

## Deixis and anaphora

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This chapter describes the main types and usages of deictics and anaphors. The phenomenon of deixis involves the use of a word or phrase whose interpretation is determined through considerations of the physical properties in the situation of utterance, from the perspective of the speaker or the addressee who are engaged in the act of communication. When the need to make further structural distinctions is in order, a deictic consisting of one single word is referred to as a “deictic term,” while a larger deictic built around a deictic term is referred to as a “deictic expression.”

Anaphora as a phenomenon is defined as a co-referential relationship between an anaphor and its antecedent. Such a relation can be established either within a clause or beyond, resulting in unification or partial overlap in reference. For ease of exposition, an anaphor consisting of one single word is given the label “anaphoric term,” while a larger one built around an anaphoric term is labeled “anaphoric expression.”

Deixis and anaphora are studied together because, given the existence of a few dedicated deictics (such as 我 *wǒ3* ‘I,’ 你 *nǐ3* ‘you,’ and 现在 *xian4zai4* ‘now’) and prototypical anaphors (such as 他 *tā1* ‘he’), there also exists a closed set of common terms and expressions that can have both usages (such as 那里 *nǎ4lǐ3* ‘there’ and 那时 *nà4shí2* ‘then’). The distinctive properties of deixis and anaphora are as listed below.

- 1 Deictics and anaphors typically take the form of pronouns, nouns, and, to a lesser extent, verbs and adverbs. Some deictic expressions can take the form of fixed idiomatic constructions.
- 2 The very basic deictics and anaphors are pronouns, whose usages form a cluster of systematic variations that bear language-specific characteristics.
- 3 Both deictics and anaphors have under-specified content that needs to be fully instantiated in actual language use, with reference to syntactic and discourse information.
- 4 Different manners of instantiation lead to distinctions between deictic and anaphoric uses. The value of a deictic is specified with reference to some

non-linguistic information gathered from the situation of utterance. On the other hand, the value of an anaphor is determined through total or partial co-reference with an antecedent, which is identified in the linguistic context.

- 5 Some terms can be used either deictically or anaphorically, depending on the context.
- 6 Deictics and anaphora are closely related to determinative phrases, which are typically composed of the demonstratives 这 *zhe4* 'this' or 那 *na4* 'that,' followed by a head noun. Demonstratives can be used as either deictics or anaphors. Moreover, some inherently non-demonstrative words or expressions can acquire an occasional demonstrative use through ostensive or symbolic pointing. Such demonstrative uses are also deictic, albeit in a marginal way.

### 16.1. Overview of deixis

Deictics embody the indicating function of referential expressions, which constitutes a fundamental aspect of language use. The very basic usages of deixis are naturally associated with pointing gestures, at entities within the physically observable range, in the situation of utterance. The more sophisticated ones can be displaced, encoding symbolic rather than physical acts of indication, ranging from nodding toward a direction to giving a noticeable gaze, the use of stress, and analogical uses like pointing out a spot on a map.

Compared with anaphors, deictics are more basic: there are dedicated deictic terms, but no dedicated anaphoric terms. That is to say, there are terms that are exclusively deictic in the sense that no anaphoric use is available. These terms can be exemplified by first- and second-person pronouns. On the other hand, a prototypical anaphoric term such as the third-person singular pronoun can always receive a demonstrative use through emphatic mentioning or with an accompanying pointing gesture, thereby acquiring deictic properties.

Deictics can be classified in two ways, according to their lexical categories (pronouns, nouns, verbs, and adverbs) or according to their semantic types (person, place, time, manner, social, and discourse deictics). Representative examples of both types are given in Tables 16.1 and 16.2.

Social deictics encode information pertaining to differences in perceived status and degrees of intimacy. The nominal ones deviate from the more neutral address terms in being either deferential or pejorative, or either intimate or distanced. Such information is also encoded in deictic verbs reflecting social values. Discourse deictic terms refer to previously occurring segments of discourse.

A deictic expression can be built in one of three ways. First, it can be built around a noun head, which is a deictic term (see the underlined part in the examples), resulting in attributive-head deictic compounds: 大前天 *da4 qian2tian1* 'the day

Table 16.1 Types of deictic terms by lexical category

Type	Example
Pronoun	我 <i>wǒ3</i> 'I' first-person singular 你 <i>nǐ3</i> 'you' second-person singular 您 <i>nín2</i> 'you' second-person singular (polite use) 这 <i>zhè4</i> 'this' 那 <i>nà4</i> 'that'
Noun	左边 <i>zuǒ3bian1</i> 'left' 上级 <i>shàng4jí2</i> 'senior' 下级 <i>xià4jí2</i> 'junior' 人家 <i>rén2jiā1</i> 'other person' 现场 <i>xiàn4chǎng3</i> '(on) the scene' 现在 <i>xiàn4zài4</i> 'now'
Verb	来 <i>lái2</i> 'come' 去 <i>qù4</i> 'go' 出 <i>chū1</i> 'exit' 进 <i>jìn4</i> 'enter' 入 <i>rù4</i> 'enter' 回 <i>huí2</i> 'return' 返 <i>fǎn3</i> 'return' 送 <i>sòng4</i> 'see off'
Adverb	这么 <i>zhè4me0</i> 'so' 那么 <i>nà4me0</i> 'in that way'

before the day before yesterday' and 右后方 *yóu4 hòu4 fāng1* 'backward to the right.' Second, it can be built in the form of Det + N, where the Det is a demonstrative and the N is non-deictic: 这些天 *zhè4 xiē1 tiān1* 'these days,' 那东西 *nà4 dōng1 xi1* 'that stuff,' and 这地方 *zhè4 dì4 fāng1* 'this place.' Third, there are also conjoined compounds, consisting of one or both deictic terms: 如是再三 *rú2 shì4 zài3 sān1* 'like this repeatedly' (where 如是 *rú2 shì4* is a deictic) and 如此这般 *rú2 cǐ3 zhè4 bān1* 'like this; in such a way' (where both 如此 *rú2 cǐ3* and 这般 *zhè4 bān1* are deictic terms). These deictic terms often contain roots that are deictic terms themselves in Classic Chinese, such as 是 *shì4* 'this' and 此 *cǐ3* 'this.'

Deictics can be characterized with three basic and related notions: the "origo" is the deictic center from which a referent is perceived to be either "proximal" (i.e., physically near the origo) or "distal" (i.e., further away). What is proximal and distal can also be perceived as psychologically close or distant, respectively. These notions, together with notions such as the speaker and the hearer (i.e., the participant roles), are generally referred to in this chapter as "parameters of the utterance act."

Table 16.2 Types of deictic terms by meaning

Type	Example
Person	我 <i>wǒ3</i> 'I' first-person singular 你 <i>nǐ3</i> 'you' second-person singular 咱们 <i>zánmen0</i> 'we' first-person plural inclusive 大家 <i>dàjiā1</i> 'all'
Place	这儿 <i>zhèr0</i> 'here' 那儿 <i>nàr0</i> 'there'
Time	现在 <i>xiànzài4</i> 'now' 最近 <i>zuìjìn4</i> 'recently' 明天 <i>míngtiān1</i> 'tomorrow' 那时 <i>nàshí2</i> 'that time'
Manner	这么 <i>zhèmo0</i> 'so' 那么 <i>nàmo0</i> 'in that way' 这样 <i>zhèyàng4</i> 'such' 那样 <i>nàyàng4</i> 'like that'
Social	阁下 <i>gèxià4</i> 'your honor' 敝人 <i>bìrén2</i> 'the humble I' 府上 <i>fǔshàng4</i> 'your honored residence' 光临 <i>guānglín2</i> 'honored presence'
Discourse	这 <i>zhè4</i> 'this' 那 <i>nà4</i> 'that'

The proximal is demonstrated by 这 *zhè4* 'this' and the distal by 那 *nà4* 'that.' Both can either stand alone, as in [1], or be followed by a noun and optionally with a classifier, as in [2] and [3] (this was also discussed in Chapter 8, section 8.2). The proximal 此 *cǐ3* and the distal 彼 *bǐ3* form a pair and are used mainly in written genres and in idiomatic expressions, as in [4] through [6].

- [1] 这已是难以改变的事实。  
*zhè4 yǐ3 shì4 nán2yǐ3 gǎi3biàn4 de0 shì4shí2*  
 this already be difficult change DE fact  
 'This is an irreversible situation.'  
 (这 *zhè4*: single deictic)
- [2] 如果这细胞是一个细菌呢?  
*ru2guo3 zhè4 xi4bao1 shì4 yī1 ge4 xi4jun4 ne0*  
 if this cell be one CL germ NE  
 'What will happen if this cell is a bacterium?'  
 (这 *zhè4* 'this' deictic + 细胞 *xi4bao1* 'cell')

- [3] 她打开了那把有点变形的雨伞。  
 ta1 da3kai1 le0 na4 ba3 you3dian3 bian4xing2  
 she open LE that CL some be\_out\_of\_shape  
 de0 yu3san3  
 DE umbrella  
 ‘She opened that rather deformed umbrella.’  
 (那 na4 deictic + 把 ba3 CL + 有点 you3dian3 ‘a little’ 变形 bian4xing2  
 ‘deform’ 的 de0 + 雨伞 yu3san3 ‘umbrella’)
- [4] 许多国际会议在此举行。  
 xu3duo1 guo2ji4 hui4yi4 zai4 ci3 ju3xing2  
 many international conferences PREP here hold  
 ‘Many international conferences are held here.’
- [5] 两者的默契已到了此呼彼应的地步。  
 liang3 zhe3 de0 mo4qi4 yi3 dao4  
 two CL DE tacit\_understanding already reach  
 le0 ci3hu1bi3ying4 de0 di4bu4  
 LE mutually\_responsive DE stage  
 ‘The tacit understanding between the two sides has reached a mutually  
 responsive stage.’ (idiomatic usage)
- [6] 股市与债市呈现此消彼长的现象。  
 gu3shi4 yu3 zhai4shi4 cheng2xian4 ci3  
 stock\_market and bond\_market exhibit this  
 xiao1 bi3 zhang3 de0 xian4xiang4  
 decrease that increase DE phenomenon  
 ‘When the stock market booms, the bond market wanes.’  
 (idiomatic usage)
- [7] 艺术馆位置偏僻, 到此一游的人潮有限。  
 yi4shu4guan3 wei4zhi4 pian1pi4 dao4 ci3 yi1  
 The\_Arts\_Museum location rare come this one  
 you2 de0 ren2chao2 you3xian4  
 visit DE stream\_of\_people limited  
 ‘The Arts Museum is out of the way, and not many people will come here  
 to visit.’ (idiomatic expression)

Some common verbs can encode directional deictic features, such as 来 *lai2* ‘come’ and 去 *qu4* ‘go,’ which, in addition to their primary senses as verbs, have also been semantically bleached to convey a deictic sense of directionality or tendency, as shown in [8]–[10].

- [8] 客人从哪里来? 要去很远的地方吧?  
 ke4ren2 cong2 na3li3 lai2 yao4 qu4 hen3 yuan3  
 guest PREP where come will go very far  
 de0 di4fang1 ba0  
 DE place BA  
 'Where do (you) guest come from? Will you go to a place far away?'  
 (deictic verb)
- [9] 我不明白你们为什么到这里来。  
 wo3 bu4 ming2bai2 ni3men0 wei4shen2me0 dao4  
 I NEG understand you why come  
 zhe4li3 lai2  
 here come  
 'I don't understand why you have come here.' (verbal deictic)
- [10] 小女儿要跟她父亲上京城去。  
 xiao3nũ3er2 yao4 gen1 ta1 fu4qin1 shang4  
 the\_youngest\_daughter want PREP she father go  
 jing1cheng2 qu4  
 capital\_of\_country go  
 'The youngest daughter wanted to go to the capital with her father.'  
 (verbal deictic)

Deictics as a whole exhibit a gradient of utterance-dependent properties. Strong deictics, that is, dedicated deictics, encode parameters of the utterance act, while weaker deictics are merely occasionally used as demonstratives for emphatic purposes, like the demonstrative use of third-person pronouns with pointing gestures. Positional words such as 前 *qian2* 'front' and 后 *hou4* 'back' are not deictic if they are used to describe absolute directions related to a static object such as a house or a building, as in 房前屋后 *fang2qian2 wu1hou4* 'in the front and back of the house.' Here, the utterance act offers no variable perspectival choices. Yet 在你身后 *zai4 ni3 shen1hou4* 'behind you' has deictic meaning, as the positioning of the listener is usually understood to be changeable and cannot be fixed once and for all. Moreover, 在我左边 *zai4 wo3 zuo3bian1* 'on my left' is much more deictic because "left" and "right" are always decided by the exact direction the speaker is facing at the moment of speaking, which is person-oriented and ever-changeable.

### 16.1.1. Person deixis

Person deictics form a closed set, with first-person singular 我 *wo3* 'I' and plural 我们 *wo3men0* 'we' and second-person singular 你 *ni3* 'you' and plural 你们 *ni3men0* 'you' as the most basic. The third-person singular 他 *ta1* 'he' and plural 他们

*ta1men0* ‘they’ can sometimes be demonstratively used with an emphatic pointing gesture, giving them deictic properties.

The first-person inclusive plural 咱们 *zan2men0* ‘we’ is used to include both the speaker and the addressee, with or without the inclusion of other parties on the scene or in the speaker’s mind. On the other hand, 我们 *wo3men0* ‘we’ can be used either inclusively or exclusively, with the latter use excluding the addressee. The dedicatedly inclusive 咱们 *zan2men0* ‘we’ is mainly used in oral language.

Since the totality-denoting 大家 *da4jia1* ‘all the people’ shares the deictic features of 咱们 *zan2men0* ‘we,’ it can be used alone as a first-person inclusive plural, as shown in [11]. 大家 *da4jia1* ‘all the people’ can also appear after first-person plural pronouns as an appositive element, resulting in both an inclusive meaning and an emphasis on totality like that in [12]. It is occasionally used after the second-person plural 你们 *ni3men0* ‘you,’ as in [13], and characteristically does not appear after the third-person plurals 他们 *ta1men0* ‘they,’ 她们 *ta1men0* ‘they,’ or 它们 *ta1men0* ‘they’ as an appositive element.

- [11] 过去六年来, 大家的日子并不好过。  
 guo4qu4 liu4 nian2 lai2 da4jia1 de0 ri4zi0  
 past six CL come all\_the\_people DE day  
 bing4bu4 hao3guo4  
 not\_at\_all having\_an\_easy\_time  
 ‘Over the past six years, we have all had a hard time.’ (first-person inclusive plural deictic)
- [12] 社会是我们大家的, 环境也是我们大家的。  
 she4hui4 shi4 wo3men0 da4jia1 de0 huan2jing4  
 society be we everyone DE environment  
 ye3 shi4 wo3men0 da4jia1 de0  
 also be we all\_the\_people DE  
 ‘This society belongs to us all, so does this environment.’  
 (大家 *da4jia1* as apposition to 我们 *wo3men0*)
- [13] 我为什么这样傻?还不是为了你们大家的幸福?  
 wo3 wei4shen2me0 zhe4yang4 sha3 hai2 bu4 shi4  
 I why like\_this stupid still not be  
 wei4le0 ni3men0 da4jia1 de0 xing4fu2  
 PREP you all\_the\_people DE happiness  
 ‘Why am I so silly? Am I not doing it for the happiness of you all?’  
 (大家 *da4jia1* as apposition to 你们 *ni3men0*)

Table 16.3 Corpus frequency of second-person pronouns

Corpus			Gigaword2cna	Gigaword2xin	Gigaword2zbn	
Word Form	Sinica	Gigaword2all	(TW)	(CN)	(SIN)	Gigaword_alt
您 <i>nin2</i>	2,391	15,638	7,248	7,637	753	11,522
您们 <i>nin2men0</i>	0	180	125	0	0	107
你 <i>ni3</i>	25,432	82,936	30,601	37,780	14,555	58,720
你们 <i>ni3men0</i>	2,549	23,883	7,492	15,093	1,298	6,283

大家 *da4jia1* can also be used as a noun with only a totality meaning, which is non-deictic and does not involve any parameters of the utterance act, not even the speaker/writer, as shown in [14], in which 大家 *da4jia1* is equivalent to 人人 *ren2ren2* ‘everyone.’ A more colloquial variant of the first-person plural 大家 *da4jia1* is 大伙(儿) *da4huo3* (*er0*) ‘all the people,’ which is only used in casual oral language, as in [15].

- [14] 小孩子十几岁就去学生意了, 大家都觉得理所当然。  
*xiao3hai2zi0 shi2 ji3 sui4 jiu4 qu4 xue2*  
 child ten some year then go learn  
*sheng1yi4 le0 da4jia1 dou1 jue2de0 li3suo3dang1ran2*  
 business LE everyone all feel of\_course  
 ‘Children started to learn business as teenagers. This was taken as the norm by everyone.’ (totality and non-deictic use of 大家 *da4jia1*)

- [15] 一条鱼就够咱们大伙吃一个月。  
*yi1 tiao2 yu2 jiu4 gou4 zan2men0 da4huo3*  
 one CL fish then enough we all\_the\_people  
*chi1 yi1 ge4 yue4*  
 eat one CL month  
 ‘One fish could sustain us for a whole month.’

您 *nin2* ‘you’ is a dedicated deferential term for second-person singular reference, sometimes also used to show estrangement or to achieve a distancing effect. In oral language, the plural form of 您 *nin2* ‘you’ is 您二位 *nin2 er4 wei4* ‘you two,’ 您三位 *nin2 san1 wei4* ‘you three,’ and 您几位 *nin2 ji3 wei4* ‘you all’ (for more than two people). In written language, there is no plural form of 您 *ni3*, and the neutral second-person plural 你们 *ni3men0* is used instead. The use of 您们 *nin2men0* in written language is exceptional and not commonly accepted, as attested by its extremely low frequency in several corpora (see Table 16.3).

人家 *ren2jia1*, 别(的)人 *bie4 (de0) ren2*, 其他(的)人 *qi2ta1 (de0) ren2*, and 他人 *ta1ren2*, all meaning ‘other person(s),’ serve as residual deictic person reference, that is, terms addressing or referring to individuals other than the speaker and the hearer.



As an exception, 人家 *ren2jia1* is sometimes coquettishly used as a self-addressing term by young women or entertainers.

### 16.1.2. Place deixis

The basic proximal and distal place deictics constitute the following contrastive pairs: 这里 *zhe4li3* ‘here,’ 那里 *na4li3* ‘there’; 这儿 *zhe4er0* ‘here,’ 那儿 *na3er0* ‘there’; and 这边 *zhe4bian1* ‘here,’ 那边 *na4bian1* ‘there.’ Although these three pairs are often used interchangeably, there are nuances of differences.

这里 *zhe4li3* ‘here’ and 那里 *na4li3* ‘there’ consist of the proximal or the distal deictic term, followed by the locative morpheme 里 *li3* ‘inside.’ However, the two resulting expressions, 这里 *zhe4li3* ‘here’ and 那里 *na4li3* ‘there,’ do not convey the “inside” meaning, which is to be conveyed by 这里面 *zhe4li3 mian4* ‘in here’ and 那里面 *na4li3 mian4* ‘in there’ or 这里边 *zhe4li3 bian1* ‘in here’ and 那里边 *na4li3 bian1* ‘in there.’

这儿 *zhe4er0* ‘here’ and 那儿 *na3er0* ‘there’ are used more often in oral language, although they can also be found in written language. As a matter of preference, some people choose not to use words with a 儿- *er0*- suffix in writing, and some do not use 儿- *er0*- suffixed words at all.

这边 *zhe4bian1* ‘here’ and 那边 *na4bian1* ‘there’ have the more basic and more physical meaning of ‘this side’ and ‘that side.’ However, they are also used with the extended sense of ‘this spot, that spot; this part, that part; and this area, that area,’ causing them often to be used interchangeably with 这里 *zhe4li3* ‘here,’ 那里 *na4li3* ‘there’ and 这儿 *zhe4er0* ‘here,’ 那儿 *na3er0* ‘there.’ The proximal 此地 *ci3di4* ‘here’ does not have a distal counterpart in Modern Chinese.

Some other place deictics are both directional and locative: the directional deictic terms 左 *zuo3* ‘left’ and 右 *you4* ‘right’ can combine with relevant locative morphemes 边 *bian1* ‘side’ and 面 *mian4* ‘surface,’ forming deictic expressions such as 左边 *zuo3bian1* ‘left side’ and 右面 *you4mian4* ‘right side.’ As explained above, relative directional terms such as 上 *shang4* ‘up,’ 下 *xia4* ‘down,’ 前 *qian2* ‘front,’ and 后 *hou4* ‘back’ can acquire deictic properties in some uses when the center of reference is not fixed. They can form expressions such as 上边 *shang4bian1* ‘above,’ 下面 *xia4mian4* ‘below,’ 前方 *qian2fang1* ‘at the front,’ and 后边 *hou4bian1* ‘behind,’ which can also have deictic use.

The directional terms 里 *li3* ‘in’ and 外 *wai4* ‘out’ combine only with a following 边 *bian1* ‘side,’ 面 *mian4* ‘surface,’ or 头 *tou2* ‘end’ to form deictic expressions like 里边 *li3bian1* ‘inside,’ 外面 *wai4mian4* ‘outside,’ and 里头 *li3tou2* ‘inside.’ The 里 *li3* ‘in’ in this case is different from the locative morpheme 里 *li3* ‘inside’ discussed above, not only in position but also in meaning. The 里 *li3* ‘in’ here is followed by a locative morpheme and the combination always means ‘inside,’ while the previous 里 *li3* follows a deictic term and the combination means ‘place’ only, as in 这里 *zhe4li3* ‘here’ and 那里 *na4li3* ‘there,’ although it can also mean ‘inside’ in

屋(子)里 *wu1 (zi3) li3* ‘the inside of the room,’ 鞋子里 *xie2zi0 li3* ‘the inside of the shoe,’ 家里 *jia1li3* ‘the inside of the home,’ etc.

### 16.1.3. Time deixis

The time of speaking can be considered the temporal origo and is encoded by 现在 *xian4zai4* ‘now,’ departing from whatever other time deixis is deployed. The more basic proximal and distal terms 这 *zhe4* ‘this’ and 那 *na4* ‘that’ can combine with ensuing time-denoting units, with possible numerals and classifiers in between: 这时 *zhe4shi2* ‘at this moment,’ 这会儿 *zhe4hui4er0* ‘at this (short) period,’ 那时候 *na4shi2hou0* ‘at that time,’ 那几年 *na4 ji3 nian2* ‘in those years,’ 那(一)年 *na4 (yi1) nian2* ‘in that year,’ 这个月 *zhe4 ge4 yue4* ‘the current month,’ and 这几个月 *zhe4 ji3 ge4 yue4* ‘these months.’

Neither days of the week nor calendar dates are deictics. For deictic reference, Chinese has a seven-slot system: 今天 *jin1tian1* ‘today,’ 明天 *ming2tian1* ‘tomorrow,’ 昨天 *zuo2tian1* ‘yesterday,’ 后天 *hou4tian1* ‘the day after tomorrow,’ 前天 *qian2tian1* ‘the day before yesterday,’ 大后天 *da4hou4tian1* ‘the day after the day after tomorrow (three days ahead),’ and 大前天 *da4qian2tian1* ‘the day before the day before yesterday (three days ago).’ Likewise, years are referred to deictically in a similar seven-slot system: 今年 *jin1nian2* ‘the current year,’ 去年 *qu4nian2* ‘last year,’ 明年 *ming2nian2* ‘next year,’ 前年 *qian2nian2* ‘the year before last year,’ 后年 *hou4nian2* ‘the year after next year,’ 大前年 *da4qian2nian2* ‘the year before the year before last year (three years ago),’ and 大后年 *da4hou4nian2* ‘the year after the year after next year (three years ahead).’

As shown in the examples above, some spatio-directional terms such as 上 *shang4* ‘up’ and 下 *xia4* ‘down’ are also used as time deictics when combined with time-denoting words. More examples are 上一年 *shang4 yi1 nian2* ‘the last year,’ 下一年 *xia4 yi1 nian2* ‘the next year,’ 上个世纪 *shang4 ge4 shi4ji4* ‘the last century,’ and 下个世纪 *xia4 ge4 shi4ji4* ‘the next century.’

### 16.1.4. Social deixis

Chinese has an ever-changing system of terms of address. The instability of the system is caused by the abandonment of the rich archaic system accumulated in Classical Chinese, as well as the continuous and fast changes in social relationships in modern China over the past century. However, only a limited number of address terms are deictics, as others do not encode parameters of the utterance act. The deferential second-person singular 您 *nin2* is deictic, as the speaker uses it out of consideration of social distance: respect or estrangement is an extended application of the concept distal. However, terms of address involving one’s administrative duties or titles, such as 王校长 *wang2 xiao4zhang3* ‘President Wang,’ 李教授 *li3 jiao4shou4* ‘Professor Li,’ and 陈博士 *chen2 bo2shi4* ‘Dr. Chen,’ are not deictics because they are relatively fixed terms. Likewise, some rather commonly used

terms of address, such as 先生 *xian1sheng0* ‘Mr.’, 太太 *tai4tai4* ‘Mrs.’, 夫人 *fu1ren2* ‘Madam,’ and 小姐 *xiao3jie3* ‘Miss’ are not deictics either.

Some older socially deictic terms are still widely used in oral language on formal occasions, as well as in written and more literary language, especially as address terms in epistle writing, including e-mails. They can be further divided into two types: deferentials and depreciatories, the latter being mostly self-depreciatories.

#### 16.1.4.1. Deferentials

- 1 大人 *da4ren2* ‘your honor,’ now obsolete, was formerly used in face-to-face dialogue by a subordinate to his senior. It can be preceded by a surname or a title. In epistle works, it is still often used to address a parent or a senior and usually an aged relative when it is preceded by a senior kinship term, such as 母亲大人 *mu3qin1 da4ren2* ‘my honored mother’ and 舅父大人 *jiu4fu4 da4ren2* ‘my honored uncle.’
- 2 贵 *gui4* ‘your honorable’ can be combined with many nouns to form deferential references, such as 贵校 *gui4 xiao4* ‘your honored school,’ 贵军 *gui4 jun1* ‘your honored army,’ 贵所 *gui4 suo3* ‘your honored institute,’ and 贵厂 *gui4 chang3* ‘your honored factory.’ However, nouns preceded by 贵 *gui4* are not used as terms of address.
- 3 光临 *guang1lin2*, 莅临 *li4lin2* ‘be honorably present’ is used to honor an addressee’s visit.
- 4 敬上 *jing4shang4* ‘respectfully presented’ is used at the end of a letter, after the name of the writer, and it can be shortened to 上 *shang4*.
- 5 敬祝 *jing4zhu4* ‘respectfully extending a wish’ is used before an offer of good wishes.

#### 16.1.4.2. Depreciatories

- 1 小人 *xiao3ren2* ‘my humble self’ or 小的 *xiao3de0* ‘my humble self’ was formerly used in face-to-face communication by a subordinate as a self-addressing term, now obsolete.
- 2 下人 *xia4ren2* ‘the lowly’ has less of a deictic character than 小人 *xiao3ren2*, as it is only used to refer to servants and not as an address term.
- 3 小辈 *xiao3bei4* ‘the junior family members and relatives’ (literally, the younger generation): self-addressing term for singular or plural reference.
- 4 晚辈 *wan3bei4* ‘the junior’ (literally, the later generation): self-addressing term, usually singular, used by juniors in the presence of seniors.
- 5 后学 *hou4xue2* ‘the later student’: self-addressing term, usually singular, used by younger students or scholars in the presence of senior ones.

- 6 拙著 *zhuo2 zhu4*, 拙文 *zhuo2 wen2*, 拙译 *zhuo2 yi4* ‘my humble work, paper, translated work.’
- 7 不才 *bu4cai2* ‘the worthless person’: self-addressing term, singular.
- 8 在下 *zai4xia4*, originally meaning ‘seated or positioned at a lower position’: self-addressing term, singular.
- 9 内人 *nei4ren2* ‘my wife’ (literally, ‘the one who stays inside the family’).
- 10 寒舍 *han2she4* ‘my home’ (literally, ‘the cold and simple abode’).
- 11 敝人 *bi4ren2* ‘the humble I.’
- 12 鄙人 *bi3ren2* ‘the humble I.’

#### 16.1.5. Discourse deixis

这 *zhe4* ‘this’ and 那 *na4* ‘that,’ either as single terms or forming larger expressions, can be used as discourse deictics to refer to a part of the previous utterance(s) or text. The relationship between a discourse deictic and its reference is different from one between a discourse anaphor and its antecedent. The former refers to the physical discourse segment, while the latter, with a clausal antecedent, summarizes the content. The 这句话 *zhe4 ju4 hua4* ‘this sentence’ in [16] is not a summary of the content of the sentence but instead denotes the sentence as an entity in the immediate environment, namely, it is being used deictically. Similarly, the 这 *zhe4* ‘this’ in [17] points to the sentence being said and is deictic.

- [16] “我的妈妈, 是最好的妈妈”, 这句话他脱口而出。  
*wo3 de0 ma1ma0 shi4 zui4hao3 de0 ma1ma0 zh4*  
 I DE mother be best DE mother this  
*ju4 hua4 ta1 tuo1kou3er2chu1*  
 CL words he let\_slip  
 “My mother is the best,” he uttered this sentence without much thinking.’
- [17] “我要感谢养育我的父母, 感谢他们的养育之恩!” 这是罗雪娟夺冠后的第一句话。  
*wo3 yao4 gan3xie4 yang3yu1 wo3 de0 fu4mu3*  
 I want thank nurture I DE parents  
*gan3xie4 ta1men0 de0 yang3yu1 zhi1 en1*  
 thank they DE nurture DE affection  
*zhe4 shi4 luo2xue3juan1 duo2guan4 hou4*  
 this be LUO\_XUEJUAN win\_championship after  
*de0 di4yi1 ju4 hua4*  
 DE first CL words  
 “I wish to thank my parents for nurturing me!” This was the first sentence uttered by LUO Xuejuan after winning the championship.’

## 16.1.6. Alternating between the proximal and the distal

The proximal and the distal parameters can be expressed and viewed objectively, but they can also be taken symbolically, especially with reference to time. Moreover, they can be encoded subjectively, on the basis of psychological distance, which may not correspond to physical reality. This gives deictics a “cognitive zooming” function. That is, what is physically distal can be focalized and referred to with a proximal term. On the contrary, what is physically proximal can also be distanced through the use of a distal term. These uses reflect value judgments on the part of the language user.

The 这种产品 *zhe4zhong3 chan3pin3* ‘this kind of product’ in [18] refers to an entity in the immediate environment or a type of entity being discussed and is considered proximal, while the 那 *na4* ‘that’ refers to the actual product in other countries and is considered distal. The same could be said about the relation between 这种仪式 *zhe4zhong4 yi2shi4* ‘this ritual’ and 那 *na4* ‘that’ in [19], with the former being discussed in the current discourse while the latter refers to things in India and Africa. The sentence in [20] is an excerpt from a phone conversation. The 这辈 *zhe4bei4* ‘this generation’ in this case refers to the generation of the speaker, while 那辈 *na4bei4* ‘that generation’ refers to the generation of the listener, who is at the other end of the phone line. The contrast between proximal and distal is obvious.

- [18] 有的国家正在削价抛售这种产品,但那是前几年的库存,质量不能跟我们的相比。

you3de0 guo2jia1 zheng4zai4 xue4jia4 pao1shou4 zhe4  
 some country ZAI cut\_price dump this  
 zhong4 chan3pin3 dan4 na4 shi4 qian2 ji3  
 kind product but that be previous several  
 nian2 de0 ku4cun2 zhi4liang4 bu4neng2 gen1  
 year DE stock quality cannot PREP  
 wo3men0 de0 xiang1bi3  
 we DE compare

‘Some countries are dumping this kind of product with a low price but these are their surplus stock from previous years, so their quality cannot be compared with ours.’

- [19] 你说的拜月是怎么回事? 据说印度非洲真有这种仪式,但那只是迷信而已。

ni3 shuo1 de0 bai4yue4 shi4 zen3me0 hui2  
 you say DE worship\_moon be what CL  
 shi4 ju4shuo1 yin4du4 fei1zhou1 zhen1 you3 zhe4  
 thing it\_is\_said India Africa really have this

zhong3 yi2shi4 dan4 na4 zhi3shi4 mi2xin4 er2yi3  
 CL ritual but that only superstition only  
 ‘What about moon-worshipping that you just mentioned? It is said that such rituals really exist in India and Africa, but that is no more than superstition.’

- [20] 现在的年轻人接受外来的冲击太多,多到我们这辈,或者是你们那辈,都无法想象
- xian4zai4 de0 nian2qing1ren2 jie1shou4 wai4lai2 de0  
 now DE young\_people receive external DE  
 chong1ji2 tai4 duo1 duo1 dao4 wo3men0 zhe4  
 impact too many many PREP we this  
 bei4 huo4zhe3 shi4 ni3men0 na4 bei4  
 generation or be you that generation  
 dou1 wu2fa3 xiang3xiang4  
 all no\_way imagine  
 ‘Today’s youngsters receive so much external impact, to the extent that it is not imaginable by our generation, or your generation.’

#### 16.1.7. Generic use of deictic terms

Some dedicated deictic terms (i.e., terms that are never used anaphorically) can be used to give arbitrary reference, in the sense that the deictic term at issue is not authentically referential but encodes generic meaning. The second person singular 你 *ni3* ‘you’ in [21], which refers to anyone in the world, is a case in point. Similarly, the 你 *ni3* ‘you,’ 今天 *jin1tian1* ‘today,’ 明天 *ming2tian1* ‘tomorrow,’ 这样 *zhe4yang4* ‘this way,’ and 那样 *na4yang4* ‘that way’ in [22] are all used as generic terms, referring to “someone,” “sometime,” and “some way,” respectively.

- [21] 棋赛有很高的可塑性,你可以用棋子创造出美丽的难题。
- qi2sai4 you3 hen3 gao1 de0 ke3su4xing4 ni3 ke3yi3  
 chess\_game have very high DE plasticity you can  
 yong4 qi2zi3 chuang4zao4 chu1 mei3li4 de0  
 use chess\_piece create out beautiful DE  
 nan2ti2  
 hard\_issue  
 ‘A game of chess is full of changes, and you can use chess pieces to create a beautiful puzzle.’ (generic use of 你 *ni3* ‘you’)
- [22] 如果你对生活没有完整的了解,就会今天这样做、明天那样做。
- ru2guo3 ni3 dui4 sheng1huo2 mei2you3 wan2zheng3  
 if you PREP life NEG thorough

de0 liao3jie3            jiu4   hui4   jin1tian1   zhe4yang4  
DE   understanding   then   will   today   this\_way

zuo4   ming2tian1   na4yang4   zuo4  
do   tomorrow   that\_way   do

'If you do not have a comprehensive understanding of life, you would go this way one day, and that way another day.' (generic use of paired deictics:

今天 *jin1tian1* 'today' and 明天 *ming2tian1* 'tomorrow'; and 这样 *zhe4yang4* 'this way' and 那样 *na4yang4* 'that way')

The 你 *ni3* 'you' and 我 *wo3* 'I' in [23] appear in an idiom chunk, which means to do something to each other such as looking at each other, and are generic, referring to any two groups of people. The 左 *zuo3* 'left' and 右 *you4* 'right' in [24] also appear in an idiom chunk, which means doing something again and again, such as waiting for a long time, and refers to some repeated manner of doing things.

[23] 人们在路上碰见了,只是你望望我,我望望你,不敢交谈。

ren2men0   zai4   lu4shang4   peng4jian4   le0   zhi3shi4  
people   PREP   en\_route   meet   LE   only

ni3   wang4wang4   wo3   wo3   wang4wang4   ni3   bu4  
you   look\_look   I   I   look\_look   you   NEG

gan3   jiao1tan2  
dare   communicate

'When people meet on the street, they can only look at each other and do not dare to speak to each other.' (generic use of paired deictics: 你 *ni3* 'you' and 我 *wo3* 'I')

[24] 女主人左等右盼,从疑虑、牵挂担心转为生气。

nü3zhu3ren2            zuo3deng3you4pan4   cong2   yi2lü4  
lady\_of\_the\_house   left\_wait\_right\_gaze   PREP   puzzle

qian1gua4   dan1xin1   zhuan3wei2   sheng1qi4  
concern   worry   turn\_to   angry

'The wife waited and waited. As time went by, her mood swung from confusion to concern and worry, all the way to anger.' (generic use of paired deictics: 左 *zuo3* 'left' and 右 *you4* 'right')

The 这 *zhe4* 'this' and 那 *na4* 'that' in [25] work as a pair, with a generic interpretation referring to random things, very much like the English expression "this and that."

- [25] 他因每天听我在车上讲这讲那,知道了我的需要。  
 ta1 yin1 mei3tian1 ting1 wo3 zai4 che1 shang4  
 he because everyday hear I PREP car in  
 jiang3 zhe4 jiang3 na4 zhi1dao4 le0 wo3 de0  
 say this say that know LE I DE  
 xu1yao4  
 need  
 'He got to know my needs, as he listened to my babbling in the car every  
 day.' (generic use of paired deictics: 这 *zhe4* 'this' and 那 *na4* 'that')

## 16.2. Overview of anaphora

At the beginning of this chapter, we defined anaphora as involving a closed set of lexical items whose semantic values are determined through unification with some previously occurring antecedents in the discourse. In connection to this, an anaphoric relationship can be defined as a co-referential linkage between two elements in the discourse, one of which, the anaphor, being dependent on the other, the antecedent, for its reference.

Anaphors can be either retrospective, with the antecedent appearing first, or anticipatory, with the anaphor appearing first. The latter is also called cataphor, with the related phenomenon termed “cataphora” or “backward anaphora.” As retrospective anaphors are much more often found than the anticipatory ones, they are simply referred to as “anaphor” in this chapter.

This section is concerned with the typology of anaphora, its distribution, and its similarities with and differences from deictics. Anaphors in Chinese can be divided into three types: nominal anaphors, pronominal anaphors, and zero anaphors. Pronominal anaphors also include reflexives and reciprocals as two idiosyncratic subtypes.

### 16.2.1. Nominal anaphors

Nominal anaphors concern cases where a nominal expression, excluding pronouns and the zero form (which will be treated separately), is co-referential with another noun, with partial or no sharing of lexical forms. This definition excludes cases where a noun or noun phrase simply repeats itself in discourse.

Thus defined, the first type of nominal anaphora concerns those with shortened forms of their antecedents. The shortened 缩写 *suoxie* forms can be established acronyms whose relationship with the full expressions is recoverable independent of context, such as the 安理会 *an1li2hui4* ‘the UN Security Council’ in [26]. They can also be temporary simplifications whose meaning can only be fully comprehended in the specific discourse context, such as the 世青赛 *shi4qing1sai4* and 中国队



*zhong1guo2dui4* in [27], which are shortened forms of ‘the Ninth FIFA U-20 Coca-Cola World Cup Tournament’ and ‘the Chinese Youth Team,’ respectively. See Chapter 3, section 3.5.3. for discussion on the formation of *suoxie* abbreviation.

[26] 联合国安全理事会又叫安理会。

lian2he2guo2            an1quan2li3shi4hui4    you4    jiao4  
the\_United\_Nation    Security\_Council            also    name  
an1li3hui4  
peace\_manage\_meeting

‘The United Nations Security Council is also known as the Security Council.’

[27] 参加第九届国际足联可口可乐杯世界青年(20岁以下)锦标赛的  
中国青年队成绩是中国队参加世青赛历史上最差的。

can1jia1    di4jiu3    jie4    guo2ji4zu2lian2    ke3kou3ke3le4bei1  
participate    ninth    CL    FIFA                            Coca\_Cola\_Cup  
shi4jie4    qing1nian2    er4shi2    sui4    yi3xia4    jin3biao1sai4  
world    youth                    twenty    year    below    championship  
de0    zhong1guo2    qing1nian2dui4    cheng2ji1    shi4  
DE    China                    youth\_team            score            be  
zhong1guo2dui4    can1jia1    shi4qing1sai4            li4shi3  
China\_team            participate    world\_youth\_game    history  
shang4    zui4cha4    de0  
on            worst            DE

‘The Chinese Youth Team participating in the Ninth FIFA U-20 Coca-Cola World Cup Tournament achieved the worst result for a Chinese team in the history of the tournament.’

The second type of nominal anaphora involves nouns that are hypernyms of their antecedents, that is, nouns that are more general in meaning than their antecedents. They can be further divided into two kinds: general nouns with neutral categorical reference, such as the 这个问题 *zhe4 ge4 wen4ti2* ‘this issue’ in [28], and general nouns with specific reference, used with emotional connotations (i.e., epithets), such as the 四个小家伙 *si4ge4 xiao3jia1huan0* ‘four little ones’ in [29].

[28] 电影业的困境,主要来自“艺术性”与“票房”的矛盾。这个问题不好解决。

dian4yin3    de0    kun4jing4    zhu3yao4    lai3zi4  
film            DE    dilemma    mainly    come\_from  
yi4shu4xing4    yu3    piao4fang2    de0    mao2dun4    zhe4    ge0  
artistic\_ness    and    box\_office    DE    conflict    this    CL

wen4ti2 bu4 hao3 jie2jue2  
issue NEG easy solve

'The dilemma of the movie industry comes mainly from the conflict between artistic value and box office. This is not an easy issue to solve.'

- [29] 农妇产下四胞胎胡大毛、胡二毛、胡三毛、胡四毛。

四个小家伙后来到了安徽医学院附属医院。

nong2fu4 chan3xia4 si4bao1tai1 hu2da4mao2  
farmer\_woman give\_birth quadruplet HU\_big\_MAO  
hu2er4mao2 hu2san1mao2 hu2si4mao2 si4  
HU\_second\_MAO HU\_third\_MAO HU\_fourth\_MAO four  
ge4 xiao3jia1huo3 hou4lai2 zhuan3 dao4 an1hui1  
CL little\_chaps later transfer PREP ANHUI  
yi1xue2yuan4 fu4shu3 yi1yuan4  
medical\_college affiliated hospital

'The farmer gave birth to quadruplets HU Da Mao, HU Er Mao, HU San Mao, and HU Si Mao. The four little ones were then transferred to the hospital affiliated with the Anhui Medical College.'

The difference between the anaphoric reference in [28] and the uses involving discourse deixis (see section 16.2.5) is that the 这个问题 *zhe4ge4 wen4ti2* 'this issue' in [28] does not refer to a discourse segment per se, but rather to the content presented in that segment. However, it may be difficult to distinguish them in some cases, as shown in [30], where the expression 这句话 *zhe4 ju4 hua4* 'this utterance' can be taken in either way in relation to the quoted sentence. It is a discourse deictic if it refers to the physical utterance of the sentence, but it is a discourse anaphor if the content of the utterance is taken to be the real thrust.

- [30] “我愿以我走过的全部道路证明一句话，人生是可以雕塑的。”

刘开渠先生的这句话让人为之一震。

wo3 yuan4 yi3 wo3 zou3 guo4 de0 quan2bu4  
I wish PREP I walk GUO DE all  
dao4lu4 zheng4ming2 yi1 ju4 hua4 ren2sheng1 shi4  
road prove one CL words life be  
ke3yi3 diao1su4 de0 liu2kai1qu2 xian1sheng0 de0  
can sculpture DE LIU\_KAIQU Mr. DE  
zhe4 ju4 hua4 rang4 ren2 wei4zhi1yi1zhen4  
this CL words let people be\_moved

“I would like to use my life's journey to prove one proposition. That is, life can be sculptured.” This saying by Mr. Liu Kaiqu moved everyone.'

The third type of nominal anaphora involves cases where the referential content of a noun is later picked up by a synonymous noun, as shown in [31], where 汉语 *han4yu3* ‘Chinese’ refers to the same thing as 中文 *zhong1wen2* ‘Chinese’ does.

- [31] 他大三开始学习中文, 汉语现在讲得还不流利。  
 ta1 da4 san1 kai1shi3 xue2xi2 zhong1wen2  
 he university three start learn Chinese  
 han4yu3 xian4zai4 jiang3 de0 hai2 bu4 liu2li4  
 Chinese now speak DE still NEG fluent  
 ‘Having started learning Chinese as a sophomore, his spoken Chinese is not fluent yet.’

### 16.2.2. Pronominal anaphors

Pronominal anaphors involve the third-person singular pronoun *ta* and the plural *tamen*. Neither of them makes distinctions in gender in oral language, yet both have acquired gender-distinct but case-neutral written forms in Modern Chinese: 他 *ta1* ‘he,’ 她 *ta1* ‘she,’ and 它 *ta1* ‘it’ and the corresponding 他们 *ta1men0* ‘they-masculine,’ 她们 *ta1men0* ‘they-feminine,’ and 它们 *ta1men0* ‘they-nonhuman.’ Demonstrative anaphora includes 这 *zhe4* ‘this,’ 那 *na4* ‘that,’ 该 *gai1* ‘the,’ 其 *qi2* ‘whose,’ and their variants when used with referential nouns.

这 *zhe4* ‘this,’ when combined with a following noun, can be used to give definite reference, such as 这时 *zhe4shi2* ‘this moment,’ 这人 *zhe4ren2* ‘this person/the person,’ and 这车 *zhe4che1* ‘this car/the car.’ Such expressions are sometimes anaphoric and sometimes deictic, and they are also highly lexically specific.

这时 *zhe4shi2* ‘this moment’ is predominantly anaphoric, referring to a time in the past and in contrast with 现在 *xian4zai4* ‘now,’ which refers to the immediate present. Both 这次 *zhe4ci4* and 这回 *zhe4hui2* are combinations of demonstrative and event classifiers meaning ‘this time’ and can be used either anaphorically or deictically, referring to an occasion either in the past or at the time of speech. 这下 *zhe4xia4*, however, either means ‘as a result’ or ‘this immediate present.’ The first is used as a connective adjunct while the second is a deictic. 此 *ci3* ‘this’ can also have such twofold usage. 此时 *ci3shi2* ‘(at) the time’ is anaphoric, 此地 *ci3di4* ‘this place’ and 此处 *ci3chu4* ‘this location’ are deictic, and 此事 *ci3shi4* ‘this matter’ and 此人 *ci3ren2* ‘this person’ can be used either way.

#### 16.2.2.1. Reflexives and reciprocals

Pronominal anaphors include reflexives and reciprocals as subcategories. Reflexives take two main forms: the independently used 自己 *zi4ji3* ‘self’ and the 自己 *zi4ji3* ‘self’ attached to a pronoun, a name, or a full nominal phrase. The stand-alone 自己 *zi4ji3* ‘self’ occupies an argument position, while the 自己 *zi4ji3* ‘self’

used after other nominal elements is an emphatic pronoun. The emphatic 自己 *zi4ji3* co-refers with the nominal element to which it is attached, while the argument 自己 *zi4ji3* ‘self’ should establish an anaphoric link to its antecedent, either within a single clause or beyond, across one or more superordinate clauses, or even inter-sententially. Several possibilities are available, which can be conveniently grouped under two categories: 自己 *zi4ji3* as the subject and 自己 *zi4ji3* as the object.

When the stand-alone 自己 *zi4ji3* ‘self’ appears in the subject position, it can establish reference in three possible ways. First, as a subject in the matrix clause, it can be used as shortened forms of pronoun + 自己 *zi4ji3* (i.e., 我自己 *wo3 zi4ji3* ‘myself,’ 你自己 *ni3 zi4ji3* ‘yourself,’ or 他自己 *ta1 zi4ji3* ‘himself’). Such uses are usually found in thought description discourse for self-reference, as exemplified by [32].

- [32] 入秋的季节, 自己总习惯性地带件外套; 入秋的夜晚, 自己总习惯性地  
地在床尾铺上薄被
- ru4 qiu1 de0 ji4jie2 zi4ji3 zong3 xi2guan4xing4  
enter autumn DE season self always be\_used\_to  
de0 dai4 jian4 wai4tao4 ru4 qiu1 de0 ye4li3  
DE bring CL coat enter autumn DE at\_night  
zi4ji3 zong3 xi2guan4xing4 de0 zai4 chuang2 wei3  
self always be\_used\_to DE be\_at bed end  
pu4 shang4 bao2 bei4  
lay on thin quilt  
‘In the fall, I am used to going out with a thicker coat; and at night, I am  
used to sleeping with a thin quilt.’

Second, as the subject in the subordinate clause co-indexed with the subject in the matrix clause, the 自己 *zi4ji3* ‘self’ works like a pronominal, as in [33] and [34].

- [33] 不久, 我自医院返家, 过起正常的生活, 甚至忘了自己罹患癌症这件事
- bu4jiu3 wo3 zi4 yi1yuan4 fan3 jia1 guo4 qi3  
soon I PREP hospital return home live QJ  
zheng4chang2 de0 sheng1huo2 shen4zhi4 wang4 le0  
normal DE life even forget LE  
zi4ji3 li2huan4 ai2zheng4 zhe4 jian4 shi4  
self have cancer this CL thing  
‘Soon afterwards, I left the hospital and went back home, where I began to  
lead a normal life and even forgot that I had had cancer.’

- [34] 我猛然发现自己是多么有福气, 早早地就能享受泡茶的乐趣。  
 wo3 meng3ran2 fa1xian4 zi4ji3 shi4 duo1me0 you3  
 I abruptly find self be how have  
 fu2qi4 zao3zao3 de0 jiu4 neng2 xiang3shou4  
 luck well\_in\_advance DE then can enjoy  
 pao4cha2 de0 le4qu4  
 make\_tea DE joy  
 'I suddenly realize how lucky I was, being able to experience the joy of  
 tea-making early on.'

Third, 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' in the subject position can sometimes have an arbitrary reference, meaning 'anyone himself,' functioning as a pronominal, as shown in [35].

- [35] 沟通是双方面的。自己说的话要让对方能听到、听懂和听得进去  
 gou1tong1 shi4 shuang1fang1mian4 de0 zi4ji3  
 communication be both\_sides DE self  
 shuo1 de0 hua4 yao4 rang4 dui4fang1 neng2  
 say DE words will let the\_other\_side can  
 ting1dao4 ting1dong3 he2 ting1 de0 jin4qu4  
 listen\_succeed listen\_understand and listen DE into  
 'Communication is a two-way process. What one says should be able to be  
 heard, understood, and accepted by the others.'

When the stand-alone 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' appears in the object position, its presence is not limited to the specific content of the discourse. Moreover, there is much structural freedom in the way an anaphoric link is built between the object 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' and its antecedent, as shown in the following examples, where the same subscript index indicates co-reference. The 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' in the object position of the first clause in [36] can have either 男生 *nan2sheng1* 'boy' or 女生 *nü3sheng1* 'girl' as the antecedent, and it is the second clause that provides the cue to link 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' with 女生 *nü3sheng1* 'girl.' The 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' in the object position of the embedded clause of [37] can be co-referential with either 他 *ta1* 'he' or 别人 *bie2ren2* 'other people,' and the cue from the first clause helps readers to connect 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' with 他 *ta1* 'he.' Similarly, the 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' in [38] takes 她 *ta1* 'she' as the antecedent because of the cue from the second clause.

- [36] 男生<sub>i</sub>常觉得女生<sub>j</sub>不能清楚的表达自己<sub>j</sub>的感情, 男生只好很辛苦的  
 玩猜谜游戏  
 nan2sheng1 chang2 jue2de0 nü3sheng1 bu4neng2  
 boy often feel girl NEG\_can

qing1chu3 de0 biao3da2 zi4ji3 de0 gan3qing2  
 clear DE express self DE feeling  
 nan2sheng1 zhi3hao3 hen3 xin1ku3 de0 wan2  
 boy have\_to very hard DE play  
 cai1mei4 you2xi4  
 guess\_riddle play

'Boys<sub>i</sub> often feel that girls<sub>j</sub> cannot express their<sub>j</sub> feelings explicitly, so that they have no choice but to play the riddle-solving game.'

- [37] 有一位年轻人,他<sub>i</sub>总觉得别人<sub>j</sub>对不起自己<sub>i</sub>。

you3 yi1 wei4 nian2qing1ren2 ta1 zong3 jue2de0  
 YOU one CL young\_people he always feel  
 bie2ren2 dui4bu4qi3 zi4ji3  
 others sorry self

'There was such a young man. He<sub>i</sub> always felt that others had treated him<sub>i</sub> badly.'

- [38] 她<sub>i</sub>觉得还是他<sub>j</sub>最了解自己<sub>i</sub>的声音,能把她<sub>i</sub>的音乐做得够完美

ta1 jue2de0 hai2shi4 ta1 zui4 liao3jie3 zi4ji3 de0  
 she feel still he most know self DE  
 sheng1yin1 neng2 ba3 ta1 de0 yin1yue4 zuo4 de0  
 voice can BA she DE music make DE  
 gou4 wan2mei3  
 enough perfect

'She<sub>i</sub> thinks that it is still he<sub>j</sub> who knows her<sub>i</sub> voice best and can bring her<sub>i</sub> music to perfection.'

Reciprocals in Chinese, encoded as 互相 *hu4xiang1* 'each other,' 相互 *xiang1hu4* 'each other,' or a shorted form 互 *hu4* 'each other,' are usually used as adverbials, as in [39]. They are sometimes used as a subject argument, but never as an object argument. A third item, 彼此 *bi3ci3*, though often used as an adjunct, can appear in both the subject position, as in [40], and, to a much lesser extent, in the object position, as in [41].

- [39] 学生们互相帮助,很快爬上了山顶。

xue2sheng1men0 hu4xiang1 bang1zhu4 hen3 kuai4  
 students each\_other help very fast  
 pa2shang4 le0 shan1ding3  
 climb\_up LE mountain\_top

'The students helped each other and reached the mountaintop quickly.'

- [40] 年初一, 每个人都出去拜年, 见面时彼此说声恭喜! 恭喜!  
 nian2chu1yi1 mei3 ge4 ren2 dou1 chu1qu4  
 New\_Year's\_day every CL person all go\_out  
 bai4nian2 jian4mian4 shi2 bi3ci3  
 give\_New\_Year\_greetings meet when each\_other  
 shuo1 sheng1 gong1xi3 gong1xi3  
 say CL best\_wishes best\_wishes  
 'On Chinese [New] Year's day, all people go out to give New Year greetings,  
 and say "Best wishes! Best wishes!" to each other when they meet.'
- [41] 相隔三年, 妳我之间已恍如隔世, 但相见时的悸动却仍然撼动着彼此。  
 xiang1ge2 san1 nian2 ni3 wo3 zhi1jian1 yi3  
 separated three year you I between already  
 huang3ru2ge2shi4 dan4 xiang1jian4 shi2 de0  
 as\_if\_separated\_lifetime but meet when DE  
 ji4dong4 que4 reng2 han4dong4 zhe0 bi3ci3  
 quiver but still shake ZHE each\_other  
 'A three-year separation seems like a lifetime between you and me, but we  
 quiver at our meeting and are deeply moved by each other.'

As a common term, 本 *ben3* 'this' alternates between deictic and reflexive usage. When combined with a following noun to form a full-fledged nominal phrase, it is deictic, like 本人 *ben3ren2* 'this very person, I,' 本地 *ben3di4* 'this location, here,' 本周 *ben3zhou1* 'this week,' 本世纪 *ben3shi4ji4* 'this century,' 本年度 *ben3nian2du4* 'this year,' etc. However, when such a phrase is attached to a nominal phrase for humans, the 本 *ben3* 'this' is used for self-reference and is hence reflexive, like 我本人 *wo3 ben3ren2* 'I myself' and 校长本人 *xiao4zhang3 ben3ren2* 'the Principal himself.'

As a bound morpheme, 当 *dang1* 'that very' only appears in compounds formed with nominal morphemes denoting time or place. Some of these compounds are used anaphorically, as in 当年 *dang1nian2* 'that year,' 当时 *dang1shi2* 'that time,' 当场 *dang1chang2* '(at) the scene,' and 当天 *dang1tian1* 'that day.' The anaphoric 当地 *dang1di4* 'local' contrasts with the deictic 本地 *ben3di4* 'local,' but 当代 *dang1dai4* 'this era,' 当前 *dang1qian2* '(at) the present,' and 当初 *dang1chu1* 'at that earlier time' are typically used deictically.

Also as a bound morpheme, 自 *zi4* 'self' does not appear alone, but can combine with other morphemes to form self-referring compounds. Verbal compounds formed with 自 *zi4* 'self' include 自带 *zi4dai4* 'self-equip,' 自发 *zi4fa1* 'self-initiate,' 自付 *zi4fu4* 'self-pay,' 自愿 *zi4yuan4* 'self-willed, voluntary,' 自费 *zi4fei4* 'self-sponsor,' 自封 *zi4feng1* 'self-appoint,' 自罚 *zi4fa2* 'self-inflict,' 自理 *zi4li3* 'self-manage,' 自虐 *zi4nue4* 'self-torture,' 自拟 *zi4ni3* 'self-draft,' 自欺 *zi4qi1*

'self-delude,' 自谦 *zi4qian1* 'be self-modest,' 自宫 *zi4gong1* 'self-castrate,' 自救 *zi4jiu4* 'self-salvage,' 自用 *zi4yong4* 'self-use,' 自治 *zi4zhi4* 'govern through autonomy,' 自残 *zi4can2* 'self-hurt,' 自忖 *zi4cun3* 'self-think,' 自伤 *zi4shang1* 'self-hurt,' 自学 *zi4xue2* 'study on one's own,' 自夸 *zi4kua1* 'self-praise,' 自杀 *zi4sha1* 'self-kill, (suicide),' 自省 *zi4xing3* 'reflecting,' 自卫 *zi4wei4* 'self-defend,' 自慰 *zi4wei4* 'comfort oneself (as a euphemism for masturbate),' 自立 *zi4li4* 'self-sustain,' 自强 *zi4qiang2* 'self-develop,' 自产 *zi4chan3* 'self-produce,' 自销 *zi4xiao1* 'sell by oneself,' 自爱 *zi4ai4* 'self-love,' 自恋 *zi4lian4* 'be narcissistic,' 自驾 *zi4jia4* 'self-drive,' 自卑 *zi4bei1* 'have low self-esteem,' 自备 *zi4bei4* 'self-equip,' 自保 *zi4bao3* 'self-protect,' 自编 *zi4bian1* 'self-compile,' 自导 *zi4dao3* 'self-direct,' 自大 *zi4da4* 'be arrogant,' 自问 *zi4wen4* 'self-question,' 自尽 *zi4jin4* 'self-kill (commit suicide),' 自戕 *zi4qiang2* 'self-kill (commit suicide),' 自刎 *zi4wen3* 'self-kill (commit suicide) by cutting throat,' 自误 *zi4wu4* 'self-destroy by errors,' 自首 *zi4shou3* 'turn oneself in,' and 自诩 *zi4xu3* 'self-aggrandize.'

Nominal compounds include 自述 *zi4shu4* 'own statement,' 自传 *zi4zhuan4* 'autobiography,' 自白 *zi4bai2* 'confession,' 自信 *zi4xin4* 'self-confidence,' 自尊 *zi4zun1* 'self-esteem,' 自我 *zi4wo3* 'self,' 自闭 *zi4bi4* 'autism,' 自家 *zi4jia1* 'own home.'

Idioms constructed with 自 *zi4* 'self' include 自生自灭 *zi4sheng1zi4mie4* 'leave someone on his own,' 自艾自怨 *zi4ai4zi4yuan4* 'self-blame,' 自娱自乐 *zi4yu2zi4le4* 'self-entertain,' 自高自大 *zi4gao1zi4da4* 'egotistic,' 自弹自唱 *zi4dan4zi4chang4* 'play and sing on one's own,' 自强自爱 *zi4qiang2zi4ai4* 'self-powered and self-respected,' 自编自导 *zi4bian1zi4dao3* 'written and directed by oneself,' 自由自在 *zi4you2zi4zai4* 'carefree,' 自暴自弃 *zi4bao4zi4qi4* 'given-up and self-deserted,' 自作自受 *zi4zuo4zi4shou4* 'bearing one's own consequences,' 自吹自擂 *zi4chui1zi4lei2* 'self-exaggerated,' 顾影自怜 *gu4ying3zi4lian2* 'self-pity,' 自力更生 *zi4li4geng1sheng1* 'self-reliance,' 自强不息 *zi4qiang2bu4xi2* 'always self-motivated,' 孤芳自赏 *gu1fang1zi4shang4* 'self-admiration,' 自惭形秽 *zi4can2xing2hui4* 'look down on oneself,' 怡然自得 *yi2ran2zi4de2* 'happy-go-lucky,' 自顾不暇 *zi4gu4bu4xia2* 'no time to take care of oneself,' 无师自通 *wu2shi1zi4tong1* 'self-taught,' 自欺欺人 *zi4qi1qi1ren2* 'self-deluding as well as deceiving others,' 自甘堕落 *zi4gan1duo4luo4* 'self-deserted,' 监守自盗 *jian1shou3zi4dao4* 'guarding property and stealing from it,' 自命不凡 *zi4ming4bu4fan2* 'self-proud,' 自命清高 *zi4ming4qing1gao1* 'self-aloof,' and 不自量力 *bu2zi4liang4li4* 'without self-knowledge.'

In some words where 自 *zi4* 'self' and its following morpheme have been fused into one, it is no longer possible to tell the individual meaning apart in Modern Chinese, as in 自动 *zi4dong4* 'automatic,' 自私 *zi4si1* 'selfish,' 自豪 *zi4hao2* 'proud,' 自觉 *zi4jue2* 'self-conscious,' 自然 *zi4ran2* 'natural,' 自如 *zi4ru2* 'dexterity,' 自行 *zi4xing2* 'on one's own,' 自由 *zi4you2* 'free,' and 自己 *zi4yi3* 'self-control.'

Anaphors can sometimes have the antecedent appearing after them, namely, anticipatorily. The antecedent for the 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' in [42] is 儿童 *er2tong2* 'children,' which occurs after the reflexive. The antecedent for 他 *ta1* 'he' in [43]



is 张学良先生 *zhang1 xue2liang2 xian1sheng0* ‘Mr. ZHANG Xueliang,’ which also appears after the pronoun.

- [42] 在能够推动自己的身心发展之前, 儿童需要大人把能量提供给他们。  
*zai4neng2gou4 tui1dong4 zi4ji3 de0 sheng1xin1 fa1zhan3*  
 PREP able push self DE body\_mind development  
*zhi1qian2 er2tong2 xu1yao4 da4ren2 ba3 neng2liang4*  
 before children need adult BA energy  
*ti2gong1 gei3 ta1men0*  
 provide PREP they  
 ‘Before the children can develop their own mind and body, they need adults to provide them with the capacity.’

- [43] 艺术团成员与他道别时, 张学良先生坐在轮椅上频频挥手, 依依惜别  
*yi4shu4tuan2 cheng2yuan2 yu3 ta1 dao4bie2 shi2*  
 art\_troupe member PREP he farewell when  
*zhang1xue2liang2 xian1sheng0 zuo4 zai4 lun2yi3*  
 ZHANG\_XUELIANG Mr. sit PREP wheelchair  
*shang4 pin2pin2 hui1shou3 yi1yi1xi1bie2*  
 in repeatedly wave unwilling\_to\_depart  
 ‘When members of the Performance Troupe bid him farewell, Mr. ZHANG Xueliang (Hsueh-liang CHANG) waved goodbye again and again from his wheelchair.’

### 16.2.3. Zero anaphors

Zero anaphors refer to a situation in which an anaphor does not have a phonetically realized lexical form. It is distinguished by identifying the unrealized argument positions of a predicate. The verb of a sentence has its argument positions specified in the lexicon, which determines the number of obligatory arguments that the verb should take. Typical argument positions include the subject, the direct object, the indirect object, the Ba-object, and the object of prepositions in certain positions.

As Chinese sentences can have zero forms in obligatory argument positions, the first criterion in identifying a zero argument is to determine when the lexically specified argument position of the relevant predicate does not appear in a sentence. As a zero argument needs to have its semantic value specified, it must have an antecedent and is therefore a zero anaphor. In addition to those compulsory argument positions, some elements can optionally appear in a sentence, in the form of adjuncts, in non-argument positions. The absence of such optional elements – sometimes called “semantic arguments” – never entails the existence of zero arguments, as their presence or non-presence does not affect the

completeness of the sentence. When such non-obligatory elements are not lexically present, they are usually taken not to be present at all.

A typical case is the zero anaphor related to the topic in topic–comment constructions like [44]. The 这几个学生 *zhe4ji3ge4 xue2sheng1* ‘these students’ in [44] appears in the sentence-initial position of the topic but represents the entity affected by the action of 教 *jiao1* ‘teach,’ which requires an argument in the object position. Given such an interpretation, the object position in [44] is occupied by a zero anaphor that takes the topic 这几个学生 *zhe4ji3ge4 xue2sheng1* ‘these students’ as the antecedent.

- [44] 这几个学生我都教过。  
*zhe4 ji3 ge4 xue2sheng1 wo3 dou1 jiao1 guo4*  
 this several CL student I all teach GUO  
 ‘These students, I taught them.’

The topic 年夜饭 *nian2ye4fan4* ‘New Year’s Eve Dinner’ in [45] also represents the entity being affected by the verb 吃 *chi1* ‘eat’ and could have appeared in the object position if it was not already occupied by 火锅 *huo3guo1* ‘hot pot.’ Under such circumstances, 年夜饭 *nian2ye4fan4* ‘New Year’s Eve Dinner’ is not taken as the antecedent of a zero anaphor, which is not even observable. In other words, the object position in this case does not host a zero anaphor, according to the criteria for identifying zero anaphors described above. On the other hand, when the subject argument position is not filled, it can accommodate a zero subject argument. [45] serves to exemplify this last point, where 年夜饭 *nian2ye4fan4* takes the topic position and a zero anaphor ( $\emptyset$ ) is identified as the subject.

- [45] 胡阿姨早打算好了, 年夜饭  $\emptyset$  就吃火锅, 既方便又热闹。  
 ( $\emptyset$  = subject)  
*hu2 a1yi2 zao3 da3suan4 hao3 le0*  
 HU auntie early plan good LE  
*nian2ye4fan4 jiu4 chi1 huo3guo1 ji4*  
 new\_years\_eve\_dinner JIU eat hot\_pot and  
*fang1bian4 you4 re4nao4*  
 convenient again lively  
 ‘Auntie HU has planned well ahead of time. For the New Year’s Eve Dinner, they will eat (the contents of) hot pot. It is both convenient and lively.’

Summarizing the above descriptions, a zero anaphor occupies an obligatory argument position as defined by the predicate argument structure in the lexicon. It can be identified if the argument position is not occupied by a lexically realized item. The same applies to cases where a zero anaphor has an anticipatory

antecedent. The subject position of the first clause in [46] is occupied by a zero anaphor, which takes the 他 *ta1* 'he' in the second clause as the antecedent, while the zero anaphor in [47] takes 道格拉斯 'Douglas' as the anticipatory antecedent.

- [46] 今天中午 $\emptyset$ 刚吃过饭,他顾不上休息又急匆匆地出门了  
 jin1tian1 zhong1wu3 gang1 chi1 guo4 fan4 ta1  
 today noon just eat GUO meal he  
 gu4bu2shang4 xiu1xi2 you4 ji2cong1cong1  
 cannot\_attend\_to\_or\_manage rest again hurriedly  
 de0 chu1men2 le0  
 DE go\_out LE  
 'Immediately after his lunch today, he set out in a hurry without taking a break, saying that he needed to visit some close contacts.'

- [47]  $\emptyset$ 出院之后,道格拉斯果然戒掉了酗酒的恶习。  
 chu1yuan4 zhi1hou4 dao4ge2la1si1  
 discharge\_from\_hospital after Douglas  
 guo3ran2 jie4diao4 le0 xu4jiu3 de0  
 as\_expected quit LE drink\_excessively DE  
 e4xi2  
 bad\_habit  
 'Sure enough, Douglas quit his nasty drinking habit after leaving the hospital.'

#### 16.2.4. Anaphors in discourse

This section sketches the distribution of different types of anaphors and factors affecting their alternation. Zero, pronominal, and nominal anaphors not only differ in lexical form but also in the amount of referential information each is encoded to carry. A zero anaphor has nil lexical form. It also contains minimal information, linking itself to an antecedent that is easily accessible and identifiable. The distance from the zero anaphor to the antecedent is by default the nominal phrase that is the closest, but the anaphoric reference can also be maintained by one or more ensuing zero anaphors, thus forming an anaphoric chain sharing a single initial antecedent. Pronominal anaphors form a closed set of lexical forms that contain information pertaining to number and gender (but not case), encoding clues for antecedent-tracking, which can involve a longer distance. A nominal anaphor has both full-fledged lexical form and complete information content. Its link to an antecedent can be long-distance.

When a zero anaphor is used, the structure containing it and the one containing its antecedent are understood to be closely linked in meaning. In cases where a

chain of zero anaphors is related to a single antecedent, a chain of states or events is presented in series. In the series of clauses in [48], a personal name 左小龙 *zuo3 xiao3long2* is introduced in [48a] to serve as the antecedent for the zero anaphors in [48b], [48c], [48d], and [48e].

- [48] a. 左小龙蹲在地上。 [nominal phrase initiated]  
*zuo3xiao3long2 dun1pa1 zai4 di4shang4*  
 ZUO\_Xiaolong squat PREP ground  
 'Zuo Xiaolong squatted on the ground.'
- b.  $\emptyset$ 依靠着橘黄色路灯的微光, [sequence of acts]  
*yi1kao4 zhe0 ju2huang2se4 lu4deng1 de0 wei2*  
 backing ZHE orange road\_lamp DE dim  
*guang1*  
 light  
 'guided by the dim light of the orange road lamp that was adjusted to its minimum brightness'
- c.  $\emptyset$ 摸索着把散落的引擎部件一片一片拾了起来, [sequence of acts]  
*mo1suo3 zhe0 ba3 san4luo4 de0 yin3qing2*  
 fumble ZHE BA fall\_here\_and\_there DE engine  
*bu4jian4 yi1 pian4 yi1 pian4 shi2 le0 qi3lai2*  
 parts one CL one CL collect LE up  
 '(he) fumbled to gather together the scattered engine parts piece by piece'
- d.  $\emptyset$ 弄得满手都是机油, [related state]  
*nong4 de0 man3 shou3 dou1 shi4 ji1you2*  
 make DE full hand all be machine\_oil  
 '(he) got his hands completely covered by engine oil'
- e.  $\emptyset$ 然后让洪岚到店里要了一个塑料袋。 [related sequence]  
*ran2hou4 rang4 hong2lan2 dao4 dian4 li3 yao4*  
 then let Honglan go\_to inn inside ask\_for  
*le0 yi1 ge4 su4jiao1 dai4*  
 LE one CL plastic bag  
 '(He) then had Honglan get a plastic bag from a shop.'
- f. 他将这些残缺的活塞、曲轴、连杆等东西放进了塑料袋里。  
 [An event separated from (a)-(e)]  
*ta1 jiang1 zhe4xie1 can2que1 de0 huo2sai1*  
 he JIANG these incomplete DE piston  
*qu1zhou2 lian2gan3 deng3 dong1xi1 fang4*  
 crankshaft connecting\_rod and\_so\_on thing put

jin4 le0 su4jiao1 dai4 li3  
 in LE plastic bag inside  
 'He put the broken pistons, crankshaft, connecting rods, and other parts into the plastic bag.'

Sometimes a pronoun is used instead of a zero anaphor in such a series, due to the influence of several discourse factors. A common factor is that the referential link needs to be reasserted, because there has been an intervention by some other referent, as in the case of [48]. A different personal name 洪岚 *hong2lan2* is introduced in [48e] to compete with 左小龙 *zuo3 xiao3long2*, and an overt pronoun 他 *ta1* 'he' is used in the subject position to ensure the correct flow of information. Another factor is that a demarcation of states or events needs to be imposed, as in [48f]. The third factor is that in oral speech, the speaker pauses long enough between sentences or repeatedly uses pronouns as fillers, as in [49a].

- [49] a. 我有一个哥哥。我们俩呀，早就分开了。因为我吧，小的时候，是抱给人家的。
- wo3 you3 yi1 ge4 ge1ge0 wo3men0 liang3  
 I have one CL elder\_brother we two  
 ya0 zao3 jiu4 fen1kai1 le0 yin1wei4 wo3 ba0  
 YA early then part LE because I BA  
 xiao3 de0 shi2hou0 shi4 bao4gei3 ren2jia1 de0  
 small DE when be cradle\_give other\_people DE  
 'I had one elder brother. My brother and I were separated long time ago, because I was given up for adoption when I was small.'
- b. 解放以后我哥哥要找我，这我们俩又，又相认。
- jie3fang4 yi3hou4 wo3 ge1ge0 yao4 zhao3  
 Liberation after I elder\_brother want seek  
 wo3 zhe4 wo3men0 liang3 you4 you4  
 I this we two again again  
 xiang1ren4  
 mutually\_recognize  
 'After Liberation, my elder brother wished to look for me. Thus, we two got acquainted again.'
- c. 他是哪儿的?
- ta1 shi4 na3er0 de0  
 he be where DE  
 'Where is he (working) now?'

- d. 他是交通部印刷厂的。  
 ta1 shi4 jiao1tong1bu4 yin4shua1chang3  
 he be Ministry\_of\_Communication sprinting\_factory  
 de0  
 DE  
 ‘He works at the Ministry of Transportation printing factory.’
- e. 他不姓马;  
 ta1 bu4 xing4 ma3  
 he NEG surname MA  
 ‘His surname is not Ma;’
- f. 他姓冯。  
 ta1 xing4 feng2  
 he surname Feng  
 ‘His surname is Feng.’

If, further still, a nominal anaphor is used instead of the two other variants, or if exactly the same nominal phrase is reintroduced, it is once again due to several discourse factors. One is that the anaphoric chain has been blurred due to the occurrence of multiple referents, so that an earlier referent needs to be introduced anew. Another is that the discourse shifts to an entirely different topic, as in [49e]. Yet another reason is that the newly introduced referent only partially overlaps with its antecedent in content, like the 他 *ta1* ‘he’ in [49c], which refers to one of the two persons mentioned in [49b].

The above descriptions on the distribution of anaphora are general tendencies that can be overridden by other factors. Where the encoded grammatical and structural information provides stronger clues, guiding the reference tracking in a fixed direction, the distance in anaphoric dependency can be extended, and even intervening referents will not cause disruption to the anaphoric chain of reference. Such encoded features include lexical information of specific verbs, discourse structure, perspective, and information structure. [50] presents a case where the first-person narrator can reactivate an anaphoric chain in [50e] with a zero anaphor when the narrator-oriented verb 想起 *xiang3qi3* ‘recall’ is used, even with the intervention of another referent 某皇帝 *mou3 huang2di4* ‘a certain emperor’ as the subject of a sentence in between, that is, in [50c], and the occurrence of one more human referential nominal phrase in a non-argument position, that is, 文武百官 *wen2wu3bai3guan1* ‘officials and generals.’ However, in [50h], a zero anaphor is no longer possible because 泄气 *xie4qi4* ‘lose hope’ is not lexically distinct enough to evoke a subject zero anaphor that takes the narrator as its antecedent, rather than the intervening 武大郎

wu3da4lang2 ‘Wu the Elder.’ Hence, the deictic pronoun is introduced again in [50h].

- [50] a. 我憧憬放牛读书, 青灯黄卷的淳朴境界,  
 wo3 chong1jing3 fang4niu2 du2shu1 qing1  
 I want herd\_cattle read green  
 deng1 huang2 juan4 de0 chun2pu2 jing4jie4  
 lamp yellow scroll DE simple realm  
 ‘I have been longing for the idealistic life of reading while cattle-herding, and studying the aged classics with a soft-lighted lamp,’
- b. 近日翻阅史籍,  
 jin4ri4 fan1yue4 shi3ji2  
 recent browse historical\_records  
 ‘recently, I read history books (and found out that)’
- c. 某皇帝曾颁旨,  
 mou3 huang2di4 ceng2 ban1 zhi3  
 certain emperor ever award decree  
 ‘a certain emperor once issued a decree’
- d. 京城民居房顶不得高于文武百官上朝站立的地方。  
 jing1cheng2 min2ju1 fang2ding3  
 capital\_of\_country house\_of\_common\_people roof  
 bu4de2 gao1 yu2 wen2wu3bai3guan1  
 must\_not higher PREP the\_civilian\_and\_military\_courtiers  
 shang4chao2 zhan4li4 de0 di4fang1  
 hold\_court stand DE place  
 ‘That buildings in the Capital should not be higher than the place where all the officials and generals gathered to greet the emperor.’
- e. 想起漫画家方成的《武大郎开店》,  
 xiang3qi3 man2hua4 jia1 fang1cheng2 de0  
 think\_of cartoon master Fang\_Cheng DE  
 wu3da4lang2 kai1 dian4  
 Wu\_Dalang open inn  
 ‘I recalled a cartoon by Fang Cheng titled “Wu the Elder doing business.”’

- f. 武大郎在矮矮的房屋里做老板,  
 wu3da4lang2 zai4 ai3ai3 de0 fang2wu1 li3 zuo4  
 Wu\_Dalang PREP short DE house inside do  
 lao3ban3  
 boss  
 ‘In which the short Mr. Wu was the boss in a low-ceilinged house.’
- g. 又不愿雇用比他高的伙计。  
 you4 bu4 yuan4 gu4yong4 bi3 ta1 gao1 de0  
 again NEG want hire than he tall DE  
 huo3ji4  
 employee  
 ‘And was reluctant to hire anyone taller than he is.’
- h. 我不由泄气: 这就是我们的封建心态, 没有田园诗般的生活。  
 wo3 bu4you2 xie4qi4 zhe4 jiu4 shi4  
 I cannot\_help be\_discouraged this then be  
 wo3men0 de0 feng1jian4 xin1tai4 mei2you3  
 we DE feudal mentality NEG  
 tian2yuan2shi1 ban1 de0 sheng1huo2  
 idyllic like DE life  
 ‘At the thought of this, I couldn’t help losing hope: this was our  
 feudal mindset, and there is no room for the real idyllic life.’

### 16.2.5. Pro-verbs and headless nominals as anaphors

Pro-verbs are those with more general meaning – such as 做 *zuo4* ‘do,’ 干 *gan1* ‘do,’ 办 *ban4* ‘do,’ and 是 *shi4* ‘be’ – that are sometimes used to stand for a previously mentioned verb or VP segment. The semantic content of such verbs needs to be recovered by establishing an anaphoric link to the previously occurring antecedent verbs. The 那么做 *na4me0 zuo4* ‘do so’ in [51] represents the previous verb phrase “giving him 160 dollars”; the 这么干 ‘do this’ in [52] is linked with the previous predicate “adding another optical cable”; and the 我也是 *wo3 ye3 shi4* ‘so do I’ in [53] is related to the previous statement “I miss you a lot.”

- [51] 我想, 还没有赚钱, 就要先给他 160 元, 我不愿那么做, 就推掉了。  
 wo3 xiang3 hai2 mei2you3 zhuan4qian2 jiu4 yao4  
 I think still NEG make\_money then will  
 xian1 gei3 ta1 160 yuan2 wo3 bu4 yuan4  
 before give he 160 yuan I NEG be\_willing\_to



na4me0 zuo4 jiu4 tui1diao4 le0  
that\_way do then push LE

'I thought: I have not made any money yet and have to give him 160 dollars. I didn't want to do that, so I turned down the request.'

- [52] 光缆价格很贵, 一条够用了, 何必还要再上一条, 就是发达国家也不这么干。

guang1lan3 jia4ge2 hen3 gui4 yi1 tiao2 gou4  
optical\_fiber price very expensive one CL enough

yong4 le0 he2bi4 hai2 yao4 zai4 shang4 yi1  
use LE why still want again up one

tiao2 jiu4 shi4 fa1da2guo2jia1 ye3 bu4 zhe4me0  
CL even be developed\_country also NEG so

gan4

do

'Optical fiber cable is very expensive. One such line is enough, why add another? Even developed countries would not do that.'

- [53] 高等法院以电话中“我想死你了,”“我也是, 好想妳哦”等亲昵对话, 认定二人有亲密关系。

gao1deng3fa3yuan4 yi3 dian4hua4 zhong1 wo3  
Higher\_Court PREP telephone in I

xiang3si3 ni3 le0 wo3 ye3 shi4 hao4 xiang3 ni3  
miss\_die you LE me too be so miss you

o0 deng3 qin1ni4 dui4hua4 ren4ding4 er4  
O etc. affectionate dialogue judge\_ascertain two

ren2 you3 qin1mi4 guan1xi4  
person have intimate relation

'The Higher Court came to the conclusion that the two had had an intimate relationship, based on telephone (transcripts) which contain affectionate dialogues such as "I miss you terribly," and "Me too, I miss you so much."'

Elements in a construction are sometimes reduced to simpler forms. The remainder of such a reduction needs to have its semantic content recovered through establishing an anaphoric link with an antecedent, either in the same clause or beyond, in the larger discourse. Thus, a reduced segment acts as an anaphor, looking for an antecedent whose grammatical category matches that of the missing element in the reduced form. A typical case is headless nominal phrases, either in the form of Num-CL without the head noun or in the form of the headless 的-*de0*-construction. The reference of 一二十杯 *yi1 er4 shi2 bei1* 'ten or twenty cups' in [54] is recovered from the antecedent 闷酒 *men4jiu3* 'boring liquor

(drink alone).’ In the case of headless 的- *de0*- constructions, its missing head can be either recovered in the immediate context or construed as having an arbitrary reference. Those in [55], namely, 搞原子弹的 *gao3 yuan2zi3dan4 de0* ‘one who makes atomic bomb,’ 卖茶叶蛋的 *mai4 cha 2ye4dan4 de0* ‘one who sells tea-leaf eggs,’ 拿手术刀的 *na2 shou3shu4dao1 de0* ‘one who works with scalpels,’ and 拿剃头刀的 *na2 ti4tou2dao1 de0* ‘one who works with barber’s razor,’ all have an arbitrary reference in that they refer to people who have a particular business for a living.

[54] 他一个人在酒吧喝闷酒, 足足喝了一二十杯。

ta1 yi1ge4ren2 zai4 jiu3ba1 he1 men4jiu3  
 he by\_self PREP bar drink sullen\_liquor  
 zu2zu2 he1 le0 yi1 er4 shi2 bei1  
 fully drink LE one two ten CL

‘He was drinking alone and sulking in a bar, and ended up finishing ten, twenty full glasses.’

[55] 早些年, 这句“搞原子弹的不如卖茶叶蛋的, 拿手术刀的不如拿剃头刀的”, 连小学生都知道。

zao3 xie1 nian2 zhe4 ju4 gao3 yuan2zi3dan4 de0  
 early some year this CL make atomic\_bomb DE  
 bu4ru2 mai4 cha 2ye4dan4 de0 na2  
 not\_as\_good\_as sell tea\_leave\_egg DE handle  
 shou3shu4dao1 de0 bu4ru2 na2 ti4tou2dao1  
 scalpel DE not\_as\_good\_as handle barber\_razor  
 de0 lian2 xiao3xue2sheng1 dou1 zhi1dao4  
 DE even pupil all know

‘In those earlier years, the saying was well known (in China), even among elementary school students: “those who work on atomic bombs fare worse than those who sell tea-flavored eggs, and those who work with scalpels fare worse than those who work with barber’s razors.” [antecedent understood as an arbitrary reference]

What has been discussed in this sub-section does not involve ellipsis, because the relevant cases involve syntactic remnants. Zero anaphora also does not involve ellipsis, as it concerns the zero form, which, though not directly observable, cannot be considered omitted.