THE MEANING EXTENSION OF *XIANG* AND ITS POLYSEMY NETWORK[*]

Mei-hsiu Chen and Jung-hsing Chang

ABSTRACT

Based on the idea that cognitive processes play an important role in linguistic analysis, this paper focuses on two main issues. The first issue is concerned with the nature of the intertwined relations of the various meanings of the Chinese polysemous word *xiang* and how these different meanings are extended from the original meaning found in ancient Chinese texts. The relations between these meanings can be accounted for in terms of five cognitive processes: generalization, extendability across motive states, profile, metaphor, and change in the position of the perspective point, all of which constitute links within the semantic network of *xiang*. The second issue is concerned with why *xiang* has two opposite meanings, i.e., goal marker and source marker. It is proposed that the two opposite meanings result from a change in the position of the perspective point in a given schema. That is, by changing the perspective point from that of the starting point of the movement of the Figure to the endpoint of the movement, the Figure, which moves from the starting point to the endpoint, is changed from being seen as leaving the observer to being seen as getting closer to the observer.

Key words: polysemy, metaphor, motion event, perspective

Mei-hsiu Chen & Jung- hsing Chang

1. INTRODUCTION

It has been noted that *xiang*[1] has many different meanings, for example, it can mean 'toward' in (1a), 'always' in (1b), 'to advocate' in (1c), and 'to favor' in (1d).[2]

(1) a. 日從海旁沒，水**向**天邊流。(<u>唐李白</u>〈贈崔郎中宗之〉)
                                                   (8th c. A.D.)
    Ri cong hai pang mo, shui xiang tianbian liu.
    sun from sea side sink water toward faraway places flow
    'The sun sets down at the seaside; the water flows towards faraway places.'

  b. <u>操</u>曰：臣**向**蒙國恩，刻思圖報。(《三國演義》第十四回)
                                                  (14th c. A.D.)
    Cao yue: chen xiang meng guo en, ke
    Cao say courtier always receive country favor quarter
    si tu bao.
    think attempt repay
    'Cao Cao said, "My country/government takes care of me very much and I attempt to repay it in every minute."'

  c. 上方**向**儒術，尊<u>公孫弘</u>。(〈史記‧汲鄭列傳〉) (1st c. B.C.)
    Shang fang xiang rushu, zun
    leader Imperf.[3] advocate Confucianism revere
    GongSun Hong.
    GongSun Hong
    'The leader advocated Confucianism and revered GongSun Hong.'

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[1] *Xiang* in this paper is written as '向' in Standard Chinese. All the meanings discussed here belong to the same word *xiang* without tone variation.

[2] The examples of classical Chinese used in this paper are mainly collected from *Hanyu Da Zidian* 漢語大字典 'Great Dictionary of Chinese Characters' (1986), published by Hubei Cishu Chubanshe, Wuhan, China.

[3] The abbreviations used in this paper are: Imperf.=imperfective; PRT=particle; Cl.=classifier.

d. 官**向**官來民**向**民，窮人**向**的是窮人。

     (賀<u>敬之</u>、<u>丁毅</u>等《白毛女》第一幕) (20th c. A.D.)
Guan xiang guan lai min xiang min,
official favor official come people favor people
qiongren xiang de shi qiongren.
poor people favor DE be poor people
'The officials favor the officials, the people favor the people, and the poor favor the poor.'

In addition to these multiple meanings, *xiang* can be used to express two opposite meanings (Xu 1993; Ma 1999, 2002; Chu 2001). For example, *xiang* is used to mark the goal of a spatial movement, i.e., *Zhangsan*, as in (2), whereas it is used to mark the source of a spatial movement, i.e., *yuanfang* 'college', as in (3).

(2) 他**向**<u>張三</u>丟石頭。
  Ta xiang Zhangsan diu shitou.
  he to   Zhangsan throw stone
  'He threw a stone at Zhangsan.'

(3) 所長**向**院方爭取到許多經費。
  Suozhang   xiang yuanfang zhengqu dao xuduo jingfei.
  institute director from college strive get much money
  'The director of our institute strived for funds from the college'

This paper uses the semasiological approach to investigate the relationship between the various meanings of *xiang*, with the goal of finding out: (a) how the original meaning of *xiang* extends to different meanings, and (b) why a single word such as *xiang* can express two opposite meanings.

2. THE SPATIAL STATIC SCHEMA OF *XIANG*

According to *Shijing* 'The Book of Songs' and *Suowen* 'Elucidations of the Signs and Explications of the Graphs', the earliest usage of *xiang* meant 'a window facing the north', as shown in (4) and (5). That is, the window in the north of a house was called *xiang* by Chinese people between the 11th and 7th c. B. C.

(4) 塞**向**墐戶。(〈詩經・豳風・七月〉) (11th-7th c. B.C.)
   Se   xiang   jin   hu.
   block up window facing the north   block up with dust   door
   'Block up the chinks of the window facing the north and block up
   the door with dust.'

(5) **向**，北出牖也。(《詩經》毛傳、《說文・宀部》) (2nd c. B.C.)
   Xiang, bei   chu you   ye.
   xiang   north out window PRT
   '*Xiang*: a window facing the north'

   The original meaning of *xiang* can be illustrated by the image
schema depicted in Figure 1.[4] An image schema systematically selects
certain aspects of a referent scene to represent the whole, while
disregarding the remaining aspects (Talmy 2000:177). Within the schema,
there are three fundamental cognitive functions, i.e., Figure, Ground, and
Path. The Figure is the concept that needs anchoring and is perceived as
a moving or conceptually movable entity. The Ground is the concept that
does the anchoring and is perceived as a reference entity with a
stationary setting relative to a reference frame. The Path is the route
followed by the Figure moving from stage to stage with respect to the
Ground object (Talmy 1975, 1985, 2000; Johnson 1987; Ungerer &
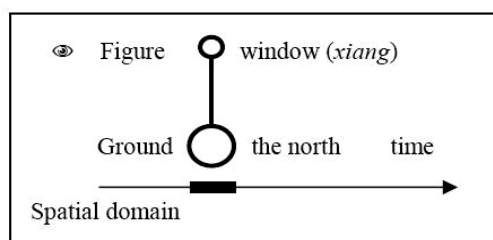Schmid 2006).

Figure 1. The original schema of *xiang*

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[4] According to Lakoff (1987), cognitive models can be divided into four types, those of
the Propositional model, the image-schematic model, the metaphoric model, and the
metonymic model. Within the image-schematic model, all image schemas are related to
spatial configurations. Therefore, the knowledge related to shape, movement, and spatial
relations is stored in this model.

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Since the original meaning of *xiang* is 'a window facing the north', the Path in the schema is zero and the relationship represented is static. That is, neither the Figure nor the Ground undergoes a change of location. In the original schema of *xiang*, as in Figure 1, the Figure (a window) is indicated by a small circle, and the Ground (the north) is indicated by a large circle. The static relation between the Figure and the Ground is represented by the line joining the two circles. An eye ◉ stands for the perspective point, and a horizontal arrow stands for time.[5] The perspective point is the point within a scene at which one conceptually places one's "mental eyes" to look out over the rest of the scene (Talmy 2000). A segment of the time line is focused on and is represented in bold. Figure 1 represents that in the spatial domain, the Figure (a window) stays in the same place without any movement over the prominent time.

It should be pointed out that the position of the perspective point is at the same place as the Figure (a window) in the original schema of *xiang*. When the observer or conceptualizer in a house looked out from *xiang* 'a window facing the north', he or she would be facing the north. The conceptualizer*,* the window, and the north are aligned along a single line. North is an abstract concept with no boundary. Compared with the huge distance between the northern boundary of the observer's visual field and the observer, the distance between the window and the observer was very tiny. As a result, the conceptualizer placed his or her perspective point almost at the same place as the window. This explains why the perspective point is at the same place as the Figure (a window), as shown in Figure 1.

It is suggested that in the process of "generalization", the original meaning of a word is always broadened to include a bigger set of special referents (Dirven and Verspoor 1998:35; Ullmann 1957; Fu 1985). For example, the word *moon* originally denoted only the earth's satellite, but it now refers to the satellite of any planet. Similarly, *xiang* extended its meaning from 'a window facing the north' to a goal marker.[6] And the original Ground, i.e., the north, has also been broadened to represent any person, object, place, or direction. *Xiang* has lost its concrete meaning of

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[5] Schemas depicted in this paper are mainly based on Tayler (2002), but the perspective point is added additionally.

[6] As a goal marker, *xiang* in classical Chinese acts as a verb, which means 'to face', but in Modern Chinese, it acts as a preposition or coverb "toward".

'a window' and only keeps the abstract spatial concept of goal marker. The Figure remains static in the spatial domain, as shown in (6) and (7).

(6) 王背屏而立，夫人**向**屏。(〈國語‧吳語〉) (6th c. B.C.)
Wang bei ping er li, furen xiang ping.
king back screen and stand madam face screen
'The king stood with the screen at the back, while the queen faced the screen.'

(7) 亦有甲第，當衢**向**術。(<u>晉左思</u>〈蜀都賦〉) (3rd c. A.D.)
Yi you jia di, dang qu xiang shu.
also have best house face road face street
'There are good houses facing the roads and streets, too.'

In Sentences (6) and (7), *xiang* marks the goal, which the stationary Figure faces. The goals in these sentences also function as Grounds. In (6), the static Figure (*furen* 'madam') faces the Ground (*ping* 'screen'); in (7), the static Figure (*jia-di* 'best-house') faces the Ground (*shu* 'street'). This spatial static concept of *xiang* still exists in modern Chinese, as shown in (8).

(8) 張三向我點頭微笑。
Zhangsan xiang wo dian tou weixiao.
Zhangsan to I nod head smile
'Zhangsan smiled at me, nodding his head.'

In Sentence (8), *xiang* is still used to mark the goal, which the static Figure faces. The goal in (8) also functions as the Ground. In (8), the static Figure (*Zhangsan*) smiles at the Ground (*wo* 'I'). The spatial static concept of *xiang* discussed above can be represented as in Figure 2.
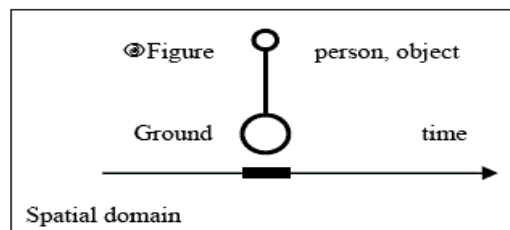

Figure 2. The spatial static schema of *xiang*

There were cases where the Ground, i.e., the goal of the static action, is unspecified, as in (9). But it is noted that the unspecified Ground can be predicted from the context.

(9) 或背若相惡，或**向**若相佑。(<u>唐韓愈〈南山〉</u>) (8th c. A.D.)
Huo bei ruo xiang wu, huo xiang ruo xiang
Some back like mutually dislike some face like mutually *you.*
protect
'The mountains stand with their backs to one another as if they dislike one another, or face one another as if they protect each other.'

The Ground in (9), i.e., *shan* 'the mountains', is unspecified. In (9) some mountains face other mountains as if they protect each other.

In sum, *xiang* loses its original concrete meaning 'the window facing the north' and keeps the abstract spatial concept as a goal marker. Through the process of "generalization", the Figure in the original schema of *xiang*, i.e., 'window', has been broadened to stand for any person or object, and the Ground is no longer limited to 'the north'. It can refer to any person, object, place, direction, etc. After this extension, the relation between the Figure and the Ground is still static and the position of the perspective point is still located with the Figure. Sometimes the Ground in the schema is unspecified, but it can be predicted from the context.

3. DYNAMIC SCHEMAS OF *XIANG*

Space is one of the most elementary domains while temporal and psychological domains are more abstract (Langacker 1987:147; Ungerer and Schmid 2006). Based on perceived similarity and abstraction, metaphor uses a more concrete source to describe a more abstract goal. Section 3.1 will elaborate how the spatial static schema of *xiang*, discussed in Section 2, is extended to the spatial dynamic schema of *xiang*. Section 3.2 and Section 3.3 will explicate how the temporal and psychological dynamic schemas of *xiang* are metaphorically extended from the spatial dynamic schema of *xiang*. Section 3.4 offers the summary.

3.1 The Spatial Dynamic Schema of *Xiang*

Through the process of "extendability across motive states", a schema basic for one state can in general be extended to another state systematically (Talmy 2003:181). A static Figure can also be extended to a moving Figure through the process of extendability across motive states. When we face a place or a certain direction, it is possible that we will walk or move toward it. As a result, in the spatial domain, through the process of extendability across motive states, the static Figure facing a goal extends to a Figure moving toward the goal, as shown in (10). As a result, *xiang* has the meaning 'to move toward'.

(10) 今彗星出而向吾國，我是以悲也。(《晏子春秋》) (3rd c. B.C.)
    Jin huixing chu   er   xiang   wu guo,   wo shi
    now comet   appear and move toward I   country I   this

    yi   bei   ye.
    because of   sad   PRT
    'That the comet has showed up and come to our country has caused me to feel sadness.'

In (10), the Figure (*huixing* 'comet') moves gradually toward the Ground (*wu guo* 'our country'). But the Figure has not reached the place where the Ground is. The position of the Figure changes when the time passes by, as illustrated in Figure 3.
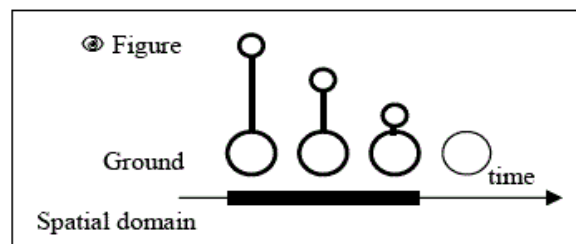

Figure 3. The spatial dynamic schema of *xiang* (The Figure has not arrived at the Ground)

In Figure 3, the spatial dynamic schema of *xiang* consists of a Figure moving along a Path that goes from the original place of the Figure to

the Ground. But the Figure has not yet arrived at the Ground. As we have seen, *huixing* 'comet' is the Figure in (10).

When a Figure advances toward a Ground, the Figure will eventually arrive at the place where the Ground is located. Therefore, in the spatial dynamic schema of *xiang*, the Figure moving toward the Ground has been extended to the Figure moving toward and arriving at the Ground. As a result, the meaning 'to move toward and then arrive at (a certain place)' appears. An example is given in (11).

(11) 魏數年東**向**，攻盡<u>陶</u>、<u>衛</u>；數年西**向**，以失其國。

(〈韓非子・飾邪〉) (3rd c. B.C.)

Wei shu   nian dong xiang,   gong   jin   Tao
Wei several year east   move toward and arrive at   attack   finish Tao
Wei; shu   nian xi   xiang,   yi   shi   qi
Wei several year west move toward and arrive at because lose the
guo.
country
'Wei went to the east and attacked Tao and Wei during these years; it (Wei) went to the west and attacked Qin for years. As a result, Wei lost its territory.'

In (11), the army of *Wei* (Figure) moved toward and then arrived at the east (Ground) to attack two other countries, *Tao* and *Wei*; they also moved toward and then arrived at the west (Ground) to fight another country, *Qin*. This meaning of *xiang* can be represented as in Figure 4.
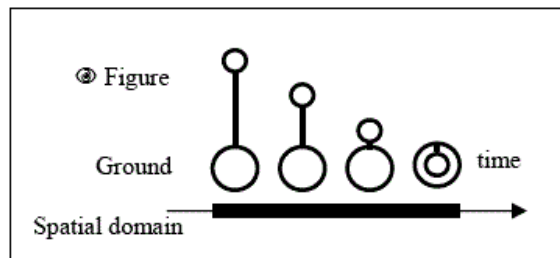

Figure 4. The spatial dynamic schema of *xiang* (The Figure has arrived at the Ground)

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In addition, as pointed out by Ungerer and Schmid (2006), by directing the attention to selected stages of an image schema, essentially dynamic prepositions like *over*, *out,* and *up* in English can provide meanings at least superficially regarded as "static". Similarly, within the complete spatial dynamic schema of *xiang*, which contains the whole process of movement, a new meaning such as 'be located in/on/at (the place)' appears when a certain stage draws attention and becomes profiled. The process of profiling picks out one facet of the base and renders it particularly prominent (Tayler 2002:193; Langacker 1987:184; Ungerer and Schmid 2006). When the Figure stays at the place of the Ground with no more change of location and only this static relation draws attention and becomes profiled, *xiang* expresses the meaning of *zai* 'be located in/on/at (the place where the action takes place)', as found in (12).

(12) 三閭有何罪，不**向**枕上死。(<u>唐曹鄴</u>〈放歌行〉) (9th c. A.D.)
    Sanlü   you   he   zui,   bu   xiang zhen   shang   si.
    Sanlü   have   what   crime   not   on   pillow   top   die
    'What crime did Sanlü commit such that he could not die on his pillow?'

In (12), only the final stage of the movement draws attention and becomes profiled. *Xiang* expresses the meaning of *zai* 'be located in/on/at (the place where the action takes place)'. The schema of this meaning can be represented as in Figure 5.
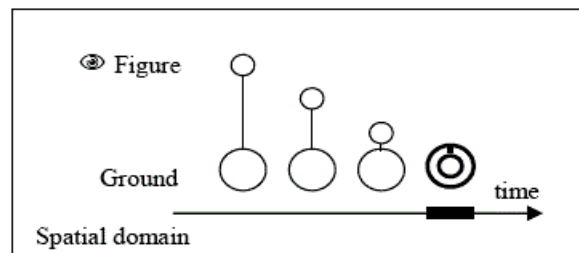

Figure 5. The spatial dynamic schema of *xiang* (Only the final stage is profiled)

As illustrated in Figure 5, only the stage at which the Figure and Ground overlap holds over the profiled time segment. Thus *xiang* means *zai* 'be located in/on/at (the place where the action takes place)'. The profiled situation indicates the previous movement of the Figure into the Ground.

In the spatial domain, the static schema of *xiang* extends to the dynamic schema through the process of "extendability across motive states". As a result, *xiang* has the meanings 'to move toward' and 'to move toward and then arrive at'. When the stage at which Figure and Ground overlap draws attention and becomes profiled, *xiang* expresses *zai* 'be located in/on/at (a certain place where the action takes place)' (Ma 2002:50-54). It should be pointed out that although the static Figure extends to the moving Figure, the perspective point still stays in the original position of the Figure, i.e., the starting point of the movement of the Figure, because language users are used to placing the perspective point at this position.

3.2 The Temporal Dynamic Schema of *Xiang*

Spatial metaphor plays a very important role in the formation of human concepts since many abstract concepts are expressed, recognized, and constructed through spatial metaphor (Jackendoff 1983:189, 1990:25; Lyons 1977:718, 724).[7] Human beings perceive and recognize spatial change more easily than temporal or psychological changes. As a result, basic experiences are mapped from the spatial domain onto abstract cognitive domains such as temporal or psychological domains. This also accounts for the meaning extension of *xiang*. Chinese people use the metaphor TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT to express abstract, temporal concepts, as in (13).

(13) 逝者如斯夫！不舍晝夜。(〈論語・子罕第九〉) (5th c. B.C.)
　　 Shi　　zhe　　　　ru　si　fu!　Bu　she　　zhou　ye.
　　 vanish　pronoun　like　this　PRT　not　give up　day　　night
　　 'Time passes just like water which flows day and night.'

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[7] The reader is referred to Huang (2002) for how temporal concepts are developed from spatial concepts in Chinese, while for the discussion of temporal metaphors in Chinese, see Alverson (1994).

This metaphor is so familiar to us that we are often not even aware of the fact that we talk of temporal relations in terms of spatial expressions. With the metaphor TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT, the spatial dynamic schema of *xiang* is mapped onto the temporal domain. Thus, the temporal dynamic schema of *xiang* appears.

In the temporal dynamic schema of *xiang*, when the situation in which the Figure is near the Ground is focused on and profiled, a new meaning 'to approach' appears, as shown in (14).

(14) 東坡春**向**暮，樹木今何如？ (<u>白居易</u>〈東坡種花二首〉之二)
<div align="right">(8th c. A.D.)</div>
Dong po chun xiang mu, shumu jin he ru?
east slope spring approach dusk tree now what like
'Spring is approaching an end on the east slope. How are the trees there?'

In (14), the Figure (spring) is like a moving object in the spatial domain. It moves toward the Ground (the late spring). Although the Figure is very close to the Ground, it still has not arrived at the Ground. Only the stage at which the Figure is very close to the Ground draws attention and becomes profiled. As a result, the profiled stage in (14) means 'near late spring'. This schema of *xiang* profiles the stage at which the Figure gets very close to the Ground, as illustrated in Figure 6.
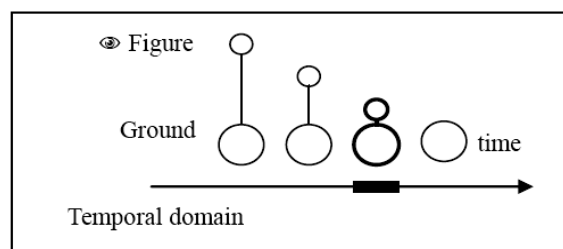

Figure 6. The temporal dynamic schema of *xiang* (The Figure and the Ground are next to each other)

If the stage at which the Figure and the Ground overlap is the focus of attention and becomes profiled, *xiang* expresses *zai* 'be located in/on/at (the place where the action takes place)' in the spatial domain, as in (12), and means *zai* 'be in/at (the time when the action takes place)' in the temporal domain, as given in (15) and (16).

(15) 別離若**向**百花時，東風彈淚有誰知？(五代馮延巳〈憶江南〉)
(10th c. A.D.)
Bieli ruo xiang bai hua shi, dong feng tan lei
leave if at hundred flower time east wind fall tear

you shei zhi?
have who know
'If our separation is at the time when the flowers come into bloom, who will know that the east wind also cries?'

(16) 為甚麼桃花**向**三月奮發，菊花**向**九秋開罷？(元無名氏《看錢奴》
第一折) (13th c. A.D.)
Wei sheme tao hua xiang san yue fenfa,
for what peach flower in three month strive

ju hua xiang jiu qiu kai ba?
chrysanthemum flower in nine autumn bloom finish
'Why do peaches bloom in March and chrysanthemums in September?'

Xiang in (15) expresses that the time of leaving (Figure) is when the flowers blossom (Ground). The stage at which the Figure and the Ground overlap is the focus of attention. In (16), *xiang* means that the time when peaches and chrysanthemums (Figures) bloom is March and September (Grounds), respectively. When the stage at which Figure and Ground overlap is focused on and profiled, the concept can be represented as in Figure 7.
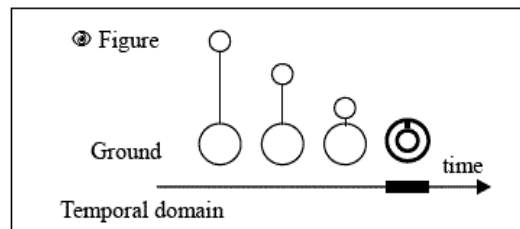
Figure 7. The temporal dynamic schema of *xiang* (Only the final stage is profiled)

3.3 The Psychological Dynamic Schema of *Xiang*

In human cognition, psychological changes are more abstract than spatial ones. Therefore, in the meaning extension of *xiang*, language users map the dynamic schema of *xiang* from the spatial domain onto the psychological domain. In order to express more abstract concepts in the psychological domain, speakers of Chinese use the following two metaphors: CLOSE IS NEAR/ALOOF IS FAR and AFFECTION IS A MOVABLE OBJECT. In Chinese, these two metaphors often occur with the word *xin* 'heart', which represents a person's affection or feeling. When people have positive emotions such as appreciation, admiration, fondness, and love, toward a person or object, they would want to get close to the person or object spatially. Similarly, when the relationship between two persons becomes better, their feelings would be like two objects moving toward each other and they would feel closer and closer to each other psychologically. Examples with both metaphors are given in (17) and (18).

(17) 問君何能爾？心遠地自偏。(陶潛〈飲酒詩〉) (4th c. A.D.)
Wen jun he neng er? Xin yuan di zi pian.
ask you why can this heart far place naturally remote
'Why can you do this? Since my heart is distant from the
community, I feel I live in a remote place.'

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(18) 他們兩個人的心越來越近。
Tamen liang ge ren   de xin   yue lai yue jin.
they   two Cl. person DE heart more come more close
'Their (two) hearts are getting closer and closer.'

Since the two metaphors CLOSE IS NEAR/ALOOF IS FAR and AFFECTION IS A MOVABLE OBJECT are used very often, they are rooted in our cognition to help us understand the world. In (17)**,** the author reports that in his feeling about a situation is that his heart (a movable object) has left the community in which it usually lives and moved to a point far away, representing that he wishes to stand aloof from the people and things in the community. In (18), feelings of the two persons, represented by *xin* 'heart', are like two objects moving toward each other and their relationship is getting closer and closer.

With the help of these two metaphors, the dynamic schema of *xiang* is mapped from the spatial domain to the psychological domain. If the process in which the Figure has not yet arrived at the Ground is profiled, *xiang* means 'to advocate' in the psychological domain, as in (19) and (20).

(19) 今西昌伯，人臣也，修義而人向之。(〈韓非子・外儲說左下〉)
                                                                    (3rd c. B.C.)
Jin Xichangbo, ren   chen   ye, xiu   yi   er
now Xichangbo person courtier PRT restore justice and
ren   xiang   zhi.
people advocate pronoun
'Xichangbo is a courtier and restores justice. So people advocate him.'

(20) 上方向儒術，尊公孫弘。(〈史記・汲鄭列傳〉) (1st c. B.C.)
Shang fang xiang   rushu,   zun   GongSun Hong
leader Imprf. advocate Confucianism revere GongSun Hong
'The leader advocated Confucianism and revered GongSun Hong.'

In (19), the citizens advocate *Xichangbo* (Ground), and their feelings (Figure) become closer and closer to *Xichangbo* psychologically. In (20), the king's feeling (Figure) advocates and feels close to Confucianism (Ground).

When a person feels closer to someone, it indicates that he or she may be partial to the person he or she likes. As a result, *xiang* can be used to mean 'to favor', as in (21).

(21) 官**向**官來民**向**民，窮人**向**的是窮人。
        (<u>賀敬之</u>、<u>丁毅</u>等《白毛女》第一幕) (20th c. A.D.)
Guan xiang guan lai min xiang min,
official favor official come people favor people

qiongren xiang de shi qiongren.
poor people favor DE be poor people
'The officials favor the officials, the people favor the people, and the poor favor the poor.'

If a person loves someone or something so much that the person views the person or thing as a part of himself or herself, there would be almost no psychological distance between him or her and the person or object. It indicates that the Figure gets together with the Ground. That is, only the stage at which Figure and Ground overlap is salient and profiled. In the spatial domain, this means 'be located in/on/at (the place)'; in the temporal domain, this means 'be in/at (the time)'; in the psychological domain, this means 'to love', as shown in (22).

(22) 總是**向**人深處，當時枉道無情。
        (<u>宋陸游</u>〈朝中措其二・代譚德稱作〉) (12th c. A.D.)
Zongshi xiang ren shen chu, dang shi wang dao wu
always love person deep place at time wrong say no
qing.
affection
'(The plum blossom) loves itself deeply, but others think it is callous.'

3.4 Summary

In the spatial domain, the originally static Figure in the *xiang* schema starts to move toward and then arrives at the place of the Ground. The spatial static schema of *xiang* extends to the spatial dynamic schema of *xiang*, producing two meanings, i.e., 'to move toward' and 'to move toward and then arrive at'. When only a part of the spatial dynamic schema draws attention and becomes profiled, the new meaning appears,

namely, 'be located in/on/at (the place)'. The dynamic schema is also mapped from the spatial domain onto the temporal and psychological domains and thus induces new meanings. As we can see in Table 1, these meanings in different domains are closely related to one another.

Table 1. Different meanings resulting from mapping the spatial dynamic schema of *xiang* to different domains

Profiled part Domain	The Figure has not reached the Ground	The Figure and the Ground overlap
Spatial domain	'to move toward'	'be located in/on/at (the place)'
Temporal domain	'to approach'	'be in/at (the time)'
Psychological domain	'to advocate', 'to favor'	'to love'

4. THE POSITION OF PERSPECTIVE POINT VS. THE MEANING EXTENSION OF *XIANG*

It should be pointed out that the perspective point also correlates with the formation of meanings. As pointed out by Lee (2001), two opposite meanings can result from a change in the position of the perspective point. Changes in the position of the perspective point reflect our physical experience in the world. In physical space, after reaching a certain place, we can stand at the endpoint of the movement, face the starting point, and describe what happened during the process. In this experience, the observer moves from the starting point of the movement to the endpoint of the movement. This concept is mapped from the spatial domain to the temporal domain with the metaphor TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT. Therefore, moving time also has a starting point, a process, and an endpoint. The starting point is always unspecified. With this mapping, the observer can stand at the endpoint of the movement of the time, i.e., the time when the speaker speaks, and faces the past, describing what has happened. As a result, the position of the perspective point in the original spatial dynamic schema of *xiang* changes from the starting point of the movement of the Figure to the endpoint in both the spatial and temporal domains.

Similarly, the schema of *qian* 'front' is mapped from the spatial domain to the temporal domain. In addition, the position of the perspective point in the temporal schema of *qian* 'front' is also changed from the starting point of the movement of the Figure to the endpoint. Therefore, *qian* 'front' is also used to denote time in the past, as in *qiantian* 'the day before yesterday' or *congqian* 'formerly'.

The change in position of the perspective point can be observed in the spatial and temporal dynamic schemas of *xiang*.

4.1 The Temporal Dynamic Schema with the Perspective Point at the Endpoint

As in the original temporal dynamic schema of *xiang*, in the temporal dynamic schema with the perspective point located at the endpoint, the Figure (time) sets off from the starting point, moves toward the Ground, and finally reaches the endpoint (Ground). The endpoint (Ground) is the time when the speaker speaks, so it usually denotes 'now' in the sentence. In the original temporal dynamic schema, the observer stands at the starting point of the movement of the Figure, whereas in this new temporal dynamic schema, the observer stands at the endpoint ("speech time"). The observer faces the past and describes what happened when the Figure (time) moved from the past to now. If the meaning includes the whole change from the starting point to the endpoint (speech time), *xiang* means 'from the past until now', namely, 'always', as shown in (23).

(23) 操曰：臣**向**蒙國恩，刻思圖報。(《三國演義》第十四回)
<div align="right">(14th c. A.D.)</div>

Cao yue: chen   xiang   meng   guo   en,   ke   si
Cao say courtier always receive country favor quarter think
tu   bao.
attempt repay
'Cao Cao said, "My country/government has taken care of me very much, and I attempt to repay it in every minute."'

In (23), *xiang* indicates that time (Figure) moves from the past to the speech time (Ground) without interruption, and the perspective point is at the endpoint, i.e., the speech time, as illustrated in Figure 8.
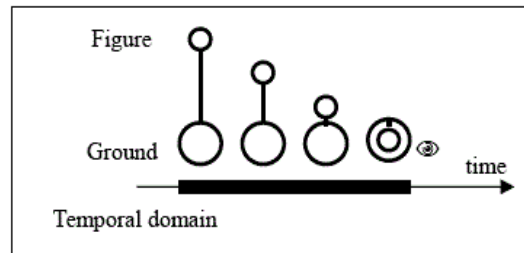
Figure 8. The temporal dynamic schema with the perspective point at the endpoint of the movement of the Figure (The Figure has reached the Ground)

In the schema of Figure 8, if the process in which the Figure has not yet arrived at the Ground draws attention and is profiled, *xiang* means 'before', as illustrated in (24) and (25). The schema illustrating this meaning is represented in Figure 9.

(24) 今之屈，**向**之驕也。(《穀梁傳・成公二年》) (4th c. B.C.)
　　 Jin zhi qu,　　　　xiang zhi jiao　　　ye.
　　 now PRT humiliation before PRT arrogant   PRT
　　 'The country submits to us now. It was arrogant before.'

(25) 腰肢體態，比**向**日不同。(<u>王實甫</u>《西廂記》第四本第二折)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(13th c. A.D.)
　　 Yao zhi titai, bi　　　xiang ri bu tong.
　　 waist limb figure compare before day not the same
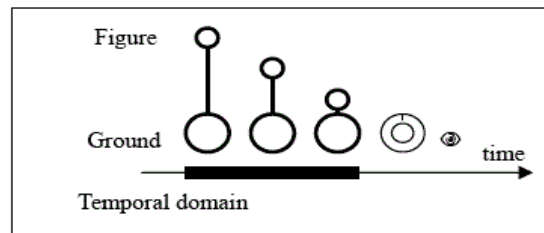　　 'Her waist, limbs, and figure are different now.'

Figure 9. The temporal dynamic schema with the perspective point at the endpoint of the movement of the Figure (The Figure has not reached the Ground)

If the stage at which the Figure (time) is very close to the Ground (the speech time) draws attention and becomes profiled, *xiang* has the meaning 'a short while ago', as shown in (26) and (27).

(26) 向吾見若眉睫之間，吾因以得汝矣。(〈莊子・庚桑楚〉)
                                                        (4th c. B.C.)
Xiang   wu jian ruo mei   jie   zhi
a short while ago I   see   you eyebrow eyelash PRT

jian,   wu yin   yi de ru   yi.
between I   because to get you PRT
'A short while ago, I saw your facial expression, so I knew what you meant.'

(27) 向察眾人之議，專欲誤將軍，不足與圖大事。
                        (〈三國志・吳志・魯肅傳〉) (3rd c. A.D.)
Xiang   cha   zhong   ren   zhi yi,
a short while ago consider   crowd people PRT suggestion

zhuan   yu   wu   jiangjun, bu zu   yu   tu
especially   want mislead general not enough and plan
da   shi.
important   affair
'A short while ago, I considered everyone's suggestion. They would mislead you. It's not worth planning important issues with them.'

In these sentences, only the stage in which the Figure (time) and the Ground (speech time) are very close is profiled. *Xiang* expresses the short lapse before the speech takes place. The schema can be represented as in Figure 10.
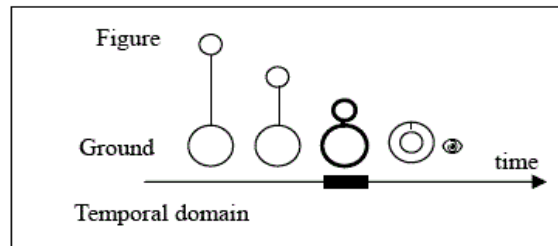

Figure 10. The temporal dynamic schema with the perspective point at the endpoint of the movement of the Figure (The Figure and the Ground are next to each other)

4.2 The Spatial Dynamic Schema with the Perspective Point at the Endpoint

The perspective point in the original spatial dynamic schema of *xiang* also can be changed from the starting point of the movement of the Figure to the endpoint. The endpoint is the present location of the speaker/observer, so it usually denotes 'here' in the sentence. In the temporal dynamic schema with the perspective point at the endpoint, the starting point is always unspecified. However, in the spatial dynamic schema with the perspective point at the endpoint, the starting point is always specified and does the anchoring for the Figure. As a result, the starting point of the movement of the Figure becomes the Ground and *xiang* can be used to mark the source NP. (28) and (29) are examples from classical Chinese.

(28) 一聲似**向**天上來，月下美人望鄉哭。(<u>唐李賀</u>〈龍夜吟〉)
<div align="right">(8th c. A.D.)</div>

Yi sheng si xiang tianshang lai, yue xia mei
a sound seem from sky come moon under beautiful

ren wang xiang ku.
person look homeland cry
'It seems that the sound comes from the sky and the beautiful women under the moon cry, missing their homeland.'

(29) 日期滿足才開鼎，我**向**當中跳出來。(《西遊記》第七十一回)
<div align="right">(16th c. A.D.)</div>

Riqi man zu cai kai ding, wo xiang dangzhong tiao
day full enough only open pot I from inside jump

chu lai.
out come
'The pot opened when the time was due. I jumped out from the inside.'

In (28), the Figure is the invisible sound moving from the sky (the starting point) to the ground (the endpoint). The starting point (the sky) tells the addressee where the sound comes from. The speaker/observer, who heard the voice, is already on the ground (the endpoint). The perspective point is that of the observer, who naturally faces the starting point of the movement of the Figure (the sky). In (29), the moving Figure and the observer coincide. The Figure (*wo* 'I') jumped out from *ding* 'pot' (the starting point) and arrived at the present location (the endpoint). Being an observer, who describes the process of movement, *wo* 'I' stands in the present position (the endpoint), where the perspective point is, faces the starting point and describes how the Figure (myself) moved. The claim that the movement of the Figure is toward the observer can be supported by the directional verb *lai* 'come' in these two examples.[8] The spatial dynamic schema with the perspective point at the endpoint can be represented as in Figure 11.

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[8] For analysis of spatial movement resulting from *lai* 'come' and *qu* 'go' and related semantics, see Goddard (1998:195-223). For investigation of the semantics of the Chinese verb *lai* 'come', see Shen (1996).
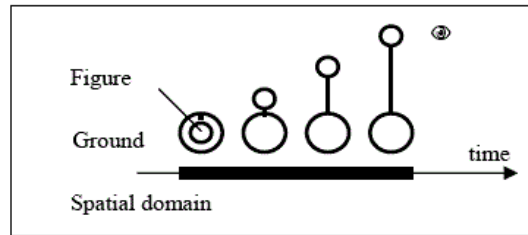
Figure 11. The spatial dynamic schema with the perspective point at the endpoint of the movement of the Figure

Sometimes, only the process in which the Figure has not yet reached the endpoint is focused on and profiled, as shown in (30).

(30) 拂衣**向**西來，其道直如弦。(<u>唐白居易</u><哭孔戡>) (8th c. A.D.)
　　 Fu　 yi　　xiang xi　 lai,　 qi　dao　 zhi　　 ru　 xian.
　　 swing clothes from　west come　his road　 straight　like string
　　 'He came from the west swinging his clothes, and his road was as straight as a string.'

In (30), the speaker/observer sets his perspective point at *Shandong* (the endpoint of the movement of the Figure), a place in the eastern part of Mainland China. And the moving Figure, *Kongji*, comes from the city *Luoyang* but has not arrived at the endpoint, *Shandong*. Contrasted with *Shandong*, *Luoyang* is in the west. In (30), only the process in which the Figure has not yet reached the endpoint is focused on and profiled.

5. THE OPPOSITE MEANINGS OF *XIANG*

This section will discuss why *xiang* can be used to express two opposite concepts, as shown in (31a) and (31b), repeated from (2) and (3). *Xiang* marks the goal NP in (31a), but it marks the source NP in (31b).

(31) a. 他**向**張三丟石頭。
　　　Ta xiang Zhangsan diu　shitou.
　　　he to　　Zhangsan throw stone
　　　'He threw a stone at Zhangsan.'
　　b. 所長**向**院方爭取到許多經費。
　　　Suozhang　　　xiang yuanfang zhengqu dao xuduo
　　　institute director from　college　strive　get much
　　　jingfei.
　　　money
　　　'The director of our institute strived for funds from the college'

It is proposed that the two opposite meanings result from the change in the position of the perspective point in a given schema. That is, *xiang* expresses two opposite meanings because the spatial dynamic schema of *xiang* in (31a) sets the position of the perspective point at the starting point of the movement of the Figure, as discussed in Section 3.1, whereas the spatial dynamic schema of *xiang* in (31b) sets position of the perspective point at the endpoint of the movement of the Figure, as discussed in Section 4.2. Both schemas of (31a) and (31b) contain the whole process in which Figure moves from the starting point to the endpoint. To illustrate the contrast between (31a) and (31b) clearly, their schemas are represented by Figure 12 and Figure 13, respectively.

Since *xiang* often occurs with transitive verbs in modern Chinese, both of the schemas of (31a) and (31b) have an Agent. Talmy (2000:334-335) proposes that in an agentive clause, the Agent (A) is the subject, the Figure (F) is the direct object and the Ground (G) is the oblique object. For example, in the sentence *I loaded hay into the truck*, the pronoun *I* performs the action; therefore, it is considered to be the Agent. *Hay* is the moving Figure, and *truck* is the Ground. In Figure 12 and Figure 13, the circle in dotted line stands for the Agent.
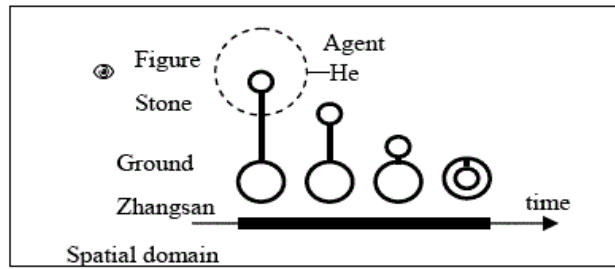
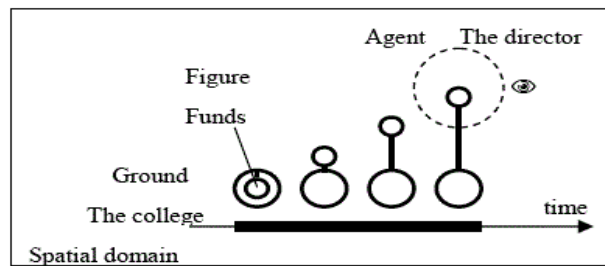Figure 12. The spatial dynamic schema with the position of the perspective point at the starting point

Figure 13. The spatial dynamic schema with the position of the perspective point at the endpoint

As shown in Figure 12, the Figure (*shitou* 'stone') moves from the starting point of the movement of the Figure (*ta* 'he'/Agent) to the endpoint of the movement of the Figure (*Zhangsan*/Ground). In Figure 13, the Figure (*jingfei* 'funds') moves from the starting point of the movement of the Figure (*yuanfang* 'the college'/Ground) to the endpoint of the movement of the Figure (*suozhang* 'the director of our institute'/Agent).

In both Figure 12 and Figure 13, the Figures are objects moving from the starting point to the endpoint. However, in Figure 12, the position of the perspective point is at the starting point of the movement of the Figure, whereas in Figure 13, its position is at the endpoint of the movement of the Figure. As a result, the Figure in Figure 12 leaves the position of the perspective point, whereas the Figure in Figure 13 gets

closer to the position of the perspective point. Therefore, *xiang* marks the goal NP in (31a) but marks the source NP in (31b). The different positions of the perspective point explain why *xiang* can be used to express two opposite meanings.[9]

6. THE SEMANTIC NETWORK OF *XIANG*

As previously discussed, the lexical meanings of *xiang* are linked to one another through five cognitive processes, and they form a systematic internal structure in the shape of a radial network. The semantic network, which subsumes a total of fourteen distinct meanings including the original meaning, and the cognitive processes, which have led to the meaning extension of *xiang*, can be illustrated in Figure 14.

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[9] The development from 'toward' to 'from' is generally known as antonymization. It is commonly found across languages. The reader is refered to Rhee (2000, 2007) for 'to-from' in Korean and others, and to Chen (2007) for 'give-to-passive' in Hui'an Southern Min.
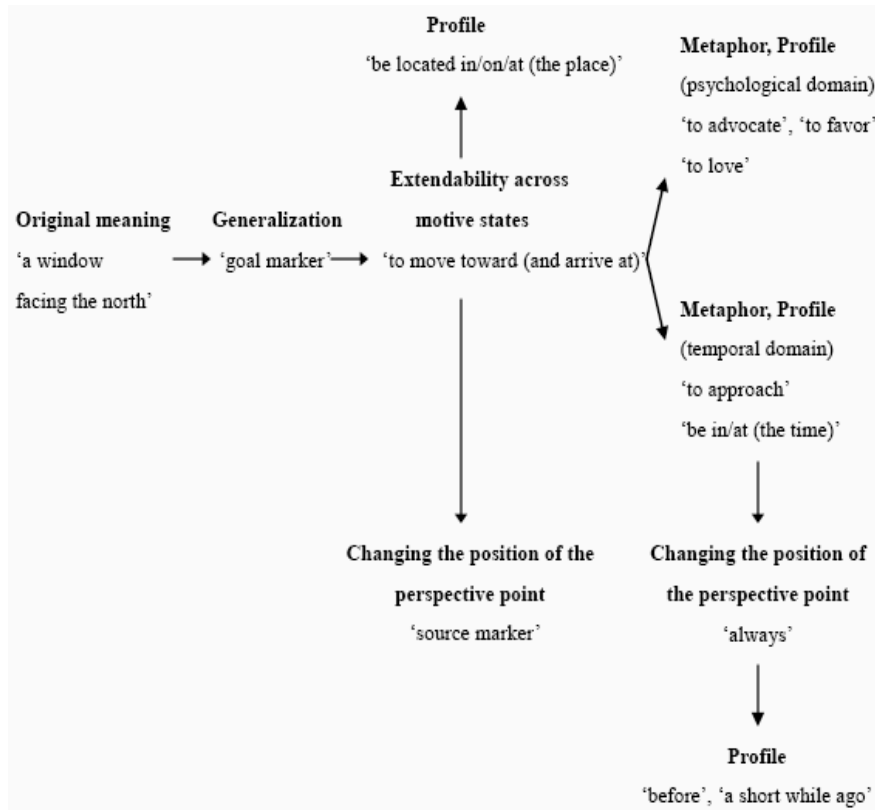
Figure 14. Semantic network/Process of meaning extension of *xiang*[10]

The first cognitive process is "generalization" (Dirven and Verspoor 1998:35; Ullmann 1957; Fu 1985). *Xiang* extends its meaning from the original meaning 'a window facing the north' to 'goal marker' through the process of generalization.

Through the second process, of "extendability across motive states" (Talmy 2003:181), the static Figure of *xiang* starts to move toward the Ground and becomes the moving Figure. As a result, *xiang* has the two meanings 'to move toward' and 'to move toward and then arrive at'. The

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[10] Among these meanings of *xiang*, only 'goal marker', 'source marker', 'to favor' and 'always' are available in Modern Standard Chinese.

third process is "profile" (Brugman and Lakoff l998; Tayler 2002; Langacker 1987). By profiling selected parts of a given spatial schema, *xiang* has the meaning 'be located in/on/at (the place)'.

With metaphors, the dynamic schema is mapped from the spatial domain to the temporal and psychological domains (Jackendoff 1983, 1990; Lyons 1977; Alverson 1994). Then, by profiling different stages of the schemas, *xiang* has the two meanings 'to approach' and 'be in/at (the time)' in the temporal domain, while it has three meanings 'to advocate', 'to favor' and 'to love' in the psychological domain.

By changing the position of the perspective point (Lee 2001), *xiang* has the meaning 'source marker' in the spatial domain and 'always' in the temporal domain. With profiling selected parts of the temporal dynamic schema with the position of the perspective point at the endpoint, *xiang* has the two meanings 'before' and 'a short while ago'.

These meanings of *xiang* are extended by the interactions between meaning and the cognitive processes, i.e., generalization, extendability across motive states, profiling of different parts, metaphor, and changes in the position of the perspective point. The relations among these meanings construct a semantic network.

7. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have pointed out that the Chinese word *xiang* has a number of different meanings. At first glance, these meanings seem to be unrelated. However, if we investigate the relations between these meanings, we can find that they extended from the same original meaning and are linked to one another in a systematic way through five cognitive processes: Generalization, extendability across motive states, profiling of different parts of a given schema, metaphor, and changes in the position of the perspective point. These processes constitute the links within the semantic network of *xiang*, including a total of fourteen distinct meanings.

As for why *xiang* can be used to mark both goal NP and source NP, it is proposed that the two opposite meanings result from a change in the position of the perspective point in a given schema. By changing the position of the perspective point from that of the starting point of the movement of the Figure to the endpoint of the movement of the Figure, the Figure, which moves from the starting point to the endpoint, is no

longer considered to be leaving the position of the perspective point, but instead getting closer to it. Therefore, *xiang* can mark either the goal NP or the source NP.

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Mei-hsiu Chen
Graduate Institute of Linguistics
National Chung Cheng University
Chiayi, Taiwan 62102, ROC
littmi@yahoo.com.tw

Jung-hsing Chang
Graduate Institute of Linguistics
National Chung Cheng University
Chiayi, Taiwan 62102, ROC
lngjhc@ccu.edu.tw

「向」之語意延伸及其語意網狀系統

陳美秀，張榮興
國立中正大學

本論文旨在探討認知機制(cognitive processes)和動作事件(motion event)的主要成分對中文多義詞的形成所造成的影響，主要討論兩個議題。第一個議題討論中文多義詞「向」之眾多意義間錯綜複雜的關係。本文認為「向」最早擁有的字義透過五種認知機制：語意擴大、跨越狀態、突顯、隱喻與觀察點的轉移，延伸出許多不同的意義，形成關係緊密的語意網狀系統(semantic network)。第二個議題討論為何「向」可同時用來標示目標(goal)及來源(source)兩個相對的意義。本文認為這兩個相對意義的形成是由於意象圖示中的觀察點轉移所造成的：當觀察點從主體位移的起點轉移到主體位移的終點時，「向」由標示主體位移的終點(目標)轉變為標示主體位移的起點(來源)，因而產生了兩個相對的意義。

關鍵字：多義詞，隱喻，動作事件，攝取角度