UNIVERZITA PALACKÉHO V OLOMOUCI

Filozofická fakulta

Katedra asijských studií

MAGISTERSKÁ DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

Comparative Study of Chinese and Czech Demonstratives

Komparativní analýza čínských a českých demonstrativ

Olomouc 2023, Bc. Jaroslav Tecl

Vedoucí práce: doc. Joanna Ut-Seong Sio, Ph.D

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracoval samostatně a uvedl veškeré použité prameny a literaturu.

Olomouc, 29. června 2023

Jaroslav Tecl

Abstract:

This study provides an overview of the translation patterns observed in a Chinese novel (*Wives and Concubines* by Su Tong) and its Czech translation. In particular, it focuses on Chinese noun phrases containing a demonstrative and their Czech equivalents. A parallel corpus, based on the novel, was built containing Chinese sentences with demonstrative NPs and their Czech translation equivalents. These sentences are annotated for the following: (i) structure of the Chinese NP, (ii) referential status, (iii) type and structure of the corresponding Czech translation. The results show that Chinese demonstrative NPs are mostly used in anaphoric expressions or in expressions referring to text-external entities. In terms of translation patterns, we found that Chinese demonstratives, which are always either proximal or distal are mostly translated as neutral demonstratives or bare NPs in Czech. Other factors affecting the translation choice include style of text (directs speech or descriptive text), and the presence of contrasting referent in the context.

Key Words: demonstratives, definiteness, Chinese, Czech, translation

Abstrakt:

Tato diplomová práce slouží jako přehled tendencí pozorovaných v českém překladu čínského románu *Manželky a konkubíny* od autora Su Tong. Zaměřuje se zejména na čínské jmenné fráze obsahující demonstrativa (ukazovací zájmena) a na jejich české překlady. K analýze byl sestaven dvojjazyčný korpus skládající se z vět obsahující čínská demonstrativa a jejich české ekvivalenty. Každý z těchto příkladů byl v korpusu označen na základě těchto vlastností: (i) struktura čínské jmenné fráze, (ii) referenční status, (iii) druh a struktura přeloženého českého výrazu. Z výsledků je zřejmé, že čínské jmenné fráze obsahující demonstrativa jsou v naprosté většině používány v situacích, kdy jsou buď určitelné na základě předchozí zmínky nebo na základě přítomnosti v blízkosti mluvčího, který na osobu nebo předmět odkazuje. Co se týče tendencí v překladu, čínská demonstrativa, která vždy vyjadřují vzdálenost, jsou nejčastěji překládána pomocí českých vzdálenost nevyjadřujících neutrálních demonstrativ. Další faktory ovlivňující způsob překladu čínských demonstrativ jsou rozdíl ve stylistice přímé řeči a popisu, a vedle toho kontrast mezi osobami či věcmi na které demonstrativum potenciálně odkazuje.

Klíčová Slova: demonstrativa, určitost, čínština, čeština, překlad

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative
BA	Direct object marker *ba*
BEI	Passive marker *bei*
CL	Classifier
COND	Conditional
DAT	Dative
DE	Suffix *-de*
DEM	Demonstrative
DEM.DIST	Distal demonstrative
DEM.NEUT	Neutral demonstrative
DEM.PROX	Proximal demonstrative
F	Feminine
GEN	Genitive
GUO	Past tense marker *guo*
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitive
INS	Instrumental
IPFV	Imperfective
LE	Auxiliary *le*
M	Masculine
N	Neuter
NEG	Negator
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun phrase
NUM	Numeral
LOC	Locative
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PRS	Present tense
PST	Past tense
REFL	Reflexive

SA	Solicit agreement (*ba*)
SG	Singular
SUPER	Superlative
ZHE	Auxiliary *zhe*

Introduction

Demonstratives are deictic expressions that mainly serve two functions. The primary function of demonstratives is to direct the hearer's attention in the discourse-external context. Another function of demonstratives is to organize information flow within the ongoing discourse (Diessel, 1999, p. 2). In Chinese, demonstratives are either proximal or distal (Zhu, 1999), whereas in Czech, there are proximal, distal, and neutral demonstratives (Komárek & Petr, 1986). Depending on the choice of the type of demonstrative (proximal or distal) used, the reader's experience can be affected, as it constructs a sense of distance in the addressee's perception (Lu, Verhagen, & Su, p. 132). This thesis investigates Chinese and Czech demonstratives by comparing the usages of demonstratives in the Chinese novel *Wives and Concubines* by Su tong and their Czech translations.

The Chinese example sentences containing demonstrative noun phrases in the novel were collected and annotated. For each of the Chinese NP, we found the matching Czech translation. Additionally, we annotated the structure of the Chinese demonstrative NPs, the context of usage (referential status) of the Chinese NPs classified under the RefLex scheme (Baumann & Riester, 2017), and the Czech NP type (e. g. proximal demonstrative NP, bare NP, etc.).

Adopting the RefLex annotation scheme (see discussion in section 3.1), the data show that the majority of the Chinese demonstrative NPs in the corpus are used anaphorically or in the text-external context (e. g. physical environment). The data reveal various patterns when Chinese demonstrative NPs are translated into Czech. Firstly, most demonstrative phrases in Chinese are translated with a neutral demonstrative in Czech. Secondly, the style of the text the Czech demonstrative NP appears in – direct speech or descriptive text – plays a role. We observed that Czech proximal demonstrative NPs mostly appear in direct speech, and Czech bare NPs are almost always found in descriptive text. Thirdly, when there are potential referents contrasting with the actual referent of the demonstrative NP in question – the proximal demonstrative in Czech is more likely to be used. The neutral demonstrative NPs and bare NPs are more often used in non-contrastive contexts.

The thesis is arranged in the following manner: section 1 presents the literature review; section 2 presents the methodology; section 3 presents the results of the annotation; section 4 presents the detailed discussion.

1 Literature Review

1.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are words used to express spatial deixis. They serve various syntactic functions, such as demonstrative pronouns (*this*, *that*) or locative adverbs (*here*, *there*) in English. The primary function of demonstratives is to direct the hearer's attention on objects or locations in the speech situation. Furthermore, demonstratives are used to indicate objects known to other participants of the discourse, or objects mentioned previously. Another function of demonstratives is to connect the surrounding situation to a discourse. Demonstratives also differ semantically in that they can encode distance and be either proximal, distal, or, in some languages, such as German, French, or Czech, distance neutral. Proximal demonstratives usually refer to objects closer to the speaker, whereas distal demonstratives tend to be used for more distant objects. Distance neutral demonstratives do not imply the distance of the referent (Diessel, 1999, p. 36). Diessel (1999, p. 57) makes a distinction between demonstrative pronouns (occur independently), demonstrative determiners (occur together with the noun they modify), demonstrative adverbs (function as verb modifiers), and demonstrative identifiers (occur in copular and nonverbal clauses).

1.1.1 Demonstratives in Chinese

Demonstratives in Chinese have a substituting function and a deictic function. The proximal demonstrative in Chinese is *zhè* (这)[1], the distal one is *nà* (那)[2]. Both *zhè* and *nà* can be used by itself, or can precede a classifier or a numeral, as in: *zhè ge* "this", *nà ge* "that", *zhè yí ge* "this one", *nà liǎng ge* "those two". The two demonstratives can also match with other words, creating phrases which express time (*zhè huǐr* "this moment", *nà huǐr* "at that time"), place (*zhèr*, *zhèlǐ* "here"; *nàr*, *nàlǐ* "there"), manner (*zhème* (*bàn*), *zhèyàng* (*bàn*) "(do something) this way"; *nàme* (*bàn*), *nàyàng* (*bàn*) "(do something) that way", etc.), or degree (*zhème* (*dà*), *zhèyàng* (*dà*) "this (big)"; *nàme* (*dà*), *nàyàng* (*dà*) "that (big)"). (Zhu, 1999, p. 99)

Both *zhè* and *nà* mostly occur as the subject of a sentence and sometimes also as an object. As a subject, they can refer to human beings as well as nonhuman objects, (1) and (2).

(1) 这是我们的班长。(Zhu, 1999)
     zhè   shì   wǒmen   bānzhǎng

---

[1] Sometimes transcribed as *zhèi*.
[2] Sometimes transcribed as *nèi*.

DEM.PROX	be	1PL	class president

"This is our class president."

(2) 这是仪器厂，那是图书馆。(Zhu, 1999)

zhè	shì	yíqìchǎng,	nà	shì	túshūguǎn
DEM.PROX	be	instrument plant,	DEM.DIST	be	library

"This is an instrument plant. That is a library."

When in the position of an object, *zhè* and *nà* on their own can only refer to nonhuman objects (3) or abstract ideas (4), but they cannot refer to human beings.

(3) 你瞧这 (Zhu, 1999)

nǐ	qiáo	zhè
2SG	look	DEM.PROX

"Look at this."

(4) 别说那 (Zhu, 1999)

bié	shuō	nà
don't	say	DEM.DIST

"Don't say that."

Nà in its bare form can also mean "if that's the case", when in the position of the subject, (5) and (6).

(5) 那可不行 (Zhu, 1999)

nà	kě	bù	xíng
DEM.DIST	can	not	go

"But that's not possible."

(6) 那咱们就别去了 (Zhu, 1999)

nà	zánmen	jiù	bié	qù	le
DEM.DIST	1PL	just	not	go	LE

"Let's not go, then."

In Chinese, measure words and classifiers occur after numerals or deictic words and modify nouns. While measure words can be found in Czech as well as in Chinese, most Chinese classifiers are not translated into Czech (64) (Švarný & Uher, 2014, p. 65).

About the Chinese demonstratives, Chen (2004) made several observations. For example, *zhè* is more common for recently introduced NPs, whereas *nà* is preferred for referents that occur earlier in the discourse, when the NP is an anaphora. Furthermore, according to Chen (2004, p. 1153), the Chinese demonstratives are commonly used in the context

where definite articles would be used in English and examples of noncontrastive anaphora (7), shared general knowledge (8), frame-based association (9), and self-containing association with accompanying restrictive relative clause (10) are listed.

Anaphoric (noncontrastive):

(7) 有一个猎人养着一只狗。<u>这只狗</u>很懂事。(Chen, 2004)

yǒu	yī	ge	lièrén	yang-zhe	yī	zhī	gǒu.
have	one	CL	hunter	keep-ZHE	one	CL	dog.

<u>zhè</u>	<u>zhī</u>	<u>gǒu</u>	hěn	dǒngshì.
<u>DEM.PROX</u>	<u>CL</u>	<u>dog</u>	very	intelligent.

"There was a hunter who had a dog. The dog was very intelligent."

Shared general knowledge:

(8) <u>这天气</u>真怪，十二月了可以点不冷。(Chen, 2004)

<u>zhè</u>	<u>tiānqì</u>	zhēn	guài	shí-èr	yuè
<u>DEM.PROX</u>	<u>weather</u>	really,	strange	twelve	month,

le	kě	yīdiǎn bù	lěng
LE	but	bit NEG	cold

"The weather is really strange. It is December now, but it is not cold at all."

Frame-based association:

(9) 他买了一辆旧车，<u>那轮胎</u>都磨平了。(Chen, 2004)

tā	mǎi	le	yī	liàng	jiù	chē,	<u>nà</u>	<u>lúntāi</u>	dōu
3SG	buy	LE	one	CL	old	car,	<u>DEM.DIST</u>	<u>tire</u>	even

mó	píng	le.
wear	flat	LE

"He bought an old car. All the tires are worn out."

Self-containing association with accompanying restrictive relative clause:

(10) 上个月来看你的<u>那个人</u>，我今天又见到他了。(Chen, 2004)

shàng	ge	yuè	lái	kàn	nǐ	de	<u>nà</u>	ge	rén,
last	CL	month	come	see	2SG	DE	<u>DEM.DIST</u>	CL	person,

wǒ	jīntiān	yòu	jiàn	dào	tā	le
1SG	today	again	see	to	3SG	LE

"The person who came to see you last month, I saw him again today."

Chen (2004, p. 1154) states that in anaphoric and recognitional uses, most instances of demonstratives with weakened or no deictic force are found. The choice of the demonstrative is affected by the distance of the antecedent in the text. Based on this, Chen (2004) argues that deictic force remains even in anaphoric and recognitional uses.

Despite that, Chen (2004) concludes that the primary function of the Chinese demonstratives is deixis rather than that of a definite article, because they have not yet developed to fulfill the criterion of being a compulsory definiteness marker. However, it is important to note that the Chinese demonstratives are developing functions for which definite article would be used in English.

1.1.2 Demonstratives in Czech
1.1.2.1 Demonstrative Pronouns and Determiners
Demonstrative determiners and demonstrative pronouns in Czech can be either neutral, proximal, or distal. The lexical root implying deixis is almost always *t-*, but it can also be *o-*. Demonstrative determiners and pronouns are declined according to grammatical gender, case, and number (Komárek & Petr, 1986).

Neutral demonstratives (*Table 1*) do not place a noun phrase into a spatial context, unlike the proximal and distal demonstratives which encode such information. Neutral demonstratives mostly occur in contextual deixis as anaphora (11) but are sometimes in situational deixis as exophora[3] (12) or for emphasis (13) as well (Komárek & Petr, 1986).

(11) Necha-la   jsem   v   krám-ě   peněženku,
PFV.let-PST.3SG.F   be.PRS.1SG   in   shop-SG.LOC   wallet.SG.ACC
za   deset   minut   už   tam   ta
in   ten   minutes.PL.GEN   already   there   DEM.NEUT.F.SG.NOM
peněženka   nebyla. (Komárek & Petr, 1986)
wallet.SG.NOM   NEG.be-PST.3SG.F

"I left the wallet in the shop, ten minutes later it wasn't there."

(12) Vynes   to   smetí. (Komárek & Petr, 1986)
take out.IMP   DEM.NEUT.N.G.ACC   trash.SG.ACC

"Take out the trash."

(13) Ta   voda   je   dneska
DEM.NEUT.F.SG.NOM   water.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   today
bezvadn-á (Komárek & Petr, 1986)
amazing-F.SG.NOM

"The water is amazing today."

According to Cummins (1998), Czech bare NPs in sentence-initial position are definite by default, while in sentence-final position, they are indefinite. A common definiteness

---

[3] Pointing to entities in the text-external context (Komárek & Petr, 1986).

marker in Czech is the neutral demonstrative *ten* (singular masculine nominative form). Both NPs modified by *ten* and bare NPs are used in anaphoric expressions.

A special case of a neutral demonstrative pronoun is *takový*. Morphologically, it behaves as an adjective, and semantically, it expresses similarity in properties of the nouns it modifies. In English, it can be translated as "such" (Komárek & Petr, 1986).

Singular				Plural		
Case	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nominative	ten	ta	to	ti, ty	ty	ta
Genitive	toho	té	toho	těch	těch	těch
Dative	tomu	té	tomu	těm	těm	těm
Accusative	toho, ten	tu	to	ty	ty	ta
Locative	tom	té	tom	těch	těch	těch
Instrumental	tím	tou	tím	těmi	těmi	těmi

Table 1

The singular neuter form *to* has a broader range of functions. In certain cases, it can refer to situations introduced in another clause (14). Besides that, it can also take a function of an expletive, which is a word that occurs in the position of subject when the subject is omitted (15) but does not function as an actual subject as there is no agreement between it and the predicate (first-person suffix). In this position, *to* can also be called a nonreferential demonstrative (Medová, 2017).

(14) Petr   jí   odpusti-l,   a
Petr.SG.NOM   3SG.F.DAT   PFV.forgive-PST.3SG.M,   and
<u>to</u>   ho   ještě   dlouho mrze-lo.
<u>DEM.NEUT.N.SG.NOM</u> 3SG.M.ACC   still   long   IPFV.feel sorry-PST.3SG.N

"Peter forgave her and that made him regret for a long time."

(15) <u>To</u>   se   ani   moc   ne-diví-m,
<u>DEM.NEUT</u>   REFL.ACC   even   much NEG-wonder-PRS.1SG

"This doesn't really make me wonder."

Proximal (*Table 2*) and distal (*Table 3* and *Table 4*) demonstrative determiners and pronouns are mostly derived from neutral demonstratives which is done by attaching affixes. Proximal demonstratives are formed predominantly by attaching the suffixes *-hle* (colloquial) or *-to* (stylistically neutral/literary). Distal demonstratives are usually prefixed by *tam-* or *on-*. The prefix *tam-* is attached to the neutral demonstrative form and

is used for both situational and contextual deixis. The *on-* form demonstratives are rather literary and tend to be used in contextual deixis most of the time (Komárek & Petr, 1986).

Singular				Plural		
Case	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nominative	tento	tato	toto	tito, tyto	tyto	tato
Genitive	tohoto	této	tohoto	těchto	těchto	těchto
Dative	tomuto	této	tomuto	těmto	těmto	těmto
Accusative	tohoto, tento	tuto	toto	tyto	tyto	tato
Locative	tomto	této	tomto	těchto	těchto	těchto
Instrumental	tímto	touto	tímto	těmito	těmito	těmito

Table 2

Singular				Plural		
Case	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nominative	tamten	tamta	tamto	tamti, tamty	tamty	tamta
Genitive	tamtoho	tamté	tamtoho	tamtěch	tamtěch	tamtěch
Dative	tamtomu	tamté	tamtomu	tamtěm	tamtěm	tamtěm
Accusative	tamtoho, tamten	tamtu	tamto	tamty	tamty	tamta
Locative	tamtom	tamté	tamtom	tamtěch	tamtěch	tamtěch
Instrumental	tamtím	tamtou	tamtím	tamtěmi	tamtěmi	tamtěmi

Table 3

Singular				Plural		
Case	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nominative	onen	ona	ono	oni, ony	ony	ona
Genitive	onoho	oné	onoho	oněch	oněch	oněch
Dative	onomu	oné	onomu	oněm	oněm	oněm
Accusative	onoho, onen	onu	ono	ony	ony	ony
Locative	onom	oné	onom	oněch	oněch	oněch
Instrumental	oním	onou	oním	oněmi	oněmi	oněmi

Table 4

The proximal and distal affixes together with demonstrative pronouns and even adverbs can further form compound words emphasizing situational deixis. For instance, *tamhleten*

"that one over there" is made up of the demonstrative adverb *tamhle* "over there" (this adverb is itself a compound consisting of the adverb *tam* "there" and the colloquial suffix -*hle*, which also emphasizes situational deixis) and the neutral demonstrative pronoun *ten*. The pronoun *tadyten* "this one over here" is similar to *tamhleten*, only it is proximal and does not contain the colloquial suffix -*hle*, although it is possible to include it (Komárek & Petr, 1986).

There is a notable difference in usage of demonstratives in colloquial Czech and literary Czech. The neutral demonstrative appears more often in the spoken language both with anaphoric and deictic functions. Cummins also mentions a so-called contact function of the demonstratives, which "requests understanding or cooperation of the listener", while at the same time signals definiteness. In this function, it can be used with proper and geographical names as well (Cummins, 1998, p. 586).

1.1.2.2 *Demonstrative Adverbs*

There are three kinds of demonstrative adverbs in Czech: the spatial demonstrative adverbs, the temporal demonstrative adverbs, and the demonstrative adverbs of manner. The spatial adverbs can be either proximal or distal, e. g. *tady*/*tam* "here"/ "there", *tudy*/*tamtudy* "this way"/ "that way" etc. The temporal adverbs can be seen as an extension of spatial adverbs in that there is a contrast between the presence (proximal) and the past/future (distal). This category includes adverbs such as *teď* "now", *tehdy* "then", or *potom* "after". The demonstrative adverb of manner *tak* "so" is considered neutral, as it does not suggest distance from the speaker and is mainly used for contextual deixis. It contrasts with the adverbs *takto*/*takhle* "in this manner", which is used in situational deixis (Komárek & Petr, 1986).

1.2   Identifiability and Definiteness in Chinese and Czech

Identifiability depends on the assumption of the speaker that the addressee can or cannot identify a particular entity among other entities in a given context, whereas definiteness is understood as a grammatical concept referring to the grammatical means that encode identifiable and nonidentifiable referents. Definite NPs are used for referents that are identifiable by both the speakers and the hearers, or else indefinite NPs are used. Definiteness takes different forms in different languages. Chen (2004, p. 1132) introduces simple definites and complex definites. Simple definites are grammatically specialized words or affixes, whose only function is marking definiteness. In certain languages such as English or French, the simple definites take the form of definite and indefinite articles.

In contrast, complex definites can express other meanings besides definiteness, as they can take the form of personal pronouns, possessives, proper names, demonstratives, etc. Definiteness expressed with word order is also considered complex definiteness. Chinese and Czech only have complex definites.

Another concept Chen (2004, p. 1136) introduces is *cognitive basis*. Cognitive basis is divided into two categories according to the way of evoking identifiability. This can be done either through *direct physical or linguistic co-presence*, or *shared background knowledge*. The former category derives from the referent either being present in the text-external context or the linguistic context. The latter requires both the speaker and the addressee to have previous knowledge of the referent that they both share.

Another term we often encounter when dealing with referring expressions is givenness. Baumann & Riester (2012, p. 121) claim that givenness is related to three different concepts: knowledge of the referent shared by both the speaker and hearer, speaker's assumption of the listener's consciousness of the referent at the time of the utterance, and the importance of the referent as presented by the speaker. In Baumann & Riester (2017), the referential status of *given* applies to expressions whose referent is unique in the previous discourse context, e. g. by having been mentioned earlier. Similarly, expressions with a text-external referent are labeled *given-sit*. Givenness thus refers to the properties on an NP that make it identifiable or not. Chen (2004) lists three linguistic devices used in Chinese to express identifiability: lexical, morphological, and positional. Demonstratives belong in the lexical category of linguistic devices expressing identifiability. Since demonstratives play an important role in expressing identifiability, we approach identifiability as one of the factors affecting the translation patterns.

2 Methodology

2.1 Data Collection and the Corpus

The source of the example sentences is the Chinese novel *Wives and Concubines* by Su Tong and its Czech translation. These sentences are assembled in a corpus in the same order that they appear in the novel. The Chinese – Czech corpus of demonstratives consists of clauses in Chinese containing demonstratives and their Czech translations. Chinese example sentences included in the corpus contain either the proximal demonstrative *zhè* "this" or the distal demonstrative *nà* "that". Our corpus consists of the total of 274 Chinese example sentences. Each of the Chinese example sentences is accompanied by its Czech equivalent, with a single exception where the entire equivalent clause was omitted in the Czech translation. In terms of the total amount of characters, the Chinese part of the corpus consists of 3609 Chinese characters. The clauses are separated into two types based on whether their demonstrative is proximal or distal. 166 example sentences, or 2036 characters make up the proximal demonstrative NP part of the corpus, while the remaining 108 example sentences, or 1573 Chinese characters make up the distal demonstrative NP part of the corpus. The equivalent example sentences from the Czech translation contain 2184 words.

The properties of individual demonstrative phrases, such as the Chinese NP structure, referential status of the Chinese demonstrative NPs, and the Czech NP type, are tagged in the corpus which simplifies the process of discovering patterns in the translation.

Based on the definition by Diessel (1999, p. 57), demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative determiners, and demonstrative identifiers were identified among other types of demonstrative phrases. These three types of Chinese demonstrative NPs are the only types subjected to analysis in our study. Chinese demonstrative adverbs (*zhèr*, *zhèlǐ* "here"; *nàr*, *nàlǐ* "there"; *zhème* (*bàn*), *zhèyàng* (*bàn*) "(do something) this way"; *nàme* (*bàn*), *nàyàng* (*bàn*) "(do something) that way", *zhème* (*dà*), *zhèyàng* (*dà*) "this (big)"; *nàme* (*dà*), *nàyàng* (*dà*) "that (big)") and the conjunction *nà* "then; in that case" were not included in the study. There are four structure types of Chinese demonstrative NPs:

List 1

1. **Demonstrative** (*DEM*)

   – standalone demonstrative.

2. **Demonstrative-(Numeral)-Classifier-Noun** (*DEM-(NUM)-CL-NOUN*)

– demonstrative followed by a classifier and a noun. The classifier can be preceded by a numeral.

3. **Demonstrative-(Numeral)-Noun** (*DEM-(NUM)-NOUN*)

   – demonstrative followed by a noun. The noun can be preceded by a numeral.

4. **Demonstrative-(Numeral)-Classifier** (*DEM-(NUM)-CL*)

   – demonstrative followed by a classifier. The classifier can be preceded by a numeral.

In our study, we work with referential statuses of the Chinese demonstrative NPs that we analyze. Annotating the Chinese demonstrative NPs based on the context simplifies the process of finding patterns among the translated NPs. Baumann & Riester (2017) developed a scheme for classification of referring expressions based on information status. Because RefLex is a data-oriented scheme, we decided to use it as the primary classification system for referring expressions. The RefLex scheme consists of two dimensions, referential and lexical. On the referential level, NPs are classified based on context, whereas on the lexical level, relatedness of lexical expressions is evaluated. We only employ the referential dimension in our analysis. The data on referential statuses according to the RefLex scheme were collected only from the Chinese NPs. Since the Czech NPs are collected from the translation of the Chinese source text, we assume that their referential statuses are mostly the same. All of the Chinese NPs in our corpus are either determiner phrases or standalone demonstratives. The RefLex scheme allows us to acquire a simple overview of the referential statuses of the Chinese demonstrative NPs in our corpus. Referential statuses of the demonstrative noun phrases in the Chinese clauses based on the RefLex Scheme. The statuses occurring in the corpus are listed below:

List 2
1. **given-sit** – the referent is present in text-external context, no pointing involved.
2. **environment** – referent is present in text-external context, pointing gesture is involved.
3. **given** – the expression refers to an antecedent that appears in the previous discourse.
4. **given-displaced** – same as *r-given*, but the antecedent appears more than five clauses away in the previous discourse. The third sheet of the corpus is dedicated to antecedents of displaced expressions.
5. **cataphor** – the referent of the expression is established later in the text.

6. **bridging** – the expression can be inferred from given circumstances, but itself does not appear in the previous discourse.

7. **bridging-contained** – the expression occurs together within the phrase that sets the conditions for it to exist.

8. **unused-unknown** – the expression is not previously used in discourse and does not appear outside of it, but its first occurrence in discourse implies its uniqueness.

9. **unused-known** – the referent is assumed to be known by the hearer, even though it has not been mentioned or otherwise perceived.

10. **new** – discourse-new expression that is not unique.

Aside from the RefLex system, we also take into consideration the cognitive statuses proposed by Gundel (1993), and the categories of identifiability mentioned in Chen (2004). These concepts were not annotated and are only discussed when it is relevant for a particular example NP.

Another information that is important in the analysis is the type of the translated NP. Every Czech NP in the corpus fits in one of the categories based on various criteria such as type of demonstrative or determiner involved, etc. The Czech translations of the Chinese demonstrative phrases are characterized as follows:

List 3

1. **Neutral demonstrative NP** – contains the neutral demonstrative *ten* or its derived forms, depending on grammatical gender, number, and case.

2. **Proximal demonstrative NP** – contains the proximal demonstrative *tento*/*tenhle* or its derived forms, depending on grammatical gender, number, and case.

3. **Distal demonstrative NP** – contains the distal demonstrative *tamten*/onen or its derived forms, depending on grammatical gender, number, and case.

4. **Bare NP** – does not contain any functional elements such as demonstratives, numerals, possessives, etc. Nouns only modified by adjectives are considered bare nouns.

5. **Omitted NP** – appears in the Chinese sentence but it's omitted in the Czech equivalent sentence.

6. **Possessive NP** – contains possessive pronouns such as *můj* "my", *tvůj* "your", etc., or possessive adjectives, e. g. *otcův* "father's".

7. **Numeral** – the Czech NP contains a numeral, e. g. *druhé* "second", etc.

8. **Adverb** – the Chinese NP is translated as an adverbial, e. g. *tady* "here" *dnes* "today", etc.

9. **Relative Pronoun** – pronouns such as *který* "which".

10. **Interrogative Pronoun** – pronouns such as *co* "what".

11. **Negative Pronoun** – pronouns such as *žádný* "none".

12. **Indefinite Pronoun** – pronouns such as *nějaký* "some".

13. **Characteristic Demonstrative NP** – demonstratives expressing a characteristic, e. g. *takový* "such".

14. **Personal Pronoun** – pronouns such as *vás* "you (plural)".

15. **Measure Word NP** – measure words such as *trocha* "a bit".

2.2   Data Analysis

The analysis is based on the corpus consisting of clauses containing proximal or distal demonstratives. In the discussion, the type and structure of the Chinese demonstrative NP and the context of each of the example sentences discussed below is introduced. With the context in mind, we speculate the motivation for the choice of the NP type in the Czech translation. The three main criteria considered are as follows:

The first criterion is referential status. Gundel (1993) introduces a hierarchy showing the usage of determiner types based on referential status. We adopt and test the idea of referential statuses affecting the choice of the NP type in Czech translations of Chinese demonstrative NPs; however, we primarily employ the RefLex scheme by Baumann & Riester (2017) to acquire the data on referential statuses about every Chinese demonstrative NP in the corpus. The second criterion we consider has to do with the style of text. Cummins (1998) suggests that whether the NP is written in literary or colloquial[4] style affects the choice of the NP type – NPs in Czech literary text are mostly bare but in the colloquial style Czech, demonstratives are more frequent. Another criterion we put to test was also brought up by Cummins (1998, p. 574). According to his article, the Czech neutral demonstrative is sometimes replaced by the proximal demonstrative when contrast is important. We test whether a referent contrasting with other entities makes the Czech translated NPs more likely to be proximal or distal.

The method of analyzing parallel texts (original texts and their translations) allows us to see how the same ideas are realized across two different languages. Lu & Verhagen (2016,

---

[4] We work with the assumption that direct speech is mostly written in the colloquial style, because it represents spoken language.

p. 170) see the main advantage of using parallel texts in allowing them to make a comparison of the linguistic tools that two different languages use within the same conceptual content. Furthermore, they see an advantage in the time-efficiency of this method, as opposed to other experimental methods. They conclude that parallel text comparison helps reveal certain elements that would not be apparent without analyzing the same texts in two languages side by side (Lu & Verhagen, 2016, p. 186).

Translation patterns are discussed in sections based on the type of NP of the Czech translation and they are ordered according to the type of translated NP. First (4.1), we discuss NPs translations in which the neutral demonstrative was used are discussed. Since neutral demonstrative translations are the most numerous in the corpus, it allows us to use more examples to represent different translation patterns. Czech neutral demonstrative translations of Chinese proximal demonstrative NPs are discussed first, then we discuss neutral translations of distal demonstratives. There are four categories of examples based on the Chinese demonstrative NP structure as listed in *List 1*. Next, Chinese NPs translated with a proximal or distal demonstrative are analyzed in 4.2. These two NP types were discussed together as they both place its referent in a spatial context. There are only two distal translations but more than twenty proximal translations in the corpus. This means that when selecting example sentences with proximal translations, their representativeness of different situations was taken in consideration. As for distal translations, the only two examples were included in the discussion. Chinese distal NPs are discussed in the same fashion in the following subsection. Similarly, bare NP translations (4.3) are quite common which also allows for more in-depth analysis of the translation patterns of each NP structure (*List 1*). Next (4.4), demonstrative NPs omitted in the translation are discussed. Unlike the previous two categories, omitted translations are not very common, as a result only a limited number of example sentences is provided in the discussion. In the section 4.5, other types of Czech noun phrases that are a result of the translation of Chinese demonstrative NPs are discussed. These include possessives, adverbs, relative pronouns, personal pronouns, etc.

Certain frequently occurring nouns along with time expressions, and shell nouns, are discussed separately in sections 4.6, and 4.7 respectively. These sections are specifically dedicated to these types of nouns. Chinese demonstrative NPs that occur multiple times throughout the novel and share a single referent allow us to observe the patterns in Czech translations because the same referent can act as an unchanging denominator. Time

expressions and shell nouns are believed to show different patterns with regards to demonstratives, because they possess specific semantic properties. Frequently occurring nouns, time expressions, and shell nouns are classified according to the translation type, in the same manner as the other NPs.

3 Results

In total the Chinese novel *Wives and Concubines* contains 274 demonstrative noun phrases. In 166 cases the Chinese NP contains the proximal demonstrative *zhè*, the remaining 108 NPs contain the distal demonstrative *nà*. Chinese demonstratives NPs are translated with a Czech demonstrative NP in 142 cases.

Czech NP Type	Proximal *zhè*	Distal *nà*
Neutral DEM	68	50
Proximal DEM	22	0
Distal DEM	0	2
Bare NP	16	39
Omitted	19	4
Adverb	18	11
Others	20	1

Table 5

It has been observed that the frequency of occurrence of the four structures of the demonstrative phrase in Chinese differs significantly for the distal demonstrative phrases and the proximal demonstrative phrases. More than a half of the distal demonstrative phrases occur in the *DEM-(NUM)-CL-NOUN* structure (61 out of 108 phrases), and the total number of phrases in this structure is larger than that of the proximal demonstrative phrases, despite there being much more proximal phrases than distal phrases in the corpus. The proximal demonstrative phrases do not show a strong inclination for any of the structures, but the *DEM-(NUM)-NOUN* structure is the most common (54 out of 166 phrases).

3.1 Referential Statuses

Every Chinese demonstrative NP in our corpus is labeled with a tag marking its referential status based on the RefLex system. This allows us to clearly see the differences in referential status between the Chinese proximal demonstrative NPs and the Chinese distal demonstrative NPs. According to Gundel (1993, p. 284), a referent must be at least present in the short-term memory to be referred to with a demonstrative NP in Chinese, with the exception of the distal *nà* that is followed by a noun which is at least uniquely identifiable. This suggests that the Chinese demonstrative NPs cannot have the referential status of *new*. NPs labeled *new* introduce a non-unique referent mentioned for the first time in the discourse (Baumann & Riester, 2017). Our data shows that the referential

status of the majority of the Chinese demonstrative NPs is *given*, *given-sit*, or *given-displaced*. The most notable difference between the referential statuses of the Chinese proximal demonstrative NPs and the Chinese distal demonstrative NPs is that proximal NPs are *given-sit* much more often (56 *given-sit* NPs out of 166 proximal NPs) than distal NPs (11 *given-sit* NPs out of 108 distal NPs). At the same time, most *given-displaced* NPs are distal, 31 *displaced* NPs are distal, while only five are proximal. The most frequent referential status for both the Chinese proximal (98 cases out of 166) and the Chinese distal NPs (48 cases out of 108) is *given*. The remaining Chinese demonstrative NPs with referential statuses other than *given*, *given-sit*, and *given-displaced* are discussed in section 4 on an individual basis, together with the Czech translation.

Since most of the Chinese NPs in our corpus have a coreferential antecedent in the previous discourse or their referent is present in the text-external context, we expect it to be reflected in the Czech translation in the form of definiteness. In the discussion (section 4) of the individual Chinese example sentences and their Czech translations, we discuss the ways Czech expresses definiteness originally conveyed by the Chinese demonstratives.

3.2   Demonstratives in Direct Speech and Descriptive Text

According to Cummins (1998, p. 578), demonstratives are more common in colloquial Czech than in literary Czech. With this in mind, we used our corpus data to conduct an analysis of the Czech translations of the Chinese demonstrative NPs based on whether they appear in direct speech or descriptive text. As a result, we can see if the type or style of the text affects the choice of the NP type in the Czech translation. The distinction we make is between narrative and descriptive text and text that is uttered by a character either in a conversation with somebody else or to themselves in the form of an unspoken thought. The latter is referred to simply as direct speech throughout our thesis. In this section, we only discuss Czech NP types that we consider frequent enough to show any patterns. These are the Czech neutral demonstrative NPs, proximal NPs, bare NPs, and adverbial translations of Chinese demonstratives. Additionally, we also discuss demonstrative NPs that were omitted in the Czech translation.

The Czech neutral demonstrative NP translations are the most frequent group of NPs in our corpus. In total, there are 118 Czech neutral demonstrative NP translations in our corpus out of which 68 are translated from the Chinese proximal *zhè* NPs, and 50 originate from the Chinese distal *nà* NPs. Of the 68 neutral translations of *zhè*, 37 appear in direct

speech and 31 in descriptive text, though, of the 31 NPs found in descriptive text, 15 are time expressions. These fifteen expressions make up the entirety of Czech neutral demonstrative translations of Chinese proximal demonstrative time expressions. The statistics look similar with the total of 50 Czech neutral translations of the distal *nà* NPs. The numbers are slightly more in favor of direct speech with 33 Czech neutral demonstrative appearances, as opposed to 19 Czech neutral demonstrative translations in descriptive text.

Compared to the ratios of Chinese demonstrative NPs translated as neutral demonstrative NPs, the translations of proximal demonstrative NPs contain a proximal demonstrative much more often when they occur within direct speech rather than outside of it. Out of the 22 Czech translations containing a proximal demonstrative, 17 occur within direct speech and 5 of them in descriptive text.

The Czech bare NP translations differ significantly based on the type of Chinese demonstrative used in the original NP. Bare translations of Chinese proximal NPs are much rarer and more likely to appear in direct speech than the bare translations of Chinese distal NPs. Out of the 16 Czech bare translations of Chinese proximal NPs, 11 appear in direct speech and 5 in descriptive text. On the other hand, the more numerous Czech bare NP translations of Chinese distal demonstrative NPs are predominantly found in descriptive text with only 5 of those bare NPs appearing in direct speech and 34 bare NPs appearing in descriptive text.

Most Czech adverbial translations in our corpus are translated from Chinese proximal demonstrative NPs. In total, there are 18 adverbial translations, and their direct speech/descriptive text ratio is 10 to 8. Similarly, to the Czech adverbial translations, no clear tendency can be found among the Chinese NPs that were omitted in the Czech translation. Of the total 22 omitted NPs (only three of the 22 NPs are distal), 10 appear in direct speech, and 12 in descriptive text.

Our data mostly confirms the claim that demonstratives are more likely to occur in colloquial Czech and bare nouns are more frequent in literary Czech (Cummins, 1998, p. 578), if we assume that direct speech is colloquial style and descriptive text is literary style. The results show that Czech proximal demonstrative translations are more likely to be used in direct speech rather than in descriptive text, while bare NPs are the primarily

chosen in the translations of descriptive text[5]. Although the tendency is not as clear among the Czech neutral demonstrative NPs, we observe that they occur in direct speech more often than in descriptive text.

Czech neutral demonstratives do not place their referent into a spatial context and are mostly used in anaphora. On the other hand, Czech proximal demonstratives possess this function, therefore they are better suited to be used for text-external referents. Assuming that direct speech represents words spoken by entities interacting with their physical surroundings, proximal demonstratives are more likely to be used, as the opportunities to refer to objects in the spatial context are more frequent than in the descriptive text.

---

[5] This applies to the bare translations of Chinese distal demonstrative NPs.

4 Discussion

4.1 The Neutral Demonstrative in the Czech Translations of Chinese

Neutral demonstrative is a feature of the Czech language which does not exist in Chinese. It is clear from the corpus data that neutral demonstratives are the most common translation equivalent of both proximal and distal demonstratives in Chinese. Since neutral demonstrative translations are so common as opposed to other kinds of translations, each kind of the four Chinese noun phrase structures and their translations can be discussed with the help of more examples from the corpus. Besides the fact that Czech neutral demonstrative is the most common category among the translations in our corpus, our findings show that neutral demonstratives appear in the translations of both Chinese proximal and distal NPs, both anaphorically *given* NPs, *given-sit* NPs, and in both direct speech and descriptive text, without showing a clear preference for any of the categories.

4.1.1 The Neutral Demonstrative in the Czech Translations of Chinese Proximal Demonstrative NPs

In this subsection, we explore the most common NP type among the Czech translations of the Chinese proximal demonstrative NPs. The examples presented below show the four different Chinese NP structures and their translation equivalents while the context of each NP is also taken into consideration. First, we explore the Czech translations of the standalone Chinese proximal demonstrative *zhè*. After that we discuss Czech translations of the examples of *zhè* in the position of a determiner.

One of the simplest demonstrative expressions in both Chinese and Czech is when a standalone demonstrative is followed by a copula. The equivalent of the English copular verb "to be" is *shì* in Chinese and *být* in Czech. The copular verb is used to assign a role or indicate a property of the subject (Carnie, 2013, p. 264). A proximal demonstrative followed by the copular verb *shì* can be used both in anaphora (16) and exophora (17). In both cases, neutral demonstrative is chosen as the translation equivalent. With the referent being an abstract concept without a specified location or any possible referent other than the one mentioned by the character in the previous clause of the direct speech, the translation of *zhè* in (16) is understandably a neutral demonstrative, which is the common demonstrative type in anaphoric expressions (Komárek & Petr, 1986). On the other hand, the exophoric reference of (17) is not as clear-cut. This sentence (17) is spoken by a character to introduce his first wife to the main character. During the introduction, the first wife is seen by both characters praying in a temple, so its RefLex referential status

is *given-sit*. Hypothetically, a proximal or distal demonstrative could be used in this situation to specify the distance of the referent. The choice of the neutral demonstrative in (17) can be attributed to two factors. The speaker might assume the hearer to be aware of the first wife and does not find it necessary to point out her location. Furthermore, no other possible referent is specified in this context, so there's no need for such differentiation.

(16) 这是规矩。

zhè	shì	guīju
DEM.PROX	be	rule

to	je	pravidlo.
DEM.NEUT.N.SG.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	rule.SG.NOM

"This is a rule."

(17) 这是大太太。

zhè	shì	dà	tàitài
DEM.PROX	be	big	wife

To	je	první	paní
DEM.NEUT.N.SG.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	first.SG.NOM	wife.SG.NOM

"This is the first wife."

In (18), the demonstrative NP refers to an idea spoken by a character in the previous sentence, and it is modified by an adjective. In Chinese, adjectives work differently than in Czech in that Chinese adjectives often act as predicates independently and mostly do not require a copular verb to connect them with the subject. Instead, and adverb precedes the adjective which indicates a non-comparative statement (leaving the adverb out would be perceived as comparison) (Švarný & Uher, 2014, p. 65). This makes (18) functionally very similar to the two previous examples, and although the structure of the Chinese sentence is somewhat different, the Czech sentence still contains a copular verb. The referent in Chinese appears in the previous clause, which is a common motivation for the choice of proximal demonstratives in Chinese (Chen, 2004, p. 1154). The NP is anaphorically *given* with no contrasting referent. In noncontrastive anaphoric uses, Czech does not need to point out the referent by the means of proximal demonstratives.

(18) 这也简单。

zhè	yě	jiǎndān
DEM.PROX	also	simple

to	je	jednoduché.
DEM.NEUT.N.SG.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	simple-N.SG.NOM

"It's simple."

The sentence demonstrated in (19) contains both a proximal and a distal demonstrative. Here, we only focus on the proximal demonstrative. We discuss the distal NP in the next subsection in (36). The proximal *zhè* occurs by itself modifying no other words. It is used by the main character when referring to the fact that she has been in a bad mood lately, which was pointed out by another character in the previous sentence. Since the NP is anaphorically *given* and there's no other possible referent to be differentiated from the actual referent, neutral demonstrative is an appropriate choice for the Czech translation of this NP.

(19) 这跟那个有什么联系

<u>zhè</u>	gēn	nà	ge	yǒu	shénme	liánxì
DEM.PROX	with	DEM.DIST	CL	have	what	connection

Co	<u>to</u>	s	tím	má
what.NOM	DEM.NEUT.N.SG.NOM	with	DEM.NEUT.N.SG.INS	have.PRS.3SG

co	společn-ého?			
what.NOM	common-N.SG.ACC			

"What does it have to do with that?"

In multiple cases such as (20), the proximal demonstrative is translated as an expletive which means that it is non-referential. Unlike the Chinese demonstrative NP in (20) referring to the fact that the main character had not found a real female friend yet (mentioned in the previous sentence), the Czech demonstrative *to* only takes the position of the subject (first person) but not its function, nor does it have a referent.

(20) 这也不奇怪

<u>zhè</u>	yě	bù	qíguài
DEM.PROX	also	NEG	strange

<u>To</u>	se	ani	moc	ne-diví-m,
DEM.NEUT.N.SG.NOM	REFL.ACC	even	much	NEG-wonder-PRS.1SG,

"This doesn't really make me wonder."

In the following, two *DEM-(NUM)-CL-NOUN* structured proximal NPs with neutral demonstrative translations are discussed, one is an anaphorically *given* reference to an abstract concept (21), while the other is *given-sit*, as it refers to a person set within a spatial context (22). The demonstrative NP in (21) refers to a parting of two characters which is introduced through a conversation between the two. No other parting takes place within the context of this part of the story; therefore, it is not necessary to point out the

event mentioned later and thus closer from the referring expression by using a proximal demonstrative. The Chinese demonstrative expression might suggest otherwise because the phrase *zhè cì* is translated as "this time", giving us the idea that there had been another time the characters parted and that we need to differentiate this time and that time.

(21) 他说不清自己对<u>这次告别</u>的感觉是什么

tā	shuō	bù	qīng	zìjǐ	duì	<u>zhè</u>	<u>cì</u>	<u>gàobié</u>
she	say	NEG	clear	herself	towards	<u>DEM.PROX</u>	<u>CL</u>	<u>parting</u>
de	gǎnjué		shì	shénme				
DE	feeling		be	what				

Sama	ne-vědě-la,	jak-ý	z
self.F	NEG-know-PST.3SG.F,	which-M.SG.ACC	from
<u>toho</u>	<u>loučení</u>	má	pocit,
<u>DEM.NEUT.N.SG.GEN</u>	<u>parting-SG.GEN</u>	have.PRS.3SG	feeling.SG.ACC

"She had no idea what the parting made her feel like."

In the context of (22), the main character interacts with two men, one of which is the teacher in question. The referent is understood through the perception in the context of the outside world and there is no contrast with other potential referents. The translated demonstrative NPs is the neuter form of the standalone neutral demonstrative *to*, and unlike the Chinese version, it is not a determiner NP. The Czech demonstrative is connected to the NP by the copula *je*.

(22) <u>这位老师</u>有意思

<u>zhè</u>	<u>wèi</u>	<u>lǎoshī</u>	yǒu	yìsi
<u>DEM.PROX</u>	<u>CL</u>	<u>teacher</u>	have	meaning

<u>To</u>	je	ale	zajímav-ý
<u>DEM.NEUT.N.SG.NOM</u>	be.PRS.3SG	but	interesting-M.SG.NOM
učitel!			
teacher.SG.NOM			

"What an interesting teacher!"

The structure of the Chinese demonstrative NP in (23) is *DEM+(NUM)-NOUN*. NPs structured this way are mostly found in direct speech, according to our data. The referent in (23) is introduced in direct speech by the main character to the addressee, and assumes he is aware of the flame as well, giving the NP the *given-sit* status. There is also no contrast with other possible referents.

(23) 你看<u>这火苗</u>多可爱。

nǐ	kàn	<u>zhè</u>	<u>huǒmiáo</u>	duō	kě'ài
you	look	<u>DEM.PROX</u>	<u>flame</u>	much	cute

Podív-ej	na	ty	roztomil-é	plamínk-y
look-IMP.SG	on	DEM.NEUT.M.PL.ACC	cute-M.PL.ACC	flame-PL.ACC

"Look at the cute little flames."

In the following two examples, the Chinese demonstrative NPs are structured as *DEM-(NUM)-CL*. The majority of demonstrative NPs structured *DEM-(NUM)-CL* is translated as a standalone neutral demonstrative in Czech. In the discourse preceding (24), the character Zhuoyun talks about the people dying in a well. When she is no longer willing to talk about it, she says that she only knows "*zhè xiē*". This noun phrase consists of the proximal demonstrative *zhè* and the classifier *xiē*. This classifier usually serves as a plural indicator (Lü, 1999, p. 581) and when used together with the proximal demonstrative, it could be translated into English as "these". On the other hand, the demonstrative NP in Czech takes the simple singular neuter form of the neutral demonstrative (*to*) and is followed by the copular verb *být*, whereas the Chinese demonstrative NP is an object. It is a noncontrastive anaphoric reference for which the neutral demonstrative is a very common choice in the Czech translation.

(24) 卓云只知道这些

Zhuóyún	zhǐ	zhīdao	zhè	xiē
Zhuoyun	only	know	DEM.PROX	CL

To	je	všechno,	co	ví-m.
DEM.NEUT.N.SG.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	all.SG.NOM,	what.SG.ACC	know-PRS.1SG

"This is all I (Zhuoyun) know."

The measure word used in the next example (25) is *duàn* "section, paragraph". This measure word usually refers to a part of something long, e. g. railroad, time period, or a book, etc. (Lü, 1999, p. 180). In (25), the main character asks another character, when is she going to teach how to sing the song, they discussed after she heard her sing it. The song is the referent of the NP in question but in Chinese the word "song" is omitted, leaving only the demonstrative, the numeral, and the measure word *duàn* to make up the demonstrative NP. Again, the translated NP in Czech only consists of the neutral *to*.

(25) 什么时候教我唱唱这一段？

shénme	shíhou	jiāo	wǒ	chàng-chàng	zhè	yī
what	time	teach	1SG	sing-sing	DEM.PROX	one
duàn						
CL						

Nauč-íš	mě	to	zpívat?
PFV.teach-PRS.2SG	1SG.ACC	DEM.NEUT.N.SG.ACC	sing.INF

"(When) will you teach me to sing this song?"

The classifier used to refer to the flute in (26) is *zhī*, which is commonly referred to as a classifier for long, stick-shaped objects (Lü, 1999, p. 675). In this case, the reference is *given-sit* – a character takes out a flute from a flute case and tells the main character that he intends to gift it to her. As he speaks, both characters can see the flute in front of them. Although *zhè* is defined as word used to point out objects that are "relatively close" (Lü, 1999, p. 656), which in the context of (26) is fulfilled, the neutral demonstrative *ta* was used in the Czech translation, instead of the proximal demonstrative. We assume that no possible contrasting referent is the likely motivation for using the neutral demonstrative. This example (26) demonstrates the different behavior of the demonstratives in both languages with regards to distance. The referent is clearly in the close proximity of the speaker, thus the proximal *zhè* becomes preferable in this context. This preference is not shared in the Czech system of demonstratives, and as a result, the neutral demonstrative in the Czech translation shows that distance is not the only criterion deciding which demonstrative to use.

(26) 这支送你吧

zhè	zhī	song	nǐ	ba
DEM.PROX	CL	give	you	SA

Ta	je	pro	tebe,
DEM.NEUT.F.SG.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	for	2SG.ACC

"This is for you."

The Czech neutral demonstrative translations of the Chinese proximal demonstrative NPs show us that most of the time, the element of proximity is not important in the Chinese proximal demonstrative expressions. All of the demonstrative NPs discussed in this subsection have one thing in common – their referents are uniquely identifiable and there is no contrast with other potential referents.

4.1.2 The Neutral Demonstrative in the Czech Translations of Chinese Distal Demonstrative NPs

We discuss the neutral demonstrative translations of the Chinese distal NPs in the same order as in the previous subsection. From the standalone demonstrative (*DEM*), we move to discussing the translations of *DEM-(NUM)-CL-NOUN* and *DEM-(NUM)-NOUN* structured NPs, then we discuss the *DEM-(NUM)-CL* NPs.

The NPs in (27), (28), and (29) are standalone distal demonstratives. In (27), *nà* refers to the idea of marrying a rich man being the same as marrying an ordinary man, but better because of the wealth. It is an anaphoric and noncontrastive reference which makes it difficult to justify using a distal demonstrative in the Czech translation.

(27) 继母说，<u>那</u>不一样，去有钱人家是做小。

jìmǔ	shuō,	<u>nà</u>	bù	yīyàng,	qù	yǒuqián rén
stepmother	say,	DEM.DIST	NEG	same,	go	rich person
jiā	shì	zuò	xiǎo			
family	be	do	small			

Je	v	<u>tom</u>		rozdíl,		
be.PRS.3SG	in	DEM.NEUT.N.SG.LOC		difference.SG.NOM		
řekla		macecha,		do	bohat-é	rodiny
PFV.say-PST.3SG.F		stepmother.SG.NOM,		into	rich-F.SG.GEN	family.SG.GEN
pŭjdeš		za		nej-mladší.		
pfv.GO.PRS.3SG		as		SUPER-young.SG.ACC		

"'That's different,' said the stepmother, 'you will be the youngest in the rich family.'"

The Chinese demonstrative in (28) is followed by a copula and a noun. The referent is first mentioned as "somebody outside being dragged by two other people", as seen by the main character from the window. She cannot see the person very clearly, but when she realizes who it probably is, the character is introduced with a copula. The Czech demonstrative NP differs from the Chinese NP in structure. Instead of being standalone, the neutral demonstrative *ten* is followed by the pronoun *někdo* "somebody". There is a logical contradiction in the connection of a demonstrative that usually expresses definiteness and the indefinite pronoun *někdo*. It is however possible in anaphoric reference which is fulfilled in the case of (28), as the *někdo* pronoun appeared in the previous sentence. Replacing the neutral demonstrative in Czech with a distal demonstrative would perhaps be even more conflicting because it would require another *někdo* to be differentiated from. Furthermore, the fact that the reference is noncontrastive anaphora makes the use of the distal demonstrative unnecessary.

(28) 凭感觉颂莲知道<u>那</u>是梅珊

píng	gǎnjué	Sōnglián	zhīdào	<u>nà</u>	shì
base on	feeling	Songlian	know	DEM.DIST	be
Méishān					
Meishan					

Instinktivně	vědě-la,		že	<u>ten</u>
instinctively	IPFV.know-PST.3SG.F,		that	DEM.NEUT.M.SG.NOM

někdo	je	Korál.
somebody.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	Meishan

"She felt that it's Meishan."

The Chinese demonstrative in (29) functions as a direct object. While the default position of the object in Chinese is after the verb, sometimes it can occur in the initial position of a sentence (Švarný & Uher, 2014, p. 115). The demonstrative refers to a part of a story that the speaker is unclear about. Since this reference is anaphoric and noncontrastive, replacing the neutral demonstrative with the distal one might give the impression that there is another potential referent (there is none) and cause confusion as a result.

(29) 那只有鬼知道了

nà	zhǐ	yǒu	guǐ	zhīdao	le
DEM.DIST	only	have	ghost	know	LE

Kdo	ví,	jak	to	přesně
who.NOM	know.PRS.3SG,	how	DEM.NEUT.N.SG.NOM	exactly
bylo.				
be.PST.3SG.N				

"No one knows what actually happened."

Most Chinese distal NPs structured as *DEM-(NUM)-CL-NOUN* or *DEM-(NUM)-NOUN* that are translated with a neutral demonstrative, refer to concrete objects rather than abstract and complex concepts. Besides, the NPs in which the classifier is omitted are much more likely to occur in direct speech.

In (30), a distal demonstrative NP with the plural indicating classifier *xiē* is followed by a noun. The referent of the NP are ghosts mentioned in the same dialogue several sentences before. In Chinese, the distal demonstrative was chosen presumably because the dialogue had been continuing for multiple clauses before "the ghosts" were mentioned again. In the RefLex scheme, such NPs are considered *given-displaced*, which means that they occur further than five clauses after their referent (Baumann & Riester, 2017). In our corpus, the majority of NPs marked *given-displaced* are distal. This NP only has one possible referent. The referent in Chinese had been set into a spatial context by the main character stating that "the ghosts live in the well". Despite that the neutral demonstrative was used in the Czech translation. A possible explanation for this is that the spatial context of the referent was not important for what the other character wanted to say when she mentioned the ghosts in (30), as she only referred to the ghost the main character brought up.

(30) 你自己去问那些鬼魂好了。

nǐ	zìjǐ	qù	wèn	nà	xiē	guǐhún	hǎo	le
you	oneself	go	ask	DEM.DIST	CL	ghost	good	LE

Sama	se	běž	těch	duchů	zeptat.
alone	REFL.ACC	go.IMP	DEM.NEUT.M.PL.GEN	ghosts.PL.GEN	ask.INF

"You go ask the ghosts yourself."

The next example (31) shows an anaphorically *given* Chinese distal demonstrative NP that appears in the descriptive text. The NP refers to a teacher that is introduced in the same paragraph. Again, as a noncontrastive reference, it might become confusing if the distal demonstrative was used in the Czech translation because it could give the impression that there is another teacher present in the context.

(31) 定睛看那个老师

dìngjīng	kàn	nà	ge	lǎoshī
stare	look	DEM.DIST	CL	teacher

Toho	učitel-e	si	ale	dobře
DEM.NEUT.M.SG.ACC	teacher.SG-ACC	REFL.DAT	but	well

prohléd-la.
PFV.look at-PST.3SG.F

"She stared at the teacher."

The doctor brought up by the main character in (32) doesn't have an antecedent in the same conversation, nor is he physically present when she brings him up. However, he had been mentioned previously in the novel and the main character knows that the other is also familiar with this doctor. Chen (2004) calls this phenomenon *shared background knowledge*, and in the RefLex scheme, such referential status is called *unused-known*. For this reference, the doctor's physical location is not important or known. Besides, with the main character's appeal to the shared background knowledge the reference becomes noncontrastive. For these reasons, distal demonstrative in the Czech translation can be deemed unnecessary.

(32) 他要是没功夫你就找那个医生嘛。

tā	yàoshì	méi	gōngfu	nǐ	jiù	zhǎo	nà	ge
3SG	if	NEG	time	2SG	just	search	DEM.DIST	CL
yīsheng	ma							
doctor	MA							

nebo	jestli	ne-bude	mít	čas,	řekn-i
or	if	NEG-be.FUT.3SG	have.INF	time.SG.ACC,	tell-IMP.SG
tomu		doctor-ovi.			
DEM.NEUT.M.SG.DAT		doctor-SG.DAT			

"If he doesn't have time, you can ask the doctor."

The demonstrative NPs in (33), (34), and (35) consist of a distal determiner and a noun only, classifier was omitted. The referent in (33) was indirectly mentioned several times in the previous sentence and it is clear that there is only one person selling tofu that the characters talk about. Besides, the referent is not set into a spatial context, it is thus unnecessary to make this distinction in the translated NP.

(33) <u>那男人</u>豆腐做得很出名

<u>nà</u>	<u>nánrén</u>	dòufu	zuò	de	hěn	chūmíng
<u>DEM.DIST</u>	<u>man</u>	tofu	make	DE	very	famous

<u>Ten</u>	chlap	děla-l	široko
<u>DEM.NEUT.M.SG.NOM</u>	man.SG.NOM	IPFV.make-PST.3SG.M	wide
daleko	vyhlášen-é	tofu,	
far	well-known-N.SG.ACC	tofu	

"That man used to make famous tofu."

On the other hand, the woman referred to in (34) is set into a spatial context by the word *gébì* "next door", however, she's not visible to the characters who talk about her. It is clear from the context that both the speaker and the hearer share background knowledge of the person living next door. This shared background knowledge eliminates contrast and any need for a further specification of the referent.

(34) 要是隔壁<u>那女人</u>，她掏钱我也不给，

yàoshi	gébì	<u>nà</u>	<u>nǔrén,</u>	tā	táoqián
if	next door	<u>DEM.DIST</u>	<u>woman,</u>	3SG	pay
wǒ	yě	bù	gěi		
I	also	NEG	give		

<u>Té</u>	vedle	bych	ji	nikdy
<u>DEM.NEUT.F.SG.DAT</u>	next door	COND	3SG.F.ACC	never
neda-la,	i	kdyby mi		plati-la,
NEG.give-PST.3SG.F,	even	if 1SG.DAT		IPFV.pay-PST.3SG.F

"I would never give it to the one living next door, even if she paid for it."

The referent in (35) might be perceived by the speaker as something distant, as her point of view is set within a building, while the referent (the smoke) is primarily located outside. The reference is to be considered anaphoric because the referent was mentioned several times in the discourse before it appeared in (35) as a demonstrative NP. With the smoke being the main focus of the conversation, there is also no room for contrast with other potential referents.

(35) 谁喜欢闻<u>那烟味</u>就在谁那儿烧好了

shéi	xǐhuan	wén	<u>nà</u>	<u>yānwei</u>	jiù	zài	nǎr
who	like	smell	<u>DEM.DIST</u>	<u>smoke</u>	then	in	where

shāo	hǎo	le
burn	good	LE

proč	se	ne-pálí	listí	u
why	REFL.ACC	NEG-burn.PRS.3SG	leaves.SG.NOM	at

toho,		kdo	rád	čichá
DEM.NEUT.M.SG.GEN,		who.NOM	glad	smell.PRS.3SG

<u>ten</u>	<u>kouř</u>?
<u>DEM.NEUT.M.SG.ACC</u>	<u>smoke.SG.ACC</u>

"Why don't they go to the person who likes the smell and burn it there?"

The demonstrative in (36) is distal and is followed by the classifier *ge*. Classifiers are not translated into Czech therefore the translation is a standalone neutral demonstrative. This demonstrative NP refers to the main character's menstruation cycle which was mentioned in the preceding sentence. As there is nothing in the context that could be confused with the referent, and neither is the distance relevant, using a neutral demonstrative seems to be the best way to translate this NP.

(36) 这跟<u>那个</u>有什么联系

zhè	gēn	<u>nà</u>	<u>ge</u>	yǒu	shénme	liánxì
DEM.PROX	with	<u>DEM.DIST</u>	<u>CL</u>	have	what	connection

Co	to	s	<u>tím</u>	má
what.NOM	DEM.NEUT.N.SG.NOM	with	<u>DEM.NEUT.N.SG.INS</u>	have.PRS.3SG

co	společn-ého?
what.NOM	common- N.SG.ACC

"What does it have to do with that?"

Similar to the neutral demonstrative translations of Chinese proximal NPs, the Czech neutral translations of the Chinese distal NPs do not emphasize distance and are noncontrastive. The main difference is that unlike Chinese proximal NPs, Chinese distal NPs tend to be *given-displaced* more often. Some of the *given-displaced* NPs are translated as neutral demonstratives in Czech.

4.2 Proximal and Distal Translations

Chinese demonstratives always set their referent in a spatial context – they are always either proximal or distal. The Czech language also uses spatial demonstratives, but they only occur in a minority of noun phrases in the translation, due to neutral demonstratives and bare nouns being used instead. In his article on definiteness in Czech, Cummins (1998) mostly discusses the neutral demonstrative as an important tool for expressing

definiteness, while the proximal demonstrative is seen only as an extension used in specific situations. For example, proximal demonstrative is often used when contrast is important or when the referent is at hand. He almost doesn't mention the distal demonstratives at all.

In the corpus, the Chinese proximal demonstrative NPs are translated with a proximal demonstrative much more often than the Chinese distal demonstrative NPs with a distal demonstrative. There are also no translations where a Chinese proximal demonstrative would be translated as distal or the other way around.

4.2.1 Chinese Demonstrative NPs Translated as Czech Proximal Demonstrative NPs

Compared to neutral demonstratives, Czech proximal demonstrative translations are not very common, and as a result we don't have as many example sentences available to discuss. Despite that, we still discuss at least one example for each of the four Chinese demonstrative NP structures. The order in which we discuss the examples is the same as in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2.

All three proximal translations of the standalone *zhè* in our corpus appear with a copula. Another thing these NPs have in common is that their referent is not a simple object but a complex situation. One of the sentences with its Czech translation is shown below in (37). In the background of this example, the main character speaks with another character. Their conversation results in the other character becoming angry at the main character for saying something she doesn't want the main character to say. The sentence shown in (37) is her reaction. As to why the Chinese demonstrative was translated into Czech as proximal, we propose two possible reasons. First, the scope of reference of a neutral demonstrative might be too wide and could be perceived to refer to a larger part of the two characters' conversation. Thus, to be more specific about the referent only being the very last sentence spoken by the main character. Second, the proximal demonstrative might have a stronger effect when emphasis is the goal of the utterance, as opposed to neutral demonstratives (Komárek & Petr, 1986).

(37) 这可不是玩笑话

zhè	kě	bù	shì	wánxiàohuà
DEM.PROX	can	NEG	be	joke

Tohle	není	legrace,
DEM.PROX.N.SG.NOM	NEG.be.PRS.3SG	fun.SG.NOM

"This is not a joke."

In the context of (38), the main character directly interacts with the referent by eating it, which requires the referent coming very near the character. Choosing a neutral demonstrative for this NP would only imply an anaphoric reference. That offers a possibility to refer to any other snacks mentioned previously, and not only to those right in front of the character. Proximal demonstrative helps avoid the possible confusion by being more specific about the distance of the referent. This also applies to the other two NPs with the *DEM-(NUM)-CL-NOUN* structure that were translated proximal. In both cases, the referent is visible to the characters involved and being specific about the distance is helpful in distinguishing the referent.

(38) 她不喜欢这些零嘴

Tā	bù	xǐhuan	zhè	xiē	língzuǐ
She	neg	like	dem.prox	cl	snack

Nemě-la	tyhle	pochutin-y	rád-a,
NEG.have-PST.3SG	DEM.PROX.F.PL.ACC	snack-PL.ACC	glad-F

"She didn't like to eat these snacks."

The *DEM-(NUM)-NOUN* structured Chinese demonstrative NP in (39) introduces a situation in which distance is an important aspect. Two characters sit by a table and another character places two bowls of pudding onto the table. One of the characters comments on the pudding on the table in front of them. If the proximal demonstrative *tenhle* was to be replaced with a neutral demonstrative *ten*, the sentence would imply that the referent is anaphorically *given*. In the discussion of (26) above, we argue that proximal demonstrative might not be necessary in *given-sit* expressions in Czech, because the referent is clear enough in the text-external context. The main difference between (26) and (39) is that (26) is not preceded by an NP related to itself, whereas the Czech proximal demonstrative NP *tenhle pudink* "this pudding" in (39) is preceded by the NP *sladké* "sweet" in the previous clause. This NP encompasses *tenhle pudink* which creates an opportunity for any sweet foods to be mentioned. To avoid any contrast and to be absolutely clear about the referent, the proximal NP *zhè hóngzǎo yín'ěrgēng* "this red date pudding" in Chinese is translated as the proximal NP *tenhle pudink* in Czech.

(39) 我从小就好吃甜食，像这红枣银耳羹什么的，

wǒ	cóng	xiǎo	jiù	hàochī	tiánshí,	xiàng	zhè
1SG	from	small	just	enjoy eating	sweets,	like	DEM.PROX

hóngzǎo	yín'ěrgēng	shénme	de,

red date	pudding	what	DE,

Od	maličk-a	jsem	milov-al	sladk-é,
Since	small-SG.GEN	be-PRS.1SG	IPFV.love-PST.3SG.M	sweet-M.SG.ACC,
jako	tenhle	pudink	s	datlemi,
like	DEM.PROX.M.SG.ACC	pudding-SG.ACC	with	date-PL.INS,

"Ever since I was little, I've always loved sweets, just like this red date pudding."

The demonstrative NP in (40) is different in that it has no referent occurring previously in the text, it refers to the World known to everyone. Choosing a neutral demonstrative in the translation would imply that some world has already been mentioned and that the World we live in is actually not the world in question. This phenomenon is discussed in Chen (2004, p. 1138) as so-called *shared background knowledge*. This means that the speaker assumes the addressee is familiar with the referent despite never bringing up the referent in any previous discourse relevant to the utterance. This is also addressed in Baumann & Riester's (2017, p. 11) RefLex scheme, where the label *unused-known* is assigned to the phenomenon and such expressions are described as being unique and generally known but appearing for the first time in the discourse. The use of the proximal demonstrative in the Czech translation may be related to proximity (the referent is at hand) and direct speech – the utterer is actually standing on the surface of the world when she mentions it. One possible reason to choose the proximal demonstrative in the Czech NP are the negative emotions and emphasis involved in the utterance (it is preceded by a sigh). At the same time, the Czech proximal demonstrative could be an expression of hope because it can indicate contrast. In such case, we would interpret the utterance about having a real friend as "not possible in this world but perhaps in another world". See a similar situation where an NP that refers to the Worlds appears as a bare noun in the Czech translation (48).

(40) 这世界上根本就没人可以依靠。

zhè	shìjiè	shang	gēnběn	jiù	méi	rén	kěyǐ	yīkào
DEM.PROX	world	on	at all	just	NEG	person	can	rely

Na	tomto	světě	ne-ní
on	DEM.PROX.M.SG.LOC	world-SG.LOC	NEG.be-PRS.3SG
nikdo,	kdo	by	mi	moh-l	být
nobody-SG.NOM,	who-SG.NOM	COND	1SG.DAT	can-PST.3SG	be-INF
opravdový-m	přítel-em.				
real-M.SG.INS	friend-SG.INS,				

"In this world, there's nobody to be relied on." (Chinese)

"There's nobody in this world that could be a real friend to me." (Czech)

There is one *DEM-(NUM)-CL* structured NP that was translated with a proximal demonstrative (41). The classifier used in this NP refers to something that just happened to the speaker's body; therefore, the referential status of this NP is *given-sit*. In this context, multiple things may have happened to the speaker's body which could make him assume the hearer might not identify the referent without being specific enough. The Czech proximal demonstrative can be used to point out the referent closer to the speaker, or in this case, the thing that happened later. Using the proximal demonstrative effectively directs attention at the closest, or latest referent and helps the hearer avoid confusions.

(41) 从哪儿学来的<u>这一套</u>。
  cóng nǎr   xué   lái   de   <u>zhè   yī   tào</u>
  from where study come DE   <u>DEM.PROX one   CL</u>

  Kde   se-s   <u>tohle</u>   nauči-la?
  where   REFL.ACC-be   <u>DEM.PROX.N.SG.ACC</u> PFV.learn-PST.3SG.F

  "Where did you learn this?"

The Czech proximal demonstrative NPs in our corpus are both anaphoric and exophoric. They also occur both in direct speech and descriptive text. Czech proximal demonstratives are primarily used in situations where a neutral demonstrative might not be sufficient to differentiate the referent and make it uniquely identifiable. In such situations, the referent might contrast with other entities, so the Czech proximal demonstrative is employed to specify it by appealing to proximity in space (pointing to the closer entity) and/or time (pointing out the referent mentioned later).

4.2.2 Chinese Demonstrative NPs Translated as Czech Distal Demonstrative NPs

There are only two Czech distal NPs translated form Chinese distal demonstrative NPs in the entire corpus, and both of them are discussed below. In the first scenario (42), the referent is introduced in a distant part of a garden. The referent is a blooming wisteria seen by the main character. At the first mention it is referred to as "wisteria" but when the main character looking at the plant is introduced, only the flower of the plant is mentioned. Instead of *tamty*, the more literary distal demonstrative *ony* was chosen for this translation, perhaps to better express the atmosphere of the chapter introduction. Replacing the distal demonstrative with a neutral demonstrative would still be grammatically correct but it would no longer express distance and only function as a givenness marker.

(42) 颂莲从她的窗口看见<u>那些紫色的絮状花朵</u>在秋风中摇曳，

43

Sōnglián	cóng	tā	de	chuāngkǒu	kànjiàn	nà
Songlian	from	2SG	DE	window	see	DEM.DIST
xiē	zǐsè	de	xùzhuàng	huāduǒ	zài	qiūfēng	zhōng
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
CL	violet	DE	flocculent	flower	in	autumn wind	middle

yáoyè,
sway,

Lotos	z	okna		svého	pokoje
Songlian	from	window.SG.GEN		one's.SG.GEN	room.SG.GEN
viděla		ony		fialové	hrozny
IPFV.see-PST.3SG.F		DEM.DIST.N.PL.ACC		violet.PL.ACC.M	grape.PL.ACC
pohupující		se	v	podzimním	
swaying.PL.ACC		REFL.ACC	in	autumn.SG.LOC	

větru
wind.SG.LOC

"From the window, Songlian saw the violet grape-shaped flowers, swaying in the autumn wind, …"

The other Czech distal demonstrative in the corpus refers to the act of one character touching the breasts of a servant. In Chinese, the referring expression *nà yī bǎ* is structured as *DEM-(NUM)-CL*. The original meaning of *bǎ* is "handle" but in this case *bǎ* is a classifier. The classifier *bǎ* can be associated with numerous kinds of nouns, for example it is often used as a classifier for objects with a handle as in (43), or in (44) *bǎ* is a classifier for something done with the hand (Lü, 1999, p. 52). Same as in the previous example, the distal demonstrative *tamtím* can be replaced with the neutral *tím* and still be grammatically correct. In this case, the most likely motivation for choosing a distal demonstrative is the temporal context of the referent. In the Chinese version, this is expressed with the adverb *céngjīng* "previously, once". Although there are no tenses in Chinese, this word generally functions as a past tense marker when it is necessary. In our example (44), the equivalent of *céngjīng* "previously, once" is *jednou* "once" in addition to past tense of the verb. As demonstratives do not only express spatial distance but also temporal, distal demonstrative is a fitting choice in this context.

(43) 一把刀

yī	bǎ	dāo
one	BA	knife

"a knife"

(44) 连个小丫环也知道靠那一把壮自己的胆

lián	ge	xiǎo	yāhuan	yě	zhīdao	kào	nà
connect	CL	small	servant	also	know	lean	DEM.DIST
yī	bǎ	zhuàng	zìjǐ		de	dǎn
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

| one | CL | build up | oneself | DE | courage |

I	služtička	ví,		že	tamtím
even	servant.SG.NOM	know.PRS.3SG,		that	DEM.DIST.N.SG.INS
si	přilepší,				
REFL.DAT	PFV.improve.PRS.3SG				

"Even a servant knows that it will help her build her courage." (Chinese)

"Even a servant knows that it will improve her situation." (Czech)

Unfortunately, the Czech distal translations of the Chinese distal NPs are not frequent enough to draw any conclusions. For this reason, they can only be treated as outliers. However, there is one thing the two examples have in common – both could be replaced by a neutral demonstrative without the sentence becoming ungrammatical on nonsensical. Instead, they become the preferable choice for either their literary style, or for their ability to set the referent in temporal context.

4.3 Chinese Demonstrative NPs Translated as Bare Nouns in Czech

The second most common type of noun phrase among the translated demonstrative NPs is bare nouns. Bare nouns are almost always a result of a translation of demonstrative NPs containing a noun. The distal demonstrative NPs are translated as bare nouns much more frequently than the proximal demonstrative NPs. Czech bare NPs are also relatively rarely found in direct speech translations, when the Chinese NP is distal (5 out of 39 NPs are found in direct speech), while the opposite applies to the Czech bare NP translations of the Chinese proximal NPs (the ratio is 5 out of 11).

Cummins (1998) provides some information as to when Czech NPs tend to be bare, with regards to definiteness. Entities that are identifiable as unique in the physical, social, and psychological environment of the hearer and the listener tend to be bare in Czech, as opposed to English where they take the definite article. Cummins (1998, p. 580) lists nouns such as *hospoda* "the pub", *prezident* "the president", *nádraží* "the train station" etc. as examples of this phenomenon. Another situation that allows Czech bare nouns to be definite is associative definiteness (*bridging* in RefLex). In this situation, referent is identifiable in association with another entity, although the referent itself is not mentioned. Furthermore, physical presence of the entity makes it definite which makes it possible for definite bare NPs to appear in the sentence final position. Sometimes the difference comes from the distinction of literary and colloquial Czech as well. When the NP is postmodified

by a relative clause, it is more likely to be bare in the literary style than when it is colloquial. (Cummins, 1998, p. 578)

4.3.1 Czech Bare NP Translations of Chinese Proximal Demonstrative NPs

Of the two kinds of demonstratives in Chinese, proximal and distal, proximal demonstrative NPs are translated as bare NPs less often. To stay consistent, we discuss the bare translations of proximal demonstrative first.

Sometimes it is not clear where to draw the line between clauses that we consider equivalent parallel translations and clauses that diverge too much to be considered parallelly equivalent. (45) demonstrates a clause in Chinese and its Czech translation. These two clauses match very closely in both structure and meaning. If we approach these clauses as parallel equivalents, a rare phenomenon of a standalone Chinese demonstrative translated as a bare noun in Czech can be observed. Due to the nature of standalone demonstratives, it is conflicting for them to be translated as bare nouns, because they function as substitutes (Zhu, 1999), whereas bare nouns bear the full meaning of their referent. In (45), it is possible to translate the Chinese proximal demonstrative as a bare noun because the referent of the Chinese *zhè* (*mùbiāo* "goal") is mentioned in the final position of the preceding sentence.

(45) 这是飞浦的脚
<u>zhè</u>　　　shì　　fēipǔ　de　　jiǎo
<u>DEM.PROX</u>　be　　Feipu　DE　　foot

<u>Cílem</u>　　　by-ly　　　　Fej-pchu-ovy　　　　nohy,
<u>goal.SG.INS</u>　be-PST.3PL.F　Feipu-POSS.F.PL.NOM　foot.PL.NOM

"The goal were Feipu's feet."

The Czech translation diverges semantically from the Chinese proximal demonstrative NP of the *DEM-(NUM)-CL-NOUN* structure in (46). Once again, this can be attributed to the specificity of the Czech translation which contrasts with the vagueness if the Chinese NP. The Chinese NP *zhè zhǒng dōngxi* can be translated as "this kind of thing/stuff". *Dōngxi* "thing" is mentioned for the first time in the discourse. Omitting the proximal demonstrative (together with the classifier) would cut the connection between the NP and the referent, resulting in a change in meaning of the sentence to "women are things". In terms of referential status, the Chinese NP relies on the association with the content of the previous discourse to be identifiable. As it does not have a concrete antecedent but can still be understood as unique, we classify it as *bridging* according to the RefLex

scheme. In contrast, the Czech equivalent NP is a vulgar term modified by an adjective. In her thoughts, the main character describes all women as "scheming bitches" which excludes the use of demonstratives, because modifying the Czech bare NP in question with a demonstrative would create a notion of a particular group of women who fit the description of "scheming bitches" but this is not the point that the main character is trying to make in addition to the fact that "all" does not mean "some".

(46) 女人就是这种东西。

nǚrén	jiù	shì	zhè	zhǒng	dōngxi
woman	just	be	DEM.PROX	kind	thing

všechny	ženy		jsou	vypočítavé	mrchy.
all.PL.NOM.F	woman.PL.NOM		be	scheming.PL.NOM	bitch.PL.NOM

"Women are simply like this." (Chinese)

"Women are scheming bitches." (Czech)

Proper nouns are generally considered to be definite and mostly occur without definiteness markers such as demonstratives[6] (Cummins, 1998, p. 569; Diessel, 1999, p. 129). The Chinese demonstrative NP in (47) consists of a proper name modified by the proximal demonstrative. The classifier is omitted in the NP. It is clear from the context that the Chen family is unique and identifiable to the characters, as it is the only Chen family in the novel. This makes any further definiteness markers unnecessary as we can see in the Czech translation. A possible explanation as to why the proximal demonstrative was used in the Chinese NP is that the sentence is direct speech.

(47) 这陈家可见是一天不如了天了。

zhè	chén	jiā	kějiàn	shì	yī	tiān	bùrú	le
DEM.PROX	Chen	family	clear	be	one	day	not like	LE
tiān	le							
day	LE							

Je	jasné,	že	s	rodinou	Čchen
be.PRS.3SG	clear.SG.NOM,	that	with	family.SG.INS	Chen
to		jde	z	kopce.	
DEM.NEUT.N.SG.NOM		go.PRS.3SG	from	hill.SG.GEN	

"The situation in the Chen family is getting worse every day."

Another Chinese NP (48) of the *DEM-(NUM)-NOUN* structure is a part of direct speech as well. This example is very similar to the one shown above in (40), where we explain

---

[6] Diessel (1999) discusses demonstratives that have developed the function of a definiteness marker.

the referential status of "the World". It is also similar in terms of word order, as it appears in the sentence-initial position. In the case of (48), the Czech NP is bare instead of proximal. We speculated that the reason for using the proximal demonstrative in (40) could be the involvement of somewhat negative emotions in the utterance. This is not really the case in (48), as there are no strong emotions expressed.

(48) 那这世上当真就有奴才命了

nà	zhè	shì	shang	dāngzhēn	jiù	yǒu
DEM.DIST	DEM.PROX	world	on	really	just	have

núcái	mìng	le
slave	life	LE

pak	je	pravda,	že	na	svět-ě	jsou
then	be.PRS.3SG	truth.SG.NOM,	that	on	world-SG.LOC	be.PRS.3PL

lid-é		předurčení	osud-em	stát
people-PL.NOM		destined.PL.NOM	fate-SG.INS	become.INF

se	otrok-y.
REFL.ACC	slave-PL.INS

"In this world, there really are people destined to be slaves."

The reasons why some Chinese proximal NPs are translated as bare NPs in Czech vary. One of the examples demonstrates a standalone Chinese demonstrative whose referent appears in the previous sentence. In the Czech translation, it is solved by moving the noun to the following sentence which causes the Chinese demonstrative and the Czech bare noun to appear in the matching clauses. Specificity of the Czech translation plays a role in another example where the vague Chinese demonstrative NP is translated as a specific uniquely identifiable bare NP in Czech. In two other cases, the Chinese demonstrative NPs are *unused-known* which makes them identifiable as bare nouns.

4.3.2 Czech Bare NP Translations of Chinese Distal Demonstrative NPs

Chinese distal NPs are translated as bare NPs more often than Chinese proximal NPs. There are no Chinese standalone distal demonstratives translated as bare NPs in our corpus, while *DEM-(NUM)-CL-NOUN* structured NPs are most common. We discuss them first, after that we focus on the *DEM-(NUM)-NOUN* and *DEM-(NUM)-CL* NPs.

The Chinese demonstrative NPs in the following four examples (49-52) have two things in common, they are all translated as bare NPs in Czech, and they are all structured as *DEM-(NUM)-CL-NOUN*. However, each of them represents a different referential status.

The referential status of the first NP (49) in Chinese is different from its Czech equivalent. While *jiàozi* "litter" in Chinese is mentioned for the first time but is identifiable in

association with the carriers mentioned in the previous sentence, the Czech equivalent NP directly refers to the word *nosítka* "litter" used in the previous sentence. According to the RefLex scheme, the Chinese demonstrative NP is classified as *bridging*, whereas the Czech NP is *given*. It is clear from the context that the litter is a unique referent identifiable in the physical environment which makes the use of deixis unnecessary.

(49) 看见那顶轿子悄悄地从月亮门里挤进来

kànjiàn	nà	ding	jiaozi	qiāoqiāo-de	cóng	yuèliàng
see	DEM.DIST	CL	litter	quietly-DE	from	moon

mén	lǐ	jǐ	jìn	lái
door	in	squeeze	enter	come

Viděly,	jak	se	nosítka	tiše
IPFV.see-PST.3PL,	how	REFL.ACC	litter.SG.NOM	quietly

prodrala	měsíční	brankou
PFV.push through-PST.3PL	moon.SG.INS	gate.SG.INS

"They saw the litter push through the gate quietly."

The Czech sentence in (50) differs from the Chinese original in structure. The Czech NP in question is modified by a relative clause which doesn't happen in Chinese. Instead, the content of the relative clause precedes the Chinese demonstrative NP as an attributive[7]. There are a few instances of Chinese demonstrative NPs preceded by an attributive in our corpus where the content of the attributive is translated by using a relative clause in Czech, although it is not a rule. Cummins (1998) states that it is typical of NPs modified by a relative clause in literary Czech to be bare, but they are often preceded by a neutral demonstrative in colloquial Czech. This tendency also applies to (50). Furthermore, (50) is the first sentence to mention the Persian cat in the novel. It is set in the spatial context by specifying its location under the main character's skirt which is why we tag it as *given-sit* under the RefLex scheme, because it's identifiable in the physical environment.

(50) 她就把气发到裙据下那只波斯猫身上

tā	jiù	bǎ	qì	fā-dào	qúnjù	xià	nà	zhī
3SG	just	BA	anger	send-to	skirt	down	DEM.DIST	CL

bōsīmāo	shēn-shang
Persian cat	body-on

svou	nelibost	si
one's own.SG.ACC	displeasure.SG.ACC	REFL.DAT

vylila	na	persk-é	kočce,
PFV.spill out-PST.3SG.F	on	Persian-F.SG.LOC	cat.SG.LOC,

kter-á	se	jí	schováva-la	pod

---

[7] NPs usually contain the attributive particle *de*, however it is omitted in this case.

which-F.SG.NOM   REFL.ACC   3SG.DAT   IPFV.hide-PST.3SG.F   under

sukní.

skirt.SG.INS

"She took it out on the Persian cat hiding under her skirt."

The next example (51) differs from the previous two examples in that it is direct speech which is quite rare in among the bare NP translations. It is safe to assume that the referent of the demonstrative NP is identifiable by the characters in the social context, besides that, (51) is the first time the NP in question appears in the novel. This situation is described as *unused-known* in the RefLex scheme. In addition, the NPs in question are not set in spatial context. Chen (2004) concludes his article by saying that the Chinese language has not yet fully developed English-like definite and indefinite articles, but the demonstratives are sometimes very close to the definite articles in function. The referent of the NP in (51) is not physically present nor does it have an antecedent, but at the same time it is clearly identifiable.

(51) 你是没到那个火候

     nǐ   shì   méi   dào   <u>nà</u>   <u>ge</u>   <u>huǒ-hòu</u>

     2SG   be   NEG   arrive   <u>DEM.DIST</u>   <u>CL</u>   <u>fire-time</u>

     Ještě   se-s   ne-dosta-la   do   <u>ohnivého</u>   <u>věku,</u>

     still   REFL.ACC-be   NEG-get-PST.2SG.F   into   <u>fire.SG.GEN</u>   <u>age.SG.GEN</u>

     "You're still not in the fiery age yet."

Many Chinese referring NPs whose referent appeared more than five clauses earlier (*given-displaced*, according to the RefLex scheme) are modified by the distal demonstrative *nà*. This phenomenon is not only mentioned in Chen (2004) but also observed in our corpus. In Czech, displaced demonstrative NPs are often translated as bare nouns, as seen in (52). Although displaced NPs may evoke a sense of distance because they might be perceived as far away in the text or in the discourse, no Czech distal demonstrative NPs in our corpus have a displaced antecedent[8]. In the case of (52), there are more contributing factors that make the Czech NP more likely to be bare. First, it is not set in spatial context, therefore there's no motivation to point out its physical location with a demonstrative. Second, it occurs in a literary style text, rather than colloquial, which according to Cummins (1998) makes a Czech NP more likely to be bare. Another factor could be the uniqueness of the referent. In the context, there is no other

---

[8] The lack of example sentences could be the main reason.

referent that could possibly interfere with the "tobacco business" being identifiable as unique. This example shows a situation, where the referent of a displaced Chinese NP needs to be retrieved with a distal demonstrative, whereas it is unnecessary in Czech.

(52) 又说起那笔烟草生意。

yòu	shuōqǐ	nà	bǐ	yāncǎo	shēngyi
again	bring up	DEM.DIST	CL	tobacco	business

řeč	se	stočila	na
speech.SG.NOM	REFL.ACC	turn-PST.3SG.F	to

obchod	s	tabákem.
business.SG.ACC	with	tobacco.SG.INS

"Again, they started talking about the tobacco business."

The following two examples consist of a distal demonstrative and a noun (the *DEM-(NUM)-NOUN* structure), while the classifier is omitted. Both NPs are set in the spatial context, however it's not very relevant, because they are not a part of direct speech, and the point of view is the narrator in both cases. Although the referent is the same, the Chinese demonstrative NP in (53) differs semantically from the Czech translation. The Chinese NP referring to the private parts of a character is rather vague in meaning – it could be translated as "that place" in English. In Chinese, a noun must be at least uniquely identifiable to be preceded by a distal demonstrative. This means that the addressee must be able to identify the referent based on the nominal itself. The same prerequisite applies to the English definite article "the". For this referential status, it is not necessary for the addressee to access the referent in their memory if the referent is described clearly enough (Gundel, 1993). Additionally, the Chinese demonstrative NP is further modified by the attributive *zìjǐ de* "one's own". It is safe to assume that the addressee of this sentence would uniquely identify the referent, primarily thanks to the specification provided by the demonstrative and the possessive attribute. The Czech equivalent NP is bare, but this is compensated by the explicitness of the NP. It is translated as *rozkrok* "crotch", which every person has only one of. This does not make the NP unique, as it could refer to the crotch of any person, but the Czech NP in question is allowed to be unique and bare at the same time thanks to the reflexive pronoun *si*.

(53) 让她摸自己的那地方

ràng	tā	mō	zìjǐ	de	nà	dìfāng
make	2SG	touch	oneself	DE	DEM.DIST	place

přiloži-l	si	ji	do	rozkrok-u:
PFV.place-PST.3SG.M	REFL.DAT	3SG.F.ACC	into	crotch-SG.GEN

"He made her touch his private parts."

Before it is mentioned in (54), the cup is first introduced in the previous sentence, therefore it is classified *given* under the RefLex scheme. In Chinese, the first time the cup is introduced, it is preceded by what Gundel (1993) considers the indefiniteness marker: *yī ge* "one CL". Meanwhile, the Czech indefinite is bare. Chen (2004) points out that the Chinese demonstratives often function as definite articles. Considering the Gundel's (1993) givenness hierarchy, the first mention reaches the so-called *type identifiable* status, where the type of the referent (cup) is recognized by the addressee but not the specific cup. The English indefinite article "a" corresponds with this referential status as well as the Chinese compound *yī ge*. What follows is the definite NP demonstrated in (54), preceded by a distal demonstrative in Chinese but bare in Czech. Taking the context into consideration, distance does not seem to play any role in the choice of the demonstrative; the main character sits down to the table where the cup is placed. The close proximity of the referent, and the choice of the distal demonstrative in the Chinese NP supports the statement that Chinese demonstratives sometimes function as definite articles Chen (2004).

(54) 人坐下来盯着那酒盅看

rén	zuò	xià	lái	ding-zhe	nà	jiǔzhōng	kàn
person	sit	down	come	stare-ZHE	DEM.DIST	cup	look

Dívala	se	do	kalíšk-u
IPFV.look-PST.3SG.F	REFL.ACC	into	cup-SG.GEN

"She was looking at the cup."

A Czech adjective can also become an equivalent translation of a Chinese demonstrative NP. The NP in (55) is structured as *DEM-(NUM)-CL* and contains the word *zuìhòu* "last" between the demonstrative and the numeral. The Czech NP leaves out everything but the adjective *poslední* "last". We still consider it to be a bare NP, as it contains no functional elements. A likely reason for the omission of the demonstrative in Czech is that the referent of the word "last" is uniquely identifiable, because in a certain group of entities that have been ranked, there can only be one entity that is in fact the last one.

(55) 那最后一个是四十年前死的

nà	zuìhòu	yī	ge	shì	sìshí	nián	qián	sǐ	de
DEM.DIST	last	one	CL	be	forty	year	before	die	DE

Poslední	tam	zahynula	před	čtyřiceti	lety,
last.SG.NOM	there	PFV.die-PST.3SG.F	before	forty.PL.INS	year.PL.INS

"The last one died there forty years ago."

Chinese distal demonstrative NPs translated as bare NPs in Czech are a relatively frequent occurrence. The pattern these translations show is relatively uniform. The structure is mostly *DEM-(NUM)-CL-NOUN* or *DEM-(NUM)-NOUN*, and most NP appear in descriptive text. As for referential statuses, bare translations of Chinese distal NPs are given-displaced in about a half of the instances, but there are multiple instances of *given*, *given-sit*, *unused*, or *bridging* NPs.

4.4 Chinese Demonstrative NPs Omitted in the Czech Translation

Certain noun phrases were omitted in the translation entirely. In this section, possible reasons for these omissions are discussed. Parallel text analysis is a prerequisite to discussing NPs omitted in translation because they need to exist in one language to be omitted in the translation. Translations of a demonstrative phrase is much more likely to be omitted if the demonstrative in the original phrase is proximal (*Table 6*). The *DEM-(NUM)-NOUN* structured NPs and standalone demonstratives have the most instances of being omitted in the Czech translation. Notably, these are the Chinese NP structures that lack the classifier.

	Proximal	Distal
DEM-(NUM)-CL-NOUN	3	1
DEM	6	2
DEM-(NUM)-CL	1	1
DEM-(NUM)-NOUN	8	0

Table 6

The order of clauses in the sentence could be a reason for omission, as seen in (56). In Chinese, the leaves falling suddenly are mentioned first, then it is referred to in the next clause with a standalone proximal demonstrative *zhè*. Czech takes a very different approach. In the first clause, the feelings of the main character are described, then in the following clause which is connected by the conjunction *že* "that", the reason for such feelings is specified. In Czech, subjects are often omitted which is also the case in the first clause of (56). The omitted subject of the clause would be the equivalent of the Chinese demonstrative NP.

(56) 很突然的落下来，颂莲觉得这也很奇怪。
    hěn   tūrán   luò   xià   lái,   sōnglián   juéde   zhè
    very   sudden   fall   down   come, Songlian   feel   DEM.PROX

yě	hěn	qíguài
also	very	strange

Lotos	připada-lo	zvláštní,	že	tak
Songlian	IPFV.appear-PST.3SG.N	strange.SG.NOM,	that	so
nečekaně	opada-ly.			
unexpectedly	PFV.fall-PST.3PL.M			

"She found it strange that the leaves fell so quickly."

Another instance of the Chinese expression with a very general and non-specific meaning that is translated explicitly in Czech is presented in (57). Once again, the referent of the Chinese demonstrative is pregnancy or more precisely, the improbability thereof. Czech is explicit about the referent, only it is in the form of the negated verb *otěhotnět* "become pregnant".

(57) 如果这成了事实

rúguǒ	zhè	chéng	le	shìshí
if	DEM.PROX	become	LE	fact

Pokud	ne-otěhotní,
if	NEG-become pregnant.PRS.3SG,

"If this comes true…" (Chinese)

"If she doesn't get pregnant…" (Czech)

The phrase *nǐ zhè rén* demonstrated in (57) and its variations are quite common throughout the corpus. The phrase consists of a personal pronoun, e. g. *nǐ* "you", a demonstrative, and a noun whose referent is identical to that of the personal pronoun. When these conditions are fulfilled, the NP is always omitted (applies to examples in our corpus). The phrase *zhè rén* "this person" was probably used for emphasis, but it has been seen as redundant by the Czech translator.

(58) 你这人有意思

nǐ	zhè	rén	yǒu	yìsi
2SG	DEM.PROX	person	have	meaning

Jsi	zvláštní,
be.PRS.2SG	strange.SG.NOM

"You're interesting." (Chinese)

"You're weird." (Czech)

In (59), the Chinese standalone demonstrative is followed by the copula *shì* and the phrase *wéishénme* "why". *Wéishénme* usually appears on its own without a demonstrative. The

distal demonstrative in a character's reaction (59) refers to the statement spoken by the main character. The copular verb is left out in Czech along with the demonstrative and only the simple *proč* "why" is used.

(59) <u>那</u>是为什么。

<u>nà</u>	shì	wèishénme
<u>DEM.DIST</u>	be	why

Proč?
Why

"Why is that?" (Chinese)

"Why?" (Czech)

The Chinese demonstrative NP in (60) is anaphoric – it refers to the man mentioned in the previous sentence. This referent is very concrete, yet the NP is entirely left out in the Czech translation. The reason for this omission is quite clear: the referring NP hides within a grammatical category that does not exist in Chinese – the past tense (Norman, 1988). A special feature of the past tense in the Czech language is that it is marked for grammatical gender (Karlík & Migdalski, 2017). The past tense suffix *-l* in the word *vypadal* makes it clear that the subject is masculine[9]. Since the referent does not contrast with anything else, it no longer has to be brought up in the form of an NP.

(60) 她已经记不清<u>那个男生</u>的脸

tā	yǐjīng	jì	bù	qīng	<u>nà</u>	<u>ge</u>
she	already	remember	NEG	clear	<u>DEM.DIST</u>	<u>CL</u>
<u>nánshēng</u>	de	liǎn				
<u>man</u>	DE	face				

Už	si	nepamatovala,	jak
already	REFL.DAT	NEG.remember-PST.3SG.F,	how
vypada-l,			
IPFV.look like-PST.3SG.M			

"She no longer remembered what the man looked like."

There are several reasons for omissions of demonstrative NPs in the Czech translations. For instance, some demonstrative NPs were omitted as a result of the leaving out the subject of the Czech clause. In one of the cases, the omission is compensated by a relative clause, whereas the other sufficiently replaced by the masculine past tense marker of the predicate. The next reason for omission is different vocabulary choice. Some concepts

---

[9] The feminine suffix would be *-la*, the neuter suffix would be *-lo*, etc.

that are pointed out with a demonstrative NP in Chinese are expressed with a verb in Czech. Another reason for omission is redundancy. This means that some of the Czech translations of Chinese work just fine completely without the demonstrative NP that appear in the Chinese version of the sentence.

4.5 Other Czech Translations of Chinese Demonstrative NPs

Multiple Czech translations do not fit into any of the categories discussed above. In this section, we bring up the Czech adverbial translations, possessive translations, and the Czech translations containing a measure word.

Czech adverbial translations are not very common in our corpus, because we do not focus on Czech translations of Chinese demonstrative adverbials. Despite that, several adverbial translations of Chinese demonstrative NPs have been collected. Most adverbial translations in our corpus are in fact time expressions, but we discuss those in the sections specifically dedicated to time expressions (4.7.1).

Chinese uses the proximal demonstrative to refer to the breaking of the vase (61). In Czech, a completely different strategy was used. Instead of the copular verb that is used in Chinese, Czech uses the present singular form of the verb *jít* "go", *jde* in the combination with the preposition *o* "about", forming the phrase *jít o* "be about". This phrase usually occurs together with the adverbial demonstrative *tady* "here".

(61) 这是一只瓶子的事吗？

<u>zhè</u>	shì	yī	zhī	píngzi	de	shì	ma
<u>DEM.PROX</u>	be	one	CL	bottle	DE	thing	MA

Copak	<u>tady</u>	jde	jen	o	vázu?
what	<u>here</u>	go.PRS.3SG	only	about	vase.SG.ACC

"Is it just about the vase?"

The Chinese demonstrative NP in (62) is only followed by the plural marking classifier *xiē* and refers to certain things some characters had talked about, such as death. The NP could be translated as "these things" in English. The concept of saying "these things" is expressed differently in Czech. Instead, the characters are talking "this way" for which the proximal adverbial demonstrative *takhle* is used.

(62) 其实好端端的谁说这些

qíshí	hǎoduānduān	de	shéi	shuō	<u>zhè</u>	<u>xiē</u>
actually	perfectly all right	DE	who	say	<u>DEM.PROX</u>	<u>CL</u>

Kdo	by	taky	<u>takhle</u>	mluvi-l,	když

who.NOM	COND	also	<u>this way</u>	IPFV.speak-PST.3SG.M,	when
se	má	dobře.			
REFL.ACC	have.PRS.3SG	well			

"Who would talk like this when everything is alright."

Our corpus contains several translations of Chinese demonstrative NPs in which a possessive pronoun is used. One of the examples of a Chinese proximal NP translated with a possessive is shown below. Although in the utterance (63), the Chinese NP is *given-sit*, the translator worked with the context of the novel to infer that the servant in question belongs to the speaker.

(63) 你看这丫头对你多忠心

nǐ	kàn	<u>zhè</u>	<u>yātou</u>	duì	nǐ	duō
2SG	look	DEM.PROX	servant	towards	2SG	much
zhōngxīn						
loyal						

Podívej,	jak	se	o	tebe	<u>má</u>
look.IMP,	how	REFL.ACC	about	2SG.ACC	1SG.POSS.NOM
<u>komorná</u>	hezky	stará			
<u>servant.SG.NOM</u>	prettily	IPFV.take care.PRS.3SG			

"Look how my servant takes care of you."

Sometimes, the Chinese measure word is translated into Czech as a measure word as well. What makes (64) special is the omission of the demonstrative in the Czech translation. A demonstrative in the Czech NP would not be ungrammatical but it might be understood as making a reference to a certain volume of the smoke that was produced at a certain time. Leaving the demonstrative out results in a phrase describing a rather small amount of smoke.

(64) 那点烟味就受不了。

<u>nà</u>	<u>diǎn</u>	<u>yānwèi</u>	jiù	shòubuliǎo
DEM.DIST	a little	smoke	just	cannot stand

Ani	<u>trochu</u>	<u>kouř-e</u>	ne-vydrž-íš?
not even	a little.SG.ACC	smoke-SG.GEN	NEG-endure-PRS.2SG

"You can't put up with a little bit of smoke?"

The main goal of this section is not an in-depth discussion of translation patterns but to demonstrate the diversity of the Czech translations of the Chinese demonstrative NPs. Apart from adverbs, possessives, and measure words, the outliers of the Czech translation

also include numerals, personal pronouns, characteristic pronouns, relative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, negative pronouns, and indefinite pronouns.

4.6 Frequently Occurring Nouns

There are several nouns in the novel with multiple occurrences, for which it is clear from the context that they share an identical referent. As many of these nouns are modified with the same demonstrative in multiple cases, they can reveal the nuances that determine the structure of the Czech noun phrase.

4.6.1 Garden

The garden mentioned in (65) is discussed from the point of view of two characters standing inside a building and looking at the garden from a window. It is understandable that a proximal demonstrative is used in the Chinese version of the text because the referent is relatively close and visible to the characters and does not contrast with another garden that would be even closer, which rules out the distal demonstrative option in Chinese. In the Czech translation, on the other hand, a neutral demonstrative is used despite the element of distance being present in this context. The NP is *given-sit* because the characters are not present in the garden when they talk about it but see it from the building. We can assume that the speaker knows that the other character also sees the garden.

In another situation (66), two characters mention the same garden while standing in it. That means the proximity is much more apparent than in (65), although the NPs in both sentences are tagged as *given-sit* due to both being an exophoric reference without any pointing gesture (no gesture was mentioned in the novel, so we assume no gesture was involved when the characters talked about the garden), therefore the RefLex tag does not explain why two different demonstratives were chosen in two very similar exophoric references. The fundamental difference between the two examples is the characters' point of view: in the background of (65), the characters are not present in the garden when they talk about it but when the garden is mentioned in (66), they are standing in it. It is possible that a neutral demonstrative wouldn't be very clear about the referent because it primarily appears in anaphoric references, and the reader might not be sure if the garden in question is the one the characters are standing on as they speak or if there was another garden somewhere else mentioned previously. Since (66) is direct speech, the proximal demonstrative makes it clear that the garden in question is in fact the one they're standing in.

(65) 这园子里的东西有点鬼气。

zhè yuánzi	lǐ	de	dōngxi	yǒu	diǎn	guǐqì
DEM.PROX garden	in	DE	thing	have	bit	

Ta	zahrada	někdy	působí	strašidelně,
dem.neut	garden	sometimes	feel	scary

"Sometimes, the garden feels scary."

(66) 这园子里阴气太旺

zhè	yuánzi	lǐ	yīnqì	tài	wàng
DEM.PROX	garden	in	yin energy	too	prosperous

V	tomhle	dvoře	je	příliš	mnoho
in	DEM.PROX.M.SG.LOC	garden-SG.LOC	be.PRS.3SG	too	much

ženské	energie.
female-F.SG.GEN	energy.SG.GEN

"There's too much yin energy in this garden."

In (67), the same demonstrative NP appears in the same form as in (65) and (66), however it is translated as a proximal adverbial demonstrative *tu* "here" in Czech. This sentence is spoken in the same setting as (65) – the characters are looking at the garden through a window. We assume that replacing the "garden" with a demonstrative adverb is possible thanks to the fact that the garden is already mentioned in the same conversation.

(67) 怪不得这园子里修这么多井。

guàibude	zhè yuánzi	lǐ	xiū	zhè-me	duō	jǐng
no wonder	DEM.PROX garden	in	build	DEM.PROX-me	many	well

Už	rozumí-m,	proč	tu	máte
already	IPFV.understand-PRS.1SG	why	here	have-PRS.2PL

tolik	studní,
so many	well.PL.GEN

"Now I understand why there are so many wells in the garden."

Three identical Chinese NPs with an identical referent can be translated in three different ways based on the circumstances. One of the factors determining how an NP is translated is the point of view. We observed that when the expression refers to the place that the speaker is located in, the proximal demonstrative is a preferable choice in Czech. A location noun can also be replaced by a demonstrative adverb if the referent is anaphorically *given*.

4.6.2 Paper

In this subsection, we explore how the word *cǎozhǐ* "toilet paper" and its Czech translation *papír* "paper" behave across a spectrum of different situations. The "paper" in question

always has the same referent: a piece of toilet paper on which a character drew something the main character didn't like. Apart from the instances of *căozhĭ* modified by a demonstrative, there are multiple cases of this NP taking the bare form or other forms. Although demonstratives are our primary focus, it would be unfair not to mention the other forms that are important in setting up the context. The first time *căozhĭ* occurs in the novel is displayed in (68). The NP takes the *NUM-CL-NOUN* form which according to Gundel (1993) marks indefiniteness, when the numeral involved is *yī* "one". The Czech translation of the indefinite *căozhĭ* is also bare. In (69), both the Chinese NP and the Czech NP are bare. It is clear that the referent is uniquely identifiable as it has been mentioned several times in the same paragraph. The previous reference to the paper is found three clauses earlier, therefore *căozhĭ* in (69) is not considered *given-displaced* but only *given*, based on the RefLex scheme.

(68) 当她看见马桶浮着<u>一张被浸烂的草纸</u>时，

dāng	tā	kànjiàn	mătŏng	fú-zhe	<u>yī</u>	<u>zhāng</u>	<u>bèi</u>
when	3SG	see	toilet	float-ZHE	<u>one</u>	<u>CL</u>	<u>bei</u>

<u>jìn-làn</u>	<u>de</u>	<u>căozhĭ</u>	shí,
<u>soak-soft</u>	<u>DE</u>	<u>toilet paper</u>	time

a	uvidě-la	na	dně	<u>rozmočen-ý</u>
and	PFV.see-PST.3SG.F	on	bottom.SG.LOC	<u>soaked-M.SG.ACC</u>

<u>kus</u>	<u>toaletn-ho</u>	<u>papír-u</u>.
<u>piece.SG.ACC</u>	<u>toilet-M.SG.GEN</u>	<u>paper-SG.GEN</u>

"She saw a soaked piece of toilet paper floating in the toilet."

(69) 她夹着<u>草纸</u>撞开小偏屋的门，

tā	jiā-zhe	<u>căozhĭ</u>	zhuàg-kāi	xiǎo	piānwū	de
3SG	pinch-ZHE	<u>toilet paper</u>	hit-open	small	room	DE

mén						
door

S	<u>papír-em</u>	mezi	prsty	rozkopla
with	<u>paper-SG.INS</u>	between	finger.PL.INS	PFV.kick open-PST.3SG.F

dveře	její	komůrky.
door.PL.ACC	3SG.F.POSS.GEN	chamber-SG.GEN

"Holding the paper between her fingers, she kicked open the door of her little chamber."

The first time *căozhĭ* appears with a demonstrative is when it's mentioned for the second time. It becomes a theme across the "toilet paper story" that every time *căozhĭ* is preceded by the distal demonstrative, it is separated from the previous NP referring to the paper by enough clauses to be considered *given-displaced*. Below are two of the four Chinese

examples sentences containing the *displaced* distal demonstrative NP and the Czech translation, (70) and (71). The Czech equivalent NPs of the Chinese distal demonstrative NPs are always bare, including the two other examples that are not mentioned below.

(70) 皱紧了鼻子去拨那团草纸

zhòu	jǐn	le	bízi	qù	bá	nà	tuán
wrinkle	tight	LE	nose	go	pluck	DEM.DIST	CL

cǎozhǐ
toilet paper

ucpala	nos	a	vytáhla
PFV.clog-PST.3SG.F	nose.SG.ACC	and	PFV.pull out-PST.3SG.F
papír	ze	záchodu.	
paper.SG.ACC	from	toilet.SG.GEN	

"She pinched her nose and pulled the toilet paper out of the toilet."

(71) 抓了那张草纸要往窗外扔。

zhuā	le	nà	zhāng	cǎozhǐ	yào	wǎng
catch	LE	DEM.DIST	CL	toilet paper	want	towards
chuāng	wài	rēng				
window	out	throw				

Vza-la	papír	a	chtě-la
PFV.pick up-PST.3SG.F	paper.SG.ACC	and	want-PST.3SG.F
jej	vyhodit	z	okna.
3SG.ACC	throw out.INF	from	window.SG.GEN

"She picked up the toilet paper and wanted to throw it out of the window."

There is an example of the "paper" in Chinese being referred to with a noun different than *cǎozhǐ* whose Czech translation "*papír*" remains unchanged, while at the same time it is modified by the neutral demonstrative *ten*. This Chinese NP is structured *DEM-(NUM)-NOUN* and the original *cǎozhǐ* is replaced by *zāng dōngxi* "dirty thing" in (72). The reason why this phrase is used instead is because the paper was called *zāng dōngxi* by a character a few sentences earlier. When the main character utters the NP in question (72), she simply adopts the NP used by the other character. On the other hand, the Czech copula in the preceding sentence is followed by the adjective *špinavý* "dirty" and unlike in Chinese, it is not adopted by the main character in her utterance as she requires a noun to bring up the paper again. What the Chinese and Czech NPs in (72) have in common is that both have a demonstrative, proximal in Chinese, neutral in Czech. (72) is set apart from most of the previous examples by being direct speech. As mentioned above, demonstratives are more common in colloquial Czech than literary Czech which might serve as an

important motivation to use the demonstrative. The referent is uniquely identifiable from the context and proximal demonstrative in the Czech NP is thus unlikely.

(72) 把这脏东西给老爷看

bǎ	zhè	zāng	dōngxi	gěi	lǎoyé	kàn
BA	DEM.PROX	dirty	thing	give	lord	look

ukáž-eme	ten	papír	star-ému
PFV.show-PRS.1PL	DEM.NEUT.M.SG.ACC	paper.SG.ACC	old-M.SG.DAT

pán-ovi
man-M.SG.DAT

"Let's show the paper to the lord."

The Chinese *cǎozhǐ* "toilet paper" that appears multiple times in the given context is mostly translated as a bare noun in Czech, no matter if the Chinese NP is bare or demonstrative. Although the rate of occurrence of *cǎozhǐ* is quite high, there are four cases of *cǎozhǐ* being *given-displaced*. Interestingly, all of the instances of *cǎozhǐ* modified by the distal *nà* are *given-displaced*. This tendency is not reflected in Czech, all of the Czech translations of *cǎozhǐ* are bare. The only time a noun referring to the piece of toilet paper is preceded by a demonstrative in both languages is when the NP *zhè zāng dōngxi* "this dirty thing" is used instead. This NP is anaphorically *given*.

4.6.3 Well

The well is an element recurring throughout the entire novel. In the majority of occurrences, the well is bare in both languages. This subsection is focused on some of the cases where a demonstrative modifies the word "well", *jǐng* in Chinese, and *studna* in Czech.

The first time *jǐng* appears with a demonstrative in Chinese (*DEM-(NUM)-NOUN* structure) is in a conversation between two characters who are not immediately present around the well. Before (73), the well is mentioned two times in the conversation. This makes it at least uniquely identifiable, which is a prerequisite for a Chinese NP to be preceded by the distal demonstrative *nà*, (Gundel, 1993). As an anaphoric reference, the Czech NP takes the feminine locative neutral demonstrative form *té*.

(73) 那井里死过三个人

nà	jǐng	lǐ	sǐ-guo	sān	ge	rén
DEM.DIST	well	in	die-GUO	three	CL	people

v	té	studni	zahynuli	tři
in	DEM.NEUT.F.SG.LOC	well.SG.LOC	PFV.die-PST.3PL	three.NOM

lidé.

people-PL.NOM

"Three people died in this well."

Unlike (73), *jǐng* in (74) and (75) is not only preceded by the distal demonstrative but the classifier *kǒu* occurs as well. It is also an anaphoric reference and the previous mention of the well in Chinese is also modified by the distal *nà* but this is not the case in Czech. These two example sentences show the preference in Chinese to use the distal demonstrative in *displaced* NPs, while Czech prefers bare NP in this case. Our data show that Chinese demonstrative NPs that are *displaced* are mostly translated bare in Czech, although multiple NPs are translated with a demonstrative as well. Baumann & Riester (2017, p. 8) admits that the distance of five units from the last reference to be considered *displaced* is arbitrary to a "certain degree". (74) and (75) allow us to see two NPs with the same referent in one paragraph, one *given-displaced*, the other *unused-known*. Both languages use a demonstrative, the distal *nà* in Chinese and the neutral *ta* in Czech in the following reference (75).

(74) 睡着也看见那口井

shuì-zhe	yě	kànjiàn	nà	kǒu	jǐng
sleep-ZHE	also	see	DEM.DIST	CL	well

I	ve	spánk-u	mě-la	stale	před	oči-ma
even	in	sleep-SG.LOC	have-PST.3SG.F	still	before	eye-PL.INS

studn-u
well-SG.ACC

"Even in her sleep, the well is still in front of her eyes."

(75) 谁知道那口井是什么？

shéi	zhīdào	nà	kǒu	jǐng	shì	shénme
who	know	DEM.DIST	CL	well	be	what

Kdo	ví,	co	je
who.NOM	know.PRS.3SG,	what.NOM	be.PRS.3SG

ta	studna	vlastně	zač.
DEM.NEUT.F.SG.NOM	well.SG.NOM	actually	like

"Who knows what the well actually is."

Sometimes, the distance in Czech is not expressed with the demonstrative itself. Instead, the distal adverb "tam" is used in (76). In such case, replacing the neutral demonstrative with a distal one is unnecessary.

(76) 颂莲朝紫藤架呶呶嘴，喏，那口井。

Sōnglián	cháo	zǐténgjià	náonáo	zuǐ,	nùo,

Songlian	towards	wisteria	talk endlessly mouth,	look,

nà   kǒu   jǐng.
DEM.DIST   CL   well

Lotos	kývla	směr-em	k
Songlian	PFV.nod-PST.3SG.F	direction-SG.INS	towards
vistári-i:	Tam	z	té	studny.
wisteria-SG.DAT:	there	from	DEM.NEUT.F.SG.GEN	well.SG.GEN

"Songlian nodded towards the wisteria: 'From the well over there.'"

Unlike *cǎozhǐ* "toilet paper" that only appears in one chapter of the novel, the NPs referring to *jǐng* "well" are distributed throughout the novel. The most interesting observation of this section comes from the comparison of three example sentences with the identical Chinese NP *nà kǒu jǐng* "that well". Each of these examples is translated differently, even though the Chinese NP is always the same. One of the Czech NPs is a bare noun. It's referential status is *given-displaced*, and it occurs in descriptive text. Two other Czech NPs both contain a neutral demonstrative and occur in direct speech[10]. They differ in their referential status – one is *unused-known* because it is mentioned for the first time in the thought of a character, and the other has the *environment* status because the referent is identifiable from the text-external context after it was pointed to by a gesture.

4.7   Special Semantic Categories

4.7.1   Time Expressions

Chinese time expressions containing a demonstrative are frequent throughout our corpus. They are preceded by the proximal *zhè* (total of 42 proximal NPs) much more often than by the distal *nà* (total of 9 proximal NPs). The majority of time expressions are structured *DEM-(NUM)-NOUN*, and they are most commonly translated as neutral demonstrative NPs or adverbs. In Baumann & Riester's (2017, p. 5) RefLex scheme, time expression such as "now", "last week", etc. are classified as *given-sit*, a status usually assigned to text-external expressions that are not accompanied by a pointing gesture.

The Chinese word *shíhou* usually translates as "time" or "moment" in English. Together with the proximal demonstrative *zhè*, *shíhou* forms a time expression quite common in our corpus. The example sentence below (77) presents a typical usage of the expression *zhè shíhou* "this moment". The Czech translation of this expression uses the accusative feminine neutral demonstrative form *tu*.

---

[10] We consider thoughts of individual characters direct speech if the thoughts are presented as if they were saying them out loud.

(77) 这时候卓云上去把他们拉开

zhè	shíhou	Zhuóyún	shàng	qù	bǎ	tāmen	lā-kāi
DEM.PROX	time	Zhuoyun	up	go	BA	3PL	pull-open

V	tu	chvíli	k	nim
in	DEM.NEUT.F.SG.ACC	moment.SG.ACC	to	3PL.DAT

doš-la	Obláčka	a	odtáhla	je
PFV.arrive-PST.3SG.F	Zhuoyun.NOM	and	PFV.pull-PST.3SG.F	3SG.ACC

od	sebe.
from	self.GEN

"At this point, Zhuoyun came over and pulled them apart."

Another kind of Chinese time expressions such as *yè* "night", *nián* "year", etc. are considered to be measure words by some (Švarný & Uher, 2014, p. 67), because they immediately follow numerals in the way classifiers do. By this definition, the Chinese demonstrative NPs in the two following example sentences (78) and (79) are structured as *DEM-(NUM)-CL*. These two demonstrative NPs are preceded by different demonstratives. (78) is proximal and refers to the night closest to the events taking place in the given context. (79) is distal and refers to an unknown year in which the main character arrived at her new home at the beginning of the novel. Using a distal demonstrative sets the story into a more distant past because the NP can possibly refer to any year but this year. In Czech, both of the demonstrative time expressions are neutral, possibly because both of them refer to time periods that have already ended.

(78) 这一夜陈佐千没有回来。

zhè	yī	yè	Chén Zuǒqiān	méi-yǒu	huí-lái
DEM.PROX	one	night	Chen Zuoqian	NEG-have	return-come

Tu	noc	se	už
DEM.NEUT.F.SG.ACC	night.SG.ACC	REF.ACC	already

Čchen Cuo-čchien	nevráti-l.
Chen Zuoqian	NEG-return-PST.3SG.M

"Chen Zuoqian didn't return tonight."

(79) 那一年颂莲留着齐耳的短发

nà	yī	nián	Sōnglián	liú-zhe	qí	ěr
DEM.DIST	one	year	Songlian	keep-ZHE	level with	ear

de	duǎnfà
DE	short hair

Ten	rok	nosi-la	Lotos
DEM.NEUT.M.SG.NOM	year.SG.NOM	IPFV.wear-PST.3SG.F	Songlian

vlasy	zastřižen-é	krátce	pod	uši
hair-PL.ACC	cut-N.PL.ACC	shortly	under	ear.PL.ACC

"That year, Songlian had a short haircut reaching just below her ears."

Despite its very similar meaning to the two demonstrative NPs above, the Chinese word for "month" can be preceded by a classifier which we see in (80). This question is asked by one character about the main character's menstruation. In the Czech translation, the demonstrative preceding the word *měsíc* "month" is the proximal *tenhle*. Because she asks about the current month, the proximal demonstrative is obligatory, otherwise it could refer to any other month.

(80) 这个月还没来？

zhè	ge	yuè	hái	méi	lái
DEM.PROX	CL	month	still	NEG	come

takže	tenhle	měsíc	ještě	nic?
so	DEM.PROX.M.SG.NOM	month.SG.NOM	still	nothing.NOM

"So, not yet, this month?"

Sometimes, Chinese demonstrative time expressions are translated bare in Czech, e. g. (81) and (82). The first case (81) could be simply attributed to the translator's choice of the preposition. The Chinese phrase *zhè shíhou* is identical to the one we discussed above in (77) but the literal meaning of its Czech equivalent in (81) is "for a while" and not "at this point", due to the Czech preposition being *na* "on, for" and not *v* "in". In the Czech translation of the Chinese demonstrative NP zhè yī zhèn "lately" (82), the demonstrative is replaced by the adjective *poslední* "last". This is presumably because referents of the Czech proximal demonstrative are usually specific (based on our corpus analysis), but the Chinese expression refers to an unspecified period of time. Consider (83) that uses the same noun *dobou* in the Czech translation but the unlike (82), it is preceded by the proximal demonstrative *touto*. Its referent is clearly specified as "the same time but last year".

(81) 这时候这群人成为陈府上下观注的中心

zhè	shíhou	zhè	qún	rén	chéngwéi	Chén
DEM.PROX	time	DEM.PROX	group	person	become	Chen
fǔ	shàng-xià	guānzhù	de	zhōngxīn		
mansion	up-down	pay attention	DE	center		

Na	chvíli	se	pozornost	cel-ého
on	while.SG.ACC	REFL.ACC	attention.SG.NOM	whole-M.SG.GEN
domu	Čchen	soustředila	jen	a	jen	na
house.SG.GEN	Chen	IPFV.focus-PST.3SG.F	only	and	only	on
něj.						
3SG.M.ACC						

"At this point, this group of people (Chinese)/he (Czech) was the only center of attention in the Chen family."

(82) 这一阵她闷死了

zhè	yī	zhèn	tā	mèn	sǐ	le
DEM.PROX	one	CL	3SG	depressed	die	LE

Poslední	dobou	je	nerudn-á,
last.SG.INS	time.SG.INS	be.PRS.3SG	annoyed-F.SG.NOM

"She has been feeling depressed lately."

(83) 颂莲想起去年这个时候，她是坐在学校的紫藤架下读书的

Sōnglián	xiǎngqǐ	qùnián	zhè	ge	shíhou,
Songlian	remember	last year	DEM.PROX	CL	time,
tā	shì	zuò	zài	xuéxiào	de	zǐténgjià	xià
3SG	be	sit	in	school	DE	wisteria	down
dúshū	de
study	DE

Lotos	si	vzpomně-la,		jak	loni
Songlian	REFL.DAT	PFV.remember-PST.3SG.F,		how	last year
touto		dob-ou	sedě-la		pod
DEM.PROX.F.SG.INS		time-SG.INS	IPFV.sit-PST.3SG.F		under
vistárie-mi	univerzitní-ho	kampus-u		a
wisteria-PL.INS	university-M.SG.GEN	campus-SG.GEN		and
učila	se.
IPFV.study-PST.3SG.F	REFL.ACC

"Songlian remembered how, this time of the year, she would sit below wisteria in the university campus and study."

In Czech, time expressions are often adverbial. This also reflects in our corpus; most Czech adverbial translations of Chinese demonstrative NPs are time expressions, some of which are demonstrative. One of the most frequent demonstrative adverbs in our corpus is *vtom* (84). It is a compound consisting of the preposition *v* "in" and the locative masculine neutral demonstrative form *tom*. The meaning of this compound is "at this point" or "suddenly". Another demonstrative adverbial compound is presented in (85). The Czech adverb *tentokrát* "this time" consists of the proximal demonstrative *tento* and the preposition *krát* "times"[11]. In some cases, non-demonstrative adverbs such as *dnes* "today" are an option in the Czech translation (86).

(84) 毓如的丫环福子就是这时候来敲窗的

Yùrú	de	yāhuan	Fúzǐ	jiù	shì	zhè	shíhou lái

---

[11] As in "two times".

Yuru	DE	servant	Fuzi	just	be	DEM.PROX	time	come

qiāo	chuāng	de
knock	window	DE

Vtom	zaklepa-la		na	okno
suddenly	PFV.knock-PST.3SG.F		on	window.SG.ACC
komorn-á	Jü-žu
servant-F.SG.NOM	Yuru

"Then Yuru's servant knocked on the window."

(85) 颂莲这回听懂了

Sōnglián	zhè	huí	tīng	dǒng	le
Songlian	DEM.PROX	time	hear	understand	LE

Tento-krát	pochopi-la,
this-time	PFV.understand-PST.3SG.F

"This time she understood."

(86) 颂莲这天换了套粉绸旗袍

Sōnglián	zhè	tiān	huàn	le	tào	fěn	chóu
Songlian	DEM.PROX	day	change	LE	CL	pink	silk

qípáo
qipao

Paní	mě-la	dnes	na	sobě
lady.SG.NOM	have-PST.3SG.F	today	on	oneself.SG.LOC
přiléhavé		růžové		hedvábn-é	čchi-pchao
close-fitting-N.SG.AC		pink-N.SG.ACC		silk-N.SG.ACC	qipao

"That day, Songlian wore a pink qipao."

In a total of four cases, e. g. (87), the Chinese time expression is not translated into Czech at all. This is not a common occurrence in our corpus, however when the NP is omitted in the translation, it could be attributed to the different grammatical features Chinese, and Czech possess. For example, the demonstrative time expression *zhè shí* "this time" connects the statement in (87) to the previous clause, making it clear that the two statements belong in the same temporal context. The temporal context is always expressed in Czech thanks to the past tense that both of the Czech verbs in (87) and the preceding sentence share. Assuming that if a verb shares the grammatical tense with the verb in the preceding sentence implies that both sentences belong in the same temporal context, it will make using the demonstrative time expression unnecessary.

(87) 颂莲这时的心情很复杂

Sōnglián	zhè	shí	de	xīnqíng	hěn	fùzá
Songlian	DEM.PROX	time	DE	mood	very	complicated

Zaplavi-la	ji	zvláštní	směsice
PFV.flood-PST.3SG.F	3SG.F.ACC	strange.SG.NOM	mixture.SG.NOM

obav
fear.PL.GEN

"Songlian was in a complicated mood." (Chinese)

"She was overwhelmed by a strange kind of fear." (Czech)

The preferred NP structure of the Chinese demonstrative time expressions is *DEM-(NUM)-NOUN*, and their referential status is predominantly *given-sit*. Compared to other NP types, time expressions are exceptional due to the large portion of NPs translated as adverbs. These include demonstrative adverbs, such as *vtom* "suddenly", where "*tom*" is the locative neuter form of the Czech neutral demonstrative *to*, however not all adverbs are demonstrative, e. g. *dnes* "today". Neutral demonstrative NPs are slightly more common than adverbs in the translation, but this tendency correlates with the other NP types in the corpus. Bare NPs, on the other hand are used less often in the translation of the time expressions, when compared to other NPs.

4.7.2 Shell Nouns

Shell nouns are considered semantically empty and tend to refer to abstract and complex ideas. Words such as *fact*, *reason*, *problem*, *position*, etc. belong in this category. Shell nouns are less expected to appear bare due to the lack of semantic content, while demonstratives are more likely to precede a shell noun (Sio & Morgado da Costa, 2022). These expectations set the category of shell nouns apart from other nouns which is why we discuss them separately.

Our data shows that Czech translations of Chinese shell nouns preceded by a demonstrative are most likely to be preceded by a demonstrative as well. In fact, with the total of eight cases in our corpus, Czech shell nouns that are modified by the proximal demonstrative are the second most frequent Czech shell noun NP category in our corpus after shell nouns modified by the neutral demonstrative. Besides proximal and neutral Czech translations of Chinese shell nouns, a relatively low amount of bare and adverbial translations has appeared in our corpus as well, together with a few cases of shell noun NPs omitted in the translation.

As mentioned above, Chinese demonstrative-modified shell nouns are frequently translated with a Czech neutral demonstrative. This is no surprise since in our corpus, the neutral demonstratives are the most numerous among the NPs translated into Czech.

Interestingly, most of these Czech neutral demonstrative equivalents of Chinese shell nouns are standalone demonstratives. One of such instances is demonstrated in (88). Here, the Chinese demonstrative NP *zhè ge huàtí* "this topic" is translated as the standalone locative neutral demonstrative form *tom*. Gundel (1993) classifies Chinese nouns modified by *zhè* as *activated* which means that the referent is present in the short-term memory. In the context of (88), the referent is mentioned in the previous sentence. Since shell nouns are semantically empty, there seems to be no need to include them in the translation if the demonstrative itself is sufficient in substituting the referent.

(88) 当她拐弯抹角地说起这个话题时

dāng	tā	guǎiwānmòjiǎo	de	shuōqǐ	zhè	ge
when	3SG	indirect	DE	bring up	DEM.PROX	CL

huàtí	shí
topic	time

Když	o	tom	později	mluvila	s
when	about	DEM.NEUT.N.SG.LOC	later	IPFV.speak-PST.3SG.F	with

Čchen Cuo-čchien-em
Chen Zuoqian-SG.INS

"When she indirectly mentioned it to Chen Zuoqian…"

Besides the standalone neutral demonstratives which make up the majority of the Czech translations of Chinese demonstrative shell NPs, there are some shell nouns whose Czech translation is also a shell noun preceded by a demonstrative. One of such examples shows the Chinese NP *zhè shì* "this thing" translated as *ta příhoda* "this story" (89). In Chinese, the NP's antecedent in (89) is identical to the example NP in question (90). In Czech, on the other hand, the demonstrative in the antecedent is proximal. Even though there is a complex story in the background of the demonstrative NP in (89), its immediate referent is the demonstrative NP *zhè shì* in Chinese, or *téhle příhody*[12] in Czech. This is unlike our previous example (88), where *zhè ge huàtí* "this topic" or the neutral demonstrative *tom* refers directly to the complex idea in question. Unlike the neutral demonstrative translations, Czech proximal demonstrative translations of Chinese shell nouns tend to include the shell noun along with the demonstrative.

(89) 她觉得这事残忍而又可笑

tā	juéde	zhè	shì	cánrěn	ér	yòu	kěxiào
3SG	think	DEM.PROX	thing	cruel	and	again	ridiculous

Ta	příhoda	jí	připada-la

---

[12] Genitive form.

| DEM.NEUT.F.SG.NOM | story.SG.NOM | | 3SG.F.DAT | IPFV.seem-PST.3SG.F |

krut-á, a přitom směšn-á
cruel-F.SG.NOM, and at the same time ridiculous-F.SG.NOM

"She found the incident cruel and ridiculous at the same time."

(90) 这事的前后过程颂莲是个局外人

zhè	shì	de	qián-hòu	guòchéng	sōnglián	shì
DEM.PROX	thing	DE	before-after	process	Songlian	be

ge júwàirén
CL outsider

U	téhle	příhody	a	vše-ho
by	DEM.PROX.F.SG.GEN	story.SG.GEN	and	everything-SG.GEN
předtím	i	potom	by-la	Lotos	jen
before	and	after	be-PST.3SG.F	Songlian	only
nestranný-m	pozorovatel-em.			
nonpartisan-SG.INS	observer-SG.INS			

"In this incident, she was just an observer and didn't take sides."

Since shell nouns are abstract and their referent couldn't possibly be present in a text external context, intuitively, proximal demonstratives should not be necessary when distance neutral demonstratives are available. In (91), there are two possible reasons for choosing proximal demonstrative over neutral demonstrative. First, the sense of proximity likely originates from the fact that the NP in question appears right after its referent, which is a question asked by the main character. Second, the question that the Czech demonstrative NP refers to contrasts with other questions previously asked by the main character (these clauses only take the form of a question in the Czech translation, but not in the original Chinese version). Appealing to the distance from the referring NP can result in pointing out the intended referent more clearly.

(91) 这个疑问使她更觉揪心

zhè	ge	yíwèn	shǐ	tā	gèng	jué	jiūxīn
DEM.PROX	CL	question	make	3SG	more	feel	anxious

Tahle	otázka	ji	probrala	z	rozčilení
DEM.PROX	question	she	wake up	from	anger

"This question made her calm down."

There is an obvious difference between the word order of the Chinese sentence and its Czech equivalent in (92). In Chinese, relative clauses are often marked with *de* and precede the noun they modify (Norman, 1988, p. 185). This is the case in (92). Here, the shell noun phrase *nà jù huà* "that sentence" occurs at the end of the expression and the

modifying clause precedes it. This clause specifies which sentence is referred to, making it uniquely identifiable. On the other hand, the Czech shell noun *věta*[13] "sentence" is followed by the modifying clause. Without the relative clause, it would not be clear which sentence is being brought up. In summary, the Chinese NP is more likely to take a demonstrative because it is identifiable based on the information that precedes it, whereas the Czech NP is identifiable only with the information that follows it, therefore the demonstrative is rather unnecessary.

(92) 这时候她想起陈佐千临走说的<u>那句话</u>

zhè	shíhou tā	xiǎngqǐ	chén zuǒqiān	lín
DEM.PROX	time 3SG	recall	Chen Zuoqian	about to

zǒu	shuō	de	<u>nà</u>	<u>jù</u>	<u>huà</u>
walk	speak	DE	<u>DEM.DIST</u>	<u>CL</u>	<u>speech</u>

Vtom	si	vzpomně-la	na
suddenly	REFL.DAT	PFV.remember-PST.3SG.F	on

<u>vět-u</u>,	kter-ou	Ččhen Cuo-čchien
<u>sentence-SG.ACC</u>,	which-F.SG.ACC	Chen Zuoqian

vyslovi-l	před	svý-m	odchod-em.
PFV.utter-PST.3SG.M	before	one's own-M.SG.INS	leaving-SG.INS

"At this point she recalled the words Chen Zuoqian said before he left."

A case of the demonstrative adverbial *tak* "this way" being used to translate a shell noun appears in our corpus as well (93). It could be argued that the Chinese shell noun *yìsi* "meaning" translates to Czech through the verb *nemyslela* "to not mean", while *tak* fulfills the function of the Chinese demonstrative *zhè*. The completely different structure of the Chinese, and the Czech sentences makes it difficult to analyze the demonstrative NP and its translation parallelly. In the Czech sentence of (93), there is another neutral demonstrative *to* that refers to the statement uttered by the main character but not the unintended message of that statement. In Chinese, bringing up the statement itself is skipped and instead, *zhè ge yìsi* "this meaning" refers to the unintended message. The reason we believe the adverb *tak* "this way" together with the verb *nemyslela* "to not mean" are the equivalent of *zhè ge yìsi* in the Czech translation is because they also refer to the unintended message of the previous statement.

(93) 我不是<u>这个意思</u>

wǒ	bù	shì	<u>zhè</u>	<u>ge</u>	<u>yìsi</u>
1SG	NEG	be	<u>DEM.PROX</u>	<u>CL</u>	<u>meaning</u>

<u>Tak</u>	jsem	to	ne-<u>mysle</u>-la

---

[13] The noun takes the accusative form in (92).

| this way | be.PRS.1SG | DEM.NEUT.N.SG.ACC | NEG-think-PST.3SG.F |

"I didn't mean it this way."

The Chinese demonstrative NP in (94) is a part of direct speech spoken by the main character and refers to the possibility of being pregnant brought up by another character. In Czech, the demonstrative NP was replaced by the verb *moct* "can" in its feminine conditional form *bych mohla* "could".

(94) 没有没有哪有<u>这事</u>？

méi-yǒu	méi-yǒu	nǎ	yǒu	<u>zhè</u>	<u>shì</u>
NEG-have	NEG-have	what	have	<u>DEM.PROX</u>	<u>thing</u>

Ne,	ne-jsem,	jak	bych	moh-la?
No,	NEG-be.PRS.1SG,	how	COND	can-PST.3SG.F

"No, no, how is that possible?" (Chinese)

"No, I'm not, how could I be?" (Czech)

Since a relatively large portion of shell nouns is translated with a Czech proximal demonstrative, while the ratio of bare translations is quite low, we can conclude that the translations of Chinese demonstrative-modified shell nouns behave differently from other translations of Chinese demonstrative NPs.

Conclusion

This study investigates the translation patterns of Chinese demonstrative noun phrases in the Czech Language. Through the building and the annotation of the corpus data, and the analyses of individual example sentences, we attempt to discover the criteria affecting the choices made in translating Chinese demonstrative NPs into Czech.

An integral part of our study is the discussion of referential statuses. In our corpus, every Chinese demonstrative NP is tagged with a referential status according to the RefLex scheme (Baumann & Riester, 2017). Our data show that the majority of Chinese demonstrative NPs is either anaphorically *given* or *given-displaced* or *given-sit* in the text-external context. In terms of the distribution of the referential statuses, *given* anaphora is the most common in both Chinese proximal and distal demonstrative NPs. Chinese proximal and distal NPs differ in the referential status distribution. In our corpus most *given-sit* Chinese NPs are proximal, while most *given-displaced* Chinese NPs are distal. Other referential statuses are quite rare. It is also important to note that no Chinese demonstrative NPs in our study is referentially *new*.

Our data also show that Czech translations of Chinese demonstratives correlate with the style of text they occur in. Cummins (1998) claims that demonstratives are more frequent in colloquial Czech, and bare nouns are more likely to occur in literary style Czech. The novel that serves as the source of our example sentences contains both direct speech and descriptive text. With the assumption that direct speech represents colloquial style and descriptive text is written in literary style, we observed two tendencies. In the Czech translation, proximal demonstratives are chosen relatively frequently within direct speech, possibly because there is a character who can perceive the distance. On the other hand, the bare translations of distal NPs are chosen relatively frequently outside in the descriptive text.

Though we have not collected comprehensive data on the contrast of referents, neither have we done a separate analysis of such data, analyzing individual demonstrative NPs confirms the correlation between Czech proximal demonstrative NPs and the potential contrast of the referent with other entities. This analysis reveals that multiple Czech proximal demonstrative NPs occur in contexts where contrast is important.

The most notable finding of our study is that Czech neutral demonstratives are prevalent among the translations of both the Chinese proximal and the distal demonstrative NPs.

Our data show a wide range of situations for which the Czech neutral demonstrative is used in the translation. There is no clear preference of the Czech neutral demonstratives for a certain referential status (e. g. *given* or *given-sit*) or the type of text (direct speech or descriptive text), in fact, they occur in all sorts of situations. According to the analysis of neutral demonstrative translations in 4.1, one feature all of the demonstrative NPs share is that they are noncontrastive. This means there is no other entity present in the context that could be confused with the referent.

Although the Chinese part of our corpus only consists of proximal and distal demonstrative NPs, the Czech equivalent NPs most of the time do not express distance. The Czech proximal demonstrative NPs analyzed in our study are used when the referent needs to be specified due to the contrast with another potential referent. Proximal demonstratives appeal to spatial or temporal proximity to point out their referent more clearly. On the other hand, the Czech distal demonstrative translations are considered outliers with the total of two appearances in the entire corpus. These two Czech expressions would both be grammatical even if the distal demonstrative replaced by a neutral demonstrative. We see the distal demonstrative contributing to the NP in a different way – one makes the style of the NP and the text more literary, while the other helps the reader better perceive the temporal context.

Czech bare NPs are the second most common way of translating Chinese demonstrative NPs in our corpus. We observed a notable difference in translation patterns between the bare NP translations of Chinese proximal NPs and Chinese distal NPs. Bare translations of Chinese proximal NPs are not as numerous and show no clear tendency in terms of the type of text, structure of the Chinese NP, or the referential status. The reasons for using the bare NP as the translation also vary a lot. On the other hand, the patterns Czech bare NP translations of Chinese distal NPs show, are quite clear. These NPs mostly appear in direct speech, in Chinese, they are mostly structured as *DEM-(NUM)-CL-NOUN*, and about half of the NPs are *given-displaced*. The high frequency of neutral and bare NPs in the Czech translation of proximal and distal demonstratives show that distance of the referent is often an unnecessary information

Some Chinese demonstrative NPs are not translated but are simply omitted in the Czech translation. We speculate that there can be several reasons for omission. For example, omitting a subject of a clause which is common in Czech might lead to leaving out a

demonstrative. Different vocabulary choice can cause the omission of a demonstrative especially when the word in the translation is a different type (e. g. a verb replaces a demonstrative NP). Demonstrative NPs are also considered redundant in some cases, since the Czech translation makes sense even without the demonstrative that appeared in the Chinese version of the sentence.

Apart from the Czech translations discussed in their separate sections, certain kinds of Czech translations are too rare to discuss them in the dedicated sections and draw convincing conclusions, so we discuss them together in one section (4.5). In this section, we brought up some adverbial translations, a possessive translation, and a translation containing a measure word. The primary goal of this sections is to bring attention to the diversity of the Czech translations of Chinese demonstrative.

To offer another point of view to the Czech translations, we discussed three Chinese nouns (i.e., "garden", "toilet paper", and "well") and their Czech translations that are frequently mentioned throughout the novel and often appear as demonstrative NPs in Chinese. This allowed us to see how the translations of demonstrative NPs with the same referent change based on other underlying factors such as the style of the text or referential status. The analysis of the "garden" shows us how the translations change based on the speaker's point of view. The "toilet paper" reveals that the *given-displaced* status of Chinese distal NPs does not make the neutral or distal demonstratives more preferable, as the translation is always bare. The "well" brings attention to the way referential statuses, and the text styles affect the form of the Czech translations of Chinese demonstrative NPs.

We analyze time expressions and shell nouns separately on the assumption that their specific semantic properties made them develop different tendencies in terms of demonstrative modification. We find the properties of both time expressions and shell nouns differ statistically from other NPs in our corpus. Chinese time expressions (both with a demonstrative and without a demonstrative) tend to be translated as adverbs relatively often. As for the Czech translations of Chinese shell nouns, there is a relatively notable preference for proximal demonstratives among them. It must be noted that the most frequent NP type in the translation is the neutral demonstrative in both time expressions and shell nouns, whereas the bare NP translations are relatively rare.

Our corpus was limited to the demonstrative NPs and their Czech equivalents found in the Chinese novel *Wives and Concubines* by Su Tong. We believe the data we acquired

was sufficient to reveal certain translation patterns, which are useful for the study on Chinese demonstrative, Czech demonstrative, and Chinese to Czech translation. Nevertheless, some translation choices are too rare to show any patterns in our study, and only a larger corpus could possibly help explore translation patterns of certain NP types, notably the Czech distal demonstrative. Furthermore, we have not explored how word order affects the translations, even though Czech word order plays a role in expressing identifiability (Cummins, 1998). When building the corpus, we opted to leave out certain kinds of Chinese demonstrative expressions, such as demonstrative adverbs to make the study domain more restricted and straightforward. We believe that these three aspects may become interesting subjects of future studies on Czech translations of Chinese demonstratives.

Resumé

Cílem této diplomové práce bylo vytvořit přehled tendencí pozorovaných v českém překladu čínského románu. Předmětem analýzy jsou čínské jmenné fráze obsahující demonstrativa a jejich české překlady. S pomocí korpusu, který se skládá z čínských vět obsahujících jmenné fráze s demonstrativy a jejich českých překladů je provedena komparativní analýza paralelních textů. Na základě analýzy pozorujeme, že většina čínských jmenných frází s demonstrativy je do češtiny přeložena pomocí jmenných frází obsahujících neutrální demonstrativa či pomocí nemodifikovaných podstatných jmen. Díky analýze referenčních statusů víme, že čínské jmenné fráze obsahující demonstrativa jsou v naprosté většině identifikovatelné čtenářem, nebo v případě přímé řeči postavami v románu, a to na základě předchozí zmínky nebo situační deixe. Také pozorujeme, že styl textu, ve kterém se jmenná fráze nachází má vliv na výsledný překlad. Sesbíraná data potvrzují, že se česká demonstrativa častěji používají v přímé řeči, zatímco nemodifikované jmenné fráze se více používají v popisném textu. Potenciální kontrast mezi osobou či věcí, na kterou je poukazováno pomocí čínského demonstrativa, a jinou osobou či věcí zvyšuje pravděpodobnost, že tato čínská jmenná fráze bude přeložena s pomocí proximálního demonstrativa.

References

Literature Sources

Baumann, S., & Riester, A. (2012). Referential and lexical givenness: Semantic, prosodic and cognitive aspects. *Prosody and meaning*, *25*, 119-162.

Baumann, S., & Riester, A. (2017). *The RefLex Scheme – Annotation Guidelines*. SinSpeC.

Carnie, A. (2013). *Syntax: A Generative Introduction. Third Edition*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Chen, P. (2004). Identifiability and definiteness in Chinese. *Linguistics*, 42(6), 1129-1184.

Cummins III, G. M. (1998). Definiteness in Czech. *Studies in Language. International Journal sponsored by the Foundation "Foundations of Language"*, 22 (3), 567-596.

Diessel, H. (1999). *Demonstratives: Form, function and grammaticalization* (Vol. 42). John Benjamins Publishing.

Gundel, J. K., Hedberg N., & Zacharski, R. (1993). Cognitive Status and the Form of Referring Expressions in Discourse. *Language*, 69 (2).

Karlík P., & Migdalski K. (2017): Préteritum. *Petr Karlík, Marek Nekula, Jana Pleskalová (eds.), CzechEncy – Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*.

Komárek, M., & Petr, J. (1986). *Mluvnice češtiny 2*. Academia.

Medová, L. T. (2017): Expletivum. *Petr Karlík, Marek Nekula, Jana Pleskalová (eds.), CzechEncy – Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*.

Li, C. N., & Thompson, S. A. (1989). *Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar* (Vol. 3). Univ of California Press.

Lu, W. L., & Verhagen, A. (2016). Shifting viewpoints: How does that actually work across languages? An exercise in parallel text analysis. *Viewpoint and the fabric of meaning: Form and use of viewpoint tools across languages and modalities*, 169-190.

Lu, W., Verhagen, A., & Su, I. (2018). A Multiple-Parallel-Text Approach for Viewpoint Research Across Languages: The Case of Demonstratives in English and Chinese. *Szilvia Csabi. Expressive Minds and Artistic Creations: Studies in Cognitive Poetics*. Oxford University Press, 131-157.

Lü, S. (1999). *Xiandai Hanyu Babai Ci* [Eight Hundred Words of Modern Chinese]. Shangwu Yinshuguan.

Norman, J. (1988). *Chinese*. Cambridge University Press.

Sio, U. S., & Da Costa, L. M. (2022, June). Multilingual Reference Annotation: A Case between English and Mandarin Chinese. *Proceedings of the 18th Joint ACL-ISO Workshop on Interoperable Semantic Annotation within LREC2022*, 86-94.

Švarný, O., & Uher, D. (2014). *Prozodická gramatika čínštiny*. Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci.

Zhu, D. (1999). *Yufa Jiangyi* [Lectures on grammar]. Shangwu Yinshuguan.

Example Sentences
Su, T. (1991). *Qiqie Chengqun* [Wives and Concubines]. Nianhuacheng Chubanshe.

Su, T. (2014). *Manželky a konkubíny*. Verzone.