The Left Periphery of Nominal Expressions: Perspective Phrase in Mandarin Chinese*

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Mandarin Chinese utilizes the morpheme *qian* 'front' in the [*qian* + Num + Cl + N] sequence (henceforth the *qian* phrase) to express the counterpart of the English phrase *the first three prime ministers*. The *qian* phrase is a deictic expression which may assume two different readings expressing 'absolute' and 'relative' points of view. I therefore argue that *qian* possesses a [Perspective] feature which introduces a Point-of-View variable (henceforth *POV*), which may be bound by the speaker or by an internal protagonist. If the POV variable is bound by the speaker, it results in a relative reading; if it is bound by an internal protagonist, it returns an absolute reading. This analysis suggests that nominal phrases are parallel to clauses in having a syntactic projection with pragmatically relevant features (i.e. the Perspective Phrase).

Key words: DP periphery, deictic, left periphery, perspective phrase

1. Introduction

The syntax and semantics of nominal expressions in Mandarin Chinese have been widely studied (cf. Cheng & Sybesma (1998, 1999, 2005), Chierchia (1998), Li (1998, 1999, 2009), Tang (1990) among many others). Most of the discussions focus on bare noun phrases in (1) or number expressions in the form [Num + Cl + N] (shown in (2)). The expression with the morpheme *qian* in the [*qian* + Num + Cl + N] sequence (henceforth the *qian* phrase) in (3) which expresses the counterpart of the English phrase *the first three prime ministers* is less discussed.[1]

(1) shu

   book

(2) liu-ben shu

   six-CL   book

   'six books'

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[1] Abbreviations used in this paper include: ASP: aspect marker, CL: classifier, DE: marker for modifying gentive phrases, and DEM: demonstrative.

(3) qian   san-wei   shouxiang
    qian   three-CL   prime.minister
    a. 'the first three prime ministers'   [absolute]
    b. 'the previous three prime ministers' [relative]

It is worthwhile to note that the *qian* phrase is more complex than its English counterpart, since it may assume two different readings expressing the 'absolute' and 'relative' points of view under Kuno & Kaburaki's (1977) empathy theory.[2] Put more clearly, the *qian* phrase is a deictic expression which is sensitive to variations in the context in which it is uttered. For example, if the speaker stands in the "shoes" of the U.K., the *qian* phrase denotes the first three prime ministers: Robert Walpole, Spencer Compton and Henry Pelham, as indicated in (3a). This interpretation will not change when the *qian* phrase is used by different speakers; we thus call it an absolute reading. Alternatively, if the speaker stands in his/her own "shoes", the *qian* phrase refers to the previous three prime ministers relative to the one at the speech time. For instance, the incumbent the U.K. prime minister in 2013 is David Cameron, and the *qian* phrase refers to the previous three prime ministers: John Major, Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, as shown in (3b). In this case, the denotation of the *qian* phrase is contingent on the speech time, and thus may refer to different prime ministers when used by different speakers; we therefore call it a relative reading.

The ambiguity of the *qian* phrase raises the following questions: (A) what are the syntactic and semantic properties of the morpheme *qian*; (B) how does the configuration of nominal expressions in Mandarin Chinese accommodate the characteristics of the morpheme *qian*? Any theory about nominal expressions should provide an answer to the above questions.

This paper concerns the fine structure of nominal expressions, especially in the

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[2] Under the Empathy Perspective, discussed in Kuno (1972, 1987) and Kuno & Kaburaki (1977), when a speaker describes an event, he or she can choose various "camera angles." To phrase it differently, a speaker can represent his/her attitude towards the participants involved in a number of different ways. For instance, let us assume the following situation: a man named John hits his brother Bill. The speaker can describe this situation in the following ways:

(i) a.   Then John hit Bill.   [Kuno (1987)]
     b.   Then John hit his brother.
     c.   Then Bill's brother hit him.

The above sentences share the same logical content, but they differ from each other with respect to where the speaker has placed himself/herself. Like a film director shooting a scene, speakers can choose various "camera angles" with respect to the events and states that their sentences are intended to describe. The film director can set the camera equidistant from John and Bill, and the scene will be represented objectively, with the director taking a detached view, as illustrated in (ia). Alternatively, the director can, for example, place the camera closer to John than to Bill, and the scene will be shown from the point of view of John, as in (ib). Finally, the director can place the camera closer to Bill than to John, and the scene will be represented from the standpoint of Bill, as shown in (ic).

phrase [*qian* + Num + Cl +N]. The interpretation of this construction is sensitive to discourse factors such as perspective and reference point. I will therefore argue that *qian* possesses a [Perspective] feature and projects a Perspective Phrase located right under DP in Mandarin Chinese nominal phrases (cf. Speas (2004), Nishigauchi (1999), Liu (2007), Fillmore (1982)).

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 is devoted to the syntax and semantics of the *qian* phrase in Mandarin Chinese; this discussion will help to crystallize the questions this paper addresses. In Section 3, some previous literature on nominals will be reviewed, and Section 4 will introduce some background on logophors as a preliminary to the main analysis. Section 5 presents my proposal. Section 6 brings forth inter and intra-linguistic evidence for syntactic projections with pragmatically relevant features. Finally, concluding remarks are presented in Section 7.

2. Characteristics of the *qian* phrase
2.1. Syntactic properties of the *qian* phrase

In comparing *qian* phrases with number expressions, some significant contrasts between the two types of phrases can be highlighted. First, *qian* phrases can occur freely in subject positions or topic positions, as indicated in (4); however, this is not possible for number expressions, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (5) (cf. Li (1998)).

(4) a. Qian   liu-ge   xuesheng   qu-guo   Taipei.
         qian   six-CL   student   go-ASP   Taipei
         'The first six students have the experience of going to Taipei.'
         'The previous six students have the experience of going to Taipei. '
     b. Qian   liu-ge   xuesheng,   wo   zhidao   qu-guo   Taipei.
         qian   six-CL   student   I   know   go-ASP   Taipei
         'The first six students, I know they have the experience of going to Taipei.'
         'The previous six students, I know they have the experience of going to Taipei.'

(5) a. *Liu-ge   xuesheng   qu-guo   Taipei.
         six-CL   student   go-ASP   Taipei
         'Six students have the experience of going to Taipei.'
     b. *Liu-ge   xuesheng,   wo   zhidao   qu-guo   Taipei.
         six-CL   student   I   know   go-ASP   Taipei
         'There are six students; I know they have the experience of going to Taipei.'

It is well-known that subject or topic positions only allow specific nominal expressions (cf. Chao (1968), Tsai (2001), among many others). The grammatical contrast between (4) and (5) indicates that the *qian* phrase cannot be a nonspecific expression.

Second, *qian* phrases cannot occur in *you* 'have' existential sentences, *lai* 'come' sentences, or sentences with secondary predicates, as indicated by the ungrammaticalities in (6a)-(8a); number expressions, however, are grammatical in all of these environments, as shown in (6b)-(8b) (cf. Huang (1987), Zhang (2006)).

(6) a. *Cunzi-li   you   qian   san-ge   yisheng.
         village-inside   have   qian   three-CL   doctor
         *'In the village there are the first three doctors.'

     b. Cunzi-li   you   san-ge   yisheng.
         village-inside   have   three-CL   doctor
         'In the village there are three doctors.'

(7) a. *Cunzi-li   lai-le   qian   san-ge   yisheng.
         village-inside   come-ASP   qian   three-CL   doctor
         'There come the first three doctors in the village.'

     b. Cunzi-li   lai-le   san-ge   yisheng.
         village-inside   come-ASP   three-CL   doctor
         'There come three doctors in the village.'

(8) a. *Zhangsan   jiao-guo   qian   san-ge   xuesheng
         Zhangsan   teach-ASP   qian   three-CL   student
         hen   congming.
         very   clever
         'Zhangsan has the experience of teaching the first three students who are very clever.'

     b. Zhangsan   jiao-guo   san-ge   xuesheng   hen   congming.
         Zhangsan   teach-ASP   three-CL   student   very   clever
         'Zhangsan has the experience of teaching three students who are very clever.'

According to Huang (1987), the nominal expression has only an indefinite and nonspecific reading, if it is after *you* 'have' existential sentences or *lai* 'come' sentences ((6b)- (7b), respectively). That the *qian* phrase cannot occur in the above two sentences can be expected because it does not denote a nonspecific reading. In terms of the secondary predicate construction in (8b), this requires the noun phrase behind the verb to be indefinite but specific. Since the *qian* phrase cannot appear in

sentences with secondary predicates, it further indicates that the *qian* phrase denotes a definite reading.

Further evidence showing the dissimilarity between *qian* phrases and number expressions can be demonstrated by two tests: co-reference and binding.

(9) a. **Qian san-ge ren**$_i$ tai-bu-dong zhe-jia gangqin.
     qian three-CL person lift-not-move this-CL piano
     Tamen$_i$ de liliang tai xiao.
     they DE strength too small
     'The first three persons cannot lift up this piano. Their strength is too weak.'
     'The previous three persons cannot lift up this piano. Their strength is too weak.'

   b. *__San-ge ren__$_i$ tai-bu-dong zhe-jia gangqin.
      three-CL person lift-not-move this-CL piano
      Tamen$_i$ de liliang tai xiao.
      they DE strength too small
      'Three people cannot lift up this piano. Their strength is too weak.'

(10) a. Zhangsan$_i$ zhidao **qian san-ge ren**$_j$ yiding
      Zhangsan know qian three-CL person certainly
      ban-de-dong **ziji**$_{i/j}$ de gangqin.
      move-able-move self's DE piano
      'Zhangsan knows that the first three persons certainly can move self's/selves' piano(s).'
      'Zhangsan knows that the previous three persons certainly can move self's/selves' piano(s).'

    b. Zhangsan$_i$ zhidao **san-ge ren**$_j$ yiding
       Zhangsan know three-CL person certainly
       ban-de-dong **ziji**$_{i/*j}$ de gangqin.
       move-able-move self's DE piano
       'Zhangsan knows that three people certainly can move self's piano.'

Simply put, a *qian* phrase in a subject position denotes definite individuals, and thus is able to co-refer with or bind a pronoun ((9a) and (10a), respectively). In contrast, number expressions in this position cannot co-refer with or bind pronouns, as shown by (9b) and (10b), because they do not refer to entities or individuals in the discourse (cf. Li (1998)).

In terms of semantics, the observation made in Section 1 that the *qian* phrase may assume two alternate readings denoting separate viewpoints has not been accounted

for. I shall explore the interpretation of the *qian* phrase in the following section.

2.2. Semantic properties of the *qian* phrase

On syntactic grounds, the *qian* phrase denotes a definite reading. What interests us most is that the denotations of the *qian* phrase have many possibilities. Some *qian* phrases may be ambiguous between an absolute reading and a relative reading, while other *qian* phrases may have only one available interpretation. As shown in Section 1 (cf. (3)), the *qian* phrase in (11) could be ambiguous between an absolute and a relative reading:

(11) Qian   san-wei   shouxiang   dou   shi   nanxing.
     qian   three-CL   prime.minister   all   be   male
     a. 'The first three prime ministers are all male.'   [absolute]
     b. 'The previous three prime ministers are all male.'   [relative]

Consider the *qian* phrase in (12), only an absolute reading is possible if an internal protagonist denoted by the external argument of the nominal constituent is provided.

(12) **Yingguo**   qian   san-wei   shouxiang   dou   shi   nanxing. [absolute]
     U.K.   qian   three-CL   prime.minister   all   be   male
     'The first three prime ministers of the U.K. are all male.'

Conversely, the *qian* phrase can denote only a relative reading if the identity of the internal protagonist of the nominal phrase is unclear or such an entity does not exist.

(13) Qian   san-tian   hen   leng.   [relative]
     qian   three-day   very   cold
     'The previous three days were very cold.'

If the speaker is spatio-temporally dissociated from the internal protagonist within the nominal phrase, the *qian* phrase yields an absolute reading. For example, in the context of viewing a photo, (14) describes a situation in which *Zhangsan* likes the first three players in the picture.

(14) Zhangsan   xihuan   zhaopian   zhong   qian   san-ge   xuanshou.
     Zhangsan   like   picture   inside   qian   three-CL   player
     'Zhangsan likes the first three players in the picture.'

If the relationship between the arguments of the nominal expression is "continuous" in the sense that it is not subject to voluntary terminations – as is the case with the relationship between parents and children in (15), we get only an absolute reading. This can be illustrated by the following contrast:

(15) Zhangsan   qian   san-ge   nuer   dou zhu   zai Taipei. [absolute]
     Zhangsan   qian   three-CL   daughter   all live in   Taipei
     'The first three daughters of Zhangsan all live in Taipei.'
(16) Zhangsan   qian   san-ge   nupengyou   dou zhu   zai Taipei. [ambiguous]
     Zhangsan   qian   three-CL   girlfriend   all live in   Taipei
     a. 'The first three girlfriends of Zhangsan all live in Taipei.'
     b. 'The previous three girlfriends of Zhangsan all live in Taipei.'

Finally, if the number in the sequence [*qian* + Num + Cl +N] is *yi* 'one', the *qian* phrase denotes only a relative meaning.

(17) Zhangsan   qian   yi-ge   nupengyou   zhu   zai Taipei.   [relative]
     Zhangsan   qian   one-CL   girlfriend   live in   Taipei
     'The previous girlfriend of Zhangsan lives in Taipei.'

In light of the above observations, we can characterize the interpretation of the *qian* phrase in Mandarin Chinese as follows. On the one hand, the *qian* phrase takes an absolute reading in the following cases: (a) an internal protagonist is provided; (b) the speaker is dissociated from an internal protagonist spatio-temporally; (c) the relationship between the arguments of the nominal expression is perpetual. On the other hand, the *qian* phrase gives rise to a relative reading if no internal protagonist is available within the nominal phrase, or if the number in the [*qian* + Num + Cl + N] sequence is *yi* 'one'.

2.3. Insufficiency of pure lexical ambiguity analysis

One may not attribute the ambiguity of the *qian* phrase to the distinction of point-of-view holders, i.e. the speaker or an internal protagonist. Instead, it may be argued that the two possible readings of the *qian* phrase are derived from the lexical ambiguity of the morpheme *qian*, as evidenced by the case that the relative *qian* and the absolute *qian* can be phonological reductions of different phrases, *zui-qian* (the earliest) and *zhi-qian* (the earlier).[3] If we take the pure lexical approach to account for

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[3] Thanks to one anonymous reviewer for raising this question.

the characteristics of the *qian* phrase, we may not be able to explain the contrast between (18)-(19) and (20)-(21), respectively.

(18) Zhangsan   qian   san-ge   nupengyou   dou   zhu   zai   Taipei. [ambiguous]
      Zhangsan   qian   three-CL   girlfriend   all   live   in   Taipei
      a. 'The first three girlfriends of Zhangsan all live in Taipei.'
      b. 'The previous three girlfriends of Zhangsan all live in Taipei.'

(19) Zhangsan   zeng   zeng   zeng   zufu   qian   san-ge
      Zhangsan   grand   grand   grand   grandfather   qian   three-CL
      nupengyou   dou   zhu   zai   Taipei.   [absolute]
      girlfriend   all   live   in   Taipei
      'The first three girlfriends of Zhangsan's great-great-great-grandfather all lived in Taipei.'

(20) Qian   san-tian   hen   leng.   [relative]
      qian   three-day   very   cold
      'The previous three days were very cold.'

(21) Zhe   ge   yue   qian   san-tian   hen   leng. [absolute]
      this   CL   month   qian   three-day   very   cold
      'The first three days of this month were very cold.'

Simply put, (18)-(19) differ only with respect to the noun phrase *Zhangsan* and *Zhangsan's great-great-great-grandfather*; it is unclear why (18) is ambiguous, but only an absolute reading is possible in (19). As for the contrast between (20)-(21), it is also unclear why the addition of the noun phrase *zhe ge yue* "this month" in (21) changes the reading of (20).

In addition, if the pure lexical approach is adopted, the question about the syntactic position of the morpheme *qian* is yet to be answered. As will be shown in Section 3, projections like DP, S(pecificity)P cannot accommodate the properties of the *qian* phrase. In what follows, I shall discuss how the semantics of the *qian* phrase can be mapped to its syntactic structure. Before the discussion of my proposal, it would be instructive to review current analyses of the structures of nominals in Chinese.

3. Literature review

In the literature, much work has been done to derive the architecture of nominal expressions in Chinese, and this section reviews two previous analyses related to the current discussion. The first one is by Li (1999, 2009), who provides a structure for

complicated nominal expressions. The second one is by Sybesma & Sio (2008), who focus on the referential properties of nominal phrases.

3.1. Li (1999, 2009)

Li (1999) proposes that both classifiers and numbers head an independent projection. Classifiers stay in a Cl head position while numbers stay in [Spec, NumP]. She also argues for the projection of DP, and that the morpheme *-men* should be analyzed as a plural morpheme realized as an element in D. This proposal is exemplified by (22), which has (23) as its syntactic structure.

(22) tamen   san-ge   xuesheng
     they   three-CL   student
     'them three students'

(23) [DP[D'[D tamen [NumP san [Num'[Num [ClP[Cl' [Cl ge [NP[N'[N xuesheng]]]]]]]]]]]]]
              they   three   CL   student

Li (2009) further discusses the properties of more complicated nominal expressions. Many elements belonging to the category D can appear above NumP, like proper names, pronouns, and demonstratives which can co-occur, as shown in (24).[4]

(24) Zhangsan   tamen   na   san-ge   langutou
     Zhangsan   they   those   three-CL   lazybones
     'Zhangsan them those three lazybones.'

(25)
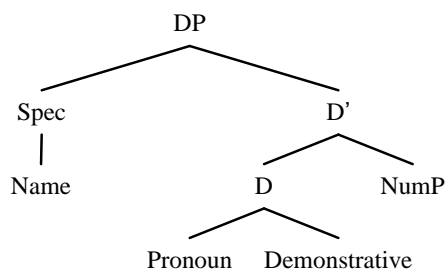
It is worth noting that these elements must follow the strict linear word order [proper name + pronoun + demonstrative], and nothing can intervene between any two of these expressions. The structural configuration of this type of expression is provided in (25), where the demonstrative occupies the D position, the pronoun is

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[4] Li (2009) argues that this expression is not two separate units: a DP with an appositive. Please refer to Li (2009) for details.

adjoined to D, and the name is in Spec of DP.

Let's see whether Li's (1999, 2009) proposal can account for the characteristics of the *qian* phrase under consideration, illustrated again in (26).

(26) qian   san-wei   shouxiang
     qian   three-CL   prime.minister
     a. 'the first three prime ministers'   [absolute]
     b. 'the previous three prime ministers'   [relative]

As shown in the previous section, the *qian* phrase denotes a definite reading, so one may submit that the morpheme *qian* stays in the D head. From this view, we should be able to identify the reference of the *qian* phrase. However, *contra* our prediction, the true denotation of the *qian* phrase depends on the identity of the point-of-view holders. In addition, the ambiguity of the *qian* phrase in (26) cannot be properly represented by the structure in (25) proposed by Li (2009). Next, I shall review the proposal made by Sybesma & Sio (2008).

3.2. Sybesma & Sio (2008)

Sybesma & Sio (2008) argue against the existence of DP projection in Mandarin Chinese along the lines of Cheng & Sybesma (1999). Instead, they suggest that Chinese has two D-type elements related to the referential properties of the nominal domain: SP and DetP, adopting the views presented in Szabolcsi (1994) and Hoekstra & Hyams (1996).[5]

(27) $[_{SP}[_{S'}[_S [_{NumP} [_{Num'}[_{Num} [_{ClP}[_{Cl'}[_{Cl}[_{DetP}[_{Det'}[_{Det}[_{NP} [_{N'} [_N]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]$

Here, the element in the head of the topmost SP is the subordinator, which licenses the noun phrase to be an argument; the lower D-type layer, DetP, has certain deictic properties. Sybesma & Sio (2008) indicate that the demonstrative is base-generated in [Spec, DetP] and then moves to [Spec, SP], which is a Specificity layer located immediately above NumP (cf. Sio (2006)). Sybesma & Sio (2008) further assume that numeral stays in a head Num position. This proposal can be employed to account for (28), as illustrated by (29).

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5 The data considered in this paper are mainly drawn from Mandarin Chinese. Sybesma & Sio (2008) include a wider range of data; "Chinese" in their paper refers to the group of languages belonging to the Sinitic language.

(28) na   san   zhi   gou

    DEM   three   CL   dog

    'those three dogs'

(29)

Let us then turn to the [*qian* + Num + Cl + N] phrase in Mandarin Chinese. It seems that the morpheme *qian*, like the demonstrative, can turn a noun phrase (i.e. the number expression *san-ge xuesheng*) into an argument, as shown below.[6]

(30) a. *San-ge   xuesheng   qu-guo   Meiguo.

      three-CL   student   go-ASP   America

      'Three students have the experience of going to America.'

   b. Zhe   san-ge   xuesheng   qu-guo   Meiguo.

      DEM   three-CL   student   go-ASP   America

      'These three students have the experience of going to America.'

   c. Qian   san-ge   xuesheng   qu-guo   Meiguo.

      qian   three-CL   student   go-ASP   America

      a. 'The first three students have the experience of going to America.'

      b. 'The previous three students have the experience of going to America.'

Given this similarity between demonstratives and *qian*, one may assume along the

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[6] Number expressions cannot occur in subject positions in normal Mandarin Chinese sentences (cf. Section 2).

lines of Szabolcsi (1994), Hoekstra & Hyams (1996), and Sybesma & Sio (2008), that the morpheme *qian* is base-generated in [Spec, DetP] and moves to [Spec, SP]. However, this analysis immediately encounters the following problems.

First, the ambiguity of the *qian* phrase cannot be explained, as shown below:

(31) Qian   san-wei   shouxiang   dou   shi   nanxing.
     qian   three-CL   prime.minister   all   be   male
     a. 'The first three prime ministers are all male.'   [absolute]
     b. 'The previous three prime ministers are all male.'   [relative]

Neither a SP or a DetP can reflect the fact that the denotation of the *qian* phrase is affected by the point-of-view holder.

In addition to this problem, there is another closely related fact that is also impossible to explain under the current analysis: when an internal protagonist *Yingguo* 'the U.K.' is available, only the absolute reading of the *qian* phrase is possible, as exemplified by (32).

(32) Yingguo   qian   san-wei   shouxiang   dou   shi   nanxing. [absolute]
     U.K.   qian   three-CL   prime.minister   all   be   male
     'The first three prime ministers of the U.K. are all male.'

In brief, the syntactic projection of SP, provided by Sybesma & Sio (2008), is not able to reflect or account for the properties of the *qian* phrase.

Although Li's (1999, 2009) and Sybesma & Sio's (2008) analyses are both insightful, the above discussion has shown that neither analysis can accommodate either the intrinsic characteristics of the *qian* phrase, such as the functions of the morpheme *qian*, or the ambiguity of the *qian* phrase. In what follows, therefore, I will attempt to provide my own analysis.

4. Preliminaries

As shown in the discussion in Section 3, the denotation of the *qian* phrase is contingent on the point-of-view holder or reference point. This phenomenon can also be found in discussions of logophors (cf. Cantrall (1974), Kuno (1972), Kuno & Kaburaki (1977), Zribi-Hertz (1989)). Before proceeding to my proposal, I shall first briefly introduce Huang & Liu's (2000) analysis of the bare reflexive *ziji* in Mandarin Chinese, which suggests that certain behaviors of *ziji* are best explained in terms of additional functional structures that mediate between grammar and discourse.

Huang & Liu (2000) suggest that the characteristics of the bare reflexive *ziji* in Mandarin Chinese are best accounted for if a distinction is made between local *ziji* and long-distance *ziji*. The local *ziji* is an anaphor whose reference is governed by Condition A of the Binding Theory. What interests us most is long-distance *ziji*, and its antecedents, following the taxonomy of Sells (1987) in (33), can be further distinguished into the following three subtypes: Source, Self, and Pivot.[7]

(33) a.　Source: the one who is the intentional agent of the communication.
　　 b.　Self: the one whose mental state or attitude the proposition describes.
　　 c.　Pivot: the one with respect to whose (time-space) location the content of the proposition is evaluated.

That is, a logophor can be used to indicate the person whose (a) speech or thought, (b) attitude, or (c) point of view is reported. This person can be the speaker (the external Source, Self or Pivot) or an internal protagonist denoted by an argument of the sentence (e.g. the matrix subject). The above roles are demonstrated by the following examples, where *Lisi* is the internal protagonist:

(34) Lisi$_i$ shuo 　[Zhangsan 　chang 　piping 　ziji$_i$].
　　 Lisi　say 　　 Zhangsan 　often 　criticize 　self
　　 'Lisi$_i$ says that Zhangsan often criticizes him$_i$.'

(35) [Ziji$_i$-de xiaohai mei de jiang]-de 　xiaoxi shi 　Lisi$_i$ hen 　shangxin.
　　 self's child 　　not get prize DE 　news 　make Lisi very 　sad
　　 'The news that his$_i$ child didn't win the prize made Lisi$_i$ very sad.'

(36) ?[Zhangsan lai 　kan ziji$_i$]-de 　shihou, Lisi$_i$ zheng zai kan 　shu.
　　 Zhangsan come see self DE 　moment Lisi now 　at 　read book
　　 'Lisi$_i$ was reading when Zhangsan came to visit him$_i$.'

Simply put, *Lisi* in (34) may be understood as the Source antecedent of *ziji*, since he is the internal agent of the communication, while *Lisi* in (35) is the internal Self whose mental state is being reported. As for *Lisi* in (36), he serves as the role of Pivot, since the content of the proposition is evaluated from his point of view.

These three roles, according to Huang & Liu (2000), express a progressive degree of liberation in the linguistic expression of logophoricity: Source is the 'core' use, Self is the 'extended' use, and Pivot applies in even further extended uses. This analysis helps to account for the observation that some languages permit a logophoric

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[7] According to Sells (1987), these roles are postulated as primitives within the framework of Discourse Representation Theory (DRT).

antecedent to the Source only, others allow either Source or Self, and still others allow all of the three roles.

Huang & Liu (2000) argue that these various cases of logophoricity can be integrated to syntax by introducing an independent Self Phrase, Pivot Phrase, and Source Phrase, which work together to capture the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of logophoricity following Rizzi's (1997) system. For instance, the structures of (37) and (38) can be represented as (39) and (40), respectively:[8]

(37) Zhangsan$_i$ shuo   Lisi   you   zai   piping   ziji$_i$ le.
      Zhangsan   say   Lisi   again   at   criticize   self   SFP
      'Zhangsan$_i$ said that Lisi was again criticizing him$_i$.'

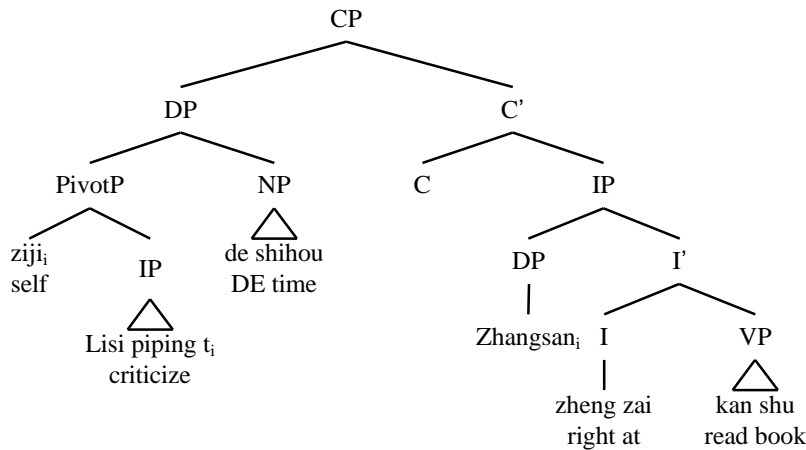(38) ?? (Dang)   Lisi   piping   ziji$_i$ de   shihou,   Zhangsan$_i$ zheng
      (at)   Lisi   criticize   self   DE   moment   Zhangsan   right
      zai   kan   shu.
      at   read   book
      'At the moment Lisi was criticizing him $_i$, Zhangsan$_i$ was reading.'

(39)
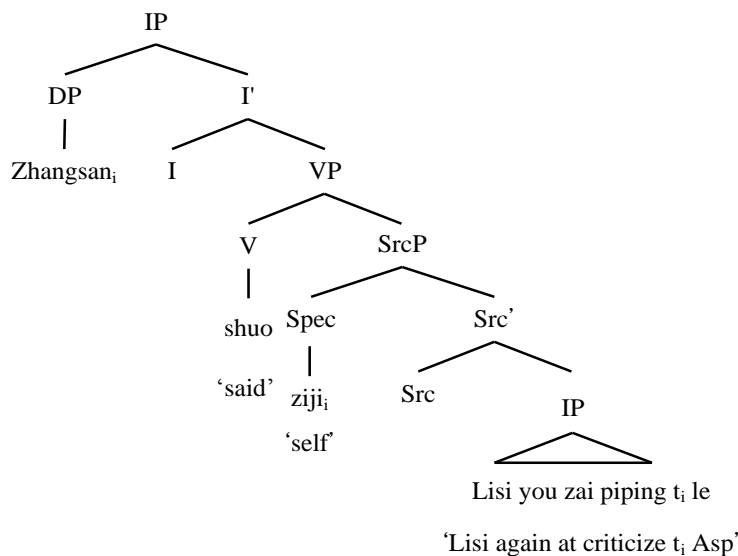
'Lisi again at criticize t$_i$ Asp'

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(40)

As indicated in the above structures, Huang & Liu (2000) claim that [Spec, PivotP] is bound by an NP denoting the Point-of-View holder of the relevant discourse. If no internal protagonist involved is identified as a Point-of-View holder, the speaker will be the default antecedent in [Spec, PivotP].

5. Proposal

Huang & Liu's (2000) analysis of the long distance *ziji* provides a reasonable starting point for treating the internal structure of DPs containing a *qian* phrase. Recall that the interpretation of the *qian* phrase depends on the "camera angle" chosen by the speaker; I shall therefore postulate a pragmatically-related projection within the nominal constituent in Mandarin Chinese (cf. Kuno & Kaburaki (1977), Kuno (1972, 1987)).[9] In what follows, for ease of explanation, I first briefly introduce basic assumptions about the status of classifiers and numerals, and then expand on the details of my proposal.

I follow scholarly tradition in assuming that a classifier heads an independent projection; this proposal was first put forward in Tang (1990) (cf. Cheng & Sybesma (1998, 1999), Li (1998) among others). Saito, Lin & Murasugi (2008) provide an argument of N'-ellipsis in support of this view. In addition, according to the previous analyses, I propose that number expressions are syntactically represented by the functional projection NumP, and that number expressions stay in [Spec, Num P] (cf. Ritter (1991), Borer (2005), Zabbal (2006), Hsieh (2008)).

In light of the above assumptions and the claim that the morpheme *qian* cannot stay in the D head (i.e. Section 3.1), I argue that the morpheme *qian* possesses a

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[9] Since the interpretation of the *qian* phrase depends on "camera angle," the point of view holder is the Pivot in the sense of Sells (1987).

[Perspective] feature, which projects a Perspective Phrase right below DP within the nominal expression in Mandarin Chinese, as illustrated by (41).[10]

(41) [DP[PerspectiveP qian [Perspective [NumP san [Num [ClP [Cl wei [NP shouxiang]]]]]]]]]
$\qquad$ qian $\qquad$ three $\qquad$ CL $\qquad$ prime.minister

Moreover, the morpheme *qian* introduces a Point-of-View (henceforth POV) variable which may be bound either by the speaker or by an internal protagonist denoted by an argument of the nominal expression (e.g. the possessor or the external argument) (cf. Nishigauchi (1999), Huang & Liu (2000)).[11] If the POV variable is bound by the speaker, it results in a relative reading; if it is bound by an internal protagonist, it gives rise to an absolute reading.[12,13]

There is a prerequisite basic front/back dimension for the morpheme *qian* 'front' and *hou* 'back'. When several entities are lined up according to a time axis, a speaker/observer faces the origin of the time axis and is in line with one of the entities, and the ones "in front" are the ones that are closer to the speaker/observer (cf. (42)). It is also noticeable that an entity contains an intrinsic frame of reference, such as, the "front" of a car is the facet which canonically lies in the direction of motion (cf. (43)).[14]

(42)

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[10] An anonymous reviewer points out that the postulation of syntactic phrase for the [Perspective] feature will pose a problem for the Inclusiveness Condition. In fact, if *qian* is endowed with the [Perspective] feature in the numeration, my analysis of the *qian* phrase on the basis of the cartographic approach can comply with the Inclusiveness Condition (Chomsky (1995); Aboh (2010)).

[11] Following Chomsky (1995), I suggest that the covert Perspective head dominates a bundle of features.

[12] The analysis of point-of-view can be substantiated by Koopman & Sportiche (1989), Speas & Tenny (2003), and Speas (2004), who assume that a logophoric pronoun is a variable which must be bound by a pragmatic point of view operator.

[13] Whether the variable introduced by the morpheme *qian* is syntactically projected or not is left for further research. Please refer to Partee (1989), Bhatt & Pancheva (2005), and Condoravdi & Gawron (1996).

[14] The considerations for fixing the orientation of deictic expressions involve a high degree of logical complexity. Please refer to Mitchell (1987), Partee (1989) and Levinson (2003).

(43)

front

Now, let us take the following examples as illustrations: First, consider a sentence containing the *qian* phrase but no overt internal protagonist, as in (44).

(44) Qian   san-wei   shouxiang   dou   shi   nanxing.
    qian   three-CL   prime.minister   all   be   male
    a. 'The first three prime ministers are all male.'   [absolute]
    b. 'The previous three prime ministers are all male.'   [relative]

The morpheme *qian* with its [Perspective] feature projects a Perspective Phrase, and the POV variable introduced by the morpheme *qian* can either be bound by a speaker or by a covert internal protagonist. The *qian* phrase in (44) has (45) as its syntactic structure.[15]

(45) [DP[PerspectiveP qian [Perspective [NumP san [Num [CIP[Cl wei [NP shouxiang]]]]]]]]
                qian   three   CL   prime.minister

Here, if the speaker speaks from his/her own viewpoint and reviews the history of the U.K., the denotation of the *qian* phrase is closely tied to the temporal dimension of the speaker. For instance, the incumbent the U.K. prime minister is David Cameron in 2013. Then the *qian* phrase will refer to the "previous three prime ministers" with regard to the speech time in 2013: John Major, Tony Blair and Gordon Brown. In this case, the *qian* phrase results in a relative reading. Alternatively, if the "camera angle" is positioned on the covert internal protagonist, namely, the speaker empathizes with the U.K., which intrinsic frame of reference for the "front" is the beginning of the U.K. The *qian* phrase therefore refers to the "first" three prime ministers of the U.K.: Robert Walpole, Spencer Compton and Henry Pelham. The denotation of the *qian* phrase will not differ from speaker to speaker, and will yield an absolute reading.

Significantly, when an internal protagonist is realized by an overt nominal expression, such as *yingguo* 'the U.K.' in [Spec, DP] in (46), the position where the "camera angle" is placed by the speaker is simultaneously determined. The POV variable can, therefore, be directly bound by that internal protagonist, and the *qian*

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[15] The *qian* phrase can occur in the non-lexically governed subject or topic position, so the D head is not completely null but contains a [Definite] feature. When the point-of-view holder is determined, the reference of the *qian* phrase can be identified and in turn agrees with the D head.

phrase results in an absolute reading, with the structure shown in (47).

(46) Yingguo   qian   san-wei   shouxiang   dou   shi   nanxing. [absolute]
     U.K.   qian   three-CL prime.minister all be   male
     'The first three prime ministers of the U.K. are all male.'

(47) [DP Yingguo   [PerspectiveP qian [Perspective [NumP san [Num [ClP [Cl wei
         U.K.   qian   three   CL
     [NP shouxiang]]]]]]]]
         prime.minister

Second, let us turn to the case of a *qian* phrase with no internal protagonist, as illustrated in (48).

(48) Qian   san-tian   hen   leng.   [relative]
     qian   three-day very   cold
     'The previous three days were very cold.'

In (48), the context of the sentence does not provide any internal protagonist or a reference point for the 'camera angle' to be placed on. The only option left for the binder of the POV variable is the speaker; otherwise, the prohibition against vacuous quantification will be violated (cf. Kratzer (1989)).

In contrast, if an internal protagonist *zhe ge yue* 'this month' is provided within the nominal expression, as shown in (49), the POV variable can and must be bound by it. An absolute reading is thus expected.

(49) Zhe   ge   yue   qian   san-tian   hen   leng. [absolute]
     this CL   month   qian   three-day very   cold
     'The first three days of this month were very cold.'

Recall that, in the context of viewing the photo, (50) can only describe a situation where *Zhangsan* likes the first three players in the picture:

(50) Zhangsan   xihuan   zhaopian   zhong   qian   san-ge   xuanshou.
     Zhangsan   like   picture   inside   qian   three-CL   player
     'Zhangsan likes the first three players in the picture.'

In (50), the temporal and spatial dimensions of the players within the picture have been frozen at the moment when the picture was taken. That is, the speaker is

spatio-temporally dissociated from any internal protagonist within the nominal phrase, and it is therefore implausible for the speaker to describe the event or state from his/her standpoint. In these circumstances, the POV variable can only be bound by the internal protagonist. In consequence, (50) can only assume an absolute reading.

However, the language facts are in reality more complex than those we have discussed so far. Consider the following two sentences, both of which contain an internal protagonist; note that (51) is limited to an absolute reading, whereas (52) is ambiguous.

(51) Yingguo   qian   san-wei   shouxiang   dou   shi   nanxing. [absolute]
     U.K.   qian   three-CL   prime.minister   all   be   male
     'The first three prime ministers of the U.K. are all male.'

(52) Zhangsan   qian   san-ge   nupengyou   dou   zhu   zai   Taipei. [ambiguous]
     Zhangsan   qian   three-CL   girlfriend   all   live   in   Taipei
     a. 'The first three girlfriends of Zhangsan all live in Taipei.'
     b. 'The previous three girlfriends of Zhangsan all live in Taipei.'

Given my analysis, the ambiguity of (52) is unexpected. We need to account for the fact that the POV variable in (52) can optionally be bound by the speaker. The reasoning is as follows. Since the speaker can potentially have a spatial or temporal association with an internal protagonist *Zhangsan*, the "camera angle" can be easily shifted from *Zhangsan* to the standpoint of the speaker. The POV variable can then be bound by the speaker in turn, and the *qian* phrase is thus able to denote a relative as well as an absolute reading. However, this kind of perspective shifting is impossible with an internal protagonist like the U.K.in (51). The U.K. is a country and hence an abstract notion which is detached from the speaker temporally or spatially; the speaker almost certainly had not even come into existence when the U.K. was established. Obviously, it is unreasonable for the speaker to 'go proxy' for the internal protagonist the U.K. The *qian* phrase in (51) can therefore only assume an absolute reading.

Following the same line of reasoning, it is easy for us to interpret the *qian* phrase in (53). It is quite clear that the speaker can not have any spatio-temporal connection with the internal protagonist Zhangsan's great-great-great-grandfather, since he must already have passed away. It is therefore implausible for a shift to occur that puts the speaker in the viewpoint of the internal protagonist Zhangsan's great-great-great-grandfather. Consequently, the POV variable in (53) can only be bound by the internal protagonist and only an absolute reading of the sentence is available.

(53) Zhangsan   zeng   zeng   zeng   zufu   qian   san-ge
     Zhangsan   grand   grand   grand   grandfather   qian   three-CL
     nupengyou   dou   zhu   zai Taipei.   [absolute]
     girlfriend   all   live   in   Taipei
     'The first three girlfriends of Zhangsan's great-great-great-grand father all lived in Taipei.'

The above discussion describes a situation in which a POV variable can be simultaneously bound by an internal protagonist and by the speaker, under the condition that it is possible to link the speaker and the internal protagonist along the temporal or spatial axis.

Significantly, an additional contrast relevant to our discussion is demonstrated by the following pair.

(54) Zhangsan   qian   san-ge   nupengyou dou   zhu   zai Taipei. [ambiguous]
     Zhangsan   qian   three-CL girlfriend   all   live   in   Taipei
     a. 'The first three girlfriends of Zhangsan all live in Taipei.'
     b. 'The previous three girlfriends of Zhangsan all live in Taipei.'

(55) Zhangsan   qian   san-ge   nuer   dou   zhu   zai Taipei. [absolute]
     Zhangsan   qian   three-CL   daughter   all   live   in   Taipei
     'The first three daughters of Zhangsan all live in Taipei.'

The above two sentences differ from each other only with respect to the noun phrase in the subject positions *nupengyou* 'girlfriend' and *nuer* 'daughter'. This difference is reducible to the distinction between the two relationships, namely, boyfriend/girlfriend relation and father/daughter relation in (54) and (55), respectively. However, unlike the ambiguity of (54), (55) allows only an absolute reading. In effect, this is because the relation between father and daughter, unlike that of boyfriend and girlfriend, is genetic and thus is considered to continue indefinitely without intermission under normal circumstances. It is therefore questionable for the speaker to refer to the "previous" three daughters of Zhangsan relative to the one at the speech time of the speaker. That is, if the relationship between the nominal constituent cannot be terminated, a "camera angle" can never be positioned at the viewpoint of the speaker. Since the POV variable involved can never be bound by the speaker, it must be bound by the internal protagonist to avoid the violation of vacuous quantification. An absolute reading therefore results.

This analysis also explains a contrast that can be observed between pairs of sentences like the following:

(56) Zhangsan qian yi-ge nupengyou zhu zai Taipei. [relative]
     Zhangsan qian one-CL girlfriend live in Taipei
  'The previous girlfriend of Zhangsan lived in Taipei.'
(57) *Zhangsan qian yi-ge nuer zhu zai Taipei.
    Zhangsan qian yi-CL daughter live in Taipei
  *'The previous daughter of Zhangsan lived in Taipei.'

As already illustrated, the relationship of father and daughter is perpetual, and it is thus absurd for the *qian* phrase in question to refer to any "previous" daughter relative to the one at the speech time of the speaker.[16]

The final idiosyncrasy of the *qian* phrase is its limitation to a relative interpretation if the number in the [*qian* + Num + Cl + N] sequence is *yi* 'one' (cf. (56)). If the speaker stands from the viewpoint of an internal protagonist, an intrinsic frame of reference for the "front" of *Zhangsan's girlfriends* will be "the first one". In effect, "the first N" only refers to an intrinsic frame of reference without any "front" sense. In this context, an absolute reading of [*qian* + *yi* + Cl + N] is therefore ruled out.

Alternatively, if the speaker stands from his/her own viewpoint, "the N" which is "in front" with regard to the speech time of the speaker is picked out. A relative reading is therefore obtained.

So far in this section, I have argued that a POV variable is introduced by the morpheme *qian*; this variable may be bound either by the speaker or by an internal protagonist denoted by an argument of the nominal expression (e.g. the possessor or the external argument) (cf. Speas (2004), Nishigauchi (1999), Huang & Liu (2000)). If the POV variable is bound by the speaker, it results in a relative reading; if the POV variable is bound by an internal protagonist, it gives rise to an absolute reading. A POV variable can additionally be bound by the speaker even if an internal protagonist is available under the condition that the speaker can be temporally or spatially associated with the internal protagonist and therefore 'go proxy' for the internal protagonist. In addition to this, the relationship between entities within the nominal expression also plays a crucial role in determining the interpretation of the *qian* phrase in question. If the relationship involved is continued and perpetual, a POV variable can only be bound by an internal protagonist, but if the relationship is alienable, an ambiguity results. Finally, if the number in the *qian* phrase is *yi* 'one', there can only be a relative reading due to the fact that the *qian* phrase can never refer to the 'first one' of anything.

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[16] The expression "the speaker" refers to an external speaker other than *Zhangsan*.

6. Implications and more evidence

According to Cinque & Rizzi (2008), the cartography approach endeavors "to draw maps as precise and detailed as possible of syntactic configurations," and one of its useful principles is the maxim "one (morphosyntactic) property – one feature – one head." My analysis follows this approach by assuming that a [Perspective] feature of the morpheme *qian* corresponds to an independent syntactic projection (cf. Rizzi (1997, 2004), Cinque (1999), Tsai (2008)).

More specifically, my proposed Perspective Phrase in the nominal structure of Mandarin Chinese is similar in function to the Evaluative Phrase of Cinque (1999). The whole of Cinque's (1999) hierarchy can in turn be included under the Modifier Phrase in Rizzi's system.

In Mandarin Chinese this kind of analysis is not unique to the *qian* phrase, and has been proposed by Liu (2007), who argues that the V-*qilai* evaluative construction contains syntactic projections with pragmatically relevant features (i.e. the Evaluative Phrase and the Evidential Phrase), as we can see from (58) below. Its structure is represented by (59).[17]

(58) Zhe-ke   zuanjie   kan-qilai   hen   zhiqian.
    this-CL   diamond.ring   look-qilai   very   precious
    a. 'Based on my personal experience of looking at this diamond ring, I would say this diamond ring is precious.'
    b. 'The external speaker infers from his/her knowledge of this diamond ring that this diamond ring is precious.'

(59) [TopP Zhe-ke   zuanjie [EvaP [QlP   *Pro* kan-qilai] [Eva' [Eva Eva] [EviP *w* [Evi [Evi Evi]
        this-CL   diamond.ring   look-qilai
    [*Pro* hen   zhiqian]]]]]].
        very   precious

In (59), the V-*qilai* evaluative construction, following the analysis of Liu (2007), consists of two clauses and this construction projects as QlP occurring in the Spec position of the Evaluative Phrase. When the subject NP of the V-*qilai* clause (i.e. QlP) occurs as an empty pronominal (i.e. *Pro*), the *Pro* subject NP can either be semantically controlled by the external speaker implied by the V-*qilai* evaluative construction or be interpreted as an arbitrary *Pro*, as shown by the ambiguity in (58).

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[17] In line with Speas (2004), evidential agreement distinguishes among sets of worlds relevant to the context; Liu (2007) thus postulates a world argument *w* occurs in [Spec, EviP]. Given space limit, I only review the proposal of the Evaluative Phrase here, and for arguments of the Evidential Phrase, please refer to Liu (2007).

Put more clearly, if the *Pro* subject of the V-*qilai* clause is interpreted as an external speaker, the evaluator (i.e. the external speaker) has his/her 'internal' or personal experience as evidence for the judgment of the evaluated event in question. Alternatively, if the subject of the V-*qilai* clause is interpreted as an arbitrary *Pro*, the evaluator (i.e. the external speaker) has his/her judgment of the evaluated event to be true simply relying on indirect evidence or inference.

Similar proposals, that pragmatic notions such as evaluative or point of view can be syntactically encoded, can also be seen in Romance nominal expressions. For prenominal adjectives in Romance, Laenzlinger (2005) argues that they are analyzed in terms of movement to the left-periphery of the DP. For example, the prenominal adjectives in (60) in French are moved to the left periphery, with the structure shown in (61).

(60) la   probable   récente destruction de la   ville
     the   probable   recent   destruction of   the   city
     'the probable recent destruction of the city'

(61)
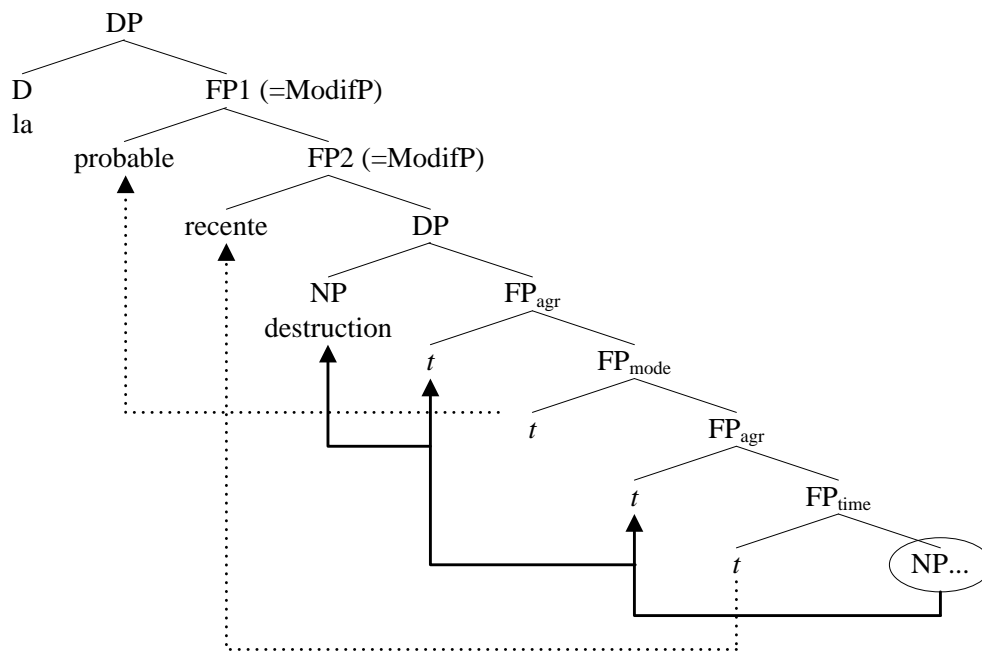
Specifically, the order in (61) can be derived from the cyclic movement of the two adjectives. The temporal adjective *récente* 'recent' first moves and merges in the left-periphery and then the epistemic adjective *probable* 'probable' raises and merges in a higher position in the left-periphery. It is noticeable that the exact labels of FP1 and FP2 are akin to the Modifier phrase in Rizzi (2004).

As the discussion here shows, the posited Perspective Phrase built on the

cartographic approach in this paper can be substantiated by inter or intra-linguistic evidence.

7. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I first used empirical data to show that it is improper to analyze the morpheme *qian* as remaining in D throughout the derivation. I then demonstrated that the otherwise puzzling properties of the *qian* phrase are explained once a Perspective Phrase is provided. I argued that the *qian* phrase contains a Perspective Projection, and the morpheme *qian* further introduces a POV variable. The two possible interpretations of the *qian* phrase can be attributed to the two Points-of-View involved. Specifically, if a POV variable is bound by the speaker, it results in a relative reading; if the variable is bound by an internal protagonist, it gives rise to an absolute reading. This analysis draws a parallel between nominal expressions and clauses by assuming that pragmatically related features can be encoded in syntax (cf. Rizzi (1997, 2004), Cinque (1999)).

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　　漢語使用詞素「前」，以「前+數量詞+量詞+名詞」，也就是「前三位英國首相」的形式表達英語 'the first three prime ministers' 的語意。此結構為直示表達語(deictic expression)，可表達「絕對觀點」與「相對觀點」兩種語意。我假設「前」帶有「觀點特徵」 ([Perspective] feature)，引介「觀點變數」(Point-of-View variable)，此變數受說話者或內在主角(internal protagonist) 所約束，分別產生「相對語意」與「絕對語意」。此分析證明名詞組與句子結構平行，皆可投射與篇章相關的句法結構，即「觀點詞組」(Perspective Phrase)。

關鍵詞：名詞組左緣、直示性表達語、左緣結構、觀點詞組