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 that 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 I, 你 you, and 現在 now) and prototypical anaphors (such as 他 he), there also exists a closed set of common terms and expressions that can have both usages (such as 那里 there and 那時 then).

16.1. Distinctive Properties

[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 demonstratives, which are typically composed of demonstrative pronouns 這 (this) or 那 (that), followed by a head noun. Demonstratives can be used either as deictics or as 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.

16.2. 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 towards a direction, to giving a noticeable gaze, to use of stress, to analogical uses like pointing out a spot on the 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. They can be exemplified by the 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 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>我 first person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>你 second person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>您 second person singular (polite use)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>这 this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>那 that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>左边 left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>上级 senior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>下级 junior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>人家 other person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>現場 (on) the scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>現在 now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>明天 tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>這兒 here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>來 come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>去 go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| person | 我 first person  
singular |
|        | 你 second person  
singular |
|        | 咱們 first person  
plural (inclusive  
use) |
|        | 大家 all              |
| place  | 這兒 here            |
|        | 那兒 there            |
| time   | 現在 now              |
|        | 最近 recently         |
|        | 明天 tomorrow          |
|        | 那時 that time        |
| manner | 這麼 so               |
|        | 那麼 in that way       |
|        | 這樣 such             |
|        | 那樣 like that        |
| social | 閣下 your honor        |
|        | 敵人 the humble I      |
|        | 府上 your honored     |
|        | 居住 residence        |
|        | 光臨 honored         |
|        | presence              |
| discourse | 這 this          |
|        | 那 that                |
Social deictic terms 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 (cf. the underlined part in the examples), resulting in attributive-head deictic compounds: 大前天 the day before the day before yesterday, 右後方 backward to the right. Second, it can be built in the form of Det. + N, where the Det. is a demonstrative pronoun and the N is non-deictic: 這些天 these days, 那東西 that stuff, 這地方 this place. Thirdly, there are also conjoined compounds, consisting of one or both deictic terms: 如是再三 like this repeatedly (where 如是 is a deitic), 如此這般 like this and in such a way (where both 如此 and 這般 are deictic terms). These deictic terms often contains roots which are deictic terms themselves in classic Chinese, such as 是 this, and 此 this.

Deictics can be characterized with three basic and related notions: the origo, i.e. the deictic centre 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 distanced. 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.

The proximal is demonstrated by 這 this; the distal, by 那 that. Both can either stand alone (as shown in [1]) or be followed by a noun head and optionally modified by a classifier (as shown in [2] and [3]) (also discussed in 8.2). The proximal 此 and the distal 彼 form a pair of older variants, used mainly in written language and in idiomatic expressions (as shown in [4] - [6]).

[1] 這已是難以挽回的事實，只有靜待有心的科學史家去發現真相。

“This being an irreversible situation, we can only wait patiently for discerning historians of science to reveal the truth.”
[2] 如果這細胞是一個細菌，那麼不就治病了嗎？

“If this cell is a bacterium, won’t it have healing effects?”

[3] 她打開了那把有點變形的雨傘。

“She opened that rather deformed umbrella.”

[4] 中央研究院是國際聞名的學術機構, 許多國內及國際會議在此舉行。

“Academia Sinica is a world famous academic institute. Many domestic and international conferences are held here.”

[5] 兩者的默契已到了此呼彼應的地步

“The tacit understanding between the two sides has reached a mutually responsive stage.”

[6] 在景氣循環過程中, 股市與債市呈現此消彼長的现象
"In a business cycle, when the stock markets boom, the bond markets wane."

(idiomatic S)

[7] 现有的电通馆面積有限，位置又偏僻，能吸引到此一遊的人潮有限，難以達到航科館設置的目的及效益。

“The present telecom building has limited space. Its location is also out of the way, and it is unable to attract crowds of people to come here for a visit, making it hard to justify goals and efficiency of having a new aero-space building in the vicinity.”

(idiomatic expression)

Some common verbs can encode directional deictic features, such as 来 (come) and 去 (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] and [9]:

[8] 客人從那裡来? 要去很遠的地方吧?

“Where do (you) the guest come from? Are you going to a place very far away?”

(deictic verb)

[9] 我不明白你們為什麼到這裡來。

“I don’t understand why you have come here.”

(verbal deictic)
On hearing this, the youngest daughter Ti Ying felt very sad. So she made up her mind to go to the capital together with her father.

(verbatim 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 demonstratively for emphatic purposes, like the demonstrative use of third person pronouns with pointing gestures. As another example, positional relatives such as 前 (front) and 後 (back) are not deictics if they are used to describe absolute directions related to a static object such as a house or a building: 房前屋後 in the front and back of the house. Here, the utterance act offers no variable perspectival choices. Yet 在你身後 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. And 在我左邊 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.

16.2.1. Person Deixis

Person deictics form a closed set, with first person 我(sl.) and 我們(pl.), second person 你(sl.) and 你們(pl.) as the most basic. The third person pronouns 他(sl.) and 他們(pl.) can sometimes be demonstratively used with an emphatic pointing gesture, giving them deictic properties.

The first person inclusive plural 咱們 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, 我們 can be used either inclusively, or exclusively, with the latter use excluding the addressee. The dedicatedly inclusive 咱們 is mainly used in oral language.

Since the totality-denoting 大家 (all the people) shares the deictic features of 咱們, it can be used alone as a first person inclusive plural, as shown in [11]. 大
家 can also appear after first-person plural pronouns as an appositive element, resulting in both an inclusive meaning and an emphasis on totality (cf. [12]). But it is seldom used after the second-person plural 你們 (cf. [13]) and never after the third-person plurals 他們, 她們, 它們.

大家 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]. There, it is equivalent to 人人 (everyone). A more colloquial variant of the first-person plural 大家 is 大夥 (兒), which is only used in casual oral language (cf. [15]).


“Over the past six years, we have all had a hard time, taking one blow after another.”

(first person inclusive plural deictic)

[12] 社會是我們大家的，環境也是我們大家的，連空氣也是人們共同呼吸的，所以必須加以保護，不要讓它變成一個充滿垃圾的社會。

“This society belongs to us all, so is this environment. Even the air is shared by us all through breathing. That’s why it needs to be protected. We should not let the society become a place full of junk.”

(大家 as apposition to 我們)

[13] 我這麼大的年紀了，還不敢懈怠，不要說玩樂，平常連休息的時間都沒有。我為什麼這樣傻？還不是為了你們大家的幸福？

“Given my old age, I still dare not become complacent. Most of the time, I do not even have time to take a short break, not to mention
spending time on entertainment. Why am I so silly? Am I not doing it for the well-being of you all?”

(大家 as apposition to 你們)

[14] …這種情景在山西沒有出現，小孩子讀幾年書就去學生意了，大家都覺得理所當然。

“[After describing that Anhui people attached great importance to scholar examinations, making it hard for a large number of successful business people and their offspring to decide on their career path.] This dilemma was never encountered in Shanxi. Children started to learn business after several years of schooling. This was taken as the norm by everyone.”

(totality and non-deictic use of 大家)

[15] 嘿！你們猜甘格在做什麼？絕！！絕！！在挑魚哩！他挑一擔，就夠咱們大夥吃一個月。

“Guess what Ken is doing? Surprise!! Surprise!! He is picking out fish. If he picks out a whole load, that can sustain us for a whole month.”
Corpus Frequency of second-person pronouns

人家，別（的）人，其他（的）人 and 他人，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 is sometimes coquettishly used as a self-addressing term by young women or entertainers. Some residual referential terms are used to refer to non-human entities, with the head noun positions being assumed by the relevant inanimate items: 別（的）書（other books），其他（的）報紙（other newspapers）.

16.2.2. Place Deixis

The basic proximal and distal place deictics constitute the following contrastive pairs: 這裡（here），那裡（there）; 這兒（here），那兒（there）; 這邊（here），那邊（there）。Although these three pairs are often used interchangeably, there are nuances of differences.

這裡（here）和 那裡（there） consist of the proximal or the distal deictic term, followed by the locative morpheme 裡（inside). But the two resulting expressions，這裡（here） and 那裡（there）, do not convey the “inside” meaning, which is to be conveyed by 這裡面（in here）and 那裡面（in there）or 這裡邊（in here）and 那裡邊（in there）.

這兒（here）and 那兒（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 兒-suffix in writing, and some do not use 兒-suffixed words
at all.

這邊 (here) and 那邊 (there) have the more basic and more physical meaning of “this side” and “that side”. But they are also used with the extended sense of “this spot, that spot; this part, that part; this area, that area”, causing them to be often used interchangeably with 這裡, 那裡, and 這兒, 那兒.

The proximal 此地 (here) does not have a distal counterpart in modern Chinese.

Some other place deixtics are both directional and locative: the directional deictic terms 左(left) and 右(right) can combine with relevant locatives 邊 (side) and 面 (surface), forming deictic expressions such as 左邊 (left side) and 右面 (right side). As explained above, relative directional terms such as 上(up),下(down), 前(front), 後(back) can acquire deictic properties in some uses when the center of reference is not fixed. They can form expressions such as 上邊 (above), 下面 (below), 前方 (at the front), 後邊 (behind), which can also have deictic use.

However, 裡 (in) and 外 (out) only combine with a following 邊 (side), 面 (surface) or 頭 (end) to form deictic expressions. The 裡 here is different from the 裡 discussed in the last paragraph not only in position but also in meaning: Here, 裡 is followed by a locative morpheme and always means inside, while the previous 裡 follows a deictic term and means place only, as in 這裡 (here) and 那裡 (there), although it can also mean inside in 屋(子)裡 (in the room), 鞋子裡 (in the shoe), 家裡 (inside home), etc.

16.2.3. Time Deixis

The time of speaking can be considered the temporal origo and is encoded by 現在 (now), departing from whatever other time deixis is deployed. The more basic proximal and distal terms 這 (this) and 那 (that) can combine with ensuing time-denoting units, with possible numerals and classifiers in between: 這時 (at this moment), 這會兒 (at this period), 那時候 (in those years, at that time), 那年 (in that year), 那一年 (in that year), 這個月 (the current month), 這幾個月 (these months).

Neither days of the week nor calendar dates are deixtics. For deictic reference, Chinese has a seven-slot system: 今天 today, 明天 tomorrow, 昨天 yesterday, 後
As shown in the above examples, some spatio-directional terms such as 前 (before) and 後 (after) are also used as time deictics when combined with time-denoting words. More examples are 上一年 the last year, 下一年 the next year, 上個世紀 the last century, and 下個世紀 the next century.

16.2.4. 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 and 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 is deictic, as the speaker uses it out of the consideration of social distance: respect or estrangement is an extended application of the concept distal. But terms of address involving one’s administrative duties or titles such as 王校長 (President Wang), 李教授 (Professor Li), 陳博士 (Dr. Chen) are not deictics, because they are relatively fixed terms. Likewise, some rather commonly used terms of address such as 先生 (Mr.), 太太 (Mrs.), 夫人 (Madame), 小姐 (Miss) are not deictics either.

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

Deferentials:
大人 (your honour), 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 epistol works, it is still often used to address a parent or a senior and usually aged relative, when it is preceded by a senior kinship term, like 母親大人 (My honored mother), 舅父大人 (My honored uncle).

貴 (your honorable) can be combined with many nouns to form deferential reference, such as 貴校 (your honored school), 貴軍 (your honored army), 貴所 (your honored institute), 貴廠 (your honored factory), etc. However, nouns preceded by 貴 are not used as terms of address.

光臨, 藹臨 (be honorably present) is used to honor an addressee’s visit.

敬上 (respectfully presented) is used at the end of a letter, after the name of the writer. It can be shortened to 上.

敬祝 (respectfully extending a wish) is used before an offer of good wishes.

Depreciatories

小人 (my humble self) is formerly used in face-to-face communication by a subordinate as a self-addressing term, now obsolete.

下人 (the lowly) has less of a deictic character than 小人, as it is only used to refer to servants and not as an address term.

小輩 (the junior family members and relatives, literally the younger generation): self-addressing term, for singular or plural reference.

晚輩 (the junior, literally the later generation): self-addressing term, usually singular, used by juniors in the presence of seniors

後學 (the later student): self-addressing term, usually singular, used by younger students or scholars in the presence of senior ones
15.2.5. Discourse Deixis

這 (this) and 那 (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 following four examples illustrate the deictic use. Discourse-referring anaphora is discussed in 16.3.1.

[16] 近幾十年，流傳著一句名言：「三十歲以前不相信共產主義，沒有出息，四十歲以後還相信共產主義，沒有見識。」 據說這是羅素說的，而且還有文字略異的不同版本，...。

“In the recent years, there is a popular saying, ‘Not to be taken in by communism before thirty is not ambitious enough, but not to give it up after forty is not wise enough’. This is said to be from Russell and the exact wording varies.”

[17] 「我的媽媽，是最好的媽媽」，這句話他脫口而出，而且是他在整
個敘述過程中，聲音顯得有些稚嫩的一次。
"My mother is the best", he uttered this sentence without much thinking, and this was the only time in the whole of his talk when his voice sounded a bit childlike."

[18] 「我要感謝養育我的父母，感謝他們的養育之恩！我還要感謝我的教練、所有關心我的朋友，所有愛我和恨我的人！」這是羅雪娟奪冠後的第一句話，聲音有點哽咽。
"I wish to thank my parents for nurturing me! I also wish to thank my coach and all my friends who care for me, as well as all the people who love me and those who hate me!’ This was the first sentence uttered by Luo Xuejuan after winning the championship. Her voice was a bit choked up.”

[19] 「聲音太大，耳朵受不了，面對面講話，都聽不到，」一直守在法拉利車隊維修區的新華社攝影記者凡軍「說」他是用手機短信來傳遞這句話的，電話根本聽不見。
"It’s too noisy for the ears to stand. Can’t even hear the words face-to-face,’ Fan Jun, photography reporter for Xinhua News Agency, who was staying in the maintenance area of Scuderia Ferrari Team the whole time, ‘said’ he was sending this sentence via text message rather than by speaking. No phones could be heard at all.”

16.2.6. 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.

[20] We are well aware that some countries have been dumping this kind of product on sale. But first, that is their stock from last year, or even two years ago, so its quality cannot be compared with ours. Second, …

[21] Today’s young people, today’s youngsters. They are impacted too much by information coming from abroad. So much that it is not imaginable by our generation, or your generation.

[22] But you humans curse me for spreading disease, when in fact, it’s really not our fault. That is because after we happen to suck a sick person’s blood, we then suck a healthy person’s blood, and only then is the disease spread.

[23] Neil asked another question, ‘What is that moon-worshiping you mentioned just now?’ As far as I know, such rituals really exist in India and Africa. But it is said that that is no more than superstition.”
16.2.7. **Generic Use of Deictic Terms**

Some dedicated deictic terms, i.e. terms that are never used anaphorically, can be used to give arbitrary reference. The second person singular 你 (you) is the most common. Other terms used like this are mostly found in idiomatic expressions, in pairs of contrasts.

[24] 棋賽有很高的可塑性。你建構它。它就像是一種機械性的雕刻：你用棋子創造出美麗的難題，而這種美是用大腦和雙手創造出來的。

“A game of chess is full of changes. You can shape it according to your will. It is like a mechanical process of moulding a sculpture. You use chess pieces to create a beautiful puzzle. And the beauty comes from your brain and your hands.”

(generic use of 你)

[25] 一個人活在世界上, 如何選擇行動的原則？這是需要有完整了解之後, 才可作的選擇。如果你沒有完整的了解, 就會今天這樣做、明天那樣做。

“How should one behave in this world? Choices can only be made after acquiring a thorough knowledge of the world. If not, you would do this today, and that tomorrow.”

(generic use of paired deictics: 今天... 明天: 這樣...那樣)

[26] 纣王怕老百姓批評他, 下令禁止他們在街上講話。現在紂王的京城裡, 彼此認識的人在路上碰見了, 只是你望望我, 我望望你,不敢交談。

“Fearing that people might criticize him, King Zhou ordered that talking be forbidden on the street. Now, in the capital of the kingdom, when friends meet, they do not dare speak and can only look at one another.”

(generic use of paired deictics: 你... 我; 我...你)

[27] 臨走的時候，您要我買點府上沒有的東西帶回來。我左想右想，府上可真是什麼都有了，就差仁義，所以我一到薛國，就替您把租約
當著大家的面兒燒掉了
“Before I embarked on the errand, you asked me to buy something for you that you did not have at home. I thought and thought, but you really had everything at home except kindness. Therefore, as soon as I arrived at the territory of Xue, I burnt all the land lease documents in front of everyone.”

(generic use of paired deictics: 左… 右)

[28] 晚餐準備就緒，等候著男主人。左等右盼，女主人的心隨諸起伏，從疑慮、納悶、牵挂擔心轉為生氣。
“The evening dinner being ready, the wife waited and waited for the husband to come home. As time went by, her mood swung from doubt, to suspicion, anxiety, concern, all the way to irritation.”

(generic use of paired deictics: 左… 右)

這 and 那 in a pair can also be used in generic ways.

[29] 連他，也因每天聽我在車上講這講那，知道了我的需要。
“Even he got to know my needs, as he listened to my babbling in the car every day.”

(generic use of paired deictics: 這… 那)

[30] 二次大戰時的英國邱吉爾，…等到風平浪靜時，英國人又嫌他這、嫌他那。他也仍舊嚼著雪茄，比著「V」手勢，從容走出唐寧街十號。
“[Referring to the achievement of Winston Churchill During World War II first and in subsequent crisis] When the conflicts were settled, people again detested him for this and that. Again he left No. 10 Downing Street calmly, still chomping his cigar and flashing the V sign.”

(generic use of paired deictics: 這… 那)
16.3. Overview of Anaphora

At the beginning of this chapter, we defined anaphora as involving a set of closed 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 Mandarin Chinese can be divided into three types: nominal anaphors, pronominal anaphors, and the zero anaphor. Pronominal anaphors also include reflexives and reciprocals as two idiosyncratic sub-types.

16.3.1. Nominal Anaphora

Nominal anaphora concerns cases where a nominal expression — excluding pronouns and the zero form which will be separately treated — is co-referential with another noun, with partial or no sharing of lexical forms. This definition excludes cases when a noun or noun phrase simply repeats itself in discourse. Thus defined, the first type of nominal anaphora concerns anaphors with shortened forms of their antecedents. The shortened forms can either be established acronyms whose relationship with the full expressions is recoverable independent of context, or temporary simplifications whose meaning can only be fully comprehended in the specific discourse context. The former is exemplified by [31]; the latter, by [32] and [33].

[31] 聯合國安全理事會 → 安理會
[32] In the Seventh World Junior Badminton Championships held in Canada have ended with China winning four out of the six championships. Commenting on the overall performance of the winning youth teams in this event, China coach Pan Li said that the Chinese teams had some strong aspects but did not exhibit extraordinary performance. Talking about her impressions of this World Junior Championship, Li said that the Chinese junior teams continued to exhibit the overall excellent performance seen over the past few championships. She took this to be a good indication that the Chinese team would continue to play a major role in badminton in the years to come.

[33] 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, even though they had spent almost three years training in Brazil.

In [32], [a] is the antecedent of the nominal anaphor [f]. [b],[d] and [e] are anticipatory NP anaphors that share reference with the antecedent [g]. Alternatively, [b] can be considered as a case of bridging-cross reference, whose exact referent can be inferred in relation to [a], on the basis of language users’ encyclopedic knowledge: a Chinese team attending a youth competition can be no other than a youth team. Then [d] and [e] are just repetitions of [b]. [c] does not involve an anaphoric link because it refers to all the youth teams attending the tournament. [h] is also not relevant, as it refers
to the adult team, not the youth team.

In [33], [d] is the retrospective anaphor to the antecedent [a], as is [c] to [b].

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 categorial reference, as shown in [34], and general nouns with specific reference, used with emotional connotations (i.e. epithets), as shown in [35].

[34] 今天水墨創作的困境, 除了藝術家的涵養之外, 主要就來自於「筆墨」與「構成」兩種精神的衝突與激盪。[a] 這個問題 [b], 歷史上不曾得其兩全：五代去色彩而成全筆墨, 西畫成全構成而壓抑了線條的獨立性。

“At present, the predicament of Chinese ink and wash, apart from the limitations in artists’ self-cultivation, stems from the conflicts and mutual impacts of two opposite approaches: one is ‘emphasis on the strokes’, the other, ‘emphasis on the composition’. In the past, this problem was never solved to the satisfaction of both approaches. In the Five Dynasties period, colors were dispensed with so as to promote strokes. The introduction of Western painting techniques promoted composition, and suppressed the independence of the strokes.”

([a] is the antecedent of the anaphor [b])

[35] 在安徽省靈璧縣向陽鄉衛生院, 農婦馬敏順利產下四胞胎胡大毛、胡二毛、胡三毛、胡四毛 [a]。由於衛生院條件有限，在當地派出所協助下, 4個小傢伙 [b] 順利轉到蚌埠醫學院附屬醫院。

“At Xiangyang Town Health Clinic, Linbi County, Anhui Province, woman farmer Ma Min gave a smooth delivery to quadruplets Hu Da Mao, Hu Er Mao, Hu San Mao, and Hu Si Mao. As the medical facilities of the local health clinic were inadequate, aided by staff from the local public security bureau, the four little ones were safely transferred to the hospital affiliated with the Bangfu Medical College.”

([a] is the antecedent of the anaphor [b])
The difference between the anaphoric reference in [34] and the uses involving discourse deixis (see Section 16.2.5) is that [34] does not refer to the discourse segment *per se*, but to the ideas presented earlier, while discourse deixis refers more to the actual utterance verbatim. However, it may be difficult to distinguish them in some cases, as shown in [36], where the [b] expression 這句話（this utterance）can be taken in either way in relation to the [a] expression: [b] is a discourse deictic if it refers to the physical utterance of [a], but is a discourse anaphor if the content of [a] rather than its physical utterance was taken to be the real thrust. The former refers to the physical discourse segment rather than the content, while the latter refers to the content rather than the physical utterance. The same relationship is seen in [37] – [39].

[36] 「給錢給物不如給科技 [a]」，204萬嘗到科教扶貧甜頭、走出貧困的江西老俵，把這句話 [b] 響噹噹地掛在嘴邊。
“‘Technological aid is better than financial aid’, often said emphatically by the people of Jiangxi Province, who have just walked out of poverty as beneficiaries of a 2.04 million science and education grant .”

[37] 在留英的中國學生中流行這樣一種說法，「越差的大學，中國人越多，只要交錢就能上 [a]」。這句話 [b] 聽上去很刺耳，但也提醒人們在「留英熱浪」中保持冷靜。
“There is a saying among Chinese students studying in the U.K., ‘the worse the university, the more Chinese students. You get admitted as long as you can afford the fee.’ This saying sounds jarring, but it also reminds the Chinese people to keep their cool in the heated wave of overseas study in the U.K.”

[38] 「我願以我走過的全部道路證明一句話，人生是可以雕塑的 [a]。」
透過低迴哀樂，透過模糊的淚眼，透過壓抑的心緒，劉開渠先生的這句話 [b] 如金石擲地，讓人為之一震。
“‘I would like to use my whole life’s journey to prove one proposition. That is, life can be sculptured.’ This saying by Mr. Liu Kaiqu the sculptor gave encouragement to everyone, uplifting their depressed mood amid the low, mourning, music and through their blurred, tearful eyes.”
Above is one page of a document. Here is the natural text:

[39] 正在匈牙利訪問的胡錦濤在談到這件事情時表示：我們珍惜每一位同胞的生命，決不容許恐怖主義威脅中國公民的人身安全。中國政府將盡最大努力確保境外中國公民的安全 [a]。這番話 [b]，語調凝重、字字鏗鏘，情深意切、掷地有聲，使在場的每一個人都為之感動。

“On hearing this incident, Hu Jintao, now visiting Hungary, said that we value the life of every Chinese compatriot and would never tolerate terrorist threats to the lives of Chinese citizens, and that the Chinese government would do its best to ensure the safety of Chinese citizens abroad. These words, uttered in grave tone and determination, were full of sincerity and moved everyone on the scene.”

The third type of nominal anaphora involves cases when the referential content of a noun is later picked up by a synonymous noun, as shown by [40] and [41].

[40] 據不完全統計，每年在奧地利各種中文教育機構學習漢語的有近千人。

“Based on a preliminary survey, every year in Austria, the number of people learning Chinese in various Chinese teaching institutes approximates one thousand.”

(中文 is synonymous with 漢語)

[41] 他大學開始學習中文，漢語現在講得還不流利。

“Having started learning Chinese in his third undergraduate year, his oral Chinese is not very smooth yet.”

(中文 is synonymous with 漢語)

### 16.3.2. Pronominal Anaphora

Pronominal anaphora involves the third person pronouns ta[sl.] and tamen[pl.]. 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 (he), 她 (she), 它 (it), and the corresponding 他們 (they-masculine), 她們 (they-feminine), and 它們 (they-nonhuman). Demonstrative pronominal anaphora includes 這 (this), 那 (that), 本(this),
該 (that), 其 (whose) and their variants when used with referential nouns.

這 (this), when combined with a following noun, can be used to give definite reference, like 這時 (this moment), 這人 (this man/the man), 這車 (this car/the car). Such use is sometimes anaphoric and sometimes deictic, and is also highly lexically specific.

這時 is anaphoric, referring to a time in the past, just as 現在 (now) refers to the immediate present. But 這次 and 這回, both meaning “this time” can be used either anaphorically or deictically. 這下, however, either means “as a result” or “this immediate present”. The first is used as a conjunct; the second, a deictic. 此 (this) can also have such twofold usage. 此時 (at the time) is anaphoric. 此地 (this place) and 此處 (this location) are deictic. But 此事 (this matter) and 此人 (this person) can be used either way.

16.3.3. Reflexives and Reciprocals

Anaphora includes reflexives and reciprocals as subcategories. Reflexives can take two main forms: the independently used 自己 (self) and the 自己 (self) used after a pronoun, a name, or a full NP. The stand-alone 自己 occupies an argument position, while the 自己 used after other nominal elements is an emphatic pronoun. The emphatic 自己 co-refers with the preceding nominal element it is attached to. But the argument 自己 should establish an anaphoric link to its antecedent, either within a single clause or beyond, across one or more superordinate clauses, or even intersententially. Several possibilities are available, which can be conveniently grouped under two categories: 自己 as subject and 自己 as object.

When the stand-alone 自己 appears in the subject position, it can establish reference in three possible ways.

First, as a subject in matrix clause, it can be used as shortened forms of pronoun + 自己, i.e. 我自己, 你自己, 他自己. Such uses are usually found in thought description discourse for self-reference, as exemplified by [42].

[42] 入秋的季節，自己總習慣性地帶件外套，入秋的夜裡，自己總習慣性地在床尾鋪上薄被，深怕自己病了，病得自己無法在軌道上行走。

“In the autumn, I am used to going out with a thicker coat. At night,
I am used to sleeping with a thin quilt. I take care not to get sick, lest I not be able to get along as usual on the track of life."

Second, as the subject in the subordinate clause co-indexed with the subject in the matrix clause, the stand-alone 自己 works like a pronominal:

[43] 不久，我自医院返家，過著正常的生活。我甚至忘了自己曾經罹患癌症這件事，因此也就一直沒回醫院接受檢查。

“Soon afterwards, I left the hospital and went back home, where I began to lead a normal life. I even forgot that I had had cancer and did not go back to the hospital to have follow-up checks.”

[44] 就在前不久，一位同事表示要積極培養一項嗜好，免得退休後，太無聊，並表明要去學泡茶。這使得我猛然發現自己是多麼有福氣，早早地就—能享受泡茶的樂趣…。

“Not long ago, a colleague of mine expressed the wish of cultivating a hobby, lest he feel too idle after retirement. He also made it clear that he wanted to study the art of tea-making. Only by then did it occur to me that I was so lucky in being able to have experienced the joy of tea-making…”

[45] 仍有許多車輛則不論他是人家門口或轉角處、十字路口，反正見隙就鑽，—管他否違規車，只要自己方便就好。

“There are still many vehicles which would park wherever there is a space, whether at a gate or around a corner or at an intersection, regardless of traffic regulations, so long as the drivers find it convenient to themselves.”

Thirdly, 自己 in subject position can have an arbitrary reference, meaning “anyone himself”, functioning as a pronominal, as shown in [46] and [47].

[46] 要溝通，不要對立。—溝通是雙方面的。首先是要自己說的話對方能聽到、聽懂和聽得進去。

“We must communicate rather than confront each other. Communication is bidirectional. It is important that what anyone says can be heard, comprehended and acceptable to others.”
人活在世界上，有一個具體的自然生命，同時也有心靈的能力，…自己具有某種修養之後，就可以點化生命的困境，點化的層次也有不同，…。

“A person living in this world possesses a concrete natural life. But there is also a mental ability.... Thus equipped, one can solve difficulties in life through different means....”

When the stand-alone 自己 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 and its antecedent. The following are some relevant examples, where sameness of subscript index indicates co-reference. In such examples, it is the contextual information that helps the reader to determine the exact antecedents from among otherwise equally accessible candidates:

[48] 男生 i 常覺得女生 j 不能清楚的表達自己 i 的感情，男生只好很辛苦的玩猜謎遊戲。
“Boys i often feel that girls j cannot express their i feelings explicitly, so that they have no choice but to play the riddle-solving game.”

[49] 有一位年輕人，…他 i 總覺得別人 j 對不起自己 i。
“There was a young man who liked to complain a lot, …. He i always felt that others had treated him j badly.”

[50] 一項針對台北市議員體重管理的問卷調查顯示，議員助理 i 認為他們 i 的老闆 j 對自己 i 身材滿意程度，覺得「滿意」的僅佔三成，…。
“A survey of Taipei city council members on weight control revealed that their aides i thought that only 30% of their bosses j were satisfied with their i body weight...”

[51] 她 i 覺得還是他 j 最瞭解自己 i 的聲音，能把她的音樂做得夠完美。
“She i thinks that it is still he j who knows her i voice best and can bring her music to perfection.”

Reciprocals in Chinese, encoded as 互相 and 相互 (sometimes shorted to 互 only) are usually used as adjuncts, sometimes also used as subject arguments, but never as object arguments. A third item, 彼此, though often used as an adjunct, can appear both in subject position and, to a much lesser
extent, in object position:

[52] 學術的殿堂能將優秀的心靈彼此結合，共同為思想的革命而努力。
“Academic work can unite good minds, making them work together for revolutions in thought.”

[53] 年初一，也就是元旦，每個人都穿上新衣服，出去拜年。見面的時候彼此說聲恭喜！！恭喜！
“The first day of the Chinese Lunar Year is New Year’s day. Everyone puts on new clothes and goes out to give new year greetings. When seeing one another, people say ‘Best wishes!! Best wishes!’, ....”

[54] 相隔三年，不過一千多個日子吧，妳我之間卻已恍如隔世，妳已不復為妳，而我也不再是我。雖然如此，相見時的悸動卻仍和當年一般，深深撼動著彼此。
“A three-year separation is no more than a thousand or so days. Yet you and I seemed to have been a whole life apart. You were no longer you, and I was no longer me. Nevertheless, our reunion seemed to be as emotional as our meetings in the past, bringing deeply felt sentiments to each other.”

As a common term, 本 (this) alternates between deictic and reflexive usage. When combined with a following noun to form a full-fledged NP, it is deictic, like 本人 ‘I’, 本地 local, 本周 this week, 本世紀 this century, 本年度 this year, etc. When 本 and its following noun follow a human NP to form a larger NP compound, it is used for self-reference and is hence reflexive, like 我本人 I myself, 張三本人 Zhangsan himself, (他)自己本身 (he) himself.

當(at, that)，when combined with a following noun denoting time or place, is mainly used anaphorically: 當年 (that year), 當時 (that time), 當場 (at the scene), 當天 (that day). The anaphoric 當地 (local) forms a contrast with the deictic 本地 (local). But 當代 (this century), 當前 (at present), 當初 (at that earlier time) are used deictically.

自 (self) can combine with other morphemes to form self-referring compounds:


Nouns: 自述 own statement 自傳 autobiography 自白 confession 自信 self-confidence 自尊 self-esteem 自我 self 自閉 autism 自家 own

Four-character idioms: 自生自滅 leave someone on his own 自艾自怨 self-blame 自娱自樂 self-entertain 自高自大 egotistic 自彈自唱 play and sing on one’s own 自強自愛 self-powered and self-respected 自編自導 written and directed by one person 自由自在 carefree 自暴自棄 given-up and self-deserted 自作自受 bearing one’s own consequences 自吹自擂 self-exaggerated 顧影自憐 self-pity 自力更生 self-reliance 自強不息 always self-motivated 孤芳自賞 self-admiration 自慚形穢 look down on oneself 怡然自得 happy-go-lucky 自顧不暇 buy oneself 無師自通 self-taught 自欺欺人 self-deluding as well as deceiving others 毛遂自薦 self-nominated 自甘墮落 self-deserted 監守自盜 guarding property and stealing from it 自命不凡 self-proud 自命清高 self-alooof 不自量力 without self-knowledge 自尊心 pride, self-esteem

In some words where 自 and its following morpheme have been fused into one meaning, it is no longer possible to tell the individual meaning apart in modern Chinese: 自動 automatic 自私 selfish 自豪 proud 自覺 self-conscious 自然 natural 自如 dexterity 自行 on one’s own 自由 free 自己 self.

Finally, some examples involving anticipatory pronominal anaphora:

[55] 在學會推動自己的身心進化之前，兒童需要大人持續不斷、毫無條件地把能量提供給他們。

“Before children acquire the ability to develop their mind and body, they need constant and unconditional supply of energy and guidance
from adults.”

“When the China Disabled Art Troupe bid him farewell, Mr. Zhang Xueliang (Hsueh liang Chang) waved good-bye again and again from his wheelchair.”

16.3.4. Zero Anaphora

Zero anaphora refers 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. Some examples are the subject NP, the direct or indirect object NP, the Ba-object, or a PP serving the role of object complement.

As Chinese sentences can have zero noun 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. Therefore, all zero arguments are zero anaphors. 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 taken not to be present at all.

Sometimes an ordinary argument position is filled, not by its obligatory argument as specified by its predicate, but by an optional adjunct also taking the form of an NP, giving rise to the following examples in which the object NP is not what is actually eaten:

“At that time we four shared a flat and got along very well with one another.
We often went out to eat (the contents of) hot-pot and watch movies. We felt like one family."

[58] 遺憾的是，值班時隨便吃上幾口不僅僅是因為節省時間，主要還是因為--沒錢吃食堂。
“Unfortunately, not having a proper meal at work was not really due to the time factor, but actually because they could not afford to eat (in) the canteen.”

[59] 1985年前, 我家不懂科學, 地裡打糧不多, 年年要吃國家救濟。
“Before 1985, my family did not know much about new farming technology, so we could not harvest much and had to eat (on) government subsidy every year.”

The above cases only apply to object argument positions. Also, the logical object can either be displaced to the topic position, as shown in [60]-[61] below, or not appear in the sentence at all, as shown in [57]-[59] above.

[60] 提到領導巡查學校的問題, 不禁讓我想起, 國務院總理溫家寶幾次到大學調研時, 午飯--吃的都是學校的食堂, 和一般的學生沒有什麼兩樣。
“Talking about leaders inspecting schools, I recall that when Premier Wen Jiabao visited universities several times, for lunch he always ate (in) the canteen, the same as ordinary students.”

[61] 胡阿姨早打算好了, 年夜飯 ø 就吃火鍋 , 一家人圍坐一團, 既方便又熱鬧。(ø = subject)
“Auntie Hu has planned well ahead of time. For the new year’s eve dinner this time, they will eat (the contents of) hot-pot. The whole family will sit and eat in a circle. It is both convenient and lively.”

Under such circumstances, a displaced object is not taken as a zero anaphor, as it is not even observable. If a displaced object is phonetically realized, it occupies a non-argument position, i.e., it is not specified by its predicate in the lexicon. Such a position cannot host a zero anaphor, according to the criteria for identifying zero anaphora described above. On the other hand, when the subject argument position is not filled, it can accommodate a zero subject argument. [61] serves to exemplify this last point,
where 年夜飯 takes the topic position and a zero anaphor (ø) is identified as the subject.

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.

Anticipatory zero anaphora is illustrated with the following examples:

[62] 今天中午 ø 剛吃過飯，他顧不上休息又急匆匆地出門了，說要拜訪「親家」。
“Immediately after his lunch today, he set out in a hurry without taking a break, saying that he needed to visit some close contacts.”

[63] ø 出院之後，道格拉斯果然戒掉了酗酒的惡習。
“Sure enough, Douglas quit his nasty drinking habit after leaving the hospital.”

16.3.5. Anaphors in discourse

This section sketches the distribution of different types of anaphora and factors affecting their alternation.

Zero, pronominal and NP 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 NP that is 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 longer distance. An NP 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 example given below, one anaphoric chain is formed from [64c] to [64f], and another one is formed from [64g] to [64i]. Each chain is headed by a pronominal or an NP as the antecedent, followed by several zero anaphors.

If a pronoun is used instead of a zero anaphor, it is due to the influence of several discourse factors. The first is that a demarcation of states or events needs to be imposed (cf. [64c]). The second is that the referential link needs to be reasserted, because there has been an intervention by some other referent (cf. [65f]). The third is that in oral speech, the speaker pauses long enough between sentences or repeatedly uses pronouns as fillers (cf. [66c-f]). If, further still, an NP anaphor is used instead of the two other variants or if exactly the same NP is re-introduced, 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 (cf. [64g]). Yet another reason is that the newly-introduced referent only partially overlaps with its antecedent in content (cf. [64b]).

[64] a. 顧維鈞 1888年生於上海。[NP initiated] Gu Weijun (Vi Kyuin "Wellington" Koo) was born in Shanghai in 1888.
b. 1904年, 少年顧維鈞, 遠涉重洋, 赴美留學。[an NP anaphor which is more restricted in referential meaning than the antecedent because of the attributive 少年, introducing an event separated from that in a.] In 1904, the young Gu Weijun went to the other side of the ocean to study in the U.S.
c. 1912年, 他在八年寒窗後, 毕業於紐約哥倫比亞大學, [Pronominal introducing another event. Distance from c to b shorter than b to a, as c-b occur in the same place.] In 1912, after eight years of study, he graduated from Columbia University in New York.
d. ø 旋即回國, [d immediately follows c in time] He went back to his home country immediately afterwards,
e. ø 出任當時的總統袁世凱和國務總理唐紹儀的英文秘書, [e immediately follows d] and became the English secretary for the then-President Yuan Shikai and the Premier Tang Shaoyi,
f. 後 ø 升任外交部的參事。[f follows e, there being no other intervening events mentioned]
and was later promoted to be the counselor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
g. 由於顧熟諳國際政治和歐美法律，[NP anaphora initiating another topic of discussion.]
As Gu was well-informed in international politics and European-US laws,
h. 0 是新生的共和國不可多得的外交人才，[h conjunctive to g]
(he) was an indispensable talent in foreign affairs for the new republic of China,
i. 0 深得當權者的青睞。[i being super-ordinate to g and h in relation: g and h are the causes for i, the three forming a close structural and semantic relationship] and was well-liked by the people in power.

[65] a. 左小龍蹲趴在地上，[NP initiated]
Zuo Xiaolong squatted on the ground,
b. 0 依靠著被調到最暗的橘黃色路燈的微光，[sequence of acts]
guided by the dim light of the orange road lamp that was adjusted to its minimum brightness,
c. 0 摸索著把散落周圍的引擎部件一片一片拾了起來，[sequence of acts]
(he) fumbled and gathered together the scattered parts of the engine piece-by-piece,
d. 滿手都是機油，[related state]
(his) hands completely covered by machine oil,
e. 然後 0 讓泥巴跑到遠處的店裡要了一個塑膠袋，[related sequence]
(he) then had Niba go and fetch a plastic bag from a far-away shop.
f. 他將這些殘缺的發動機瓦、活塞、曲軸、連杆等東西放進了塑膠袋裡。
[An event separated from a-e.]
He put the disassembled engine bearings, pistons, crankshaft, connecting rods, etc. parts into the plastic bag.

[66] a. 我們家呀，我是一個哥哥，我姐兒一個。們倆呀，早就分家了，
Our family, I have one elder brother, one elder sister. My brother and I, we left and divided up our family property a long time ago,
分開了。因為我吧，是，小的時侯，是抱的，給人的。
b. 解放以後我哥哥要找我，這我們倆又，又相認，
After Liberation, my elder brother wished to look for me. Thus we two got acquainted again.

He is where?

Where is he?

He works at the Ministry of Transportation printing factory.

His surname is not Ma,

His surname is Feng.

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 provide 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. [67] presents a case where the first person narrator can reactivate an anaphoric chain at (e) with a zero anaphor when the narrator-oriented verb 想起 (recall) is used, even with the intervention of another referent 某皇帝 (a certain emperor) as the subject of a sentence in between, i.e. (c), and the occurrence of one more human referential NP in a non-argument position, i.e. 文武百官 (the civilian and military courtiers). But at (h), zero anaphora is no longer possible because 洩氣 (lose hope) is not lexically distinct enough to evoke a subject zero anaphor that will take the narrator as its antecedent, rather than the intervening 武大郎 (Mr. Wu the Elder). Hence the deictic pronoun is introduced again at (h). [68] shows the prominence of the topic as the antecedent in the chain of zero anaphors, which spans across several clauses involving three intervening referents.

[67] a. 我憧憬碗大炕熱, 放牛讀書, 青燈黃卷, 古典美的淳樸境界。

I have been longing for the idealistic old-fashioned life of ample food, comfortable bed, reading while cattle-herding, and studying the
aged classic scrolls with a soft-lighted lamp.

b. 近 0 翻阅史籍，
Recently, while reading history books (I read about the following),

c. 某皇帝曾頒旨，
a certain emperor once issued a decree,

d. 京城民居房頂不得高於丹墀——即金鑾殿前，文武百官上朝站立的地方。
forbidding civilian buildings to be built higher than the place where all the civilian and military courtiers gathered to greet the emperor.

e. 0 想起漫畫家方成的《武大郎開店》，
I recalled a cartoon by Fang Cheng titled “Mr. Wu the Elder doing business”,

f. 武大郎在這樣矮趴趴房屋裡做老闆，
in which the short Mr. Wu was the boss in a low-ceilinged store

g. 0 又不願雇用比他高的夥計。
and was reluctant to hire anyone taller than him.

h. 我不由洩氣：這就是我們的封建文化心態，沒有純粹田園詩般的生
At the thought of this, I couldn’t help losing hope: this was our feudal cultural attitude, and there is no room for the real idyllic life.

[68]  a. 陸伯龍經海派書畫名家王一亭十載面傳親授，
Lu Bolong was taught by the famous Shanghai painter Wang Yiting for ten years,

b. 0 又得繪畫大師吳昌碩的指點，
and also learnt from the master painter Wu Changshuo.

c. 0 獲益良多，
He benefited a lot,

d. 0 積澱頗深。
and became a well-cultured painter.

16.3.6. Pro-verbs and headless NPs as anaphors

Pro-verbs are verbs that have more general meaning --- such as 做 (do), 幹 (do), 辦 (do) and 是 (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.

[69] 我想，都還沒有發財，就要先給他160元，我不願意那麼做，就推掉他。
“I thought to myself: I have not even made a fortune, and he wants 160 yuan from me. I didn’t want to do that, so I turned down his request.”

[70] 光纜是現代通訊設施，價格很貴，一條夠用了，何必還要再上一條，別說咱們是發展中國家，就是發達國家也不這麼幹。
“Optical fiber is modern communication equipment and is very expensive. One such line is enough, why add another? Even developed countries would not do that, not to mention a developing country like us.”

[71] 「在一些地區，很難不送禮物，也有學校要求送教具，」一家民間出版商說，雖然他們也不以為然，但為了教科書賣得出去，也很難不照辦。
“‘In some places, it is hard not to give out gifts. Some schools wanted us to donate teaching equipment,’ said a non-governmental publisher. Although they did not like the idea, it is hard to turn down such requests, since their textbooks won’t sell otherwise.”

[72] 戈爾表示瞭解5000萬投票給戈利組合的選民感到失望，他說：
“Gore said he understood the disappointment of the 50 million voters who voted for him. He said, ‘Me too, but our disappointment has to be over-ridden by our patriotic spirit.’”

[73] 高等法院並以電話譯文中有關「天龍，我想死你了」、「你抱我啦」以及韋天龍所說「我也是，好想妳哦」、「用力地抱妳啊」等親暱對話，認定姜、韋二人，有超乎異性朋友的親密關係。
“The Higher Court came to the conclusion that Jiang and Wei had had an intimate relationship that went beyond being ordinary friends of the opposite sex, based on telephone transcripts which contain exchanges like ‘I miss you Tianlong’, ‘Give me a hug’ and Wei’s replies like ‘Me too, miss you so much’ and ‘Hug you tight’.”
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 noun phrases, either in the form of \([\text{num.} + \text{CL}]\) without its modified noun, or in the form of the headless 的-construction. In the case of 的-constructions, its missing head can either be recovered in the immediate context or be construed as having arbitrary reference.

[74] 一天，他把幾塊強磁鐵捆在保溫瓶的出水口，一口口嘗著流經磁鐵的水，足足喝 —二十杯。
“One day, he tied several strong magnets to the mouth of a thermos water bottle and tasted the water that came out through the magnets. Altogether, he drank as many as ten to twenty cups.”

[75] 他那時非常樂觀的相信以一個私家基金、—一個人所能做到的，—國家當然也可以做到。
“At that time, he was very optimistic and believed that what a private trust and a single person could accomplish, a country could certainly accomplish as well.” [antecedent found in context]

[76] 日出公司的顧客，背景不同，有經營農場的、—在美國大學教書的、—或在—政府任職的，也有園藝家、專欄作家，或在種子公司做事的。
“The customers of the Sunrise Company had different backgrounds. Some ran farms, some taught at universities in the States, and some worked for the government. There were also horticulturists, columnists, and those working for seed companies.”

[77] 早些年，這句“體腦倒掛”在中國盡人皆知，所謂“搞原子彈的不如賣茶葉蛋的，拿手術刀的不如拿剃頭刀的”，連小學生都知道。
“In those earlier years, a saying on the unreasonable income status was well-known in China, even among elementary school students: “those who work on nuclear bombs earn less than those who sell tea-flavored eggs, and those working with scalpels fare worse than those working with hair-cut scissors.”” [antecedent understood as 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.

16.4. Other Restrictions

Although nouns in Chinese can be predicative, pronouns, including deictic expressions, cannot.

Some pronouns have vacuous reference, and are therefore neither used as deictic terms nor as anaphoric expressions.

[78] 根据報導，乔丹此次复出江湖，原本打算拚他兩個球季，然後退出球場，成為球隊管理決策者，...

“It was reported that this time, when Jordan came back to play in the NBA, he had intended to fight for two seasons and quit afterwards to become the team manager. ...”

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