

1. Overview: Predicates of Personal Tastes (PPTs) introduce an implicit experiencer, often referred to as ‘judge’ (Lasnik 2005, Stephenson 2007, Bylina 2017, a.o.), which can be spelt as a prepositional phrase ‘to X’. I argue (a) that some degree intensifiers like *zhēn* ‘really’ in Mandarin also introduce a judge, and (b) that this judge is different from those for PPTs in the following aspects: (i) they are strictly speaker-oriented and unshiftable (ii) they require an ‘internal perspective’ (Vendler 1979, 1982) and (iii) the first-person pronoun cannot co-refer to the judge when the pronoun has an experiencer θ -role. I propose that **the judge for *zhēn* is syntactically represented in an argument-position as PRO in the left periphery**. The semantic representation of PRO accounts for (i) and (ii), and the syntactic representation of PRO accounts for (iii) by the Binding Theory. The first-person pronoun *wǒ* is bound by the speaker-oriented PRO projected by *zhēn*, which violates Condition B.

(1) Rotting flesh is delicious (to a vulture). (from Egan et al. 2005, Anand and Korotkova 2018)

- The unshiftability is also verified by the unacceptability of using *zhēn* in interrogatives (see (3b)) and conditionals (Lai 1999, Wang 2022). In other words, there is no interrogative flip (Speas and Tenney 2003) for speaker-oriented *zhēn*-clauses, in contrast to judges for PPTs. Unlike English, there is no non-clausal expression in Mandarin that corresponds to the English ‘*to X*’ to explicate judges.

- (ii) *The internal perspective.* The *internal perspective* is a perspective where “the attitude holder self-ascribes as performing an action, or experiencing an emotion or sensation” (Zu 2018, p.122). As discussed in Vendler (1979, 1982), (4a) with PRO only allows the *internal perspective* reading. For example, the attitude holder has the feeling of their own swimming moves. In contrast, (4b) with *yourself* also allows the *external perspective* reading, such as the attitude holder watching him/herself from a cliff.

- The following example (5) illustrates that *zhēn*-clauses, like (4a) with PRO, only allow the internal perspective uses, as shown in Table 1. (5) with *zhēn* is not acceptable when the speaker takes an external perspective in uttering it.

- Zhè-ge dàngāo { **zhēn** / **hěn** } hǎochī.
this-CL cake **really** **very** tasty
'This cake was really tasty.'

Table 1: The perspective restrictions for (5)

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(6) a. * Wǒ **zhēn** lěng/rè/má/yūn.
I **really** cold/hot/numb/dizzy.
'I am (feeling) really cold/hot/numb/dizzy'

b. Wǒ **hěn/hǎo** lěng/rè/má/yūn.
I **very/well** cold/hot/numb/dizzy
'I am (feeling) very cold/hot/numb/dizzy.'

3 Analysis: I propose that there is a speaker-oriented PRO judge introduced by the intensifier *zhēn*. The properties mentioned above support the proposal as follows. (i) *Unshiftability* indicates that the judge is rigidly speaker-oriented, which naturally calls for an analysis of a strict person indexical. (ii) *The internal perspective* is selected and required by PRO, like the swimming case in (4).

(7) A: Is the speaker Zelda? B: How can you doubt it? She praises her to the sky.

The interpretations of other predicates are also predicted by this PRO proposal. While *coldness* or *hotness* can be objectified, some sentential predicates like *dizziness* or *the numb feeling* are hard to capture from the third-person perspective. Therefore, these feelings cannot be rescued by using the **3pp de se**. This restriction is connected to the requirement on (ii) *the internal perspective*. Other non-sensational properties like *smart* or *tall* in (9), by contrast, only get the **3pp de se** reading, since it is usual to objectify subjects by using evaluative predicates, rather than using the internal perspective to sense these properties.

(8) ‘On a warm day, I went outside and realized I did not dress warmly enough and felt cold, I said,’
Zhēn lěng.
really cold
 ‘(I’m feeling) really cold’

(9) *Wǒ zhēn gāo/cōngmíng.*
 I **really** tall/smart
 ‘I am really tall/smart’

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