

## On the Asymmetrical Syntax of the Interrogative Adverbial in Taiwanese Southern Min ‘*antsuann*’

This paper is to clarify the relationship between two types of Interrogative Adverbials in Taiwanese Southern Min. Following Tsai (1994, 1999, 2007), the interrogative adverbial *zenme* in Mandarin conveys causal reading when it is premodal (in IP layer) and conveys manner/style of action reading if it is in-between the modal and the verb (in VP layer). In TSM, the premodal *antsuann* and in-between *antsuann* behave the same as their Mandarin correspondence *zenme*.

What’s worth noticing is, however, in (1), the two *antsuanns* linearly occupy the same position, but convey different readings, with the difference that (1b) ends with an *e*.

- (1) a. li si antsuann ka yi pha (causal reading)  
 you SI how KA s/he hit  
 ‘Why did you hit him/her?’
- b. li si antsuann ka yi pha e (manner/style of action)  
 you SI how KA s/he hit E  
 ‘How did you hit hime/her?’

With series of diachronical researches (Dong, 2004; H&R, 1984; Kuo, 1997; Liu, 1985; Xi & Xu, 2001; Xu, 2003), it is shown that *si* in (1b) is actually a lexical-internal component of a causal interrogative *si-antsuann* ‘SI-how’, which goes with the IP-layer causal *antsuann* ‘how’ and is now gradually reanalyzed as *si-antsuann* ‘why’.

Meanwhile, *si* in (1a) could be in VP-periphery in Belletti’s (2006) sense. When the *si* appears, it marks the scope of the rest *antsuann ka yi pha* in VP layer, and *antsuann* would be the focus; therefore (1b) is construed as manner/style of action.

On the other hand, unlike what we have known that causal *how*, *zenme* in Chinese and *antsuann* in Min, is usually premodal such as (2a), there is a postverbal *antsuann* conveys causal reading, as in (2b). It is quite like WHAT-questions in Ochi (2004), which use WHAT in [Spec, CP] to replace WHY, but still conveys causal reading in German, Hungarian, and Serbo-Croatian. Although in Min we use HOW in IP layer to replace WHY, these two replacements are both restricted by heavy pragmatic factors and most appropriate in a context in which the speaker is emotionally affected. With this stronger pragmatic effect, it is argued that the *antsuann* in (2b) is higher than the one in (2a).

- (2) a. li **antsuann** esai khui chia (causal reading)  
 you how can drive car  
 ‘Why can you drive a car?’
- b. li si le khun **antsuann** (causal reading)  
 you SI PROG sleep how  
 ‘Why are you sleeping now? (It’s inappropriate for you to sleep now.)’

Finally, it is explained that under proper environment, IP movement is involved. Although it is linearly postverbal, it is still in CP left-periphery.

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