Distance in Language

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Grounding a Metaphor

Edited by

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INTRODUCTION

DISTANCE IN LANGUAGE:
GROUNDING A METAPHOR

> [t]he universal semantic prime, if we choose to speak in such terms, is in the final analysis the spatial concept of 'distance' (Fleischman 1989, 38)[1]

The spatial notion of 'distance', to which Fleischman (see quote above) ascribes the status of a semantic primitive, has been applied in linguistic analysis in a range of domains. It has been used to account for the semantics and function of morphosyntactic categories, to explain the usage of these categories at the text level—e.g. as regards the introduction of viewpoints and the structuring of texts—and to shed light on mechanisms of linguistic interaction. This broad coverage suggests that 'distance' figures as a basic conceptual metaphor, which helps to structure "what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 454).[2] It hardly seems possible to conceptualize, e.g., time, the emotional involvement in certain events or relationships to other people other than in terms of 'distance'. At the same time, this spatial metaphor is used to verbally express these temporal, emotional and social concepts.

Even though the notion of distance is adduced in accounting for various linguistic phenomena, it has predominantly been applied in an intuitive way. Thus, its usage is by no means consistent and its potential for the description and explanation of linguistic categories, structures and behavior has not yet been elucidated in all its facets. This diversity in usage and interpretation can be ascribed to the fact that the underlying metaphor is not explicitly defined. However, only if the (non-linguistic) source domain components are specified as well as the way they may be

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[1] Fleischman, Suzanne. 1989. Temporal distance: a basic linguistic metaphor. *Studies in language* 13(1), 1–50.

[2] Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. Conceptual metaphor in everyday language. *The Journal of Philosophy* 77(8), 453–486.

transferred to the (linguistic) target domain and applied in the analysis of linguistic phenomena, can the notion of distance display its manifold benefits. With other words: it is necessary to determine the manifestation of the components of this metaphor in language as well as the specific linguistic phenomena serving the expression of distance on various levels of language. Both aspects are central to the papers gathered in this volume. They aim at contributing to a more precise understanding of the nature of 'distance' and the ways it may be used to account for linguistic phenomena at the levels of grammar, text and interaction.

Striving for a more precise understanding of 'distance', the papers in **Part I** are concerned with the components of distance and their relevance to the various manifestations of this metaphor. Sonja Zeman's contribution on *The elementary particles of distance in space, time, grammar and discourse* elaborates a unifying taxonomy in order to account for different phenomena of distance both at the level of the language system and at the discourse level. Analysing spatial and temporal localization she shows distance to be a fundamental and ubiquitous relationship underlying linguistic perspectivization and conceptualization in general. This suggests that distance cannot be regarded as a category by itself, but rather as a basic relation which forms an ultimate constituent of linguistic substance in the sense of an elementary particle.

Anastasia Meermann and Barbara Sonnenhauser pursue a twofold goal in their paper on *Distance: between deixis and perspectivity*. Discussing exemplary applications of the notion of distance in linguistic analysis, they show that this notion is used to describe phenomena located at different levels of language and linguistic analysis. Aiming to overcome the problems arising from this mixup, they differentiate in a first step between deixis, distance and perspectivity and illustrate how these notions are interrelated. In a second step, they apply these notions to the analysis of the Balkan Slavic preterit system.

Part II is concerned with the manifestations of distance at the morpho-syntactic level, both in the nominal and in the verbal domain. Evangelia Adamou's paper *Distance in tensed nominals: a typological perspective* focuses on the mapping of distance in space and its temporal expression by 'overt nominal tense', a comparatively rare and still under-studied phenomenon. Languages that encode time in terms of distal noun determiners indicate that there is not a one-to-one relationship between the distance in space and past or future reference. Rather, in tensed nominals, distal reference in space is associated with distal reference in time from the 'here and now' situation, be it in the past or the future.

In her paper *Truncated perfect in Serbian—a distance marker?*, Anastasia Meermann looks into the drop of the auxiliary in the Serbian perfect, aiming to explore the function of such 'truncated' perfect forms at the discourse level. Her analysis, which is based on data from colloquial Serbian, shows that the truncated perfect encodes several meanings, which are similar to those expressed by the Balkan Slavic evidential forms, and which can be ascribed to the primary function of 'distancing'.

Barbara Sonnenhauser's contribution *Hear-say, inference, surprise: (self-)distancing in Bulgarian* probes into the semantic basis of the notion of 'distance' and applies it to the analysis of the semantics and the interpretational range of Bulgarian perfect-like forms. She shows how the metaphor of distance can be semantically grounded and how it manifests itself in the verbal forms under consideration. The various interpretations and functions of the perfect-like forms are derived by the contextual specification of the components of the underlying distance relationship.

The papers in **Part III** focus on manifestations of distance at the text level. The interrelation between space and discourse as evinced in the usage of demonstrative expressions indicating spatial and temporal relationships as well as relationships at the text level is the starting point for Imke Mendoza's paper on *Distance in discourse. Evidence from Polish, Russian and German*. She shows that two spatial dimensions of distance need to be assumed: distance between two linguistic expressions, and metaphorical (i.e. temporal or emotional) distance between the observer and the referent of the antecedent of an anaphoric expression. These dimensions are reflected differently in adnominal and pronominal demonstratives, which indicates that the basic deictic opposition 'proximity vs. distance' cannot be mapped directly from space to discourse.

In his paper *Ignorance of epistemological distance: rhetorical use of non-evidentials in the work of Franz Kafka* Yoshinori Nishijima deals with utterances with which the speaker expresses what his or her interlocutor thinks, as if 'seeing through' their mind. Even though such utterances are grammatical, they are pragmatically strange because they ignore the personal epistemological distance between the speaker and the hearer. In Kafka's novels, however, such utterances are observed occasionally. They are compared with their translations into Japanese, a language with strong evidential constraints.

Maksim Makartsev's contribution on *Evidentials in Balkan Slavic as a text-structuring device* investigates the usage of evidential forms in a certain type of folklore text in the Balkan Slavic languages. Based on this investigation he arrives at the conclusion that within these texts, evidential forms can be understood as being part of a 'secondary modelling system'.

Distance expressed by evidential forms becomes a semiotic device for shaping the structure of the text and for highlighting certain points in it.

Linguistic interaction as another manifestation of distance is dealt with by the contributions in **Part IV**. In her paper *Triangulations: navigating distance in interaction*, Grace Fielder applies the concept of 'triangulation' to illustrate how the Bulgarian adversative discourse connectives *ami* and *ama*, both of which can be translated by English *but*, are used indexically to position interlocutors in interactional, reflexive discourse space. Through the choice of discourse connective, the speaker triangulates her position (or that of another) along a continuum of proximal versus distal. Based on the underlying cognitive spatial notion of distance the relationships between participants are mapped.

Liljana Mitkovsa, Eleni Bužarovska and Marija Kusevska's contribution on *Macedonian* 'da ne'*-questions as distance markers* looks into the discourse functions of Macedonian constructions such as *Da ne ti e lošo?* 'You aren't feeling very well, are you?'. Because they do not impose anything directly, questions containing the interrogative epistemic marker *da ne* seem to evoke politeness. It turns out that *da ne*-questions are used felicitously in situations where interlocutors understand the entailed discourse presuppositions. Being characterized by solidarity and closeness, *da ne*-questions serve as markers of positive politeness and are employed by speakers to indicate small horizontal distance.

In her paper on *The concept of privacy and proxemic differences*, Galina Putjata proposes a meta-analysis of the relationship between the existence of spatial and temporal concepts in the lexico-semantic domain of a language and the nonverbal behavior of speakers. The analysis focuses on one spatial concept that has been neglected in the linguistic research so far: the concept of privacy. In an attempt to help reduce this lacuna, her study concentrates on three language communities—Slavic, Romance and Germanic—and investigates if a significantly deviating concept of privacy results in substantial nonverbal differences.

PART I

APPROACHING DISTANCE

CHAPTER ONE

THE ELEMENTARY PARTICLES OF DISTANCE IN SPACE, TIME, GRAMMAR, AND DISCOURSE[*]

SONJA ZEMAN

Abstract

With regard to the volume's central aim of exploring the descriptive potential and explanatory power of the concept of distance, the chapter aims at a unifying taxonomy that is able to account for different phenomena of distance on the level of the language system and its usage at the level of discourse. This goal is pursued in two steps: Firstly, an exemplary analysis of spatial and temporal localization will be used to show that distance, as a metaphorical concept accounting for the additional space between two spatial locations, seen from a third point linked to an evaluator's stance, is a fundamental as well as a ubiquitous relation which lies at the bottom of linguistic perspectivization and conceptualization in general. Secondly, a comparison of grammatical and discourse distance leads to a matrix of micro-relationships of distance that serve as a descriptive taxonomy for complex configurations of distance on the different levels of linguistic structure. Such a microscopic view suggests that distance cannot be seen as a category by itself, but rather as a basic relation, which forms an ultimate constituent of linguistic substance in general, an elementary linguistic particle.

1. The core principle of distance in language

> All the metaphors of distance [...] follow the same mental space configuration (Dancygier and Vandelanotte 2009, 326)

Distance—as a notion that has been applied to a whole range of different linguistic phenomena and to various conceptual domains (cf.

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[*] I wish to thank the editors for their careful comments on an earlier draft of the chapter.

Meermann and Sonnenhauser, this volume)—is, first of all, a metaphorical concept, taking as its source concept the spatial relationship between (at least) two different points which are locally separated from each other, cf. the following definition by Dancygier and Vandelanotte (2009, 320):

> The primary sense of "distance" is a spatial configuration profiling two spatial locations, separated by additional space, possibly linked by a physical or visual path going from one to the other.

According to this definition, distance is above all a relational concept as it is the relationship between two reference points that constitutes its core meaning. So we can say, for example, that the distance between Munich and Aruba is 8.359,58 miles[1] by measuring the linear distance between these two locations. This 'path' between the two locations is, however, not ontologically given: In real life, the path between Munich and Aruba is not visible unless we draw a line on the map. That means, the two locations are not necessarily, but "*possibly* linked". In other words: The "additional space" in-between only becomes a distance if an observing subject evaluates the possible line between the two spatial locations as a distance. The concept of distance thus inherently presupposes the viewpoint of an observer.

The basic sense of distance assumes (at least) two spatial locations which are separated from each other with additional space, and an observer who can view both locations and perceive the space between them. That "space-in-between" is what is referred to as distance (Dancygier and Vandelanotte 2009, 326). In consequence, distance is not only a spatial, but, most notably, also a perceptional concept; presupposing an evaluating subject, it is crucially linked to the viewing constellation. Hence, the core principle of distance is constituted of two basic aspects: A relationship between two spatial locations, and an evaluating eye, which perceives this relationship as possible. Thus, while distance on the surface is a biangular relation between two spatial points as the cornerstones for the relationship in-between, it inherently presumes a ternary structure constituted by an additional third reference point that is linked to the stance of an observer (see also Meermann and Sonnenhauser, this volume). As shown in the following, it is this 'triangulation' and its perceptional quality that is basic for linguistic conceptualization in general. On this basis, it is argued that a microscopic view at the point of triangulation allows for the isolation of the micro-relationships of distance and can hence lead to a unified

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[1]   As calculated by www.luftlinie.org (accessed September 5, 2013).

descriptive taxonomy for perspectivization in both grammar and discourse. This leads to the following line of argumentation.

In order to specify the basic principle of distance, the linguistic concept of spatial distance is taken as a starting point. By taking a closer look at spatial reference systems based on Levinson's (2003) classification, Section 2 shows that distance, as applied to spatial localization, is already a complex concept involving features of directionality, angularity, and viewpoint configuration. Against this background, a descriptive taxonomy of the micro-relationships of distance is proposed that draws a distinction between the binary concept of absolute distance and the triangular concept of perceptional resp. perspectival distance. This classification is further refined in Section 3 which focuses on temporal distance as conceptualized by the grammatical category of tense. Based on an alignment of spatial and temporal distance, it is argued that grammatical perspectivization in terms of Jakobson and Bühler displays a complex concept of distance as it is based on an origo-split between 'speaker' and 'observer' and, in consequence, on 'double' resp. 'multiple' distance. As exemplarily shown in Section 4 by examining the German modal verb construction 'sollte + infinitive' in its use as 'praeteritum pro futuro', also called 'future of fate', (e.g. *Er sollte Aruba nie wieder sehen*. 'He was not to see Aruba ever again.'), this complex configuration of distance is also displayed at the level of discourse, where the distance between 'speaker' and 'observer' is reflected in the narratological differentiation between 'speaker' and 'narrator' resp. 'narrator' and 'character'. With reference to a unifying taxonomy of distance in space, time, grammar, and discourse, finally a matrix of micro-relationships of distance is proposed that is able to account for the recursive principle of perspectivization on the different levels of linguistic structure. Against this background, the final conclusion in Section 5 refines the status of distance within the broader context of perspectivization. In this respect, it will become clear that distance is not a category by itself, but a basic as well ubiquitous relation, an elementary particle that forms an ultimate constituent of linguistic substance.

2. Spatial distance

> Spatial cognition is at the heart of our thinking.
> (Levinson 2003, xvii)

In order to examine how the metaphorical concept of distance can be applied for an analysis of linguistic elements on the level of grammar and discourse, it seems reasonable to start with a closer look at spatial distance and its linguistic conceptualization in language. As seen above, the core

configuration of distance as a space between two locations (L1 and L2) is, at first sight, rather simple, cf. (1):

(1) L1   DISTANCE   L2

However, this basic configuration is not sufficient to account for the various applications of the notion at different conceptual and linguistic levels. This is highlighted by the fact that the notion of distance is occasionally intertwined with other contiguous but different concepts such as directionality. In this respect, Dancygier and Vandelanotte (2009) consider it to be relevant for the concept of distance whether the space-in-between is measured from L1 to L2 or vice versa. It is hence directionality which the observer "has to add […] to the concept" (Dancygier and Vandelanotte 2009, 326), cf. (1'):

(1') L1   DISTANCE   L2

Although directionality indisputably presumes a distance between two locations, directionality is, however, already a more complex concept and, in consequence, has to be distinguished from the core relationship of distance. If we take the example from above, it is fairly irrelevant whether we measure the distance from Aruba to Munich or vice versa: in each case, the distance is 8.359,58 miles. Hence, directionality is a concept operating on the concept of distance, but not an inherent feature of it.

But where does directionality come from? The prerequisite for the direction of the line between L1 and L2 is the establishment of a reference point, which acts as a coordinate to which the other point can be related to. So directionality is determined by the position of a reference point, which can be situated either at L1 or L2. This can be seen in (2), where the same spatial configuration is conceptualized in two different ways: In (2a), the donkey is set in reference to John, while (2b) represents the complementary case.

(2) a.   The donkey is before John.
     b.   John is behind the donkey.

Again, the spatial distance between the two entities (i.e. John and the donkey) stays the same, as their relationship to each other remains unaffected by directionality. In this sense, the examples in (2) do not display an example of 'plain' distance, but rather 'localization', whereby L1 consti-

tutes the localized entity, L2 its relatum (R). Localization is, again, a more complex concept than distance as it is based both on distance (i.e. the relationship between L1 and L2) and directionality (i.e. the directed relationship between the localized entity and the reference point from which the entity is localized).

One of the most common ways in which to account for such spatial localization is the classification of Frames of Reference (FoR) by Levinson (2003). According to his framework, both examples in (2) display the same FoR, constituted by a binary relationship and primarily independent from the fact from which point the spatial localization is seen. The placement of an observer's stance becomes, however, crucial in examples like (3), where the possibility of two different FoRs arises.
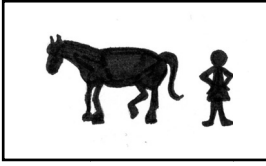
(3)   John is standing behind the donkey.

(3) is ambiguous as it can be attributed to two different spatial constellations:[2] While in (3a), John is localized with reference to the back of the donkey, in (3b), he is localized with reference to two different reference points: (i) The donkey and (ii) the viewpoint of an observer who is not visible within the sentence structure, but comes to the fore via inference.
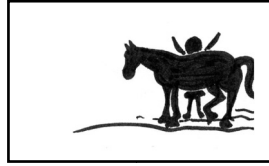
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[2]   Within the classification of Levinson (2003), "the 'inherent features', sidedness or facets of the object to be used as the ground or relatum" (Levinson 2003, 41) play a crucial part with respect to spatial localization, as sidedness provides the prerequisite for an intrinsic coordinate system. In this respect, the ambiguity of examples like (3) is ruled out if the *locatum* misses a property which serves as a classification in the sense of a front vs. back distinction. For this reason, examples like (3') always inherently imply a *relative* resp. triangular reference system as trees—having no front nor back—cannot serve as reference points in intrinsic reference frames:

(3')   John is standing behind the palm tree.
       → 'John is standing behind the palm tree seen from my point of view.'

According to Levinson 2003, (3') would be classified as an example of a 'relative' FoR, whereas (3) would constitute an intrinsic FoR (cf. Levinson 2003, 37). This shows that the classification of FoR is dependent on the *conceptualization* of the localized entities (Watapana resp. Divi Divi trees on Aruba, for example, could be conceptualized as having a front and back, as their crowns are all south-west facing due to the trade winds). See Section 4 for correlations with respect to temporal distance at the level of discourse.
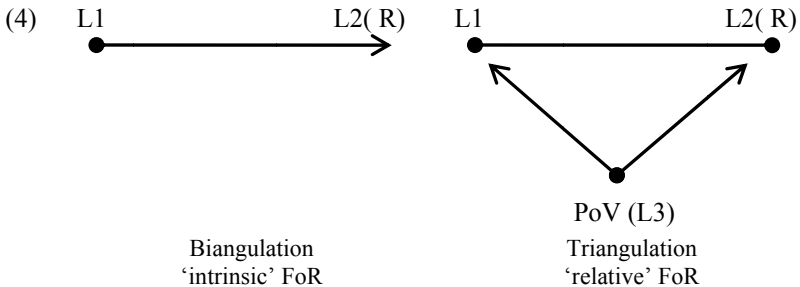
a. 'John is standing at the donkey's   b. 'John is standing behind the don-
   back.'   key seen from my point of view.'

Hence, in addition to the two reference points L1 and L2, a third point of reference arises, and, in consequence, a configuration of "triangulation" (Levinson 2003, 43). This difference between binary and ternary localization is the main characteristic for Levinson's distinction between an 'intrinsic' (3a) vs. 'relative' (3b) FoR, whereby the intrinsic system entails that the reference point corresponds to one of the located entities and hence displays a binary relationship (cf. Levinson 2003, 38), whereas the relative system is characterized by the fact that it presupposes "a 'viewpoint' V (given by the location of a perceiver in any sensory modality), and a figure and ground distinct from V" (Levinson 2003, 43).[3]

(4)   L1   L2(R)   L1   L2(R)

                                              PoV (L3)

        Biangulation   Triangulation
        'intrinsic' FoR   'relative' FoR

It seems obvious that triangularity is a more complex concept than the relation that is distance itself, as it already includes both directionality and distance in the basic sense of the space in between two different locations. Triangularity is more than a link between two spatial points, as, by introducing a third location, triangularity doubles the possible relationships between the reference points: On the one hand, there is the distance between

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3   The classification by Levinson (2003) is actually tripartite, as he distinguishes between intrinsic, relative and absolute FoR. However, absolute and intrinsic reference systems do not differ with respect to the features of biangulation and viewpoint configuration, so that they display the same configuration of distance.

L1 and L2. On the other hand there is an additional *possible* distance between this relationship between L1 and L2, and the viewpoint of the observer from which the relationship between L1 and L2 is seen. In other words: Two relationships of distance arise, the distance between the two spatial locations, and the distance between the speaker's point of view (PoV) and L1 resp. L2.

Furthermore, the concept of triangulation does not simply involve the spatial constellation of three locations. If this were the case, there would also be reason to speak about four-, five- or even n-angulation, as, self-evidently, more than three entities can be related to each other. Yet the structural difference with respect to the biangular system does not only concern the number of relationships, but inherently presumes a qualitative difference, which is linked to the concept of "'viewpoint' V" in Levinson's (2003) terminology. Though not made explicit in Levinson (2003), it becomes clear in his argumentation that 'viewpoint' constitutes a privileged reference point and is hence more than a spatial location insofar as a 'viewpoint' necessarily presumes a viewing situation and, hence, a 'perceiver' (cf. Levinson 2003, 43 as cited above). In consequence, it is obvious that the localized entities and the perceiving subject cannot be attributed to the same conceptual level, since the viewpoint constitutes the privileged location from which the other points are 'seen' resp. 'perspectivized'. Hence, triangularity necessarily implies treating distance as a perceptional concept rather than as an absolute spatial one. Furthermore, the concept of viewpoint necessarily implies directionality, which, as already seen before, is not an inherent feature of distance, but a more complex concept operating on the concept of distance. Hence, perceptional distance is based on two different relationships of distance: horizontal distance (distance 1) between two locations relying on a coherent ground and vertical distance (distance 2), which implicates a hierarchical distance between the observer's point of view (PoV)[4] and the whole viewed situation, as indicated by the box in (1'').

(1'')

| L1 DISTANCE 1 L2 | horizontal distance |

DISTANCE 2   vertical distance

PoV (L3)

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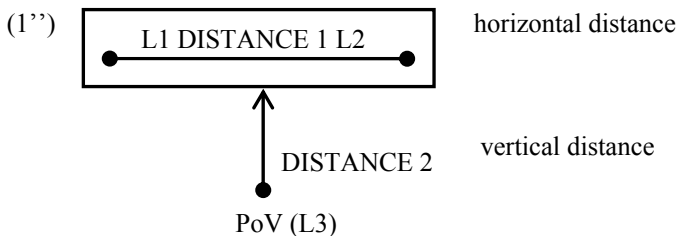
[4]   The terms 'viewpoint' and 'point of view' (abbreviated as PoV in table 1) are used interchangeably in the following.

Although the PoV is a privileged reference point, Levinson (2003) considers the configuration of angularity (bi- vs. triangularity) to be the crucial difference within his classification between intrinsic and relative FoRs. This is remarkable as the configuration in (1'') could also suggest that the relative system is, first of all, characterized by a deictic constellation insofar as the third point of the ternary system seems to be the deictic reference point of an external observer, and, hence, the 'speaker'. However, as Levinson (2003) shows convincingly, "*deictic and intrinsic are not opposed*" (Levinson 2003, 38; emphasis in original), as it is "clear that, although the viewpoint in relative uses is normally speaker-centric, it may easily be addressee-centric or even centred on a third party" (Levinson 2003, 38), cf. e.g. (3c):

(3c) The donkey is in front of the house, from John's point of view.

Example (3c) displays a relative configuration of triangulation, though not a deictic one as the relevant reference point is constituted not by the speaker, but by the stance of a third person (John). Likewise, also a biangular speaker-oriented configuration is possible if one single location is set in reference to the speaker, cf. (3d):

(3d) The donkey is in front of me.

In (3d), the localized entity (the donkey) is related to the speaker. This does, however, not necessarily presume that the speaker constitutes a viewpoint and hence acts as an observer, as becomes obvious in (3e):

(3e) From John's point of view, the donkey is in front of me.

The examples show that the angulation of the reference points and 'viewpoint', i.e. the position of an observer's stance linked to a reference point are conceptually independent features. Whether the relationship between the reference point and the located event is "deictic" or not, is hence "simply irrelevant" (Levinson 2003, 38) for the classification of intrinsic vs. relative FoR. As seen above, the angularity configuration (binary vs. triangular) is, however, not a sufficient criterion, as it does not take the hierarchical distance between the point of view (PoV) and the distance between L1 and L2 into account. With respect to the concept of distance, we have hence to distinguish between two features, namely viewpoint configuration ('speaker-oriented' vs. 'speaker-independent') and angularity ('absolute distance' and 'perceptional / perspectival

distance'). The observations so far thus lead to the following matrix of spatial micro-relationships:
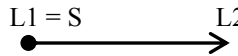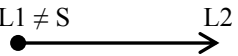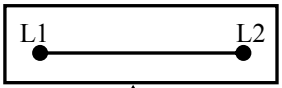
	Speaker-oriented	Speaker-independent
Absolute distance: biangulation	$L1 = S$ → L2 The donkey is in front of me.	$L1 \neq S$ → L2 The donkey is in front of John.
Perceptional / perspectival distance: triangulation + PoV	L1 ────── L2 ↑ PoV = S From my point of view, the donkey is on the left of John.	L1 ────── L2 ↑ PoV ≠ S From Sarah's point of view, the donkey is on the left of John.

Table 1. Matrix of spatial distance configurations with respect to the features 'angularity' and 'viewpoint'

With respect to the spatial concept of distance, Table 1 illustrates two crucial aspects: Firstly, even with regard to basic spatial relationships, a binary concept of distance as a possible link between two locations is not sufficient to account for linguistic conceptualization. Rather, the concept is crucially linked to the perceptional resp. perspectival features of 'viewpoint', triggering both directionality and triangularity. In this sense, both directionality and triangularity are not inherent features of distance. They are two different concepts distinct from, but operating *on* the concept of distance. Distance is hence a necessary prerequisite for the more complex concepts of directionality and triangulation, as both concepts necessarily require the potential of distance between the bi- resp. triangulated points.

Secondly, this potential of distance naturally increases with the addition of viewpoint (i.e. a spatial reference point that presupposes a perceiving subject) as a third reference point. Furthermore, the reference points linked by triangulation are not linked equally to each other and

hence localized on the same level as the viewpoint, which, as a privileged reference point, takes on a hierarchical distance between the observer's viewpoint and the perspectivized spatial localization. In this sense, perceptional distance is a three-dimensional concept while absolute distance is obliged to two-dimensionality. It is hence the concept of viewpoint that leads to a more complex conception of distance as a notion based on perception. In this respect, spatial configuration has shown that the viewpoint does not necessarily have to be that of the speaking subject (although this might be the primary constellation).

As will be seen in the following section, this conceptual difference between angularity and viewpoint configuration will also be crucial with regard to temporal distance in grammar.

3. Temporal distance

> […] tense is by no means to be taken as dealing with locations in time only. (Brisard 2002, xvi)

3.1 The spatial configuration of temporal distance

Like spatial distance, temporal distance seems, at first sight, to constitute a rather simple concept: a past resp. future event is 'not now' and, hence, located in a distance to the actual present time. The temporal distance between the time of a past event ($te1$) and the time of 'now' hence displays a biangular relationship between two separate points:

(5) te1 DISTANCE te2
  $\longrightarrow$

Furthermore, directionality is 'added' as the two points are seen as sequenced along an imaginary directed time line, linked by a relationship of 'earlier–later'. The difference to spatial distance seems to lie only in the fact that the localized entity is not an object linked to a spatial location, but a temporal event localized in time.

Like spatial distance, temporal distance is furthermore at first independent from speaker orientation, as $te2$ can be the actual time of the speaker or not, cf. (6) and (7):

(6) The wedding was three days before today.

(7) The wedding was three days before the National Day of Aruba.

While in (6), te1 (the wedding) is localized with respect to a time that depends on a reference point given by the actual context of the speaker, the temporal constellation of (7) is independent of the speaker's deictic origo. This distinction is crucial as it is bound to two different ways of conceptualizing temporal relationships: Temporal distance can either be seen as an 'earlier–later' relationship (te1 < / > te2) or in terms of 'past', 'present', and 'future' ('te1 is situated in the past with respect to te2'). While the 'earlier–later' conception is linked to an absolute conception of time, notions like 'past' and 'future' inherently presume the reference point of an observer. As present and future can become past in the course of time, both notions are not absolute terms but are dependent on an external viewpoint. These two different conceptions lie at the bottom of the distinction between A- and B-theories, leading back to McTaggart (1908):[5]
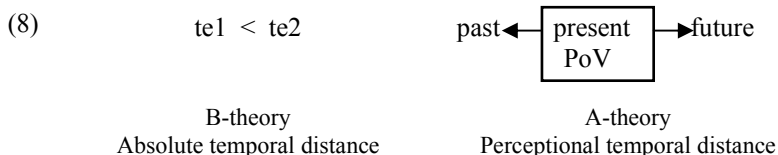
> Positions in time, as time appears to us *primâ facie*, are distinguished in two ways. Each position is Earlier than some, and Later than some, of the other positions. And each position is either Past, Present, or Future. The distinctions of the former class are permanent, while those of the latter are not. If M is ever earlier than N, it is always earlier. But an event, which is now present, was future and will be past.
>
> For the sake of brevity I shall speak of the series of positions running from the far past through the near past to the present, and then from the present to the near future and the far future, as the A series. The series of positions which runs from earlier to later I shall call the B series. (McTaggart 1908, 458)

There are hence two different kinds of temporal distance: The absolute distance between an event and a later resp. earlier one, and the relative distance between an event and the viewpoint of an observer. Like space localization, time conceptualization requires a distinction between an absolute and a perceptional concept of distance, whereby, according to Jaszczolt (2009, 25), the B-conception correlates to "real time", whereas the A-conception appears as "internal, psychological time", cf. (8).

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[5] The distinction is actually tripartite as it also involves the C-theory, which is, however, seen as linked to the B-theory. In consequence, the focus has commonly been on the binary distinction between A- and B-theory (cf. with respect to excellent discussions Ludlow 1999; Craig 2000; Jaszczolt 2009). See also Evans (2013) who develops a three-partite taxonomy of temporal frames of reference by taking the classification of Levinson (2003) as a starting point.

(8)   te1 < te2   past◄── present ──►future
                                                      PoV

             B-theory   A-theory
      Absolute temporal distance   Perceptional temporal distance

   While the distinction is sometimes "couched in terms of Kuhnian
paradigms and hence incommensurability of assumptions" (Jaszczolt
2009, 25) with respect to time itself, the two views are compatible with
respect to the perception of time, as already stated by McTaggart, "the
events of time, as observed by us, form an A series as well as a B series"
(McTaggart 1908, 458). As will be seen in the next section, it is precisely
such a combination that constitutes the basic principle of temporal
conceptualization in grammar.

3.2 Temporal distance in grammar

   Until now, we have focused on lexical expressions of space and time
localization. The micro-relationships of distance distinguished so far are,
however, also basic with respect to the grammatical category of tense.
According to the traditional view, tenses localize events in time (cf.
Comrie 1985, 9). Such a description would be in line with a biangular
conception of time such as the one in (5) above, taking the time of the
localized event and the utterance time as the cornerstones of temporal
distance (te–ts), cf. (9):

(9)   Last week, he went to Aruba. te < ts

   This kind of binary conception does, however, clearly not fully account
for the function of tense, as seen in examples (10) and (11):

(10) Next week, there *is* this fantastic conference on Aruba.

(11) Last week, I was swimming in the Atlantic Ocean, when suddenly a
      shark *appears*.

   In (10)–(11), it is clear by means of temporal adverbials (*next week*,
last week) that there is an absolute temporal distance between the time of
the event and the time of speech as the described events (the conference on
Aruba and the appearance of the shark) are earlier or later than the time of
utterance. However, in both examples, the present tense, which is

commonly characterized as a neutral or unmarked tense form that does not denote any temporal distance, is used. This type of tense usage thus gives a clue that the function of tense is not bound to an absolute concept of temporal distance but to a perceptional one, as tenses situate "the *perspective on the event* rather than the event itself" (Johanson 2000, 34; emphasis in original; cf. also Moore 2004, 161 with respect to the necessity of the distinction between 'succession' and 'temporal perspective'). Against this background, it is rather obvious that it is not the plain concept of absolute distance but, again, triangulation, which is crucial for temporal conceptualization by tense. This is best demonstrated by the tripartite classification system by Reichenbach (1947). As is well known, Reichenbach (1947), following Jespersen (1924), distinguishes three parameters in order to account for tense semantics: The point of event (te), the point of speech (ts), and a reference point (tr). The taxonomy is based on the idea that tense configurations can be described in terms of the relationships between the parameters, i.e. (i) the relation-ship between the time of event and the time of reference, and (ii) the time of reference and the time of speech. Thus, the present tense, for example, is characterized by the conflation of all three temporal coordinates ($te = tr = ts$), whereas the pluperfect indicates the distance between the temporal points, as te is 'earlier than' tr, and tr is again 'earlier than' ts ($te < tr < ts$).

As the classification allows for a description of tense semantics in terms of 'earlier–later' relations, Reichenbach has commonly been consid-ered to be a B-theorist (cf. Ludlow 1999, 4; Craig 2000; Jaszczolt 2009, 17). Be that as it may with regard to the conception of ontological time, a closer look at his tense classification reveals that it also accounts for the *perceptional* conception of temporal distance. This becomes clear if we take a closer look at the concept of the third parameter, the point of reference, which is problematized in virtually all theoretical works on tense semantics, as its different conceptualization displays the two different kinds of temporal distance. As is well known, Reichenbach (1947) himself did not give a definition of this third parameter. However, its (one) meaning becomes clear within the description of the Pluperfect:

(12) 'Anterior past': $te < tr < ts$

The notation in (12) suggests that there are three points of time sequenced along a temporal line like a string of beads. In consequence, the point of reference would be nothing other than a further location in time, lying on a coherent ground with and being hierarchically equivalent to the time of speech and the time of event, cf. Reichenbach (1947, 288):

> From a sentence like 'Peter had gone' we see that the time order expressed
> in the tense does not concern one event, but two events, whose positions
> are determined with respect to the point of speech. We shall call these time
> points the *point of the event* and the *point of reference.*

Within the terminology laid out so far, we could hence say that we
have to deal with a B-theoretical conception that is independent of an
observer's viewpoint. However, with respect to the difference between
Simple Past and the Present Perfect—which actually triggered the imple-
mentation of the reference point in Reichenbach (1947)—the conceptu-
alization of the reference point is different. Simple Past and Present
Perfect share the fact that the time of event is earlier than the time of
speech, so both tenses display absolute temporal distance between te and
ts. The distinction between these two 'past tenses' is actually seen with
respect to the position of the reference point: While the Simple Past is
characterized by the fact that the reference point is shifted within the past,
reference time and speech time coincide with the present perfect, cf. (13):

(13) I saw John.   I have seen John.
   (te = tr) < ts   te < (tr = ts)

The notation in (13) implies that the reference point is obviously not a
third 'time of event' in the sense of a further 'established time' (Declerck
1991), but a 'point of perspective' from which the time of event is seen. It
is this conception of the reference point, which is also reflected in terms of
'temporal perspective point' (Rohrer 1986; Smith 2003), 'time of orien-
tation' (Declerck 1991), and 'Topic Time' (Klein 1994).

What seems to be at first sight a mere terminological problem has in
fact crucial implications with respect to the matter of temporal distance,
since the conception of the reference point as a time of perspective implies
a perceptional concept of time conceptualization. Hence, tense semantics
clearly does not reflect a conceptualization of temporal distance in terms
of absolute distance, but a relative concept linked to an observer's point of
view. Linked with that, the reference point (in the second sense of a 'point
of perspective') is not hierarchically equivalent to the time of speech and
the time of event, but presupposes a viewpoint *on* the relationship between
the two points. Hence, tenses combine both absolute and perceptional
distance insofar as one of the temporal points linked by 'earlier–later'
relationships is privileged and constitutes the viewpoint of an observer. In
this sense, the three-parameter-configuration actually displays the concept
of triangulation as laid out above:

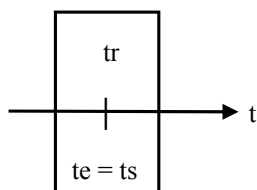(14) a. John goes to Aruba.   b. John went to Aruba.
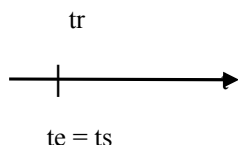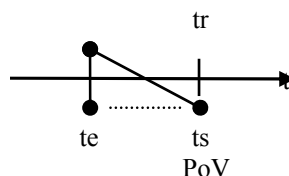
(PoV = point of view; ts = speech time; te = event time; tr = reference time; i.e. temporal point of perspective in the sense of Smith 2003, 100)

With respect to the simple past, the temporal configuration is hence one of triangularity. But is this conclusion valid for the category of tense in general? This question has been controversially discussed, as simple tenses such as the present tense seem not to require a three-parameter approach (cf. e.g. Comrie 1981). Again, the answer to this question is dependent on the conceptualization of the reference point: If the reference point is considered to be a further event time on the time line, it is clear that not all tenses implement an established reference point. Under the notion of reference time as a temporal perspective point, however, the reference point constitutes the cornerstone for the *possible* distance with reference to the point of speech. Hence, the ternary configuration applies to all tenses as every tense indicates a relationship between the time of speech and the point of view, from which the localized event is being observed. In this latter sense, all tenses are based on triangulation.

Concerning spatial distance, we have seen that triangulation and view-point configuration are two independent features, as triangulation is linked *either* to the origo of the speaker *or* a third point of view. So what can we say about the horizontal axis of the taxonomy of distance, i.e. the viewpoint configuration of temporal distance? We have seen that lexical temporal localization is also either dependent on the speaker's viewpoint or the viewpoint of a third reference point (cf. examples (6) and (7) above). In grammar, however, the configuration is more complex. While with respect to the present tense, it seems clear that the viewpoint is linked to the speaker, the simple past as described above necessarily involves a shift of the actual speaker's origo, as seen in comparison with the present perfect: The point of perspective is displaced backwards with respect to the origo. However, unlike the examples of lexical temporal localization discussed above, the original viewpoint of the speaker is not cancelled but maintained. According to Leiss (2012), because of this 'double displace-ment' two different viewpoints have to arise: while the time of utterance is

linked to the 'speaker's viewpoint', the displaced origo establishes a
second viewpoint, bound to an 'observer'. In consequence, the speaker is
split in two: His actual location of the locutionary subject (ts) and an
observer stance bound to the displaced origo (tr). In other words: There is
no 'either–or' with respect to the difference between actual and displaced
origo, as a displaced origo already implies a relationship with the actual
speaker's origo:

(14') a. John goes to Aruba.   b. John went to Aruba.
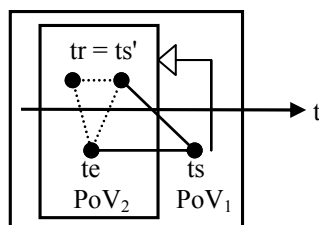
(PoV = point of view; ts = speech time; te = event time; tr =
reference time; i.e. temporal point of perspective in the sense of
Smith 2003, 100)

Tenses are hence characterized by a complex combination of relation-
ships of distance, displaying a different quality: The absolute distance
between te and ts is conceptualized as a perceptional distance, focused by
a temporal point of perspective (tr) serving as 'pivot' (cf. also Klein 1994),
whereby the point of perspective can be the time of speech or a displaced
reference point. Such a view has led to relational concepts of tense
semantics which model the temporal relationship as one between the
speaker and the reference time (and not between the speaker and the
event), cf. e.g. Klein (1994, 140). In consequence, the relationship between
the time of event and the time of speech becomes utterly irrelevant as it is
not a localizing of the time of event, but a calibration of the perspectival
point of the (displaced) observer. In this respect, the function of tense can
be captured within binary terms of distance resp. proximity with respect to
the deictic origo, cf. e.g. Botne and Kershner (2008, 152–153):

Tense, in our view, denotes [...] a relation that is best construed in terms of
clusivity: inclusivity—i.e., the deictic center (anchored at S [i.e. 'time of
speech'; SZ]) occurs within the time span of the cognitive world–versus
exclusivity, or dissociation—i.e., the deictic center at S is external to, or
dissociated from, the cognitive world.

This is in line with many typological studies on tense which argue that the basic temporal distinction is not based on a ternary system (past–present–future), but relies on a binary distinction between 'remote' vs. 'non-remote' resp. 'proximity' vs. 'distance' (cf. e.g. Thieroff 1994; Andersson 1994; Janssen 1994; Johanson 1994; Langacker 2011). The difference is commonly illustrated by reference to past vs. non-past tenses: While non-past tenses such as the present tense and the present perfect situate the time of event in a domain that includes the speaker, past tenses like the simple past and the past perfect indicate that the time of event has to be conceptualized within a domain that is distinct from the speaker. All these classifications are based on the perceptional concept of distance but trigger a third kind of distance, namely that between the point of perspective and the speaker's deictic origo, cf. (15).

(15)

'origo-inclusivity'   'origo-exclusivity'
'proximity'   'distance'
'non-remoteness'   'remoteness'
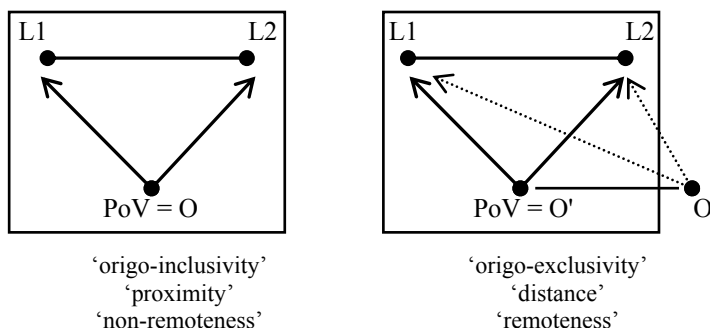
Tenses thus do not localize events in terms of absolute distance but indicate whether the conceptualized events are conceptualized within a mental domain that either includes the deictic origo or does not (cf. also Janssen 1994). In the sense of perspectival distance, tense hence inherently indicates the relationship between the time of reference and the speaker's origo (cf. Leiss 1992). Consequently, it has to involve an epistemic component, since the relationship between tr and ts allows for the recon-struction of the deictic origo's position in every finite utterance. Temporal distance is thus closely linked to epistemic distance (cf. also recent accounts of tense in terms of modality, e.g. Portner 2003; Langacker 2011; Patard 2011 and especially Jaszczolt 2009), as has already been stated by Lyons (1977, 819–820):

It might even be argued that what is customarily treated as being primarily an opposition of tense—past *vs.* non-past—in English and other languages,

should be more properly regarded as a particular case of the distinction, remote vs. non-remote ("then" *vs*. "now" being a particular case of "there" *vs.* "here"). […] Under this interpretation, tense would be a specific kind of modality.

With respect to the different relations of temporal distance dissected so far, it becomes clear that a plain notion of 'temporal distance' is not sufficient to account for the meaning of tense, as tense forms establish a complex meaning based on different relationships of distance. Relying on the 'Matrix of spatial distance configurations' in Table 1, the complexity of tense configurations can thus be seen as a consequence of a combination of absolute and perceptional distance in the sense of triangulation and of a combination of two different viewpoint configurations, i.e. the actual origo and a displaced point of perspective. In this respect, tense does not only display a form of 'double', but 'multiple' distance. According to Leiss (2009a,b; 2012), it is the concept of 'Double displacement' and, in consequence, the reflexive localization of the observer's point of view, that lies at the foundation of grammar in general and constitutes the core principle of grammatical perspectivization.[6] This assumption is also in line with Langacker's (1991) description of 'grounding predications' (i.e. deictic expressions which anchor the localized entity to the "ground", i.e. the reality of the actual communicative situation and the speaker's / hearer's knowledge system) and Verhagen's (2005) treatment of perspectivization, as all three accounts take the 'viewing arrangement'—(i.e. the metaphorical concept of a subject looking at an entity which is based on a spatial configuration as laid out above; cf. Langacker 1991, Verhagen 2005)—as the foundation for grammatical conceptualization. The matrix of distance can thus be enhanced in the following way (cf. Table 2).[7]

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[6] By referring to the principle of 'double deixis', Leiss (2012) draws a sharp distinction between grammar and lexicon. Compared to lexical means, grammatical elements are special in the fact that they are able to establish two perspectives at the same time. In our terms: They localize an entity with respect to the original origo and a displaced origo, whereby two different kinds of distance arise.

[7] Remember that the classification aims to categorize the different kinds of distance in the sense of general structural properties, not its actual realizations: Self-evidently, the different micro-relations can be combined within language use resp. recursively embedded; cf. Section 4 for an empirical example of complex Distance configuration. For recursive embedding see also Meermann and Sonnenhauser (this volume).