



# Fragment question and ellipsis in Chinese

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## Abstract

This paper argues that Fragment Question (FQ) with linguistic antecedent in Chinese can be analyzed as Fragment Answer (FA) in English (Merchant 2004) and in Korean (Yim 2012) by assuming that FQ involves fragment movement and TP ellipsis. FQ in Chinese is simply composed of a non-adjunct focused constituent and a final particle *ne*, used to type FQ as a constituent question. Building on these facts, we propose that a split CP hypothesis (Craenenbroeck 2004) and the notion of the Phase Theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001) can nicely capture the distributions of FQ. In addition, we argue that no genuine island repair effect is induced by TP ellipsis in FQ. The phenomenon poses a challenge to the deletion at PF analysis (Merchant 2001, Fox and Lasnik 2003) but lends support to the deletion in syntax account (Baltin 2007, 2012). Finally, such a view is further evidenced by the FQs in affective *ba* construction, passive *bei* construction, and structures involving secondary predicates.

## Keywords

fragment, ellipsis, phase, focus, island effect

## 漢語的片段語問句與刪除

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### 提要

本文論證漢語帶有前行語之“片段語問句”，其衍生過程可以透過片段語移位以及TP刪除來詮釋；此一分析概念，與Merchant（2004）分析英語“片段語答句”，以及Yim（2012）分析韓語“片段語答句”之方式相吻合。句法結構上，漢語片段語問句之構成相當簡單，僅由一非副詞性詞組（XP）以及語尾助詞“呢”結合而成“XP-呢”。“呢”之出現表示該片段語問句屬於“特殊問句”之一種。理論上，我們採用Craenenbroeck（2004）之Split-CP假設及Chomsky（2000，2001）階段理論（Phase Theory），來解釋漢語片段語問句之各種可能分佈及限制。此外我們發現執行於語音介面（PF）上之“TP刪除”並無法修復違反孤島效應之片段語問句；此一現象對於普遍認為刪除可修復孤島違反之“PF-刪除”，造成分析上之挑戰（Merchant 2001，Fox and Lasnik 2003）。我們建議採用，強調衍生過程中即可將階段（Phase）刪去之“句法刪除”（Baltin 2007，2012）分析，來詮釋片段語問句中，孤島違反無法修復之原因。最後我們相信，把字句、被字句以及連動結構，亦支持此一以移位及刪除為主軸之分析。

### 關鍵詞

片段語，刪除，階段，焦點，孤島效應