

Logophoricity, Highlighting and Contrasting: A Pragmatic Study of Third-person Reflexives in Chinese Discourse

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Abstract

This paper, in light of the notion of ‘minimal discourse-internal protagonist’, sets out to formulate as its analytic framework a pragmatic principle governing anaphora patterns and then explores the functions of third-person reflexives in Chinese discourse. The findings are in order. First, in Chinese, simplex reflexives are basically logophoric, whereas complex reflexives serve primarily to highlight and contrast discourse entities. Secondly, there are two types of constructions in Chinese in terms of anaphoric production: one is known as single-fold anaphora and the other as dual or multifold anaphora. And thirdly, our proposed pragmatic principle can very well capture the uses of reflexives in Chinese discourse.

Keywords: Reflexives, Anaphoric interpretation, Anaphoric production, Pragmatic principle

1. Introduction

In the light of the notion of ‘minimal discourse-internal protagonist’ (henceforth MDP for short) as proposed in e.g. Zribi-Hertz (1989) and Sells (1987), this study is to formulate a pragmatic principle controlling anaphora patterns in order to describe the functions of third-person (Note 1) long-range reflexives (hereafter ‘reflexives’ for the sake of simplicity) in Chinese discourse.

Here the MDP is, on our part, defined as a most prominent, vital entity in a given (fragment of) discourse, which is dominant in the unfolding of the discourse. As well, it is viewed as a semantic-discourse role and the deictic center of reflexives (see (8a-(ii)) below for a clear definition). The anaphoric relationship thus established between a reflexive (anaphor) and the MDP (antecedent) is known as logophoricity (Sells 1987) or logophora (Baltin 2003, Huang 2008) or logophoric anaphora (Reinhart and Reuland 1991: 312). For example, in (1) below, Chinese “ziji” in the second clause refers back to the MDP “Mingzi” in the first clause, a sort of typical logophoric anaphora. And in English, as argued in Reuland 2009, reflexive pronouns can also have logophoric uses as manifested in (2): himself in the second sentence takes as its antecedent the MDP John in the first sentence.

- (1) Keshi Mingzi₁ zhidao gugu hen shili, ziji₁ you qiong,
but Mingzi know aunt very snobbish self yet poor
Suoyi yizhi bugan tiqi qinshi lai. (Xu Y. 2004)
therefore all the while afraid mention marriage PA

(But Mingzi₁ knew that his aunt was snobbish and he₁ was very poor, therefore he had been all the while afraid to mention the marriage.)

- (2) John₁ was furious. The picture of himself₁ in the museum had been mutilated. (Reuland 2009)

Previous approaches, ‘more traditional’ to say so, like what was called ‘subject orientation’ analysis as seen in earlier syntactic literature (Huang and Tang 1991, Battistella and Xu 1990) cannot deal with cases where the antecedent comes in non-subject position, such as objective or attributive position. Witness the examples in (3) below: anteceded “ta” (him) in (3a-b) and “Xiaoming” in (3c) are not subjects, refuting the subject-orientation approach; however, it is quite OK to treat them as MDP entities, which justifies an alternative account, say, an MDP-oriented one, to a huge extent, as will become more evident in the ensuing text.

- (3) a. Zhe jian shi gaosu ta₁ ziji₁ yiqian de xiangfa buyiding dui.
 this CL matter tell him self former MM idea may not right (Xu L. 1997)
 (This matter told him₁ that his₁ former idea may not be right.)
- b. Zhe jian shi shi ta₁ renshi dao ziji₁ yiqian de xiangfa buyiding dui. (ibid.)
 this CL matter make him realize PA self former MM idea may not right
 (This matter made him₁ realize that his₁ former idea may not be right.)
- c. Mama₁ biaoyang le ziji_{1/2/1} shi Xiaoming₂ hen gaoxing. (Huang 1994: 190)
 Mum praise AM self make Xiaoming very happy
 (That Mum₁ praised him₂/herself₁ makes Xiaoming₂ very happy.) (Huang 1994: 190)

In the next section we will propose as the analytic framework a pragmatic principle governing anaphora patterns in Chinese discourse, hinging on the concept of MDP.

2. A pragmatic Principle

We have to describe, beforehand, the semantic strength and/or informativeness of Chinese reflexives, whereby a semantic hierarchy of reflexive versus pronoun is postulated to show their distinct semantic features. In terms of reflexive pronouns, there are two types in Chinese: simplex and complex, namely “ziji” and “Pr-ziji”. The semantic information of both types of reflexives and that of pronoun in Chinese are in order below.

- (4) General semantic representation of Chinese third-person reflexive

w

NP [~ [1, 2], {Sg/Pl, Log, Em}]

[x_i] [x_i=P]

- (5) a. Semantic representation of Chinese “ziji”

ziji

NP [~ [1, 2], {Sg/Pl, +Log, ±Em}]

[x_i] [x_i = +P]

- b. Semantic representation of Chinese “Pr-ziji”

Pr-ziji

NP [~ [1, 2], {Sg/Pl, ±Log, +Em}]

[x_i] [x_i = ±P]

- (6) General semantic representation of Chinese third-person pronoun

w

NP [~ [1, 2], {Sg / Pl, -Log, -Em}]

[x_i] [x_i = -P]

Key to the symbols/numbers: w=reflexive (or pronoun); ~ = negation of; 1=first person pronoun; 2=second person pronoun; Sg=singular; Pl=plural; Log=logophoric; Em=emphatic; x_i=entity referred to by w (e.g. reflexive); P=NP encoding the protagonist; + = obligatorily; ± = optionally; - = lack or deprivation of (a feature).

As a reference frame, the semantic representation of Chinese pronoun is given in (6) (Note 2). So based on the descriptions above of semantic information, a semantic hierarchy of Chinese reflexive vs. pronoun (Pr for short) may be postulated in (7).

- (7) ziji = / > Pr-ziji > Pr

The scale in (7) says that Chinese “ziji” may be understood as semantically tantamount to “Pr-ziji” in that generally

the former is obligatorily logophoric while the latter obligatorily emphatic. On the other hand, “ziji” is deemed semantically stronger than “Pr-ziji” in that it contributes much more to discourse anaphora resolution, to the extent that it may be given more weightings due to its rich logophoricness. This greater weighting has proved to be true by the highly frequent occurrences of “ziji” in Chinese written discourse (Liu 2008a: 43).

We now propose a pragmatic principle regulating ad hoc the anaphoric and/or logophoric uses of Chinese reflexives as the analytic framework of this paper, as in (8).

(8) A pragmatic principle of discourse anaphora

a. Interpretation maxim (Note 3)

(i) In Chinese, a reflexive in a given (fragment of) discourse is generally understood as referring to the MDP, unless the particular situations in the discourse domain (e.g. co-occurrence of two or more contrasting items or speaker intending otherwise) prevent and/or alter this reading.

(ii) The MDP refers in that case to a proximate, prominent entity which is backward/left (or forward/right) accessible to the reflexive in a portion of the discourse and read as logophoric; and it is encoded as an NP or a conjoined NP.

b. Production maxim

In Chinese, where “ziji”, “Pr-ziji” and Pr can all serve to create discourse anaphora, the speaker is supposed to prioritize “ziji” to encode logophora for the purpose of saving readers’ time for discourse understanding, unless:

(i) “Pr-ziji” is required by the discourse condition (or speaker’s subjective intention) to prioritize for producing strongly contrastive/emphatic constructions; or

(ii) Pr is only permitted by the discourse condition (or speaker’s obligatory consideration) to produce an objective domain of discourse; (Note 4) or

(iii) Supplementary maxim: Where “ziji”, “Pr-ziji” and Pr serve to produce two or more than two anaphoric chains, one is supposed to use “ziji” (and/or “Pr-ziji”) to refer to MDP and use “Pr-ziji” and/or Pr to refer to other entities.

As suggested in (8b), the aforesaid principle needs to have additional constraints to become relatively perfect. According to Zribi-Hertz (1989), the use of English reflexive is in immediate connection with the narrative point of view: a subjective domain of discourse is narrated from the internal protagonist’s perspective, while an objective one from the observer’s perspective. Consider:

(9) Everything was full of the stir, the potency, the fecundity of spring.

Suddenly he said aloud: ‘Possessiveness is the devil.’

Maggie₁ looked at him. Did he mean herself₁—herself₁ and the baby? (Zribi-Hertz 1989)

(10) The music made her₁ think of her life as it seldom did; it exalted her₁/*herself₁. (ibid.)

In (9), herself comes within the boundary of the MDP’s point-of-view domain; that is, the (minimal) domain of discourse where the reflexive occurs is subjective and thus is transparent for it to create long-range anaphora or logophora. In (10), however, herself comes outside the boundary of the MDP’s perspective, and this domain of discourse is objective and opaque so that the reflexive is not in a position to encode logophora, and instead, it entails therein the use of a pronoun characterized by [-Log] to establish discourse coherence.

For convenience, we quote and recompose in (11) part of Zribi-Hertz’s (1989: 714) definition of subjective against objective domain of discourse and its restriction on reflexives, which count as additional constraints to the pragmatic principle in (8):

(11) a. A domain of point of view (DPV) consists of a clause category, which amounts to any phrase of subject-predicate structure, including zero-subject structure;

b. A DPV is subjective, where it contains a discourse-internal protagonist and the event or state is narrated from its point of view; and a DPV is objective, where it does not contain a discourse-internal protagonist and the event or state is described as it stands in the reality from the observer’s point of view;

c. A DPV is opaque, where it involves an independent, objective narrative point of view; otherwise, it is transparent.

As noted in (8b), in anaphoric production the subjective and objective DPV may be occasionally predicated on the speaker’s consideration: a pronoun is used where a reflexive might have been used, and vice versa. In (9), for instance, herself can be replaced by her. Under some circumstances, nonetheless, the speaker has to describe the event or state from the observer’s perspective, excluding the possibility of use of reflexive, as in (10). This

phenomenon occurs, too, in Chinese discourse, as in (12) below, which speaks volumes for the fact that the constraints stated in (11) work equally well on Chinese reflexives.

(12) Zhejiang Weishi xinwen zhubo Liang Wei₁ bayue ershiliu zai chuchai
 Zhejiang TV news anchor Liang Wei August 26th AM on a business trip
 Shanghai qijian xinzangbing tufa, song yiyuan hou jing qiangjiu wuxiao qushi.
 Shanghai period heart disease attack send hospital after via rescue unsuccessful die
 Zhejiang Weishi fabu de fugao cheng, Liang Wei₁ fabing shi, tongxing de tongshi
 Zhejiang TV publish RM obituary say Liang Wei onset time travel together RM colleague
 diyi shijian ba ta₁ song dao yiyuan jinxing qiangjiu, bing diaoji Shanghai zuihao de
 first time BA her send to hospital conduct rescue and mobilize Shanghai best MM
 yisheng zhuanjia huizhen. ... ta₁ zai dang zhubo de shihou, guanzhong dou
 doctor expert diagnose she AM work as anchor RM period audience all
 shifen xihuan ta₁, women changchang xiao ta₁ “laoshao tongsha”.
 very much like her we often joke her young old take-all

(Liang Wei₁, a news anchor from Zhejiang TV, suffered a heart attack while on a business trip to Shanghai on August 26th; and died after she had been sent to the hospital for rescue. Zhejiang TV published an obituary notice, saying that when Liang Wei₁ was at the onset of the disease, her colleagues travelling together sent her₁ to the hospital immediately and mobilized the best doctors and experts in Shanghai for diagnosis. ... When she₁ worked as a news anchor, she₁ was very much liked by the audience, so that we often joked about her₁ “taking all young and old”.)

Discourse (12) is extracted from a Chinese news report carried in The Southern Metropolis Daily on August 30, 2009, where clearly the four occurrences of the pronoun “ta” cannot be replaced by a reflexive such as “ziji” or “taziji”, since the DPV in the discourse established by a subject NP, say, “tongshi” (colleagues) or “women” (we), is opaque for a reflexive pronoun (Note 5).

3. Interpretation of Reflexives in Chinese Discourse

In what follows, we’ll account for the functions of reflexives in Chinese discourse in accordance with the above principle. Exemplar analysis shows that Chinese simplex and complex reflexives differ from one another in discourse in respect of logophoric use, semantic emphasis and/or discourse prominence.

3.1 Chinese Simplex Reflexive

Without morphologically logophoric pronouns as in some African languages, Chinese is not counted among the “pure” logophoric languages as listed in Culy (1994, cf. Huang 2000: 176). But as far as its referential use is concerned, “ziji” suffices for being a logophor in Chinese. Huang (1994: 188-198) once gave a detailed description of the uses of “ziji” in logo-centric domain, created by triggers such as speech, epistemic, psychological, and perceptual verbs. Based on our observation, “ziji” plays a similar, primary role in both logophoric domain and ordinary indirect discourse, referring to the MDP; and as a consequence it may well be defined as a logophor. The semantic features it carries are given in (5a): obligatorily logophoric, and optionally emphatic or contrastive. Compare:

(13) a. Hung-chien₁ xiangxin Su Wen-wan yiding jiayou jiajiang, shuo ziji₁ yinyou ta,
 Hung-chien believe Su Wen-wan surely exaggerate say self lure her
 wen ta, zhunbei ju shi fanbo. (Note 6)
 kiss her be prepared with fact counter

(Hung-chien₁ was sure Su Wen-wan had exaggerated everything; saying he₁ had lured her and kissed her; and he was prepared to counter lies with facts.)

b. Su Xiaojie₁ zhidao ta zai kan ziji₁, hui lian dui ta weixiao, Hung-chien
 Su Xiaojie know he AM look at self turn face to him smile Hung-chien
 yao dikang zhe meili de juexin, xiang chushui de yu,
 want resist this seductive force MM determination like out-of-water RM fish

tou wei zai di shang paidong, keshi zhengzha bu qi.
head tail on ground LOC flap but jump up not PA

(She₁ knew he had his eyes on her₁ and turned to smile at him. His determination to resist this seductive force was like a fish out of water which flaps its head and tail about on the ground but can't get anywhere.)

(14) a. San Xiang₁ jian Er Zhuge laopoyijing bugu le ming, ziji₁ xian danqie le jifen, bu gan
Third Fairy see Blacky's wife really ignore PA life, self first frightened PA a bit not dare
lian zhan, shao nao le yihui, zhengtuo chulai jiu zou le.
keep quarrelingless quarrel PA a while break away at once leave AM

(When Third Fairy₁ saw that Blacky's wife was really out for her blood, she₁ became a bit frightened and broke away.)

b. Ta₁ ben xiang zao gei Xiaoqin zhao ge pojia tui chu men qu,
she originally want early for Xiaoqin get CL boyfriend's family get her out of house PA
keshi yinwei ziji₁ mingsheng bu zheng, chabuduo dou bu yuanyi gen ta jieqin.
But because self reputation not good almost all not want with her become related.

(For some time she₁ had been thinking of marrying Qin off and getting her out of the house. But her own₁ reputation was so bad; no family wanted to become related to her.)

(15) a. Alexander₁ de hushing yue lai yue xiang, 'te-lu' yisheng, ba ziji₁ xiaxing le:
Alexander MM snoring more and more loud, 'te-lu' snoring BA self wake AM
"Shui dahu laizhe?"
who snore AU

(Alexander's₁ snoring grew so loud that it woke him₁ up; startled, he blinked, "Who's that?")

b. Zhe zhen rang Xiangzi₁ de xin tiao de kuai le xie! Zhen yao
this really make Xiangzi MM heartthump AU fast PA a bit really if
cou shang san si shi kuai, zai jiashang Liu Siye shouli na
collect PA thirty-forty CL again plus Fourth Master Liu in-hand that
sanshi duo, he ziji₁ xianzai you de na ji kuai, qibu jiushi bashi lai de?
thirty over and self now have RM that a few CL wouldn't just eighty over PA

(These words made his₁ heart thump. He thought that if thirty or forty yuan could be collected from such a group, together with the thirty yuan kept by Fourth Master Liu and the little bit of money he himself₁ had, that would come to over eighty dollars, wouldn't it?)

(16) a. Zhe zhong taidu shi ta₁ zhi gu ziji₁ de shenghuo, ba yiqie huohuan zainan
this CL attitude make him only think of self MM livelihood BA all calamities
dou fangzai nao hou.
all put out of mind

(This attitude of his made him₁ think only of his own₁ livelihood. He pushed all thought of calamities out of his mind.)

b. Sun Xiaojie de lianhong huran shi ta₁ xiangqi zai Faguo shi
Sun Xiaojie MM blushing face suddenly remind him think of in France time
fan shang chong jiu de liangshui; ziji₁ buhui hejiu, zhi zai shui li
rice LOC add wine RM cold water self cannot drink just in water LOC
chong yidiandian hongjiu, chang kan zhe hong yeti zai bai yeli li
add a little red wine often watch this red liquid in white liquid LOC
fanbu-aidai, zuochu yunwu zhuangtai. ...
diffuse turn into nebulous state

(Miss Sun's blushing face suddenly reminded him₁ of the cold water on the tables in France for fixing drinks. Since he₁ couldn't drink, he would just add a little red wine to the water, watching the red liquid diffuse in the white liquid. ...)

Examples of (13a-b) are two logophoric constructions triggered by the epistemic verbs “xiangxin” (believe) and “zhidao” (know); and there the reflexives come in the object clause. By (8a), the reflexives in these two discourses are understood as referring to MDP entities: in (13a) “ziji” is coreferential with “Hung-chien”, encoded as matrix subject; and in (13b) it is coreferential with Miss Su, which is encoded also as matrix subject.

All examples in (14a)-(16b) are what can be called ordinary narrative discourses without logophoric verbs or triggers, in each of which the reflexive has to be understood by (8a) to refer to the MDP in question as well. In (14a-b) the MDP entity, encoded as subject of the first sentence, is naturally the most prominent noun phrase, so the two “ziji” are construed by (8a) as coreferential with “San Xiang” (Third Fairy) and “ta” (she) respectively. Note that in (14b) “Xiao Qin” intervening between the reflexive and its antecedent does not invalidate long-distance anaphora, sufficing to indicate the logophoric role “ziji” plays in discourse.

In (15a), “Alexander” the MDP is encoded as attributive of the matrix subject; in (15b), “Xiangzi” the MDP is encoded as attributive of the embedded subject; and both are the prominent entity accessible to “ziji” in the discourse.

In (16a-b), both MDPs are actualized by the pronoun “ta” (he) in object position. In (16a), “ta” is the only eligible antecedent of “ziji”; and as an attribute, the reflexive here is not a so-called local anaphor since it may be replaced by “ta”. Viewed from the encoder/speaker, however, the choice of “ziji” fits in with production maxim (8b): where reflexive “ziji” and pronoun “ta” can both serve to establish discourse anaphora, the speaker is supposed to prioritize the reflexive to encode logophora to save time for discourse understanding. And the anaphora pattern in (16b) is in a long sentence or cross-sentence construction and “ziji”, which acts as subject of the second clause, is interpreted as coreferential with “ta”, the object of the verb “shi”, (reminded) in the preceding sentence.

3.2 Chinese Complex Reflexive

As seen in (5b), the semantics of complex reflexive “Pr-ziji” differs from that of simplex reflexive “ziji” in that its logophoric use is optional, not obligatory; but its emphatic use is obligatory. Instantiations in discourse show that “Pr-ziji” may be analyzed as an emphatic or intensive expression of pronoun, serving primarily to highlight and contrast entities in the establishment of discourse coherence (Baker 1995). Both uses of “tamenziji” (themselves) in (17) below, for example, can be understood as an intensive item of “tamen” (them), not referring to “shou guo hai de ren” (peasants who suffered a lot), but referring to “ta liangren” (they both) nearby, with “minbing” (militiamen) and “minfu” (villagers) intervening in between. Similarly in (18) “taziji” (herself) refers back to “San Nainai” (Third Daughter-in-law), with “gongpo” (her father-in-law) intervening in between, and the narrator makes use of “taziji” to highlight the entity referred to; however one can substitute “ziji” for it so as to reduce its salience or emphaticness and suggest its logophoric reference.

(17) Ta yi shuo kaile tou, xuduo shou guo hai de ren ye dou
 he once begin speaking up many suffer AM harm RM people also all
 qiangzhe shuo qilai: you gei tamen hua guo qian de, you bei
 try first speak PA some PM them blackmail AM money PA some PM
 tamen bizhe shang guo diao de; ta liangren₁ hai pai shang minbing
 them drive commit AM suicide PA they both also send PA militiamen
 gei tamenziji₁ ge chai, bo shang minfu gei tamenziji₁ chu di;
 for themselves cut firewood order PA villager for themselves hoe field
 fu shou liang, si pai kuan, qiangpo minbing kun ren.
 confiscate grain impose taxes order militiamen arrest people

(That broke the ice. Peasants rose one after another to expose the wickedness of Xing and Wang—blackmail, driving people to suicide. ... They₁ sent militiamen out to cut their₁ firewood; they₁ ordered villagers to hoe their₁ fields. They confiscated grain, imposed taxes, and used the militia as their private police.)

(18) San Nainai₁ qiao gongpo yao taziji₁ lingzhe haizi, yi kou
 Third Daughter-in-law see father-in-law expect herself look after baby one CL

menqi zhang de duzi dou jianjian da le, chi dongxi mei weikou,
 pent-up resentment swell AU stomach even gradually big PA eat things have no appetite
 sizhi fali, qing yi fu yao, tongshi Ah Hsiung zhi neng you popo
 limbs grow weak call doctor take medicine meanwhile Ah Hsiung only can PM grandma
 bangzhe dialing.
 help take care of

(Seeing that her father-in-law expected her₁ to take care of the baby herself₁, Third Daughter-in-law's₁ pent-up resentment swelled and so did her stomach, while her appetite diminished and her limbs grew weak. The doctor was called in and she was given some medicine. Meanwhile Ah Hsiung became the sole charge of his grandmother.)

By contrast, in the following discourses “Pr-ziji” and its antecedent are separated obviously farther away: the two reside in different sentences.

(19) Lao Tong Bao₁ suiran bu hen jide zufu shi zenyang “zuoren”, dan fuqin de qinjian
 Old Tong Bao although not very recall grandpa be what sort of man but father MM diligence
 zhonghou,ta₁ shi qinyan kanjian de; taziji₁ ye shi guiju ren, ...
 honesty he just with his own eyes see PA himself also be respectable man

(Although Old Tong Bao₁ couldn't recall what sort of man his grandfather was, he₁ knew his father had been hardworking and honest—he₁ had seen that with his own eyes. Old Tong Bao himself₁ was a respectable person; ...)

(20) Lao Tong Bao₁ tai qi ta na jiaohuang de zhou lian, kunao de wang zhe
 Old Tong Bao raise PA his that sallow MM shrunken face, bitterly MM gaze AM
 ta mianqian de na tiao he, he li de chuan, yiji liangan de sang di.
 his front MM that CL river river LOCMM boat and both bank MM mulberry field
 Yiqie dou he ta₁ ershi duo sui shi chabuliaoduoshao, ran'er “shijie” daodi
 all entirely and he twenty over year time almost the same but world anyway
 bian le. Taziji₁ jia ye yao changchang ba zaliang dang fan chi yi tian.
 change AM his own family also have to often BA pumpkin as rice eat one day

(Old Tong Bao₁ raised his shrunken face, scorched by years of hot sun to the color of dark parchment. He gazed bitterly at the canal before him, at the boats on its waters, at the mulberry trees along its banks. All were approximately the same as they had been when he₁ was twenty. But the world had changed. His₁ family now often had to make their meals of pumpkin instead of rice.)

(21) Yang guizi zenyang jiu pian le qian qu, Lao Tong Bao₁ bu hen mingbai. Dan ta₁
 foreign devil how just scam AM money PA Old Tong Bao not very clear but he
 hen xiangxin Lao Chen Laoye de hua yiding bu cuo. Bingqie taziji₁ ye mingmingkandao
 very believe Old Master Chen MM word surely right and yet himself also quite plain see
 zicong zhenshang you le yang sha, yang bu, yang you, zhe yi lei
 since market town appear PA foreign cambric foreign cloth foreign oil this one CL
 yang huo, erqiehe li gengyou le xiao huolunchuan yihou, taziji₁
 foreign goods yet canal LOC even appear PA small foreign boat after his own
 tian li shengchu lai de dongxi jiu yi tian yi tian bu zhiqian, er zhenshang de
 field LOC grow PA RM things suddenly day by day not worth money and market town MM
 dongxi que yi tian yi tian gui qilai.
 things yet day by day expensive PA

(How the foreign devils had accomplished this, Old Tong Bao₁ wasn't too clear. He₁ was sure, however, that Old Master Chen was right. Some things he himself₁ had seen quite plainly. From the time foreign goods—cambric, cloth, oil—appeared in the market town, from the time the foreign river boats increased on the canal, what he₁ produced brought a lower price in the market every day, while what he had to buy became more and more

expensive.)

In (19), “taziji” (himself) in the last clause is coreferential with “ta” (he, viz. Old Tong Bao) in the preceding clause. In (20), “taziji” (in the last sentence) and its antecedent are separated by a subject-predicate structure; in other words, the antecedent comes two clauses backward in the discourse. In (21), “taziji” is used twice: the first is separated from its antecedent by one intervening (embedded) clause, and the second is much farther away from its antecedent. In those discourses, “taziji” is used to emphasize and highlight the MDP entities, each of which is in contrast with its concomitant, namely, “fuqin” (father) in (19), “shijie” (world) in (20) and “Lao Chen Laoye” (Old Master Chen) in (21). Consider another instance:

(22) Hsin-mei he Hung-chien₁ yi ye zai huoche li mei shui hao, hui fang tangzhe
 Hsin-mei and Hung-chien the whole night on train LOC not sleep well return room lie
 xiuxi, Li Mei-ting₂ da men jinlaile, wen you shenme hao dongxi gei ta kan.
 rest Li Mei-ting knock door enter AM ask have what fine things show him
 Liangren₁ lan qichuang, jiao taziji₂ (ta₂ /*ziji₂) kan qiangbi shang de wenxian.
 both of them not feel like getting up let himself (him/self) look at wall LOC MM graffiti

(Hsin-mei and Hung-chien₁ hadn't slept well the whole night on the train, so they returned to their rooms to rest. Li₂ knocked on the door and entered, asking them what wonderful things they had to show him. Neither of them₁ felt like getting up, so they let him₂ look at the wall graffiti by himself.)

Example (22) shows us more clearly the distinction between complex and simplex reflexive in Chinese: “liangren” (they both, namely Hsin-mei and Hung-chien) acts as the MDP in the current sentence where the reflexive appears; yet “taziji” is supposed to be understood as coreferential with “Li Mei-ting” in the prior sentence in the discourse; and therefore “taziji” may not be replaced by “ziji” though it can be replaced by a pronoun “ta”. It is thus evidenced that a Chinese complex reflexive serves basically as an intensifier or highlighter in discourse.

All those discussed above are depicted by the pragmatic maxims stated in (8a-(i)) and/or (8b).

4. Chinese Reflexives in Anaphoric Production

Discourse anaphoric interpretation and production are two sides of a coin and can mirror one another. In what follows, we are to discuss and show from the perspective of speaker the fact that anaphoric production in Chinese discourse can be as well predicted and accounted for by our pragmatic principle.

The examples to describe the regular anaphora patterns in Chinese come from the data collected from both Chinese novels and English-Chinese translated novels. Analysis of these attested examples indicates that there are by and large two types of anaphoric production modes in Chinese discourse.

4.1 Single-fold Anaphora

The first type is referred to as single-fold anaphoric construction, which divides into three anaphoric patterns. They are characterized in order below.

Anaphoric pattern A: in a given (minimal) discourse where an NP (including pronoun, hereinafter inclusive) introduces the MDP, use or repeat using “ziji” (x) to encode and maintain this anaphoric relationship thus set up. The pattern is schematized in (23) and exemplified in (24)-(25).

(23) NP₁ ... x₁ ... (x₁) ...

(24) a. Ma Xiansheng₁ zai Lundun san si ge yue suo de de jingyan, bing bu suan
 Ma Mr. in London three-four CL month AU obtain RM experience can't be said
 hen duo: zhaozhe le san si ge xiao Zhongguo fanpu, tiantian qu chi dun wufan.
 a lot find AM three-four CL small Chinese restaurant every day go eat CL lunch
 Ziji₁ neng buyong Ma Wei ling zhe, you puzi zou hui jia qu.
 self may not need Ma Wei accompany AM from shop walk back home PA

(Mr. Ma₁ couldn't really be said to have seen or done a lot in the three or four months that he'd been in London. He'd found a few Chinese restaurants where he would go for his daily lunch. And he₁ could find his way around without having Ma Wei; he usually walked home from the shop.)

b. Ta₁ xihuan nanfang, bingqie ziji₁ yiwei hen kuai jiu cheng le nanfang ren.
 he like South and self suppose very soon then become AM Southerner

(He₁ liked the South, and he soon became, in his own₁ opinion, a Southerner.)

(25) a. Ta₁ wuqing de, yixin yiyi de zhuiqiu yi ge mubiao, jiushi yao yongyou
 He ruthless MM heart and soul MM pursue one CL purpose just desire own
 ziji₁ de zhuzhai, ziji₁ de nongchang, ziji₁ de mapi, ziji₁ de nuli.
 self MM house self MM plantation self MM horse self MM slave

(With a ruthless singleness of purpose, he₁ desired his own₁ house, his own₁ plantation, his own₁ horse, and his own₁ slaves.)

b. Fang Hung-chien₁ pansuan yixia, xiang Ai'erlan ren wuyi zai daogui,
 Fang Hung-chien mull a while suspect Irishman undoubtedly AM play trick
 ziji₁ mai zhang jia wenping huiqu hong ren, qifei ye cheng le
 self buy CL bogus diploma go back dupe people wouldn't also become AM
 pianzi? ...Fuqin he zhangren xiwang ziji₁ shi ge boshi, zuo erzi nüxu de ren
 fraud father and father-in-law hope self be CL PhD be son son-in-law RMman
 haoyisi jiao tamen shiwang me? Mai zhang wenping qu hong tamen,
 how dare make them disappointed RQM buy CL diploma PA deceive them
 haobi qianqing shidai hua qian juan ge guan, huo Yingguo zhimindi shangren xiang
 just like Manchu times spend money buy CL official rank or British colony merchant to
 diguo fu baoxiao ji wan bang huan ge jueishi touxian,
 royal exchequer contribute a few ten thousand pound note exchange CL knighthood
 guangyao menmei, ye shi xiaozi xianxu ying you de chenghuan yangzhi.
 bring glory to familyalso be dutiful son worthy son-in-law should seek RM please elders
 Fanzheng ziji₁ jianglai zhaoshi shi, lüli shang juebu kai zhe ge xuewei.
 in any case self later look for job time resume LOC never include this CL degree
 Suoxing ba jiaqian sha de ji di, jiaru Ai'erlan ren buken,
 may as well BA price slashAU extremely low if Irishman refuse
 zhe shi jiu suan chui le, ziji₁ ye mian zuo pianzi. ...
 this matter then break off PA self also avoid turn into fraud

(Fang₁ mulled it over for a while, suspecting that the Irishman was undoubtedly up to tricks. If he₁ bought a bogus diploma and went back to dupe other people with it, wouldn't he himself be a fraud? ... Since both his father and his father-in-law hoped he₁ would become a Ph.D., how could he, a son and son-in-law, dare disappoint them? Buying a degree to deceive them was like purchasing an official rank in Manchu times, or like the merchants of a British colony contributing a few ten thousand pound notes to the royal exchequer in exchange for a knighthood, he reasoned. Every dutiful son and worthy son-in-law should seek to please his elders by bringing glory to the family. In any case, when later it came time for him₁ to look for a job, he would never include this degree in his resume. He might as well try slashing the price, and if the Irishman refused, he₁ could then forget the whole thing and avoid turning into a fraud himself₁.)

In each of the examples in (24), there is just one logophoric linkage encoded by “ziji”; and in the discourses of (25), “ziji” occurs in succession, forming an anaphoric/logophoric chain.

The anaphoric pattern in (23) has a variant, shown in (26): “ziji” is prepositioned so that a cataphoric pattern is made, namely, it is the case that the MDP comes forward (right) in the discourse. Such anaphoric patterns are more often than not observed to appear in complex or compound sentence constructions (like one with an independent clause followed or preceded by a dependent clause), including those conveying various logical relationships between the two clauses, such as temporal, cause-effect, condition-action, topic-comment, as shown in (27a-c).

(26) x₁ ...NP₁ ... (x₁) ...

(27) a. Yinwei yao yanshi ziji₁ de kouchi, Han Hsueh-yu₁ jianghua shao, man, zhuoli,
 because want cover self MM stuttering Han Hsueh-yu speak little slowly with great effort

fangfu mei ge zi dou you ta quanbu renga zuo danbao.
as if each CL word totally by his entire personality be certified

(In order to cover his₁ stuttering, Han₁ spoke little, slowly and with great effort, as though each word carried with it the weight of his entire personality.)

b. Mo zhe ziji₁ de xiaba, Shang Huizhang₁ you xiao le yi xiao,
stroke AM self MM chin Merchants Guild head again smile AM one smile
yu guo shenti lai shuodao: ...
lean AM body PA say

(Stroking his₁ chin, the head of the Merchants Guild₁ smiled and leaned towards Mr. Lin, saying ...)

c. Zhiyu ziji₁ jiali de suoxie, ta₁ zhidao Hung-chien juebu hui xiang
as for self family MM trifles she know Hung-chien never willto

Fangjia qu jiang, zhe yi dian ta xiangxin de guo.
Fangs's family PA talk this one point she trust AU PA

(As for her own₁ family's trifles, she₁ knew Hung-chien would never speak of them to the Fangs. Of that she could be sure.)

Anaphoric pattern B: in a given discourse where an NP introduces the MDP, alternately use "ziji" (x) and/or "Pr-ziji" (Pr-x) and/or Pr to encode and maintain this anaphoric linkage thus created. The pattern is schematized in (28).

(28) NP₁ ... x₁/Pr-x₁/Pr₁ ... x₁/Pr-x₁/Pr₁... (x₁/Pr-x₁/Pr₁...)

The anaphoric pattern in (28) says that when an NP (often lexical/full NP) is entered into the discourse, one may optionally make use of these three referential elements to establish and maintain the anaphoric relationship, and that the parenthesized link(s) is (are) optional (similar hereinafter). Thus as observed in the ensuing discourses, the anaphoric pattern in (29a) assumes an 'NP₁--x₁--Pr₁' sequence; the one in (29b) 'NP₁--Pr-x₁--Pr-x₁--x₁'; and the one in (29c) 'NP (Pr)₁--Pr-x₁--x₁--Pr₁'.

(29) a. San Xiang₁ qixian hai yiwei ziji₁ reng you gouyin qingnian de benling,
Third Fairy at first still think self still have lure young man RM ability
rizi chang le, qingnian men bingbu zhenzheng gen ta₁ jiejin.
days long PA young man PL not at all really to her come close

(Third Fairy₁ as first thought her own₁ charm was the cause. But gradually she saw it was the young men who were not really interested in her₁.)

b. Darcy₁ suoyi xihuan Bingley, shi yinwei Bingley weiren wenrou dunhou,
Darcy hence love Bingley be because Bingley behave gentle honest
tanbai zhishuang, jin'guan gexing fangmian he taziji₁ jiduan xiangfan, er taziji₁
open frank though disposition aspect with himself extremely in contrastand himself
ye conglai bu ceng jue de ziji₁ de gexing you shenme bu wanmei de defang.
also never ever think self MM character have any not perfect MM point

(Bingley was endeared to Darcy₁ by the easiness, openness, ductility of his temper, though no disposition could offer a greater contrast to his own₁, and though with his own₁ he₁ never appeared dissatisfied.)

c. Ta₁ shuo: hun le yibeizi er mei chu guo jingmen, daodi suan bu liao yingxiong,
he say live AM all life but not leave AM capital after all be not PA capable man
chengzhe hai you kou qi'er, qudao ge chu jianshi jianshi. Buguan zenyang, taziji₁
while still have CL breath come to various place have a look anyway himself
ye mei lian zai chengli hun, yinwei ziji₁ de nu'er gei ta₁ diu le ren.
also feel shameless in town stay because self MM daughter make him lose PA face

(If he never in his life left the capital, he₁ said, he couldn't pride himself on being a man. While he still had breath in

him he ought to have a look round. Anyway, he₁ was ashamed to stay in town after his₁ daughter had disgraced him₁ completely.)

Anaphoric pattern C: in a given discourse where an NP is used to introduce the MDP, alternately use “Pr-ziji” (Pr-x) and/or Pr to set up and/or maintain the anaphoric linkage thus created. Such an anaphoric pattern is given in (30), and it is exemplified by the discourses in (31). In (31a) the pattern is in ‘NP₁--Pr₁--Pr-x₁’ sequence and in (31b) it is in ‘NP₁--Pr₁--Pr-x₁--Pr-x₁--Pr₁--Pr-x₁’ sequence. The patterns described as such would be on a par with the prediction made by the pragmatic maxims in (8b-(i)/(ii)). That is, the anaphora pattern in (30) is triggered by the speaker’s narration from an objective point of view and/or motivation to give emphasis and prominence to discourse entities.

(30) NP₁ ... Pr-x₁/Pr₁ ... (Pr-x₁/Pr₁...)

(31) a. Jane₁ xinli you le kuaihuo de shiqing, xianglai bu yinman Elizabeth, yushi ta₁
 Jane in mind have PA pleasant MM thing always not keep from Elizabeth hence she
 mashang baozhu meimei, jiqi reqing de chengren taziji₁ shi tianxia
 instantly embrace sister extremely lively MM acknowledge herself be in world
 zui xingfu de ren.
 most happy MM person

(Jane₁ could have no reserves from Elizabeth, where confidence would give pleasure; and (she)₁ instantly embracing her, acknowledged, with the liveliest emotion, that she₁ was the happiest creature in the world.)

b. Keshi, guanyu tamen dinghun de yaochuan, jiujiing you shenme genju ne? Zhe zhen
 but regarding their engagement MM rumor at all have what evidence RQM This really
 jiao Elizabeth₁ wucong xiangxiang, houlai ta₁ cai xiang qile Darcy jiu
 let Elizabeth have no way imagine later she only recollect PA Darcy old
 Bingley de hao pengyou, taziji₁ shi Jane de meimei, er muqian dajia
 Bingley MM good friend herself be Jane MM sister and now everybody
 wangwang hui yinwei yi chong hunyin er liandai xiangdao zai jie yi chong
 generally will because one CL wedding yet together think of again have one CL
 hunyin, name, renmen ziran yao shengchu zhe zhong niantou laile. Taiziji₁
 wedding then people naturally hope supply this CL idea PA herself
 ye zao jiu xiang dao jie jie jie hun yihou, ta₁ he Darcy jianmian de
 also beforehand feel PA sister marry afterward she and Darcy meet RM
 jihui ye jiu geng duo le. Yinci Lujian zhuang de linju men jing
 chance also at once even more PA therefore Lucas lodge MM neighbor PL at all
 ba zhe jian shi kancheng shi na jiu wen, er qie hao si jiu zai yanqian, keshi taziji₁
 BA this CL matter set down as almost certain and as if just immediate but herself
 zhibuguo jue de zhe jian shi jiang lai you dian xiwan eryi.
 only think this CL matter at future time have a little hope and nothing more

(But from what the report of their engagement could originate, Elizabeth₁ was at a loss to imagine; till she₁ recollected that his being the intimate friend of Bingley, and her₁ being the sister of Jane, was enough, at a time when the expectation of one wedding made everybody eager for another, to supply the idea. She₁ had not herself forgotten to feel that the marriage of her sister must bring them₁ more frequently together. And her neighbors at Lucas lodge, therefore, had only set that down as almost certain and immediate, which she₁ had looked forward to as possible at some future time.)

4.2 Multifold Anaphora

The second type is referred to as dual or multifold anaphoric construction—different anaphoric chains made by two or more than two referring expressions which are disjoint in reference from one another. In some context of the discourse where two or more anaphoric chains are needed to construct, there is normally a distinct divide in the

co-occurrences of the three referential elements in question, making up four situations: generally, (i) “ziji” (x) is used to refer to (the) MDP (entity) and a pronoun (Pr) other entity; (ii) “ziji” (x) is used to refer to MDP and “Pr-ziji” (Pr-x) other entity; (iii) “Pr-ziji” (Pr-x) is used to refer to MDP and a pronoun (Pr) other entity; or (iv) “ziji” is used to refer to MDP while “Pr-ziji” (Pr-x) and a pronoun (Pr) other entity or entities. The anaphora patterns corresponding to those four situations are schematized in (32a-d), where NP₁ stands for the antecedent encoding MDP, and NP₂ (NP₃, etc.) stands for other antecedent (or antecedents) encoding other entity (or entities).

- (32) a. NP₁ ... x₁... vs. NP₂... Pr₂...
 b. NP₁ ... x₁... vs. NP₂... Pr-x₂...
 c. NP₁ ... Pr-x₁... vs. NP₂... Pr₂...
 d. NP₁ ... x₁ ... vs. NP₂... Pr-x/Pr₂... (vs. (NP₃... Pr-x/Pr₃...))

Having got the patterns in (32) instantiated, it will be then natural for us to make it clearer that in Chinese discourse, (i) where “ziji” and a pronoun concur, the former is used to refer to MDP and the latter other entity, as in (33a); (ii) where “ziji” and “Pr-ziji” concur, the former is used to refer to MDP whereas the latter other entity, as in (33b); (iii) where “Pr-ziji” and a pronoun concur, the former is used to refer to MDP while the latter other entity, as in (33c); (iv) where “ziji” and “Pr-ziji” / a pronoun (or alongside a third “Pr-ziji”/pronoun) concur, the former is utilized to refer to MDP and the latter (or a third item) other entity (or a third entity), as in (33d).

- (33) a. Jane₂ de bing hai bu jian haozhuān, Elizabeth₁ cun bu bu li de shouzhē ta₂, yizhi dao
 Jane MM disease still not appear improve Elizabeth closely MM company her until to
 huānghūn, kǎnjiàn ta₂ shuǐzhāo le, cǎi fāngxià le xīn, juéde ziji₁ yīnggāi dào
 evening see her asleep AM then set as rest PA mind feel self should go
 lóuxià qu yī tāng.
 downstairs PA one time

(She₂ was still very poorly, and Elizabeth₁ would not quit her₂ at all till late in the evening, when she₁ had the comfort of seeing her₂ asleep, and when it appeared to her rather right than pleasant that she₁ should go downstairs herself.)

- b. Xiāngzi₁ xiāng bei yī kǒu fēng yēzhū, wāngxià lián yān le hào jī
 Xiāngzi be like PM one CL windchoke downward successive swallow AM several
 kǒu qì. Liú Laotouzi he Rénhechāng de chéfu, dòu yīwei ziji₁ shì tāncái,
 CL air Fourth Master Liu and Harmony Yard MM pullers all think self be after money
 cǎi gǒuda shāng Hú'niú₂; xiānzài, tāziji₂ zhème shuō chulai! Ziji₁ de chē,
 then seduce PA Tigress now herself so speak out self MM rickshaw
 ziji₁ de qián, wú yuán wú gù de diū diào, erjīn bei yāzai laopo de
 self MM money without rhyme or reason MM lose PA now PM put wife MM
 jī kuài qián dīxià; chīfān dòu deī shùn jīliānggu xiāqu!
 several CL dollar under eat even have to rub (her) up the right way

(Xiangzi₁ felt as if choked by a gust of wind and swallowed several times. Fourth Master Liu and the pullers at the yard had all thought he₁ was after money when he took up with Tigress₂, and now here she₂ was accusing him of the same thing! Without rhyme or reason he had lost his own₁ rickshaw and his₁ money. His wife's few dollars put him under her thumb—even to eat he had to rub her up the right way!)

- c. Lydia₁ que wānquān měiyǒu ba bāba de huā dāng yī huì shì, hàishì jiēzhē shuō
 Lydia yet complete not BA father MM remark as a serious thing still continue talk
 xiāqu, shuō tāziji₁ duōme àimu Cárter Shāngwēi₂, hái xīwàng dāngtiān nénggōu gēn
 PA say herself very much love Carter Captain also hope that day can with
 tā₂ jiànmiàn, yīnwēi tā₂ míngtiān shāngwǔ jiù yào dào Lúndūn qu.
 him meet because he next morning just will go to London PA

(Lydia₁, with perfect indifference, continued to express her₁ admiration of Captain Carter₂, and her hope of seeing

him₂ in the course of the day, as he₂ was going the next morning to London.)

d. Gao Song-nian₁ wen xun congcong dao jiaoyuan susheli yingchou yixia, hui dao bangongshi,
 Gao Song-nian learn of it hurry over to teacher dormitory give greeting once return to office
 yi yue lai de xinshi bu neng zai ge zai yibian bu xiang le. Zicong Changsha
 one month since MM matter can no longer put aside not meditate PA since Changsha
 weiji, pin hao de jiaoshou li shi ge daoyou jiu ge dadianbao lai tuo gu
 crisis hire PA RM professor of ten CL yet nine CL send telegram PA on pretext
 jie yue, qi ling ba luo, kai bu chu ban, xing'er xuesheng ye shou zhanshi yingxiang,
 cancel contrast topsy-turvy cannot begin class luckily students also get war influence
 zhiyou 158 ren. Jintian yi lai jiu shi si ge jiaoshou, junrong da zhen,
 only 158 student today at once arrive exactly four CL professor real boost to morale
 xiang buli bao shang ye timian xie. Zhishi zenyang dui Li Mei-ting
 to Education Ministry report PA also look better a little but how to Li Mei-ting
 he Fang Hung-chien jieshi ne? Buli Wang Cizhang jieshao
 and Fang Hung-chien explain RQM Education Ministry Wang Vice-minister recommend
 Wang Chu-hou lai dang Zhongguo Wenxue xi zhuren, ziji₁ zao xiexin pin
 Wang Chu-hou PA be Chinese Literature Department chairman self already write appoint
 ding Li Mei-ting₂ liao, keshi Wang Chu-hou shi Wang Cizhang de bofu, lun
 definite Li Mei-ting PA but Wang Chu-hou be Wang Vice-minister MM uncle regarding
 zige ye bi Li Mei-ting hao, na shihou ge jiaoshou luxu chi pin de
 qualification also than Li Mei-ting better that time PM professor successive decline appointment RM
 dianbao xia hun le tou, pa Shanghai zhe pi ren hui da hui piao,
 telegram scare stunned PA head afraid Shanghai this group people will turn back halfway
 zhihao xian fuyan Cizhang. Wang Chu-hou zhe ren bu hao dafa, Li Mei-ting₂ shi lao
 only first humor Vice-minister Wang Chu-hou this man not easily handle Li Mei-ting be old
 pengyou, lao pengyou zong jiang de kai, jiu pa ta₂ de piqi nan duifu!
 friend old friend always be brought around just worry his MM temper hard deal with
 Zhe xing Fang de nian qing ren₃ dao rongyi duifu de. Ta₃ shi Chao Xin-mei de laitou,
 this young Fang fellow should easy handle PA he be Chao Xinmei MM friend
 Xin-mei zuichu bu ken lai, jieshao le ta₃, shuo ta₃ shi liuxue Deguo
 Xin-mei at first not want come recommend PA him say he be study abroad Germany
 de boshi, zhen hutu touding! Taziji₃ kai lai de xueli, bing meiyou xuewei,
 RM doctor real nonsense absolutely himself send PA RM resume yet have no degree
 zhi shi ge ge guo langdang de liuxuesheng, bingqie bingfei xue zhengzhi de,
 only be CL various country dissipate RM student drifter and even never study politics RM
 pin ta₃ dang jiaoshou tai yuanwangle! Zhiduo zuo fu jiaoshou, xun xu jian jin,
 hire him as professor too unjust PA at most start as associate prof. work up step by step
 nian qing ren chu zuo shi bu yinggai pa de tai gao, zhe hua keyi jiao Xin-mei
 young people first do job shouldn't climb AU too high this can have Xin-mei
 dui ta₃ shuo. Weinan de hai shi Li Mei-ting₂. Wulunruhe, ta₂ qian xin wan ku lai le,
 to him say difficult MM still be Li Mei-ting in any case he thru many hardship come PA
 juebu hui yi fanlian jiu zou de; lai de kunnan, qu ye mei name
 never will just break off mad leave immediately PA come AU difficult leave also not so

rongyi, kong kou yunxu ta₂ xie haochu jiu shi le. Ta₂ cong sili xuexiao
 easy empty make him some promise let it go at that PA he from private school
 yi tiao er jin gongli xuexiao, hai bu shi ziji₁ tiba ta₂ de; zuo ren zong yao
 one leap yet to national university yet not be self help him PA one have to
 you liangxin.
 show gratitude.

(Kao₁ hurried over to the faculty dormitory to greet them; then returned to his office, no longer able to dismiss matter that had been troubling him for the past month. Since the crisis at Changsha, nine out of ten professors he hired had sent telegrams canceling their contracts on one pretext or another. Everything was topsy-turvy and many classes had to be canceled; fortunately, the war had affected the students also, and only 158 of them had shown up. Having four professors arrive all at once was a real boost to his morale, and it would look a little better when he wrote a report to the Ministry of Education. But how was he to explain things to Li Mei-ting and Fang Hung-chien? Vice-minister Wang of the Ministry of Education had recommended Wang Chu-hou to be chairman of the Department of Chinese Literature. Meanwhile he₁ had already written and appointed Li Mei-ting₂ to the post—but Wang Chu-hou was Vice-minister Wang's uncle and for that reason was better qualified than Li Mei-ting. The succession of telegrams from professors declining appointments at that time had put his head in a spin. Afraid that the group from Shanghai would turn back halfway, he decided he had better humor Vice-minister Wang first. He felt Wang Chu-hou could not be easily handled, while Li Mei-ting₂ was an old friend and as such could always be brought around. He₁ was worried that Li's₂ temper would be hard to deal with. Very hard indeed! That young Fang fellow₃, on the other hand, should be easy to handle. Fang₃ was a friend of Chao Hsin-mei. Not wanting to come himself, Hsin-mei had at first recommended Fang₃, saying Fang₃ was a returned student with a doctorate from Germany. What absolute nonsense that was! According to the resume sent by Fang himself₃, Fang had no degree at all and was nothing but a student drifter who had led a life of dissipation in one country after another. Furthermore, Fang had never even studied political science. To hire Fang₃ as a professor would be an injustice! At the most Fang could start as an associate professor and work his way up step by step. Young people shouldn't climb too high in their jobs. He could have Hsin-mei tell Fang₃ that. The difficult still lay with Li Mei-ting₂. In any case, Li₂ had been through hell and high water to get here, so Li certainly wouldn't just break off and leave immediately. Since getting here had been so difficult, leaving wouldn't be so easy either. He₁ would make Li₂ some empty promises and let it go at that. After all, wasn't it through his₁ influence that Li₂ had made it from a private school to a national university in one leap? One had to show some gratitude.)

To summarize, those textual examples evince a nearly undeniable pragmatic theorem: all other conditions being equal, in the production of dual/multifold discourse anaphora in Chinese, the speaker (writer/translator) almost always tend to use “ziji” to refer to the MDP, and use the other two reference forms (i.e. complex reflexive and pronoun) to refer to other entities in the discourse. This phenomenon results from the fact that “ziji” does nearly always serve to be logophoric in discourse (Liu 2008b: 34-35). Those anaphoric production modes so far discussed can be all captured by the supplementary maxim of production, stated in (8b-(iii)).

5. Concluding Remarks

As seen from this article, we have formulated as our analytic framework a pragmatic principle capturing anaphora patterns in discourse, in light of some relevant theoretical notion in the literature; and with it we have described ad hoc the functions of third-person reflexives in Chinese. Our detailed description and analysis shows that in Chinese discourse, a simplex reflexive basically functions logophorically whereas a complex one, which is treated as an intensive item of pronoun, serves primarily to highlight and contrast entities in the discourse.

Our discussion further shows that there are two types of anaphoric production modes: one bears a single anaphoric chain and the other bears two or more than two anaphoric chains. It can be inferred from the study that the anaphora patterns in Chinese are very possibly more complicated than those in English since there is a system of simplex and complex reflexive in Chinese. Overall, the anaphoric interpretation and production in Chinese discourse can be effectively captured by the pragmatic principle proposed in this paper.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations below are used in the glosses of the Chinese examples.

AM aspectual marker

AU auxiliary: e.g. *de* used after a verb/adjective as in a resultative clause, *suo* used before a verb in an attributive clause indicating the head is patient, or *laizhe* used after the predicate indicating what has just

	happened
BA	the causative preposition ba in ba-construction
CL	classifier
LOC	locative
MM	modifier marker: de (including possessive de)
PA	particle: e.g. lai, qi or qilai used after a verb indicating starting to do something; guo used after the auxiliary de (as in 'v + de + guo'), and hao / shang / qu after a verb, indicating completing some action; de, dao, diao, le, liao (as in 'v + bu + liao') or qilai after a verb (or adjective), or laile used at the end of a sentence, indicating the result of an action
PL	plural
PM	passive marker: including bei, gei and you
RM	relativized marker
RQM	rhetorical question marker

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Notes

Note 1. We do not include in principle first and second person reflexives in this article, given the fact that most linguists tend to take a negative view of the endophoric/anaphoric use of first and second person pronouns including reflexives. For example, Hoeksema and Napoli (1990: 422) note that first and second person pronouns are always interpreted deictically. Also, Halliday and Hasan (1976: 18) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 551) claim that – “first and second person pronouns as speech roles of speaker and addressee, are typically exophoric and secondarily anaphoric (speaker and addressee in quoted speech); ... This type of reference we call EXOPHORA, since it takes us outside the text altogether. Exophoric reference is not anaphoric, since it does not bind the two elements together into a text.”

Note 2. Given the complexities in actual discourse, in this paper we do not consider the case of ‘zero pronoun’.

Note 3. We acknowledge that part of the interpretation maxims in (8a) is adapted from Zribi-Hertz’s (1989) “discourse principle”, despite the fact that there is not at all any complete, mechanical clone made of the latter.

Note 4. A comparison of the semantic information given in (5a)/(5b)/(6) obviously shows that: a) “Pr-ziji” is richer in contrastive and emphatic information than “ziji”; b) a pronoun carries the feature [-Log], suggesting that its use is motivated by an objective point of view taken by the speaker in narration.

Note 5. Besides, we argue that there is a stricter restriction, the so-called ‘animacy’ and/or ‘consciousness’ constraint, on the use of reflexives: as antecedent, any MDP entity is supposed to be animate or conscious. In this discourse, “Liang” as MDP is now an inanimate entity, disallowing use of a reflexive.

Note 6. The textual examples in Chinese and their translations in parenthesis hereafter all come from the data we collected from the Chinese and English novels and their equivalently translated ones. For simplicity, only the names of the novels with the authors/translators are listed here (rather than given at the end of each example): A. Chinese novels and their translations: 1) Qian Zhongshu, *Wei Cheng*. Jeanne Kelly and Nathan K. Mao (transl.), *Fortress Besieged*; 2) Lao She, *Luotuo Xiangzi*. Shi Xiaojing (transl.), *Camel Xiangzi*; 3) Lao She, *Erma*. Julie Jimmerson (transl.), *Mr. Ma & Son, a Sojourn in London*; 4) Mao Dun, *Linjia Puzi / Chun Can*. Sidney Shapiro (transl.), *The Shop of the Lin Family / Spring Silkworms*; 5) Lao She and Others / Yu Bingqing (ed.), *Zhongguo Xiandai Mingjia Duanpian Xiaoshuo Xuan*. Sidney Shapiro (transl.), *Masterpieces by Modern Chinese Fiction Writers*. B. English novels and their translations: 1) Jane Austin, *Pride and Prejudice*. Wang Keyi (transl.), *Aoman Yu Pianjian*; 2) Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind*. Chen Liangting and others (transl.), *Luanshi Jiaren*.