

教育部 99 年度
全球化下的臺灣文史藝術中程綱要計畫
國際交流計畫

計畫名稱：Focus Operation and Question Forming in
Taiwan Southern Min and Mandarin Syntax

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教育部 98 年度臺灣文史藝術國際交流計畫

期末成果報告

一、計畫緣起與目標

由文獻中可知，有著焦點屈折標記的 Hausa 語 (Green and Jaggard (2003)) 及 Malayalam 語 (Jayaseelan 2003) 等，疑問詞問句的形成與焦點有著密切的互動，即使是沒有構詞或句法上的顯性焦點標記，其他語言，如義大利語，疑問詞疑問句也與焦點有著互補分佈的關係 (Rizzi 1997)，義大利語的這個現象，與我們在華語中的觀察一致，許多學者也由此提議焦點與疑問詞詞組之間有著密切的關係。另一方面，Aboh (2007) 則認為，前述的看法並非事實，疑問詞詞組不必然要在焦點之內，他以非洲語言為例，分別提供焦點化與無焦點化疑問詞組的語料，此外，Aboh 並綜合前行關於焦點詞組位置的研究。提出普遍性的雙焦點詞組投射，根據 Aboh 的看法，因著參數設定不同，不同的語言分別運用了句子左緣或動詞詞組左緣的焦點詞組。

本研究計畫之目標如下：

文獻中對焦點的定義、運作，仍有許多爭議未得到解決，雖然 Szabolcsi (1981) 及 É. Kiss (1998) 嘗試透過焦點範域內的「窮盡性」(exhaustivity) 給予句法上的焦點詞組運作明確的定義，但相關測試方法，以及「窮盡性」的有無認定，卻引來許多不同意見 (例：Green and Jaggard 2003, Clech-Darbon, Rebuschi, and Rialland 1999 等)，對於焦點之明確定義與相關句法運作，實有必要進一步加以釐清。

此外，就焦點與問句之間的互動，我們迄未見到在漢語上相關的深入研究，緣於漢語問句型態上的多元性 (是非問句、正反問句、疑問詞問句、選擇問句)，復以我們在台灣閩南語中的「敢問句」上觀察到與焦點之間的密切連繫，再加上我們觀察到，迥異於華語中焦點與疑問詞之競合關係，台灣閩南語的語料允許焦點標記出現於華語疑問詞問句中所不允許之位置，以上種種觀察，都讓我們認為有必要以台灣閩南語及華語為對象，針對焦點與各種問句類型之互動進一步進行探討。

為進行上述之研究，遂於 2010 年 9 月至 2010 年 12 月赴荷蘭萊頓大學語言學中心與南中國語言句法研究計劃 (The project The Syntax of the Languages of Southern China) 之教授、成員進行相關研討，並完成一至兩篇論文，做為未來進一步研究之基礎。

以下分修習課程、研修之成果及效益兩部份說明，並附上研修期間之研究論文。

二、修習課程

此次於荷蘭萊頓大學研修三個月，修習之課程資訊如下。以下先列出課程名稱、教授者及教學大綱，其次說明成績事宜，另研修期間之研究論文則做為研修報告書之附件供查察。

(一) 課程名稱、教授者及教學大綱

1. **Course Name : [1011] Advanced Syntax**

Course ID : 5514V1021H-1011FGW

Instructor Names : Prof.dr. Lisa Cheng; L. Badan

Topics :

Introduction

From GB to the Minimalism

Case Theory

Remarks on theta-roles and the theta-system (addressed by Denis Delfitto, University of Verona)

Movement and Minimality Effects

Directionality parameter and Linearity

Feature Interpretability and Feature Checking

2. **Course Name : MA Chinese Studies, SoF seminar Chinese Linguistics**

Instructor Names : Prof. Rint Sybesma

Topics:

On the Mandarin particle de

Tone sandhi in Chinese languages

Topic and Focus

Chinese as an analytic language

3. **Network Final Conference: Bantu, Chinese, Romance Nouns and Noun phrases (27-28-29 October 2010)**

Topics and presenters:

Wednesday October 27, 2010

Bangla classifiers: mediating between kinds and objects by Veneeta

Dayal

Number, Classifiers and noun classes by Lisa Cheng, Jenny Doetjes,
Rint Sybesma and Roberto Zamparelli

Bantu, Chinese and Romance nominal classification by Paola Crisma,
Lutz Marten and Rint Sybesma

Counting, measuring and the structure of classifier phrases by Susan
Rothstein

Thursday October 28, 2010

The Syntax of DPs in semitic by Ur Shlonsky

The Syntax of Bantu and Romance DPs by Nancy Kula and Pino
Longobardi

Bantu, Chinese and Romance definite nominal predicates by Lisa
Cheng, Caroline Heycock and Roberto Zamparelli

The augment in Haya by Kristina Riedel

From Bareness to barness: some notes on nominal phrases in Gungbe
and Haitian Creole by Enoch Aboh

Friday October 29, 2010

NP-phrasing in Bemba, Chinese and Italian by Linda Badan, Gaetano
Fiorin, Nancy Kula and Franziska Scholz

Modes of compounding in Bantu and Romance by Bianca Basciano,
Chiara Melloni, Nancy Kula, Denis Delfitto and Gaetano Fiorin

Romance vs. Bantu complex nouns at the morpho-syntax interface by
Denis Delfitto, Gaetano Fiorin, Nancy Kula, Bianca Basciano and
Chiara Melloni

(二) 相關成績證明

出於萊頓大學 Rint Sybesma 教授與語言學中心行政事務作業考量，本次研修身份為訪問研究者（visiting researcher；參見申請時所附 Prof. Sybesma 之同意函內容），因此並未以一般學生身份註冊、繳交學費，故並無正式成績資料。

(三) 研修期間之研究論文

研究論文稿件兩篇及研究計劃乙份如附件。

三、 研修之成果及效益

(一) 書面成果

研修期間參與萊頓大學語言學中心形式句法極簡理論、漢語研究課程，以及跨語言限定詞組研討會，同時定期與教授、博士後研究人員會面，交換研究計劃及論文意見，共完成論文手稿一篇，研究計劃一份，並發表論文一篇。

(二) 非書面成果

透過課程、研討會及面談，對於研究計劃及撰寫中之論文有關之主題／焦點結構分析，得以重新檢視原先採用之製圖理論 (Cinque 1999, 2006; Rizzi 1997, 2002 等)，考量取 Den Dikken (2006) 或 Moro (1997) 的述語倒反模型進行分析的可能性；另一方面，對於修改中之論文稿，則藉由研討中所得之近期文獻 (Krifka 2007)，進一步釐清了論文中「對比主題」等重要關鍵項目的定義。

(三) 其他效益

台語形式句法及台華語比較句法研究目前仍相對較少，此次交換活動有助於未來此一領域的跨國合作；再者，萊頓大學語言學中心雖以跨語言比較、尤其是以漢語比較研究聞名，但該中心迄今仍無台灣學生／學者進行台語句法研究或台語／華語之句法比較研究，本次交換活動，為首次此一性質之學術活動，對日後相關交流活動，應有助益。

四、 附件

- (一) 〈On topic markers kongs in Taiwanese〉
- (二) 〈關係台語俚華語句法精差 e 簡論〉(發表於 2010 年 12 月海翁台語文教學季刊第十期第 75-85 頁)
- (三) Research Project LUCL

ON TOPIC MARKER *KÓNGS* IN TAIWANESE

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, I propose that, in Taiwanese¹, aside from the topic positions in CP, which have been mentioned in the literature (H. Tsai 2008, Lau 2010, also refer to Lee 2005), at least another topic projection is available in IP. The said internal topic operation is marked with sentence-final topic marker *kóng*, a homonym of the topic marker found in CP. These two topic markers are both contrastive topic markers and only different in their target of topicalization. In contrast with the intra-sentential topic, the sentence-final *kóng* topicalizes the whole proposition. Furthermore, I also suggest, with empirical data, that Taiwanese employs an extra one topic projection than Japanese, and Korean. Japanese and Korean, which also mark topic overtly, merely apply the topic position in IP.

Key words: topicalization, proposition-topic, topic marker, contrastive topic, SFP

1. Introduction

If Li and Thompson (1981) is correct in suggesting that Mandarin is topic-prominent and the subject of a sentence is usually at the topic position (also refer to Tsao 1979), the ensuing questions that we are bound to ask are which elements are topicalized in a specific sentence and syntactically what kind of topic positions are involved. To answer them, we then run into a problem that Mandarin, the most studied Sinitic language, does not have specialized topic marker(s) as Japanese and Korean. Li and Thompson suggest that a Mandarin topic can be separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause or by one of the pause particles - *a*, *ya*, *me*, *ne* or *ba*. They claim that these pause particles may be called topic markers (1981:86). Nonetheless, these particles also serve other functions (ref. Li and Thompson 1981 ch.7).

Moreover, among the issues about topics in Mandarin, one of the most disputed points is about the internal topic (viz. topic in IP), even its existence. In the previous studies (e.g. Kuo 2009, Ting 1995, among others), internal topic is demonstrated without a reliable demarcator. As a result, we cannot confirm the involved constituent

is in or out of IP. For example:

- (1)a. 葛瑞森 [NP 那件 案子] 逼 莎拉 [TP PRO 調查 t_i]。 (from Kuo 2009:49 (105))
Geruisen [NP na-jian anzi] bi Sala [TP PRO diaocha t_i].
Grissom that-CL case force Sara investigate
- b. 張三，自己的事，逼 李四 管一管。 (from Ting 1995:293 (11b))
Zhangsan, ziji de shi, bi Lisi guanyiguan.
Zhangsan self DE matter force Lisi take.care

Kuo claims that, in (1a), the NP precedes the matrix verb *bi* is in IP; Ting suggests that the phrase *ziji de shi* is the secondary topic in the IP domain (refer to Ting 1995:300 (26)). However, neither of them provides evidence to indicate that the constituents involved do not cross the border between IP and CP. It is far from clear that the position identification in (1) is IP-external or IP-internal.

Ernst and Wang (1995) present arguments to distinguish object preposing between VP- and IP-adjunction in Mandarin. Nevertheless, they do not explicitly differentiate topic and focus for, in their analysis, the VP-adjoined preposing object is proposed indistinctly to render contrastive reading (cf. the term ‘focus topic’ used on p.240 and ‘contrastive focus’ on p.243). Paul (2002) grasps at this thread and argues that the IP-internal preposing object cannot be focus (especially refer to Paul 2002:701-2).² To avoid repeating the dispute over an identical term in this paper, the definitions of topic and focus, especially contrastive topic, will be explicitly clarified later.

Compared to Mandarin, there are relatively few studies on topic in Taiwanese. In this paper, I would like to focus on an overt marker. The goal is to demonstrate that the functional word, *kóng*, which has no counterpart in other Sinitic languages like Mandarin and Hakka, is a contrastive focus marker. Cross-linguistic comparison, among Japanese, Korean, Mandarin, and Taiwanese, will also be carried out in order to present a broader picture.

2. Previous Studies

In Cheng (1994), *kóng* is claimed to be originally a verb, but now also used as an adverb, a sentence complement marker, or a sentence final particle (SFP). When it is used as a SFP, Cheng suggests that it denotes an urging and reminding tone. The

¹ Also known as Taiwan Southern Min. It is a dialect of Southern Min spoken in Taiwan.

²² Paul (2002) also proposes a functional projection to substitute adjunction suggested by Ernst and Wang (1995), and dual derivation of either base-generation or movement for the IP-internal preposing object. In order not to digress, I will not go into this.

following examples are from Cheng (1994:52(c)).³

(2)a. 緊做--講。(Taiwanese)

Kín tsò--kóng.

quickly do KONG

“Just do it quickly!”

b. 若按呢咱莫去--講。(Taiwanese)

Nā án-ne lán mài khi--kóng.

if so we not go KONG

“If this is the case, we just don’t go.”

The examples in (2) are either imperative or advisory, and therefore it is not clear that the urging and reminding tone is added by the SFP or essentially in the sentence mood. Compare the sentences as follows.

(3)a. 昨昏有落雨--講。(Taiwanese)

Tsa-hng ū lóh-hōo--kóng.

yesterday AM⁴ rain KONG

“(I think it is known that) it rained yesterday.”

b. 阿明早起無來上班--講。(Taiwanese)

A-bing tsá-khí bô lâi siōng-pan--kóng.

A-bing morning not come work KONG

“(I think it is known that) A-bing didn’t come to work this morning.”

In the declarative sentences above, *kóng* is not specifically employed to urge or remind somebody. A more appropriate construal is that it indicates that the proposition is taken as something known by people or can be conceived or confirmed easily by the addressee. In other words, the urging and reminding tone pointed out by Cheng (1994) may be simply derived from the imperative/advisory examples from him.⁵ Moreover, it is noteworthy that the sentences with SFP *kóng* in (2) are usually used in a context in which the same command or advice has been given at least once. No wonder these sentences read with urging tone.

Apart from the SFP *kóng*, Cheng also mentions that *kóng* can be used sentence-initially or intra-sententially. Nevertheless, he only designates it as an

³ The glosses and translations are mine.

⁴ Assertion marker.

⁵ It is true that all the examples with SFP *kóng* in Cheng (1994) are in the imperative or advisory mood.

adverbial of language behavior (*yuyan xingwei zhuangyu*) without further explanations (1994:52). We will back to the sentence-initial and intra-sentential *kóng* later.

Chang (1998) analyzes different *kóngs* occurring in different positions in a view of grammaticalization process.⁶ She observes that either the intra-sentential or SFP *kóng* has a reportative and counter-expectation functions, and claims that both kinds of *kóngs* are discourse-oriented marker. I agree with Chang in most of her views. My analysis in which *kóngs* are topic markers basically conforms to her descriptions of being reportative and as a “discourse-oriented marker”. As regards the issue that *kóng* conveys counter-expectation sense, I will return to this later.

What concerns Simpson and Wu (2002) (hereafter S&W) is the complementizer usage of *kóng* and SFP *kóng*. S&W point out that Taiwanese *kóng*, also a general verb of communication, has undergone grammaticalization and been transformed into a complementizer when it occurs after another more specific verb of communication or cognitive state. Additionally, S&W notice that it is possible to have another *kóng* in sentence-final position. Below are their examples (2002:80 (44-45))

(4)a. 阿惠料準講阿新是台北人講。(Taiwanese)

A-huī liāu-tsún kóng A-sin sī Tâi-pak lâng kóng.

A-hui thought KONG A-sin is Taipei person KONG

“A-hui thought that A-sin is from Taipei.”

b. 阿惠想講阿新毋來講。(Taiwanese)

A-huī siūnn kóng A-sin m̄ lâi kóng.

A-hui think KONG A-sin NEG come KONG

‘A-hui thought that A-sin is not coming.’

In (4a) and (4b), the first *kóng* following the matrix verb is considered as a complementizer equivalent to *that* in English (S&W 2002; Cheng 1994) and *koto*, *no*, *to* in Japanese (Cheng 1994). As for the SFP *kóng*, S&W claim that it does not originate in an embedded C⁰ position as the complementizer *kóng* does (2002:80-1). They propose that the sentence-final *kóng* is base-generated in the matrix C⁰ and it is a subsequent IP-raising rendering the word order.

I agree with S&W that the two *kóngs* are independent and occur in different positions, however, I do not concur with them in that the sentence-final one is at C⁰. The reason is not only that IP raising lacks cross-linguistic evidence and it is problematic with respect to the dynamic antisymmetry as the motivation of movement

⁶ In Chang’s paper, the term “initial *kóng*” refers to *kóng* which precedes the predicate in a clause (1998:124 footnote 2).

(see Sybesma 2008), but also there are appropriate positions other than C^0 to accommodate SFPs if we follow the proposal of the hierarchical structure in IP left periphery (Cinque 1999). I will return to this issue in section 3.

3. Topics

Before demonstrating my analysis in which the SFP *kóng* is a topic marker, the definitions of ‘topic’ in the literature will be briefly reviewed in this section.

3.1 The definition of topic

Opinions are widely divided with respect to the definition of ‘topic’. For instance, É. Kiss (2002:9) proposes that the topic “foregrounds an individual (a person, an object, or a group of them) from among those present in the universe of discourse as the subject of the subsequent predication.” In other words, topic expresses the aboutness of a sentence.⁷

Other researchers, like Chafe (1976), do not think that topicality should be based on “what the sentence is about”. Chafe (1976:51) defines “real” topics (present in topic prominent languages) as a “frame” establishing “a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds.” Basically, the consensus among most researchers is that topic can be circumscribed by the traditional dichotomy in which topic (or theme) is informally what is being talked about, and the comment (rheme or focus) is what is being said about the topic. Moreover, this dichotomy is demarcated in a predication relationship. As Molnár (2006) notes, topics serve, in one sense or another, to optimally restrict the domain of the main predication in the sentence, drawing the speech participants’ attention to a certain entity.

A more specified definition is given in Kuo (2009). Kuo assumes that a topic in Chinese⁸ has to have at least the properties in (5).

(5) The properties of a topic: (from Kuo 2009:3(8))

- a. A topic needs to be associated with some element in the comment sentence.
- b. A topic has to precede the predicate.
- c. There can be a pause or a modal particle following the topic.
- d. A topic can only be definite or generic.

Among the four properties, (5d) can be used as a convenient touchstone to discern topics among DPs and clauses.

⁷ Also refer to Hockett (1958) and Gundel (1988).

⁸ The language that Kuo indicates is Mandarin.

Sometimes topic would be referred to “old information”, in contrast to focus as “new information”. What has to be pointed out is that the term “old information” does not necessarily have to do with its *début* in the utterance. For example:

(6) 這棵樹葉子很大。 (Mandarin; from Li and Thompson 1981:15 (8))

Zhei-ke shu yezi hen da.

this-CL tree leaf very big

“This tree, (its) leaves are very big.”

The DP *zhei-ke shu* is a topic. Nonetheless, it is not impossible that this entity has not been mentioned in the conversation until (6) is uttered. Before the sentence in (6) is spoken, the addresser might have just found the tree. And there are many ways to make this entity to be part of the presupposition. For instance, he may point to it to show the addressee where it is when he gives comments. In this sense, a topic always refers to something that the hearer is aware of (when he listens to the addresser). This is why a topic can only be definite or generic (Li and Thompson 1981:85; also refer to (5)). The point is that though some researchers claim that topics belong to “old information”, the content of topic is not necessarily contained in the utterance in advance. Krifka (2007) offers the following definition of topic that can well represent this view:

(7) The topic constituent identifies the entity or set of entities under which the information expressed in the comment constituent should be stored in the CG⁹ content. (Krifka 2007:41 (39))

That is, what concerns the topic is not the oldness of the information (the time in which it appears in the discourse), but the information that it contains has to be recognized by the parties joining in the conversation. In Krifka’s words, the information of topic must be stored in the Common Ground content, regardless of the way by which it is introduced.

3.2 Contrastive topic

Recall the dispute between Ernst and Wang (1995) and Paul (2002) mentioned in the first section. Contrastive topic seems to be an ambivalent term as regards the dichotomous view of topic and focus.

Krifka (2007:44-5) suggests that contrastive topics arguably do not constitute an information-packaging category in their own right, but represent a combination of

⁹ Common Ground.

topic and focus. He claims that they consist of an aboutness topic that contains a focus, which is doing what focus always does, namely indicating an alternative, and indicate alternative aboutness topics. In other words, contrastive topic is comprised by a focus within a topic that demonstrate the presence of alternatives.¹⁰

A similar claim can be found in Oshima (2002), in which it is argued that when a sentence S involves a contrastive topic, and the “core” part of S (i.e. S without contrastive topic marking) expresses a proposition P, a presupposition is induced that at least one of the alternative propositions of P (roughly, propositions expressed by a sentence equivalent to S except that the contrastive topic marked element is replaced by its alternatives) does not hold or is not known whether to hold.

Based on Krifka (2007) and Oshima (2002), contrastive topics can be elucidated as a capsule of topic with an embedded focus. This kind of topics is contrastive for they imply the presence of alternatives that are aboutness topic.

3.3 The distribution of topics in the syntactic structure

Since Rizzi (1997, 2001) proposed the CP-split structure, researchers have suggested varied topic loci distributed in the hierarchical structure. Among many others, Vallduvi (1992) identifies the focus position over VP and suggests that the topicalized material is moved by right dislocation. É. Kiss (1998) claims that topic and focus positions exist in IP in Hungarian. Vilkuna (1994) argues that the spec of CP is a contrastive position either for a contrastive focus or a contrastive topic in Finnish. Ernst and Wang (1995) claim that the objects preposed to a position after the subject in Mandarin are focus topic adjoined to VP. Paul (2002) argues against Ernst and Wang and indicates that the preposed object after the subject, unlike the ones occur in *lian...dou* constructions, are internal topic under a functional projection. Aboh (2007) suggests that there are focus positions within clause periphery and VP-periphery.

In the next section, I will turn to demonstrate that Taiwanese employs more than one topic positions in the structure after my introduction of *kóng*.

4. The Sentence-final and Intra-sentential *Kóng*

In this section, I will show that in Taiwanese there are two *kóngs* serving as topic markers which occupy different syntactic positions and provide different functions. After comparing them, I will bring up my analysis of these two topic markers.

4.1 The interpretation of SFP *kóng*

¹⁰ Readers can also refer to the close relationship between frame setting, delimitation, and contrastive topic in Krifka (2007). We shall not go into this due to space limit.

Apart from what are brought up in section 1, below are other explanations for SFP *kóng* in the literature:

(8)

Researcher	Descriptions
Cheng (1997)	Insistence on forcing the given information on the addressee mildly
Chen (1989)	Speech act: Encouraging, provoking, warning and threatening. Epistemic attitudinal: In declaratives, it emphasizes the truthfulness of the proposition; in imperatives, it has the illocutionary force of encouraging, provoking, warning, or threatening.
Lien (1988)	It is used when the new situation that the speaker discovered is contrary to his own expectation.

Although the descriptions above seem to be at variance with each other, we can first obviate the attitudinal tone and moods before further consideration. Just as what has been mentioned in section 2, it is suggested that the urging and reminding tone, including the speech act moods, should not be included in the explanation of *kóng* for no empirical evidence indicates that the tone and the moods are derived directly from *kóng* (cf. (2) and (3)). The reliable properties sifted out, therefore, are the descriptions like the given information, the truthfulness of the proposition, and being contrary to the speaker’s expectation.

Based on these, it is figured that the SFP, *kóng*, is basically concerned with a known proposition which is contrary to the speaker’s expectation. And this is reminiscent to the definitions of contrastive topic introduced in subsection 3.2. The SFP *kóng* conveys information in the common ground and also indicates alternatives with which contrastiveness is observed.

It is interesting to note the way in which S&W expound this SFP. They argue that this SFP denotes ‘emphatic assertion’ (2002:81), and ‘impl[ies] that the hearer may already entertain the proposition expressed in the IP, but perhaps be somewhat doubtful of it for no good reason in the speaker’s opinion.’ In other words, they claim that by employing *kóng* a speaker expresses her/his strong endorsement of the truth of the proposition, in a way similar to the use of ‘I’m telling you!’ in English. (2002:85; also refer to the remark on S&W 2002:88.)

We can also paraphrase S&W’s claim in this way: when SFP *kóng* is present in a

sentence, the speaker implies that s/he is telling and endorsing something that is not new to the addressee. This is to say that this *kóng* represents old, topic-like information largely presupposed by the participants in the conversation. In fact, S&W even suggest in their proposal that the movement of the IP takes place in order to topicalize the IP (in S&W and Zubizarreta (1998)'s term defocusing)¹¹, placing the IP in sentence-initial topic position. (S&W 2002:85) Albeit not agreeing the idea of IP raising, I suggest that 'I think you have already known' would be an appropriate explication in English for SFP *kóng*, based on the observations so far.

In short, I propose that SFP *kóng* is a topic marker under Top⁰. By employing this SFP, the addresser brings up something that is already learnt (or supposed to have been learnt) by the addressee in order to recapitulate it in the discourse.

As for its syntactic position, contrary to S&W's proposal that the SFP *kóng* is base-generated at C⁰, I propose the SFP *kóng* is a topic marker base-generated in IP (to be captured in the following comparison with intra-sentential *kóng*). Based on we have seen in section 2, this proposal is not novel at all. Researchers like É. Kiss (1998) and Aboh (2007), among others, have pointed out that focus projection or topic/focus articulation over vP is available according to their observations in Hungarian and some African languages. This is an alternative aside from the focus and topic projections in CP. If we adopt a universal hierarchical structure, it is natural to conceive that Taiwanese, a topic-prominent language, which exploits topic-comment configuration even more than Mandarin (Y. Li 2001), makes use of more than one available topic position.

Before we delve into the detail of this proposal, I would like to introduce another topic marker *kóng* which occurs intra-sententially. By comparing these two, we may understand better the topic operation in Taiwanese and the reason why two distinct positions are proposed for each of them respectively.

4.2 Intra-sentential *kóng*

As a topic marker, *kóng* does not only appear sentence-finally but also precedes constituent(s) in a sentence. For example:

(9)a. 阿明 講 嘛 捌英語--呢! (Taiwanese)

A-bing kóng mā bat lng-gí--neh!

A-bing KONG also comprehend English PRT

"A-bing, he also understands English!"

¹¹ The term defocusing tallies with the proposals in which topicalization is taken as the major focus device in topic-prominent languages (refer to R. L. Cheng (1983) among others).

b. 阿惠 早起 講 無 去 上班--呢。 (Taiwanese)

A-hui tsái-khí kóng bô khi siōng-pan--neh.

A-hui morning KONG not go work PRT

"Regarding A-hui and what happened this morning, she did not go to work."

As (9a) and (9b) show, this intra-sentential *kóng* does not follow a verb of communication or cognitive state. Therefore, it cannot be a complementizer. Additionally, only presupposition in the discourse can precede the intra-sentential *kóng*. This can be corroborated with the properties of topic from Kuo (2009) (repeating (5) as (10)).

(10) The properties of a topic: (from Kuo 2009:3(8))

- a. A topic needs to be associated with some element in the comment sentence.
- b. A topic has to precede the predicate.
- c. There can be a pause or a modal particle following the topic.
- d. A topic can only be definite or generic.

Apart from (10a) to (10c), the properties that can be verified evidently,¹² it is true that indefinite DPs cannot precede *kóng*.

(11)a. 這 橫 樹仔 三 蕊 花 (*講) 焉--去! (Taiwanese)¹³

Tsit tsāng tshū-á sann lui hue (*kóng) lian--khi!

this CI tree three CI flower (KONG) wither go

(Intended) "Three flowers of this tree have withered."

b. 遮个 工課 一个 早起 (*講) 就做 會 了--矣。 (Taiwanese)

Tsiah-ê khang-khuè tsit ê tsái-khí (*kóng) tō tsò ē liáu--a.

these job one CI morning (KONG) Emphasizer do can finished PRT

(Intended) "These jobs can be accomplished in a morning."

Based on Kuo, I suggest that this *kóng* is also a topic marker. In (9a), it is the subject *A-bing* that is topicalized. And in (9b), both the subject and the temporal

¹² A pertinent question is that how the SFP *kóng* conforms to (9a) and (9b). A possible answer is that a null predicate is left behind *kóng* after the topicalized proposition raises. Please refer to Moro (1997) in which a null predicates is involved in her analysis of the raising of predicates. In this sense, topic is taken to be a relator or linker (Dikken 2006).

¹³ Since bare DPs can serve also as definite or generic in certain discourse in Sinitic languages, it is not impossible for someone to construe the DP preceding *kóng* in (11a) and (11b) to be not indefinite under certain context. Nevertheless, that are not the construal that these examples are meant to show. Moreover, DPs with a numeral without demonstrative are not necessarily indefinite, either. The numeral can render partitive reading (refer to C. Lee 1999).

adverb are topicalized.¹⁴ The intra-sentential *kóng* only differs from the SFP one in that it merely topicalizes part of a sentence.

If this is on the right track, the next question would be where we should pinpoint this intra-sentential *kóng*. Since it is evident that this *kóng* and the topicalized constituent(s) can precede speaker-oriented adverbs, the topic projection must be in a relatively high position. I propose that it is the topic projection(s) in Rizzi (1997, 2001) involved. The following sentences illustrate this point.

- (12)a. 阿明 講 凡勢 嘛 捌英語--呢！ (Taiwanese)
 A-bing kóng huân-sè mā bat Ing-gí--neh!
 A-bing KONG probably also comprehend English PRT
 “A-bing, he probably also understands English!”
- b. 阿惠 早起 講 明明 無 去 上班，煞 假佯 伊 有 去。 (Taiwanese)
 A-hui tsái-khi kóng bing-bing bô khi siōng-pan, suah kè-iànn i ū khi.
 A-hui morning KONG obviously not go work to-my-surprise pretend she Asp go
 “Regarding A-hui and what happened this morning, she obviously did not go to work, but, to my surprise, she pretended that she did.”
- c. 樹仔 跤 講 顛倒 比 大埕 較 熱。 (Taiwanese)
 Tshiū-á-kha kóng tian-tó pí tuā-tiànn khah juáh.
 under-the-tree KONG unexpectedly compare courtyard more hot
 “Regarding staying under the tree, it is unexpectedly hotter than staying in the courtyard.”
- d. 明年 講 正經 講 欲 加 稅--啊-啦。 (Taiwanese)
 Mê-ní kóng tsing-king-kóng beh ka suè--ah-lah.
 next-year KONG seriously-speaking will raise-taxes
 “Regarding next year, seriously speaking, the taxes will be raised.”

In the sentences above, the intra-sentential *kóng* and the constituent(s) occurs before it can precede the epistemic adverb (see (12a)), the evidential adverb (see (12b)), the evaluative adverb (see (12c)), and the speech act adverb (see (12d)). According to Rizzi (1997, 2001) and Cinque (1999), the speech act adverbs are under the projection at the outmost position of IP left periphery next to the CP domain.

¹⁴ These two elements are in different topic positions as what I will explicate later.

(13) Force(Top*)Int(Top*)Foc(Top*)Fin IP (from Rizzi 2001)

(14) MoodP_{speech act}>MoodP_{evaluative}>MoodP_{evidential}>ModP_{epistemic}>TP(Past)>
 TP(Future)>MoodP_{irrealis}... (from Cinque 2006, 1999; not fully cited.)

Since the intra-sentential *kóng* occurs higher than MoodP_{speech act}, MoodP_{evaluative}, MoodP_{evidential}, and ModP_{epistemic} in (14), it receives a natural account that this topic marker is in the head position under one of the topic projections in CP (see (13)) with the topicalized constituent(s) in its specifier position.

4.3 A preliminary comparison of their positions

There is evidence to show that the intra-sentential *kóng* is not identical to the SFP *kóng*. Compare their different behaviors when co-occurring with a complementizer *kóng*:

- (15)a. 阿明 想 講 阿惠 今仔日 早起 無 去 上班 講。 (Taiwanese)
 A-bing siūnn kóng A-hui kin-á-jit tsái-khi bô khi siōng-pan kóng.
 A-bing think COMP A-hui today morning not go work KONG
 “A-bing thinks that A-hui did not go to work this morning (, and we are informed of that.)”
- b. *阿明 想 講 阿惠 今仔日 早起 講 無 去 上班。 (Taiwanese)
 *A-bing siūnn kóng A-hui kin-á-jit tsái-khi kóng bô khi siōng-pan.
 A-bing think COMP A-hui today morning KONG not go work
 (Intended reading) ‘A-bing thinks that A-hui did not go to work this morning.’

Both two sentences above have *kóng* as a complementizer following the verb of cognitive state *siūnn* ‘think’, and they differ in only where the topic marker *kóng* appears. The sentence in (15a) which has the topic marker *kóng* at the end of it is grammatical. However, when topic marker *kóng* occurs in an intra-sentential position within the subordinate clause, the sentence, e.g. (15b), becomes infelicitous.¹⁵ Based

¹⁵ What (15b) shows is that it is impossible to have intra-sentential *kóng* in an embedded clause. The contrast is evident either in (15) or the additional examples below:

- i)a. 伊 想 講 你 昨昏 有 去 講。
 I siūnn kóng lí tsa-hng ū khi kóng.
 he think COMP you yesterday Asp go KONG
 “He thinks that you went there yesterday.”
- b. *伊 想 講 你 昨昏 講 有 去。
 *I siūnn kóng lí tsa-hng kóng ū khi.
 he think COMP you yesterday KONG Asp go
 (Intended) “He thinks that you went there yesterday (in consideration of other days).”

on this contrast, the SFP *kóng* and the intra-sentential one are supposed to be two distinct elements.

Nonetheless, it is still possible to find the intra-sentential topic marker to occur proper with the complementizer. For instance:

- (16)a. 阿明 講 昨昏 一直 掠準 講 阿惠 後個月 欲 去 台北 上班。(Taiwanese)
 A-bing kóng tsa-hng it-fit liáh-tsún kóng A-hui âu-kò-guêh beh khi Tâi-pak siông-pan.
 A-bing KONG yesterday all-the-time think COMP A-hui next-month will go Taipei work
 “As for A-bing, he thought all the time yesterday that A-hui will go to work in Taipei next month.”
- b. 阿明 無代無誌 講 直直 唸 講 恁 無 欲 鬥相共。(Taiwanese)
 A-bing bô-tâi-bô-tsi kóng tit-tit liâm kóng lín bô beh tau-sann-kâng.
 A-bing unaccountably KONG all-the-time murmur COMP you not will help Asp
 “As you know that what A-bing does is unaccountable, he murmurs all the time that you do not want to help.”

In either sentence of (16), a complementizer and intra-sentential topic marker co-occur and the latter precedes the former. To my best knowledge, previous studies, including Cheng (1994) and S&W (2002), did not try to pinpoint the complementizer *kóng* à la Rizzi (1997, 2001). Following the explication of English complementizer *that*, a reasonable conjecture is that it is in the head position of FinP in the embedded clause.¹⁶ Since these grammatical sentences differ from (15b) in that the topic marker *kóng* and its topicalized constituent precede the complementizer, the intra-sentential *kóng* is supposed to be in matrix clause for it occurs higher than the complementizer and the matrix verb. Following the argumentation in subsection 4.2, the intra-sentential

ii)a. 伊 想 講 台北 定定 落雨 講。
 I siunn kóng Tâi-pak tiánn-tiánn lóh-hô kóng.
 he think COMP Taipei often rain KONG
 “He thinks that it often rains in Taipei.”

b.*伊 想 講 台北 講 定定 落雨。
 *I siunn kóng Tâi-pak kóng tiánn-tiánn lóh-hô.
 he think COMP Taipei KONG often rain
 (Intended) “He thinks that it rains often in Taipei (in consideration of other places).”

To my knowledge, there is no reason to restrict the occurrence of topicalization in the embedded clause. Though, in this paper, *kóng* is analyzed as a contrastive topic marker, we do find contrastive topic in embedded clauses in Japanese and Korean (to discuss later). At this moment, no explanation can be given for the infelicity of embedded contrastive topic in Taiwanese and it is left for future research.

¹⁶ Here the issue that the complementizer may occupy more than one position and may appear more than once in different positions in the left periphery is not considered. Please refer to Cinque and Rizzi (2008:46 footnote 6).

kóng is suggested to be in the topic projection under the matrix CP.

In addition, it is not impossible to have the complementizer and the two kinds of topic markers co-occur in a single sentence. See (17):

- (17) 阿明 講 無張無持 說 講 欲 搬 去 較 揀 貼 的 所在 踴 講。(Taiwanese)
 A-bing kóng bô-tiunn-bô-ti siunn kóng beh puann khi khah iap-thiap ê sóo-tsâi tuà kóng.
 A-bing KONG suddenly say COMP will move to more secluded PRT place inhabit KONG
 “A-bing (contrary to other people) suddenly said that he will move to a more secluded place (in consideration to his other thoughts or some other relevant issues.)”

The sentence above demonstrates that the two topic marker *kóng* occur in different loci. We cannot find the intra-sentential one in an embedded clause. In addition, it is not possible to have two intra-sentential *kóng* in a single clause. See (18).

- (18)a.*台北 講 昨昏 講 落 規 工 的 雨。
 *Tâi-pak kóng tsa-hng kóng lóh kui-kang ê hō.
 Taipei KONG yesterday KONG drop all day DE rain
 (Intended) “Yesterday (contrary to other days), it rained all day in Taipei (contrary to other places).”
- b.*過年時仔 講 廟寺 講 會 較 鬧熱。
 *Kuè-nî-sî-á kóng biō-sī kóng ē khah lâu-jiát.
 New-Year-period KONG temple KONG will more thronged-with-people
 (Intended) “During the New Year (contrary to other days), the temples (contrary to other places) would be thronged with more people.”

To sum up, besides the known fact that the sentence-final topic marker *kóng* can co-occur with the complementizer *kóng* without any problem, the intra-sentential topic marker *kóng* can only precede the complementizer *kóng*. Furthermore, the two can only co-occur in one sentence in a specific relative order with respect to the complementizer, and the intra-sentential one cannot be iterated in a single clause. All of these observations suggest that they are distinct elements. Based on these observations, I suggest that the two homophonic topic markers do not occur in an identical syntactic position. Following Rizzi (1997, 2001) and Aboh (2007), among others, I will try to pinpoint the specific positions of the two items in the next subsection.

4.4 Pinpointing the two topic markers

Remember what is mentioned in section 3.2 that researchers report topic positions other than the ones in CP domains. On the basis of these studies, it is proposed that there are topic/focus articulation in both the clause periphery (Rizzi 1997, 2001) and vP periphery (refer to É. Kiss 1998, Jayaseelan 2003, and Aboh 2007, among others). I will take this as a point of departure for investigating the discrepancy found between the two *kóngs*.

Assuming the topic projections distributed in different positions observed cross-linguistically are equipped in the universal hierarchical structure and available by each specific language. Languages only differ with respect to whether they realize the clause peripheral or VP-peripheral focus/topic positions or the both (refer to Aboh 2007).

Besides this, two presuppositions are held in this study. On the one hand, I concur with Sybesma (2008) in that there is no IP-raising in the derivation of the sentences with sentence-final particles (SFPs). Under the Antisymmetry hypothesis (Kayne 1994), Taiwanese is postulated to be head-initial and the positions of SFPs, which are functional elements, are suggested to be in the left periphery of the IP domain. It is then permuted by an overt movement of the constituents following the SFP. Since the pertinent movement is only a fraction of IP, no IP-raising is involved in the whole derivation.

On the other, the observation that intra-sentential *kóng* can only precede the complementizer *kóng*, which is presumably at Fin^0 in the embedded CP, implies that the intra-sentential *kóng*, which always precede the matrix verb is most likely in CP domain (ref. subsection 4.2). For these reasons, I propose that the SFP *kóng* is under the topic projection in the IP domain and the intra-sentential *kóng* under the topic projections in CP. The topicalized constituent(s), either moving to CP or within IP, both starget the specifier position of the involved topic phrase, à la Lau (2010), H. Tsai (2008), and Lee (2005). The movements of topicalization then render the surface word order.

Firstly, let us consider an example with SFP *kóng* without an embedded clause and a complementizer.

(19) 阿惠 今仔日 早起 無 去 上班 講。 (Taiwanese)

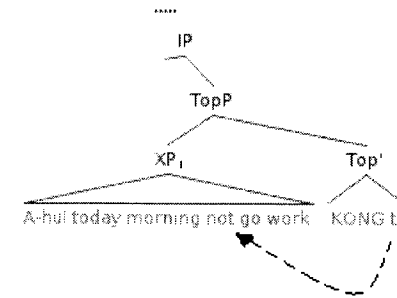
A-huī kin-á-jit tsái-khí bô khi siōng-pan kóng.

A-hui today morning not go work KONG

“A-hui did not go to work this morning (contrary to other relevant issues)”

The diagram of (19) is depicted below.

(20)



Based on the proposal for the SFP *kóng*, the SFP *kóng* is under the topic projection in the left periphery of IP, the whole proposition is topicalized and moved to the Specifier position.

Now let us turn to (15a) in which a complementizer and a SFP *kóng* co-occur (repeated as (21)).

(21) 阿明 想 講 阿惠 今仔日 早起 無 去 上班 講。 (Taiwanese)

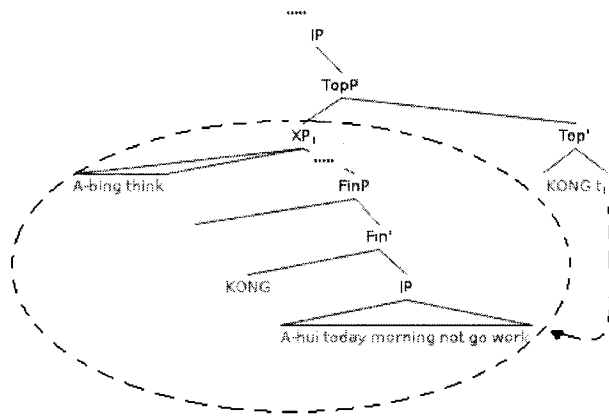
A-bīng siūnn kóng A-huī kin-á-jit tsái-khí bô khi siōng-pan kóng.

A-bing think KONG A-hui today morning not go work KONG

“A-bing thinks that A-hui did not go to work this morning (, and we are informed of that.)”

A noteworthy point about the interpretation of this sentence is that the matrix subject and verb are also under the topic-scope of the SFP *kóng*. In other words, the SFP *kóng* is not structurally embedded in the subordinate clause. (22) captures this interpretation with the SFP *kóng* situated in the matrix IP.

(22)



Compare (20) and (22), we can see that (21) differs from (19) only in that the topicalized XP includes an embedded clause.

As regards the case in which a topic marker precedes the complementizer. An example is given as follows.

(23) 工場 講 今仔日 火燒厝。(Taiwanese)

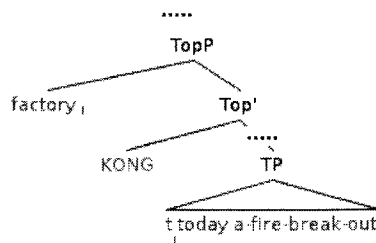
Kang-tiūnn kóng kin-á-jit hué-sio-tshù.

factory KONG today a-fire-break-out.

“A fire broke out in the factory (contrary to other places).”

Based on what has been proposed, the intra-sentential *kóng* is under the topic projection in the CP domain. The sentence in (23) is depicted as follows.

(24)



A sentence in which the intra-sentential *kóng* co-occurs with a complementizer and a subordinate clause is exemplified in (25) (repeating (16a)).

(25) 阿明 講 昨昏 一直 掠準 講 阿惠 後個月 欲 去 台北 上班。(Taiwanese)

A-bing kóng tsa-hng it-tit liáh-tsún kóng A-huī āu-kò-guèh beh khi Tâi-pak siōng-pan.

A-bing KONG yesterday all-the-time think KONG A-hui next-month will go Taipei work

“As for A-bing, he thought all the time yesterday that A-hui will go to work in Taipei next month.”

This sentence involved two CPs. The diagram is like below.

(26)

As shown in (26), the topicalized subject *A-bing* moves to [Spec, TopP] in matrix CP. The intra-sentential topic marker is base-generated under CP in this scheme. Therefore, we would never find it occurring lower than the complementizer *kóng*, which demarcates the lower CP₂ and subordinate IP₂ domains. This analysis explains the contrast between (18a) and (18b) that the intra-sentential topic marker always precedes the complementizer *kóng* (recall subsection 4.3).

Remember that in subsection 4.3, it is observed that intra-sentential *kóng* cannot be iterative in a single sentence (ref. (18)). In Rizzi (1997)’s Split-CP scheme, there are more than one topic position in the CP domain. The single occurrence restriction of the intra-sentential *kóng* indicates that it is a specific topic marker with a specific projection and function. We will come back to this in section 5.¹⁷

To sum up, the SFP *kóng* and the intra-sentential one are not identical. They differ not only in their syntactic positions but also in what they topicalize. The former targets a whole proposition and the latter only takes one constituent. That is to say that their independent topic projections articulate with their function-division. Contrary to the previous studies, I proposed that both of them are topic markers and the SFP *kóng* serves as a proposition-topic marker.

5. A Cross-linguistic Comparison

In this section, I will compare the positions where the topic marker(s) can occur in Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese sentences. The tentative observation is that each

¹⁷ To recapitulate briefly, intra-sentential *kóng* is merged lower than the IntP (Rizzi 1997, 2001; also refer to Lau’s (2010) analysis of Taiwanese *kám*). Topicalized constituent can reach the positions higher than the IntP and where the intra-sentential *kóng* occurs.

language may employ different number of topic projections which are available in the universal structure. On the other, an identical topic projection in the hierarchical structure may bear different functions between languages. In the second subsection, I suggest that *kóng* is a contrastive topic marker wherever it is used in CP or IP.

5.1 The discrepancy in topic projection employment among languages

Let us begin with Japanese. In Japanese, there is a particle *wa* traditionally defined as a topic marker (Kuno 1973).¹⁸ Unlike Taiwanese *kóng*, it is possible to have *wa* occur lower than the complementizer (see (28)). (27) repeats (15) for demonstrating the contrast between the intra-sentential and SFP *kóng* in Taiwanese.

(27)a. 阿明 想 講 阿惠 今仔日 早起 無 去 上班 講。 (Taiwanese)
 A-bing siünn kóng A-hui kin-á-jit tsái-khi bô khi siōng-pan kóng.
 A-bing think KONG A-hui today morning not go work KONG
 “A-bing thinks that A-hui did not go to work this morning (, and we are informed of that.)”

b.*阿明 想 講 阿惠 今仔日 早起 講 無 去 上班。 (Taiwanese)
 *A-bing siünn kóng A-hui kin-á-jit tsái-khi kóng bô khi siōng-pan.
 A-bing think KONG A-hui today morning KONG not go work
 (Intended reading) “A-bing thinks that A-hui did not go to work this morning.”

(28)a. Okosan-ga deki-te kara byōin erabi-o suru no **wa** to omoware-teiru. (Japanese)¹⁹
 child-NOM be-born-PRT from hospital choose-OBJ do PRT **TOP** COMP be-though-PROG
 “It is thought that this kind of thing that beginning to choose a hospital when the child is born is...(not good).”

b. Shuppan-gaisha-ga_{CP}[boku-ga ano hon-**wa** koosee-shi-teiru]-to]
 publish-company-NOM I-NOM that book-**TOPIC** proofread-do-PROG-that
 omot-tei-ta-n-desu-yo.. (Japanese; from Tateishi 1994:153 (9b))
 think-PROG-PAST-(Nominalizer)-ASSERT-(Particle)
 “The publisher thought that I was proofreading it.”

¹⁸ I will not touch on the controversies of *wa* in this paper, including the notions like given/new, predictable/unpredictable, theme/non-theme, important/unimportant, to avoid digressions.

¹⁹ Retrieved from “http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question_detail/q124442307” on Aug. 5th, 2010. The original text: “お子さんができてから病院選びをするのはと思われている”。 Another instance of SFP *wa* is “その時にその小さな不動産屋さんは「おかしいな、そんな良い話が自分の所まで来るのは」と言った” (retrieved from “http://www.katotaizo.com/isop/isop2.html” on Aug. 5th 2010.

Contrary to (27b), the Japanese sentence in (28b) has no problem to have an intra-sentential topic marker in the embedded clause. The intra-sentential topic marker in the subordinate clause occurs in a lower position than the complementizer *to* in Japanese indicates that the topic projection involved in (28b) cannot be in the embedded CP domain.²⁰ It is most natural to assume that the topic projection in IP, presumed to be the projection accommodating SFP *kóng*, is also employed by Japanese to topicalize single constituent.

Regarding (28a), a Japanese instance of proposition-topic, there are more to say about it.

In today’s Japanese, it is not common to find the topic marker *wa* (written as は) appears sentence-finally. However, this usage indeed exists. C. Huang (1971:106) indicates that the SFP *wa* (written as は) is used to emphasize a sentence. And Y. Hong (1981:382) suggests that it reinforces the proposition. The reason why it becomes rare is that Modern Japanese employs another kana “わ” instead of “は” as the proposition-topic marker. According to *Comprehensive Digital Dictionary (デジタル大辞泉)*²¹, the SFP “わ” is used to express astonishment, being moved, admiration.²² The dictionary also notes that this usage is derived from the intra-sentential topic marker “は”. In the period of the 15th to 16th century, this marker becomes a SFP. And not until the 16th century, people began to write “わ” instead of “は”.

These descriptions are reminiscent of Taiwanese SFP *kóng*, which is also depicted as an element for “insistence on forcing the given information on the addressee mildly” (Cheng 1997), or an element “emphasizes the truthfulness of the proposition” (Chen 1989). Following the way in which *kóng* has been argued as a topic marker, I propose that the SFP *wa* in Japanese also serves the same function. Note that the translation of the embedded clause in (22a) ends with ellipsis and the conjectured unspoken words between parentheses. This is suggested by my Japanese informant. As a native speaker, his intuition tells him that there is something left tacit and the content can only be retrieved from the context (Shingo Yoshida 2010 p.c.). The same intuition is also mentioned in Chang’s (1998) analysis of Taiwanese *kóng*. Chang claims that it is possible to reconstruct the implied content that follows SFP *kóng* (1998:119-20). Undoubtedly, *kóng* and *wa* are used as SFP nowadays. Nonetheless, they still carry

²⁰ Tateishi (1994) argues that there is no independent topic projection in Japanese. I do not concur in this.

²¹ Published by Shogakukan (小学館).

²² All of these interpretations produce construal of contrastiveness. If it is true that the sentence-final *wa* is derived from the intra-sentential marker *wa*, the sentence-final one is supposed to inherit the topic function of the intra-sentential one. Although topic generally does not induce interpretations like astonishment, being moved, or admiration, it is not peculiar to have contrastive topic, which introduces contrastiveness with an embedded focus, to express moods like these.

Moreover, there is a homonymic usage of わ which expresses one’s determination which is excluded here. The irrelevant usage is considered to belong to female speakers.

some vestiges from the grammaticalization process.

In brief, Taiwanese and Japanese differ in that the former employs several projections to implement different functions but the latter only applies the one in the IP domain. This is evidenced by sentences in (28) in which only the topic position in IP is accessed and the same position is employed in two distinct topicalization functions.²³

Apart from Japanese, Korean topic marker *un* also can be embedded. See the sentence from Choe 1995:309 (93).

(29) Chelswe-nun [[; kkos-un cangmi-ka choeko-ta](ha)-ko] malha-yss-ta. (Korean)

Chelswu-Top flower-Top rose-sub best-M do-C say-past-M

‘Speaking of Chelswu, he said, ‘Speaking of flowers, roses are best.’

In (29), the topicalized DP ‘flower’, attached with the intra-sentential topic marker *un*, is in the subordinate clause. Following the discussion above, I propose that it is also the topic projection in IP participates in topicalizing constituent(s) in Korean. Since Japanese and Korean are close in syntax, this similarity is not surprising.²⁴

The three languages concerned which employs a specific topic marker respectively can be divided into two groups. Japanese and Korean employ only the topic projection in IP; Taiwanese applies topic positions both in IP and CP. In 5.2, I will revert to the contrastive reading of the relevant topic marker in order to make further cross-linguistic comparison.

5.2 On the contrastive reading

In subsection 4.3 and 4.4, it is pointed out that intra-sentential *kóng* cannot be reiterated in a single sentence. This restriction implies that *kóng* is not a general topic marker which can occur in any available topic position in the Split-CP scheme (Rizzi 1997, 2001) In other words, topic projections are not exactly the same to each other, and the topic marker *kóng* marks only some specific topic.

Compare the two sentences below.

(30)a. 今仔日 早起 風 真 透。 (Taiwanese)

Kin-á-jit tsái-khí hong tsin thàu.

today morning wind very strong

‘The wind blew strongly this morning.’

²³ Logically speaking, one can still postulate that there are more than one topic positions in IP and Japanese accesses different ones for different functions. I cannot exclude this possibility at this stage, but evidence is needed from the advocates to support this hypothesis.

²⁴ Japanese and Korean are head-final in contrast to Taiwanese, which is commonly proposed to be head-initial. This typological difference may be relevant to their distinction in topicality. I leave this for future research.

b. 今仔日 早起 講 風 真 透。 (Taiwanese)

Kin-á-jit tsái-khí kóng hong tsin thàu.

today morning KONG wind very strong

‘This morning, the wind blew strongly, (and it is only about this morning but not other time today.)’

These two sentences differ in that (30b) has an extra *kóng* just after the temporal adverb ‘morning’. Following the stipulation that the constituents in the beginning of a sentence are topics in Taiwanese, a topic-prominent language just like Mandarin (Tsao 1979, Li and Thompson 1981), *kin-á-jit* ‘today’ and *tsái-khí* ‘morning’ are topicalized. Nonetheless, (30b) is construed differently from (30a). The topic attached with *kóng* conveys a contrastive reading that indicating alternative sections of time. Based on Krifka (2007) and Oshima (2002), I suggest that *kóng* is a contrastive topic marker, and a topic without *kóng* expresses merely a plain topic (ref. subsection 3.2).

With this proposal, we can now account for that each single sentence can accommodate only one intra-sentential *kóng*. In languages like Mandarin and Italian (refer to Rizzi 1997), it is infelicitous to have more than one focus in a single sentence. The non-co-occurrence can be explicated by the incompatibility of the contrastiveness of foci. I would like to suggest that this is also the reason why only one contrastive topic (with its marker *kóng*) can appear in one sentence since the contrastive topics are depicted as topics embed a focus (Krifka (2007); Oshima (2002)).²⁵

Regarding SFP *kóng*, Chang (1998) argues that it is a counter-expectation marker. Her observation is acute, but the notion ‘expectation’ here needs to be re-considered. Take the following sentences for instance.

(31)a. 今仔日 早起 風 真 透 講。 (Taiwanese)

Kin-á-jit tsái-khí hong tsin thàu kóng.

today morning wind very strong KONG

‘(Note the thing that) the wind blew strongly this morning.’

b. 伊 早就 來--矣 講。 (Taiwanese)

I tsá tō lái--a kóng.

s/he early PRT come Asp KONG

‘(You should know that) he has arrived for quite a period of time.’

²⁵ Nonetheless, it is possible to have a (identificational) focus co-occur with a contrastive topic. A preliminary conjecture is that focus and topic are essentially different, they apply their contrastiveness in different domains.

The construal of the sentences with SFP *kóng* (like the ones in (31)) is not necessarily relevant to the expectations of the addresser or the addressee. In Cheng's (1994) words, the attachment of *kóng* gives rise to a reminding tone. That is to say that the speaker intends to remind the addressee something that is presupposed in the discourse which is contrary to the existing alternatives. In order to do so, the speaker picks out specific presupposed information against the others. And this reminds us the definition of contrastive topics in Krifka (2007) and Oshima (2002) again. In addition, in Vilkuna(1994)'s study of Finnish, she argues that a contrastive focus and a contrastive topic both can identify a subset. She claims that, however, merely the contrastive focus exhaustively identifies the subset for which the predicate holds, whereas the identification performed by the contrastive topic is non-exhaustive (in Krifka's words, it only indicates the alternatives). In this thread, I suggest that what the SFP *kóng* conveys is contrastiveness but not the sense of counter-expectation. No matter it appears intra-sententially or sentence-finally, *kóng* identifies a presupposed information non-exhaustively in contrast to the others.

If this is on the right track, Taiwanese *kóng* is a pure contrastive topic marker.²⁶

Compared with Taiwanese *kóng*, the Japanese *wa* is not an exclusive token of contrastive topics. Tateishi points out that there are two types of *wa* in Japanese including *wa* which is a D(eterminer), responsible for the so-called topic reading, and *wa* which is a P(osition), responsible for the so-called contrastive reading (1994:147; 161-73). Although I do not concur in the details of his analysis, the dichotomy is recognized.

Kuno (1973:38) also suggests that there are two different uses of *wa*. The following interpretations with examples are from Kuno 1973:38 (6a) and (6b).

(32)a. *Wa* for the theme of a sentence: "Speaking of..., talking about..."

eg. John *wa* *gakusei* *desu*.

student is

"Speaking of John, he is a student."

b. *Wa* for contrasts: "X..., but..., as for X..."

eg. *Ame wa* *hutte* *imasu* *ga*...

rain falling is but

"It is raining, but..."

²⁶ In subsection 4.3, I pointed out that it is possible to have both intra-sentential and SFP *kóng* in one sentence. If this is true, one may want to ask how two contrastive topics can co-occur. My answer is that these two kinds of topics take different scopes. The intra-sentential ones take scope on only a constituent, and the ones as SFPs on the whole proposition. The scope of the former is contained in the scope of the latter. Since contrastive topics are not exhaustive, the relationship in which a contrastive topic is a subset of the other does not incur problems.

I concur with Tateishi and Kuno in that Japanese *wa* can mark either a non-contrastive topic or a contrastive one.

The dichotomy of Korean topic marker *un* is also observed in the literature. C. Lee (1999) gives examples in which *un* marks a contrastive topic as follows (from C. Lee (1999) (11) and (12)).

(33)a. *na* [*khong*-UN]_B *meok* -*eoss*-*eo*
I beans CT²⁷ eat Past Dec
"I ate [the beans]_B."

b. *na* [*tongceon*-UN]_B *iss* -*eo*
I coin CT exist Dec
"I have [coins]_B."

Apart from C. Lee, Han (1998) also claims that Korean *un* can be used as a token of either topic reading or contrastive topic reading.²⁸

In sum, contrary to the Japanese and Korean topic markers, Taiwanese *kóng* is only used in marking a contrastive topic.

6. On Sentence-initial *Kóng*

Before this study is concluded, a section is dedicated to sentence-initial *kóng* in order to make this paper more comprehensive. I will argue that the sentence-initial *kóng* is the outcome of the intra-sentential *kóng* raising. Preposing the intra-sentential *kóng* to ForceP can give rise to the change of illocutionary force.

In Cheng (1994), there are examples in which *kóng* occurs sentence-initially.

(34)a. 講我嘛已經六十歲--矣! (Taiwanese; from Cheng 1994:52 (b))

Kóng *guá* *mā* *i*-*king* *lák*-*tsáp* *huè*-*a*!

KONG I also already sixty year Asp

"It is said that I am already sixty years old."²⁹

b. 講今年已經1991--矣,我不時袂記--得。 (Taiwanese; from Cheng 1994:52 (d))

²⁷ CT: contrastive topic

²⁸ He also proposes that *un* can mark a contrastive focus. A proposition needs further review.

²⁹ This translation is from the Mandarin translation "renjia shuo wo ye yijing liushi sui le a!" in Cheng (1994).

Kóng kin-ní í-king 1991--a, guá put-sí bē ki--tit.

KONG this-year already 1991 Asp I often not remember-MODAL

“It is said that we are in 1991 already. I often cannot remember this.”³⁰

c. 講有這號代誌，有夠奇！ (Taiwanese; from Cheng 1994:53 (3e))

Kóng ū tsit hō tã-tsi, ū kàu kí.

KONG have this kind thing Assertion enough strange

“How come this kind of thing can happen! That’s so strange!”³¹

In Cheng’s analysis, an almost identical sentence in which *kóng* is preceded by the subject *guá* “I” ensues the sentence in (34a). According to his translation in Mandarin, the sentence-initial *kóng* expresses something like “people say that...”. In other words, there is a *pro* preceding *kóng*. However, Cheng’s interpretation is only appropriate for some sentences, like (34a) and (34b). For sentences like the one in (34c), Cheng’s proposal runs into a problem. In this case, to assume a covert subject like “some people” does not generate the correct construal.

As for Chang, she merely suggests that sentence-initial *kóng* carries a function of conveying that which is against the speaker’s belief or conviction (1998:117).³² Since we have already reviewed this argument, no further discussion will be added on this. The question needs to be answered here is how we can explain sentences like (34c), in which the *pro*-drop proposal says nothing.

I propose that all the sentence-initial *kóngs* are derived from intra-sentential *kóng* preposing. Remember that we cannot have two intra-sentential *kóng* in a single sentence. In (35), sentences in which initial and intra-sentential *kóngs* co-occur are infelicitous. Nonetheless, sentences with both initial and sentence-final *kóngs* are grammatical.

(35)a. 講我 (*講) 嘛 已經 六十 歲--矣 (講)！ (Taiwanese)

Kóng guá (*kóng) mā í-king lák-tsáp huè--a (kóng)!

KONG I (*KONG) also already sixty year Asp (KONG)

“Regarding me (among the others), I am also sixty years old!”

b. 講今年 (*講) 已經 1991--矣 (講)，我不時 袂 記--得。 (Taiwanese)

Kóng kin-ní (*kóng) í-king 1991--a (kóng), guá put-sí bē ki--tit.

KONG this-year (*KONG) already 1991 Asp (KONG) I often not

remember-MODAL

“Regarding this year (among other years), it’s already 1991! I often cannot remember this.”

c. 講阿惠早起 (*講) 無去上班 (講)。 (Taiwanese)³³

Kóng A-hui tsái-khí (*kóng) bô khi siōng-pan (kóng).

KONG A-hui this-morning (*KONG) not go work (KONG)

“Regarding this morning (among other days), A-hui did not go to work!”

d. 講台灣今年 (*講) 會出這款代誌 (講)。 (Taiwanese)

Kóng Tâi-uân kin-ní (*kóng) ē tshut tsit khuân tã-tsi (kóng).

KONG Taiwan this-year (*KONG) would come-out this kind thing (KONG)

“Regarding this year, (it is surprising that) this kind of thing happened in Taiwan!”

If sentence-initial *kóng* is merely a counter-expectation marker (refer to Chang 1998) or an adverbial of language behavior (Cheng 1994),³⁴ the incompatibility of this marker and the intra-sentential topic marker in (35) would be unexpected and need explanations. Nonetheless, considering it as a preposing intra-sentential *kóng* can account for it straightforwardly.

Furthermore, we can simply reconstruct the initial *kóng* to a position after a topic respectively. See (36):

(36)a. 我講嘛 已經 六十 歲--矣！ (Taiwanese)

Guá kóng mā í-king lák-tsáp huè--a!

I KONG also already sixty year Asp

“Regarding me (among the others), I am also sixty years old!”

b. 今年講 已經 1991--矣，我不時 袂 記--得。 (Taiwanese)

Kin-ní kóng í-king 1991--a (kóng), guá put-sí bē ki--tit.

this-year KONG already 1991 Asp I often not remember-MODAL

“Regarding this year (among other years), it’s already 1991! I often cannot remember this.”

³⁰ This translation is from the Mandarin translation “jushuo jinnian yijing 1991 le, wo lao shi ji bu de.” in Cheng (1994).

³¹ This translation is mine.

³² Notice that Chang (1998) does not distinguish intra-sentential and sentence-initial *kóng*.

³³ Readers may find that I did not test (34c) in (35). Note that, the composition of (34c) is relatively simple. No element is available to be topicalized with an inserted intra-sentential *kóng*. Therefore, it cannot be tested in (35).

³⁴ Cheng (1994:52-3) claims that there are sentence-initial *kóngs* which are complementizers (*ziju buyu jiegou biaozi*). This is implausible for the combination of the complementizer and its complement (the embedded clause) does not count as a constituent, and, therefore, not a legitimate unit to be moved/preposed.

- c. 阿惠 早起 講 無 去 上班。 (Taiwanese)
 A-húi tsái-khi kóng bô khi siōng-pan.
 A-hui this-morning KONG not go work
 “Regarding this morning (among other days), A-hui did not go to work!”
- d. 台灣 今年 講 會 出 這 款 代誌。 (Taiwanese)
 Tâi-uân kin-nî kóng ē tshut tsit khuán tâi-tsi.
 Taiwan this-year KONG would come-out this kind thing
 “Regarding this year, (it is surprising that) this kind of thing happened in Taiwan!”

The reconstruction basically does not change the denotation of each sentence. What the preposing does is bringing a touch of some specific mood to it.

Moreover, my proposal of preposing Top⁰ in fact is not novel. In his analysis of adverbs and functional heads, Cinque also conjectures that Mood⁰_{speech act} can move to the spec of ForceP (1999:84). Moreover, in W. Tsai’s study of *how-why* alternations, the denial *how* is proposed to merge into ForceP to reflect the change of illocutionary force: namely, the speech act involved has shifted from eliciting information to denial (2008:108). Following the same thread, I propose that *kóng* raises to the spec of ForceP to change the illocutionary force of the sentence. As a result, sentences with initial *kóng* read with extra sense in pragmatics.³⁵

In Japanese, a head-final language, we can also find similar examples like the one below.³⁶

- (37) “Taihen da wa!” to it-ta wa.³⁷ (Japanese)
 serious-is WA COMP say-PAST WA
 “She said that it is serious!”

³⁵ A potential question is that how *kóng* can cross over the topic projection between ForceP and IntP without violating Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995:311). The Condition is cited below.

i) *K* attracts *a* only if there is no *b*, *b* closer to *K* than *a*, such that *K* attracts *b*.
 In my analysis, the topic projections in CP are not identical. In 4.4, it is suggested that *kóng*, a contrastive topic marker, occur in a relatively low topic projection in CP. In other words, topic projections in the CP domain are not homogeneous. Additionally, a tentative suggestion is that the sentence-initial *kóng* crosses over only the DP in its specifier position. That is to say, there is no other topicalized element present that intervenes in the route of raising. This conjecture is supported by the different readings of the possible positions to which *kóng* is restored. Only one of them fit in with the construal from the sentence with raised *kóng* the best.

³⁶ In these sentences, the sentence-final topic is written as “わ”. Remember the kana used to write this SFP in Modern Japanese is no longer “は”.

³⁷ Retrieved from “http://www.dipex-j.org/gb_bc/50a/18/1578.html” on Aug. 11st 2001. The original text: “「大変だわ！」と言ったわ”.

Without a solid demarcator, it is difficult to tell whether the SFP *wa* in (37) moves to ForceP or it remains in matrix IP periphery. I presume that it can move to ForceP as Taiwanese *kóng* does. Further research is in need on this issue.

7. Concluding Remarks

By studying the topic marker *kóng* in detail, it becomes possible to distinguish two positions and functions of topic in Taiwanese. Comparing Japanese and Korean, which also have an overt topic marker, we then have a cross-linguistic picture of topical operation.

(38)

	Taiwanese <i>kóng</i>	Japanese <i>wa</i>	Korean <i>un</i>
positions	IP and CP	IP	IP
contrastive	✓	✓	✓
Non-contrastive		✓	✓

The patterns in (38) reflect the syntactic closeness between Japanese and Korean.

Based on these observations, it is argued that the topic projections that each language accesses and the function of each employed topic projection may be different from a language to another. As a topic-prominent language which is believed to have an even stronger topic-comment tendency than Mandarin, Taiwanese exploits the available topic and focus projections the most among the languages studied in this paper. Unlike Japanese *wa* and Korean *un*, the topic marker *kóng* indicates only contrastive topics. Moreover, when it occurs sentence-finally, it marks a contrastive proposition-topic.

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關係台語俗華語句法精差 ê 簡論*

一、一種迷信伊 ê 影響

這毋是干焦一般人 ê 印象，連句法學者內底都有人按呢想：「逐款漢語 ê 句法攏相全，無，就是差一屑屑仔，免還計較。」

會記得有一擺，我拄著一个博士生，伊研究 ê 主題是華語台語 ê 語音比較，伊問我講我興趣啥，我講我想欲做華語台語 ê 比較句法，伊應我講：伊以早嘛做句法研究，毋過，伊感覺，華語和台語中間，並無啥句法 ê 精差。

凡勢就是因為這款誤解，tsing-kah-tann，台語 ê 句法研究，較濟是 tsiánn 做華語研究 ê 補充成分，真濟學者，是寫取華語做目標語言 ê 論文，內中，才順繼提台語來小可講--一下，或者是做補充證據，或者是罔做參考，意思就是台語做配角就好，若講起漢語 ê 句法研究，已經有華語做代表，華語做有透徹，就會當解釋台語攏總 ê 句法現象。

這款看法，毋若出現佇學術界 ê 中間，閣嘛佇寫作者 ê 中間時行。因為台灣 ê 教育體制獨尊華語，逐個攏已經予學校 thuā 出一粒「華語腦」，毋管是詞彙或者是句法，欲位華語切去台語，捷捷攏真艱計，詞彙 ê 問題好解決，字詞典，特別是有華／台對照功能--ê，就會當提供真好 ê 幫贊，á 若句法--leh，害--a，káng 幾若十冬久，台灣毋捌出 kah 一本 ka-nîg ê 「台語句法冊」，閣較免講「台／華語比較句法」，孤不將加上爛性，濟濟人就相信「台語俗華語句法無啥精差」ê 迷信，喙講欲寫台語文，事實上，是先寫華語文，才來 ká 華語詞替換做台語詞，較骨力--ê，才會想講直接用台語思考來寫，問題是，骨力 ê 人，都也袂免得有心門、做袂到，若頭殼內句法模式無切去台語，寫--出--來--ê，嘛是華語句法 ê 台語文。

研究語言變遷俗語言比較 ê 學者，攏知，語彙 ê 借用、變化，語音 ê 改變，是語言接觸了後上有可能代先發生 ê 現象，若語法--leh，一般較固定，袂還緊變。咱若來比論，通講：語彙是親像人 ê 頭插佻帽子，語音是親像人 ê 頭毛佻皮肉，若句法--咧，是人上基礎上內底 ê 頭殼骨佻腦。一个人欲換頭插佻帽子，真緊，閣咱感覺彼無足要緊，語言之間互相借詞，真四常，無啥問題；若頭毛染色、改種別人 ê 頭毛或者是欲做換皮膚 ê 手術，無還利便，毋過時間看較長、所在看較闊--leh，都也有咧發生，毋過，若連頭殼骨佻腦都予人換去 ê 時，彼个人恐驚仔就袂使講是「原底」彼个人

* 這篇文章毋是交針釘學術論文，無認真引用文獻（相關文獻嘛有限），筆路冗鬆，干焦是一寡淺見佻逐個分享，作者淺學，若有無周至、失覺察ê所在，請諒情、指教。

--a。

雖罔語言變遷是歷史上定有 ê 代誌，毋過，咱若是對台語直直予華語拖咧 lōng 感覺真不目，按呢，干焦直致意台語自底 ê 詞彙，台語自本 ê 呼音，對使用華語句法 ê 台語文顛倒無要無緊，這敢無親像古早人咧講--ê：「豬頭毋顧，顧鴨母卵？」

二、著精差倭濟，才有獨立性？

佇咧舉出一寡台語俗華語中間 ê 句法精差進前，我想欲閣藉一寡段落，來討論一个較次要、較觀念性，毋過蓋基本 ê 問題。咱講台語俗華語 ê 句法無全，á 是無全佻啥物程度，才需要咱注重，才會當講：台語句法有伊 ê 獨立性？

對語言類型學有淡薄仔了解 ê 人，攏知影荷蘭語佻德語真倚，兩種語言 ê 詞彙、句法攏相黏蒂帶，舉較識 ê 例：一个來荷蘭讀冊 ê 德國學生，伊講：伊十二工就 ká 荷蘭語學--起--來--a，而且時間是開佇學無全 ê 呼音較濟，按呢，咱就知 in 有佻 sing--a。

呼音佻詞彙掠外，德語佻荷蘭語上大 ê 差別是啥物？干焦兩項：德語 ê 名詞保留齊全 ê 格位標誌 (Case)，荷蘭語已經強欲無--去--a，第二項，德語名詞猶分陰、陽兩性，隨个用無全 ê 定冠詞，荷蘭語已經 ká 兩性佻佻做伙，用 sio-siāng ê 一个定冠詞，也就是講，荷蘭語名詞無像德語分做陰、陽，荷蘭語干焦有「中性」佻「非中性」兩類名詞。¹

閣有別項--無？有是有，毋閣攏是一寡 ná 有 ná 無 ê lán-san pí 仔 niá，親像：荷蘭語會當接受佇子句內底 ê 動詞順序免 ká 顛倒頭排列（嘛會使學德語排倒 píng），德語完全袂使；閣有，兩個語言 ê 分離式動詞和過去分詞詞綴，德語慣勢寫寫做一字，荷蘭語有拆分開 ê 趨勢²；猶閣有--無，差不多無--a-neh，硬欲講，就干焦賸存有句（英語 there is... / there are...）一項，荷蘭語 ê 係詞 (copula) 佻英語全款，有單複數變化，德語攏總取單數按呢。

講--起--來，兩個語言是差咧倭濟？格位標誌佻定冠詞使用、分離式動詞 ê 構成、存有句動詞 ê 數量一致 (number agreement)，聽--起--來攏對句位、詞序無直接 ê 影響，莫怪德國人欲學荷蘭語會還利便。

一來二去，德語、荷蘭語中間，真正佻句位／詞序有關係，干焦子句內底 ê 動詞排列爾爾。咱知，德語佻荷蘭語攏屬 V2 language，這類 ê 語言，in 主要 ê 動詞正常是佔逐句第二个位置（用句法單位 'syntactic constituent'

¹ 文章內底荷蘭語、德語比較 ê 資料，攏總是 Nakao Eki 提供--ê，真多謝--伊。

² 因為無寫做伙，荷蘭語有時仔容允一寡字詞出現佇分離式動詞、過去分詞詞綴、動詞詞根中間。

來算)，若閣有別個動詞，就 kā 下踏句 ê 上尾，比論講：若一句話內底有助動詞掛動詞，按呢，正常 ê 詞序，是助動詞下第二位置，另外彼個動詞句尾才出--來。Á 若是子句內底--leh，德語會 kā 隨個動詞 ê 順序倒頭 ping，荷蘭語就較有 khiū 性，子句內底 ê 動詞，會當親像德語順序排顛倒 ping，嘛會當照主要句 ê 順序去排無要緊。

提一句話來比較看覓：

- (1) a. Ich habe gehoert, was do **gesagt hast**. (德語)

我 have³ 聽 啥物 你 講 have
「我聽著你講啥物--a。」

- (2) a. Ik heb gehort wat je **gezegd hebt**. (荷蘭語)⁴

我 have 聽 啥物 你 講 have
「我聽著你講啥物--a。」

- b. Ik heb gehort wat je **hebt gezegt**. (荷蘭語)

我 have 聽 啥物 你 have 講
「我聽著你講啥物--a。」

相對(1) ê 德語句，荷蘭人會當講(2a)或者是(2b)，約其略，兩種語言 ê 句位詞序，就是荷蘭語仔子句內底 ê 動詞排列，比德語 ke 一種選擇爾爾，按呢，兩種語言 ê 句法 kán 是有夠接近 ê 接近？

就準是按呢，荷蘭人 in 嘛有咧編寫、出版家已 ê 語法冊，in 並無大大典典講：學荷蘭語 ê 語法，就用德語 ê 語法冊就好，in 嘛無主張講有德語 ê 句法研究，就毋免有荷蘭語 ê 研究。雖然兩種語言句法蓋倚，強欲無精差。

台語--leh，台語俚華語中間句法 ê 精差，是比荷蘭語俚德語 ke 真濟，咱敢知？咱後一段就來舉一寡仔例。

三、試看台語、華語 ê 句法比較

台語 ê 句法俚華語無啥精差，敢按呢？咱下跤就來做簡單 ê 試驗，看若干焦提句來做語詞替換，有才調親像荷蘭語差不多直接就轉做德語還方便--無？

咱先清彩 ui 網路摘兩段華語：

- (3) a. 吃完早午餐，怎麼來打發這些小孩子呢？(華語)⁵

³ 完成時 ê 助動詞，對應英語「I have heard it.」ê 「have」。

⁴ 閣有一个真 lui-tshui ê 無全，Ho-lan 語無價勢仔主要句仔子句中間標 tsit-phuat (「逗點」)，德語有。

- b. 放著這一大片已經徵收整理好的空地不去招商，劉政鴻卻把腦筋動到了竹南基地的鄰居，也就是大埔農民的良田。(華語)⁶

下跤咱直接 kā 語詞攏換做台語詞，看會通--袂。

- (4) a. *食完早起佢中晝頓，按怎來應付 tsiah-ê 囡仔--leh？(台語)⁷

- b. *放著這一大片已經徵收整理好 ê 空地 m̄ 去招商，劉政鴻煞 kā 腦筋動到了竹南基地 ê 厝邊，也就是大埔農民 ê 好田。(台語)

按怎？咱若真正有台語 ê 語感，應該會感覺(4) ê 台語句無合語法⁸，特別是字下跤有畫巡 ê 所在。

窮實，(3)佢(4) 相對比，拄拄好現出台語俚華語佇句法頂懸，一个不止仔大 ê 精差：態 (aspect) ê 對應詞俚相關 ê 字面詞序⁹。

(一) 態 ê 句法差異

下跤閣舉較濟例來對照：

- (5) a. 他騎著腳踏車去買烟。(華語)
b. *伊騎著腳踏車去買薰。(台語)¹⁰
c. 伊脚踏車騎--leh 去買薰。(台語)

台語俚華語無全，佇華語內底「動詞+著」是持續態，毋過，台語「動詞+著」是結果態，若欲 kā(5a) 翻做台語句，是 (5c) 較 síng，佇(5c)內底，咱除了看著態標記 (aspect marker) 無全，而且受詞嘛強制徙去動詞頭前。¹¹

- (6) a. 他看了書就睡著了。(華語)
b. *伊看了冊 (/看 a 冊) 就睏--去-a。(台語)
c. 伊冊看了就睏--去--a。(台語)

⁵ 來源：<http://blog.xuite.net/russell.tsai/Pinky/37319111>，摘出日期：2010/8/27。

⁶ 來源：<http://www.wretch.cc/blog/billypan101/16469155>，摘出日期：2010/8/27。

⁷ 例句頭前「*」表示無合語法，「？」表示小可怪怪，「??」表示無啥通。

⁸ 凡勢有人會講有一寡所在，親像金光布袋戲內底，會聽著這款語句，總--是，彼款台語，究真毋是咱日常生活 ê 語言，若毋是做戲 ê 人 in ê 台語程度 siunn bái，無，就是 in 無用台語思考，若有影欲 ui--in，咱 thing 好講彼是戲劇使用 ê 一種方言，無佇咱討論 ê 範圍內。

⁹ 態 (aspect)，簡單講，就是用來表達特定動作、事件或者是狀態，in 和時間 ê 互動關係 ê 語法單位，親像：「我咧食飯」ê 「咧」(表示動作 tī 參考時間點是「持續中」)，就是一個「態」ê 語法詞。

¹⁰ 作者有問真濟台語人，內中，確實有人接受「動詞+著」做持續態 ê 用法，這凡勢是華語佇台灣強勢 ê 影響(流行歌內底這號用法真濟)，嘛凡勢是閩南語本身 ê 方言差，這個問題，猶需要進一步稽考。

¹¹ 關係台語受詞位置 e 變動，佇別款情形下嘛看會著，請參考後壁 e 例俗說明。

d. 伊看冊了就睏--去-a。(台語)

平平欲表達完成態，受詞從去動詞頭前ê情形掠外，台語ê動詞佔態標誌佇句中就是袂使連做伙。

- (7) a. 我去了台北一趟。(華語)
 b.*我去了台北一逝。(台語)
 c. 我有去台北一逝。(台語)

(7)全款是完成態ê例句¹²，台語佇這個情形下，無用「了」或者是「a」做態標記，是用動詞頭前ê「有」來表達。台灣華語嘛已經吸收這個用法。

頂懸ê例掠外，兩個語言中間猶有別項佇「態」ê句法差別，咱就無佇遮計舉例和說明--a，讀者若有興趣，會當參考中國學者李如龍ê論文¹³。

(二) 動詞複合詞¹⁴ê句法差異

咱有講著台語受詞ê位置有時陣會強制徙去動詞頭前，這恰華語會當選擇性tik kā受詞hē tī動詞頭前是真無全--ê¹⁵。請看下跤ê例：

- (8) a. 你吃飽飯再來找我。(華語)
 b.*你食飽飯 tsiah 來揣--我。(台語)
 c. 你食飯飽 tsiah 來揣--我。(台語)
 d. 你飯食飽 tsiah 來揣--我。(台語)

全意思ê複合詞『吃飽』／『食飽』，台語ê受詞袂使出現佇複合詞後壁，獨獨會當插佇複合詞中央，或者是踎複合詞頭前。

- (9) a. 大家要做好颱風來襲的準備。(華語)
 b.??大家颱風來襲的準備要做好。(華語)
 c.*逐个愛做好風颳欲來的準備。(台語)
 d. 逐个愛 kā 風颳欲來ê準備做 hōo 好。(台語)
 e. 逐个風颳欲來ê準備愛做 hōo 好。(台語)

頂懸這個例，受詞閣較大(結構較複雜)，恰(8) sio-siāng，台語無容允

¹² 恰(6)比較，(7)表達--ê假若恰過去時(past tense)較有直接關係，漢語無「時」(tense)ê明顯標記，時間ê表達，是靠「態」、助動詞恰時間副詞來達成--ê，佇遮，就無閣進一步討論。

¹³ 李如龍 2007《閩南方言語法研究》福建人民出版社。雖然冊--裡研究ê目標語言是泉州話，毋過真值得參考。

¹⁴ 關係動詞複合詞(verbal compound)，有學者主張兩個複合詞單位並非真正恰做一個詞彙單位(lexical item)，是因為句法運作恰徒動，in tsiah會佇字面看起來恰相倚，佇遮無法度斟酌說明，毋過為著方便，猶原用「複合詞」這個號名。

¹⁵ 華語若句中受詞徙去動詞頭前(IP-internal object-preposing)，一般認為恰焦點／主題有關係，毋過，究竟是「焦點化」或者是「主題化」，目前學者猶無共識。

受詞佇複合詞「做 hōo 好」ê後壁出現，若華語--leh，顛倒較無法度接受結構複雜ê受詞徙進前(看(9b))。

(三) 關係主題／焦點ê句法差異¹⁶

世界上，有一寡語言對資訊結構(information structure)是ke足敏感--ê，遮个語言，若照字面來看，無親像英語、法語、德語，佇述語(predicate)佔論元(argument)中間有真明ê論旨角色(theta-role)拍派，因為按呢，雖罔漢語恰英語ê基本詞序攏是「主詞-動詞-受詞」，毋過咱若干焦kā華語文句替換語詞，定定會產生真báiê英語句，比論：

- (10) a. 高速公路比較好開。(華語)
 b. 這日語寫--ê我看無。(台語)

頂懸這兩句，若干焦kā語詞替換做英語，是無法度翻做合法ê英語--ê。其中一個原因就是漢語 tsham 日語、韓國話全款，是「主題顯著ê語言」(topic-prominent languages)，伊ê字面結構，定定是「主題-評論」(topic-comment)ê款式，所以有in特殊ê句法結構。

台語「主題性」(topicality)ê程度，比華語閣ke較懸，致使有一寡台語句是袂當獨換詞就翻譯做華語--ê。

- (11) a. 有好空--ê伊攏嘛走代先。(台語)¹⁷
 b. Tse 寫德語我看無。(台語)
 c. 你掀了siunn緊我看無明。(台語)
 d. 紙幾張仔hōo--我。(台語)¹⁸
 e. 衫洗hōo清氣。(台語)

頂懸遮个台語句，若干焦kā語詞替換做華語詞，猶原袂足妥當，因為華語ê「主題性」無親像台語遮懸，較無法度接受親像台語按呢來做句。

另外，請看(12)內底ê對話：

- (12) a. A: 你佇樹仔咬創啥？(台語)
 b. B: 樹仔咬謹較好納涼--啊！(台語)

¹⁶ 關係「主題」恰「焦點」ê定義：「主題」kā某一個集合或者是某一個特定ê對象揀--出-來，佇這個揀--出-來ê集合／對象下跤，評論(comment)所表達ê資訊著愛有先行共識ê內容(CG content; commen ground content)內底；「焦點」指出別項選擇ê存在，這個存在是和語言表達ê詮釋有佇代--ê。(引用 Krifka 2006 Basic Notions of Information Structure。《Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure》Féry, Fanselow 恰 Krifka 編)。

¹⁷ U 盧廣誠，2002，〈台閩語的詞法與句法〉，

http://203.64.42.21/iug/Ungian/patlang/su-ku/su-ku.htm 摘--出-來--ê。

¹⁸ U 盧廣誠，2007年海翁台灣文學營講義引用--ê。

c. A: Hñg! 人阿明講溪邊 ke 足涼講! (台語)

台語 ê 主題性 uân-nā thing 好 uì (12) 來看。筆者認為, (12) 內底第二句中佢第三句句尾 ê 「講」, 事實上就是「主題標記」(topic marker), 伊 ê 用法, 咱通俗日語 ê 主題標記「は」和韓國話 ê 「un」來比 phīng。¹⁹ 若華語--leh, 並無這號專用 ê 主題標記。²⁰

上尾, 咱看下跋這個例, thang 知兩種語言 ê 焦點結構嘛無一致。

(13)a. 你是拄才仔去食著啥? (Nah 會歹腹肚--啦。)(台語)

b. *你是剛剛去吃到什麼? (怎麼會拉肚子呢。)²¹ (華語)

若是疑問詞問句, 就只有台語會當容允「是」佢「疑問詞」(親像(13a) ê 「啥」) 相離較遠, 華語句(13b)若欲改予變合法, 著愛 kā 「是」徙去接仔述詞(去吃到...) ê 頭前, 才會用--得。

關係台語佢華語因為資訊結構所造成 ê 句法精差, kah tann 猶真欠人研究, 雖罔有學者談--過(比論: 李英哲²²), 毋過猶毋捌有人做系統性、齊全 ê 描寫, tsiū 我所知, 嘛猶無人透過理論語言學來做深入、跨語言 ê 分析。

四、煞尾 ê 話

這篇文章普略仔討論台語、華語 ê 句法差別, 相信有真濟漏勾 ê 位仔, 嘛恐驚仔袂免得有講了無 ka-nñg、甚至 tânn 誤 ê 所在。

希望這篇文章, 會當予閣較濟人重視台語句法 ê 研究, 特別是佇台灣特殊 ê 語言環境內底, 台語、華語 ê 句法比較, 應該是真有價值 ê 工課。

另外, 關心台語文書寫/台語文學 ê 先進, 向望逐個會當佇寫作 ê 時, 直接用台語思考, 寫作進前, 就先 kā 頭殼設定做「台語句法模式」。按呢, 才袂「華語句法」鬥「台語語詞」, 牛舌搭馬鼻, 予人一下看, 雄雄毋知是欲牽去馬欄, 抑是欲牽去牛墟。

¹⁹ 有一點真心適, 就是日語 ê 主題標記「は」嘛會當用仔句尾, 佇較早期 ê 日文, 句尾 kiau 句中攏是 kā 伊寫做「は」, 現代日語, 句尾--ê 已經寫做「わ」。

²⁰ 台灣華語有吸收這個用法, 用「說」咧做句尾助詞。

²¹ 這句對部份台灣華語使用者來講是合法--ê, 想--起來應該是受著台語影響 ê 結果。

²² 請參考李英哲 2001《漢語歷時共時語法論集》北京: 語言文化大學出版社。

Research Project

Seng-hian Lau

1. Motivation

A general observation about Taiwanese¹ and Mandarin is that the two languages are similar in many syntactic aspects. Since these two languages both belong to the Sinitic language family, a prevalent assumption is that they are syntactically isomorphic with only trivial differences, if any. Apart from some well-known observations of their dissimilarities (e.g., R. L. Cheng 1997, among others), recent studies have revealed a very different picture. In some dimensions, including their systems of grammatical aspects (e.g., R. Li 2007), the syntactic structures of verbal compounds (e.g., C. Wang 2010), and syntax with respect to the information structure (e.g., Y. Li 2002), Taiwanese and Mandarin demonstrate intriguing discrepancies.

These discrepancies have so far not received much attention or analyses of explanatory adequacy yet. Therefore, the comparative syntax of the two languages is worth investigating.

2. Observations and Previous Studies

In this section, I will present the dissimilarities mentioned above with some examples and review some previous relevant studies.

2.1 Aspect systems

Taiwanese and Mandarin demonstrate conspicuous differences in their aspect systems. For example:²

- (1) a. Tā zhèng qí-zhe jìàotàchē. (Mandarin)
s/he exactly ride-Asp bicycle
'S/he is riding a bicycle.'

- b. #I tng khiâ-tiòh kha-tàh-tshia. (Taiwanese)
s/he exactly ride-Asp bicycle
'S/he has just ridden on the bicycle.'

- c. I tng teh khiâ kha-tàh-tshia. (Taiwanese)
s/he exactly Asp ride bicycle
'S/he is riding a bicycle.'

The two aspect markers, Madarin *zhe* and Taiwanese *tiòh*, are thought to have shared an identical origin in Archaic Chinese (Yang 1991, 1992). Nonetheless, different from the Mandarin usage as a verbal suffix to express durative aspect, Taiwanese *tiòh* is a resultative aspect marker when it is affixed to a verb (ref. Yang 1992), and this can be seen in the different interpretations of (1a) and (1b). The semantically corresponding utterance of (1a) in Taiwanese would be (1c). Based on work by Yang (1992), the aspect marker *teh* is also a historical variant of Taiwanese *tiòh* and Mandarin *zhe*. Nonetheless, their positions contrast, making the Mandarin one post-verbal and the Taiwanese one pre-verbal.

The same contrast can be seen in sentences with a perfect aspect.

- (2) a. Wǒ qù-le Tái-pěi yí tàng. (Mandarin)
I go-Asp Taipei one CL
'I took a trip to Taipei.'
- b. *Guá khì-liáu Tái-pak tsit tsuā. (Taiwanese)
I go-Asp Taipei one CL
(Intended) 'I took a trip to Taipei.'
- c. Guá ū khì Tái-pak tsit tsuā. (Taiwanese)
I Asp go Taipei one CL
'I took a trip to Taipei.'

Although the Taiwanese *ū* is not supposed to be etymologically relevant to the Mandarin *le*, the aspect markers in (2a) and (2b) also demonstrate a mirror-like distribution.

Lee (2008) suggests that objects are obligatorily preposed in some circumstances in Taiwanese. The following examples are from Lee (2008:152):

¹ A dialect of Southern Min spoken in Taiwan., also known as Taiwan Southern Min or Hō-ló.

² Regarding the aspect system of Mandarin, refer to Li and Thompson 2001:184-236; Luo 2004; Smith 1997:263-94, among others. R. Li (2007) provides a comprehensive description, comparing the aspect systems of the Quanzhou (Tsuân-tsiu) dialect in Southern Min and Mandarin. Smith (1997) provides an overall description of aspect systems cross-linguistically.

- (3) a. *Tiunn--ê khuànn uân tsit-pún tshèh--ah. (Taiwanese)
Zhangsan read finish this-CL book PERF
'Zhangsan has finished reading this book.'
- b. Tiunn--ê tsit-pún tshèh khuànn uân--ah. (Taiwanese)
'Zhangsan has finished reading this book.'

As (3) shows, (3b) with the preposed object is grammatical, but not (3a). Similar phenomena are observed in sentences with overt aspect markers.

- (4) a. Tā kàn-le shū jiù shuìzháo le. (Mandarin)
s/he look-Asp book then fall-asleep PRT.
'S/he read the book then fell asleep.'
- b. *I khuànn-liáu tshe (khuànn--a tshèh) tō khùn--khì-a. (Taiwanese)
s/he look-Asp book (look--Asp book) then sleep go PRT
(Intended) 'S/he read the book then fell asleep.'
- c. I tshèh khuànn-liáu tō khùn--khì-a. (Taiwanese)
s/he book look-Asp then sleep go PRT
'She read the book then fell asleep.'
- d. I khuànn tshèh liáu tō khùn--khì-a. (Taiwanese)
s/he look book Asp then sleep to PRT
'She read the book then fell asleep.'

Although (4b) demonstrates the same permutation as (4a), it is ungrammatical. In Taiwanese, the object must be preposed either before both the verb and the aspect marker or between the two.

Lee (2008) proposes that when a Southern Min verb is followed by a phasal marker, it takes an inner object and a clausal complement. Southern Min phrases are contained in clauses that predicate the objects. The object is moved to obey the post-verbal constraint. In the next subsection, we will see that the obligatory object-preposing is also found in sentences with a verbal compound.

2.2 The syntactic structures of verbal compounds

If Lee (2008) is correct in arguing a bi-clausal structure for a Southern Min verb followed by a phasal marker, the obligatory object-preposing in Taiwanese sentences with an overt aspect marker may be explained away. Nevertheless, C. Wang (2010) proposes that both Taiwanese and Mandarin sentences with a verbal compound are accommodated by a bi-clausal structure (also refer to Koopman 2010). The contrast in the possible positions of the object needs further investigation.

- (5) a. Tā chī-bǎo fàn le. (Mandarin)
s/he eat-full rice PRT
'S/he has eaten and is full.'
- b. *Tā chī fàn bǎo le. (Mandarin)
s/he eat rice full PRT
(Intended) 'S/he has eaten and is full.'
- c. Tā fàn chī-bǎo le. (Mandarin)
s/he rice eat-full PRT
'As for rice, s/he has eaten and had enough.'
- (6) a. *I tsiáh-pá p̄ng--a. (Taiwanese)
s/he eat-full rice PRT
(Intended) 'S/he has eaten and is full.'
- b. I tsiáh p̄ng pá--a. (Taiwanese)
s/he eat rice full PRT
'S/he has eaten and is full.'
- c. I p̄ng tsiáh-pá--a. (Taiwanese)
s/he rice eat-full PRT
'As for rice, s/he has eaten and had enough.'

The pair (5a) and (5b) contrasts with the pair (6a) and (6b) as to the possible distribution of the object. With these observations, it seems necessary to explore the inconsistency of the object distribution in these two languages and consider both the occurrence of an aspect marker/phase marker and a verbal compound.

2.3 Topic and Focus

It is well known that Mandarin is a topic-prominent language (Li and Thompson 1976; Tsao 1979; Shi 2000, among others.). An interesting observation is that Taiwanese has an even higher topicality than Mandarin (ref. Y. Li 2002). As a result, the following surface structures are either infelicitous or marginal in Mandarin.³

- (7) a. Ū hó-khang--ê i lóng mā tsáu t̄ai-sing. (Taiwanese)⁴
 have benefit PRT s/he all also run first
 'S/he always shows up first whenever there's a benefit.'
- b. Tse siá Tik-gí guá khuànn-bô. (Taiwanese)
 this write German I see-not
 'It is written in German so I cannot understand it.'
- c. Lí hian-liáu siunn kín guá khuànn bô bing. (Taiwanese)
 you turn Asp too fast I see not clear
 'You turned the pages so fast that I did not see clearly.'
- d. Tsúa kuí-tiunn-á hōo--guá. (Taiwanese)⁵
 paper several-CL-PRT give me
 'Give me some pieces of paper.'
- e. Sann sé hōo tshing-khì. (Taiwanese)
 clothes wash HOO clean
 'Wash these clothes clean.'

The higher topicality of Taiwanese is also demonstrated in the presumable topic marker *kóng*. See the examples below.

- (8) a. A: Lí tī tshīū-á-kha tshòng siánn? (Taiwanese)
 you at tree-diminutive-below do what
 'What are you doing under the tree?'

- b. B: Tshīū-á-kha **kóng** khah hó nan-liâng--ah! (Taiwanese)
 tree-diminutive-below KONG relatively good enjoy-the-cool PRT
 'The place under the tree is better for one to enjoy the cool.'
- c. A: Hñg! Lâng A-bing kóng khe-pinn ke khah liâng **kóng**. (Taiwanese)
 Interjection person A-bing say river-side much relative cool KONG
 'Well, A-bing said that it is even cooler to stay by the river.'

Among others, R. L. Cheng (1994) proposes that the sentence-final *kóng* is an urging and reminding tone marker, and the intra-sentential one is an adverbial of language behavior. Chang (1998) suggests that they both are discourse-oriented markers. In my opinion, the urging and reminding tone of the sentence-final *kóng* observed by Cheng results from the fact that his examples are all imperative ones. However, I agree with Cheng about *kóng*'s intra-sentential usage and Chang's view that *kóng* in both positions is a discourse marker. To make it more specific, I propose that it is a topic marker. Its usage is similar to *wa* in Japanese, which can be used either intra-sententially or sentence-finally.⁶ This kind of specific topic marker is not found in Mandarin.⁷

Aside from topicality, the following examples indicate that these two languages also do not behave correspondingly when focus is involved in a question.

- (9) a. Lí sī tú-tsiáh-á khi tsiáh-tiòh siánn? (Nah ē pháinn-pak-tóo?) (Taiwanese)
 you SI a-while-ago go eat-Asp what (how-come would have-diarrhea)
 'What did you eat a while ago? (How come you have loose bowels?)'
- b. Lí tú-tsiáh-á sī khi tsiáh-tiòh siánn? (Nah ē pháinn-pak-tóo?) (Taiwanese)
 you a-while-ago SI go eat-Asp what (how-come would have-diarrhea)
 'What did you eat a while ago? (How come you have loose bowels?)'
- (10) a. *Nǐ shì gāng-gāng qù tsī-dào shéme? (Zěme huì ladùci ne?) (Mandarin)
 you SHI a-while-ago go eat-Asp what (how-come would have-diarrhea)
 (Intended) 'What did you eat a while ago? (How come you have loose bowels?)'
- b. Nǐ gāng-gāng shì qù tsī-dào shéme? (Zěme huì ladùci ne?) (Mandarin)

³ These sentences may be relatively acceptable for Taiwan's Mandarin speakers who have been influenced by Taiwanese.

⁴ From Guang-cheng Lu. 2002 *Tai-min-yu de Cifa yu Jufa* (The Morphology and Syntax of Taiwan Southern Min). <http://203.64.42.21/iug/Ungian/patlang/su-ku/su-ku.htm>.

⁵ From Guang-cheng Lu. 2007. The Handouts in Hai-ang Camp of Taiwan Literature.

⁶ Refer to *Dejitaru Taijisen* (Comprehensive Digital Dictionary). 2010: Shogakukan.

⁷ Taiwan Mandarin speakers have adopted this usage and coined *shuō* as a sentence-final particle.

you a-while-a SHI go go eat-Asp what (how-come would have-diarrhoea)
'What did you eat a while ago? (How come you have loose bowels?)'

As (9a) and (9b) show, Taiwanese allows the presumable focus marker *sī* to occur in either a relatively high position or the position immediately preceding the predicate. Nonetheless, Mandarin *shi*, the counterpart of Taiwanese *sī*, can occur only in the latter position but not the former one.

3. Key Research Issues

The key research issues are set on the basis of the observations made in the previous section: the distinctions of the aspect systems and the consequent discrepancies, and the differences with respect to syntax of Topic and Focus.

3.1 Aspect systems

As mentioned in subsection 2.1 and 2.2, Taiwanese differs from Mandarin in its aspect system. As a result, the distribution of its aspect marker varies and consequences such as the obligatorily object-preposing are seen. Studying these differences and the consequences in detail will cast light on the parametric settings involved among the Sinitic languages and the general linguistic theories.

3.2 Topic and Focus

The discrepancies of syntactic behaviors related to Topic and Focus in Taiwanese and Mandarin have not attracted much attention so far. I would like to survey all the pertinent phenomena and try to explain them in the framework of P&P Theory.

Apart from Topicality, the syntax of Focus may also involve some other issues like question forming (see Rizzi 1997; Creswell 1999; Aloni and Van Rooy 2002; Romero and Han 2002, among many others). I will also tackle these pertinent issues, if possible.

A further field to explore is the comparative study of discourse configurational languages (ref. É. Kiss ed. 1995), including the topic-prominent languages (e.g., Japanese, Korean and Sinitic languages) and focus-prominent languages (e.g., Hungarian). This comparative study could provide us with a better

insight concerning linguistic typology and the relevant issues in syntactic theories.

4. Theoretical Framework

Studies will be pursued following the Minimalist program. To study the aspect systems, I will take the Cartographic approach (e.g., Cinque 1998).

The studies on Focus and Topic will employ both the Cartographic approach and the analysis of the raising predicate (ref. Moro 1997 and den Dikken 2006; especially the analysis in L. Cheng 2008). Definitions and operations of Topic and Focus have to be examined in detail and well clarified before a specific theoretical approach is implemented to analyze a specific phenomenon.

5. Conclusion

Because I am interested in researching Taiwanese syntax under the framework of Generative Grammar, LUCL is my favorite option to do my Ph.D. This is not only because LUCL leads the way in the study of cross-linguistic studies in Generative Grammar, but it also holds a key position in linguistic studies of comparative syntax of the languages in Southern China.

I sincerely hope that I can be admitted as a Ph.D. student and go on looking for the secrets regarding human languages at your esteemed Institute.

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