucidates the close relationship between the words. Thirdly, words with less association with *zhèxià*, such as personal pronouns, particles, and those appearing to be on different syntactic levels, are excluded from the collocation test as they provide limited information.

The findings of the top 20 collocates are presented in Table 5-7.

Table 5-7 Top 20 collocates of *zhèxià* (sorted by Effect)

Ranking	Type	Effect	Freq	Ranking	Type	Effect	Freq
1.	可苦(-)	2.64	11	11.	麻煩(-)	2.025	28
2.	全完(-)	2.503	13	12.	急壞(-)	2.012	37
3.	大禍(-)	2.387	12	13.	熱鬧(+)	1.947	34
4.	惹惱(-)	2.383	23	14.	難住(-)	1.904	35
5.	嚇壞(-)	2.322	15	15.	糟(-)	1.833	22
6.	可好(+/-)	2.289	50	16.	壞(-)	1.813	44
7.	樂壞了(+)	2.268	34	17.	捅(-)	1.779	23
8.	完了(-)	2.195	21	18.	怎麼辦(-)	1.756	28
9.	完蛋(-)	2.181	20	19.	明白(+)	1.657	69
10.	馬蜂窩(-)	2.072	23	20.	可好了(+/-)	1.602	53

The presented table offers valuable insights. Firstly, it reveals that *zhèxià* is commonly accompanied by psych-attitude adjectives⁸ (Liao, 2007), effectively conveying sentiments. Secondly, the majority of the collocates tend to imply negative emotions. The presence of the (+) and (-) markers beside each word indicates its positive or negative connotation, while those marked with both markers can be interpreted as either positive or negative, depending on the context. Notably, the table highlights that 15 words possess purely negative connotations, whereas only 3 words are associated with

⁸ Different from typical psychological verbs (e.g. *juéde* (覺得), *pà* (怕), *xǐhuān* (喜歡) · *ài* (愛), *dānxīn* (擔心)), “psych-attitude adjectives (心理態度形容詞)” are a type of stative verb that do not take an object. Additionally, they serve the function of expressing a person’s feelings (Liao, 2007).

positivity. This validates the negative sentiment of *zhèxià*.



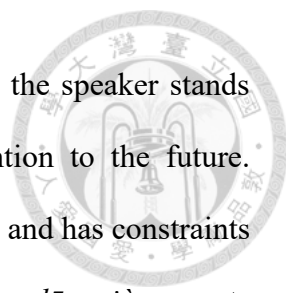
5.5 Chapter Summary

In the second part of this chapter, we applied Langacker's perspective and subjectification to explore the construals of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* through both diachronic and synchronic views.

From a diachronic point of view, these three temporal words have undergone a semantic evolution. Firstly, they have shifted from a concrete or spatial meaning to a more abstract temporal meaning. Second, all of them take the speaker's location as reference, with the perceived objects being close to the speaker. Third, the semantic shift of *zhèxià* and *dāngxià* indicates that they have undergone subjectification. This means that the speech ground has moved from being offstage to onstage, which indicates that the speaker is increasingly involved in the scene. On the other hand, *xiànzài* did not undergo significant subjectification as the speech ground has consistently remained onstage.

From a synchronic point of view, we divided them into a less subjective class and a more subjective class. The less subjective class includes *zhèxià* and *dāngxià*, which are both used in the displaced mode of discourse, and are able to interchange in some situations. However, the two still differ in their construals. When *zhèxià* is used, the speaker (narrator) is more involved in the narrative scene, thus creating the effect of free indirect discourse. On the other hand, when *dāngxià* is applied, it is an indirect discourse, which suggests the speaker (narrator) stays away from the storyline.

The more subjective class includes the senses of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* that take the speech time as the reference and the speech ground is onstage. Similar to the less subjective use, the three subjective temporal adverbs overlap in some contexts, but are not fully interchangeable in every situation. This is due to the differences in the speaker's



distance and the direction of attention. Firstly, *zhèxià* indicates that the speaker stands close to the perceived object (speech time) and directs his attention to the future. Therefore, it tends to collocate with a situation that will happen soon, and has constraints with progressive, ongoing, continuous, or existing situations. Secondly, *dāngxià* suggests that the speaker is more distant from the speech time with a broader visual field. In this way, the situation it refers to is an existing fact that takes on a longer range of time. However, *dāngxià* excludes the future and happened situations. Thirdly, *xiànzài* implies that the speaker also stays close to the speech time and directs his attention to the nearby area. Thus, it can be used with progressive, immediate future, and happened situations.

Finally, we encountered the limitation of Langacker's model to explain the subjectivity of the three temporal adverbs. However, from Traugott's three-stage grammaticalization theory, it is discovered that: (1) *zhèxià* contains all the propositional, textual, and expressive aspects of uses. The textual function of *zhèxià* connects an explicit or implicit background with a follow-up situation, and its expressive characteristic usually implies the speaker's anticipation/expectation and negative attitudes. (2) *Dāngxià* has propositional and textual components. The textuality of *dāngxià* connects two situations with relative time relationship. (3) *Xiànzài* only bears the propositional aspect, which is a pure temporal deictic (this echoes Boulin's (2017) argument). From this point of view, their degrees of subjectivity can be ranked as *zhèxià* > *dāngxià* > *xiànzài*.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

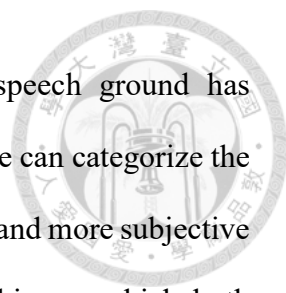


6.1 Recapitulation

This thesis investigates temporal adverbs: *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* from a cognitive point of view based on Hu & Fan's (1995) situational system and Langacker's (2008) Cognitive Grammar. Through a close examination, it becomes evident that the differentiations among *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* can be summarized within the broader linguistic domains of aspect, tense, and perspective.

Chapter 4 delves into the examination of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* from the concept of “aspect” by analyzing their collocated situations, and distinguishing their temporal lengths and grammatical constraints. First, *zhèxià* denotes a punctual result, since it is inclined to select a result-type situation and excludes the use of progressive markers. Besides, the tendency to collocate with the sentence-final *le* (CRS) suggests that the main situation is relevant to the current speech scene. Second, *dāngxià* bears the punctual property, but is able to go with instant-type situations and durative-type (attribute/motion-continuous) situations. The former usually carries the sense of “at this moment” and the latter usually means “nowadays”. Third, *xiànzài* can be punctual or durative, depending on the collocated situation. However, since the continuous-type situations account for the majority and its tendency of taking progressive markers and the adverb “*yijing*”, *xiànzài* is prone to be a durative time word.

In chapter 5, with the insight of Langacker's perspective and grounding theory, the similarities and differences in the speaker's perspectives among *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* were uncovered. First, through a diachronic analysis, we found that both *zhèxià* and *dāngxià* experienced the process of subjectification, whereby their indicated temporal objects moved from the other's time-space to the speaker's own time-space. In contrast,



xiànzài did not undergo an obvious subjectification, since the speech ground has consistently remained onstage. Second, from the synchronic angle, we can categorize the modern uses of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* into less subjective class and more subjective class. *Zhèxià* and *dāngxià* bear less subjective uses in modern Chinese, which both roughly denote “at the moment” in contexts, and are interchangeable when the preceding situation and the main situation almost synchronize. However, since *zhèxià* takes the speech ground as the reference, it creates the effect of free indirect discourse where the speaker involves his voice in the story. In contrast, the speech ground remains offstage and does not form a connection with the indicated object, *dāngxià* mainly performs indirect discourse. In terms of “tense”, the less subjective uses can be considered to convey “past tense”, as discussed by Langacker in his book, indicating that the immediate scope precedes the speech event (2008: p.157).

On the other hand, the more subjective class includes *zhèxià*, *dāngxià*, and *xiànzài* that take the speech time as the reference and denote the meaning of “now”, which indicates “present tense”. This aligns with Langacker’s concept that “the immediate scope coincides with the time of speaking” (Langacker, 2001a). Even though the three uses suggest that the speaker stands at the same temporal location, his spatial location and the direction of attention differ. When *zhèxià* is stated, the speaker stays proximal to the temporal object and directs his attention to the future. Conversely, *dāngxià* implies that the speaker perceives the object with some distance. Finally, *xiànzài* shows that the speaker is also close to the object, but his attention is directed in all directions, allowing them to perceive situations that are perfective, progressive, or may occur in the near future.

Finally, Traugott’s three-stage grammaticalization theory is applied to make up the insufficiency of Langacker’s model, and it is discovered that the degrees of subjectivity of the three temporal adverbs can be ranked as: *zhèxià* > *dāngxià* > *xiànzài*.



6.2 Limitation & Future Study

This thesis acknowledges that due to time and resource constraints, it was not possible to address every aspect of the topic exhaustively. For those interested in exploring related topics further, the following suggestions for future studies could be considered. First, since the research scope mainly focuses on the adverb uses of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià* and *xiànzài*, the results presents a general overview regarding morphosyntax and pragmatic functions. However, there is still room to expand and deepen the understanding of their pragmatic aspects. For example, applying the method of complex sentence analysis to discern the logical relations and presuppositions of *zhèxià*, *dāngxià* and *xiànzài* or engaging in more discussions about their different cognitive construals related to narrative styles in literary works. Secondly, owing to limited data for the usage of *zhèxià* and *dāngxià* in the existing spoken corpus, this thesis is still unable to provide further elaboration on their colloquial properties. Therefore, we recommend that future studies gather temporal term data from talk shows through TV programs, online video platforms, or podcasts. With the conversation data, numerous interesting phenomena can be discussed. For example, one can conduct discourse or conversation analysis based on Schiffrin's, Sack's, or Levinson's theories, and also discuss their features of intersubjectivity by analyzing the interactions between the speaker and hearer. In addition, as the data used in this thesis are primarily in written form, one could conduct a comparative study to explore the differences in the use of temporal adverbs between spoken and written discourse.

In conclusion, as temporal terms are not solely related to temporal senses but also play a role in connecting speech, serving discourse functions, and conveying moods, we believe that additional discussions mentioned above would be beneficial for those who are learning Chinese as a foreign language.

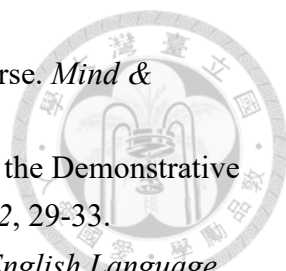
Chapter 7 References



Books, Journals and Thesis:

- Adolphs, S., & Carter, R. (2002). Corpus stylistics: point of view and semantic prosodies in *To The Lighthouse*. *Poetica*(58), 7-21.
- Astasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* [道行般若經], (Lokakṣema Trans.). Taiwan: Chinese Electronic Tripitaka Collection (CBETA). (Original work published ca. 947-950).
- Bühler, K. (1934; 1982). The Deictic Field of Language and Deictic words. In *Speech, place and action* (pp. 9-30).
- Boulin, M. (2017). Now and Xianzai: A Contrastive Study of Two Deictic Adverbs. *Languages in Contrast*, 17(1), 1-17.
- Bublitz, W. (2006). *Semantic prosody and cohesive company*. Duisburg: L.A.U.D. Linguistic Agency University of Duisburg.
- Bray, J. (2007). The 'Dual Voice' of Free Indirect Discourse: A Reading Experiment. *Language and Literature*, 16(1), 37-52.
- Cao, X. Q. 曹雪芹. (1784/2019). *The Dream of the Red Chamber* [紅樓夢]. Taiwan: San Min Book.
- Chafe, W. (1994). *Discourse, consciousness, and time: The flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing*: University of Chicago Press.
- Chang, F. C. 常傳聰. (2016). A Study on the Phrase Refers to the Amount of "Zhe xia" [指量短語"這下"研究]. (MA), Liaoning University,
- Chen, P. 陳平. (1988). An Analysis of the Ternary Time System of Mandarin Chinese [論現代漢語時間系統的三元結構]. *Studies of the Chinese Language* [中國語文], 6, 401-422.
- Chen, Y. P. 陳茵珮. (2010). The Semantic Analysis of "Xia" in Mandarin Chinese [現代漢語「下」的語義分析]. (MA), National Taiwan Normal University,
- Comrie, B. (1985). *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duan, Y. C. 段玉裁. *Annotation of Shuowenjiezi* [說文解字注].
- Elliot, J. R. (2000). Realis and Irrealis: Forms and Concepts of the Grammaticalisation of Reality. *Linguistic Typology*, 4, 55-90.
- Fang, M. 方梅. (2002). The Grammaticalization of demonstratives "zhe" and "na" in Putonghua [指示詞"這"和"那"在北京化中的語法化]. *Studies of the Chinese Language*, 4, 343-383.
- Fraser, B. (1998). Contrastive discourse markers in English. *Pragmatics and Beyond New Series*, 301-326.
- Hu, P. A. 胡培安. (2006). The Inner Structures of the Time Words and Expressive

- Functions [時間詞語的內部組構與表達功能研究]. (PhD), East China Normal University,
- Hu, Y. S. & Fan, X. 胡裕樹, 范曉. (1995). *A Research of Verbs [動詞研究]*. Kaifeng: Henan University Press.
- Hunston, S. (2002). *Corpora and Applied Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jin, G. T. 金桂桃. (2008). Study on the Temporal Discourse Function of Zhexia and Zhehui [也談“這下”和“這回”表時間關係篇章功能的產生]. *Wuhan University of Technology (Social Science Edition)*, 21(3), 438-441.
- Jin, Y. 金庸. (1961). *Swordswoman Riding West on White Horse [白馬嘯西風]*: Bailushuyuan Public Library.
- Klein, W. (1994). *Time in Language*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Lalitavistara [普曜經]*. (Dharma-rakṣa. Trans). (Original work published ca. 265-316).
- Langacker, R. W. (1990). Subjectification. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 1(1), 5-38.
- Langacker, R. W. (2006). Subjectification, Grammaticization, and Conceptual Archetypes. In *Subjectification: Various Paths to Subjectivity* (pp. 17-40): Mouton de Gruyter.
- Langacker, R. W. (2008). *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Levinson, S. C. (2004). Deixis. In *The handbook of pragmatics* (pp. 97-121).
- Li, C. N. & Thompson, S. A. (1989). *Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar (Vol. 3)*. Univ of California Press.
- Li, J. D. 黎靖德. (1270/1986). *Zhu Xi's Quote Categories [朱子語類]*. China: Chunghua Book Store.
- Li, Z. J. 李宗江. (2007). The Discourse Function of zhexia ["這下"的篇章功能]. *Chinese Teaching in the World [世界漢語教學]*, 4, 56-63.
- Liao, Q. Z. 廖秋宗. (1986). The Discourse Connectors in Modern Chinese [現代漢語篇章中的連接成分]. *Studies of the Chinese Language [中國語文]*, 6(1).
- Lin, Y. T. 林珮彤. (2013). Temporal Distance Distinction in Two Pairs of Mandarin Chinese Near-Synonyms Zhiqian/Yiqian and Zhihou/Yihou. (MA), National Taiwan University, Taiwan.
- Lodge, D. (1990). *After Bakhtin: Essays on Fiction and Criticism*. London.: Routledge.
- Lu, J. M. & Ma, Z. 陸儉明, 馬真. (1985). *The Function Words in Modern Chinese [現代漢語虛詞散論]*. China: Peking University Press.
- Luo, M. D. 羅懋登 (2013). *Sanbao Eunuch's Journey To The West Ocean [三寶太監西洋記]* China: HuaXia Publishing House (Original work published ca. 1597).
- Ma, Q. Z. 馬慶株. (1981). Time Duration Objects and Time Classes [時量賓語和動詞的類]. *Studies of the Chinese Language [中國語文]*, 2.

- 
- Maier, E. (2015). Quotation and Unquotation in Free Indirect Discourse. *Mind & Language*, 30(3), 345-373.
- Okuda, H. & Zhou, G. 奧田寬，周剛. (1998). The Arbitrary Use of the Demonstrative "zhe" [漢語的任意性指示詞]. *Chinese Language Learning*, 2, 29-33.
- Partington, A. (1998). *Patterns and Meanings – Using Corpora for English Language Research and Teaching*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Pascal, R. (1977). *The Dual Voice*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Pratyutpanna Samādhi Sūtra* [般舟三昧經] (Wu, L. M.; Xu, S. M. Trans.). (2000). Taiwan: Fo Kuang Culture (Original work published ca. 947-951).
- Quirk, R. (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. New York: Longman.
- Reichenbach, H. (1947). *Elements of Symbolic Logic*. New York: the Free Press.
- Sanders, J. & Spooren, W. (1997). Perspective, Subjective, and Modality from a Cognitive Linguistic Point of View. *Amsterdam Studies In The Theory And History Of Linguistic Science Series*, 4, 85-114.
- Shan, B. S. & Xiao, L. 單寶順，蕭玲. (2009). The Diachrony about “Xia” [“下” 的語法化歷程]. *Journal of Changchun Normal University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, 28(2), 6.
- Shen, L. L. 沈玲玲. (2014). A Study on "Muqian" Time Words in Contemporary Chinese. (MA), Shanghai Normal University,
- Shi, Y. K. 石玉昆. (1879/2006). *Three Knights and Five Righteous Heroes* [三俠五義]. China: FengHuang.
- Song, L. 宋濂 (ca. 1310-1381). *Piān Hǎi Lèi Biān* [篇海類編].
- Tang, T. C. & Tang, C. C. 湯廷池，湯志真 (2006). Comparative Analysis of "Modality" in Chinese and Japanese [華語與日語的「情態詞」對比分析]. *Paper presented at the The 8th World Conference on Chinese Language Teaching* [第八屆世界華語文教學研討會會前論文集第二冊].
- Tao, H. Y. 陶紅印 (1999). The Grammar of Demonstratives in Mandarin Conversational Discourse: A Case Study. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 27(1), 69-103.
- Traugott, E. C. (1982). From Propositional to Textual and Expressive Meanings: Some Semantic-Pragmatic Aspects of Grammaticalization. In *Perspectives on Historical Linguistics* (pp. 245-247).
- The Research Institute of Buddhist Culture of China. (2013). *The Origin of Buddhism Slangs* [俗語佛源]. China: The Research Institute of Buddhist Culture of China
- Vendler, Z. (1957). Verbs and Times. *The Philosophical Review*, 66(2), 143-160.
- Wang, G. 王剛 (2006). The Expression of Present Tense in Chinese [現代漢語"現在" 表達研究]. (MA), Sichuan University,

- Wang, X. Y. 王曉陽. (2014). The Cognitive Spatial Meaning of Xian Zai (Now) ["現在"的空間認知意義研究]. *Journal of Language and Culture Studies [語言文化研究輯刊]*, 1, 56-63.
- Wang, Y. W. & Ye, G. C. 王玥雯, 葉桂柳. (2006). From Epistemic Domain to Future Domain: The Grammaticalization of Future Marker "Dang" in Buddhism Scriptures [從情態範疇到將來範疇——試論漢譯佛經中將來時標志“當”的語法化]. *Modern Chinese*, 8, 56-58.
- Wéi Mó Jié Suǒ Shuō Jīng [維摩詰所說經]*. (Chen, H. J. Trans). (2020). Taiwan: The Grand East Book.
- Wu, C. S. 吳春生. (2008). The Grammaticalization of "Dang" ["當"的語法化]. *Journal of Hotan Teachers College*, 2, 128-130.
- Wu, W. Y. 吳沃堯. (2017). *The Strange State of the World Witnessed Over 20 Years [二十年目睹之怪現狀]*. Taiwan: San Min Book (Original work published 1909).
- Wu, X. R. 巫雪如. (2014). Re-investigation of Dang's Epistemic Meaning and Future Tense Usage from Ancient Chinese to Middle Chinese [上古至中古「當」之情態語義與未來時發展重探]. *Bulletin of The Department of Chinese Literature National Taiwan University [臺大中文學報]*, 46, 87-142.
- Xia, J. 夏軍. (2009). The Definition of "Dangxia" ["當下"釋義]. *Modern Language: Language Studies [現代語文：下旬·語言研究]*, 10, 58-59.
- Zhang, B. J. & Fang, M. 張伯江, 方梅. (1996). *Chinese Functional Grammar Study [Hanyu Gongneng Yufa Yanjiu 漢語功能語法研究]*. Jiangxi (China): Jiangxi Education Publishing House.
- Zhang, H. 張華. (2004). To Explore the Semantic Evolution of “Shang/Xia” from Cognitive Angle ["上/下"語義演化的認知考察]. (MA), Huazhong University of Science & Technology,
- Zhang, W. X. & Fang, D. & Zhang, Y. Y. 張文賢, 方迪, 張媛媛. (2018). On the Discourse Marker Function of “Zhexia” and Its Teaching from the Genre Perspective [語體視角下“這下”的話語標記功能及其教學探討]. *Chinese Language Learning*, 5, 85-96.
- Zhang, Y. J. 張亞軍. (2002). *The Determinative and Descriptive Functions of Adverbs [副詞與限定描狀功能]*. China: Anhui Education Publishing House.
- Zhang, Y. S. 張誼生. (2004). *Investigations of Adverbs in Mandarin Chinese [現代漢語副詞探索]*. Shanghai: Xue Lin
- Zhu, D. X. 朱德熙. (1982). *A Lecture Note of Grammar [語法講義]*. China: The Commercial Press.
- Zhu, Y. H. 朱穎華. (2018). A Study of Modern Chinese "Dang X" Adverbs [現代漢語"當 X"類副詞研究]. (MA), Nanjing Normal University.



Dictionaries and online database:

- A Dictionary of Chinese Usage: 8000 Words [漢語 8000 詞詞典]. (2000). Beijing: Beijing Language and Culture University Press [北京語言大學出版社].
- Hou, X. R., Fang, Y., Li, X. Y. (Ed.) (2009). Dangdai Hanyu Cidian [當代漢語詞典]. Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Company [中華書局].
- Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica (2010). *Chinese WordNet*. Available online at: <https://lope.linguistics.ntu.edu.tw/cwn2/>.
- Li, P. S. e. a. (Ed.) (2001) Xiandai HanYu ShuangXiang Cidian [現代漢語雙向詞典] (Vols. 2). China: People's Education Press.
- National Academy for Educational Research (1994). Revised Mandarin Chinese Dictionary. Available online at: <https://dict.revised.moe.edu.tw/index.jsp>.
- Simon, S. & Petr, S. (Unknown). Chinese Word Sketch. Available Online at: <https://wordsketch.ling.sinica.edu.tw/index.html>.
- TongYiCi Da Cidian [同義詞大辭典]. (2010). ShangHai: Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House.
- Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn (Vols. 7) [現代漢語辭典]. (2016). China: The Commercial Press [商務印書館].