Attributional versus identificational: A dichotomous analysis of appositives in Mandarin Chinese[1]

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Among various types of nominal phrases, the appositive construction has long been a relatively under-researched subject in the literature of Chinese linguistics. This paper centers on the use of the appositive construction [P(ronoun)-Num(eral)-Cl(assifier)-Nominal Phrase (NP)] in Mandarin Chinese. Upon revealing a series of asymmetries in syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, this paper proposes an attributional versus identificational distinction for Chinese appositives. Specifically, for the attributional case, the apposition (i.e. [Num-Cl-NP]) is property-denoting and serves to rationalize the speaker's evaluation about the referent denoted by the anchor (i.e. the P); for the identificational case, the apposition is individual-denoting and serves to facilitate referent identification of the anchor by picking out an identifiable quantified set of discourse referents from the given context. To formally capture this distinction, this paper develops a dichotomous analysis for the syntax of Chinese appositives. The non-unified treatment not only offers an effective explanation for the asymmetries exhibited by the appositives under different cases, but also contributes to a better understanding of Chinese appositives in general.

KEYWORDS: appositive construction, Mandarin Chinese, nominal phrase, structural ambiguity

1. INTRODUCTION

In Mandarin Chinese, pronouns can precede [Num-Cl-NP] to form a complex nominal expression [P-Num-Cl-NP]. The sequence of [P-Num-Cl-NP] can further fall into two types of constructions. For one case, the pronoun semantically denotes the possessor of the referent(s) expressed by the [Num-Cl-NP], giving rise to a typical possessive construction. For the other case, the pronoun and the [Num-Cl-NP] are associated with the same referent(s) in the context, yielding the so-called appositive construction, with the pronoun as the anchor and the [Num-Cl-NP] as the apposition (Chao 1968; J. Li 2013; X. Tang 2013; Xu 2013; W. Li 2016; Li & Chen

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2016; Liu 2016). A test that can straightforwardly distinguish the appositive case from the possessive one is the insertion of the possessive marker *de*: whereas *de* is allowed to be inserted in between the P and [Num-Cl-NP] in the possessive [P-Num-Cl-NP], this operation is prohibited from the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], as illustrated below:[2]

(1)　*Possessive [P-Num-Cl-NP]:* de-*insertion applicable*
　　(a)　ni　　zhang-de hen　xiang **wo (de) yi　ge pengyou!**[3]
　　　　　you　look-DE　very　like　I　DE　one CL friend
　　　　　'You look much like one of my friends!'
　　(b)　**women (de) liang ge pengyou** de haizi dao　Meiguo　dushu, …[4]
　　　　　we　　　DE　two　CL friend　　DE kid　go.to America study
　　　　　'Our two friends' kids went to America to study, …'

(2)　*Appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP]:* de-*insertion inapplicable*
　　(a)　**wo　(*de)　yi　　ge xuesheng**　neng dui　ta　zenmeyang?
　　　　　I　　DE　one　CL student　　can　to　she how
　　　　　ni　　xiangxiangkan.[5]
　　　　　you　have.a.think
　　　　　Intended: 'What can I as a student do to her? You think about it.'
　　(b)　duiyu **women (*de) liang ge xuesheng** lai　　shuo, reng
　　　　　for　　we　　DE　two　CL student　　come say　　still
　　　　　shi yi　bi keguan　　　de qiancai.[6]
　　　　　be　one CL considerable　DE　money
　　　　　Intended: 'For us two students, (it) is still a considerable
　　　　　amount of money.'

　Among various types of nominal phrases in Mandarin Chinese, the appositive construction has long been relatively under-researched. While it has been well noted that the [P-Num-Cl-NP] construction as shown above can be ambiguous

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[2] Most of the Mandarin Chinese examples presented in this paper are generated from Google (https://www.google.com). Specifically, when searching on Google, the author first input the sequence '*ni/wo/ta/tamen * ge*' ('you/I/(s)he/they * Cl') in the search field, gathered the data containing [P-Num-Cl-NP] from the available results, and then differentiated the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] examples from the possessive ones. Preference was given to the examples from public websites (e.g. news websites, literature websites) rather than from personal blogs to ensure the data selected would not just represent a personal style of speaking. The examples not taken/adapted from Google (i.e. those without URL and retrieval date information in this paper) are produced by the author, who is a native Mandarin speaker. All the examples, either taken/adapted from Google or produced by the author, have been confirmed by native speakers of Mandarin Chinese.
　　Abbreviations used in glosses are as follows: BA = marker of the disposal construction *ba*; BEI = passive marker *bei*; CL = classifier; DE = modifier/possessive marker or postverbal resultative marker *de*; DUR = durative aspectual marker *zhe*; EXP = experiential aspectual marker *guo*; PERF = perfective aspectual marker *le*; PL = plural suffix *-men*; SFP = sentence final particle.
[3] https://book.qq.com/book-read/22155907/200 (accessed 30 July 2022).
[4] https://www.bcbay.com/life/immigration/2015/06/08/338544.html (accessed 28 June 2022).
[5] http://edu.people.com.cn/n/2013/0801/c1006-22402435.html (accessed 28 June 2022).
[6] https://www.guoyuji.com/jiaoyufanwen/zhengwen/2866765.html (accessed 28 June 2022).

between possessives and appositives (e.g. X. Tang 2013), what has passed unnoticed is the discrepancies between different appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] expressions. To fill the research niche, this paper will conduct a closer scrutiny of this construction and argue in favor of a two-way subcategorization, based on which a novel dichotomous syntactic analysis will be developed for Chinese appositives. The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives a critical review on the previous syntactic analyses of Chinese appositives. Section 3 examines the asymmetries exhibited by different appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] expressions in terms of semantic and pragmatic properties, in view of which an attributional versus identificational dichotomy is proposed. Section 4 develops a dichotomous formal account for the appositive construction. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. PREVIOUS SYNTACTIC ANALYSES OF CHINESE APPOSITIVES

In the limited number of studies on Chinese appositives, while some endeavors have been made to describe relevant linguistic phenomena (see Liu 2016 and the references therein), theoretical syntactic investigations are still far from conclusive. This section will review three representative syntactic analyses proposed in the prior research.

Along the first approach, as pursued in Del Gobbo (1999) and Huang, Li & Li (2009), given an appositive construction in the form of [P-Num-Cl-NP], the P syntactically occupies the D head, and the [Num-Cl-NP] sequence is taken by D as its complement, as in (3). When a demonstrative intervenes to give rise to a more complex appositive [P-Dem(onstrative)-Num-Cl-NP], the P and the Dem, in accordance with Huang et al. (2009), form a complex D head that takes [Num-Cl-NP] as its complement, as in (4):

(3) $[_{DP}[_{D'}[_{D}$ ta] $[_{NumP}$ yi   ge haizi]]] / $[_{DP}[_{D'}[_{D}$ tamen] $[_{NumP}$ liang ge
          he   one CL kid   they   two   CL
     haizi]]]
     kid
     'he as a kid' / 'they two kids'

(4) $[_{DP}[_{D'}[_{D}$ tamen zhe] $[_{NumP}$ liang ge haizi]]]
             they   this two   CL kid
     (lit.) 'they these two kids'

Along the second approach, as proposed by S. Tang (2010), appositives are subsumed under the coordination construction, and the anchor and the apposition are analyzed as conjuncts of the coordination construction. At the structural level, the anchor P and the apposition [Num-Cl-NP] are assumed to be originated as the specifier and the complement of a null-headed CoP, respectively, as given in (5):

(5) $[_{CoP}$ ta $[_{Co'}[_{Co}\varnothing]$ yi   ge haizi]] / $[_{CoP}$ tamen $[_{Co'}[_{Co}\varnothing]$ liang ge haizi]]
          he   one CL kid   they   two   CL kid
     'he as a kid' / 'they two kids'

Along the third approach, as proposed by Hong & Shi (2012), given an appositive construction like [P-(Dem)-Num-Cl-NP], the P is generated at [Spec, DP], and the [Num-Cl-NP] sequence is taken by D as its complement; the intervening Dem, if occurring, is located under D, as shown in (6):

(6) [$_{DP}$[$_{DP}$ tamen] [$_{D'}$ [$_D$ (zhe)]] [$_{NumP}$ san   ge xuesheng]]]
          they   this   three CL student
     (lit.) 'they (these) three students'

As outlined above, all of the three approaches have attempted a unified syntactic account for Chinese appositives. An expectation implied by this line is that all appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] expressions in Mandarin Chinese should syntactically pattern alike. This expectation is, nevertheless, failed by an intriguing observation that different appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] expressions may exhibit nonparallel syntactic behaviors, a situation in turn closely correlated with the singular versus plural nature (subscripted as 'sg' and 'pl' hereafter) of the pronoun and the numeral involved. To illustrate, first, while [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] generally permits nominal ellipsis, this is not always allowed for [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP], as shown by the contrast between (7) and (8):

(7) (a) suanle,   **nimen liang ge (xiao-haizi)** shen-shang ye   mei
          never.mind you   two   CL little-kid   body-on   also not.have
          duoshao   qian, …[7]
          how.many   money
          'Never mind, you two (little kids) also do not have much money, …'
     (b) duiyu **women liang ge (xuesheng)** lai   shuo, reng shi
          for   we   two   CL student   come   say   still be
          yi   bi keguan   de qiancai.[8]
          one CL considerable DE money
          'For us two (students), (it) is still a considerable amount of money.'

(8) (a) **ni   yi ge *(xiao-haizi)** neng you shenme qian.[9]
          you one CL little-kid   can   have what   money
          'You as a *(little kid) could hardly have money.'
     (b) zhe duiyu **wo yi   ge *(xuesheng)** lai   shuo genben
          this for   I   one CL student   come   say   totally
          wuli   chengdan.[10]
          cannot   afford
          'This is totally unaffordable to me as a *(student).'

[7] http://www.qiesd.com/book/11233/4359436.html (accessed 28 June 2022).
[8] https://www.guoyuji.com/jiaoyufanwen/zhengwen/2866765.html (accessed 28 June 2022).
[9] https://www.huashubao1.com/42/42418/7660292.html (accessed 28 June 2022).
[10] https://m.cqn.com.cn/qt/content/2016-08/04/content_3243810.htm (accessed 28 June 2022).

Second, while the NP in [P$_{pl}$-Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] can always undergo topicalization, this is not the case for the NP in [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP], as shown by (9) versus (10):

(9) (a) **tamen san ge xinren** defen zui gao.
  they three CL newcomer score most high
  'They three newcomers scored the highest.'

  (b) xinren$_i$, **tamen san ge e$_i$** defen zui gao.
  newcomer they three CL score most high
  'As for newcomers, they three scored the highest.'

(10) (a) **ta yi ge xinren** jingran defen zui gao.
  he one CL newcomer unexpectedly score most high
  'Unexpectedly he as a newcomer scored the highest.'

  (b) *xinren$_i$, **ta yi ge e$_i$** jingran defen zui gao.
  newcomer he one CL unexpectedly score most high
  Intended: 'As for newcomers, unexpectedly he scored the highest.'

To the best of my knowledge, James Huang is the first to note, in his personal communications with Del Gobbo (1999: fn. 5), that there are differences between plural and singular nominal appositions. Nevertheless, so far little research has been dedicated to this issue. The present study is aimed to fill this research niche by presenting new empirical evidence to argue for the necessity to structurally disambiguate two types of appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] in Mandarin Chinese.

3. SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC ASYMMETRIES OF THE APPOSITIVE [P-NUM-CL-NP]

3.1 *Semantic asymmetries*

When approaching the use of the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], we observe an important distinction between [P$_{pl}$-Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] and [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] in terms of the semantics of the NP allowed to be used. To be concrete, the nominal occurring in the appositive [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] is normally one that expresses an identity regarding which certain contextually or conventionally held evaluations/judgments can be well implied in the current utterance, whereas the nominal in [P$_{pl}$-Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] is not subject to this condition.

To begin with, note that the nominals used in the appositive [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] typically include (but are not limited to) those related to (i) profession/occupation, (ii) social rank/status, (iii) gender, etc., as exemplified in (11)–(13).[11]

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[11] One reviewer suggested that we may add some quantitative data about the types of the nominals typically used in the appositive [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP]. At this suggestion, we searched the sequence of '*ni/wo/ta yi ge* n' (lit. 'you/I/(s)he one Cl *n*') in the BLCU Chinese Corpus (BCC; http://bcc.blcu.edu.cn) developed by Beijing Language and Culture University; 'n' here means the word category following the classifier is a noun, a search function supported by this corpus. Out of the randomly selected 770 appositive [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] examples generated from the corpus, it is found that 598 (nearly 77.7%) contain the nouns related to gender

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(11) *Nominals related to profession/occupation*

    (a) **ta   yi   ge   zuojia** ye   dei   zheng-qian   chi-fan, …[12]
         he   one CL writer also   need   earn-money   eat-rice
         'He as a writer also needs to earn money and make a living, …'

    (b) dui **wo yi ge yanjiusheng** lai   jiang, suibian   kan ben
         to I   one CL postgraduate come say   arbitrarily read CL
         shenme   daolun   jiu   xing   le, …[13]
         what   introductory.book just   fine   SFP
         'For me as a postgraduate student, it would suffice to read whatever
         introductory book, …'

(12) *Nominals related to social rank/status*

    (a) **ni   yi   ge zhongchanjieji** dao le   nabian chongqiliang jiu
         you one CL middle.class   go   PERF there   at.most   then
         shi ge er-deng   gongmin.[14]
         be CL second-class   citizen
         'You as a middle class will be at most a second-class citizen if you go
         there.'

    (b) **ta yi   ge kuotaitai** hui   zhu na zhong taofang er bu
         she one CL rich.wife would live that kind suite   but not
         shi bieshu?[15]
         be villa
         'How come she as a rich wife would live in that kind of suite but not in a
         villa?'

(13) *Nominals related to gender*

    (a) jintian wanshang you shi feng you shi yu de, **ni   yi**
         today night   both be wind both be rain SFP you one
         ge nühaijia dao ba ta xiu-hao le.[16]
         CL   girl   but BA it fix-well PERF
         'It has been windy and rainy tonight, while you as a girl fixed it.'

    (b) **ni yi   ge dalaoyemen**, wuzi shoushi de ting   ganjing lisuo.[17]
         you one CL big.man   room tidy   DE quite clean   neat
         'You as a big man tidied the room quite cleanly and neatly.'

(e.g. *nühaizi* 'girl', *nüren* 'woman', *nanren* 'man') and 149 (around 19.4%) involve the nouns
related to social status, rank, family hierarchy, profession, etc. (e.g. *danshen* 'unmarried person',
laobaixing 'ordinary people', *xiaohaizijia* 'small/unmature kid', *nongmin* 'farmer'). The find-
ings empirically support the observation made here on the types of nominals typically used in the
appositive [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP].

[12] https://bbs.wenxuecity.com/currentevent/2815482.html (accessed 28 June 2022).

[13] https://www.jfdaily.com/news/detail?id=611 (accessed 28 June 2022).

[14] https://m.1688.com.au/information/column/2020/01/02/719141?variant= (accessed 28 June 2022).

[15] https://dfu7.com/NanRen/233/Chapter_95816.Html (accessed 28 June 2022).

[16] https://www.kanunu8.com/book3/8351/184238.html (accessed 28 June 2022).

[17] http://xiandangdai.xiusha.com/z/zengmingliao/001/001.htm (accessed 28 June 2022).

To elaborate on the evaluations/judgments implied by the nominal involved, for instance, in the context of (11a), the occupation *zuojia* 'writer' can be associated with an unexpressed common understanding that writers usually are more concerned about art than about money. That is why the speaker argues that even 'his' job is a writer, making money is still very important given that 'he' needs to make a living. In (12b), *kuotaitai* 'rich wife' may imply a series of characteristics (often highly biased though) conventionally labeled to this group of people, such as, e.g. being materialistic, living a luxury life, etc. It is due to these implicit evaluations that the speaker feels surprised that 'she', a rich wife, would live in a suite rather than in a villa. Likewise, *nühaijia* 'girl' in (13b) implies some conservative judgments conventionally held about girls, such as being physically weak, vulnerable, etc. That is why the speaker uses the adverb *dao* 'but' in the predicate: that 'you', a girl, can fix something in such a windy and rainy day is totally contrary to the speaker's expectation.

That the nominal used in the appositive [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] is required to be one able to well imply contextually or conventionally held evaluations/judgments about the associated identity can be best demonstrated by the discrepancy between [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] and [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] in terms of the (non-)licensing of the nominal contained. Consider the following examples involving the nominals that express relative appellations:

(14) (a) Yunqing ye neng lijie,   **ta yi ge fuqin/*baba**, ziran
           Yunqing also can   understand he one CL father/father   naturally
           shi xinteng baobei ernü …[18]
           be pamper dear   son.and.daughter
           Intended: 'Yunqing can also understand it is natural that he as a
           father would pamper his dear son and daughter …'
       (b) cishi **tamen si   ge fuqin/baba** yijing   dai   zhe
           now   they   four CL father/father already bring DUR
           baobao-men shang le   feiji …[19]
           baby-PL   on   PERF airplane
           'Now they four fathers have already brought the babies to board
           the flight.'

Albeit *fuqin* and *baba* both lexically mean 'father', the appositive [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] allows for both *fuqin* and *baba*, whereas the appositive [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] can only accommodate *fuqin*, as shown above. To understand this contrast, it is worth noticing that *fuqin* and *baba* differ in genre: *baba* is generally used for daily appellation, while nowadays *fuqin* is mainly adopted in written contexts and not for face-to-face addressing. Moreover, the identity represented by *fuqin* tends to be interpreted as associated with social expectations or criteria with respect to 'what a qualified father should be like', whereas *baba* is a rather neutral appellation. This

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[18] https://www.shubaow.net/29_29820/7467797.html (accessed 28 June 2022).
[19] https://m.qiesd.com/book/3829/11196887_2.html (accessed 28 June 2022).

can evidently be manifested by (15). Example (15a) is a line excerpted from a poem; here *baba* and *fuqin* are not interchangeable, as evidenced by the awkwardness of (15b). The reason behind is that the identity of *fuqin*, in addition to being defined in terms of biological/legal relations, would further imply ethical, emotional connections between a man and his child(ren). Therefore, it logically makes sense to say a man is a *baba* yet he does not qualify as a *fuqin*, but not the other way around.

(15) (a) yi   ge   ren   keneng   shi   baba   dan   bu   shi   fuqin[20]
           one   CL   person   possible be   father but   not   be   father
           Intended: 'It is possible that a person biologically/legally is a father but ethically is not.'

      (b) #yi   ge   ren   keneng   shi   fuqin dan   bu   shi   baba
           one   CL   person   possible be   father but   not   be   father
           '#It is possible that a person ethically is a father but biologically/legally is not.'

Example (14) shows that the appositive [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] construction accommodates only the 'evaluation-flavored' nominal of 'father', whereas [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] is not subject to this condition. A similar example is shown in (16). *Nainai* is a neutral daily appellation for 'grandma', while the compound *laonainai* 'old grandma', due to the existence of the adjectival morpheme *lao* 'old', could imply some evaluations/judgments about the characteristics typically considered to be owned by aged people. Observe that the nominal permitted to occur in [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] is *laonainai* rather than *nainai* in (16a), a context in which the speaker intends to implicitly convey a judgment like 'lacking modern science knowledge' about the referent under discussion. By contrast, the nominal in [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] in (16b) can be either *laonainai* or *nainai*.

(16) (a) **ta   yi   ge   laonainai/*nainai**   you   bu   dong
           she   one   CL   old.grandma/grandma   again not   understand
           shengwu-shang   de   xy   ranseti …[21]
           biology-on   DE   xy   chromosome
           'She as an old grandma/*grandma does not understand the biological X and Y chromosomes, …'

      (b) **tamen   ji   ge   laonainai/nainai**   ye   dou   shi
           they   several   CL   old.grandma/grandma   also   all   be
           xingdongpai.[22]
           person.of.action
           'They several old grandmas/grandmas are also all people of action.'

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[20] https://www.marstranslator.com/f/all/42467 (accessed 28 June 2022).

[21] https://www.teklher.com/%E5%BD%A2%E5%AE%B9%E6%80%BB%E6%98%AF%E6%8B%BF%E4%B8%80%E4%BB%B6%E4%BA%8B%E8%AF%B4%E4%BA%8B.html (accessed 28 June 2022).

[22] https://www-jz--job-com.translate.goog/smjzzq/5973.html?_x_tr_sch=http&_x_tr_sl=zh-CN&_x_tr_tl=zh-TW&_x_tr_hl=zh-TW&_x_tr_pto=sc (accessed 4 August 2022).

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The last piece of evidence manifesting the evaluation-/judgment-related meaning of the nominal in [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] can be found from the fact that, while [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] can accommodate a semantically highly generic nominal like *ren* 'person', [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] always requires the identity information encoded by the nominal to be as specific as to properly underpin the evaluation/judgment intended by the speaker. Compare (17a) and (17b):

(17) (a) wo yao **tamen ji ge chujiaren/ren** xian guiyi.[23]
　　　　 I　 want they　 several CL monk/person first convert
　　　　 'I want to convert them several monks/people first.'

　　 (b) zhenjing shijie de Wenchuan dizhen　 zhihou, **ta yi**
　　　　 shock　 world　 DE Wenchuan earthquake after　　 he one
　　　　 ge chujiaren/*ren, dunshi　 cheng le　 shiren
　　　　 CL monk/person　　 suddenly become PERF people
　　　　 zhumu　　　 de jiaodian.[24]
　　　　 focus.attention DE focus
　　　　 'After the Wenchuan earthquake which has shocked the whole world,
　　　　 he as a monk/*person suddenly became the focus of all the people's
　　　　 attention.'

As shown above, for [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] in (17a), both *ren* 'person' and *chujiaren* ('leave-home-person') 'monk' can be permitted. By contrast, for [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] in (17b), only *chujiaren*, but not *ren*, can be ruled in. To understand this contrast, note that *chujiaren* differs from *ren* in that the identity denoted by *chujiaren* can easily trigger some understandings commonly held about monks, such as 'normally a monk would keep a low profile and stay away from people's attention', whereas *ren* is too generic to imply specific evaluations/judgments as *chujiaren* does. As a result, only *chujiaren*, but not *ren*, can meet the semantic requirement of the NP in [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] in the context of (17b).

To summarize, this subsection illustrated the discrepancy between the appositive [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] and [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] in terms of the semantics of the NP contained. It was shown that the nominal in [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] is normally one that expresses an identity regarding which certain contextually or conventionally held evaluations/judgments can be well implied in the current utterance, whereas this restriction is irrelevant to the nominal in [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP]. In the next subsection, further comparison will be conducted between the two constructions in their pragmatic properties.

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[23] https://blog.xuite.net/mar1974444/twblog1/131783697-%E4%B8%8A%E5%B8%AB%E5%BF%83%E5%92%92%E7%9A%84%E5%85%89%E5%9C%88 (accessed 28 June 2022).
[24] https://staging.xhsd.com/items/1010000102384110 (accessed 28 June 2022).

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3.2 *Pragmatic asymmetries*

With respect to pragmatic properties, so far, previous scholarly attention has been primarily paid to the [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] construction. A consensus has been reached among linguists that [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] is used for the purpose of conveying a subjective evaluation regarding the characteristics or behaviors of the referent denoted by the P in light of the referent's identity denoted by the NP (e.g. X. Tang 2013; Li & Chen 2016; Liu 2016; Jin 2017, 2020; Wang 2019). Consider the following examples (see also Jin 2020):

(18) (a) #wo tingshuo **ta yi ge xuesheng** xuexi hen renzhen.
           I   hear   he one CL student   study very serious
           '#I heard that he as a student studied very hard.'
      (b) **ta yi ge xuesheng** jiu   yinggai xuexi hen renzhen.
           he one CL student   exactly should   study very serious
           'He as a student is supposed to study very hard.'

(19) (a) #wo tingshuo **ni yi ge xinren**   gongzuo hen duo.
           I   hear   you one CL newcomer   work   very much
           '#I heard that you as a newcomer had a lot of work.'
      (b) **ni yi ge xinren**   gongzuo hen duo hen zhengchang.
           you one CL newcomer   work   very much very common
           'That you as a newcomer have a lot of work is very common.'

Both (18b) and (19b) pertain to conveying the speaker's certain subjective evaluation about the referent concerned, as explicitly indicated by the evaluative expressions like *jiu yinggai* 'exactly should…' and *hen zhengchang* 'very common'. These subjective evaluations are in turn made in light of the identity denoted by the NP. Specifically, for (18b), it is taken natural that 'he', due to his 'student' identity, should study hard; for (19b), it is regarded reasonable, in view of the 'newcomer' identity, that 'you' would have a huge workload. Different from the (b) examples, the (a) examples make objective statements about some hearsay rather than expressing speaker-oriented evaluations. As demonstrated by the hash symbols, the use of the appositive [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] in the (a) examples would lead to unnaturalness.

   However, an important fact largely neglected in prior studies is that the above shown pragmatic condition on the use of [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] is absent in the case of the appositive [P$_{pl}$-Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP]. Compare (20) with the (a) examples in (18)–(19):

(20) (a) wo tingshuo **tamen liang ge xuesheng** xuexi hen renzhen.
           I   hear   they   two   CL student   study very serious
           'I heard that they two students studied very hard.'
      (b) wo tingshuo **nimen liang ge xinren**   gongzuo hen duo.
           I   hear   you   two   CL newcomer   work   very much
           'I heard that you two newcomers had a lot of work.'

The examples in (20) minimally differ from the (a) examples in (18)–(19) in that the former adopt the appositive [P$_{pl}$-Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] whereas the latter use the appositive [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP]. The naturalness of the former, but not the latter, clearly demonstrates that the pragmatic condition on the conveying of subjective evaluations does not universally apply to all appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] expressions in Mandarin Chinese.

Another pragmatic asymmetry rarely noticed in the literature concerns the discourse function of the apposition [Num-Cl-NP] contained. The present study observes that the [Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] in [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] and the [Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] in [P$_{pl}$-Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] typically perform different discourse functions. Consider the hypothetical conversation below:

(21)　A:　wo　xiang　zhao　ren　　gen　wo　yiqi　　canjia
　　　　　　I　　want　find　person　with　I　　together　attend
　　　　　　lanqiu　　bisai.
　　　　　　basketball　competition
　　　　　　'I want to find someone to join the basketball competition with me.'
　　　　B:　ni　　you　heshi　　　de　renxuan　le　　ma?
　　　　　　you　have　appropriate　DE　candidate　PERF　SFP
　　　　　　'Do you have any appropriate candidate(s) in mind?'
　　　　A:　(*with a pointing gesture*)
　　　　　　tamen　(san　　ge　xinsheng) / **ta　　(#yi　　ge　　xinsheng)**
　　　　　　they　　three　CL　fresh.student　he　　one　　CL　fresh.student
　　　　　　haoxiang　hen　　bucuo.
　　　　　　seem　　very　good
　　　　　　'They (three fresh students) seem to be very good / He (#as a fresh student) seems to be very good.'

In (21), to respond to speaker B's question about the candidate(s) that speaker A has in mind, speaker A can adopt either *tamen* 'they' or *tamen san ge xinsheng* 'they three fresh students' in the reply. Specifically, while a simple *tamen* 'they' is sufficient, adding *san ge xinsheng* 'three fresh students' after *tamen* can further draw the addressee's attention to an identifiable quantified set of students in the given context, hence facilitating the addressee's process of referent identification. Such a contextual referent identification function is, nevertheless, not available for *yi ge xinsheng* 'a fresh student', as demonstrated by the awkwardness brought about by the addition of *yi ge xinsheng* after *ta* 'he' in the reply.[25]

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[25] It is worth noting that at the context-free semantic level, *ta yi ge xinsheng* is a grammatically licit construction expressing the meaning of 'he as a fresh student'. What (21) intends to show is that in the context under which the apposition [Num-Cl-NP] is pragmatically intended to serve the function of facilitating referent identification, the singular case like *ta yi ge xinsheng* would yield unnaturalness of the whole utterance, in contrast with the plural case of *tamen san ge xinsheng*.

In the meanwhile, it is observed that the [Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] in the appositive [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] often precludes, whereas the [Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] in the appositive [P$_{pl}$-Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] allows for, co-indexation with another referring expression, as illustrated below:

(22) A: tamen **liang ge yanyuan$_i$** yan   de feichang hao.
         they   two   CL actor   perform DE very   good
         'They two actors performed very well.'

    B: shi   a,   **zhe liang ge yanyuan$_i$** zhende hen   lihai!
         right SFP this two   CL actor   really very   awesome
         'Yes, these two actors are really awesome!'

(23) A: ta **yi ge yanyuan$_i$** zhuan de kending bi   women duo ya!
         he one CL actor   earn DE definitely than we   more SFP
         'He as an actor should definitely earn more than us!'

    B: shi   a,   **#zhe yi ge yanyuan$_i$** hen   youqian.[26]
         right SFP this one CL actor   very rich
         Intended: 'Yes, this actor is very rich.'

In view of the above contrast in licensing co-referentiality, the present study proposes that the apposition [Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] as shown above, which is incompatible with co-referentiality, is a property-denoting constituent, while the apposition [Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP], which is well compatible with co-referentiality, is individual-denoting.[27] This coupled with the above discussion on the discourse function of

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[26] One reviewer mentioned that (23B) sounds fine to him/her. While the reviewer also admitted that he/she is a speaker of Mandarin Chinese as a second language, more native Mandarin speakers we consulted consider (23B) not perfectly natural. Particularly, they all agree that the contrast between (22) and (23) in terms of the licensing of co-indexation of [Num-Cl-NP] is very clear. Given this, we would like to suggest that the reviewer's acceptability judgment of (23) be best considered as manifesting an individual variation (possibly due to the different first language background) rather than constituting evidence against the analysis proposed here regarding the referentiality of the apposition [Num-Cl-NP]. Presumably, (23B) may not sound completely bad to some speakers because [Dem-Num-Cl-NP] in itself is well-formed at the syntactic level, as well as quite straightforwardly comprehensible at the semantic level. To specify that (23B) is pragmatically inappropriate rather than grammatically illicit, this utterance is marked '#' but not '*'.

[27] One reviewer asked what would happen if using *ta* 'he', *na ge* (lit. 'that Cl'), or *na yi ge* (lit. 'that one Cl') instead of *zhe yi ge yanyuan* in (23B), and added that if these alternatives were felicitous, it might indicate that the reason for the infelicity of [Dem-Num-Cl-NP] in (23B) may not be the inability of [Num-Cl-NP] here to participate in a co-reference relationship, but more pragmatic in nature. To examine the proposed alternatives one by one, as for *ta*, it is true that the B utterance in (23) could be improved if one uses *ta* 'he' instead of *zhe yi ge yanyuan*. This is not surprising, given that the pronoun *ta* could be used to anaphorically refer to the preceding *ta* in (23A). Nevertheless, we do not intend to take this as an indication that the reason for the inappropriateness of (23B) is 'more pragmatic'. This is mainly due to the consideration that, if the use of *zhe yi ge yanyuan* as co-referring to the preceding [Num-Cl-NP] in (23) is precluded by pragmatic factors, such as for the purpose of avoiding repetition of the [Num-Cl-NP] sequence in the discourse, then the same pragmatic constraint should apply to the cases of [Num$_{pl}$-Cl$_{pl}$-NP] in [P-Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] also. This is, nevertheless, contrary to the fact as evidenced by the acceptable [Dem-Num-Cl-NP] expression in the B utterance in (22). With respect to *na ge* (lit. 'that Cl') and

[Num-Cl-NP] leads the present study to claim that, at the level of discourse, the individual-denoting [Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] in [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] serves to help the addressee contextually anchor down the referents in question via identifying a specific quantified set of referents, and the property-denoting [Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] in [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] serves to ascribe a property – one deemed essential for the speaker to make an evaluation – to the referent of the P_{sg}.[28]

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na yi ge (lit. 'that one Cl'), upon consultation with more native Mandarin speakers, it is confirmed that the replacement of *zhe yi ge yanyuan* with *na ge / na yi ge* in (23) would still give rise to awkwardness. In view of this, the author maintains the present analysis for (23).

[28] The distinction between the appositions [Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] and [Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] in terms of discourse function is to some degree akin to the distinction between definite and indefinite appositions as claimed by Potts (2005). Potts generalizes that in English, the apposition headed by the definite article *the* is crucial to determining the referent of the anchor (like *the cyclist* in *Lance Armstrong, the cyclist, ...*), while the apposition headed by the indefinite article *a* is used to provide essential information deemed relevant to the current narrative (like *a cyclist* in *Lance Armstrong, a cyclist, ...*). Interested readers are referred to Potts (2005: sect. 4.5.5) for details.

One reviewer further asked whether we could directly adopt Potts's definiteness analysis to account for the distinction between the appositions [Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] and [Num_{sg}-Cl-NP]. To answer this question, it is worth noting that Potts's analysis is grounded in an important empirical fact that English has appositives in the forms of [*the*-NP] and [*a*-NP]. Given that *the* and *a* are definite and indefinite articles, respectively, the adoption of these grammatical markers provides explicit clues regarding the (in)definiteness of the apposition, and thus the definiteness analysis would be quite straightforward for the appositive data in English. Nevertheless, such phenomenon is irrelevant to the Chinese data discussed in the present paper. To be specific, first of all, while it may be feasible to analyze the property-denoting [Num-Cl-NP] as an indefinite expression, it is rather groundless to treat the individual-denoting [Num-Cl-NP] as a definite expression. As has been extensively discussed in the literature, [Num-Cl-NP] in Chinese could serve as a specific or non-specific indefinite expression, whereas it could not be a definite expression (e.g. Cheng & Sybesma 1999, 2005; Liao 2011; Jiang 2012). As such, empirically, there is a lack of evidence supporting the application of Potts's definiteness analysis to the Chinese appositives examined here. Second, Potts's analysis cannot fully explain the licensing condition on the use of Chinese appositives discussed in this paper. Under the definiteness analysis, the indefinite apposition is merely expected to be relevant to the current narrative. For example, the use of *Lance, a cyclist* in the context like *Lance, a cyclist, is training* is pragmatically appropriate, given that *a cyclist* is relevant to the current narrative about physical training. Such condition, nevertheless, seems to be too loose for [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP]. As shown by the contrast below, relevance to the current narrative is necessary but not sufficient for the pragmatic appropriateness of [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP], while this construction further requires the current context to be evaluation-related (a key point argued in this section):

(i)　(a)　#ta　　yi　　ge　　zixingcheshou　zhengzai　　xunlian.
　　　　　 he　　one　 CL　 cyclist　　　　 currently　　train
　　　　　 '#He as a cyclist is training.' (*no evaluation conveyed*)

　　　(b)　ta　　yi　　ge　　zixingcheshou　jingran　　　meiyou　ziji　de　che.
　　　　　 he　　one　 CL　 cyclist　　　　 unexpectedly　not.have　own　DE　bike
　　　　　 'Unexpectedly, he as a cyclist does not have his own bike.' (*evaluation conveyed*)

Due to the above considerations, while the present study notices that the difference between the appositions [Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] and [Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] in terms of discourse function is to some degree akin to the distinction between definite and indefinite appositions as claimed by Potts (2005), no stronger claims have been made that the observed pragmatic difference could fit into Potts's definiteness analysis.

The distinction between the two types of [Num-Cl-NP] appositions in discourse function can help to explain a discrepancy we observe regarding the possibility to elide [Num-Cl-NP] from the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP]. Consider (24):

(24) (a) Alan Lekongte lai Huana-Xiongdi tan shi bu
Alan Lekongte come Warner-Brothers discuss business not
qiguai, daoshi
strange contrary
ta #/??(yi ge da daoyan), hai qinzi lai
he one CL big director even by.oneself come
mai kafei…[29]
buy coffee
'It is not surprising that Alan Lekongte would come to Warner Brothers to discuss business, but it is surprising that he #/??(as a big director) would even buy coffee by himself …'

(b) wo yao **tamen (ji ge chujiaren/ren)** xian guiyi.[30]
I want they several CL monk/person first convert
'I want to convert them (several monks/people) first.'

In (24a), the speaker intends to express their surprise about the fact that 'he', a well-established director in the film industry, would buy coffee by himself. Under the present analysis, the awkwardness brought about by the ellipsis of the apposition *yi ge da daoyan* can be explained in that the property-denoting [Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP], which defines Alan Lekongte's identity as 'a big director', plays a key role in rationalizing the speaker's unexpectedness about the 'coffee-buying' event, hence essential to the current discourse and not omittable. Differently, in (24b), the individual-denoting [Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] *ji ge chujiaren/ren* serves to add information about the headcount of the referents, which is not essential to the understanding of the whole utterance but primarily used to facilitate identification of the target people. Therefore, the omission of *ji ge chujiaren/ren* is possible.[31]

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[29] https://m.xbiquge.so/book/14334/10064010.html (accessed 28 June 2022).
[30] https://blog.xuite.net/mar1974444/twblog1/131783697-%E4%B8%8A%E5%B8%AB%E5%BF%83%E5%92%92%E7%9A%84%E5%85%89%E5%9C%88 (accessed 28 June 2022).
[31] One reviewer pointed out that if we assume the name *Alan Lekongte* already informs the readers that he is a famous director, probably the singular apposition could be elided. We consulted more native Mandarin speakers on this judgment. They do agree that if the identity of Alan Lekongte as a famous director is highly salient in the context of utterance and well known by the interlocutors, the sequence *yi ge da daoyan* might not be an absolute 'must' for the speaker to express unexpectedness about the 'coffee-buying' event here. Nevertheless, the native informants unanimously hold that, even under such a scenario, the whole utterance would not be as pragmatically coherent and complete as it is when *yi ge da daoyan* occurs, for *yi ge da daoyan* explicitly specifies the ground based on which the speaker's unexpectedness is expressed. In view of this, we mark the utterance without *yi ge da daoyan* as '#/??' to reflect the possible marginal acceptability in some special contexts (i.e. when the identity information of the referent is contextually salient enough to underpin the speaker's evaluation). We thank the reviewer for drawing our attention to this issue.

3.3 *Interim summary*

To summarize the discussion so far, it has been shown in the past subsections that there are discrepancies among different appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] expressions in terms of the semantic characteristics of the nominal contained, the pragmatic properties of the whole construction, and the discourse function performed by the [Num-Cl-NP] with respect to the P. Accordingly, a two-way distinction has been drawn that, for one type of appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], the [Num-Cl-NP] is property-denoting and the whole construction is for the purpose of conveying speaker-oriented evaluations; for the other type of appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], the [Num-Cl-NP] is individual-denoting and the appropriate use of the construction is not subject to evaluation-making. In the rest of the paper, the two types of appositives will be called attributional and identificational appositives, respectively. Based on this dichotomy, the next section will develop a novel, non-unified syntactic analysis for the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP].

4. A NOVEL SYNTACTIC PROPOSAL

4.1 *Syntactic behaviors of the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP]*

Before proceeding to the syntactic proposal, a more in-depth examination of the syntactic properties of the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] is warranted.

 Corresponding to the semantic and pragmatic asymmetries as shown above, the attributional and identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] are observed to exhibit nonparallel behaviors at the syntactic level too. In addition to the aforementioned discrepancies in nominal ellipsis and topicalization (see Section 2), another syntactic difference is detected with respect to the modification of the apposition [Num-Cl-NP]. To illustrate, first, the [Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] sequence contained in [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] can be directly modified by temporal adverbials, whereas such modification is not always applicable to the [Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] in [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP]. As exemplified below, the [Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] sequences in (25) can be modified by the temporal adverbials *cengjing* 'once' and *xianzai* 'currently' while the [Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] sequences in (26) cannot.

(25) (a) **ta cengjing yi ge mingbujianjingzhuan de Beijing**
         she once   one CL unknown   DE Beijing
         Dianying Xueyuan
         film   academy
         de nütongxue, … chengwei qianbai
         DE female.student   become   hundreds.of.thousands.of
         yingmi de ouxiang.[32]
         fan   DE idol
         'She, once an unknown female student in Beijing Film Academy, …
         became an idol of hundreds of thousands of fans.'

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[32] http://qm.mingxing.com/mingren/146104.html (accessed 28 June 2022).

(b)   jiu   lian   Fentianjun   de   shili,   guji   dou yao
     just   even   Fentianjun   DE   capability   estimate   all   should
     huafei bushao liqi,   gengbieshuo **ta xianzai yi ge**
     spend   much   strength   let.alone   she   currently   one   CL
     chuqi jingjie de houtianjunlingshi le.[33]
     initial   level   DE   houtianjunlingshi   SFP
     'Even Fentianjun, by means of his capability, may need to make great
     efforts, let alone her, currently a beginning-level *houtianjunlingshi*.'

(26)   (a)   **tamen (*cengjing) san   ge congmei chu**
         they   once   three   CL   never   go.out
         guo guo   de ren
         EXP   country   DE   person
         zhe ci   zhongyu you   jihui   chuqu kankan   le.
         this time   finally   have   opportunity   go.out have.a.look   SFP
         'They, (*once) three people who have never been aboard, finally got
         an opportunity to go out and have a look.'

       (b)   zhe jian shi   guji   lian laoban dou gao-bu-ding, gengbieti
         this   CL   thing estimate even   boss   all   do-not-done   let.alone
         women (*xianzai) liang ge   gang ruzhi   de
         we   currently   two   CL   just   enter.workplace DE
         yuangong le.[34]
         staff   SFP
         'Even the boss probably cannot handle this issue, let alone us,
         (*currently) two staff who have just entered the workplace.'

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[33] https://tw.95zongcai.com/zc/37464/15959267.html (accessed 28 June 2022). *Fentianjun* is a character's name; *houtianjunlingshi* is a rank of deities whose power and strength are inferior to Fentianjun's.

[34] One reviewer asked that as the use of 'let alone' implies an evaluation on the part of the speaker, if the [Num-Cl-NP] here is individual-denoting, then how we should interpret its pragmatics/semantics. To address this question, admittedly, the use of 'let alone' would pragmatically bring about an evaluation flavor (which is concerned with a comparison between the boss and 'us' here); however, this does not mean that the [Num-Cl-NP] involved could impossibly be individual-denoting. In fact, the [Num-Cl-NP] in (26b) is syntactically different from the genuine property-denoting [Num-Cl-NP] in a number of ways, which thus does not support the analysis of it as a property-denoting apposition. In addition to its incompatibility with modification by temporal adverbials as shown above, moreover, the [P-Num-Cl-NP] in (26b) allows for NP ellipsis, in which aspect it patterns with the identificational but not attributional appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP]:

   (i)   zhe   jian   shi   guji   lian   laoban   dou   gao-bu-ding,   gengbieti
       this   CL   thing   estimate   even   boss   all   do-not-done   let.alone
       women   liang   ge   (gang   ruzhi   de   yuangong)   le.
       we   two   CL   just   enter.workplace   DE   staff   SFP
       'Even the boss probably cannot handle this issue, let alone us two (staff who have just entered the workplace).'

Second, the [Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] sequence in [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] can accommodate modification by evaluative adverbials, in which respect the [Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] sequence in [P$_{pl}$-Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] behaves differently, again. As shown in (27a) and (27b) respectively, the [Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] sequence can be modified by the evaluative adverbial *mingming* 'evidently' whereas the [Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP] cannot.

(27) (a) (zhe) daozhi **ta mingming yi ge chunqing xiao-guniang**,
          this lead she evidently one CL pure   little-girl
          lengshi bei wangyou xinong cheng   wusuobuneng
          just   BEI netizen joke become omnipotent
          de   'shen', …[35]
          DE   god
          '(This) led to the scenario that she, evidently a pure little girl, was joked by netizens as an omnipotent "god", …'

      (b) (zhe) zuizhong daozhi **tamen (*mingming) liang ge**
          this finally lead **they evidently   two   CL**
          zui hao de pengyou fanmuchengchou.[36]
          most good DE friend   become.enemies
          '(This) finally resulted in the situation that they (*evidently) two best friends became enemies.'

The above observations, particularly the highly 'predicational' nature exhibited by the apposition [Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] (i.e. being compatible with temporal and evaluative adverbials), may lead one to question whether the appositive [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] should be treated as a clause rather than as a nominal phrase. A closer scrutiny suggests the answer should be no. A strong piece of evidence comes from the fact that the appositive [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] can grammatically serve as the object of a verb that necessarily requires a nominal complement. For instance, [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] can serve as the object of the verb *renshi* 'acquainted with', which needs to be human-denoting, as in (28a), or as the direct object that bears the thematic role of 'recipient' in the double object construction, as in (28b).

As has been shown in (7)–(8) and to be explained in detail in Section 4.3, for an attributional appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], eliding the NP from the construction would be prohibited, in contrast with the licit NP ellipsis from the identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP]. Given that the [P-Num-Cl-NP] in (26b) allows for NP ellipsis, the [Num-Cl-NP] here should not be property-denoting but individual-denoting. Accordingly, we consider that the [Num-Cl-NP] here semantically denotes a set of two new staff in the company, and pragmatically functions to help specifically identify the referents associated with the anchor *women* 'we'. This example suggests that an 'evaluation' reading of the overall context be a necessary but not sufficient condition for determining whether an apposition [Num-Cl-NP] is individual- or property-denoting.

[35] https://read01.com/zh-mo/DGRM7xM.html#.Yru2KHZByUk (accessed 29 June 2022).
[36] https://www-douban-com.translate.goog/note/637519847/?_x_tr_sl=zh-CN&_x_tr_tl=zh-TW&_x_tr_hl=zh-TW&_x_tr_pto=sc&_i=6484857QqZ88XR (accessed 29 June 2022).

(28) (a) laoban   cai   bu   keneng   renshi   **wo yi   ge**
           boss   only   not   possible   acquainted.with   I   one   CL
           xin-yuangong ne!
           new-staff   SFP
           'It is impossible for the boss to be acquainted with me as a new staff!'

     (b) xizhuren   song-gei **ta yi   ge xinsheng**   zheme
           department.head   give-to   he   one   CL fresh.student so
           duo   shu,   qita   ren   xin-li   bu   tai   gaoxing.
           many   book   other person   heart-in not   quite happy
           'The department head gave him, a fresh student, so many books,
           which made other people not so happy.'

Further note that the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] as a whole is a referring expression, i.e. referring to the referent denoted by the P. Given this, based on the hypothesis that referentiality is structurally encoded in the functional head D (e.g. Abney 1987; Zamparelli 2000; Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou 2008), the present paper considers that both the attributional and identificational [P-Num-Cl-NP] should correlate with DP in the underlying structure. In the following subsection, a detailed syntactic analysis will be presented for the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP].

4.2 *A syntactic analysis of the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP]*

In dealing with the syntax of appositives, a key issue needed to be addressed is the structural relationship between the anchor and the apposition. In the existing analyses of Chinese appositives (see Section 2), the anchor P and the apposition [Num-Cl-NP] have been treated as (i) the D head and its complement (Del Gobbo 1999; Huang et al. 2009), (ii) conjuncts of the coordination construction (S. Tang 2010), or (iii) the specifier and the complement of a DP projection (Hong & Shi 2012). Upon a closer scrutiny, nevertheless, none of the approaches is problem-free. Specifically, first, the head-complement analysis lacks sound empirical evidence which shows a categorial-selection relationship between the P and the [Num-Cl-NP]. For example, given the appositives like *ta yi ge xuesheng* 'he as a student' or *tamen san ge xuesheng* 'they three students', it is not clear how the numeral classifier expression *yi ge xuesheng/san ge xuesheng* would be categorially required by the pronoun *ta/tamen* as its complement. Second, the coordination analysis encounters a challenge from the fact that the P and the [Num-Cl-NP] cannot be reversed (e.g. *ta yi ge xuesheng* 'he as a student' versus **yi ge xuesheng ta* '*a student as him') whereas ordinary conjuncts can (e.g. *meili shanliang* 'pretty and kind' and *shanliang meili* 'kind and pretty'). Last, the specifier-complement analysis warrants external stipulations to explain why the referent(s) of the whole DP construction would crucially depend on the content of the specifier (i.e. the

anchor P) rather than on that of the complement (i.e. the apposition [Num-Cl-NP]), and thus theoretically, it is also not an optimal account for appositives.

Departing from the prior attempts, the present study adopts a 'supplement' analysis to account for the syntactic status of the apposition with respect to the anchor. This analysis is based on a crosslinguistically attested fact that the anchor and the apposition are not equivalent both semantically and syntactically, with the apposition exhibiting a rather 'subordinated', 'non-headedness' status with respect to the anchor, in view of which many linguists adopt the term 'supplements' to call appositions (Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Potts 2005; Loock & O'Connor 2013). Taking English for illustration,[37] first, it is the anchor but not the apposition that can always independently determine the referentiality of the appositive construction. As shown in (29), the referent of the appositive construction is independently determined by the anchor *Mr Campbell*, while the apposition *a lawyer* serves to provide additional background information about the man under discussion:

(29)   [anchor Mr Campbell], [apposition a lawyer], was here last night. (Loock & O'Connor 2013: ex. (9b))

Second, it is the anchor, not the apposition, that is part of the main clause predication (Loock & O'Connor 2013). This can be demonstrated by the fact that normally the anchor and the apposition cannot be reversed freely, as shown below:

(30)   (a)   While in Sudan, Bin Laden bought [anchor his own bank], [apposition the al Shamal Islamic Bank], with a handful of Sudanese partners linked to the Islamic regime in Khartoum.

        (b)   #/?While in Sudan, Bin Laden bought [apposition the al Shamal Islamic Bank], [anchor his own bank], with a handful of Sudanese partners linked to the Islamic regime in Khartoum. (Loock 2010: 156)[38]

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[37] The introduction of the English appositives in (29)–(31) here is for the purpose of demonstrating the supplement status of the anchor, while these examples in themselves are not English counterparts of the Mandarin examples examined in this paper. As can be seen in (29)–(31), the English appositives given here cover a diversified types of anchors and appositions, with the supplement status of appositions consistently holding across different formations of appositives.
    While there are also rich subtypes of appositives in Mandarin Chinese, the Chinese appositive construction investigated in this paper is confined to [P-Num-Cl-NP]. Interested readers can refer to Liu (2016) for other formations of appositives in Chinese.

[38] Attention needs to be taken that for the 'reversed order' as given in (30b), Loock (2010) marks '#/ ?' but not '*', meaning that (30b) is not grammatically ill-formed but is pragmatically not as natural as (30a). Loock and O'Connor (2013) provide an explanation for this phenomenon from a pragmatic perspective by positing an informational hierarchy between the anchor and the apposition. According to their analysis, (30b) may not sound natural because the apposition *the al Shamal Islamic Bank*, which is originally used as an element providing supplementary, nonrestrictive information about the anchor *his own bank* as in (30a), would not be able to well function as part of the main clause predication; therefore, pragmatically, it cannot be appropriately 'reversed' to be taken by the main verb *bought* as the direct object. Interestingly, it is found that while (30b) is marked '#/?' by Loock, it sounds unproblematic to some English speakers we consulted. Likewise, one reviewer pointed out to us that the Italian counterpart of (30a) can

Third, it is only the anchor, but not the apposition, that triggers agreement with the main verb of the sentence, as shown below:

(31) [anchor Lands, brains, wealth, technology] – [apposition (in other words) everything we need] – are/*is plentiful in our country. (Loock & O'Connor 2013: ex. (12a))

In the recent literature, such a 'supplement' status of the apposition has been accounted for in that the apposition adds a 'secondary message' – which features a predicational relationship underlyingly – to convey a meaning like '[anchor] is [apposition]' (e.g. Potts 2005; Loock 2007; Heringa 2012; Loock & O'Connor 2013; Liu 2016). More specifically, it is considered that the apposition functions as a supplement to the anchor by adding a predicate about the anchor via a null copula with the meaning of 'BE'. This makes the appositive construction 'a short and simple spell-out of a fairly complex structure', enabling the speaker to 'add a complete message about an element in the sentence he pronounces, without having to use a new sentence and therefore without spelling out a subject or a verb' (Heringa 2012: 570).

Under this viewpoint, at the structural level, Heringa (2012) makes a pioneering attempt to assume that such a subordinated 'secondary message' expressed by appositives does not stem from a predicational syntax between the anchor and the apposition directly; rather, it is derived via a 'bridging' *pro*. With the technical details irrelevant to the linguistic phenomenon discussed in this paper aside,[39] it is postulated that the apposition is underlyingly predicative of a silent pronoun *pro*, and that the *pro* is co-indexed with the preceding anchor P, as visualized by a simplified version of Heringa's proposal as given in (32). An important advantage of this treatment is that it is able to capture the apparent clausal properties exhibited by appositives (as shown in (35)) without assigning a clause-level projection to the whole construction, which thus fares well with the 'predicational' properties of the apposition on the one hand and the 'referring' nature of the whole appositive construction on the other.

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perfectly allow reversion between *la sua banca* 'his own bank' and *la al Shamal Islam Bank* 'the Shamal Islam Bank'. Regarding the possibility to accept the reversed order like (30b), we suggest that the informational hierarchy between the anchor and the apposition could be influenced by individual speakers' cognition or understanding in the given context. Specifically, for the English speaker who regards (30b) as fine, they may feel it natural to interpret *his own bank* as supplementary information with respect to *the al Shamal Islamic Bank*; as a consequence, *the al Shamal Islamic Bank* could be used as part of the main predication without causing pragmatic unnaturalness. In contrast, for the speaker who much prefers the interpretation of *the al Shamal Islamic Bank* as supplementary information in this context, the word order shown in (30b) would be considered less acceptable than (30a). We thank the reviewer for drawing our attention to this issue.

[39] The 'irrelevant technical details' are mainly concerned with the parentheticality of appositives observed in other languages but not in Chinese (see Note 42 for details).

(32)   *Heringa's (2012) syntactic analysis of appositives (a simplified version)*[40]
        $[_{\text{CoP}}$ anchor$_i$ … $[_{\text{Co'}}$ Co … $[_{\text{SC}}$ *pro*$_i$ apposition$]]]$

To approach the syntax of the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] in Mandarin Chinese, the present paper also treats the apposition [Num-Cl-NP] as a supplement to the anchor P. This is crucially motivated by the fact that the referent of the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] is independently determined by the anchor P, while the apposition [Num-Cl-NP] primarily serves discourse-level functions such as adding background information for making evaluations, or facilitating referent identification via anchoring down a group of people. We also follow the line of Heringa (2012) and others to analyze the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] as underlyingly encoding a 'secondary message' of predication,[41] as depicted below:

(33)   ta   yi   ge   yanyuan / tamen san   ge   yanyuan
       he   one   CL   actor   they   three CL   actor
       'he as an actor / they three actors'
       → Underlying semantics: he BE an actor / they BE three actors

However, we slightly depart from Heringa (2012) in that we do not adopt a coordination analysis for the syntax of appositives, due to the consideration as given at the beginning of this subsection. Instead, to structurally represent the supplement status of the apposition with respect to the anchor, we side with Potts (2005) and Del Gobbo (2017) in assuming a syntax of adjunction for appositives, analyzing the apposition as syntactically adjoined to the anchor, as depicted below (to be implemented shortly):

(34) $[_{\text{DP}} [_{\text{DP}}$ P$] [_{\text{XP}}$ Num-Cl-NP$]]$

With respect to the categorial nature of the XP in (34), as for the case of the attributional appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], recall from Section 4.1 that the property-denoting [Num-Cl-NP] allows for modification by temporal and evaluative adverbials. Interestingly, this is akin to what has been found with English appositives (Heringa 2012). As exemplified in (35), the English appositions can accommodate temporal adverbials like *once* and *currently*, and evaluation-oriented adverbials such as *obviously* and *unfortunately*. This has motivated Heringa to argue that the underlying structure of the English apposition contains TP and CP projections, i.e. the functional layers hosting tense- and evaluation-related adverbs, respectively.

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[40] In (32), 'CoP' stands for 'coordination phrase' (as Heringa assumes the appositive construction as a coordination phrase (also S. Tang 2010), and 'SC' stands for 'small clause'. We do not follow the coordination analysis of appositives mainly due to the consideration that this analysis encounters a difficulty to explain why the P and the [Num-Cl-NP], if they are conjuncts, cannot be reversed whereas ordinary conjuncts can, as has been exemplified in Section 4.2.

[41] See also Liu (2016) for detailed arguments in favor of a predicational relationship between the anchor and the apposition in Chinese appositives.

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(35) (a) Keith, **once a drug addict**, now leads a rehabilitation center. (Heringa 2012: ex. (16a))

  (b) Ten years ago, I didn't know anything about appositions, **currently my subject**. (Heringa 2012: ex. (16b))

  (c) The winner, **obviously my friend John**, will be rewarded a medal. (Heringa 2012: ex. (35a))

  (d) Racial profiling, **unfortunately a frequent occurrence in American society**, must be stopped. (Heringa 2012: ex. (22b))

In view of the commonality in terms of modification between the English appositions and the property-denoting apposition [Num-Cl-NP] in Mandarin Chinese, the present study hypothesizes that for the attributional appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], the [Num-Cl-NP] structurally projects as high as into the CP layer. Accordingly, the whole appositive construction underlyingly correlates with the structure '[$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ P] [$_{CP}$ Num-Cl-NP]]'. Further, regarding the internal structure of the CP correlating with [Num-Cl-NP], the present paper incorporates Heringa's insight, with our own amendments, of integrating the secondary, predicational message of appositives into the structural representation.[42] It is postulated that the apposition [Num-Cl-NP] underlyingly starts out forming a

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[42] It is worth pointing out that the syntax Heringa (2012) assumes for appositives is much more articulated than what has been proposed here. Specifically, Heringa's proposal attempts a multidominance structure which involves some 'less standard' functional projections, such as the parenthetical phrase ParP. Such a proposal is mainly driven by the need to explain some idiosyncratic properties, such as the comma intonation pattern, exhibited by appositives in languages like English. To elaborate more, it has been widely considered that appositives exhibit a parenthetical status (e.g. Emonds 1976, 1979; Safir 1986; Potts 2002; Stowell 2005; Heringa 2012). Taking English for illustration, such a parenthetical status can be straightforwardly manifested in that the apposition, at the pronunciation level, is associated with a comma intonation, and in orthography, it is 'separated' from the preceding anchor and the following utterance by commas. In view of this, at the syntactic level, based on the data from the languages like English and Dutch, Heringa has argued that appositions are 'in the class of parentheses' given that they are 'internal to the matrix, but still behaving independently' (2012: 564); accordingly, he hypothesizes the ParP for the underlying structure of appositives. However, it has also been noted by scholars that appositives and parenthetical constructions should not be treated on a par. For instance, Stowell (2005) has shown that not all parenthetical relative clauses are appositives. Therefore, there remains a necessity to differentiate the two constructions. For more discussions on this issue, readers are referred to the references mentioned in this note. We thank one reviewer for drawing our attention to the need for clearing up the confusion between appositives and parenthetical constructions.

Given that the comma intonation pattern, a phenomenon considered as a manifestation of the parentheticality of appositives in the previous studies, is absent in the Chinese data discussed in this paper, the present study does not propose any functional projection dedicated to the parenthetical status of appositions as Heringa does, neither do we adopt a parenthetical analysis for the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] in Chinese. The departure of the present analysis from Heringa's proposal echoes a stance nicely argued for in Del Gobbo (2017), that is, at the crosslinguistic level, a more explanatorily powerful account of appositives calls for a fine-grained typology, with different types of appositives correlating with different syntactic structures. For a good example of typological discussion on the syntax of another type of appositives (i.e. appositive relative clauses) in Chinese, Japanese, French, Italian, and English, interested readers are referred to Del Gobbo (2017).

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null-headed Copula Phrase (CopulaP) with a silent pronoun *pro*, and that the *pro* is co-indexed with the preceding anchor P; the null Copula head encodes a meaning of 'BE'. The [Num-Cl-NP] contained in the attributional appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], as a property-denoting phrase, projects into NumP (but not further into the individual-denoting DP; see Li 1998), and the associated CopulaP continues projecting into TP and CP, i.e. the layers hosting temporal and evaluative adverbials, respectively. Finally, the CP is adjoined to the DP projection of the anchor P as a supplement. See (36) for visualization:
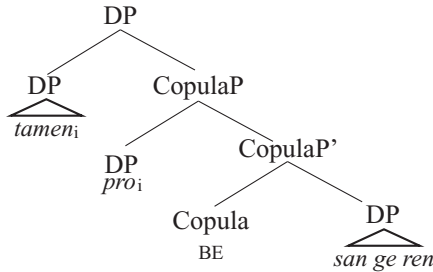
(36) *Syntax of the attributional appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP]*

ta	(mingming)	(cengjing)	yi	ge	damingxing
she	evidently	once	one	CL	big.star

'she (evidently) (once) as a big star'
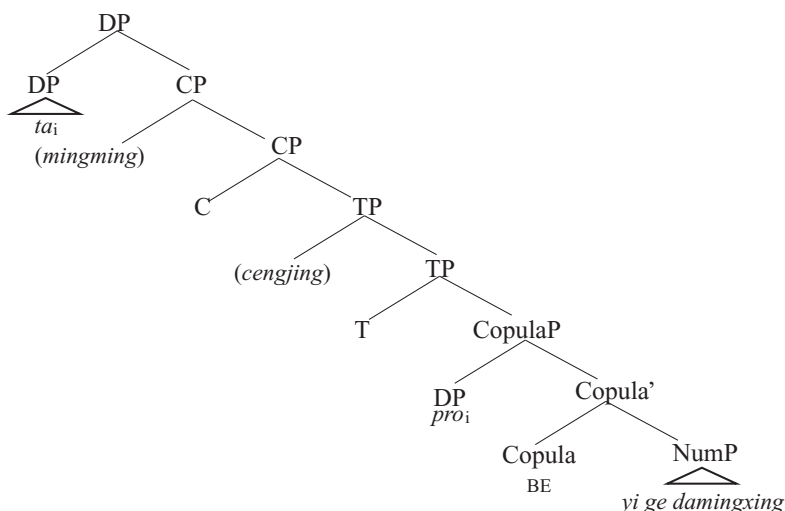
As for the case of the identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], in the same vein, it is assumed that the apposition [Num-Cl-NP] starts out forming a CopulaP with a silent pronoun *pro*, with the *pro* co-indexed with the preceding anchor P. The [Num-Cl-NP] here, as an individual-denoting expression, correlates with DP. Given that the [Num-Cl-NP] in the identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] cannot accommodate temporal and evaluative adverbials, the CopulaP is assumed to be directly adjoined to the anchor P without projecting into TP/CP. Accordingly, the whole construction underlyingly correlates with the structure '[DP [DP P] [CopulaP Num-Cl-NP]]'. See (37) for the syntax:

(37) *Syntax of the identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP]*

tamen	san	ge	ren
they	three	CL	person

'they three people'

```
                    DP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
             DP          CopulaP
            ┌─┴─┐      ┌──────┴──────┐
           tamenᵢ    DP          CopulaP'
                    proᵢ      ┌──────┴──────┐
                            Copula         DP
                             BE         san ge ren
```

To recap, this subsection proposed a dichotomous analysis for the syntax of the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP]. It is first assumed that both the attributional and identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] involve a syntax of adjunction (Potts 2005; Del Gobbo 2017). Then, to syntactically represent the predicational relationship between the anchor and the apposition, a CopulaP analysis is adopted, under which the apposition [Num-Cl-NP] occurs as the predicate of a silent *pro* and the *pro* is co-indexed with the anchor P underlyingly (Heringa 2012). The asymmetries observed between the attributional and identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] are captured by proposing that the CopulaP in the case of the attributional apposition projects as high as into the CP layer, whereas the CopulaP in the case of the identificational apposition does not project any further.

4.3 *Consequences and further discussion*

The dichotomous analysis of the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] proposed above has several welcome consequences.

First, this analysis can help to explain the observed distinctions between the attributional and identificational appositives in syntax, semantics, and pragmatics in a straightforward way. To be concrete, syntactically, given that the identificational appositive [Num-Cl-NP] underlyingly does not project into TP/CP whereas the attributional appositive does, it can be accounted for straightforwardly that the former cannot, whereas the latter can, accommodate sentential modifiers such as temporal and evaluative adverbials. Semantically, the observed condition on the licensing of the NP in the attributional appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] can be well understood from the perspective that the [Num-Cl-NP] in this case serves the function of ascribing a property about the referent concerned, which in turn lays a crucial ground for the speaker to make a subjective evaluation regarding the referent in question. Given this, it follows that only the NP that could be well

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associated with an evaluation-related interpretation would be allowed to occur in the attributional [Num-Cl-NP], in contrast with the NP in the identificational [Num-Cl-NP]. Finally, regarding the pragmatic condition on the use of the attributional appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], recall the assumption that a silent proform of the anchor P and the apposition [Num-Cl-NP] underlyingly form a copula clause which syntactically projects as high as into CP. Given the assumption that CP is an articulated functional projection (the 'Split-CP' hypothesis; Rizzi 1997) that encodes a wide range of discourse properties including the speaker's point of view or attitude (e.g. Cinque 1999; Speas & Tenny 2003; Hill 2007, 2012; Haegeman & Hill 2013; Wiltschko 2014), it follows straightforwardly that from a syntax-discourse interface perspective, the use of this construction, which underlyingly correlates with a CP projection, could be relevant to expressing speaker-oriented evaluations.

Second, the present analysis offers a way out for the contrast between the attributional and identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] in terms of nominal ellipsis and topicalization. Recall from (7)–(10) that only the identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], but not the attributional appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], permits nominal ellipsis and topicalization. Under the present analysis, this can be well explained from the perspective of discourse conditions on nominal ellipsis and topicalization. Concretely, as for nominal ellipsis, it involves discourse linking in that the elided site presupposes the construction of a discourse set which includes (i) the entities referred to by the nominal phrase containing the ellipsis site and (ii) the entities referred to by the nominal phrase containing the antecedent of the elided element (López 2000, 2009; Merchant 2001; Elbourne 2008; Cornilescu & Nicolae 2010). As for topicalization, it is generally agreed that a felicitous topic must at least be referential (see Gundel & Fretheim 2004 and the references therein). Compare (38a) and (39a) for illustration, which involve referential and non-referential [Num-Cl-NP], respectively:

(38)   *Referential [Num-Cl-NP]*
    (a) ta mai le   liang ben shu, wo mai le   **san ben (shu)**.
         he buy PERF two CL   book I   buy PERF three CL   book
         'He bought two books, and I bought three (books).'
    (b) shu$_i$ wo mai le   **san ben e$_i$**.
         book I   buy PERF three CL
         'As for books, I bought three.'

(39)   *Non-referential [Num-Cl-NP]*
    (a) women yiwei   tamen shi   liang wei laoshi, tamen ye
         we   think   they be   two CL teacher they   also
         yiwei women shi   **liang wei *(laoshi)**.
         think we   be   two CL   teacher
         'We thought they were two teachers, and they thought we were two *(teachers), too.'

(b) *laoshi$_i$, wo yiwei tamen shi **liang wei e$_i$**.
teacher I think they be two CL
'*Teachers, I thought they were two.'

To understand the contrast between the two (a) examples in nominal ellipsis, observe that a discourse set can be appropriately retrieved in (38a) (i.e. a set of books), which is composed by the books referred to by the nominal phrase containing the elided *shu* 'book' on the one hand (i.e. the three books 'I' bought) and the books referred to by the nominal phrase containing the antecedent of the elided *shu* 'book' on the other (i.e. the two books he bought). As such, the discourse condition on ellipsis is fulfilled. By contrast, the noun *laoshi* 'teacher' in (39a) is used as a property-denoting nominal (i.e. the property of 'being a teacher') and not referential; consequently, a discourse set cannot be appropriately constructed based on *laoshi* here. With respect to the asymmetry between the two (b) examples in topicalization, this can be straightforwardly attributed to the fact that *shu* 'book' in (38b) is D(iscourse)-linked to discourse referents whereas *laoshi* 'teacher' in (39b) is property-denoting, due to which the referentiality discourse condition on topicalization is respected in the former but violated in the latter.

Now recall from Section 3.3 that the [Num-Cl-NP] in the identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] is individual-denoting whereas the [Num-Cl-NP] in the attributional appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] is property-denoting. Given this, the discrepancy between the two in nominal ellipsis and topicalization can be straightforwardly explained in that the NP in the former can, whereas the NP in the latter cannot, construct a discourse set or be D-linked to discourse referents, whereby the discourse conditions on nominal ellipsis and topicalization can be satisfied in the former case but not in the latter case.

Third, the present analysis fares well with the contrast between the attributional and identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] in the (non-)licensing of demonstratives. Observe that the identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] allows a demonstrative to intervene between the P and [Num-Cl-NP], while this is not allowed for the attributional appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], as given below:[43]

(40) (a) **tamen (na) san ge xinren** defen zui gao.
they that three CL newcomer score most high
(lit.) 'They (those) three newcomers scored the highest.'

   (b) meiyou ren hui haipa **women (zhe)**
not.have person would afraid we this
ji ge xuesheng.
several CL student
(lit.) 'Nobody would be afraid of us (these) several students.'

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[43] I sincerely thank Prof. James Huang (p.c.) for drawing my attention to this issue.

(41)　(a)　**ta (*na) yi　ge xinren**　　defen zui　　gao.
　　　　　　he that　one CL newcomer　score most　high
　　　　　　'He (*that) as a newcomer scored the highest.'

　　　(b)　meiyou ren　　hui　　haipa **wo (*zhe) yi　ge xuesheng**.
　　　　　　not.have person　would afraid I　　this　　one CL student
　　　　　　'Nobody would be afraid of me (*this) as a student.'

Under the present analysis, this can be straightforwardly accounted for in that the underlying structure correlating with the individual-denoting [Num-Cl-NP] involves a DP layer (see (37)). As a consequence, the demonstrative, an element standardly assumed to occur at the layer of DP (Abney 1987; Zamparelli 2000; Leu 2008; among many others), can be introduced into this construction. On the contrary, given that the underlying structure of the property-denoting [Num-Cl-NP] lacks a DP layer (see (36)), no syntactic position is available for the demonstrative, hence the incompatibility of the demonstrative here.

　A final remark needs to be made before closing this subsection. Strictly speaking, the close correlation between the singular versus plural nature and the attributional versus identificational type of appositives as exhibited in this paper is better viewed as a strong tendency rather than as an absolute grammar rule. This is because under some cases, it might not be entirely impossible for one to utter the sentences as those given in (42): here [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] is used as an attributional appositive (evidenced by the presence of the temporal adverbial *cengjing* 'once' in front of [Num_{pl}-Cl-NP]), and [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] is intended as an identificational appositive (evidenced by the licensing of a demonstrative in front of [Num-Cl-NP], an operation only applicable to identificational appositives):

(42)　(a)　xiangbudao　**tamen cengjing liang　ge　name**
　　　　　　unexpectedly they　　once　　two　CL　so
　　　　　　wujuwushu　de　hao-pengyou jingran　　　zou-dao le
　　　　　　free　　　　DE　good-friend　unexpectedly walk-to PERF
　　　　　　jintian zheme　ketao　　de yi　　bu.[44]
　　　　　　today　so　　courteous DE one　step
　　　　　　'It is unexpected that they, once two such unfettered good friends, have become so courteous to each other now.'

　　　(b)　na　chang yanchu…　quan-cheng jiu　zhi　you　**ta　(zhe)**
　　　　　　that CL　performance all-process　then　only　have　he　this
　　　　　　yi　ge　yanyuan.[45]
　　　　　　one CL　actor
　　　　　　Intended: 'That performance… only has him, the one and only actor, from the beginning to the end.'

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[44] https://www.shubaow.net/251_251158/52158588.html (accessed 29 June 2022).
[45] https://www.sohu.com/a/473051937_121050533 (accessed 29 June 2022).

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To understand the above examples, the present study proposes that it is feasible to consider the seemingly 'exceptional' identificational use of [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] as well as the attributional use of [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] observed on some occasions as reflecting a variation of the speaker's interpretation about the apposition [Num-Cl-NP] concerned.[46] Taking (42) for illustration, specifically, in the context of (42a), it is pragmatically possible for the speaker to intend the [Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] *liang ge name wujuwushu de hao-pengyou* 'two such unfettered good friends' as a property-denoting expression, which underpins the speaker's surprise about the fact that the two friends are now so courteous to each other. As a result, under this scenario, the [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] can qualify as an attributional appositive construction, hence the licensing of temporal modification like *cengjing* 'once'. For the context of (42b), given that the [Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] *yi ge yanyuan* 'one actor' could help the hearer more easily identify who 'he' is in the given context (i.e. the one and only actor performing the show), the speaker may use it as an expression serving the function of facilitating referent identification. Therefore, the [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] could be classified under the type of identificational appositives and consequently can allow for the occurrence of the demonstrative *zhe* 'this' in front of [Num_{sg}-Cl-NP].

However, even though the possibility is not entirely excluded for [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] to be used as an identificational appositive construction or for [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] to be used as an attributional appositive construction in some occasions, the systematic differences observed between the attributional and identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] across the levels of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics warrants the need to maintain a dichotomous formal analysis for Chinese appositives, because all the asymmetries exhibited between [P_{sg}-Num_{sg}-Cl-NP] and [P_{pl}-Num_{pl}-Cl-NP] as shown throughout Sections 3.1, 3.2, and 4.1 are absolute and can be unambiguously testified, independent of the specific context of utterance. If blurring the singular versus plural dichotomy at the structural level, one would not be able to come up with an explanatorily adequate analysis to account for these distinctions in a formal, systematic way.

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[46] This line of analysis is inspired by Potts (2005). To be specific, upon making a definite versus indefinite distinction for nominal appositives (NAs) in English (see Note 28), Potts also predicts 'a kind of free variation when the NA expresses a proposition that is essential to the narrative and says something essential about the anchor's denotation' (2005: 120). The following example (i) is provided by Potts to show that in some cases the speaker might choose either a definite or an indefinite article for the same appositive construction. But in the meanwhile, Potts admits that '[i]t is a challenge to test these generalizations extensively, since one must provide a considerable amount of background information for each example and then ask about how that example contributes to the context' (2005: 120).

   (i)   Torriti, **the/a** tradecraft shaman capable of blending into a non-existent crowd, shed the lazy pose of a fat man who drowned his sense of doom and gloom in PX booze and swung into action.

   We thank one reviewer for leading us to Potts's (2005) analysis to help hone our thinking on this issue.

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Now one may raise a question as to why generally it is [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP], but not [P$_{pl}$-Num$_{pl}$-Cl-NP], that appears to be possessed with idiosyncratic characteristics relevant to expressing evaluative meanings, as has been illustrated in Section 3. While we do not have a conclusive answer to offer for the moment, we suggest that this possibly is another instantiation of the subjective use of the nominal phrase composed by [*yi* 'one'-Cl] in Mandarin Chinese. It has been well-noted that nominal constructions composed by the [*yi* 'one'-Cl] sequence exhibit a strong trend of subjectivization in their use (see Yan 2016 and the references therein). A representative example is the [*hao* 'good'-*yi* 'one'-Cl-NP] construction, which is used to express the speaker's exclamation. Note that this construction can only accommodate the singular numeral *yi* but not plural numerals, as shown below:

(43) (a) hao   yi   duo meili   de molihua!
           good one   CL beautiful DE jasmine
           'What a beautiful jasmine!'
      (b) *hao liang duo meili   de molihua!
           good two   CL beautiful DE jasmine
           '*What two beautiful jasmines!'

Interestingly, a similar number constraint has also been observed for the so-called attributive qualitative binominal noun phrase in English, such as *a fool of a policeman*, *a simpleton of a judge*, *that nitwit of a doctor* (Den Dikken 2006). Notice that the nominals contained in this construction also cannot be plural, as illustrated below:

(44) (a) *fools of three policemen
      (b) *simpletons of two judges
      (c) *those nitwits of some doctors

While the fundamental reason behind this pattern is still unclear, it seems that presumably there might be some number-related constraints crosslinguistically regarding whether a nominal expression could be, or tends to be, used to express subjective evaluations. For the purpose of the present study, it suffices to understand the notably strong tendency of the appositive [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] to exhibit an evaluation-related use as being consistent with a general rule of subjectivization on the use of [*yi* 'one'-Cl] in Chinese (see Yan 2016).[47]

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[47] One reviewer suggests that an experimental design could be adopted to 'quantify' the strong tendency of the appositive [P$_{sg}$-Num$_{sg}$-Cl-NP] to exhibit an evaluation-related use. Given that the present paper is intended as a theoretical investigation focusing on the qualitative analysis of relevant data, for the sake of a more concentrated research topic (and also due to length considerations), for now we do not incorporate any experimental results regarding the usage of [P-Num-Cl-NP]. We do believe the approach suggested by the reviewer is a promising direction of inquiry and worth a separate study, the results of which could in the meanwhile add new evidence for the subjectivization of the [*yi* 'one'-Cl] sequence in Mandarin Chinese. We will leave it for an in-depth investigation in the future.

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5. Conclusion

This paper investigates the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] in Mandarin Chinese and proposes an attributional versus identificational dichotomy for this construction. For the attributional appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], (i) the [Num-Cl-NP] is property-denoting and allows for temporal and evaluative modification, (ii) the nominal contained denotes an identity regarding which certain contextually or conventionally held evaluations/judgments can be well implied in the current utterance, and (iii) the whole construction is used to convey speaker-oriented evaluations regarding the characteristics or behaviors of the referent of the P. For the identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP], differently, (i) the [Num-Cl-NP] is individual-denoting and resists temporal and evaluative modification, (ii) there are no particular semantic requirements on the nominal contained, and (iii) the appropriate use of [P-Num-Cl-NP] is not subject to evaluation-related pragmatic conditions.

Based on this, this paper develops a dichotomous syntactic analysis for the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP]. Upon treating the apposition as a supplement to the anchor (Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Potts 2005; Loock & O'Connor 2013), it is assumed that for both types of [P-Num-Cl-NP], the extended projection associated with the apposition [Num-Cl-NP] is syntactically adjoined to the anchor P. It is further hypothesized that the [Num-Cl-NP] starts out forming a CopulaP with a *pro* that is co-indexed with the anchor P (see Heringa 2012). Then, the asymmetries observed between the attributional and identificational appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] are captured in that for the former, the CopulaP projects into CP, with the anchor [Num-Cl-NP] correlating with NumP; whereas for the latter, the CopulaP does not project further, and the [Num-Cl-NP] contained correlates with DP.

The present study fills a long existing research niche in the literature with respect to the heterogeneity of Chinese appositives. Taking the appositive [P-Num-Cl-NP] as a representative case, this paper is intended as one of the first to argue for a non-unified analysis for Chinese appositives. For a comprehensive understanding of different appositive constructions in Mandarin Chinese as well as across languages, needless to say, more work needs to be done in the future.

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