INTERACTIONS OF TRAJECTOR AND LANDMARK IN SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL DOMAINS: A COGNITIVE GRAMMAR APPROACH TO SHANG AND XIA IN MANDARIN CHINESE

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0. INTRODUCTION

Shang ‘above/up’ and xia ‘below/down’ are a common pair of antonyms in Mandarin Chinese. Both of them function as verbs, directional particles and locative particles in various situations, as illustrated in the following sentences:

Verbs:
   (1) a. Tamen yao shang lou.
        They want up floor
        They want to go upstairs.
   b. Tamen yao xia lou.
        They want down floor
        They want to go downstairs.

Directional particles:
   (2) a. Ta chuan - shang wai - yi.
        s/he put up coat
        S/he puts on a coat.
   b. Ta tuo - xia wai - yi.
        s/he take down coat
        S/he takes off the coat.

Locative particles:
   (3) a. Shu zai zhuo - shang.
        book at desk on
        The book is on the desk.
   b. Mao zai zhuo - xia.
        cat at desk under
        The cat is under the desk.

As a pair of most commonly used antonyms in Mandarin Chinese, shang and xia have been mentioned and analysed briefly by grammarians or linguists (e.g. Chao 1968, Chu 1983, Henne et al. 1977, Li and Thompson 1981, Lin 1984, Tien 1986). In respect of the locative features, little work has been done on the semantic characterizations of shang and xia, though there have been some descriptive treatments in the literature. Li and Thompson have treated shang and xia as locative particles which specify spatial relationships (1981: 391). Tien regards shang and xia as parts of compound prepositions which are usually used with zai ‘at’ to indicate different positions in space (1986: 128-129). Chu (1983: 11) and Lin (1984: 185) both have taken shang and xia as localizers to be used as suffixes to form place words. Nevertheless, the above scholars have neglected the fact that temporal relationships can also be specified by shang and xia. Henne et al. (1977) have noticed that shang and xia can both be used to form place words and time words, but they have not investigated the spatial and temporal relationships expressed by shang and xia, and they have only glossed shang and xia into different categories: place word suffixes and time word suffixes (p. 210-211). Chao (1968) is the only scholar, as far as I know, who has given a comprehensive consideration to shang and xia both in spatial and temporal domains. Starting

* This paper is part of my Research Paper I submitted to the Department of Linguistics at the University of California, San Diego, May 1988.

I am grateful to Stephen R. Poteet, Joganna Rubba, Ricardo Maldonado, Yuchau Haio and Teenie Matlock for their helpful comments and discussion on this paper. I would like to thank my wife, Yeqing, for her understanding and support of this paper. Above all, my special thanks go to Professor Ronald W. Langacker for his enlightening teaching of Cognitive Grammar, his valuable advice, comments and insights at every stage of writing this paper. However, all errors and misinterpretations, needless to say, are entirely mine.
with the point of view that "localizers, as the term suggests, usually express the (spatial and temporal) locations (lit. or fig.) of things" (p. 621), Chao has made a good attempt to give an extensive treatment of shang and xia as localizers (p. 620 - 623) and determinatives (p. 545 - 548). However, his explanation for the use of shang and xia in spatial and temporal domains has not been satisfactory in general. Therefore, it is natural for us to consider the analyses of shang and xia, given by Chao and other scholars mentioned above, to be systematically and theoretically superficial concerning the following phenomena:

No attempt has been made to relate shang and xia to each other and analyse the relationships between them in the spatial and temporal domains; no attempt has been made to give an answer to the question why expressions like di·shang ‘ground - above’ and di·xia ‘ground - below’ can give the same meaning ‘on the ground’; no attempt has been made to provide an explanation for the case when shang and xia are used together as shang·xia ‘above - below’; shang·xia can be interpreted as ‘above and below’ ‘up and down’, ‘top and bottom’, ‘more or less’, ‘thereabouts’ and ‘all over’ in the spatial and temporal domains.

To make an attempt to analyse the above phenomena, in this paper I will present a systematic and theoretical investigation of shang and xia in locative features with an emphasis on their semantic characterizations. Especially, I will investigate the positions of and the relations between shang and xia in the spatial and temporal domains, using the framework of Cognitive Grammar as presented in Langacker (1986, 1987).

1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Although the framework of Cognitive Grammar has been assumed here, it is still very difficult to give a complete explanation of the theory in such a short paper (more detailed description can be found in Langacker (1986, 1987)). Nevertheless, some basic notions of Cognitive Grammar are particularly relevant and important to the present investigation of shang and xia in Mandarin Chinese.

1.1 Relevant Aspects of Cognitive Grammar

As a coherent and revelatory linguistic theory departing from most theories of semantics, Cognitive Grammar investigates language and meaning from a cognitive view equating meaning with conceptualization and regarding grammar as imagery. In the theory of Cognitive Grammar, grammatical structure in a language is no longer considered autonomous but is believed to be inherently symbolic. Thus, conventional imagery is represented by grammatical constructions which are selected appropriately to portray situations in a particular manner for purposes of linguistic expression. The meaning of a linguistic expression is referred to as a predication, and is characterized with respect to one or more cognitive domains, which consist of various kinds of knowledge systems or conceptions. The semantic characterization of a linguistic expression always involves base/profile organization, in which ‘base’ refers to the set of activated cognitive domains and ‘profile’ refers to the substructure within the base that is maximally salient in the sense of representing the entity that the expression designates.

1.2 Notions of Trajector and Landmark

In a given relational predication, the trajector is defined as the figure within the relational profile. This notion is applicable to both static and dynamic relations. The landmark is a salient entity which provides a point of reference for locating the trajector (Langacker 1987: 217). Thus, a trajector and a landmark can be used to illustrate the relation between A and B in the figure below:

Figure 1.1

If we take A as the trajector and B as the landmark for locating A, we have the following expression:

(4) A zai B·shang.
A at B above
A is above B.

If we take B as the trajector and A as the landmark for locating A, we have the following expression:
B zai A - xia.
B at A below
B is below A.

There is another version of relations between a trajector and a landmark marked by shang and xia, as indicated in the figure below:

![Figure 1.2]

Thus, sentences (6) and (7) express the relations between A and B in Fig. 1.2:

(6) A zai B - shang.
A at B on
A is on B.

(7) B zai A - xia.
B at A under
B is under A.

So, concepts like shang and xia are well described by the relations between a trajector and a landmark:

Shang: The trajector has an upper position relative to the landmark along the vertical axis.

Xia: The trajector has a lower position relative to the landmark along the vertical axis.

In dealing with the positions and relations of shang and xia in other cases in Mandarin Chinese, I will mainly use O for profile and — for landmark, just for the convenience of illustrating the prototypical value of shang and xia in different circumstances, which are shown in the following figures:

![Figure 1.3]

shang
above/over

![Figure 1.4]

xia
down/below

![Figure 1.5]

shang
on

![Figure 1.6]

xia
beneath/under
2. SHANG AND XIA IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS

In this section, I will investigate positions of and relations between shang and xia in the spatial, temporal and mental domains. My focus will be on the cases in which shang and xia are used to form expressions like zhōu - shang 'on the desk', zhōu - xia 'under the desk'; shang xīngqì 'last week', xia xīngqì 'next week', and the like.

2.1 Shang and Xia in the Spatial Domain

In the spatial domain, shang and xia mainly indicate different positions through physical space. These positions can be further divided into two categories: vertically oriented shang and xia and horizontally oriented shang and xia. Their relations can be clearly explained by the relations between the trajector and the landmark.

2.1.1 Vertically Oriented Shang and Xia

Since both shang and xia originate from a vertical axis, their relations in the spatial domain have much to do with the vertical positions. The relations between the trajectors and the landmark in expressions zhōu - shang 'on the table' and zhōu - xia 'under the table' in sentences (3) a. and (3)b. are illustrated by Fig. 2.1 and Fig. 2.2:

The following are some other interesting examples of vertically oriented shang and xia:

(8) a. You yī - zhī niāo zài lība - shang.
   have one - CL bird at fence - on
   There is a bird on the fence.

b. You yī - ge lǎoshūdòng zài lība - xia.
   have one - CL rat hole at fence - under
   There is a rat hole under the fence.

(9) You yī - kuài zhīshìpái zài lība - shang.
   have one - CL sign at fence - on
   There is a sign on the fence.

(10) You yī - zhī bìhu zài lība - shang.
     have one - CL gecko at fence - on
     There is a gecko on the fence.

Since a bird usually stays on the top of a fence, the meaning of lība - shang 'on the fence' in (8)a. is described by Fig. 2.3. Also, as the rat hole can only be under the whole of the fence, Fig. 2.4 expresses the meaning of lība - xia 'under the fence' in (8)b:

Figure 2.1

Figure 2.2

Figure 2.3

Figure 2.4
Since a sign is always put on the upper part of a fence, \textit{liba - shang} 'on the fence' in (9) can be expressed with Fig. 2.5:

![Figure 2.5](image)

There are many other cases in which the trajector and landmark are not precisely vertically aligned, yet we still describe their relations as \textit{shang} and \textit{xia}. Expressions \textit{po - shang} 'up on the slope' and \textit{po - xia} 'down on the slope' in sentences (11) a. and (11) b. are some examples for this kind of relations:

    have one - CL boy at slope - up  
    There is a boy \textit{up on the slope}.

b. You yi - zhi xiaomao zai po - xia.  
    have one - CL kitten at slope - down  
    There is a kitten \textit{down on the slope}.

In (11) a., \textit{po - shang} is used to indicate the situation in which the trajector is on the upper part of the landmark as illustrated in Fig. 2.7; in (11) b., \textit{po - xia} is used to express the situation in which the trajector is on the lower part of the landmark as pictured in Fig. 2.8. It is interesting to note that the trajector, in both situations, is not above/below the landmark as a whole, instead it is above/below the most substantial portion of it, and not directly aligned along the horizontal axis.

In this case, there is an extension of \textit{shang} from the vertical orientation in particular to any orientation. \textit{Shang} has the original value of 'vertically above' or 'on top of' something. Since 'on top of' indicates a vertically higher position as well as surface contact, \textit{shang} expresses 'on the upper part' and 'on the surface of' at the same time, as in Fig. 2.5. Later, \textit{shang} is extended to indicate 'on the surface of' any part of anything, regardless of orientation.

![Figure 2.6](image)

![Figure 2.7](image)

![Figure 2.8](image)
Also, the positions of the trajector on the upper part and on the lower part of the landmark could be construed as *shang* and *xia* by their projection onto the vertical axis as shown in Fig. 2.9:

![Figure 2.9](image)

There are some more interesting cases of the relations between *shang* and *xia* as shown in the following sentences:

(12) a. You yi - zuo si - miao zai have one - CL temple at shan - shang, hill - up.

There is a temple on the hill.

b. You yi - zuo jun - zhuang zai have one - CL village at shan - xia, hill - down.

There is a village at the foot of the hill.

c. You yi - pian caoyuan zai have one - CL prairie at shan - xia, hill - down.

There is a prairie off the hill.

*Shan - shang* in sentence (12)a is schematically represented by Fig. 2.10 in which the trajector is on the upper part of the landmark, and Fig. 2.11 gives a schema for *shan - xia* to indicate that the trajector is on the lower part of the landmark.

![Figure 2.10](image)

But, how to account for the positions of *shang* and *xia* in sentence (12)c? In this case, the trajector is neither on the upper part nor on the lower part of the landmark; it is not on the landmark at all:

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![Figure 2.11](image)

![Figure 2.12](image)

Obviously, this is a case in which *shang* and *xia* are not exactly vertically oriented. The transition from *shan - xia* 'on the foot of the hill' in Fig. 2.11 to *shan - xia* 'off the hill' in Fig. 2.12 is based on the relations between these two types of *shan - xia* and *shan - shang* 'on (the upper part of) the hill' in Fig. 2.10. *Shan-xia* in Fig. 2.11 indicates that the trajector is in contact with the lower part of the landmark; *shan - xia* in Fig. 2.12 indicates that the trajector is separated from the landmark. *Shan - shang* in Fig. 2.10, on the one hand, indicates that the trajector is only on the upper part of the landmark, as in comparison with Fig. 2.11; on the other hand, it indicates that the trajector is also in contact with the landmark as a whole, as in comparison with Fig. 2.12. Therefore, *shan - xia* in (12)b and in (12)c show a discrepancy in the horizontal dimension in comparison with *shan - shang* in (12)a.
2.1.2. Horizontally Oriented Shang and Xia.

As illustrated in Fig. 1.5 and 1.6, the shang/xia relations could be interpreted as ‘on/under (the surface of something)’ in some situations. But when we use shang and xia in the following sentences, their contrast does not pertain to different positions along the vertical axis.

(13) a. Zai yundongchang - shang you at playground - on have jilie de bisai. gruelling NOM match.
   There is a gruelling match on the playground.

b. Zai yundongchang - xia you at playground - down have fengkuang de qiumi. mad NOM sports fans
   There are mad sports fans off the playground.

(14) a. Zai gonglu - shang you at highway - on have jiaotong zuse. traffic jam.
   There is a traffic jam on the highway.

b. Zai gonglu - xia you at highway - down have yi - liang puoche one - CL broken - down car
   There is a broken - down car off the highway.

Now, how do we explain the relations between shang and xia in these sentences? Generally speaking, if shang refers to a case in which the trajector is on the surface of the landmark, xia should logically refer to the opposite case. But since the positions and relations of shang and xia here are on a horizontal base, it is impossible to have the sports fans in (13)b. under the playground and the broken-down car in (14)b. under the highway. They can only be ‘in’ and ‘out’ or ‘on’ and ‘off’ the playground and the highway. Therefore, shang/xia here functions as ‘in/out’ and ‘on/off’. Under this kind of circumstance, we can have a reasonable explanation for the relations of shang and xia on a horizontal base. If the trajector is on or attached to the landmark, shang can be used; if the trajector is off or apart from the landmark, xia can be used. Such horizontally oriented positions and relations in the spatial domain are illustrated in Fig. 2.13 and Fig. 2.14, which also provide a reasonable explanation for sentence (12)c.

2.2 Shang and Xia in the Temporal Domain

When shang and xia are used to refer to temporal positions and relations, time is regarded as flowing like a river. Since a river flows from an upper level to a lower level vertically under the force of gravity, there are shang - you ‘upper reaches’ and xia - you ‘lower reaches’. Any particular bit of water is in the upstream portion of the river earlier than in the downstream portion, with respect to time. Therefore, temporal positions along this ‘time - river’ can be traced either upstream or downstream, and temporal relations can also be characterized as shang ‘upstream’ and xia ‘downstream’. This is true for any given period of time or the time relating to the present.

In a given period of time, the landmark is the mid - point of the whole period. If the trajector is upstream from this mid - point, we use shang to indicate the first half of this period; if the trajector is downstream from this mid - point, we use xia to indicate the second half. Temporal expressions shang ban ye ‘before midnight’, xia ban ye ‘after midnight’ in sentences (15)a. and (15)b. are illustrated by Fig. 2.16 below:
(15)  a. Shang banye rengran henhre.
up half night still very hot
It is still very hot before midnight.
b. Xia banye kaishi jiangwen.
down half night begin cool down
It begins to cool down after midnight.

As for the time relating to the present, the landmark is a period that includes the time of the speech event. When the trajector is upstream from this period, shang is used to refer to the period of time just passed; when the trajector is downstream from this period, xia is used to refer to the period of time that is coming. This phenomenon is illustrated by sentences (16)a. and (16)b. as well as Fig. 2.18.

(16)  a. Shang xing・qi wo mei qu shangban.
up week I not go work
I did not go to work last week.
b. Xia xing・qi wo bu lai shangke.
down week I not come have class
I won't come to class next week.

In this situation, neither shang nor xia includes the present time. This phenomenon again coincides with the imagery that time flows like a river. Besides shang・you upper reaches and xia・you lower reaches, a river can also have zhong・you middle reaches. When we think that time has past, present and future, there is no reason not to use shang to refer to the time that just passed and xia to refer to the time that is coming.

3. INTERACTIONS OF TRAJECTOR AND LANDMARK IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS

3.1 Overlapping in the Spatial and Temporal Domains

Overlapping in the spatial and temporal domains is shown in the following sentences:

(17)  a. Shang yi・zhan shi Beijing tushuguang.
up one station is Beijing Library.
The last bus・stop was Beijing Library.
b. Xia yi - zhan shi guoji julebu, down one station is International Club.

The next bus - stop is International Club.

(18) a. Ketang - shang tamen shi tongxue. classroom on they are classmate.

They are classmates in class.

b. Ketang - xia tamen shi pengyou. classroom down they are friends.

They are friends out of class.

In sentences (17) a. and (17) b., in shang yi - zhan 'last bus - stop' and xia yi - zhan 'next bus - stop', shang and xia have their horizontally oriented spatial positions through physical space and their temporal positions through time. As the passing of time is analogous to the flowing of a river, the spatial path of a journey is also analogous to the flowing of a river: the earlier portion of a journey is earlier in space and time, the later portion of a journey is later in space and time. Since the upstream of a river and time can be indicated by shang, and the downstream of a river and time can be indicated by xia, the journey along the spatial path can also be indicated by shang and xia: shang is earlier in space and time, and xia is later in space and time. Therefore, when we say shang yi - zhan and xia yi - zhan, we refer to both their spatial relations and temporal relations.

Between shang yi - zhan and xia yi - zhan, there is a change of temporal position as well as a change of spatial position. So, in a relational profile, we can use the trajector and the landmark in both spatial and temporal domains at the same time:

The situation with ketang - shang and ketang - xia in sentences (18) a. and (18) b. is somewhat different. When we take ketang as both 'classroom' and 'class', the spatial and temporal relations between shang and xia indicate a change through physical space and time. For ketang - shang, we are both in the classroom and in class, for ketang - xia, we are both out of the classroom and out of class. Thus, the trajector and landmark are used to refer to the relation between shang and xia in both spatial and temporal domains at the same time:

In classroom/class

out of classroom/class

Figure 3.3
But, there is another possibility that although we are physically in the classroom, we are out of class so far as time is concerned. Then, ketang-shang and ketang-xia differ only in their temporal positions and relations changed, their spatial positions and relations being the same.

3.2 Change of Trajector and Landmark in Different Domains

Under certain circumstances, the trajector and landmark can be changed in spatial, temporal and mental domains. First consider the following sentences:

(19) a. Di-shang you hendiou luoye.
    ground on have many fallen leaves
    There are many fallen leaves on the ground.

b. Di-xia you hendiou luoye.
    ground below have many fallen leaves
    There are many fallen leaves on the ground.

In (19)a. and (19)b., the expressions di-shang ‘ground-on’ and di-xia ‘ground-below’ can both interpreted as ‘on the ground’. It is interesting to notice that shang and xia in the case are no longer antonyms and they actually describe the same situation. Why? The answer comes from the change of the trajector and the landmark in trajector/landmark configuration.

When di-shang is used, di ‘earth/ground’ is taken as the landmark, and anything above or on the landmark can be taken as the trajector, as illustrated in Fig. 1.3 and Fig. 1.5. Since the trajector is on the surface of the landmark in Fig. 1.5, di-shang here means ‘on the ground’. But, when di-xia is used there are two possibilities. The first is to take di as the landmark and anything below or beneath the landmark as the trajector, thus having di-xia indicate ‘under-ground, beneath the ground’ as illustrated in Fig. 1.6. This type of di-xia is not relevant to the present question. The relevant one takes di as the trajector (rather than the landmark) while taking tian ‘heaven/sky’ as an implicit landmark. In this situation, the trajector is below the landmark, as illustrated in Fig. 1.1, thus di-xia is used to indicate ‘the ground below’. When used to express the concept of ‘below’, di-xia indicates different meanings in different situations:

(20) a. Di-xia you yanjiang.
    ground-below have magma
    There is magma under the ground.

b. Di-xia you huangjin.
    ground-below have gold
    There is gold on/under the ground.

c. Di-xia you huichen.
    ground-below have dust
    There is dust on the ground.

Di-xia in (20) a. can only mean ‘under the ground’ because yanjiang ‘magma’ is usually found under the ground. Di-xia in (20) b. is ambiguous and it could be either ‘under the ground’ or ‘on the ground’, because huangjin ‘gold’ can be found in both situations. As for di-xia in (20) c., as well as that in (19) b., it only has the meaning of ‘on the ground’. No one would expect that huichen ‘dust’ and luoye ‘fallen leaves’ could be under the ground. Therefore, things on ‘the ground below’ can only be ‘on the surface of the ground’, thus di-xia can also mean ‘on the ground’.

The change of trajector and landmark in the temporal domain is shown by the following expressions:

(21) a. shang shang xingqi
    up up week
    week before last

b. xia xia xingqi
    down down week
    week after next

As indicated in Fig. 2.17 and Fig. 2.18, expressions shang xingqi ‘last week’ and xia xingqi ‘next week’ both take the same period of time zhe xingqi ‘this week’ as the landmark. As shown in (21) a. and (21) b. when another shang is added to shang xingqi and another xia is added to xia xingqi, ‘this week’ is no longer the landmark. The previous trajectors shang xingqi and xia xingqi are taken as the landmarks within the relational profile to locate the present trajectors shang shang xingqi and xia xia xingqi. These situations are pictured in Fig. 3.5 and Fig. 3.6:
This is the same case with *shang yue* 'last month' and *xia yue* 'next month'. So, *shang shang yue* means 'month before last' and, *xia xia yue* means 'month after next'.

3.3 *Shang* and *Xia* as Trajectories to the Same Landmark.

When *shang* and *xia* are used together as *shangxia* 'above - below', their meanings can be characterized by the relations of two trajectories functioning to the same landmark. The most common and salient examples are found in the spatial domain as follows: 4

(22) *Zhè zhòng chuānglián shangxia* this kind curtain upper and lower
dōu you huābiān all have lace
This kind of curtain has laces both at *the upper and lower parts.*

(23) *Zhè häng da xīetízi, shangxia* this line type italics above and below
ege kòng yí häng.
each blank one line
Type this line in italics and leave a blank line *above and below.*

(24) *Ta shangxia daliang zhe s/he up and down look DUR nage moshengren.*
that stranger
S/he looked the stranger *up and down.*

The *shangxia* in (22) indicates both the upper and the lower parts of a thing and it is schematically pictured in Fig. 3.9. The *shangxia* in (23) indicates that the trajectories are immediately above and below the landmark, so Fig. 3.10 gives a picture of this relationship. The relationship of the trajectories being *shangxia* as 'up and down' is found in (24) and represented by Fig. 3.11.
In addition, there is an interesting variant of the schematic representation of shangxia in Fig. 3.10, giving a reasonable extension of the meaning as 'more or less, thereabouts':

(25) Tade nianling zai sishi shuí shangxia.
    his age at forty year thereabouts
    He is forty or so.

(26) Chanliang zai yiqian bang
    yield at a thousand pound
    shangxia.
    more or less.
    The yield is about a thousand pounds.

4. CONCLUSION

The pictographs of shang and xia in Mandarin Chinese characters are and (cf. Hu et al. 1981: 172), which coincide with the positions and relations of the trajector and the landmark in the analysis of shang and xia within the framework of Cognitive Grammar. The similarity of these characters to the schematic diagrams above used to represent the trajector/landmark relationship in shang/xia suggests that image schemas of this sort may be important to our understanding of such notions.
NOTES

1. Shang and xia do not always function like a pair of antonyms. They sometimes function as synonyms. For instance, shang guanzi and xia guanzi both mean ‘go and eat in a restaurant’; xie - shang mingzi and xie - xia mingzi both mean ‘write down the name’; di - shang and di - xia both mean ‘on the ground’. Also, shang and xia are not always used in pairs like shang ban ‘go to work’ and xia ban ‘come off work’; zhuo - shang ‘on/above the table’ and zhuo - xia ‘under/below the table’. Sometimes, when shang is used in an expression, xia cannot be used as its pair, and vice versa. For example, shang biao means ‘wind the watch’ but xia biao is nonsense, and xia dan means ‘lay eggs’ but shang dan is nonsense; people can only guan - shang men ‘close the door’ but can not guan - xia men; ma - shang is ‘immediately’ but ma - xia is ‘under the horse’, etc. The idiomatic uses of shang and xia deserve to be investigated in another paper.

2. Treating shang and xia differently results in different ways to analyse them. For instance, in Cognitive Grammar, if we take shang and xia as nouns, they can be analysed by the notion of ‘nominal predication’; if we regard shang and xia as prepositions, then the notion of ‘relational predication’ is used to analyse them. Since “the distinction between a nominal and relational predication does not necessarily imply any difference in the inventory or the organization of constituent events, but only in their relative prominence” (Langacker 1987: 215) the analyses of shang and xia by ‘nominal predication’ and by ‘relational predication’ may both be correct in different constructions. Shang and xia are treated as prepositions here, but a nominal analysis may prove correct for some or all uses. The main concerns of the paper are independent of this difference.

3. The investigation of shang and xia as verbs and directional particles will be presented in other papers within the framework of Cognitive Grammar.

4. Shangxia is not used in temporal domain, but it can be used in the mental domain to represent the relations between the trajector and the landmark:

   (1) Tamen bu fen shangxia.
       they not distinct superiority and inferiority
       There is no superiority and inferiority between them.

   (2) Quanjia shangxia duo heng gaoxing.
       whole family old and young all very happy
       The whole family, old and young, are very happy.

   The metaphorical mapping of vertical scale onto the mental domain is indicated by the use of shang and xia: shang is mapped onto ‘superiority’ and xia ‘inferiority’ when concerned with degrees in ability and quality; shang is mapped onto ‘old generation’ and xia ‘younger generation’ when talking about status in family and society. The following are more examples of this case:

   (3) Zhiliang bu xiang shangxia.
       quality not each other superior and inferior
       The qualities are equally good.

   (4) Quanguo shangxia yi-tiao xin.
       whole nation, high and low, one - CL heart
       The whole nation is of one mind.
REFERENCES


