INSIGHT

A SENTENCE-MEDIAL CLAUSE-TYPING INTONEME IN MANDARIN A-NOT-A QUESTIONS

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ABSTRACT

A sentence-medial intoneme is argued to be responsible for typing Mandarin A-NOT-A questions. In narrow syntax, it is merged higher than deontic modals and lower than Tense; after spell-out, it is realized phonetically as a high-low intonation starting from the left edge of the A-NOT-A predicate. This proposal is supported by a sentence-medial segmental particle in Chinese dialects, which further corroborates the Intonation-Particle Hypothesis by showing that typing particles in non-sentence-final positions are also variants of intonations. Besides, the Mandarin nuclear stress rule derives two prosodic features of A-NOT-A questions: No intonational breaks within the A-NOT-A predicate and de-stressing of the negation word. The two features follow from the

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requirement that only one intonation is allowed in the nuclear stress domain and instantiate interaction among different stresses.

KEYWORDS

A-NOT-A questions   **C**lause-typing   **I**ntoneme   **I**ntonation-Particle Hypothesis

1. INTRODUCTION

Clause-typing strategy of interrogatives is an important topic in generative syntax. As for Mandarin A-NOT-A questions, the standard assumption is that they are typed through covert movement: something (the A-NOT-A constituent or an interrogative feature) moves at LF (mostly to the CP area) to acquire a question reading. Since Huang's (1988) classic analysis, this approach has been widely adopted among the generative works.

However, Gasde (2004) argues against the standard "movement to C" approach by proposing that A-NOT-A questions have a sentence-medial clause-typer Force 2 (different from Force 1 or C in the left periphery), a position closer than C in Huang's analysis.[1]

The idea of sentence-medial typers is also put forward in Xu (2005). He identifies three clause-typing positions for interrogatives, which are linearly placed at the initial, medial and final positions of sentences. Structurally, the medial position is akin to Gasde's Force 2.

Another important study on clause-typing is the proposal of intonation morpheme (intoneme) in Cheng and Rooryck (2000). They argue that French in-situ wh-questions are typed through merging an intoneme at C^0, which is realized phonetically as a rising intonation.

In this squib, inspired by the sentence-medial typing position (Gasde 2004; Xu 2005) and the intoneme analysis (Cheng and Rooryck 2000), I will make a new proposal about the typing strategy of Mandarin A-NOT-A questions.

2. A NEW PROPOSAL

Specifically, my proposal is stated as (1).

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普通话正反问的句中标句调素

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摘要

普通话正反问的句中位置存在一个标句调素，在狭义句法阶段合并于一个低于时态中心语、高于义务模态词的位置，拼出之后则在语音上以正反问谓语的左边界为起点、实现为前高后低的句调模式。这一假设得到了汉语方言事实的支持，表明除了句末语气词，句中标句词也是句调素的另一种变体，从而进一步支持了"语调-语气词变体假说"。此外，正反问的韵律模式还有两个关键特征：肯定、否定部分之间不能停顿；否定词不能重读。上述两个特征都是普通话的"核重-语调定律"所致，即核心重音范围内不容两个语调。这说明不同类型的重音之间存在互动效应。

关键词

正反问 标句 调素 语调-语气词变体假说