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A contrastive approach to temporal deixis in English, German and French

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Abstract. The aim of this corpus-based study is to compare temporal deixis in English, French and German. The contrastive analysis of now, nun, jetzt, à présent, maintenant shows that reference to the time of utterance is governed by a distinction that may be drawn between strong deixis and weak deixis in French and German; some deictic markers separate an occurrence from other occurrences by locating it in aspecto-temporal terms, while others specify the occurrence by locating it relative to the interior of the notional domain – i.e. to a prototype. The occurrence is evaluated as normal or expected by a subjective origin – the enunciator or the coenunciator. In this respect French differs from both German and English because only the enunciator may function as deictic centre in French.*

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1. Introduction. The aim of this paper is to outline the functioning of temporal deixis in three languages, by examining the use of five temporal deictic markers: now in English, nun and jetzt in German, and their French equivalents – à présent and maintenant. In the literature on pronouns and demonstratives a distinction is sometimes drawn between strong deixis and weak deixis. In this paper I shall attempt to show that this distinction may be extended to temporal deixis and thus account for the difference on the one hand between à présent and maintenant in French, and on the other, nun and jetzt in German.

2. Temporal deixis : weak vs. strong deixis.

2.1. Maintenant / à présent vs. now. Maintenant and à présent are equally common as translations of now. Maintenant is formed from a present participle - etymologically holding the hand (main tenant). Maintenant can either locate an event temporally relative to the time of utterance or mark a transition between two events. A présent has only the latter function:

(1) Il [Peter Ustinov] fait sa première apparition sur scène à l'âge de 19 ans à Londres. Il remporte ensuite deux Oscars... Il a prêté sa voix à Babar l'éléphant. Et en 1990, la reine Elizabeth l'a fait chevalier... Ses projets les plus récents l'ont conduit en Allemagne, où il écrit des scénarii illustrant des œuvres musicales. Le dernier pour Tableaux d'une exposition de Moussorgski.

Mais le gros de son travail se fait **à présent** en coulisses. Ambassadeur pour l'UNICEF depuis 1968, Peter Ustinov préside **maintenant** une fondation qui se consacre à la compréhension entre les peuples et les générations. (Yahoo! Actualités, People, Bursins, Suisse (AP) Naomi Koppel, 15-04-2001)

'Peter Ustinov first appeared on the stage in London at the age of 19. He then won two Oscars... He spoke the part of Babar the elephant. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1990... His most recent projects have led him to Germany where he has been writing scenarios for musical works, the latest of which is Pictures at an Exhibition by Mussorgsky.

But most of his work is **now** behind the scenes. Peter Ustinov has been ambassador to UNICEF since 1968 and is **now** in charge of a foundation for better understanding between peoples and generations.'

This example constitutes a chronological account of Peter Ustinov's career prior to his eightieth birthday. Both à présent and adversative mais serve to signal a change in Ustinov's occupation at the time of utterance. His previous activities on the stage which are related in the chronology are contrasted with his current role behind the scenes. The enunciator is able to assign the current property 'now work behind the scenes' to the subject because he has access to the prior validation of the alternative value of this notion, namely 'work on the stage'. A présent thus marks discontinuity regarding the property assigned to Ustinov. This function is essentially aspectual. By contrast, maintenant anchors the property assigned to the subject to the time of utterance. Maintenant, unlike à présent, provides a temporal locator. A présent could be substituted for maintenant and vice versa in 1. However, the utterance would have a different meaning. In the case of 'Ambassadeur pour l'UNICEF depuis 1968, Peter Ustinov préside à présent une fondation qui...', à présent would mark discontinuity and imply that Ustinov is no longer ambassador to UNICEF. In the original example, maintenant simply locates the property temporally without necessarily indicating cessation of the previous activity. With maintenant, Ustinov may still be ambassador to UNICEF: Ustinov has been ambassador to UNICEF since 1968 and in addition he is now in charge of a foundation. Negated à présent does not mean 'not now'. It marks discontinuity:

(2) She could tell nobody, **not even Septimus now**, and looking back, she saw him sitting in his shabby overcoat alone, on the seat, hunched up, staring. And it was cowardly for a

man to say he would kill himself, but Septimus had fought; he was brave; **he was not Septimus now**. (V. Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 22)

‘Elle ne pouvait se confier à personne, **pas même à Septimus à présent**. Elle se retourna et l’aperçut, avec son pardessus râpé, assis tout seul sur le banc, le dos rond, le regard fixe. C’était lâche pour un homme de dire qu’il se tuerait, mais Septimus avait fait la guerre, il était brave ; **ce n’était plus Septimus à présent**.’ (Mrs Dalloway, 35)

‘Sie konnte es niemand sagen, **nicht einmal mehr** Septimus, und zurückblickend sah sie ihn in seinem abgetragenen Überzieher auf der Bank sitzen, allein, die Schultern hochgezogen, und vor sich hin starren. Und es war feig von einem Mann, zu sagen, er werde sich umbringen, aber Septimus hatte gekämpft; er war tapfer; **jetzt** war er **nicht** Septimus.’ (Mrs Dalloway, 31-32)

In this extract, a property is assigned to the grammatical subjects – she and Septimus. The negative form implies that there used to be a time when she could tell Septimus and that Septimus is no longer himself because the war has changed him. Now and à présent serve to indicate a discontinued property here and have an aspectual function rather than a temporal one. A présent is usually preferred to maintenant in utterances whose purpose is to characterise the subject, whereas maintenant anchors a specific event to a situational context. This difference is exemplified in 3, which may be contrasted with 4 and 5:

(3) Depuis huit mois que j’étais parti, ils [mes parents] **avaient beaucoup changé** d’allure et de maintien... Dans ses pantalons, à l’endroit des genoux, mon père, il flottait, ils lui retombaient en gros plis comme un éléphant tout autour... Ses yeux étaient presque sans couleur **à présent**, ils étaient même plus du tout bleus, mais gris, tout pâlis, comme le reste de sa figure. (L.F. Céline, Mort à Crédit, 284)

‘In the eight months I’d been away they [my parents] **had changed a good deal**... My father’s pants bagged at the knees, they fell down in big folds on all sides like an elephant... His eyes were almost colorless **now**, they weren’t even blue at all, but gray, all pale like the rest of his face...’ (Death on Credit, 271)

In 3, à présent is used to contrast the previous colour of the father’s eyes with their present colour implying then a change of state. A présent refers to the transition between two states. If simple temporal location prevails, à présent is not possible as is illustrated in 4 and 5:

(4) By artificial light the green shone, but lost its colour **now in the sun**. (V. Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 35)

‘A la lumière artificielle, le vert brillait; il perdait sa couleur **maintenant au soleil**.’ (Mrs Dalloway, 51)

‘Bei künstlichem Licht leuchtete das Grün, aber **jetzt**, in der Sonne, verlor es seine Farbe.’ (Mrs Dalloway, 50)

(5) Both seemed queer, Maisie Johnson thought. Everything seemed very queer. In London for the first time, come to take up a post at her uncle’s in Leadenhall Street, and **now walking through Regent’s Park in the morning**, this couple on the chairs gave her quite a turn. (V. Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 25)

‘Tous deux avaient l’air drôle, pensa Maisie Johnson. Tout semblait si drôle. C’était la première fois qu’elle était à Londres ; elle était venue prendre un emploi chez son oncle dans Leadenhall Street et **maintenant en traversant Regent’s Street dans la matinée**, ce couple sur ces chaises venait de lui faire une peur !’ (Mrs Dalloway, 39)

Now in the sun and now walking through Regent’s Park in the morning function as spatio-temporal locators that situate an event in an autonomous way. A présent can never cooccur with a spatial locator because its function is aspectual. If the predicate refers to a property assigned to the subject, à présent marks a transition from the exterior to the interior of the notional domain. Whenever à présent occurs in specific utterances, it marks uncompleted aspect as in 6 and in 7:

- (6) A steward who had followed her up the aisle stops at the seat where the dark-suited man has settled and is **now** tranquilly scanning the front page of his newspaper. The steward inquires if he is all right, **now**, sir? (M. Spark, *The Driver's Seat*, p. 30)
 'Un steward, qui la suit dans l'allée, s'arrête à la hauteur du fauteuil où l'homme au complet sombre s'est installé et parcourt **à présent** paisiblement la première page de son journal. Le steward lui demande si tout va bien **maintenant**.' (*La place du conducteur*, 42)
- (7) Two television screens, one vast and one small, display the same programme, a wild-life documentary film which is **now** coming to an end. (M. Spark, *The Driver's Seat*, 63)
 'Deux écrans de télévision, un très grand et un petit, diffusent le même programme, un documentaire sur la vie des animaux sauvages, qui **à présent** touche à sa fin.' (*La place du conducteur*, 88)

A présent relates the process to a subjective reference point. The event is viewed from the inside by the enunciator who considers it as uncompleted at the time of utterance. The position to be adopted here is that à présent is a marker of weak deixis. This concept, which was introduced by Danon-Boileau (1990) and applied to pronouns and demonstratives, implies that the difference between weak deixis and strong deixis lies in the discriminating function of the type denoted by the noun. In the case of strong deixis (Give me this vase.), it is the situation itself which provides a discriminating property and separates the referent from all other tokens of the same type. In the case of weak deixis (Give me the vase.), it is the type which plays this role, independently of the situation of utterance. The referent is discriminated by virtue of the fact that it corresponds to a preconstructed type. Weak deixis shares this feature with anaphora.

I subscribe to Danon-Boileau's distinction between weak and strong deixis and I shall extend it to temporal deixis. In the case of à présent, it is the organising centre of the notional domain denoted by the predicate that provides a discriminating property, and not any time point. This domain is structured by the enunciator and divided into two parts: an interior and an exterior. At the time of utterance the enunciator locates himself relative to the interior of the domain. In the case of maintenant, the time of utterance precludes any other time point and provides a discriminating property. Maintenant is a temporal locator and marks strong deixis.

The choice of either one of these two procedures will depend on the prevailing type of discourse. A présent is selected when the reception time of an utterance is disconnected from that of its production. A présent rather than maintenant would be used in a recorded guided tour to be heard on earphones ('On entre **à présent** dans les cuisines du château' / 'You have **now** entered the kitchens of the castle') or in didactic writing as in 8:

- (8) **Le lecteur** connaît **à présent** toutes les pièces, leur marche et leurs caractéristiques. (F. van Seters, *Les échecs*)

'**You now** know all the pieces and their moving and their characteristics.'

The use of the definite article le and of à présent indicates that the weak deixis procedure is selected in French, whereas the deictic pronoun you and the deictic adverb now are both associated with strong deixis in English. In the French, le lecteur ('the reader') is to be interpreted as any reader of this text. The text thus posits a situational context that allows all tokens of the notional domain 'lecteur / reader' to be identified relative to the 'here and now' of the reader as he 'decodes' the utterance. But no specific token can be singled out through the use of the definite article. The notion 'lecteur / reader' is preconstructed and independent of the situation of utterance. Since the construction of reference does not depend on a discriminating property derived from the situation of utterance, this kind of utterance does not set up an intersubjective relation. The addressee being absent from the context of utterance, s/he does not function as the reference point in French.

In English, reference to the addressee does not mobilise the notional domain of potential readers. The addressee is denoted by the deictic pronoun you without mediation: s/he is immediately posited as the subjective reference point and now signals that the deictic centre is shifted to the situation of reading.

The procedure of weak deixis used in French shares a common feature with anaphora, in that the discriminating property draws on a preconstructed notional domain. However tenuous the difference might seem, weak deixis cannot be equated with anaphora. Let us illustrate this difference with example 9. This utterance is the opening sentence of a children's story:

(9) Although Hengist was **now** eighteen years old, he still showed no desire to follow in his father's trade of basket-weaving. (R. Dahl, The Princess and the Poacher, 14)

'Hengist avait **alors** dix-huit ans mais il ne manifestait toujours aucun désir de suivre les traces de son père dans le métier de vannier.' (La Princesse et le braconnier, 15)

In 8, à présent introduces new information to the reader in a didactic process. Alors (literally then / at that time), does not have this function in 9. The anaphoric item alors cannot be accounted for in terms of back-reference since this utterance is the first in the tale. Alors clearly distinguishes the time of the event from the situation of utterance both temporally and subjectively. Alors sets up a shifted situation disconnected from the situation of utterance and may be taken to refer to the current reference time. The situational context is here a preconstruct to which only the enunciator has access. In the French, the reference point is the enunciator, whereas in the English text, deixis obtains: the fictional event provides a fictitious situation, to which the addressee has immediate access and for which the coenunciator is the reference point.

Deictic procedures are much more constrained in French narrative than in English narrative. In French, deixis often coexists with anaphora, whereas in English deixis operates in a more systematic and homogeneous way:

(10) And Lise answers in a voice different from the voice in which she **yesterday** spoke to the shop assistant when buying her lurid outfit, and has used on the telephone, and in which early **this morning** she spoke to the woman at the porter's desk; she **now** speaks in a little-girl tone which presumably is taken by those within hearing to be her normal voice even if a nasty one. (M. Spark, The Driver's Seat, 19)

'Pour lui répondre Lise prend une autre voix que celle qu'elle avait **la veille** [literally 'the day before'] avec la vendeuse en achetant son accoutrement coloré, une autre voix que celle qu'elle a employée au téléphone, et **ce matin** quand elle a parlé à la concierge; elle parle **à présent** avec des intonations de petite fille, et, selon toute vraisemblance, ceux qui l'entendent estiment que c'est sa voix normale, même si elle sonne désagréablement à l'oreille.' (La place du conducteur, 27)

(11) She will be found **tomorrow morning** dead from multiple stab-wounds, her wrists bound with a silk scarf and her ankles bound with a man's necktie, in the grounds of an empty villa, in a park of the foreign city to which she is travelling on the flight **now** boarding at Gate 14. (M. Spark, The Driver's Seat, 25)

'On la retrouvera **le lendemain** [literally 'the day after'] morte de multiples coups de couteau, les poignets attachés par un foulard en soie et les chevilles ligotées avec une cravate d'homme, dans le jardin d'un pavillon désert, au milieu d'un parc de la ville étrangère où elle est arrivée par le vol dont l'embarquement a lieu **à présent** à la porte 14.' (La place du conducteur, 35)

In English, deictics build up a fictitious situation. Fiction allows both subjective and temporal disconnection from the situation of utterance, here the narrating situation. Deixis indicates that the reference point is within the fictitious situation. This global disconnection – i.e. both temporal and subjective – is much harder to achieve in French, where the point of view of the narrator-enunciator cannot be totally erased. In French, locating operations waver between

the fictitious situation and the narrating situation, respectively denoted by anaphoric items and strong deictic items. This ambiguity is particularly obvious in 11 with the future tense. The French future tense marks temporal projection into the future just as the modal will in English. But such projection does not originate from the same subjective origin. In English, projection is indexed to the fictitious origin within the text. It is not affected by the point of view of the narrator. In French, projection is indexed to the narrator-enunciator who qualifies the event as already completed at the time of narrating. 'Indeed she was found dead the day after.' This modal value stems from the retrospective point of view of the narrator. The extensive use of anaphoric items (le lendemain, la veille) and of weak deictics (à présent) rather than that of strong deictics allows two modes of locating to coexist. In French, maintenant in place of à présent would refer to the time of narrating and not to the shifted situation. This is symptomatic of the tendency of strong deictics to locate narration relative to the narrator's point of view. In English, deixis signals that the reference point is within a fictitious situation endowed with an internal subjective origin whose point of view prevails.

2.2. Jetzt vs. nun. Let us now turn to the system of temporal deixis in German. It is tempting to draw a parallel between à présent and nun on the one hand, and maintenant and jetzt on the other, jetzt being a marker of strong deixis, and nun a marker of weak deixis. But this does not allow us to tackle the underlying differences between the French and the German systems, namely that in French the distinction between à présent and maintenant is essentially aspectual whereas in German, nun and jetzt bear no relation to aspect, aspectual specification requiring the addition of separate particles. Furthermore, a difference is made in German as to whether the event is contingent or in conformity with the enunciator's expectations. Jetzt provides a temporal locator that anchors the event to the time of utterance, and is felt to contrast with any other time point. Jetzt can be the answer to a wann-question; it can also be negated as in 12:

(12) „Wann denn, wenn **nicht jetzt**, und wer denn, wenn nicht wir?“ (Spiegel 10/1994, S26)

'When then, if not right now, and who then, if not we?'

Jetzt is defined in these terms in Duden (11, 365): 'sofort, ohne Vorbereitung, ohne Ankündigung'. Jetzt marks temporal disconnection and implies a new turn of events that could not normally have been expected:

(13) „**Jetzt** wächst zusammen, was zusammengehört“. (W. Brandt 1989 - Duden 12, 267)
'What belongs together will **now** grow together.'

(14) Alles, was zu duften hatte, duftete **jetzt** neu und anders und herrlicher als je zuvor. (P. Süskind, das Parfum, 116)

'Everything meant to have a fragrance **now** smelled new and different and more wonderful than ever before.' (Perfume, 94)

The fall of the Berlin wall in 13 is not part of a planned process leading to a logical conclusion. Likewise in 14, the new perfume is unexpected. Jetzt marks strong deixis by disconnecting the event from any other. In this respect jetzt stands in contrast to nun. This contrast is made clear in 15 and 16:

(15) a. Das Schicksal der kurdischen Familie Nas, die seit vier Jahren dort lebt und **jetzt** abgeschoben werden soll, hat im Dorf Neid und Streit vergessen lassen. (Spiegel, 10/1994, S 34)

'The fate of the kurd family Nas, who have been living there for four years and who will **now** be expelled, made everyone in the village forget their jealousy and quarrels.'

In 15a, jetzt indicates that the decision to expel the family breaks a relation of entailment: one would normally expect the family to stay because they have been there for a long time. By

contrast, in 15b, nun introduces a relation of entailment which is in conformity with the enunciator's expectations:

(15) b. Die Familie Nas lebt dort seit vier Jahren und will **nun** eine unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis beantragen.

'The Nas Family have been living there for four years and will **now** apply for an unlimited residence permit.'

Nun draws on a typical property existing outside the 'here and now' of the enunciator. This property can be made explicit. It corresponds to the fact that immigrants in a western country are usually granted a residence permit after a long stay. The typical property provides the basis for the anchoring of the event to the time of utterance. In this respect, nun is a typical marker of weak deixis. Nun is frequently associated with da, denn, weil, that is with items that explicitly express causality, as in 16:

(16) Denn **nun, da** man gelernt hatte, den Geist der Blumen und Kräuter, der Hölzer, Harze und der tierischen Sekrete in Tinkturen festzubannen und Fläschchen abzufüllen, entglitt die Kunst des Parfümiers nach und nach den wenigen universalen handwerklichen Könnern und stand Quacksalbern offen... (P. Süskind, das Parfum, 72)

'For **now that** people knew how to bind the essence of flowers and herbs, woods, resins and animal secretions within tinctures and fill them into bottles, the art of perfumery was slipping bit by bit from the hands of the masters of the craft and becoming accessible to mountebanks... ' (Perfume, 57)

Nun convokes a typical property which is accessible to anyone, including the coenunciator. The reason given in the causal clause in 16 is not problematic. There is consensus on the link between the reason denoted by the causal clause and its expected consequence expressed by nun. The use of nun is automatic when reference is totally structured by the discourse context. I shall take an example from the beginning of a folk tale :

(17) Es hatte ein Mann einen Esel, der schon lange Jahre die Säcke unverdrossen zur Mühle getragen hatte, dessen Kräfte aber **nun** zu Ende gingen, sodaß er zur Arbeit immer untauglicher ward. So dachte der Herr daran ihn aus dem Futter zu schaffen. Aber der Esel merkte, daß kein guter Wind wehte, lief fort und machte sich auf den Weg nach Bremen. Dort meinte er, könnte er ja Stadtmusikant werden.

Als er ein Weilchen fortgegangen war, fand er einen Jagdhund auf dem Wege liegen. Der japte wie einer, der sich müde gelaufen hatte. „**Nun?** Was japst du so?“, fragte der Esel? „Ach“, sagte der Hund, „weil ich alt bin und jeden Tag schwächer werde, auch auf der Jagd nicht mehr fort kann, hat mich mein Herr totschlagen wollen. Da habe ich Reißaus genommen. Aber womit soll ich **nun** mein Brot verdienen?“ „Weißt du was?“ sprach der Esel, „ich gehe nach Bremen und werde dort Stadtmusikant, geh mit und laß dich auch bei der Musik annehmen. Ich spiele die Laute und du schlägst die Pauken.“ Der Hund war zufrieden und sie gingen weiter.

Es dauerte nicht lange, da saß eine Katze an dem Wege und machte ein Gesicht wie drei Tage Regenwetter. „**Nun**, was ist dir in die Quere gekommen, alter Bartputzer?“ sprach der Esel. „Wer kann da lustig sein, wenn es einem an den Kragen geht?“ antwortete die Katze. „Weil ich **nun** zu Jahren komme, meine Zähne stumpf werden, und ich lieber hinter dem Ofen sitze und spinne als nach Mäusen herumjage, hat mich meine Frau ersäufen wollen. Ich habe mich zwar noch fortgemacht, aber **nun** ist guter Rat teuer. Wo soll ich nur hin?“ „Geh mit uns nach Bremen, du verstehst dich doch auf die Nachtmusik, da kannst du ein Stadtmusikant werden.“ Die Katze hielt das für gut und ging mit. (Brüder Grimm, die Bremerstadtmusikanten)

'An honest farmer had once an ass that had been a faithful servant to him a great many years, but was **now** growing old and every day more and more unfit for work. His master therefore was tired of keeping him and began to think of putting an end to him; but the ass,

who saw that some mischief was in the wind, took himself slyly off, and began his journey towards the great city, 'For there,' thought he, 'I may turn musician.' After he had travelled a little way, he spied a dog lying by the roadside and panting as if he were tired. 'Ø What makes you pant so, my friend?' said the ass. 'Alas!' said the dog, 'my master was going to knock me on the head, because I am old and weak, and can no longer make myself useful to him in hunting; so I ran away; but what can I do Ø to earn my livelihood?' 'Hark ye!' said the ass, 'I am going to the great city to turn musician: suppose you go with me, and try what you can do in the same way?' The dog said he was willing, and they jogged on together. They had not gone far before they saw a cat sitting in the middle of the road and making a most rueful face. '**Pray**, my good lady,' said the ass, 'what's the matter with you? You look quite out of spirits!' 'Ah, me!' said the cat, 'how can one be in good spirits when one's life is in danger? Because I am beginning to grow old Ø, and had rather lie at my ease by the fire than run about the house after the mice, my mistress laid hold of me, and was going to drown me; and though I have been lucky enough to get away from her, Ø I do not know what I am to live upon.' 'Oh,' said the ass, 'by all means go with us to the great city; you are a good night singer, and may make your fortune as a musician.' The cat was pleased with the thought, and joined the party.' (The Travelling Musicians)

The tale does not presuppose any knowledge of the context on the part of the addressee. Therefore, it is incumbent on the enunciator to build up the whole fictional situation and to make each stage explicit to the addressee. Each event is dependent on the preceding one. The ass's strength is now receding because he is getting old and because he has been working for years. Similarly, womit soll ich nun mein Brot verdienen implies that the dog does not know what he will live on, now that he has fled.

Weak deixis aims at constructing new events by constantly relating them to common ground. As the plot is carried forward, each new event can thus be accounted for. Weak deixis is based on a consensus that is regularly updated by the enunciator. There is no such need in English with now once a common situation has been established.

To recapitulate, the system of temporal deixis in German distinguishes between contingent events and events which are in conformity with the enunciator and the addressee's expectations. At this point weak deixis merges with modality. The most salient characteristic of German deictics is that they never denote aspect. Discontinuity is expressed by separate items, such as noch and nicht mehr.

(18) 'Herbert has it now', she said. 'I **never** go there **now**'. (V. Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 39)
 „Es gehört jetzt Herbert“ sagte sie. „Ich bin **jetzt nie mehr** dort“, sagte sie. (Mrs Dalloway, 55)

It is not necessary in English to add a specific marker of discontinuity such as no longer in 18. In German, Ich gehe jetzt nie dorthin or Ich bin jetzt nie dort would not be adequate translations. Mehr has to be added. In such cases, it may also arise that deixis is not translated at all into German, as in 2. Nicht einmal mehr indicates that she can no longer tell Septimus, but it does not mark temporal deixis. On the other hand, jetzt war er nicht Septimus indicates that Septimus is not himself at the time of utterance but that this behaviour may be temporary. The temporal locator is here within the scope of the negation.

Jetzt having a disconnecting function, a marker of continuity is required to bridge the gap between a past situation and a situation in which recollection takes place:

(19) What a lark! What a plunge! For so it had always seemed to her when, with a little squeak of the hinges, which she could hear **now**, she had burst open the French windows and plunged at Bourton into the open air. (V. Woolf, Mrs Dalloway, 5)

'Was für ein Spaß! Was für ein Kopfsprung! Denn so hatte sie es immer empfunden, wenn sie in Bourton die Glastür, deren leises Quietschen in den Angeln sie **jetzt noch** hören konnte, aufstieß und sich förmlich in die Luft hinausstürzte...' (Mrs Dalloway, 7)

Now builds up a new situation, here a situation of recollection, without severing it from the past situation. She could hear now is construed as she could hear again. Now is compatible with iteration. In German, noch is introduced to mark continuity between the two situations. Without noch, jetzt would disconnect the two situations, resulting in the occurrence of auditive perception being located specifically at the moment of perception as opposed to any other situation. The noise would be felt to be new and unexpected and would not be related to any recollection. Temporal anchoring marked by jetzt blocks any relation to another situation. Strong deixis in German discriminates a given event from any other event of the same type. Only an aspectual marker can reintroduce a relation between different situations in terms of continuity.

3. Non-temporal uses of now, maintenant, and nun. We can now turn to the non temporal uses of these deictic markers, for the deictic feature of these items is not limited to temporality. In the light of the analysis carried out so far, it should come as little surprise to find that maintenant, unlike nun and now, is enunciator-centred. This use only exists in spoken French. However, the reflexive function of maintenant is restricted to deictic contexts in which the enunciator is the subjective origin.

3.1. Maintenant: Maintenant eliminates intersubjectivity. Non temporal maintenant may be contrasted with or. Or (etymologically hac hora in Latin, at that time) was used in place of maintenant until the XVIth century. Its cognates are still used in Spanish and in Italian to refer to the moment of utterance. Unlike maintenant, or has lost both its temporal and its deictic function.

(20) Cette écriture conventionnelle a toujours été un lieu de prédilection pour la critique scolaire qui mesure le prix d'un texte à l'évidence du travail qu'il a coûté. **Or** rien n'est plus spectaculaire que d'essayer des combinaisons de compléments, comme un ouvrier qui met en place une pièce délicate... Entre un prolétariat exclu de toute culture et une intelligentsia qui a déjà commencé à mettre en question la Littérature elle-même, la clientèle moyenne des écoles primaires et secondaires, c'est-à-dire en gros la petite bourgeoisie, va **donc** trouver dans l'écriture artistico-réaliste... l'image privilégiée d'une Littérature qui a tous les signes éclatants et intelligibles de son identité. (R. Barthes, Le degré zéro de l'écriture, 50-51)

'This conventional mode of writing has always been a happy hunting ground for study in schools, where the value of a text is assessed by the obvious signs of the labour it has cost. **Now** nothing is more spectacular than attempting to combine predicates, as a workman adjusts some delicate mechanism... Between a proletariat excluded from all culture, and an intelligentsia which has already begun to question Literature itself, the average public produced by primary and secondary schools, namely lower-middle class, roughly speaking, will **therefore** find in the artistic-realistic mode of writing... the image par excellence of a Literature which has all the striking and intelligible signs of its identity.' (Writing Degree Zero, 69)

Or introduces a new premise, that is to say an alternative property, from which a logical conclusion can be derived (donc / therefore). Or involves neither a subjective reference point, nor temporal anchoring to the moment of utterance. In addition, or points towards a conclusion – to qualitative stabilisation – but cannot coincide with it. Maintenant and or differ strongly in this respect:

(21) L2 l'allemand c'est pas tout à fait du français

L1 et

L2 **maintenant** il me semble qu'au début et ben enfin bon... (CORPAIX)

'Speaker 2 : German is not exactly like French.

Speaker 1 : And...

Speaker 2 : **But** I think that in the beginning, well, it's OK.'

(22) Mon Dieu je savais tout, tout ça je savais tout. **Maintenant** vous savez la mémoire elle part hein. (CORPAIX)

'My God, I knew everything ; I knew all this. **But** you know, memory fades away.'

In 21 and 22, the first utterance, p, contains a stabilised utterance endowed with an orientation: p refers us to the interior of the notional domain. But the status of q is different : maintenant q and but q introduce a discriminating property. The property referred to in q is oriented towards the exterior of the domain. Q corresponds to an alternative property for which only the enunciator takes responsibility. Maintenant introduces a different orientation that contradicts the orientation of p. Indeed, maintenant has a rectifying reflexive function. Consequently, 21 and 22 may be glossed as 'Though German is not exactly like French, you do not really notice the difference in the beginning. Though I knew everything, I may not remember this'. Maintenant modifies the initial orientation and destroys the consensus expressed in p. Consequently, only the enunciator's viewpoint prevails in a conclusive statement and any other viewpoint is eliminated.

3.2. Now: constructs or reconstructs an intersubjective relation. Unlike maintenant, now does not have a reflexive function. This explains why now can occur without a prior context whereas maintenant cannot, as in 23 :

(23) In a few minutes a man came from the restroom and passed him, going to the car.

Say now, he said. You goin t'wards town ? (C. McCarthy, The Orchard Keeper, 9-10)

'Au bout de quelques minutes un type sortit des toilettes et passa devant lui. Il allait à la voiture.

Dites donc, [literally 'say so / then'] fit-il. Vous allez pas du côté de la ville ?' (Le gardien du verger, 14)

Halliday & Hasan (1976 : 268) distinguish between deictic now, which is stressed, and cohesive now, which is unstressed. Cohesive now is used in 'transactional situations': 'It means the opening of a new stage in the communication ; this may be a new incident in the story, a new point in the argument, a new role or attitude being taken on by the speaker, and so on.' I would suggest that the difference concerns temporal location rather than deixis. Now does not anchor the event say to the moment of utterance. Now is definitely not a temporal locator here. However, now sets up a new situation, as stressed by Halliday & Hasan. The new situation is allotted a discriminating property in the situation of utterance, for a situation of dialogue is constructed. Say now aims at establishing an intersubjective relation where one did not exist previously.

Now may also be used to change or improve an initial state of affairs, independently of locating it temporally. In such a case, the deictic reference point is necessarily the coenunciator in English, as is illustrated in 24 :

(24) Mick. I want a first-class experienced interior decorator. I thought you were one.

Davies. Me? **Now** wait a minute - wait a minute - you got the wrong man. (...)

Mick. I understood you were an experienced first-class professional interior and exterior decorator.

Davies. **Now** look here -

Mick. You mean you wouldn't know how to fit teal-blue, copper and parchment linoleum squares and have those colours re-echoed in the walls?

Davies. **Now**, look here, where'd you get -? (...)

Mick. You're a bloody impostor, mate!

Davies. **Now** you don't want to say that sort of thing to me. (H. Pinter, The Caretaker, 72)

'Mick: Ich suche einen erstklassigen, erfahrenen Tapezierer und Anstreicher. Ich dachte, Sie sind einer.

Davies: Ich? **Moment mal - Moment mal** - da haben Sie aber den Falschen erwischt...

Mick: Ich habe mit Ihnen nur davon gesprochen, weil Sie mir zu verstehen gegeben hatten, Sie wären ein erfahrener, erstklassiger, gelernter Tapezierer und Anstreicher für Innen und Außen.

Davies: Hören [lit : listen] Sie **mal** -

Mick: Wollen Sie mir etwa sagen, Sie wissen nicht, wie man krickentenblaue, kupfer-und pergamentfarbene Linoleumfliesen legt und die gleichen Farben an den Wänden widertönen läßt?

Davies: **Na** hören Sie **mal**, woher haben Sie denn - ?...

Mick: Du bist ja ein verfluchter Hochstapler, Kumpel!

Davies: **Also** sagen Sie nicht so was zu mir.' (Der Hausmeister)

In 24, now marks either Davies' disapproval of a statement made by Mick (you don't want to say that sort of thing to me), or his attempt to change a state of affairs where there is some misunderstanding. In each case, now signals that the enunciator aims at improving the previous state of affairs by creating a new domain for which the coenunciator is the reference point. It is worth stressing that now is followed by several imperatives whose function is to allow dialogue to start afresh. Both now and the imperative have a restorative function: deixis marks disconnection from an initial state of affairs that the enunciator had rejected. The enunciator explicitly calls upon the coenunciator to invalidate it and improve on it.

3.3. Nun: Nun assumes consensus with the addressee. Nun cannot be used unless there is a typical property accessible to the coenunciator. Therefore, nun cannot be an adequate translation of now in 24. As nun does not construct an intersubjective relation, the enunciator simply assumes that there is a consensus with the coenunciator. Non temporal nun remains a deictic marker as this consensus is reactivated at each new reference point :

(25) „Was ist ?“ fragte er. „Hast du mir noch etwas zu bestellen ? **Nun** ? Sag es nur !“ (P. Süskind, das Parfum, 92)

‘What is it ?’ he asked. ‘Is there something else I can do for you ? **Well** ? Speak up !’ (Perfume, 74)

That the speaker should speak up is normal and expected if he has something else to order. His silence makes this typical property questionable. Likewise in 17, ‘**Nun**? Was japst du so ?’ and ‘**Nun**, was ist dir in die Quere gekommen, alter Bartputzer?’ are two interrogative sentences in which the logical justification for such behaviour is questioned. At the same time, nun plays a role in the structuring of the narrative : each new encounter is introduced by nun. The tale unfolds following its own internal logic which is progressively revealed to the coenunciator.

Intersubjective consensus is systematically updated and nun may introduce the basis for any adversative or concessive utterance :

(26) Du bist wie einer, der beim Essen schmeckt, ob Kerbel oder Petersilie in der Suppe ist. **Nun gut** – das ist schon etwas. **Aber** deshalb bist du noch lange kein Koch. (P. Süskind, das Parfum, 97)

‘You’re one of those people, who know whether there is chervil or parsley in the soup at meal-time. **That’s fine**, there’s something to be said for that. **But** that doesn’t make a cook, not by a long shot.’ (Perfume, 78)

(27) Nachdem sich mein Leben aber nie durch sehr viel Freude ausgezeichnet hat, komme ich nach prüfendem Vergleich zum Schluß, daß es mir, seit ich krank bin, viel besser geht, als früher, bevor ich krank wurde. Das soll **nun noch** nicht heißen, daß ich meine Lage als besonders glücklichhaft bezeichnen wollte. (F. Zorn, Mars, 25)

‘But since my life has never been very happy, I feel, after thinking things over carefully, that I’m better off now than I was before. Ø I do not claim that my situation is a particularly happy one.’ (Mars, 4)

In 26, the property predicated in p enables the enunciator to posit a first step in his argumentation concerning which there is consensus (nun gut, das ist schon etwas). Aber introduces a breach of consensus: contrary to what the coenunciator may logically think, the property initially predicated is not sufficient to entail the predication of the property ‘ein Koch sein’. Example 27 may be analysed in the same way.

Nun systematically implies a typical property defined outside the ‘here and now’ and reintroduced at the time of utterance. The narrative presupposes common ground with the coenunciator.

4. Conclusion. The system of temporal deixis in French treats the enunciator as deictic centre. This is true for both temporal and non temporal uses of maintenant. In English and German, the coenunciator is included in the deictic centre. In English, s/he is called upon and constructed as a reference point. In German, deixis marks renewed consensus at the time of utterance and paves the way for any further development.

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