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0. Introduction

In this paper, I analyze the construction in Mandarin Chinese where the patient argument of a verbal predicate occurs in a preverbal position as in (1a) rather than in its canonical position, namely, the postverbal position as in (1b).

- (1) a. Zhangsan, fan, chi-guo-le.
Z. rice eat-ASP-ASP
'Zhangsan, as for rice, has eaten.'
- b. Zhangsan chi-guo-le fan.
Z. eat-ASP-ASP
'Zhangsan has eaten rice.'

I will argue that the post-subject NP fan 'rice' in (1a) is not derived by base-generation nor by movement to spec/AGROP. I will point out two possible derivations for this construction, either of them needs extra assumptions.

For the ease of presentation, throughout this paper I will refer to this post-subject NP as 'secondary topic', borrowing the term introduced by Tsao (1987) for the *ba*-NP. I argue Wang (1995) but can also be interpreted as a topic. This two-way interpretation is exactly on a par with the pre-subject NP fan 'rice' in (2), which I will refer to as the 'primary topic'.

- (2) Fan, Zhangsan, chi-guo-le.
rice Z. eat-ASP-ASP
'Rice, Zhangsan has eaten.'

* I would like to thank Yafei Li and Yoshi Kitagawa for their insightful suggestions and long discussion during the preparation of this article. I am also indebted to the participating audience of the joint conference of ICCL-4/NACCL-7 for the comments. The errors are of course my own.

According to Ernst and Wang (1995) (citing Gundel 1977 and Culicover 1992), the pre-subject NP, namely a topic in their term, is often classified into two types: discourse topic and focus topic, as illustrated in (3).

- (3) a. Zoumingqu, Zhangsan hen xihuan tan, dajia yei hen xihuan ting.
sonata Z. very like play all also very like listen
'As for sonatas, Zhangsan likes to play it and everyone also likes to listen to it very much.'
- b. (Wo dui lanqiu hen shou, danshi)
I to basketball very familiar but
'I'm familiar with basketball, but'
zuqiu, wo yiqiaobutong
soccer I have.no.idea at.all
'soccer, I have no idea at all.'

The discourse topic in (3a) sets a context for the conversation and the focus topic (often stressed) in (3b) introduces entities in contrast to others.

I argue that like the pre-subject NP in (3), the post-subject NP at issue can also serve either as a discourse topic or as a focus topic. It is generally agreed (e.g. Lu 1994, Ernst and Wang 1994) that this post-subject NP can be interpreted as a focus, e.g. in (4):

- (4) Wo zhe-pian lunwen xihuan, na-pian lunwen bu xihuan. (= their 16)
I this-CL paper like that-CL paper not like
'This paper, I like (but that paper, I don't).'

However, the focus interpretation of the post-subject NP at issue is not the only interpretation available. The postverbal NP can be forced to be a discourse topic, if there is a 'real' focus present in the sentence. Consider the question-answer pair in (5):

- (5) Q: Zhangsan zui xihuan zai nali chi pingguo?
Z. most like at where eat apple
'Where does Zhangsan like to eat apples most?'

- A: Zhangsan, pingguo, zui xihuan ZAI CHUANGSHANG chi.
 Z. apple most like at bed eat
 'Zhangsan, as for apples, likes to eat AT BED most.'

Assuming with Rochement and Culicover (1990) that constituents that answers a *wh*-question is focused, then the PP *zai chuangshang* 'at bed' in the answer part of (5) is the focus since this constituent answers the *wh*-word *zai nali* 'where' in the question part. This *wh*-question/answer pair clearly shows that the NP *pingguo* 'apple' in the answer part of (5) has the interpretation as a discourse topic: it is a piece of old information, which has been already mentioned in the question part. Based on this observation, we can thus conclude that the post-subject NP as in (1) can function either as a discourse topic or as a focus topic like the pre-subject NP as in (2). Given the precedence order of the pre-subject and post-subject NP in the clause, I will refer to them as the primary topic and the secondary topic, respectively.

2. Contrast between the Secondary Topic and the Primary Topic

I now point out three contrasts between the secondary topic construction and the primary topic construction. Some of these contrasts have been independently noticed by Fu (1994), Lu (1994), and Qu (1994). One possibility to capture these contrasts is to claim that the secondary topic is derived by A'-movement (see Fu 1994, Qu 1994) whereas the primary topic is derived by A'-movement (cf. Lasnik and Saito 1992).

2.1 Clause-boundedness (cf. Fu 1994, Lu 1994, Qu 1994)

The first contrast between the primary topic and the secondary topic is shown in (6) and (7).

Primary topic:

- (6) Pingguo₁, Zhangsan zhidao [Lisi chidiao-le [e]_i]
 apple Z. know L. eat-ASP

Secondary topic w/r/t embedded tensed clause:

- (7) *Zhangsan, pingguo₁, zhidao [Lisi chidiao-le [e]_i]
 Z. apple know L. eat-ASP

While the primary topic in the matrix clause can be interpreted as originating from the embedded finite clause in (6), the secondary topic cannot in (7).

This clause-boundedness constraint is often observed when A'-movement applies, for example, in the case of super-raising.

- (8) John₁ seems [that it is likely [t₁ to win]]

The NP *John* raises across a tensed clause boundary and the sentence is ungrammatical.

On the other hand, A'-movement can freely take place out of a tensed clause, if no barrier is crossed, as illustrated in (9).

- (9) What₁ do you think [that John fixed t₁]

Therefore, this type of clause-boundedness constraint on the secondary topic is often taken as indicating that it is derived by A'-movement.

2.2. Anaphor Binding (cf. Fu 1994, Qu 1994)

The second contrast between the secondary topic construction and the primary topic construction is that the secondary topic can bind an anaphor whereas the primary topic cannot, as shown in (10).

- (10) a. Baoyu₁ bi taziji₁/#2 de fumu piping-le neige yahuan₂?
 B. force him/herself DE parents criticize which maid
 'Which maid did Baoyu forced her parents to criticize?'

b. Primary Topic:

- Neige yahuan₂, Baoyu₁ bi taziji₁/#2 de fumu piping-le?
 which maid B. force him/herself DE parents criticize-ASP
 'Which maid did Baoyu forced her parents to criticize?'

c. Secondary Topic:

- Baoyu₁, neige yahuan₂, bi taziji₁/#2 de fumu piping-le?
 B. which maid force him/herself DE parents criticize-ASP
 'Which maid did Baoyu forced her parents to criticize?'

In (10a), *taziji* 'himself' is bound by the NP *Baoyu* but not by the NP *neige yahunan* 'which maid', since *neige yahunan* does not c-command *taziji*. When *neige yahunan* becomes a primary topic in (10b), it still cannot bind the anaphor *taziji*. In contrast, when it becomes a secondary topic in (10c), it can bind the anaphor *taziji*. This contrast with respect to anaphor binding also seems to indicate that the secondary topic sits in an A'-position and thus can bind an anaphor whereas the primary topic sits in an A-position and thus cannot bind an anaphor.

2.3. Reconstruction effects (cf. Qu 1994)

The third contrast between the primary topic construction and the secondary topic construction comes from their reconstructibility. As shown in (11a), *ziji* 'self' contained in the primary topic can refer either to the NP *Zhangsan* or to the NP name 'reconstruction effect'. On the other hand, there arises no reconstruction effect in the secondary topic construction. As shown in (11b), *ziji* 'self' contained in the secondary topic can only refer to the commanding NP *Zhangsan*, but not to the lower NP *Lisi*.

(11) a. Primary Topic:
ziji/?_i de shi_j, Zhangsan₁ bi Lisi₂ guanyiguan [e]₃
 self DE matter Z. force L. take:care

b. Secondary Topic:
 Zhangsan₁, *ziji*/*₂ de shi_i, bi Lisi₂ guanyiguan [e]₃
 Z. self DE matter force L. take:care

It is well known that reconstruction effects arise in A'-movement construction, as shown in (12).

(12) [Which pictures of himself]₁ did John think Bill saw t₁? (Huang 1993, p. 103)
Himself in (12) can refer either to *John* or *Bill*.

As for A-movement, it is controversial whether the effects of principle A can be preserved under it. For example, Belletti and Rizzi (1988), Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) argue that A-movement show reconstruction effects of the binding principle A. On the other hand, Mahajan (1990) and Chomsky (1994) argue that A-movement shows reconstruction

effects. If Mahajan (1990) is correct that A-movement does not induce reconstruction effects, then the fact that the secondary topic does not show reconstruction effects indicates that it is derived by A-movement.

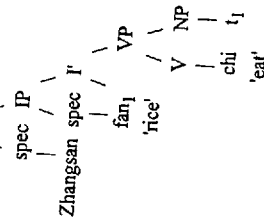
3. Deriving the Secondary Topic Construction

If the secondary topic is indeed derived by A-movement, then the next issue to consider is its landing site. Before turning to this issue, I'd like to first reject the base-generation analysis. Then, I'll argue that the landing site of the secondary topic is not spec of AGRoP. Finally, I'll point out two possible landing sites for it.

3.1. Against the Base-generation Analysis

Let's now consider the base-generation analysis of the secondary topic. It is proposed by Fu (1994) that the secondary topic sits in [spec/TP], adopting Kuroda's (1988) suggestion that TP has multiple spec's. Given this analysis, the secondary topic fan 'rice' in (1a) is derived by A-movement into spec/TP, as shown in (13).

(13) IP (adapted from Fu's 27)



This analysis also argues that the secondary topic can be derived by base-generation. The example is shown in (14).

(14) ta, neibu dianying, xihuan neige yanyuan (= her 28)
 he that movie like which actor
 'As for that movie, which actor does he like?'

The example in (15) is also of this sort:

- (15) Zhangsan, shuiguo, zui xihuan chi pingguo.
 Z. fruit most like eat apple
 'Zhangsan, as for fruit, likes to eat apples most.'

In both (14) and (15), there is no apparent gap that is left by movement, which seems to support the base-generation analysis. But allowing the secondary topic to be base-generated would predict sentences like (16) to be grammatical, contrary to fact. In order to rule out sentences like (16), Fu (1994) invokes the Binding Condition B. The pronoun *ta* 'he' in (16) can be analyzed as violating the binding condition B if the root clause is taken as the binding domain.

- (16) *Wo, neige ren, genben jibude ta le. (= her 30)
 I that person totally can't:remember he Prt.
 'I cannot remember that person at all.'

This base-generation analysis of the secondary topic as proposed by Fu (1994), however, runs into one problem. That is, if the secondary topic can be base-generated, it is not clear why sentences like (17) are ungrammatical.

- (17) *Wo, neige ren, renwei Lisi genben jibude ta le.
 I that person think L. totally can't:remember he Prt.
 'I, as for that person, think that Lisi can't remember him at all.'

In (17), the secondary topic sits in the matrix clause, coindexed with the pronominal *ta* 'he' in the embedded clause. The ungrammaticality of (17) can no longer be attributed to the binding Condition B, since the binding domain for the pronominal *ta* 'he' is the embedded clause and *ta* 'he' is free in the embedded clause, satisfying the binding condition B, so there must be some other reason for the ill-formedness of (17). Given the A-movement analysis, the ungrammaticality of (17) naturally follows, since it is generally assumed that the gap left by A-movement can not be filled with an overt pronominal.

If the secondary topic is not derived by base-generation, we still need to account for examples as in (14) and (15) where no apparent gap is found to be filled by a

trace left by movement. I propose that they must be derived by movement, but as for the source position of the topic of 'aboutness', I will not make any commitment in this article and leave it for future studies.

In support of the movement analysis of examples like (14) and (15) which involves no apparent gap, I will show that in a topic construction in general, the 'aboutness' relation between the topic *shuiguo* and the NP *pingguo* 'apple' in the comment clause as in (18) is derived by movement whereas the relation between the topic *Zhangsan* and its corferential pronominal *ta* 'he' in the comment clause as in (19) involves no movement.

¹ While the examples in (14) and (15) appear to mean the same thing with those in (i) and (ii), there is reason to believe that the topic of 'aboutness' in (14) and (15) does not move from the modifier position of the NP in the comment clause. That is, they do not have the underlying structures in (iii) and (iv).

- (i) *ta* xihuan [_{NP} neibu dianying _{DE} neige yanyuan]
 he like that movie DE which actor
 'which actor does he like in that movie?'
- (ii) Zhangsan zui xihuan chi [_{NP} shuiguo zhong _{DE} pingguo]
 Z. most like eat fruit middle DE apple
 'Zhangsan likes to eat apples most among fruits.'
- (iii) *ta* neibu dianying, xihuan [_{NP} *ta* neige yanyuan]
 he that movie like which actor
 'As for that movie, which actor does he like?'
- (iv) Zhangsan shuiguo₁ zui xihuan chi [_{NP} *t*₁ pingguo]
 Z. fruit most like eat apple
 'Zhangsan, as for fruit, likes to eat apples most.'

If movement indeed takes place from the modifier position of the NP as in (iii) and (iv), then it is not clear why such movement is not allowed in other modifier-modifiee pairs, as illustrated by the ill-formedness of (v). I will thus reject the movement-out-of-the-modifier-position analysis, and leave the source position of the topic of 'aboutness' for future studies.

- (v) *Wo Zhangsan, bu xihuan [_{NP} *t*₁ fangzi]
 I Z. not like house
 'I, as for Zhangsan, do not like his house.'

- (18) Shuiguo₁, Zhangsan zui xihuan chi [_{t₁} pingguo]
 fruit Z. most like eat apple
 'As for fruit, Zhangsan likes to eat apples most.'

- (19) Zhangsan₁, wo hen xihuan ta₁.
 Z. I very like he
 'Zhangsan, I like him very much.'

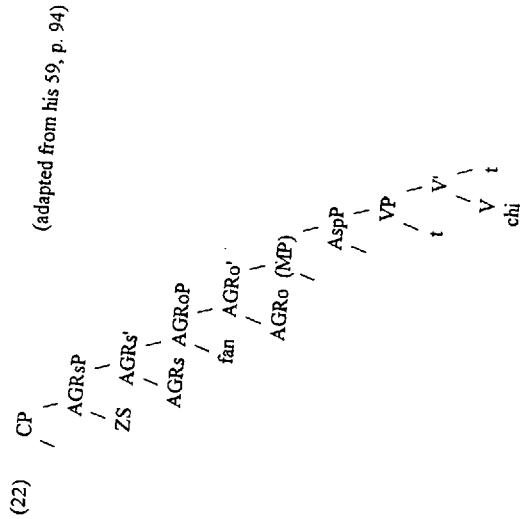
The evidence that (18) involves movement whereas (19) does not is based on their different locality behaviors. Consider the contrast between (20) and (21).

- (20) *Shuiguo₁, wo xihuan neige [taoyuan [_{t₁} pingguo] de] nuren.
 fruit I like that hate apple DE woman
 'Fruit, I like the woman who hates apples.'

- (21) Zhangsan₁, wo xihuan neige [taoyuan ta₁ de] nuren
 Z. I like that hate he DE woman
 'Zhangsan, I like the woman who hates him.'

In (20), the NP *pingguo* 'apple' in the comment clause is embedded within a complex NP island and the sentence is ungrammatical. In contrast, in (21), the relation between the topic *Zhangsan* and the coreferential pronominal *ta* 'he' is not affected by embedding *ta* 'he' in an island. If the topic *shuiguo* 'fruit' in (20) is not generated, it is not clear why its associated NP *pingguo* 'apple' is sensitive to islands, given that in general only movement is so constrained. Based on the contrast between (20) and (21), I thus conclude that the topic which denotes a group such as *shuiguo* 'fruit' in (20) is derived by movement. This conclusion in turn supports the movement analysis of examples (14) and (15), which contain no apparent gap.

3.2. Against the movement to spec/AGRoP analysis
 After rejecting the base-generation analysis, I now consider the landing site of the secondary topic, if it is derived by A-movement. It is argued by Qu (1994) that analysis, (1a) would have the structure in (22).



I will argue that the movement to spec/AGRoP analysis proposed by Qu (1994) is not correct. The argument is based on the hierarchical order between the modal verb and the secondary topic. As shown in the structure (22), Qu (1994) proposes that the AGRoP is higher than the Modal P. If the secondary topic is located in spec of AGRoP, then it is expected that the secondary topic should always be higher than a modal verb. This expectation is not borne out, however. Consider the examples in (23) and (24).

- (23) a. Ta yinggai zongtong xie de shu haohao du yi du.
 he should president write DE book diligently read one read
 The, as for the book that the president wrote, should read diligently a little
 bit.'

- b. Ta zongtong xie de shu yinggai hao hao du yi du.
 he president write DE book should diligently read one read
 'He, as for the book that the president wrote, should read diligently a little
 bit.'

(24) Wei le dacheng mubiao,
 for achieve goal
 'In order to achieve the goal,'

- a. ta keyi fan bu chi, dianshi bu kan.
 he can rice not eat TV not see
 b. ta fan keyi bu chi, dianshi keyi bu kan.
 he rice can not eat TV can not see
 'he can, rice, not eat; TV, not watch.'

As shown in (23) and (24), the secondary topic can either precede or follow the modal verb. Given the assumption that the AGRoP should occupy a fixed position in the clause structure, the flexible word order of the secondary topic with respect to the modal verb suggests that the secondary topic does not sit in the spec of AGRoP.

3.3. Two Possible Derivations of the Secondary Topic

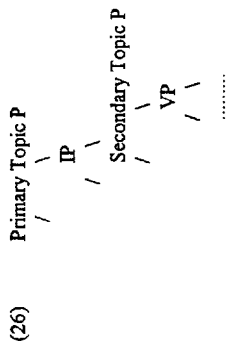
I now suggest two possible derivations of the secondary topic. The first possibility is to adopt Ernst and Wang's (1995) suggestion that the secondary topic is derived by VP adjunction. The VP adjunction analysis can naturally account for the fact that the direct object and indirect object can have a free word order as a secondary topic.

- (25) a. Wo yijing gaosu-le Zhangsan neige xiaoxi.
 I already tell-ASP Z. that news
 'I already told Zhangsan that news.'
 b. Wo, Zhangsan, neige xiaoxi, yijing gaosu-le.
 I Z. that news already tell-ASP
 'I already told Zhangsan that news.'

- c. Wo, neige xiaoxi, Zhangsan, yijing gaosu-le.
 I that news Z. already tell-ASP
 'I already told Zhangsan that news.'

As illustrated in (25b,c), the direct object and indirect object have a free word order and this fact follows from the adjunction analysis. But in order to account for the A-properties the secondary topic shows as discussed earlier, under the VP-adjunction analysis, we need to assume with Tada and Saito (1991) (cf. Saito 1994) that VP-adjunction is A-movement.

The other possibility to derive the secondary topic is to postulate a functional category, say, a secondary topic P (cf. Shyu's 1995 Focus P), and the secondary topic moves into the spec of this functional category. We may assume that this spec position is an A position, therefore the A-properties of the secondary topic naturally follows. But to account for the free word order of the direct and indirect object as in (25b, c), we need to adopt a suggestion by Audrey Li that functional categories in Chinese should allow multiple spec's due to the lack of agreement features as Kuroda (1988) argues for Japanese.



4. In summary, I have argued first that the post-subject NP in (1a) can function either as a focus or a topic. Its exact function is determined by the discourse. Second, this type of NP cannot be base-generated, contrary to Fu (1994). Third, it is derived by A-movement, its landing site is not spec of AGRoP. Rather, we may argue that it is derived by VP-adjunction or by movement into the spec of a functional category, but as discussed earlier, both of them need to take additional assumptions.

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