A Pragmatic Approach to the Anti-Preemptive Usage of Deixis in Chinese Courtroom Discourse

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Abstract—The anti-pre-emptive usage of deixis occurs more frequently in courtroom discourse than in ordinary daily communication. This phenomenon has its particular pragmatic functions and effects in the courtroom setting. Verschueren's Adaptation Theory can be used to develop a proper theoretical model for the explanation of the anti-pre-emptive usage of deixis in courtroom discourse. Through exemplified analysis of legal cases, this paper aims to find out the existing forms of anti-pre-emptive usage of deixis in courtroom discourse, and discuss the pragmatic functions of such phenomenon can bring to courtroom debate.

Keywords—deixis; anti-pre-emptive usage; Chinese courtroom discourse; Adaptation Theory; Verschueren

I. INTRODUCTION

Deixis is seen as the most direct and most obvious linguistic reflection of relationship between language and context [1]. One of deixis' characteristics is its pre-emptiveness, which means people prefer to use deixtic expression rather than non-deictic ones to refer to persons, things and entities mentioned in their utterances. The pre-emptive usage of deixis has its psychological basis. On the other hand, anti-pre-emptive usage of deixis means non-deictic words or expressions enjoy a higher priority than deixis. The anti-pre-emptiveness has its pragmatic functions. The use of deixis in courtroom discourse is different from ordinary daily communication. Due to the particular social setting and constitution of the courtroom and the linguistic feature of preciseness of legal language, the use of anti-pre-emptiveness of deixis occurs more frequently in courtroom discourse than in daily conversation. In view of this linguistic phenomenon, the purpose of this paper will firstly apply Verschueren's Adaptation Theory to develop a theoretical model for the study of anti-pre-emptive usage of deixis that integrates the physical, social, mental and linguistic factors functioning in the process of linguistic choice making. The purpose is to analyze the theoretical foundation, and find out the existing forms of anti-pre-emptive usage of deixis in courtroom discourse, and discuss the pragmatic functions of such phenomenon can bring to courtroom discourse.

II. DEIXIS AND ITS ANTI-PRE-EMPTIVE USAGE

A. Definition of Deixis

A deixis is, roughly speaking, is potentially context-dependent linguistic expression and typically anchoring in the perspective of the speaker. Its interpretation depends directly and primarily on features of the context involved, such as the speaker and addressee, their location in space and time, etc. The term comes from Greek which means 'pointing' via language, and thus a deixis is a linguistic expression that "acts as a pointer to a referent" [2] in the immediate context of situation. For Buhler [3], any expression which locates a referent in space or time is a deictic expression. Therefore it is clear that a deixis is grounded on a spatial-temporal reference, namely "the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatial-temporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee” [4]. Under this tradition, words such as I, you, this, he, here, now, etc. are canonical deixis which point to a specific object, person, time and place in the given spatial-temporal environment in which the speaker utters them.

B. Categories of Deixis

Speaking of the categories of deixis, canonical categories are person deixis, place deixis and time deixis. In addition to person, place and time, some studies assume two further deictic categories: discourse deixis and social deixis [5]. Discourse deixis is concerned with expressions making reference to linguistic entities in the ongoing discourse, and social deixis is concerned with the social relationship of interlocutors. Like person, place and time deixis, discourse deixis and social deixis may be expressed by particular terms. For instance, the English expressions the latter and the former are instances of social deixis. In addition, grammatical constructions such as tense morphemes, say the future tense, and the imperative and the vocative are often characterized as deixis as well. “Table I” provides an overview of the categories of deixis commonly distinguished in descriptive approach.
TABLE I. CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS

| Category       | Example       |
|----------------|---------------|
| Person deixis  | I, you        |
| Place deixis   | here, there, this, that |
| Time deixis    | now, then, today, yesterday, tomorrow |
| Discourse deixis | the latter, the aforementioned |
| Social deixis  | tu, vous [French] |

C. Anti-pre-emptive Usage of Deixis

In order to explain what anti-pre-emptive usage is, it is necessary to explore the pre-emptiveness first. As early as in 1940s, Bertrand Russell noticed the phenomenon that there is the priority of deixis over non-deictic words in natural language. And he set up an example to illustrate such phenomenon by supposing that he was lost with his friend in the dark and they could not see each other, so the friend asked, "Where are you?" He would say, "I am here" rather than "Russell is at latitude 53.16'N and longitude 4.03'W" [6].

In linguistics, John Lyons found that children in English speaking countries have a command of tense and deictic adverbs before their control of non-deictic expressions, i.e. calendric time replacing pure time deictic words. He noted that the most authoritative claim of this research field gives the credit to Stephen Levinson who first coined the term 'pre-empt' and its adjective form 'pre-emptive' when he was discussing the use of deictic words 'yesterday', 'today' and 'tomorrow' instead of calendric time to refer to relevant days. He noted that "Perhaps this pre-emptive nature of pure deictic words is a general tendency: it takes special conventions to make it appropriate for a speaker to refer to himself by name, and it would be a bit strange if the addressee says 'Do it at 10:36' instead of 'Do it now', when now is 10:36" [1] [5]. According to Levinson, deictic words such as 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow' pre-empt the calendric or absolute ways of referring to the relevant days.

Following these aforementioned studies on the pre-emptiveness of deixis in Western academia, a few Chinese scholars have shown interest in exploring the reverse side, i.e. anti-pre-emptiveness of deixis. As early as in 1994, Zhang Quan, when exploring pre-emptive nature of deixis in Chinese, found more instances in which non-deictic words are used instead of deictic words. He termed such phenomenon "anti-pre-emptive usage" of deixis to mean the disappearance of pre-emptive nature of deixis [7]. He presented two kinds of anti-pre-emptive usage of deixis: one is that non-deictic words substitute pure person deixis (e.g. proper names, honorifics or titles); the other is some calendric time replacing pure time deictic words. Liu Chenghua gave her definition of anti-pre-emptive usage of person deixis which was popularly used by later researchers in China. According to her, anti-pre-emptive usage of person deixis is "the phenomenon of non-deictic naming words substituting its corresponding person deictic words to undertake the function of reference in a speech event and at the mean time, this substitution should not result in any referential differences" [8]. Liu Hong argued that only core deictic words, i.e. those words located in the central deictic field have the pre-emptive nature, and other deictic words do not enjoy a priority over non-deictic words [9]. An example of such phenomenon is when people write a message to another, it is inaccurate to write 'today', 'tomorrow' or 'me', 'you' to indicate the time or person without writing down the CT or writer's name on the message.

To briefly sum up, pre-emptive use of deixis involves speakers' psychological tendency towards using deixis to pre-empt the non-deictic ways of referring to the relevant person, time or place, while anti-pre-emptive use of deixis refers to the phenomenon of non-deictic words substituting deixis. Both the pre-emptive use and anti-pre-emptive use of deixis produce significant pragmatic functions in language communication.

D. Pragmatic Causes of Anti-pre-emptive Usage of Deixis

As Lyons stated earlier, the pre-emptive uses of deixis can eliminate the ambiguity in certain context of situation. However, there are occasions when context is unequivocal and the use of deictic words does not result in ambiguity. In such cases, it is the speaker's pragmatic intention that functions as another important factor. As the speaker attempts to get his pragmatic intention across, the anti-pre-emptive use of deixis shows their pragmatic functions. Researches have shown that there are mainly three pragmatic functions in using anti-pre-emptive uses, that is, to alter psychological distance, to convey special emotions, and to erase ambiguity.

Particularly when it comes to the anti-pre-emptive uses of person deixis, Liu Chenghua attributed anti-pre-emptive usage of person deixis to three factors: the degree of priority of the person deictic words, semantic properties of non-deictic naming words, and special linguistic styles [8]. Following her, relevant studies have shown that most anti-pre-emptive uses of person deixis embody speaker's pragmatic intention of regulating the interpersonal relation. Through different non-deictic addressing forms, the speaker implicitly draws close his psychological distance with the addressee to show closeness, love or care. Furthermore, the anti-pre-emptive usage regulates personal relation, not to draw each other close but keep a distance so as to show respect, superiority or indirect reminding [10]. In addition, it also conveys complicated emotional overtones, such as modesty, conceit, self-esteem, self-mockery or joking.

III. ADAPTATION THEORY: THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF THE ANTI-PRE-EMPTIVE USAGE OF DEIXIS

The Adaptation Theory was initially put forward by Verschueren in 1987 and developed in 1999. The fundamental concept underlying the Adaptation Theory is the idea of making linguistic choices [11] [64]. He stated that adaptability is a "property of language which enables human beings to make negotiable linguistic choices from a variable range of possibilities in such a way as to approach points of satisfaction for communicative needs" [11] [64]. In other words, adaptability makes language participants negotiate their
choices from all the possibilities for the purpose of satisfying the communicative needs.

Based on Verschueren's Adaptation Theory, Lin Yingying developed a theoretical model for the study of anti-pre-emptive usage of deixis that integrates the physical, social, mental and linguistic factors functioning in the process of linguistic choice making [12] ("Fig. 1").

Contextual correlates in the mental world include the state of mind of the utterer and his assessment of the interpreter's mental world. Both the utterer's and the interpreter's personality traits, patterns of beliefs, wishes and desires, emotional involvement, motivations and intentions may all be involved.

Contextual correlates in the social world include properties of social settings or social institutions. Social correlates of linguistic choice-making include social class, nationality, religion, level of education, etc.

Contextual correlates in the physical world that affect the anti-pre-emptive usage of deixis include the temporal and spatial relations. In addition, the utterer's and interpreter's position in the physical world, their bodily postures, gestures, gaze, appearance, biological properties may all be related to the linguistic choices.

Contextual correlates in the linguistic world that affect the anti-pre-emptive usage of deixis are linguistic channels and linguistic context. For instance the language use in courtroom is different from that in daily communication. Legal language has its own style and features, which may influence the speaker's choice of words.

Based on the above discussion, it is time that we examined those contextual factors that are mobilized or activated by the anti-pre-emptive usage of deixis in courtroom discourse. Firstly, the contextual correlates in the mental world include particularly the defender's (lawyer) emotion, communicative desires, motivation and persuasive intention. Secondly, the contextual correlates in the social world include the particular social setting and institution, i.e. the trial and courtroom as well as power hierarchy such as the (chief) judge's supremacy at court. Thirdly, the contextual correlates in the physical world include the coding time and space of utterances at court and the referred time and space of the cases that have happened. Finally, the contextual correlates in the linguistic world include the features of legal language at court, being formal, precise and unequivocal. The purpose of courtroom utterances is to convince the judge whether the defendant is guilty or innocent. All of the four contextual correlates all play a role in the speaker's choice of language, i.e. choice between using deixis and non-deictic expressions.

IV. THE ANTI-PRE-EMPTIVE USAGE OF PERSON DEIXIS IN CHINESE COURTROOM DISCOURSE

Courtroom discourse is a special carrier of authority and restriction. It contains hierarchical power and adversarial nature. In most cases participants in courtroom prefer to use formal legal language and this characteristic affects the use of person deixis in courtroom interaction. As for the anti-pre-emptive usage of person deixis, it is a common practice that names or certain alternates are often used to replace person deixis in some context of situation. The reason for such phenomenon, according to Ran Yongping and He Ziran [13], may be due to two pragmatic functions, i.e. empathy and de-empathy. In other words, participants in the courtroom can express their emotions of respect and abomination.

A. Anti-pre-emptive Usage of First Person Deixis

In most cases the first person deixis 1. is hard to be replaced by non-deictic expressions. This is perhaps explained by psychologist K. Buhler whose theory of deictic field defines 1. as the center of the deictic field [3]. However, in courtroom discourse non-deictic expressions often occur due to particular pragmatic functions.

Example 1

Chief Judge: In view of one party's disagreement with mediation, the court will not mediate for the time being.

Example 2

Defendant: I had nothing to do but wander around.

Chief Judge: The court asked you why you knocked on the victim's door.

In Example 1 and 2 the speaker is the chief judge who uses ‘法庭’ or ‘本庭’ (the court) to substitute the first person deixis 1. to either make declaration or interrogation. If the first person pronoun 1. were used, there would be no authority of the court to speak of. Such anti-pre-emptive usage of the first person deixis clearly shows the hierarchical power of judge in the courtroom discourse.

Example 3

Defendant: The defender believes that Mr. Ye, as the second defendant in this case, does not constitute the crime of intentional homicide.

In this defense, the lawyer refers to himself as ‘辩护人’ (the defender) instead of 1. to show his identity in court. It is
not true that lawyers never use the first person pronoun ‘I’ in the court debate. But when it comes to convince the judge, they often avoid showing how personized their opinions are. So they use position title to call themselves, which seem reasonable and acceptable in Chinese courtroom culture.

B. Anti-pre-emptive Usage of Second Person Deixis

In the courtroom setting, the reference of ‘you’ is often ambiguous because there are many addressees who can be ‘you’. Therefore participants in court usually use title to call each other instead of using second person pronoun. Besides the pronoun ‘你’ (you singular) or ‘你们’ (you plural) might leave the impression of arrogance or aggressiveness to listeners in debate.

Example 4

上诉人：审判长，您问告知与结果有什么因果关系，我们认为…我们大家都知道，所以我们认为这个告知是非常重要的。

上诉人：审判长您问告知与结果有什么因果关系，我们认为…我们大家都知道，所以我们认为这个告知是非常重要的。

Appellor: Your Honor asked what is the causal relationship between notification and outcome? We think … We all know that, and therefore we think this notification is very important.

The appellor intends to convince the judge to believe something. But he does not directly use ‘你们’ (you), but instead the use of ‘我们’ (we) make the judge stand with him so as to achieve his intended communicative goal. Such anti-pre-emptive usage of second person deixis occurs often in the opening statement, brief argument, and closing argument part of courtroom discourse.

Example 5

上诉人：审判长您问告知与结果有什么因果关系，我们认为…我们大家都知道，所以我们认为这个告知是非常重要的。

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Example 6

律师：在这种情况下，我认为，人民法院更应该严格地依法独立行使审判权，不受任何干扰。

Fourth person: This courtroom conversation occurs among the chief judge, the defendant and the defender. If the second person deixic pronoun ‘you’ were used, the listeners would probably be confused whom the judge intended to ask. Therefore when more than one listener is involved in the conversation, anti-pre-emptive usage of the second person deixis is likely to occur so as to avoid misunderstanding.

In addition to this basic use, there are occasions when second person deixis is replaced by first person deixis plural form so as to convince the listener.

Example 7

审判长：请问被告人，原告的父母证实你对原告有多次殴打行为，你怎么说没有？

Chief judge: Defendant, the plaintiff’s parents confirmed that you had beaten the plaintiff many times. How could you say no?

The judge does not use ‘他们’ (they) to refer to the plaintiff’s parents and ‘他’ to refer to the defendant. One reason for this anti-pre-emptive usage is that the non-deictic reference is more accurate for the listener to identify the reference. Another reason is perhaps such non-deictic usage accords with the characteristics of legal language which is formal and precise.

Example 8

律师：在这种情况下，我认为，人民法院更应该严格地依法独立行使审判权，不受任何干扰。

Fourth person: This courtroom conversation occurs among the chief judge, the defendant and the defender. If the second person deixic pronoun ‘you’ were used, the listeners would probably be confused whom the judge intended to ask. Therefore when more than one listener is involved in the conversation, anti-pre-emptive usage of the second person deixis is likely to occur so as to avoid misunderstanding.

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Example 8

律师：在这种情况下，我认为，人民法院更应该严格地依法独立行使审判权，不受任何干扰。
effect would be lost. The use of the word 'victim' indicates the speaker's sympathy, and the use of the proper name 'Li Bo' seems neural. Such anti-pre-emptive usage is the two pragmatic functions mentioned earlier in this section, i.e. empathy and de-empathy. The word 'the other person' indicates the relationship between the defendant and the victim. All of these implied meanings would not be passed to listeners if 'he' and 'she' were used.

V. THE ANTIPRE-EMPTIVE USAGE OF TIME AND PLACE DEIXIS IN CHINESE COURTROOM DISCOURSE

A. Anti-pre-emptive Usage of Time Deixis

Different from ordinary conversation, time deixis in courtroom discourse is usually calendric time because of the characteristics of accuracy of legal language. Therefore, common time deixis such as 'today', 'tomorrow' and 'yesterday' are not used as common as in ordinary daily conversation.

Wu Wanxiang summarized anti-pre-emptive usage of time deixis into four factors: a) when Receiving Time is later than Coding Time; b) stylistic of language; c) periodic action; d) special purpose of communication [14]. In view of courtroom discourse, the anti-pre-emptive usage of time deixis is usually affected by the second factor.

Example 9

律师：侯某某于2010年5月6日被检察机关工作人员带到检察院，在他提交了一份自书《交待材料》后，检察机关于2010年5月7日上午对其受贿案立案侦查。

Lawyer: Mr. Hou was taken by the prosecution staff to the procuratorate on May 6, 2010... It was only on the morning of May 7, 2010 that the procuratorate filed a bribery case against him after he submitted a self-written confession material.

In this statement the speaker uses two calendric dates. In ordinary daily conversation the speaker could use 'the next day' to replace the second calendric date. But considering legal language is formal, the speaker chooses to use non-deictic expression, i.e. calendric date, to replace deictic expression, e.g. the next day. If 'the next day' were used, it could be misinterpreted as tomorrow if the listener regards the coding time, i.e. the utterance time, as the deictic center. That's why calendric time and date are much welcome in courtroom discourse.

B. Anti-pre-emptive Usage of Place Deixis

Fixed positions refer to the places named by fixed terms or proper names. Instead of canonical place deixis such as 'here' or 'there', fixed positions lack deictic information about the location of the addressee or addressee. And such anti-pre-emptive usage can avoid vagueness and show accuracy of evidence in courtroom discourse. Moreover, the place where the case happened is significant information that must be mentioned during the trial. It is basic information to imply that what happened in a true place in this world.

Example 10

辩护人：---8月15日晚上20时许，被告人去了无锡市场溜冰场玩，在溜冰场碰到了吕某...

Defender: At about 20 p.m. on August 15, the defendant went to the skating rink of Wulian Market and met Mr. Lv in the skating rink.

The skating rink is an important location relevant to the case. So the defender repeats it rather than uses place deixis such as 'there' which occurs usually in ordinary daily communication. But courtroom discourse is formal in style, and basic information regarding the location of the crime is of vital significance in the trial. That's why non-deictic place expressions, i.e. fixed position named by fixed terms or proper names are much favored.

VI. THE ANTI-PRE-EMPTIVE USAGE OF DISCOURSE AND SOCIAL DEIXIS IN CHINESE COURTROOM DISCOURSE

A. Anti-pre-emptive Usage of Discourse Deixis

Discourse deixis concerns the encoding of reference to portions of the unfolding discourse in which the utterance is located. Canonical discourse deixis include the demonstratives 'this' and 'that', certain words and phrases showing the semantic relations of the co-text such as 'but', 'therefore', 'in conclusion', 'to the contrary', 'besides', 'above all', etc. as well as certain adjectives such as 'previous', 'following', 'last', 'preceding', etc. Here our attention is paid to the canonical discourse deixis, namely the demonstrative 'this' and 'that'. Fillmore stated that as a discourse deixis in English, 'this' can be used to refer either to something that has just happened or to something that is about to happen, whereas 'that' can only be used to refer to what has already happened [15]. He further referred to discourse deixis as "the choice of lexical or grammatical elements which indicate or otherwise refer to some portion or aspect of the ongoing discourse — something like, for example, the former" [16]. The anti-pre-emptive usage of discourse deixis occurs when the reference is not clear.

Example 11

The room was crowded with people. Some were joking and laughing noisily. Others were drinking and smoking. The atmosphere (that) made him sick.

What if the speaker used the deictic demonstrative 'this' instead? The listener would be confused about what really made him sick. Does 'that' refer to the room, the people who were joking and laughing, or the people who were drinking and smoking? The reference remains ambiguous. Therefore the use of the underlined non-deictic word can eliminate the semantic indeterminacy.

In courtroom discourse, this pragmatic function is significant for participants who use non-deictic discourse deictic expressions to substitute deictic discourse deictic expressions in order to avoid misunderstanding in trial. Moreover, anti-pre-emptive usage of discourse deictic expressions also reveals psychological condition of speaker and show the emotion of the speaker in certain discourse.
Psychological factors may affect the emotion of addressee, and the anti-pre-emptive usage of discourse deixic expressions may appear under the condition that speaker wants to express something with strong likeness, hatred or anger. Courtroom is a place where different parties bring an action; therefore, participants are required to be dispassionate and rational under most circumstances.

Example 12

Defender: The act of Mr. Huang's bumping Mr. Jiang to death fully meets the legal conditions of legitimate defense and should not be held criminally liable according to law. Since Mr. Huang's pursuit and attack of Mr. Jiang is a lawful act of self-rescue and is an act of arresting and delivering criminals, and Mr. Jiang's armed threatening and preventing Mr. Huang's pursuit belongs to the act of violent refusal to arrest, then the battle between Mr. Huang and Mr. Jiang belongs to the battle between right and evil, legitimate and illegal. According to the provisions of our criminal law, the act of Mr. Huang's bumping Mr. Jiang to death is undoubtedly a legitimate defensive act that should not bear criminal responsibility according to law.

The defender repeats what he states at the beginning of his statement regarding the act of Mr. Huang's bumping Mr. Jiang to death. What if he used such deixic expression as 'this incident', or 'this accident', or 'this event'? The reference of these alternative discourse deixis is clear in the context and the meaning of the sentence will not be altered. But the defendant was excited to prove Mr. Huang's act was a legitimate defense. He brought strong emotion to show the legitimacy of Mr. Huang and guilty of Mr. Jiang. The anti-pre-emptive usage of discourse deixis here emphasizes the effect of convincing other people present at court.

B. Anti-pre-emptive Usage of Social Deixis

Levinson defined social deixis as those language structure that "encode the social relations or identities of speech participants or the social relation between one participant and other people or entities" [1]. In other words, what social deixic expressions reflect during communication are the social condition of participants, the relational social statuses of the addresser, the relational social statuses of addressee and the social relationship between addresser and the person mentioned in the conversation.

As is known to all, social statuses of participants change dramatically when speakers and listeners become judge, witness, lawyer, plaintiff and defendant. Hence, participants in courtroom discourse use a certain system of social deixis quite different from the usual ordinary daily communication. Besides, social deixis have one particular feature that the other types of deixis do not have. Social deixis do not have the linguistic phenomenon of anti-pre-emptive usage [17]. This is because social deixis itself include non-deictic social titles and terms to refer to somebody. However, the definition of anti-pre-emptiveness emphasizes the features of using non-deictic expressions to replace deixic expressions. This feature does not seemingly applied to social deixis. Therefore, the anti-pre-emptive usage of social deixis does not exist in Chinese courtroom discourse.

Actually it is assumed that pre-emptive usage of social deixic expressions is the anti-pre-emptive usage of person deixic expressions, because the forms of the two phenomena are replacing deictic words by non-deictic expressions. To be more specific, the pre-emptive usage of social deixic expressions is a phenomenon by using titles, absolute social deixic words, kinship terms, etc. to replace person deixic words in general.

VII. CONCLUSION

The above analysis finds that the anti-pre-emptive usage of deixis of all types exist in courtroom discourse, but the person deixis accounts for the most part of such phenomenon. The main reason for such usage is mainly due to three reasons: the linguistic features of legal language at courtroom, the social power of judge and social constitution of court and particular communicative intention of the lawyer or defender. The main pragmatic function of such usage is to show respect, accuracy, and power, and avoid vagueness, misunderstanding, and convincing others in courtroom discourse.

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