

A Non-Sentential Analysis of *Haoyige* NP Exclamatives in Mandarin Chinese

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The Mandarin exclamative structure *haoyige* NP is often treated as a construction in Goldberg's (1995) sense (Hei Weiqiang 2014; Lei Dongping 2012; Yin Hailiang 2014; Wang Xiaoling 2008). Recently, some scholars like Yang (2017) and Zhang (2020) have argued that such a structure can be derived in generative grammar. Especially, according to Zhang's (2020) more sophisticated analysis, *haoyige* NP is a predicate of a full sentence with a null subject, i.e. $[_{FP}[_{F}^{0[+V]} \text{hao+yi+duo}] [_{DP}[_{D}^0 \text{hao+yi+duo}] [_{CLP} \text{hao+duo}] [_{NP}[_{DegP}[_{Deg}^0 \text{hao}] [_{AP} \text{meili-de}]]] [_{NP} \text{moli-hua}]]]$. More specifically, *hao* is an expressive intensifier (EI) base-generated at the head of DegP and undergoes a Deg-to-D head movement, similar to the German External Degree Modification Construction (EDC) such as *total die coole Party* (cf. Gutzmann and Turgay 2015). Moreover, the head cluster *haoyige* moves further out of DP to the position of the null copula, hence possessing the feature [+V], unlike its German counterpart. The null subject is a new type of obligatorily silent subject, parallel to the type of null subject found in imperatives and exhortatives. In this paper, we provide a series of evidence to show that Zhang's analysis is problematic. The main problems are as follows: (i) The Deg-to-D movement of *hao* is not well-motivated, as the indefinite article *yi* lacks the feature "expressivity [+ex]", unlike the German definite articles; (ii) *Hao* is not used as an EI here: for one thing, *hao yige nianqing de bojue xiaojie* 'what a young countess' does not necessarily express the speaker's attitude towards the high degree of the countess's youngness; for another, the adjective associated with the noun in NP can be non-gradable, e.g., *hao yige heiqiqi de yewan* 'what a dark night'. Due to this, we propose that *hao* in such a structure should be treated as an exclamative marker. Moreover, to give a formal analysis of this structure, we adopt Al-Bataineh's (2023) non-sentential analysis of exclamatives, according to which ExclPs are asymmetrical small clauses selected by Excl head. It shows that this analysis accounts for the peculiarities of *haoyige* NP exclamatives.