This paper discusses the pragmatic function of classifiers in Mandarin Chinese. The most basic function of a classifier is to categorize a noun into a class. Cross-linguistic research shows, however, that the use of a classifiable noun does not necessarily trigger the use of a classifier. It is therefore worth investigating whether classifiers in Mandarin not only encode information on the syntactic and semantic level, but also on the discourse level. Specifically, this investigation applies the Centering Model as a means of measuring discourse salience in order to determine whether classifiers increase the salience of the nouns they classify. A popular Chinese short story is examined and the salience ranking of discourse entities throughout it are ranked twice: During the first round of ranking, only grammatical function is taken into account. The second round consists of increasing the salience rankings of classified entities, and of using grammatical function only as a secondary criterion for disambiguation. After each round, the number of rough shifts that occur throughout the discourse will be calculated as a measure of discourse coherence. If a reduction occurs after the second round of ranking, then it will likely indicate that classifiers in Mandarin do increase discourse salience.