

# Topics and Clause Connectives in Chinese\*

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Although there have been quite a few studies on the Chinese clause connectives in the past, most of them concerned themselves with the semantic functions of these connectives, paying scanty attention to the syntactic behavior of them, especially their positions in a sentence. My continuous research in the roles that topics play in Chinese syntax has led to two findings with regard to the interaction between topics and clause connectives.

First, clauses of time, location, reason, 'concession and condition, as in (1a) and (1b), should all be analyzed as the primary topic of the sentence.

- (1) a. *ruguo ta bu lai de hua, ching ta tungjr wo.*  
if he not come DE case ask him notify me  
'If he is not coming, ask him to notify me.'  
b. *ruguo ta bu lai, ching ta tungjr wo.*  
if he not come ask him notify me  
'Same as (a).'

This point was first made by Chao (1968), in which several arguments were also given. In addition to Chao's arguments, I have added several of my own in support of this analysis.

Second, my continuous research of topics in Chinese has led to the finding that the second nominative in a double nominative construction, the fronted object and the preverbal adverbials which occur between the primary topic and the main verb should all be analyzed as secondary topics. This finding enables us to account for the placement of an important class of clause connectives which includes *sueiran* 'though', *yinwei* 'because' and *ruguo* 'if'. If we make the further assumption that in the underlying structure they occur in the S-initial COMP position, as in (2a), then their other positions as ex-

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\* This paper was first presented at 1987 Annual Conference of The Chinese Language Teachers Association, Atlanta, Georgia, Nov. 20-22, 1987. A revised version was presented at a lecture given at Fu Jen Catholic University, Taipei, Taiwan. I'd like to thank Professors Chauncey C. Chu, James Tai, H. M. Liu and Yi-chin Fu for their comments. The comments given by the anonymous reviewer for this volume are also gratefully acknowledged.

emplified by (2b), can be accounted for by the rule of "topic-raising".

- (2) a. *sueiran ta tzuotian sheng-bing, dan haishr chiu shangban le.*  
          though he yesterday get-sick but still go office PART  
          'Although he was sick yesterday, he still went to his office.'  
      b. *ta tzuotian sueiran sheng-bing, dan haishr chiu shangban le.*  
          he yesterday though get-sick but still go office PART  
          'Same as (a).'

An examination of Classical Chinese data reveals that the same rule is also required, showing that the rule has been in existence in the Chinese language for a long time.

Finally, on the basis of our findings, we propose a syntactically significant scheme for the classification of all Chinese clause connectives.

## 0. Introduction

Many grammarians in the past have dealt with clause connectives in Chinese, Modern or Classical (see, Chao, 1968; Chu, 1983; Deng, 1980; Guo, 1960; Li and Thompson, 1981; Liu, 1977; Liu, et al., 1981; Wang, 1955 for Modern Chinese and Huang, 1983 and Liu, 1977 for Classical Chinese). While they often go into detail in describing the semantic functions of these connectives, they, with the exception of Li and Thompson and Chu, pay scanty attention to the syntactic behavior of these connectives. However, many of them have noticed, correctly, that clause connectives are optional in Chinese while their counterparts in English are often required (see also Tsao, 1980, 1983). Tsao (1983) has further attributed the optionality of clause connectives to the fact that in most cases the two clauses in question occur as part of a topic chain, a chain of clauses sharing a common topic, which also heads the chain, and are therefore considered as connected semantically. My continuous research in this area has led me to the findings that there are at least two other ways in which clause connectives interact with topic.

The purpose of the present paper is to examine in detail the syntactic behaviors of clause connectives especially with regard to their interactions

with topics of various ranks. The last part of the previous statement calls for some explanation. Simply put, in my framework of Chinese, some simple sentences like (1) may in one interpretation contain three topics.

- (1)    *ta*<sub>1</sub>    *yanjing*<sub>2</sub>    *chiantian*<sub>3</sub>                      shia    le.<sup>1</sup>  
he   eye       day: before: yesterday   blind   PART  
'Speaking of him, the day before yesterday (his) eyes went blind.'<sup>2</sup>

To distinguish the various topics, the one occurring first will be called “the primary topic”, and the one occurring second, “the secondary topic” and so forth. More will be said about this framework of analysis as we go along.

## 1. Clauses of Condition, Time, Concession & Reason as Topics

Haiman (1978) convincingly argues on morpho-syntactic and semantic grounds that the conditional clause in many languages, English, Chinese, Japanese and Hua, a Papuan language, among them, should be treated as a topic. Chao (1968), whom Haiman cited for support, actually argues that in Chinese, time, concessional, and reason clauses, just like conditional ones, should all be analyzed as topics, though terminology-wise he prefers to call

- 1 The following abbreviations are used in giving English gloss for Chinese examples:

ASP: aspect marker

CL: classifier

LOC: localizer

PART: particle

POSS: possessive marker

REL: relative clause marker

When no English equivalent is available, the original word in capital letter is used in the gloss.

- 2 Since English structure does not allow a sentence to have three topics, it is impossible to translate (1) into English without losing part of its meaning. Many English translations of the Chinese examples in the present study should be taken in the spirit of rough interlingual paraphrases.

it "subject".<sup>3</sup> He gives three convincing reasons for his analysis (see Sections 1.1., 1.2., and 1.3. for detail). In addition, my own research of the topic phenomenon in Chinese in the past has yielded a couple more. These arguments will be presented in the following sections one by one.

### 1.1. Placement of Pause Particles

It is a well-known fact that four pause particles can be optionally placed after the topic as in (2b) – (2e). These particles mean different things but the difference between them is so subtle that it is very difficult to bring it out in a simple sentence like (2).

- (2) a. Jang San shu nian-wan le.  
       Jang San book study-finish PART  
       'Speaking of Jang San, (he) has finished his study.'  
       Jang San b.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{me} \\ \text{ne} \\ \text{ba} \\ \text{a} \end{array} \right\}$  shu nian-wan le.  
                   c.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ne} \\ \text{ba} \\ \text{a} \end{array} \right\}$   
                   d.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ba} \\ \text{a} \end{array} \right\}$   
                   e.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a} \end{array} \right\}$   
       Jang San PART book study-finish PART  
       'Same as (a).'

Now notice the close parallel between pause particles after conditional clauses and those after the topic.

- (3) a. yaushr shia-chi yu lai, tzanmen jiou bie chuchiu le.  
       if fall-ASP rain ASP we then don't go-out PART  
       'If it starts to rain, we'd better not go out.'

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3 Chao (1968) and Liu et al. (1981) both call the sentence-initial constituent as "subject". But it is very clear from the examples and analyses they give that what they call "subject" is in my framework the primary topic. For a detailed analysis of Chao's analysis of "subject" see Tsao, 1979 Chapter 2.



- b. yaushr shia-chi yu lai me, rang wo kan tzenme ban.  
 if fall-ASP rain ASP PART let me see how do  
 'If it starts to rain (hesitation), let me see what shall we do.'
- c. yaushr shia-chi yu lai ne, na bu yaujing.  
 if fall-ASP rain ASP PART that not matter  
 'If it is (a question of) starting to rain, that won't matter.'
- d. yaushr shia-chi yu lai ba, tzanmen tzuu che ba.  
 if fall-ASP rain ASP PART we take car PART  
 'If it is (the alternative of) starting to rain, we will take a car.'
- e. yaushr shia-chi yu lai a, na jiou tzaugau le.  
 if fall-ASP rain ASP PART that then mess PART  
 'If it should start to rain, that would be a mess.'

Sentences in (3) and the interpretations given are all cited from Chao (1968: 118). Because the functions of these four particles have so far received scanty attention, their meanings are somehow unclear and not every one will agree with Chao on some of the interpretations, but the fact remains that syntactically, conditional clauses, just like topics, can be followed by one of the four pause particles. As a matter of fact, not only the conditional clause but also the other three types of clause can each be followed by a pause particle as shown by sentences (4)-(6).

- (4) ta lai de shrhau (a), jiau ta deng yi-shia.  
 he come REL. time PART ask him wait a-while  
 'When he comes, ask him to wait a while.'

- (5) sueiran ta bu yunggung (me), tzung-suan kau-jige le.  
 although he not work:hard PART after-all pass:test PART  
 'Although he didn't study hard, he, after all, passed the test.'

- (6) yinwei ta meiyou chian (ne), suoyi bu neng lai.  
 because he not:have money PART so not can come  
 'Because he didn't have any money, he couldn't come.'

## 1.2. Optional Occurrence of Some General Words as Head NPs

As many of these clauses are translatable into English adverbial clauses, many grammarians have analyzed them as adverbial clauses in Chinese as well. But they should be more appropriately analyzed as complex NPs containing a relative clause at least in the underlying structure, as general head NPs such as those listed in (7) can all optionally occur.

- (7) ..... de hua 'the case that...', 'the event that ...'  
 ..... de shrhhou 'the time that...'  
 ..... de na yi tian 'the day that...'  
 ..... jr hou 'the time after...'<sup>4</sup>  
 ..... jr chian 'the time before...'  
 ..... de  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{yuanyin} \\ \text{yuangu} \\ \text{liyou} \end{array} \right\}$  'the reason that...'

Now witness the following examples.

- (8) a. yaushr ta ken jiaru, women jiou keyi tzucheng yi  
 if he willing join we then can form a  
 duei le.  
 team PART  
 'If he is willing to join us, we can form a team.'

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4 *Jr* is the Classical Chinese counterpart of Modern Chinese *de*. *Jrhau* 'after' and *jrchian* 'before' are clearly remnants of Classical Chinese. In the same context, *yihou* 'after' and *yichian* 'before' can be used. The origin of the latter two, however, are less apparent.

- b. yaushi ta ken jiaru de hua, women jiou keyi  
 if he willing join REL case we then can  
 tzucheng yi duei le.  
 form a team PART  
 '(In) the event that he is willing to join us, we can form a team.'

- (9) a. ta lai kan wo, shou shr kungkung de.  
 he come see me hand be empty PART  
 'When he came to see me, (his) hands were empty.'

- b. ta lai kan wo de shrhau, shou shi kungkung de.<sup>5</sup>  
 he come see me REL time hand be empty PART  
 'Same as (a).'

- (10) a. wei-le chiue-shau liufei, ta mei neng lai.  
 because lack travel-expense he not can come  
 'Because he didn't have enough travel expenses, he couldn't come.'

- b. wei-le chiue-shau liufei de yuang, ta mei  
 because lack travel-expenses REL reason he not  
 neng lai.  
 can come  
 'Same as (a).'

So far we have not mentioned the Chinese equivalent of the English adverbial clause of place. An important reason for this is that the Chinese

5 (9b) can sometimes be preceded by *dang* 'at', which will be analyzed as a preposition having the whole NP as its object. The presence of *dang* 'at', however, does not affect our argument that the whole time expression is a topic. This is because in Chinese a prepositional phrase can, in a more restricted way, be a topic as well.

counterpart in this case is always realized with a head NP such as *-de difang* 'the place that...' or *-de na ge chengshr* 'the city where...'. Here we have even stronger reason for analyzing it as a complex NP containing a relative clause with a head.

Examine the sentences in (11).

- (11) a. *dajia yunggung de difang, ni bu neng dasheng*  
everybody study REL place you not can loudly  
shuohua.

speak

'Where everybody is studying, you must not talk loudly.'

- b. \**dajia yunggung, ni bu neng dasheng shuohua.*  
everybody study you not can loudly speak  
'Same as (a).'
- <sup>6</sup>

### 1.3. The Position of the Clause in Question

One of the grammatical characteristics of the primary topic is that it almost always occurs in the initial position of the sentence in which it overtly occurs as in (12a). Occasionally, it can occur sentence-finally as in (12b). When this happens, it is interpreted as an afterthought.

- (12) a. *na-jung jr, yi-jang wu fen chian.*  
that-kind paper a-sheet five cent money  
'That kind of paper, (it) is five cents a sheet.'

- b. *yi-jang wu fen chian, na-jung jr.*  
a-sheet five cent money that-kind paper  
'A sheet is five cents, that kind of paper.'

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6 (11b) can be grammatical if it means either (i) 'When everybody is studying you must not talk loudly' or (ii) 'If everybody is studying, you must not talk loudly.'

Again the type of clause in question most frequently occurs in the initial position of a sentence as in (13a) and (14a). Occasionally, it may occur sentence-finally as in (13b) and (14b). When this happens, it is, like a sentence-final primary topic, interpreted as an afterthought.

(13) a. *ruguo ni bu shiang chiu, ni keyi bu chiu.*  
           if       you not want go    you can not go  
           ‘If you don’t want to go, you don’t have to.’

      b. *ni keyi bu chiu, ruguo ni bu shiang chiu.*  
           you can not go    if       you not want go  
           ‘You don’t have to go, if you don’t want to.’

(14) a. *sueiran tianchi hen huai, wo haishr yau chiu.*  
           though weather very bad I    still want go  
           ‘Though the weather is very bad, I still want to go.’

      b. *wo haishr yau chiu, sueiran tianchi hen huai.*  
           I    still want go    though weather very bad  
           ‘I still want to go, though the weather is very bad.’

#### 1.4. Referential Constraint of the Clause in Question

Another grammatical characteristic of the primary topic is that it is referentially definite, generic or at least specific in the case of existential topic. Compare the (a), (b), (c) and (d) sentences in (15).

(15) a. *na-ge ren tzai men-chian mai shuatz.*  
           that-CL person in door-front sell brush  
           ‘That man, (he) is selling brushes in front of the door.’

      b. *you yi-ge ren tzai men-chian mai shuatz.*  
           exist one-CL person in door-front sell brush  
           ‘There is a man selling brushes in front of the door.’

- c. \**yi-ge*    *ren*        *tzai men-chian mai shuatz.*  
one-CL person in door-front sell brush
- d. *shiangshia ren*        *shihuan tzai men-chian mai shuatz.*  
country people love in door-front sell brush  
'Country people love to sell brushes in front of the door.'

Now examine the close parallel we have with regard to the clause in question.

- (16) a. *shang-tsz wo chiu kan ta de shrhou, ta ganghau bu*  
last-time I go see him REL time he happen not  
*tzai jia.*  
at home  
'Last time (when) I went to see him, he happened to be out.'
- b. *you yi-tsz wo chiu kan ta de shrhou, ta ganghau*  
exist one-time I go see him REL time he happen  
*bu tzai jia.*  
not at home  
'Once (when) I went to see him, he happened to be out.'
- c. \**yi-tsz wo chiu kan ta de shrhou, ta ganghau*  
one-time I go see him REL time he happen  
*bu tzai jia.*  
not at home
- d. *mei-yi-tsz wo chiu kan ta de shrhou, ta dou bu*  
every-time I go see him REL time he all not  
*tzai jia.*  
at home  
'Every time (when) I go to see him, he is out.'

1.5. The Clause in question as the *Ba* NP, *Lian* NP and the Compared NP

In Tsao (1987a, 1989 a, and b), it is pointed out that the *ba* NP in the *ba* construction, the *lian* constituent in the *lian* construction and the *bi* constituent in the comparative structure, as exemplified in (17a), (18a) and (19a), are all topics.

- (17) a. *ta ba na-jung jr na-le yi jang.*  
 he BA that-kind paper take-ASP a sheet  
 'He took a sheet of paper of that kind.'

- (18) a. *lian wo ta dou bu rende.*  
 including me he all not recognize  
 'Even me, he couldn't recognize.'

- (19) a. *ta Yingyu bi Fayu shuo de hau.*  
 he English COMP French speak DE well  
 'He speaks English better than French.'

Now compare the (b) sentences in (17) through (19) with their (a) counterparts respectively.

- (17) b. *wo dei ba ta nian-shu de difang dasau -*  
 I have: to BA he study-book -REL place sweep -  
*ganjing.*  
 clean  
 'I have to clean the place where he studies.'

- (18) b. *lian jiaushou yanjiang de shrhau, ta dou tzai*  
 including professor lecture REL time he all ASP  
*jianghua.*  
 speak  
 'Even when the professor was giving a lecture, he was talking.'

- (19) b. *ta tzai jia de shrhau bi tzai shiueshiau de*  
 he at home REL time COMP at school REL

*shrhōu hua shuo de shau.*

time word say DE little

'He talks less when he is home than when he is at school.'

Since the type of clause in question can be the *ba* NP, the *lian* constituent or the compared constituent, it is a topic as well.

#### 1.6. Parallel Between a Phrase Topic and the Clause in Question

Tsao (1979, 1987a, 1989 a, b.) has also pointed out that temporal, locative and reason phrases, as exemplified in the (a) sentences of (20) through (22), can all be topics.

- (20) a. *shang-ge shingchitian, ta daije haitz chiu gungyuan*  
last-CL Sunday he take-ASP child go park  
wan.  
play  
'Last Sunday, he took along his child to the park to play.'

- (21) a. *na-ge difang, bu neng shuohua.*  
that-CL place not can talk  
'(At) that place, (you) must not talk.'

- (22) a. *weile haitz de jiauyu, ta chr-le duoshau*  
for child POSS education he suffer-ASP much  
ku.  
hardship  
'For his children's education, he suffered much hardship.'

Now examine the close parallel between a temporal phrase and a temporal clause, a locative phrase and a locative clause etc. by comparing the (b) sentences in (20) through (22) with their (a) counterparts respectively.



- (20) b. *bu shia-yu de shrhou, ta dai-je haitz chiu*  
 not fall-rain REL time he take-ASP child go  
*gungyuan wan.*  
 park play  
 'When it is not raining, he takes along his child to the park to play.'
- (21) b. *gege nian-shu de difang, bu neng shuohua.*  
 older-brother study REL place not can talk  
 '(At) the place where my older brother studies, (you) must not talk.'
- (22) b. *weile rang haitz shang dashiue, ta chr-le*  
 in: order: that let child go university he suffer-ASP  
*duoshau ku.*  
 much hardship  
 'In order that his child may go to college, he suffered much hardship.'

It is clear from the close parallelism that we have demonstrated that if temporal, locative and reason phrases can be topics, then temporal, locative and reason clauses can also be.

To summarize, we have presented six compelling arguments in support of the claim first made by Chao (1968) that the Chinese clauses translatable into English as temporal, locative, concessive, reason or conditional clauses should in Chinese be more appropriately analyzed as topics.

#### 1.7. An Apparent Counterexample

There seems to be a group of sentences that counters our analysis of treating these clauses as topics. Examine the following examples.

- (23) a. *ta<sub>i</sub> tzou chuchiu de shrhou, e<sub>i</sub> fashian deng hai*  
 he walk out REL time find light still  
*meiyou guan.*  
 not shut-off

'When he walked out, he found that the lights were not yet shut off.'

- b. *\*ta tzou chuchiu de shrhou, <sub>i</sub> e<sub>i</sub> fashian deng hai*  
 he walk out REL time find light still  
*meiyou guan.*  
 not shut-off

- (24) a. *wo<sub>i</sub> yinwei meiyou shrjian suoyi e<sub>i</sub> mei mai liwu.*  
 I because not: have time go not buy gift  
 'Because I didn't have time, I didn't buy a gift.'

- b. *\*wo yinwei meiyou shrjian<sub>i</sub> suoyi e<sub>i</sub> mei mai liwu.*  
 I because not: have time so not buy gift

It is clear that in (23) and (24) it is the topic of the clause in question, namely, *ta* 'he' in (23) and *wo* 'I' in (24), rather than the whole clause, namely, *ta tzou chuchiu de shrhou* 'when he walked out' or *wo yinwei meiyou shrjian* 'because I didn't have time' that is the topic of each sentence because only the former is in control of identical topic deletion in the topic chain.

This apparent incongruity in the identification of topic can be fully resolved if we assume that there is a rule of topic-raising, whose effect is to relate sentences like (24c) to sentences like (24a).

- (24) c. *yinwei wo<sub>i</sub> meiyou shrjian, suoyi wo<sub>i</sub> mei mai liwu.*  
 because I not: have time so I not buy gift  
 'Same as (a).'

The rule has the additional advantage of explaining why clause connectives such as *yinwei* 'because', *sueiran* 'although' and many others can occur after topics. One may, however, raise the question of the validity of the rule because it violates Ross' Complex NP constraint in that some constituents contained in a complex NP such as *ta tzou chuchiu de shrhou* '(at) the time he walked out' are moved out of it by the rule. Such a difficulty, however, is only apparent. To begin with, it is not exactly clear even today how such a constraint, if there is one, is to be formulated (see Huang, 1984 and Xu, 1986 for two different views). More importantly, Chao (1968), on the basis of phonological evidence, has pointed out that *-de shrhou* 'time that', *-de hua* 'case that' and many others can be regarded as enclitics (p. 120). When this happens, we would argue that the NP in question is no longer "complex" as Ross (1967) defines it and the raising of constituents out of it will not constitute any violation of the constraint.

## 2. The Rule of Topic-raising

### 2.1. Previous Discussion of the Placement of Clause Connectives

All the grammarians that we have read (Chao, 1968; Chu, 1983; Deng, 1980; Guo, 1960; Henne et al., 1982; Li and Thompson, 1981; Liu, 1977; Liu, et al., 1981; Wang, 1955) observe that clause connectives, according to their positions in the surface, fall into three groups. In Group I are *budan* 'not only', *sueiran* 'although', *ruguo* 'if', *jishr* 'even if', *yinwei* 'because' etc. which are said to be able to occur in two different positions. Group II contains such connectives as *erchie* 'and, furthermore', *keshr* 'but', *buguo* 'but', *yauburan* 'otherwise' etc., which occur at the beginning of the second clause. In Group III are such connectives as *ye* 'also, furthermore', *hai* 'still', *tzai* 'again, then', *jiou* 'then' etc., which can never precede the topic of the same clause, be it the primary or the secondary, when the latter is present. We will return to the question of classification in the next section. Right now let

us concentrate on the placement of Group I connectives.

As far as I know, no grammarians up to date have been able to give a precise description of the positions that Group I connectives can occur. Take a recent example. Liu et al. (1981) characterize the position of *sueiran* 'although' and others like it as being able to occur "before or after the subject" (p. 454).<sup>7</sup> This statement can be exemplified by the sentences in (25) and (26).

- (25) a. *sueiran ta bu shihuan na-jian dungshi, keshr haishr*  
          though he not like that-CL thing but still  
          *mai le.*

buy PART

'Even though he didn't like the thing, (he) still bought it.'

- b. *ta sueiran bu shihuan na-jian dungshi, keshr haishr*  
   he though not like that-CL thing but still  
   *mai le.*

buy PART

'Same as (a).'

- (26) a. *yinwei wo meiyau chian, suoyi mei chuchiu.*  
          because I not: have money so not out: go

'Because I had no money, I didn't go out.'

- b. *wo yinwei meiyau chian suoyi mei chuchiu.*

I because not: have money so not out: go

'Same as (a).'

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7 Li and Thompson describe it as being able to occur either in the sentence-initial position or after the subject or topic (1981: 635). One serious problem with this description is, among other things, that where the subject and the topic are not the same, one is completely at a loss. See Note 8 for further discussion.

While the description, as stated by Liu et al, seems to be able to take care of examples like (25) and (26), it can easily be shown that it is so imprecise that there is no way to prove whether it is correct or not. To begin with, most grammarians, with the exception of Li and Thompson (1981), Liu et al. (1981) and Chao (1968), take the notion of subject in Chinese for granted. As a result, one does not know whether sentences like (27) are accounted for by their descriptions or not simply because one does not know whether *na-jian shr* in (27) is to be regarded as the subject or not.

- (27) *na-jian shr sueiran ni mei gen ta shuo, ta*  
 that-CL matter though you not to him tell he  
*haishr jrdau le.*<sup>8</sup>  
 still know PART  
 'With regard to the matter, even though you didn't tell him, he  
 knew it anyway.'

Even for grammarians like Liu et al. (1981), Li and Thompson (1981) and Chao (1968) who define subject and/or topic clearly, the term "after" in the description still begs the question. If it is taken to mean "immediately after", then it is falsified by sentences like (28) and (29) and if it doesn't mean that, then it doesn't mean anything at all because there can be indefinitely many positions after "subject".

- (28) *Shiau Jang tzuotian sueiran bu shufu, keshr*  
 Shiau Jang yesterday though not feel:well but  
*haishr chiu shangban le.*  
 still go work PART

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8 The problem that (27) creates for Li and Thompson is that if we take *na-jian shr* 'that matter' to be topic and *ni* 'you' to be subject, then their statement that the clause connective can occur "after the subject or topic" is tautologous because in (27) it occurs between the topic and the subject.

'Although yesterday Shiau Jang didn't feel well, he still went to work.'

(29) *Shiau Jang* *na-ben shu* yinwei mei nian-guo, suoyi

Shiau Jang that-CL book because not read-ASP so

bu jrdau hau bu hau.

not know good not good

'Because Shiau Jang has never read the book, he does not know whether it is good or not.'

The problem presented by sentences like (28) and (29) is quite clear. What is involved is more than subject and/or topic as they are usually understood. We need a term that can cover all the elements that can occur immediately after what I used to call "the regular topic", which in my framework subsumes subject but not co-extensive with it (see Tsao, 1978, 1979 for exact characterization). In my recent works (Tsao, 1982, 1987a, 1987b, 1989 a, b.) I have argued on independent grounds that various constituents that can occur in that position should be called "the secondary topic" in counterdistinction with the regular topic, which should be termed "the primary topic". The double-underlined constituents in the (a) sentences (30) through (36) represent various types of secondary topics. One common characteristic of all these secondary topics is that, in an appropriate context, they can all become primary topics, as shown in the (b) sentences.

(30) a. *ta* *yanjiang* hen piauliang. (the second nominal in the  
he eye very beautiful double nominative construction)  
'Speaking of him, (his) eyes are beautiful.'

b. *yanjing*, *ta* hen piauliang.<sup>9</sup>  
eye he very beautiful

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9 There is a slight difference in interpretation between (30a) and (30b) in that *yanjing* 'eyes' in (30b) has to be interpreted as "generic". But this is completely

'Speaking of eyes, his are beautiful.'

- (31) a. ta na-jian shr gen wo ti-guo  
 he that-CL matter to me mention-ASP  
 le. (fronted object)

PART

'With regard to the matter, he has mentioned (it) to me.'<sup>10</sup>

- b. na-jian shr ta gen wo ti-guo le.  
 that-CL matter he to me mention-ASP PART  
 'Same as (a).'

- (32) a. ta tzuotian ku-le hen jiou. (time expression)  
 he yesterday cry-ASP very long  
 'Yesterday, he cried for a long time.'

- b. tzuotian ta ku-le hen jiou.  
 yesterday he cry-ASP very long  
 'Same as (a).'

- (33) a. ta wei-le wo chr-le shiuduo ku. (reason  
 he for me suffer-ASP much hardship expression)  
 'For me he has suffered much hardship.'

- b. wei-le wo ta chr-le shiuduo ku.  
 for me he suffer-ASP much hardship  
 'Same as (a).'

(續)predictable because there is a rule of interpretation which says to the effect that the primary topic can only be interpreted as having a larger scope than the secondary topic. This then is another reason for distinguishing topics of different ranks.

- 10 Since English structure does not normally allow a sentence to have two topics, all the English translations from (30) through (36) involve information loss in one way or another.

- (34) a. ta shie-tz shie de hau. (the first VO in the verb-  
he write-character write DE well copying construction)  
'As for writing characters, he did well.'

- b. shie-tz ta shie de hau.  
write-character he write DE well  
'Same as (a).'

- (35) a. ta ba huapin da-po le. (ba NP)  
he BA vase hit-break PART  
'Speaking of the vase, he got it broken.'

- b. huapin, ta ba ta da-po le.<sup>11</sup>  
vase he BA it hit-break PART  
'Same as (a).'

- (36) a. Shiau Wu lian na-ben shu dou mei  
Shiau Wu including that-CL book all not  
nian-guo. (lian constituent)  
read-ASP  
'Even that book, Shiao Wu hasn't read it yet.'

- b. lian na-ben shu, Shiau Wu dou mei nian-guo.  
including that-CL book Shiao Wu all not read-ASP  
'With regard to that book, Shiao Wu hasn't even read it yet.'

With these findings we are now in a position to state the rule of topic-raising more precisely.

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11 Because *ba* in the *ba* construction has retained a great deal of verbal quality, it is not allowed to be moved with the *ba NP*, when the latter is further topicalized. As a result, only what Ross (1967) calls "left dislocation" is possible.



## 2.2. The Rule of Topic-Raising

Following Huang's (1982) suggestion, we will present a multi-topic clause in Chinese as (37).<sup>12</sup>

$$(37) \left[ \text{COMP} \left[ \text{Topic}_1 \left[ \text{Topic}_2 \dots \right] \right] \right]$$

Now assuming that only two clauses, each with no more than two topics, are involved and that such connectives as *sueiran* 'although', *yinwei* 'because' and ... *de shrhhou* 'time that, when' are placed in COMP (complementizer), then the rule of topic-raising can be roughly formulated as (38).

(38) Topic-Raising (optional)

Part (a)

$$\begin{aligned} & \left[ \text{COMP} \left[ \text{Topic}_{a1} \left[ \text{Topic}_{a2} \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] + \\ & \left[ \text{COMP} \left[ \text{Topic}_{b1} \left[ \text{Topic}_{b2} \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \Rightarrow \\ & \left[ \text{Topic}_i + \text{Topic}_j \left[ \text{COMP} \left[ e_i \left[ e_j \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] + \\ & \left[ \text{COMP} \left[ e_i \left[ e_j \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \end{aligned}$$

Tp = Topic

Condition: Both (i)  $Tp_{a1}$  and  $Tp_{b1}$  have the same referential index; and (ii)  $Tp_{a2}$  and  $Tp_{b2}$  have the same referential index.

12 Huang (1982: 89) actually proposes two possible representations as shown in (i) and (ii) below:

- (i)  $\left[ \text{COMP} \left[ \text{Topic} \left[ \text{Topic} \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right]$   
 (ii)  $\left[ \text{COMP} \left[ \text{Topic} \left[ \text{Topic} \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right]$

However, he is not quite determinate as to which one is the correct representation. We have arbitrarily chosen (i) merely as a matter of convenience.

Part (b)

$$\begin{aligned} & \left[ {}_s \text{COMP} \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_{a1} \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_{a2} \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] + \\ & \left[ {}_s \text{COMP} \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_{b1} \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_{b2} \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \Rightarrow \\ & \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_i + \text{Topic}_j \left[ {}_s \text{COMP} \left[ {}_s e_i \left[ {}_s e_j \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] + \\ & \left[ {}_s \text{COMP} \left[ {}_s e_i \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_{b2} \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \end{aligned}$$

Condition: Both (i)  $\text{Tp}_{a1}$  and  $\text{Tp}_{b1}$  have the same referential index; and (ii)  $\text{Tp}_{a2}$  and  $\text{Tp}_{b2}$  have contrastive stress.

Part (c)

$$\begin{aligned} & \left[ {}_s \text{COMP} \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_{a1} \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_{a2} \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] + \\ & \left[ {}_s \text{COMP} \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_{b1} \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_{b2} \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \Rightarrow \\ & \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_i \left[ {}_s \text{COMP} \left[ {}_s e_i \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_{a2} \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] + \\ & \left[ {}_s \text{COMP} \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_{b1} \left[ {}_s \text{Topic}_{b2} \left[ \dots \right] \right] \right] \right] \end{aligned}$$

Condition: Both  $\text{Tp}_{a1}$  and  $\text{Tp}_{b1}$  have contrastive stress.

Postponing our discussion of the justification of the rule until the next section, here we will take up five additional points in connection with the rule. First, the rule is in three parts because the conditions are all different and the outputs are different as well. Part (b) is necessitated by sentences like (39) and (40) and part (c) by sentences like (41).

- (39) ta erduo sueiran jang de bu tzemeyang, yanjing  
 he ears though grow DE not so: great eyes  
 chiue jang de hen hau.  
 on: the: contrary grow DE very well

'Speaking of him, even though his ears are not really great, his eyes are beautiful.'

- (40) Shiau Jang ping-shr sueiran ping de hen hau,  
 Shiau Jang criticize-poetry though criticize DE very well  
shie-shr chiue shie de bu tzemeyang.  
 write-poetry on: the: contrary write DE not so: great  
 'Speaking of Shiau Jang, although he is quite good at poetic criticism, he is not so good at writing poetry.'

- (41) wo sueiran mei ba Shiau Jang -de dijr gausu ta,  
 I though not BA Shiau Jang POSS address tell him  
ta haishr ba ta jaudau le.  
he still BA him find PART  
 'Although I didn't tell him Shiau Jang's address, he still had him found.'

The fact that both referential identity and contrastive stress should play a part in conditioning the rule is anything but surprising. Tsao (1979, Chapter 6) has found that with regard to the subsequent discourse, topic has either the "chaining function", i. e., clauses sharing the same topic are put together into a topic chain, or the "contrastive function", i. e., it is a fixed slot in a clause in which two elements, each occurring in that slot in two successive clauses can be contrasted. The two conditioning factors are, therefore, a genuine reflection of these two functions of topic.

However, the role that phonological stress plays in a syntactic rule and how a grammatical theory should handle that is still very unclear at present. This is so because both in Chomsky's Standard Theory and more recent Extended Standard Theory syntax has been assumed as independent or autonomous. It therefore follows that phonology should play no role in syntactic rules and yet as Baker (1978) has clearly demonstrated, stress or

the lack of it is clearly needed in a syntactic rule in English which is termed "Auxiliary Shift" by him and which is formulated as follows:

$$(43) \quad \text{NP} - \text{Adv.} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{M} \\ \text{have} \\ \text{be} \end{array} \right\} \text{Tns} - \text{X}$$

(-stress)

1	2	3	4
1,	3+2,	0	4

This rule is needed to account for the syntactic facts demonstrated by the following sentences, where stressed words are capitalized.

- (44) a. Fritz probably WILL be working when you arrive.  
 b. \*Fritz WILL probably be working when you arrive.
- (45) a. John has admired Sue only since last year, but Bill ALWAYS has.  
 b. \*John has admired Sue only since last year, but Bill has ALWAYS.

Since, as I just stated, not much is known about the role of phonological stress in a grammatical theory envisaged by Chomsky and his followers, the transformational rule formulated in (38) should be regarded as very tentative and I have chosen to follow the model only eclectically. In other words, I am taking the grammatical model provided by Chomsky in spirit, not in letter.

Second, the raised topics should be Chomsky-adjoined to the  $\bar{S}_1$  so that they are the left sisters of  $\bar{S}_1$  and  $\bar{S}_2$ . In this way the raised topics c-command their traces or pronominal copies. And if we make the further assumption that the raised topics and their traces or pronominal copies are coindexed, then the traces of the raised topics or their pronominal copies are properly bound according to the GB theory<sup>13</sup>.

13 C-command: A c-commands B if and only if the first branching node dominating A also dominates B and A does not itself dominate B (van

Third, *dang* 'at' can occur at the beginning of a clause containing ... *de shrhou* 'time that; when' and *tzai* 'at' can occur clause-initially in a locative clause with the connective ... *de difang* 'place that; where'. When this happens, topic-raising is blocked, as attested by the ungrammaticality of (46b).

- (46) a. *dang wo diyi tsz kan-dau ta de shrhou, wo*  
           at I first time see him REL time I  
           *shr chr-le yi jing.*  
           SHI suffer-ASP one surprise  
           'When I first saw him, I indeed was shocked.'
- b. \**wo dang diyi tsz kan-dau ta de shrhou, wo*  
       I at first time see him REL time I  
       *shr chr-le yi jing.*  
       SHI suffer-ASP one surprise

Since *dang* 'at' and *tzai* 'at' are both prepositions, this means that when the NP is governed by a prepositions, raising is blocked.

Fourth, in our rule we assume that in each clause there are no more than two topics. Even though in theory there can be indefinitely many topics, in actuality, topics that are raised seldom exceed two. Also topics that are governed by a marker like *ba*, *lian* or *duel* 'to, toward' seem to resist raising, suggesting that these markers, which are all evolved from verbs, haven't lost all their verbal qualities yet.

Finally, the rule is optional in Modern Chinese, as along with sentences such as (47) and (48), which are to be expected according to the rule, we

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(續) Riemsdijk, H and Williams, E. 1986, p. 142).

Proper-binding: An anaphor (including trace) must be properly bound (i. e., coindexed and c-commanded) by its antecedent (including moved phrases) (van Riemsdijk and Williams, op. cit., p. 143).

have grammatical sentences like (49), where the condition is met but the rule does not apply.

- (47) yinwei ni meiyoun lai, dajia-de shingjr  
because you not:have come everybody-POSS interest  
dou cha le.  
all decrease PART  
'Because you didn't come, people's interest decreased.'

- (48) ni yinwei meiyoun lai, suoyi bu jrdau  
you because not:have come so not know  
dangshr-de chingshing.  
that-time-POSS situation  
'Because you didn't come, you don't know the situation at that time.'

- (49) yinwei ni meiyoun lai, suoyi ni bu jrdau  
because you not:have come so you not know  
dangshr-de chingshing.  
that-time-POSS situation  
'Same as (48).'

Although many native speakers that I have checked feel that (48) is to be preferred over (49), none regard (49) as ungrammatical (see Chao, 1968: 114, for a similar comment). The situation in Classical Chinese, as far as we can make out, is very much the same. Examine the following sentences in Classical Chinese.<sup>14</sup>

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14 By citing examples from various periods of Classical Chinese, no claim is being made that Classical Chinese, as it is usually understood, is a stationary language of no change. Nothing can be farther from the truth as Wang Li has admirably shown in his monumental work, *Hanyu Shr Gau* (The History of the Chinese Language). The assumption we are making is simply that

- (50) *tzung shang bu sha wo, wo du bu kuei*  
 even: if superior not kill me I alone not feel: ashamed  
*yu shin hu?* (-Same Topic, -Raising)  
 at heart PART  
 'Even if my superior will not kill me, how can I not feel ashamed  
 at heart?'  
 ("The Biographies of Jang Er and Chen Yu, " *Historical Records*)

- (51) *tzung wo bu wang, tz ning bu*  
 even: though I not go you willing not  
*lai?* (+Contrastive Topic, -Raising)  
 come  
 'Even though I do not go (to see you), why don't you come?'  
 ("Songs of Cheng, " *Book of Poetry*)

- (52) *chie yu tzung bu de da tzang, yu si*  
 moreover I even: if not receive grand funeral I die  
*yu dau lu hu?* (+Same Topic, +Raising)  
 on road PART  
 'Moreover, even if I will not receive a grand funeral (as a noble-  
 man), will I die on the roadside (without a proper burial)?'  
 ("Tz-han, " *Analects*)

- (53) *wu<sub>1</sub> shr<sub>2</sub> suei neng jiyi, e<sub>1</sub> e<sub>2</sub> yi wei*  
 I that: time though can remember also not  
*jr chi yan jr bei ye.* (+Same Topics,  
 know his words POSS sadness PART +Raising)

(續) there is as yet no evidence to show that there was a change with regard  
 to the rule of topic-raising occurring some time in the long history of Clas-  
 sical Chinese.

'Even though at that time I was able to remember (them), I, too, was not able to know the sadness of his words.'

(Han Yu, "Ji Shr-er Lang Wen")

- (54) *Lau-pu<sub>i</sub>*        *suei*        *chi*        *Jiangjiun<sub>j</sub>*   *suei*        *guei*,    —<sub>j</sub>  
 Old-servant   though   debased   General   though   eminent  
*ningke*    *yi*        *shr*        *duo*        *hu?*    (+Contrastive Topic,  
 how: can   with   power   snatch   PART   +Raising)

'Even though I, Old Servant, is debased and you, General, is eminent, how can you snatch it away from me with your power?'  
 ("The Biography of Marquis Wei Chi," *Historical Records*)

On the basis of these examples and many others we can find, it is clear that although clause connectives themselves, like many nouns and verbs, have become disyllabic, e. g. *suei* → *sueiran* 'though', their interaction with topics, both primary and non-primary, as captured by the rule of Topic-Raising, remains intact.

### 2.3. Justifications for the Rule of Topic-Raising

Apart from the most important justification that such a rule is needed to account for the distribution of this class of clause connectives in Modern and Classical Chinese, we can give the following additional reasons in support of the rule.

First, recently Mei (1987) has argued convincingly that the (b) sentences in (55) and (56) are derived from (a) sentences through topicalization and then the (c) sentences are further derived from the (b) sentences through a rule of what he calls "topic-raising".<sup>15</sup>

15 Mei's argument is roughly that since we have independent reasons to assume that in Chinese there is also a distinction between tensed and non-tensed sentences and yet the NP movement rule as exemplified by (55c) does not follow the tensed sentence condition (TSC) posited by Chomsky (van Riemsdijk



(55) a. kanchilai Shiao Jang huei ying.  
           seem       Shiao Jang will win  
           ‘It seems that Shiao Jang will win.’

b. kanchilai *Shiao Jang* huei ying.  
                   topic  
           seem       Shiao Jang will win  
           ‘Same as (a).’

c. Shiao Jang kanchilai huei ying.  
      Shiao Jang seem       will win  
      ‘Shiao Jang seems to be winning.’

(56) a. keneng ta huei lai.  
           possible he will come  
           ‘It is possible that he will come.’

b. keneng *ta* huei lai.  
                   topic  
           possible he will come  
           ‘It is possible that he will come.’

c. ta keneng huei lai.  
      he possible will come  
      ‘He is likely to come.’<sup>16</sup>

Although Mei does not mention it, it is actually possible to raise more than one topic from the embedded clause. This, we believe, constitutes

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(續)and Williams, 1986: 118). He therefore argues that the subject in the tensed S first moved to the topic position and is subsequently raised. Since his argument is couched in the most recent GB Theory of Transformational Grammar, it will take us too far afield to review it here.

16 It is certainly an idiosyncratic property of the English verb “possible” that it disallows “subject-raising”.

another argument for his rule of topic-raising. Compare sentences in (57) and (58) with those in (55) and (56) respectively.

- (57) a. kanchilai Shiau Jang huei ying na-chang chiu.  
 seem Shiau Jang will win that-CL ball: game  
 'It seems that Shiau Jang will win the game.'

- b. kanchilai na-chang chiu Shiau Jang huei ying.  
 seem that-CL ball: game Shiau Jang will win  
 'Same as (a).'

- c. na-chang chiu Shiau Jang kanchilai huei ying.  
 that-CL ball: game Shiau Jang seem will win  
 'As for that game, Shiau Jang seems to be winning it.'<sup>17</sup>

- d. na-chang chiu kanchilai Shiau Jang huei ying.<sup>18</sup>  
 that-CL ball:game seem Shiau Jang will win  
 'As for that game, it seems that Shiau Jang will win it.'

- (58) a. keneng ta mingtian huei lai.  
 possible he tomorrow will come  
 'It is possible that he will come tomorrow.'

- b. keneng mingtian ta huei lai.  
 possible tomorrow he will come  
 'It is possible that tomorrow he will come.'

- c. mingtian ta keneng huei lai.  
 tomorrow he possible will come

17 We realize that the English translation in (57c) with its reading of imminent future does not mean exactly the same as that of (57a). But structure-wise, it is the closest that we can find in English. It is therefore used.

18 There are several other possibilities besides (57c) and (57d), which space consideration prevents us from spelling out here. The same comment also applies to (58).

'Tomorrow he may come.'

d. *mingtian* keneng ta huei lai.

tomorrow possible he will come

'Tomorrow it is possible that he will come.'

It is clear from the above examples that not only the primary topic but also the secondary topic are involved in the raising rule, exactly like the situation that we have in the case of topic-raising rule interacting with clause connectives. Also like the latter rule, the rule of topic-raising interacting with *keneng*-verbs is optional as attested by all the(b)sentences in(55) through (58). Furthermore, as in the case of our topic-raising rule, Mei's rule raises topic(s) from an embedded clause dominated by an NP. With so many characteristics in common, one naturally wonders whether the two rules can be collapsed. Actually, if we make a further assumption, as many grammarians have done, that in the case of *keneng* verbs the COMP in the embedded S is empty, then the two rules are easily collapsible. The only difficulty seems to be that the two rules interact and the rule involving an empty COMP feeds into the other rule as attested by the following sentences.

(59) a. *mingtian* jishr ta keneng bu huei ying, women

tomorrow even:if he possible not will win we

ye dei junbei kai chingju huei.

also need prepare hold celebration party

'Tomorrow even if he may not win, we will still need to prepare for the celebration party.'

b. jishr *mingtian* ta keneng bu huei ying, women

even:if tomorrow he possible not will win we

ye dei junbei kai chingju huei.

also need prepare hold celebration party

'Even if tomorrow he may not win, we will still need to prepare for the celebration party.'

Since the exact formulation of the rules remains to be done, we will not pursue the possibility any further. Suffice it to point out that a very similar rule, if not the same, of topic-raising is needed for the grammar of Modern Chinese.

Second, as specified in (38) our rule of topic raising affects only the placement of the clause connectives in the first clause. It has no effect on the relative position in the surface structure of such clause connectives as *danshr* 'but', *buguo* 'but', *erchie* 'and', *yauburan* 'otherwise' and *foutze* 'otherwise', which occur in the second clause. If we make the same assumption that we made previously with regard to clause connectives that occur in the first clause that they also occur in the deep structure in the COMP position in the second  $\bar{S}$ , then since in Chinese there is no other rule that can move any element in the  $\bar{S}_2$  beyond COMP, these clause connectives should remain in the initial position of the second clause in the surface structure. Witness (60).

- (60) a. *Shiau Jang<sub>1</sub> sueiran hen youchian, danshr e<sub>1</sub> hen*  
*Shiau Jang though very rich but very*  
*shiauchi.*

stingy

'Although Shiau Jang is very rich, he is very stingy.'

- b. \**Shiau Jang<sub>1</sub> sueiran hen youchian, e<sub>1</sub> danshr hen*  
*shiauchi.*

'Same as (a).'

- c. *Shaiu Jang<sub>1</sub> sueiran hen youchian, danshr ta<sub>1</sub> hen*  
*shiauchi.*

'Same as (a).'

- d. \**Shiau Jang<sub>1</sub> sueiran hen youchian, ta<sub>1</sub> danshr hen shiauchi.*  
 'Same as (a).'

Our rule of topic-raising will also explain a similar phenomenon that happens with clause connectives such as *yinwei* 'because' when they, instead of occurring in the first clause as they normally do, actually occur in the second clause expressing an afterthought. Compare (61) with (60).

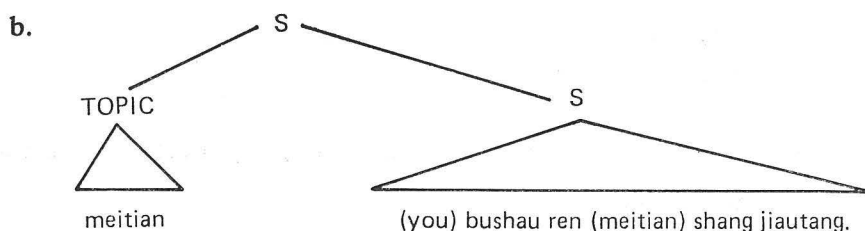
- (61) a. *Shiau Jang<sub>1</sub> tzuotian mei lai, yinwei e<sub>1</sub> sheng*  
*Shiau Jang yesterday not come because get*  
*bing le.*  
*sick PART*  
 'Shiau Jang didn't come yesterday because he was sick.'
- b. \**Shiau Jang<sub>1</sub> tzuotian mei lai, e<sub>1</sub> yinwei sheng*  
*bing le.*  
 'Same as (a).'
- c. *Shiau Jang<sub>1</sub> tzuotian mei lai, yinwei ta<sub>1</sub> sheng*  
*bing le.*  
 'Same as (a).'
- d. \**Shiau Jang<sub>1</sub> tzuotian mei lai, ta<sub>1</sub> yinwei sheng*  
*bing le.*  
 'Same as (a).'

In the most recent GB theory, the ungrammatical sentences in (60) and (61) can all be filtered out because the topic traces or pronominal copies in them are not properly bound. That is, though they are all coindexed with their antecedent *Shiau Jang*, none of them are c-commanded by their antecedent.

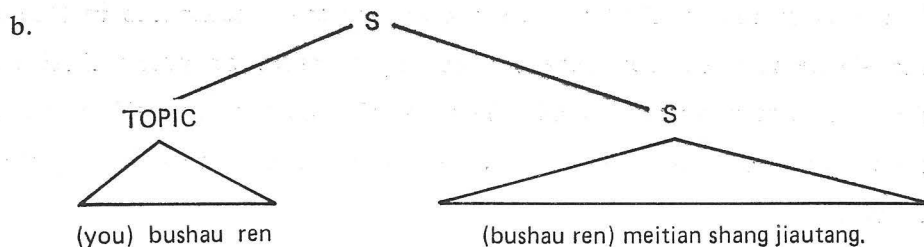
Third, the topic-raising rule captures very nicely a very important

distinction between a clause topic and a sentence topic. While a clause topic has its domain within a clause, a sentence topic has its domain over a whole sentence or a topic chain as it is defined in Tsao (1979). A sentence topic, which is quantifier phrase after being raised, will be in a position of c-commanding other QPs contained in the following comment clauses. Li (1983) in accounting for the different scope interpretations of quantifier phrases as *meitian* 'every day' and *bushau ren* 'quite a few people' in (62a) and (63a), has argued convincingly that the difference is due to whether the quantifier phrase in question is a topic or not and that (62a) and (63a) can be structurally represented as (62b) and (63b) respectively.

- (62) a. *meitian* (you) *bushau ren* *shang jiautang*.  
 every-day there: be quite: a: few people go church  
 'During any given one day, quite a few people go to church.'

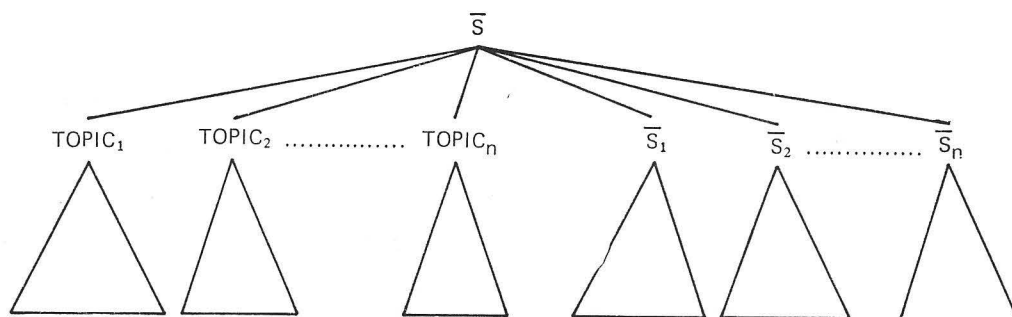


- (63) a. (you) *bushau ren* *meitian shang jiautang*.  
 there: be quite: a: few people every: day go church  
 'There are quite a few people who go to church every day.'



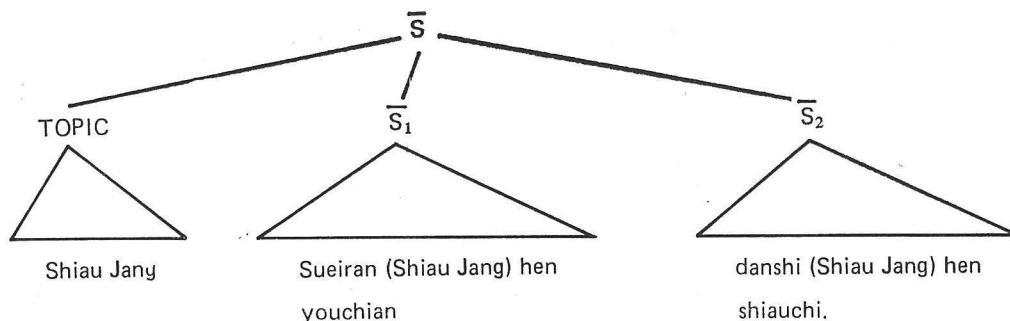
Generalizing Li's representation, we would propose (64) as a general structure of a topic chain.

(64)



Adopting this general scheme, we can now represent (60 a) as (65).

(65)



In addition to fully agreeing with the general understanding that a sentence topic stands in a position of c-commanding each of the following QPs contained in the comment clauses and thus has a wider scope interpretation than other QPs, we can give at least one more supportive evidence to show that this structural representation as an output of our topic-raising is not far off the track. It is a well-known fact in phonology that a sentence topic is capable of receiving an assignment as a tonic unit in itself on a par with any clause in the same sentence. This fact follows nicely from our representation.

Finally, our discussion of the rule also provides us with a linguistically motivated way of classifying clause connectives, a subject we will take up in the next section.

### 3. Topic-Raising and Classification of Clause Connectives

Hitherto clause connectives have always been classified according to their surface positions. Traditionally, *danshr* 'but', *buguo* 'but', *erchie* 'and' and *suoyi* 'so' for examples are classified as "pure conjunctions" because they invariably occur at the initial position of the second clause. Adverbials, mostly monosyllabic, such as *ye* 'also', *hai* 'still' *tsai* 'then' and *jiou* 'then' etc. are classified as "adverbs" because they occur in the position usually occupied by other kinds of adverbs and they never occur at the beginning of the clause unless the topic(s) is/are deleted. The third group, which is the largest, contains such connectives as *sueiran* 'although', *yinwei* 'because', *ruguo* 'if', *tzungshr* 'even if'. They are classified as "adverbial connectives" because they can occur in the position usually occupied by a pure conjunction, i. e. clause-initially, or in the position normally occupied by an adverb.

With the introduction of our rule of topic-raising we can now see clearly that the third group, instead of being regarded as a hybrid, should be more properly identified with the first group as "conjunctions" because in the deep structure they both occur in the clause-initial position. The fact that members of the third group can sometimes occur in other positions while those of the first cannot is readily accounted for by the rule of topic-raising. Connectives such as ... *de shrhou* 'time that, when' and ... *de difang* 'place that, where' should be regarded as "conjunctive particles". They are so called because they occur clause-finally and they are phonetically reduced, but, on the other hand, they behave like conjunctions in having the function of bringing two clauses together semantically and in allowing the clause they introduce to have the topic(s) raised out of it.

The second group of connectives containing such adverbs as *ye* 'also', *hai*



'still, yet', *tsai* 'then' and *chiue* 'on the contrary' is basically adverb, which has the derived (secondary) function of connecting clauses. This analysis is justified on the ground that the members of the group never occur in the COMP in the deep structure and hence can not have any interaction with the rule of topic-raising and that semantically they are basically adverbs of inclusion or evaluation (for an account of the tendency of some types of adverbs to be used as clause connectives, see Chu, 1983: 61-63). Therefore, even though this group of connectives may sometimes appear in the same position as *sueiran* 'although' and *yinwei* 'because' in the surface structure, they are there through two different paths. For the group of adverbs in question, it is there in the deep structure, but for the group containing *yinwei* 'because', it ends up there as a result of the rule of topic-raising.

Likewise, repetitive correlative connectives such as *yue* ... *yue* ... 'the more ... the more ...' and *yi mian (bian)* ... *yi mian (bian)* ... 'while ...' should also be analyzed as adverbs because they can never occur clause-initially, in the deep structure.

The following chart gives a summary comparison between our scheme of classification and that of the traditional one.

(66)	Examples	Traditional	Tsao's
1.	<i>erchie</i> 'but also', <i>suoyi</i> 'so'	True Conjunction	Conjunction
2.	<i>budan</i> 'not only', <i>yinwei</i> 'because'	Adverbial-Conjunction	Conjunction
3.	<i>hai</i> 'still', <i>chiue</i> 'on the contrary'	Adverb	Adverbial-Connective
4.	<i>yue</i> ... <i>yue</i> ... 'the more ... the more ...'	Correlative-Connective	Adverbial-Connective

In other words, in our analysis if we characterize the connectives occurring in the first clause as [+Forward Linking] and those occurring in the second

as [-Forward Linking] and those that occur in the deep structure in the COMP as [+Conjunction] and those that do not occur in the COMP as [-Conjunction] then all the clause connectives in Chinese fall neatly into the following four cells as shown in (67).<sup>19</sup>

(67)

		+ Forward Linking	-
	+	<i>sueiran</i> 'though'	<i>danshr</i> 'but'
		<i>ruguo</i> 'if'	<i>yauburan</i> 'otherwise'
Conjunction	-	<i>yi</i> 'once'	<i>jiou</i> 'then'
		<i>yue</i> 'the more'	<i>yue</i> 'the more'

#### 4. Summary and Conclusion

In this study we have attempted to show what has been traditionally analyzed as adverbial clauses of condition, reason, time, location and concession are in Chinese topics. The apparent clash that we have in sometimes having the whole clause as a topic and sometimes in just the topic(s) of the clause is resolved by positing the rule of topic-raising.

We have also pointed out that this rule is independently needed to account for the distribution of an important class of clause connectives such as *yinwei* 'because', *jishr* 'even if' and *sueiran* 'although'. The same rule also accounts for the distribution of the corresponding class of clause connectives in Classical Chinese. By comparing the two, we know that most clause connectives have become disyllabic by incorporating a word that frequently occurred immediately after them such as *suei* → *sueiran* 'although' *dan* → *danshr* 'but' etc. but the rule of topic-raising remains unchanged.

In addition to the most important reason for the rule, i.e. its ability to

19 The feature [ $\pm$  Forward Linking] is adopted from Li and Thompson (1981: 632 ff).

account for the distribution of this important class of clause connectives, we gave four other justifications for positing the rule. One of them is that the rule provides us with a linguistically motivated way for the classification of all the clause connectives. Depending on whether or not they can occur in the COMP in the deep structure, they can be divided into two classes: conjunctions and adverbs. The fact that some conjunctions such as *yinwei* 'because', *ruguo* 'if' and *sueiran* 'although' can occur in the clause-initial position and sometimes in the position of an adverb is readily accounted for by the rule of topic-raising.

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## 摘 要

雖然過去曾有不少學者對中文的分句連詞做過研究，但他們的研究大都侷限於語義方面，偶有提及語法作用者也都語焉不詳。筆者近十數年一直潛心於研究主題在中文句法中所起的作用。最近在主題與分句連詞的交互作用上有二樣重大的發現。

第一、中文的時間、地點、原因、讓步、條件等分句如例(1)兩句，皆可分析為大主題。

- (1) a. 如果他不來的話，請他通知我。  
b. 如果他不來，請他通知我。

關於這一點，趙(1968)也有類似的看法，他並提出數點論據。本文除了引用趙之外，並提出數點新的論證。

第二、筆者最近的研究發現出現於動詞與大主題之間的提前賓語、副語、及雙名句的第二個名語等皆可析為次主題。根據這一項理論，那麼中文中一大類分句連詞如

「雖然」、「如果」、「因為」等的位置就可以用下述方法來衍生：一、在底層結構，它們和別的句首連詞如「而且」、「但是」等一樣都出現在句首 COMP 的位置如 (2a)。二、這一類連詞出現在其他位置的句子如 (2b)，可以用「主題（含大、次、參主題）提昇」律衍生。

(2) a. 雖然他昨天生病，但還是去上班了。

b. 他昨天雖然生病，但還是去上班了。

本文並檢視了文言文的情形，結果發現「主題提昇」這條規律在文言文中也同樣需要，可見該規律在中文存在已久。最後本文根據分句連詞和該規律的交互作用提出了中文分句連詞的全新分類法。