

## On Non-verbal *Kóngs* in Taiwanese<sup>\*</sup>

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### Abstract

This paper provides a fine-grained analysis of Taiwanese non-verbal *kóngs* and points out that there are at least three different *kóngs* in Taiwanese. A complementizer immediately follows a verb representing communication or a cognitive state and is semantically vacuous; the intra-sentential *kóng* is a topic marker in a CP, which can raise to the sentence-initial position to express additional illocutionary force; and the sentence-final *kóng* is an evidential marker (Chang, 1998; Hsieh & Sybesma, 2007). The sentence-final *kóng* is generated in the left periphery of an IP, but not in the conventional CP domain.

Topic markers are also found in Japanese and Korean, but, unlike Taiwanese *kóngs*, they occur lower than the complementizer. The homonymous topic marker and evidential marker found in Taiwanese is not a unique case. In Japanese, there is also a sentence-final evidential marker, which is homonymous with the intra-sentential topic marker. This coincidence may indicate similar grammaticalization processes in these two languages, respectively.

**Keywords:** *kóng*, topic marker, complementizer, evidential marker, Taiwanese

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## 1. Introduction

The word *kóng* in Taiwanese<sup>1</sup> can occur in several positions in a sentence. See (1):

- (1) a. 講 我 嘛 已經 六十 歲--矣！ (Taiwanese; from Cheng, 1997a)  
**Kóng** guá mā í-king lāk-tsáp huè--a!  
 KONG I also already sixty year Asp  
 “(Have you noticed that) I am already sixty years old.”
- b. 慶餘 昨昏 講 無 來 上班。 (Taiwanese)  
 Khìng-î tsa-hng **kóng** bô lái siōng-pan.  
 Khing-i yesterday KONG not come work.  
 “Yesterday, Khing-i did not come to work.”
- c. 慶餘 講 伊 無 想欲 去 上班。 (Taiwanese)  
 Khìng-î **kóng** i bô siūnn-beh khi siōng-pan.  
 Khing-i say he not want go work  
 “Khing-i (you know who he is) said that he does not want to go to work.”
- d. 慶餘 想 講 今仔日 毋免 去 上班。 (Taiwanese)  
 Khìng-î siūnn **kóng** kin-á-jit m̄-bián khi siōng-pan.  
 Khing-i think KONG today not-have-to go work  
 “Khing-i thinks that he doesn’t have to go to work today.”
- e. 慶餘 今仔日 無 來 上班 講。 (Taiwanese)  
 Khìng-î kin-á-jit bô lái siōng-pan **kóng**.  
 Khing-i today not come work KONG  
 “(I am telling you that) Khing-i did not come to work today.”

Apart from (1c), in which *kóng* is used as a verb, the other four do not express something like uttering or coming up with something in a communicative form. To my knowledge, no previous study has offered detailed, comparative, formal analyses of these four uses of *kóng*—the objective of this study is to do so.

Before we go on, take note that the non-verbal *kóngs* to be deliberated in this study should be carefully distinguished from the verbal *kóng* used with a covert subject (*pro-drop*).

<sup>1</sup> AKA Taiwanese Southern Min, a dialect of Southern Min spoken in Taiwan.

Without this discernment, either due to insufficient comprehension of the proper context or dialectal variance, adequate construal and judgment of the exemplifying sentences would be impossible.

In section 2, we will go through the literature, with regard to *kóng*. Section 3 demonstrates the co-occurrence and non-co-occurrence of different *kóngs*. Sections 4 and 5 analyze semantics and syntax, respectively. Short cross-linguistic comparisons are done in section 6. The study will conclude in section 7.

## 2. Previous Studies

In his paper about *say* and *see* as complementizers in Taiwanese and Taiwan Mandarin, Cheng (1997a) suggests that *kóng*, originally a verb, can also be used as an adverb, a marker of sentence complement, or a sentence final particle (SFP). When it is used as an SFP, Cheng claims that it denotes an urging and reminding tone. The following examples are from Cheng (1997a):<sup>2</sup>

- (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, let’s not go.”

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

- (3) a. 昨 昏 有 落雨--講。 (Taiwanese)  
       Tsa-hng ū lóh-hōo--kóng.  
       yesterday AM<sup>3</sup> rain KONG

<sup>2</sup> The glosses and translations are mine.

<sup>3</sup> Assertion marker.

“(It is unexpected that) it rained yesterday.”

b. 阿明 早起 無 來 上班--講。 (Taiwanese)

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

A-bing morning not come work KONG

“(Unexpectedly,) 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 *kóng* indicates the proposition is not expected or is based on hearsay. In other words, the urging and reminding tone figured by Cheng (1997a) may simply be derived from his imperative/advisory examples.<sup>4</sup> 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 an 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 adverbial of language behavior (*yǔyán xíngwéi zhuàngyǔ*), without further explanations (1997a).

Chang (1998) analyzes *kóngs* occurring in different positions in view of a grammaticalization process.<sup>5</sup> She observes that both the intra-sentential and SFP *kóngs* have reportative and counter-expectation functions, and she claims that both kinds of *kóngs* are discourse-oriented markers. However, sentence-initial and intra-sentential *kóngs* do not seem to convey identical extensions as their SFP sibling. We will return to this later.

Simpson & Wu (2002) (hereafter S&W) are concerned with the post-verbal complementizer usage of *kóng* and the SFP *kóng*. S&W point out that the Taiwanese *kóng*, which is 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 the sentence-final position. Below are their examples (2002: 80 (44-45)):

<sup>4</sup> All of the examples with the SFP *kóng* in Cheng (1997a) are in the imperative or advisory mood.

<sup>5</sup> In Chang’s paper, the term “initial kong” refers to the *kóng* that precedes the predicate in a clause (1998: 124, footnote 2).

- (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  
 “(Unexpectedly,) A-hui thought that A-sin was 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  
 “(Unexpectedly,) A-hui thought that A-sin was not coming.”

In (4a) and (4b), the first *kóng* following the matrix verb is considered to be a complementizer equivalent to *that* in English (S&W, 2002; Cheng, 1997a) and *koto*, *no*, and *to* in Japanese (Cheng, 1997a). As for the SFP *kóng*, S&W claim that it does not originate in an embedded  $C^0$  position, as the complementizer *kóng* does (2002: 80-81). They propose that the sentence-final *kóng* is base-generated in the matrix  $C^0$  and is a subsequent IP-raising that renders the word order.

I agree with S&W that the two *kóng*s are independent and occur in different positions; however, I do not concur with them in saying that the sentence-final *kóng* is derived from IP raising across C, which is pointed out to be problematic in Hsieh & Sybesma (2007, 2008).

Hsieh & Sybesma (2007; henceforth H&S) demonstrate that there are two types of C-elements in Chinese languages. The first type, very much like complementizers such as the English *that*, is found in the sentence-initial position and termed “complementizer-type”; the second type consists of elements that are generally referred to as sentence-final particles (SFPs). What H&S primarily focus on in their research is the derivation of a sentence in which both the initial and final positions are occupied by a particle. Therefore, they do not delve into the syntax and semantics of different *kóng*s. Regarding *kóng*s, H&S maintain that *kóng*, apart from its verbal usage, can occur either sentence-initially or sentence-finally (2007: 9). Furthermore, they argue that the sentence-final *kóng* marks evidentiality and is used as a mirative<sup>6</sup> or observational or reportative marker. According to them, the SFP *kóng* performs a completely different function from the initial *kóng*. Nevertheless, they do not distinguish a *kóng* immediately following a verb of communication or cognitive state from one occurring in

<sup>6</sup> A mirative (or admirative) is a particular grammatical element in some languages that indicates unexpected and new information. The grammatical category involving miratives is known as mirativity.

the initial position of a matrix sentence. I will come back to this issue later and illustrate that these sentence-initial *kóns* and the one immediately preceded by a verb cannot be identical.

### 3. Co-occurrence of *Kóns*

In this section, we will look into the co-occurrence of the four *kóns* in (1a), (1b), (1d), and (1e). I will show that no two of these can co-occur without problems.

First, let us use sentence-initial and intra-sentential *kóns* in a sentence:

- (5) a. \*<sup>7</sup>講 慶餘 講 早起 無 來 上班 呢。 (Taiwanese)  
**Kóng** Khing-î **kóng** tsái-khí bô lâi siōng-pan--neh.  
 KONG Khing-i KONG morning not come work PRT  
 (Intended) “Khing-i did not come to work this morning.”
- b. \*<sup>7</sup>講 慶餘 早起 講 無 來 上班 呢。 (Taiwanese)  
**Kóng** Khing-î tsái-khí **kóng** bô lâi siōng-pan--neh.  
 (Intended) “This morning, Khing-i did not come to work.”

In (5), it is demonstrated that the co-occurrence of sentence-initial and intra-sentential *kóns* will make a sentence infelicitous.

The following sentences illustrate the co-occurrence of a sentence-initial *kóng* and one following a verb of communication or cognitive state (henceforth *that-kóng*).

- (6) a. 講 慶餘 早起 想 講 今仔日 是 歇暎日 呢。 (Taiwanese)  
**Kóng** Khing-î tsái-khí siūnn **kóng** kin-á-jit sī hioh-khùn-jit--neh.  
 KONG Khing-i morning think KONG today is holiday PRT  
 “(Pay attention to this:) Khing-i (, who you know,) thought this morning that today was a holiday.”
- b. 講 慶餘 相信 講 in 祖公仔 是 平埔族 啦。 (Taiwanese)  
**Kóng** Khing-î siōng-sìn **kóng** in tsóo-kong-á sī pēnn-poo-tsók--lah.  
 KONG Khing-i believe KONG his forefather is plains aboriginal PRT  
 “(Pay attention to this:) Khing-i (, who you know,) believes that his forefathers were

<sup>7</sup> An asterisk preceding the exemplifying sentence indicates its ungrammaticality. The same below.

plains aboriginals.”

Sentence-initial *kóngs* have no problem co-occurring with *that-kóngs* in (6).<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, it has been pointed out in the literature that a sentence-initial *kóng* can occur with an SFP *kóng*. The following sentence is from H&S (2007: 9 (9)):

(7) 講 阿明 嘛 捌 英語 講! (Taiwanese)

**Kóng** A-bîng mā pat Ing-gí **kóng**!

KONG A-bing too understand English SFP

“[I am surprised that] [the uneducated] A-bing understands English!”

As for intra-sentential *kóng* and *that-kóng*, see the sentences below:

(8) a. 慶餘 早起 講 直直 掠準 講 今仔日是 歇暎日 呢。 (Taiwanese)<sup>9</sup>

Khìng-î tsái-khí **kóng** tít-tít liáh-tsún **kóng** kin-á-jit sī hioh-khùn-jit--neh.

Khing-i morning KONG all-the-while deem KONG today is holiday PRT

“This morning, Khing-i deemed all the while that it was a holiday today.”

b. 慶餘 講 相信 講 in 祖公仔 是 平埔族 啦。 (Taiwanese)

Khìng-î **kóng** siong-sìn **kóng** in tsóo-kong-á sī pên-poo-tsók--lah.

Khing-i KONG believe KONG his forefather is plains aboriginal PRT

“Khing-i (, who you know,) believes that his forefathers were plains aboriginals.”

Based on (8), there is no problem with employing these two *kóngs* in one sentence.

<sup>8</sup> A reviewer regarded the (un)acceptability of (5a-b) and (6a-b) as counter-intuitive, according to his/her judgment. In order to settle this, I consulted several informants of different generations. I intentionally picked informants whose native language and first language were both Taiwanese Southern Min. The term “first language” here is defined as the language that is most frequently employed in one’s current daily life. All four informants that I consulted are from Kaohsiung. Taiwanese is not only their family’s language, but also their working language. In the survey, the first informant, S. Feng, who is in her twenties, acknowledged that there is a contrast between (5) and (6). The second informant, F. Chen, who is in her forties, considered all of the sentences in (5) and (6) to be acceptable. However, she pointed out that the iteration of *kóng* in (5) is used as free fillers in colloquial speech. Therefore, I entertain that acceptability of (5a-b) and (6a-b) is essentially irrelevant to what is discussed in this paper. The third informant, S. Chu, who is in her fifties, pointed out immediately that the sentences in (5) are infelicitous (in her words, they sound redundant and weird). The first three informants were interviewed on December 28, 2012. The fourth informant, A-wen Feng Gao (interviewed on January 4, 2013), who is in her sixties, agreed with my judgment of these sentences in question. At any rate, I acknowledge the existence of dialectal variance.

<sup>9</sup> One of my informants indicates that whenever two *kóngs* are close together in a sentence, the sentence becomes marginal. There seems to be some phonological factor(s) involved or processing problems induced, since *kóng* still keeps its usage as a full verb.

However, a fixed order must be obeyed. For example:

- (9) a. \*慶餘 早起 直直 掠準 講 今仔日 講 是 歇暍日 呢。 (Taiwanese)  
 Khìng-î tsái-khí tít-tít liáh-tsún **kóng** kin-á-jit **kóng** sī hioh-khùn-jit--neh.  
 Khing-i morning all-the-while deem KONG today KONG is holiday PRT  
 (Intended) “Khing-i deemed all the while this morning that it was a holiday today.”
- b. \*慶餘 相信 講 您 祖公仔 講 是 平埔族 啦。 (Taiwanese)  
 Khìng-î siong-sìn **kóng** in tsóo-kong-á **kóng** sī pên-poo-tsòk--lah.  
 Khing-i believe KONG his forefather KONG is plains aboriginal PRT  
 (Intended) “Khing-i believes that his forefathers were plains aboriginals.”

As (9) shows, once *that-kóng* precedes the intra-sentential one, the sentence would be ruled out.

In addition, an intra-sentential *kóng* can get along with an SFP *kóng*, just as the initial one does. See the sentences in (10):

- (10) a. 慶餘 拜五 講 著愛 去 台北 開會 講。 (Taiwanese)  
 Khìng-î Pài-gōo **kóng** tiòh-ài khi Tâi-pak khai-huē **kóng**.  
 Khing-i Friday KONG have-to go Taipei attend-meeting KONG  
 “(Unexpectedly,) On Friday, Khing-i has to go to Taipei to attend a meeting.”
- b. 慶餘 講 想欲 啲 咖啡 講。 (Taiwanese)  
 Khìng-î **kóng** siūnn-beh lim ka-pi **kóng**.  
 Khing-i KONG want drink coffee KONG  
 “(It is not expected that) Khing-i (, who you know,) wants to drink coffee.”

The last pair to be illustrated is the combination of *that-kóng* and SFP *kóng*. For instance:

- (11) a. 慶餘 想 講 今仔日 是 歇暍日 講。 (Taiwanese)  
 Khìng-î siūnn **kóng** kin-á-jit sī hioh-khùn-jit **kóng**.  
 Khing-i think KONG today is holiday KONG  
 “(It is not expected that) Khing-i thought that it was a holiday today.”
- b. 慶餘 相信 講 in 祖公仔 是 平埔族 講。 (Taiwanese)  
 Khìng-î siong-sìn **kóng** in tsóo-kong-á sī pên-poo-tsòk **kóng**.  
 Khing-i believe KONG his forefather is plains aboriginal KONG



“(Unexpectedly,) Khing-i believes that his forefathers are plains aboriginals.”

The last pair exhibits no problem. These two can be in a sentence simultaneously.

Moreover, it is impossible to repeat the intra-sentential *kóngs* in a clause.<sup>10</sup>

- (12) a. \*慶餘 講 早起 講 無 去 上班。 (Taiwanese)

Khìng-î tsái-khí **kóng** bô khi siōng-pan **kóng**.

Khing-i morning KONG not go work KONG

(Intended) “Khing-i (, who you know,) did not go to work this morning.”

Apart from the case of double intra-sentential *kóngs*, three homonyms of *kóng* also cannot be iterated in a single sentence. Based on the observations so far, the grammaticality of sentences in which three of these *kóngs* co-occur is predicable.

- (13) a. \*講 慶餘 早起 講 掠準 講 今仔日 是 歇暍日 啦！ (Taiwanese)

**Kóng** Khìng-î tsái-khí **kóng** liáh-tsún **kóng** kin-á-jit sī hioh-khùn-jit--lah!

KONG Khing-i morning KONG deem KONG today is holiday PRT

(Intended) “This morning, Khing-i deemed that it was a holiday today.”

- b. \*講 慶餘 早起 講 掠準 今仔日 是 歇暍日 講。 (Taiwanese)

**Kóng** Khìng-î tsái-khí **kóng** liáh-tsún kin-á-jit sī hioh-khùn-jit **kóng**.

KONG Khing-i morning KONG deem today is holiday KONG

(Intended) “(Unexpectedly) This morning, Khing-i deemed that it was a holiday today.”

- c. 講 慶餘 早起 掠準 講 今仔日 是 歇暍日 講。 (Taiwanese)

**Kóng** Khìng-î tsái-khí liáh-tsún **kóng** kin-á-jit sī hioh-khùn-jit **kóng**.

KONG Khing-i morning deem KONG today is holiday KONG

“(Unexpectedly,) Khing-i (, who you know,) deemed that it was holiday today.”

- d. 慶餘 早起 講 掠準 講 今仔日 是 歇暍日 講。 (Taiwanese)

Khìng-î tsái-khí **kóng** liáh-tsún **kóng** kin-á-jit sī hioh-khùn-jit **kóng**.

Khing-i morning KONG deem KONG today is holiday KONG

“(Unexpectedly) This morning, Khing-i deemed that it was a holiday today.”

<sup>10</sup> One of my informants accepts sentences in which there is more than one intra-sentential *kóng* or in which an initial *kóng* co-occurs with an intra-sentential one. This kind of usage seems more like free fillers and is irrelevant to this research.

As the sentences in (13) manifest, we can even have three *kóns* in a single sentence, as long as the initial *kóng* and the intra-sentential one do not show up together.

To summarize, the constraints of the co-occurrence of the four *kóns* in question are that: the initial *kóng* can never go along with the intra-sentential one, and an intra-sentential *kóng* must precede *that-kóng*.

## 4. The Semantics of *Kóns*

In this section, I will demonstrate the differences in the interpretations of each *kóng* to provide a foundation for further analysis. Among them, *that-kóng* is void of semantic content. Initial *kóng* and intra-sentential *kóng* have very close interpretations, which are interpretively different from the SFP *kóng*.

### 4.1 *That-kóng*

In previous studies (refer to section 2), it is suggested that *that-kóng* is a grammaticalized complementizer preceding its IP complement that derives from a verb of saying—it is an instantiation of  $C^0$  equivalent to English ‘*that*’. *Kóng* in such a position is optional and cannot occur with any aspectual suffixes, which suggests that *kóng* in these instances has indeed undergone a category change from a verb to some other non-verbal category. This kind of grammaticalization is also found in many head-initial SVO languages of West Africa and Southeast Asia (S&W, 2002: 75-77; H&S, 2007: 3).

In a nutshell, *that-kóng* is a grammatical function word, and it is semantically pale.

### 4.2 SFP *Kóng*

Below are some explanations for SFP *kóng* that are found in the literature:

(14)

Researcher	Descriptions
Cheng (1997a, b)	Insistence on forcing the given information onto the addressee mildly; denoting an urging and reminding tone

Researcher	Descriptions
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 a new situation that the speaker has discovered is contrary to his/her own expectations.

The descriptions above seem to be at odds with each other. Let us first put aside the interpretations with respect to imperatives, including urging, reminding, encouraging, provoking, and so on. SFP *kóng* is suggested to demonstrate insistence on forcing the given information, the truthfulness of the proposition, and also that it is contrary to the speaker's expectations.

Note the way in which S&W expound upon 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 his/her strong endorsement of the truth of the proposition*, in a way similar to the use of “I'm telling you!” in English (2002: 85; italics mine; also, refer to the remark on S&W, 2002: 88).

What S&W argue conforms to the other descriptions compiled in (12). In H&S's (2007) words, SFP *kóng* marks evidentiality and is used as a mirative, observational, or reportative marker.

Moreover, if this evidential particle conveys a counter-expectation reading, then the reason why extra senses—like urging and reminding—are found in imperatives becomes understandable. As was pointed out in section 2, when SFP *kóng* attaches to an imperative sentence, the addresser has usually already given the same order before. Since the situation in which the addressee does not follow the order goes against the speaker's expectation, employing this particle in a repeating order imaginably gives a tinge of urging, reminding, encouraging, or provoking.

4.3 Intra-sentential *Kóng*

In contrast, by being inserted after a constituent, the intra-sentential *kóng* does not meet the criteria of being an evidential and mirative marker. Compare (15) with (16):

- (15) a. 你 是按怎 無 愛 考 大學？ (Taiwanese)

Lí sī-án-tsuánn bô ài khó tãi-hák?

you why not want take-exam university

“Why don’t you take the university entrance exams?”

- b. 我 都 無 適合 讀冊 (講)！去 做 大學生 加 艱苦 个 啦。 (Taiwanese)

Guá to bô sik-háp thák-tsheh (kóng)! Khi tsò tãi-hák-sing ke kan-khóo--ê-lah.

I all not fit study (KONG) go be college-student more suffer PRT PRT

“(Don’t you know the reason!?) I am not fit to study! To be a college student would cause me more suffering.”

- (16) a. 是 啥人 共 桌仔 摑摑 倒？ (Taiwanese)

Sī siánn-lâng kā toh-á ián-ían--tó?

be who LV<sup>11</sup> table push-push fall

“Who pushed the table over?”

- b. 恁 慶餘 (\*講) 共 桌仔 摑 倒 个 啦。 (Taiwanese)

Lín Khìng-î (\*kóng) kā toh-á ián--tó-ê-lah.

your Khing-i (KONG) LV table push fall PRT PRT

“Your son (or husband) Khìng-î pushed the table over.”

In (15), SFP *kóng* goes along well with (15b), in which it is used as a proposition that answers the *why*-question in (15a). Answers to *wh*-questions are supposed to be new and contrastive, with regard to the information structure. If intra-sentential *kóng* is semantically identical to SFP *kóng*, then its failure to attach to the contrastively-focused constituent “*lín Khìng-î*”, which serves as the answer to a *wh*-question (16a), becomes unintelligible. By this reasoning, it is maintained that the intra-sentential *kóng* cannot be a mirative element that indicates unexpected and new information. Here, we can make an educated guess. Intra-sentential *kóng*, which is not fit to mark new and contrastive information, marks only known and old information in the discourse—it is a topic marker.

<sup>11</sup> Light verb.

Below are the properties of a topic from Kuo (2009: 3 (8)):

- (17) 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.

So far, we have seen that intra-sentential *kóng* marks a constituent preceding the predicate, and it is a particle following a constituent that cannot be new and contrastive. Furthermore, it is true that indefinite DPs cannot precede an intra-sentential *kóng*.<sup>12</sup>

- (18) a. 總扯 見若 寫 一百 字， 十五 个 (\*講) 會 寫 毋著 去。 (Taiwanese)  
       Tsóng-tshé kinn-nā siá tsit-pah jī, tsáp-gōo ê (\*kóng) ē siá m-tiòh--khì.  
       averagely whenever write one-hundred word fifteen CL (KONG) will write not-correct  
       go  
       “On average, out of every one hundred words, fifteen will be written incorrectly.”
- (19) a. 明仔載 个 比賽， 咱 有 人 欲 去 參加 無？ (Taiwanese)  
       Bîn-á-tsài ê pí-sài, lán ū lâng beh khì tsham-ka--bô?  
       tomorrow DE game we have people will go join not  
       “Will any one of us join in the game tomorrow?”
- b. 有， 上無 三 个 人 (\*講) 會 代表 咱 去 比賽。 (As a reply to (19a))  
       Ū, siōng-bô sann ê lâng (\*kóng) ē tãi-piáu lán khì pí-sài.  
       have at-least three CL people (KONG) will represent we go join-in-the-game  
       “Yes, at least three of us will join in the game on our behalf.”

To summarize, I propose that intra-sentential *kóng* is a topic marker.

#### 4.4 Initial *Kóng*

Recall that in section 3, it was demonstrated that initial *kóng* cannot co-occur with an intra-sentential *kóng* in a sentence. By the test of replying to a *wh*-question, it is shown below

<sup>12</sup> Note that bare DPs can serve as both definite and generic in certain discourses in Sinitic languages. Moreover, DPs with a numeral without demonstratives are not necessarily indefinite. The numeral can render a partitive reading (refer to Zhang 2011).

that initial *kóng* displays attributes of a topic marker, just like an intra-sentential *kóng* does.<sup>13</sup> Recall that answers to *wh*-questions are supposed to be new and contrastive, with regard to the information structure. Compare (20) with (21):

- (20) a. 你 是 按 怎 無 愛 考 大 學 ？ (Taiwanese)

Lí sī-án-tsuánn bô ài khó tãi-hák?

you why not want take-exam university

“Why don’t you take the university entrance exams?”

- b. 我 都 無 適 合 讀 冊 (講) ! 去 做 大 學 生 加 艱 苦 个 啦 。 (Taiwanese)

Guá to bô sik-háp thák-tskeh (kóng)! Khi tsò tãi-hák-sing ke kan-khóo--ê-lah.

I all not fit study (KONG) go be college-student more suffer PRT PRT

“I am not fit to study! To be a college student would cause me more suffering.”

- c. (\*講) 我 都 無 適 合 讀 冊 ! 去 做 大 學 生 加 艱 苦 个 啦 。 (Taiwanese)

(\*Kóng) guá to bô sik-háp thák-tskeh! Khi tsò tãi-hák-sing ke kan-khóo--ê-lah.

(KONG) I all not fit study go be college-student more suffer PRT PRT

“(Don’t you know the reason?!) I am not fit to study! To be a college student would cause me more suffering.”

- (21) a. 是 啥 人 共 桌 仔 搵 搵 倒 ？ (Taiwanese)

Sī siánn-lâng kā toh-á ián-ián--tó?

be who LV<sup>14</sup> table push-push fall

“Who pushed the table over?”

- b. 佢 慶 餘 (\*講) 共 桌 仔 搵 倒 个 啦 。 (Taiwanese)

Lín Khing-î (\*kóng) kā toh-á ián--tó-ê-lah.

your Khing-î (KONG) LV table push fall PRT PRT

“Your son (or husband) Khing-î pushed the table over.”

- c. (\*講) 佢 慶 餘 共 桌 仔 搵 倒 个 啦 。 (Taiwanese)

(\*Kóng) lín Khing-î kā toh-á ián--tó-ê-lah.

(KONG) your Khing-î LV table push fall PRT PRT

“Your son (or husband) Khing-î pushed the table over.”

<sup>13</sup> In H&S’s analysis, initial *kóng* is also different from SFP *kóng*, but they do not distinguish initial *kóng* from *that-kóng*. Please refer to H&S (2007: 8-10).

<sup>14</sup> Light verb.

(20b) with SFP *kóng* is appropriate for answering (20a). Contrariwise, initial *kóng* cannot occur in this kind of reply (see (20c)). On the other hand, (21c) shows that initial *kóng* deteriorates the answer, as intra-sentential *kóng* does. Based on the novel nature of answers to *wh*-questions, we then learn that the constituent following initial-*kóng* immediately exhibits oldness, with respect to the information structure, just as the preceding constituent of intra-sentential *kóng* conveys. In other words, both the constituent that immediately follows the initial-*kóng* and the one immediately preceding the intra-sentential *kóng* are topics. Compare the previous examples with the following pair:

(22) a. 是 啥人 共 桌仔 攪攪 倒? (Taiwanese)

Sī siánn-lâng kā toh-á ián-ián--tó?

be who LV table push-push fall

“Who pushed the table over?”

b. 講 昨昏 恁 慶餘 共 桌仔 攪 倒 个 啦。 (Taiwanese)<sup>15</sup>

(Kóng) tsa-hng lín Khìng-î kā toh-á ián--tó-ê-lah.

(KONG) yesterday your Khing-i LV table push fall PRT PRT

“(Pay attention to what I’m going to say!) Yesterday, your son (or husband) Khìng-î pushed the table over.”

(22b) only differs from (21c) in that *kóng* does not precede *lín Khìng-î* immediately; rather, the two sandwich the temporal adverbial *tsa-hng*. The fact that (22b) is an apt answer to the same question offers evidence that the constituent affected by the initial *kóng* is exactly the one that follows it immediately; in this case, it is the temporal adverbial, but not the subject.

Considering that, syntactically, an initial *kóng* can never co-occur with an intra-sentential *kóng*, and semantically/pragmatically, they share the same properties as topic markers, I propose that they are in fact derived from an identical element and surface at different syntactic positions (we will deliberate over this again in 5.2).

<sup>15</sup> A reviewer considers (22b) to be an ungrammatical sentence. Despite the dialectal variance, my informant concurs with me in its grammatical judgment (interviewed on December 4, 2012). The personal information of the informant is provided for reference of the readers and reviewers. The female informant, A-wen Feng Gao, is in her sixties. She was born in Tainan and has lived in Kaohsiung for decades. Taiwanese Southern Min is not only her mother tongue but also her first and sole language in her daily life. In fact, Taiwanese Southern Min is the only language that she can speak fluently.

Except for the topic marking function they both take, the initial-*kóng* has a shade of strong illocutionary force that is not found in the intra-sentential *kóng*. This is illustrated by the following examples:

- (23) a. 水順 講 無閒 甲 這馬 猶未 食飯 啦。(Taiwanese)  
 Tsuí-sūn kóng bô-îng kah tsit-má iáu-buē tsiáh-p̄ng lah.  
 Tsui-sun KONG busy until now not-yet have-meal PRT  
 “Tsui-sun (you know who he is) is so busy that he hasn’t had a meal yet.”
- b. 講 水順 無閒 甲 這馬 猶未 食飯 啦。(Taiwanese)  
 Kóng Tsuí-sūn bô-îng kah tsit-má iáu-buē tsiáh-p̄ng lah.  
 KONG Tsui-sun busy until now not-yet have-meal PRT  
 “(Have you noticed?) Tsui-sun (you know who he is) is so busy that he hasn’t had a meal yet.”

Compare (23b) to (23a)—the initial *kóng* denotes an additional tone of voice from the speaker to intentionally call the addressee’s attention to the proposition. The extra nuance can also be perceived when contrasting the two sentences below:

- (24) a. 銀環 講 早起 無 去 學校 上課 呢。(Taiwanese)  
 Gîn-khuân kóng tsái-khí bô khi hák-hâu siōng-khò neh.  
 Gin-khuan KONG morning not go school attend.class PRT  
 “Gin-khuan (you know who she is) did not go to school this morning.”
- b. 講 銀環 早起 無 去 學校 上課 呢。(Taiwanese)  
 Kóng Gîn-khuân tsái-khí bô khi hák-hâu siōng-khò neh.  
 KONG Gin-khuan morning not to school attend.class PRT  
 “(Have you noticed?) Gin-khuan (you know who she is) did not go to school this morning.”

Unlike (24a), (24b) is employed only when the speaker wants to point out the peculiarity of what he utters. That is, initial *kóng* expresses something that intra-sentential *kóng* does not. This is what I previously called a shade of strong illocutionary force. People use initial-*kóng* in order to draw attention to the interlocutor on purpose.

Last but not least, I argue against H&S’s (2007) proposal that there is equivalence between initial *kóng* and *that-kóng*. Their difference is illustrated in the contrast below:



- (25) a. 啥人 臆 明仔載 會 落雨？ (Taiwanese)  
 Siánn-lâng ioh bîn-á-tsài ē lóh-hōo?  
 who guess tomorrow will rain  
 “Who guessed that it would rain tomorrow?”
- b. (\*講) 慶餘 臆 (講) 明仔載 會 落雨 啦。 (Taiwanese)  
 (\*Kóng) Khing-î ioh (kóng) bîn-á-tsài ē lóh-hōo--lah.  
 (KONG) Khing-i guess (KONG) tomorrow will rain PRT  
 “Khing-i guessed that it would rain tomorrow.”

*That-kóng*, which is a semantically pale element, is optional and will never influence the adequacy of an answer. Nonetheless, this is not the case when the initial *kóng* occurs in a reply.

In sum, among the non-verbal *kóngs*, I have demonstrated—by using the test of acceptability when answering a *wh*-question—that the initial *kóng* and intra-sentential *kóng* share identical semantic and pragmatic functions as topic markers. Though the properties of the initial and intra-sentential *kóngs* differ markedly from the other two non-verbal *kóngs*, they themselves are only different in their surface positions and the presence/absence of additional illocutionary force. The devised test, mentioned above, demonstrates that they are semantically/pragmatically connected. In other words, I show that these two types of *kóngs* are not only mutually exclusive in syntax but also share identical properties in semantics. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the extra illocutionary force is derived from their different syntactic positions. In the next section, we will turn to the syntactic perspectives of these elements.

## 5. The Syntax of *Kóngs*

In this section, I will provide syntactic analyses of these elements in question. For *that-kóng*, I follow the proposals of S&W (2002) and H&S (2007). On the other hand, the intra-sentential *kóng* is suggested as a topic marker in CP, and intra-sentential *kóng* derives from initial *kóng* with extra raising. As for the SFP *kóng*, I agree with H&S (2007) in analyzing it as a C-element, which is in the left periphery of the IP. The linear position of the SFP *kóng* is due to anti-symmetric movement after it externally merges with a spelled-out CP.

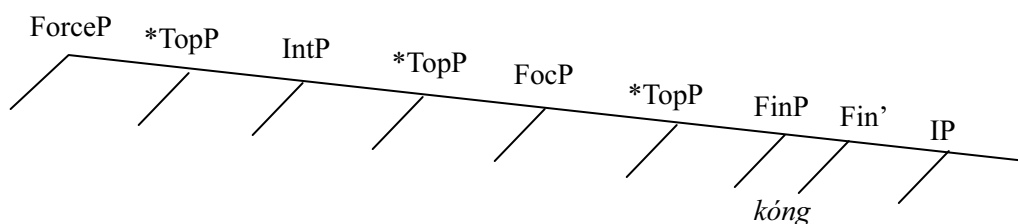
### 5.1 *That-kóng*

S&W (2002: 75-77) claim that *that-kóng* is a grammaticalized complementizer that precedes its IP complement and is fully parallel to the English complementizer *that*, Mandarin *shūo*, Thai *waa*, and equivalents in other SVO serializing languages.

H&S (2007: 3) also argue that *that-kóng*, very much like complementizers such as English *that*, is found in sentence-initial position. They observe that it primarily occurs in subordinate clauses, and they do not tell initial *kóng* and *that-kóng* apart (however, the difference between them has been demonstrated previously in section 4. Please refer to 4.4, especially (20)-(22) and the discussions therein). They propose that *that-kóng* does not mean “say” semantically and, as such, cannot be analyzed as a verbal element (2007: 5)—in other words, it is semantically bleached. H&S (2007: 10) suggest that the complementizer, as it is mainly found in subordinate clauses, seems to primarily play the highly grammatical role of closing off the IP and preparing it for further grammatical embedding; as such, it is immediately adjacent to the IP (the analysis of H&S will be recapitulated in 5.3.1.).

Regarding *that-kóng*, I agree with the analyses of S&W and H&S, except that I differentiate between the initial *kóng* and *that-kóng*. Following H&S, *that-kóng* is a  $C^0$  immediately preceding the IP. Based on the CP-split hypothesis (refer to Rizzi, 1997, 2001), it is sensible to pinpoint *that-kóng* at the head of the Finite Phrase (FinP).

(26)



### 5.2 Intra-sentential *Kóng* and Initial *Kóng*

Recall that, in section 4.3, the intra-sentential *kóng* is illustrated as a topic marker, and the constituent preceding it is a topicalized item. Since an intra-sentential *kóng* can never occur lower than *that-kóng* (see section 3), and *that-kóng* takes the IP as its complement, it is sensible to figure that an intra-sentential *kóng* is a topic head in a CP. Apart from the

observations so far, it is also true that even topicalized objects preceding intra-sentential *kóng*s occur higher than evidential adverbs, which is in the left periphery.

- (27) a. 慶餘 伊 結包子 講 明明 有 收 起來 ㄟ, 哪 會 揣 無 咧? (Taiwanese)  
 Khìng-î i hâ-pau-á kóng bîng-bîng ū siu khí-lâi khîng, ná ē tshuē bô--leh?  
 Khing-i wallet KONG obviously AM put-away up-come lay, how-come will find not  
 PRT  
 “Khing-i’s wallet was obviously put away. Why can’t he find it anymore?”
- b. 慶餘 ㄟ仔 講 都 明明 tshuā 去 甲 學校 矣, 老師 煞 無 看 伊 入 教室。  
 (Taiwanese)  
 Khìng-î gín-á kóng to bîng-bîng tshuā khi kah hák-hâu--ah, lâu-su suah bô khuànn i jip  
 kàu-sik.  
 Khing-i kid KONG PRT obviously lead go to school PRT teacher to-my-surprise not  
 see he enter classrooms  
 “Speaking of Khing-i’s kid, Khing-i obviously took him to school. But, surprisingly,  
 his teacher did not see him come into the classroom.”

On the other hand, unlike other object-preposing cases, topicalization with an intra-sentential *kóng* attached can never be done with the subject stranded. Compare the sentences below:

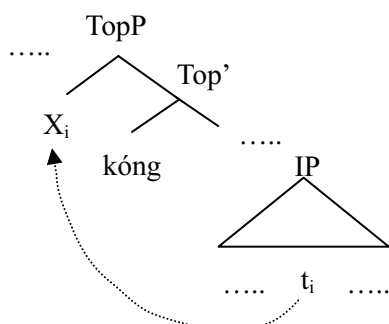
- (28) a. 飯, 伊 連 食 都 無 食 就 走 矣。 (Taiwanese)  
 P̄ng, i liân tsiáh to bô tsiáh tō tsáu--ah.  
 rice he even eat all not eat then leave PRT  
 “Regarding the meal, he left without even eating it.”
- b. 伊 飯 連 食 都 無 食 就 走 矣。 (Taiwanese)  
 I p̄ng liân tsiáh to bô tsiáh tō tsáu--ah.  
 s/he rice even eat all not eat then leave PRT  
 “He left without even eating the meal.”
- (29) a. \*飯 講 伊 連 食 也 無 食 就 做 伊 走 矣。 (Taiwanese)  
 \*P̄ng kóng i liân tsiáh iā bô tsiáh tō tsò i tsáu--ah.  
 rice KONG s/he even eat also not eat then do he leave PRT  
 (Intended) “Regarding the meal, he left without even eating it.”
- b. 伊 飯 講 連 食 也 無 食 就 做 伊 走 矣。 (Taiwanese)

I p̄ng kóng liān tsiáh iā bô tsiáh tō tsò i tsáu--ah.  
 s/he rice KONG even eat also not eat then do he leave PRT  
 “Regarding the meal, he left without even eating it.”

The contrast above further illustrates that topicalization with intra-sentential *kóng* is different from other topicalization structures; moreover, its position is not inside the IP.

Following the prevalent observations of topicalization movement in the literature, I propose the following scheme for intra-sentential *kóng*s:

(30)



In (30),  $X_i$  indicates the topicalized constituent, which is internally merged and leaves a lower copy deleted at PF (denoted by  $t_i$ ).

Remember the previously depicted characteristics of an initial *kóng*. I have demonstrated that it cannot co-occur with an intra-sentential *kóng* in a sentence. Moreover, it behaves in the same pattern as an intra-sentential *kóng* when replying to a *wh*-question. Moreover, it affects merely the constituent that immediately follows it (viz. the second constituent of the sentence). Since they cannot co-occur syntactically and their functions overlap semantically and pragmatically, it is sensible to propose that the initial *kóng* is only a preposed version of the intra-sentential *kóng*.<sup>16</sup> Regarding the preposing in question, I suggest that the motivation

<sup>16</sup> A reviewer asks: If intra-sentential *kóng* and initial *kóng* are identical, how does the author account for the initial *kóng* not following the topic-marker properties defined by Kuo (2009) (cited in (17)))? Note that the properties suggested in Kuo (2009: 3 (8)) are for a topic, but not for a topic marker. That is to say, what is supposed to conform to Kuo (2009: 3 (8)) is the constituent immediately following initial-*kóng*, instead of initial-*kóng* itself. This is exactly what I delineate in 4.4. In brief, by the test designed, it is demonstrated that the constituent immediately following the initial *kóng* and the constituent immediately preceding the intra-sentential *kóng* are topics. They both comply with the properties found in Kuo (2009: 3 (8)). Therefore, initial *kóng* and intra-sentential *kóng* are topic markers.

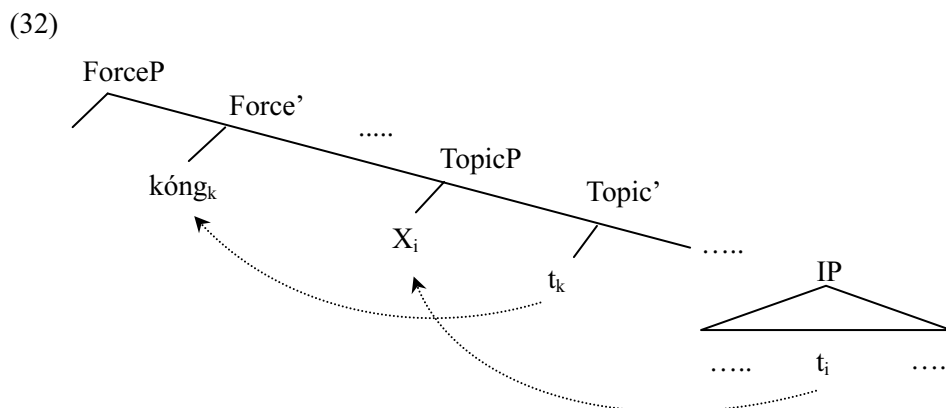
behind it is to reflect additional illocutionary force.

In his analysis of *how* and *why* questions, Tsai (2008) claims that the Mandarin causal *zěnmē*, which is pinpointed as an interrogative phrase in the CP, can also be employed to express further construal of denial.

- (31) a. How could John do this to me? (English; Tsai, 2008: 84 (2c))  
 b. 阿 Q 怎麼 可以 去 台北 ? (Mandarin; Tsai, 2008: 85 (6b))  
 Akiu zěnmē kěyǐ qù Táiběi?  
 Akiu how can go Taipei  
 “Akiu can’t/shouldn’t go to Taipei.”

According to Tsai, with its construal of denial, the locus of *zěnmē* is placed at the head of ForceP to reflect the change of illocutionary force—namely, the speech act involved has shifted from eliciting information to denial (2008: 108).

Following Tsai, I suggest that the intra-sentential *kóng* is preposed to convey extra illocutionary force, in addition to marking the topic.



The additional illocutionary force has a hue of contrastiveness. Here, we can make an educated guess, based on this observation, that initial *kóng* is a contrastive topic marker.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Krifka (2007: 44-45) suggests that contrastive topics arguably do not constitute an information-packaging category in their own right, but represent a combination of topic and focus. He claims that they consist of an aboutness topic that contains a focus, which does what a focus always does—indicate an alternative and alternative

### 5.3 SFP *Kóng*

In section 4.2, I pointed out that SFP *kóng* is an evidential particle that conveys a counter-expectation reading and marks evidentiality; this is based on S&W (2002) and H&S (2007). Regarding its syntax, I agree with H&S's (2007) analyses in which SFP *kóng* is figured as a  $C^0$ , which, more precisely, is in the IP left periphery.

#### 5.3.1 Recapitulating H&S (2007) and S&W (2002)

In their research, S&W (2002: 77) do not provide any evidence in favor of the SFP *kóng* being at the CP. They allege straightforwardly that the SFP *kóng* is a complementizer at clause-final position. H&S (2007: 3-7), following Tang (1989: 232-236), argue that Chinese languages have two different types of elements categorizable as C-elements: complementizers in sentence-initial position and those appearing in sentence-final position. SFP *kóng* is listed as the latter.

H&S (2007) maintain that a sentence can be seen as consisting of three layers:  $\nu P$ , the lexical core; the IP, which licenses the core lexical elements; and the CP, which is responsible for relations with the outside, including both the linguistic environment in the strict sense and linguistic environment in a broader sense (the discourse and the discourse setting). From this, H&S (2007: 7) suggest that SFPs are involved in the expression of notions that are relevant in the discourse, speech act, and epistemic domains and can be reasonably classified as C-elements.

It is noteworthy that H&S (2007: 7) put forward that the term “CP” includes both the complementizer projection and the domain that is sometimes referred to by other researchers as the “left periphery of the IP.” In other words, even H&S admit that the SFP *kóng* is not a strictly conventional C-element.

The scheme proposed by H&S (2007) for sentences with both initial and sentence final C-elements is as follows:

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aboutness topics. In other words, a contrastive topic is comprised of a focus within a topic that demonstrates the presence of alternatives. I will not further go into this and leave this for future research.

(33)  $[_{CP2} C^2 [_{CP1} C^1 [_{IP} \dots ] ] ]$  (refer to H&S, 2007: 12 (14))

(34)  $[_{CP2} [_{CP1} C^1 [_{IP} \dots ] ] C^2 [t_{CP1} ] ]$  (refer to H&S, 2007: 12 (15b))

The main consideration for them to postulate the double CP structure is derivational. Under Chomsky's (2001; 2008) phase theory and Moro's (2000) proposal of movement driven by the search for antisymmetry, H&S capitalize upon the ideas of CP being a phase that spells out the entire phase right after the  $C^0$  merges. Therefore, the SFP *kóng* is posited as another  $C^0$  that merges with the spelled-out CP to trigger the antisymmetric movement, which generates the observed word order (2007: 16-22).

### 5.3.2 Positioning SFP *kóng*

Because it is claimed to be an evidential particle, SFP *kóng* cannot be hierarchically higher than its homonymous siblings. See the following sentences:

- (35) a. We found that he obviously aided and abetted the crime committed. (English)<sup>18</sup>  
 b. I also want to add that they apparently don't remember anything about being a good Samaritan or being thy brother's keeper. (English)<sup>19</sup>

In both of the sentences above, the evidential adverbs *obviously* and *apparently* occur in the subordinate/embedded IP under the complementizer *that*.<sup>20</sup> The same distribution is also observed in Sinitic languages.

- (36) a. 線民 指出 他們 明明 / 似乎 有意 偷渡。 (Mandarin)  
 Xiànmín zhǐchū tāmen míngmíng/sìhū yǒuyì tōudù.  
 informant point-out they obviously/apparently intend sneak-overseas.  
 "An informant indicated that they obviously/apparently intend to sneak overseas."  
 b. 咱 个 報馬仔 來 報 講 in 若親像 有 欲 坐 桶仔 出去。 (Taiwanese)  
 Lán ê pò-bé-á lâi pò kóng in ná-tshin-tshiūnn ū beh tsē tháng-á tshut--khì.

<sup>18</sup> Extracted from "WHITE v. STATE; Jamie WHITE, Appellant v. STATE of Mississippi, Appellee. No. 2003-KA-01664-COA. -- July 19, 2005" at <http://caselaw.findlaw.com/ms-court-of-appeals/1487846.html> on June 15, 2011.

<sup>19</sup> Extracted from [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/social/maumeeone/republican-lawmakers-disaster-victims-prayers-aid\\_n\\_860628\\_87912770.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/social/maumeeone/republican-lawmakers-disaster-victims-prayers-aid_n_860628_87912770.html) on June 25, 2011.

<sup>20</sup> In English, evidential or hearsay adverbs include *allegedly*, *apparently*, *obviously*, *reportedly*, and so on.

our DE informant come report KONG they seemingly AM want sit barrel exit-out  
 “Our informant reported that they seemingly want to sneak overseas.”

In both the Mandarin and Taiwanese examples, the evidential adverbs (Mandarin *míngmíng/sihū*; Taiwanese *ná-tshin-tshiūnn*) occur in the embedded IP. The evidential adverb *ná-tshin-tshiūnn* is lower than *that-kóng*, which is the complementizer closing the IP.

These observations conform to H&S’s allegation that SFP *kóng* is not a strict C-element. In order to have H&S’s (2007) proposal work, we must postulate that there are two CPs in a single clause. The traditional one is the outer CP, and the left periphery of the IP is the inner CP. Although H&S’s proposal offers a possible answer, there are some problems, including that it is difficult to see why the merging of initial *kóng* after *that-kóng*, which are both C<sup>0</sup>s, does not trigger movement in search of antisymmetry. In fact, this question can be rephrased as “what is the general explanation of the existence of sentence-final C<sup>0</sup> in Sinitic languages?” I should refrain from such a digression, due to space limits, and leave this for future research.

#### 5.4 Summary

In this section, it is proposed that intra-sentential, SFP, and *that-kóns* are all C heads in a non-strict sense, but they are not identical. As for initial *kóng*, it is derived from raising intra-sentential *kóng* to the sentence-initial position, presumably under ForceP, since it contains additional illocutionary force.

Unlike S&W (2002) or H&S (2007), I provide a fine-grained analysis of these different *kóns*, which have not been well-distinguished in previous studies.

### 6. A Brief Cross-linguistic Note

In this section, I will compare the positions in which the topic marker(s) can occur in Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese sentences. The tentative observation is that each language may employ different numbers of topic projections, which are available in the universal structure. The other observation is that an identical topic projection in the hierarchical structure may bear different functions between languages.



## 6.1 Japanese *Wa*

In Japanese, the particle *wa* is traditionally defined as a topic marker (Kuno, 1973).<sup>21</sup> Unlike Taiwanese intra-sentential and initial *kóng*, it is possible to have *wa* occur lower than the complementizer. For example:

- (37) a. Okosan-ga deki-te kara byōin erabi-o suru no **wa** to omoware-teiru. (Japanese)<sup>22</sup>  
 child-NOM be-born-PRT from hospital choose-OBJ do PRT **TOP** COMP  
 be-though-PROG  
 “It is thought that beginning to choose a hospital before the child is born is...(not good).”
- b. Shuppan-gaisha-ga<sub>CP</sub>[boku-ga ano hon-**wa** koosee-shi-teiru]-to] omot-tei-ta-n-desu-yo.  
 (Japanese; from Tateishi, 1994: 153 (9b))  
 publish-company-NOM I-NOM that book-**TOPIC** proofread-do-PROG-that  
 think-PROG-PAST-(Nominalizer)-ASSERT-(Particle)  
 “The publisher thought that I was proofreading it.”

The Japanese sentences above have no problem with having an intra-sentential topic marker in the embedded clause. The occurrence of the intra-sentential topic marker *wa* in the subordinate clause lower than the complementizer *to* in Japanese indicates that the topic projection involved in (37b) cannot be in the embedded CP domain.<sup>23</sup> It is natural to assume that, in Japanese, there is a topic projection in the IP accommodating a topicalized constituent and the topic marker.

In modern Japanese, it is not common to find the topic marker *wa* (written as は) appear 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. In addition, Y. Hong (1981: 382) suggests that the sentence-final *wa* reinforces the proposition. The reason why it has become rare is that modern Japanese employs another kana “わ,” instead of “は,” in the sentence-final

<sup>21</sup> To avoid digressions I will not touch upon the controversies of *wa* in this paper, including the notions of given/new, predictable/unpredictable, theme/non-theme, and important/unimportant.

<sup>22</sup> Retrieved from “[http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question\\_detail/q124442307](http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question_detail/q124442307)” on August 5, 2010. The original text reads: “お子さんができてから病院選びをするのはとされている”. 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 August 5, 2010). The relevant section has been glossed and translated in (37a).

<sup>23</sup> However, note that Tateishi (1994) argues that there is no independent topic projection in Japanese.

position.<sup>24</sup> According to *Daijisen (the Comprehensive Dictionary)*<sup>25</sup>, the SFP “わ” (*wa*) is used to express astonishment, being moved, or admiration.<sup>26</sup> This dictionary also notes that such usage is derived from the intra-sentential topic marker “は” (pronounced as *wa* when used as a topic marker). During the 15<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century, this marker became a SFP. After the 16<sup>th</sup> century, people began to write “わ,” instead of “は”.

Another example of SFP *wa*:

- (38) “Taihen da wa!” to it-ta **wa**.<sup>27</sup> (Japanese)  
 serious-is WA COMP say-PAST **WA**  
 “She said, ‘It is serious!’”

The depictions above are reminiscent of the 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 that emphasizes the truthfulness of the proposition (Chen, 1989). Semantically, the Japanese SFP *wa* shares the same interpretation as the Taiwanese SFP *kóng*. Note that the translation of the embedded clause in (37a) ends with an ellipsis and the presumably unspoken words in parentheses. This was 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, personal communication). The same intuition is also mentioned in Chang’s (1998) analysis of the Taiwanese *kóng*. Chang claims that it is possible to reconstruct the implied content that follows the SFP *kóng* (1998: 119-120). Undoubtedly, *kóng* and *wa* can be used as both intra-sentential topic markers and SFPs nowadays.

In short, Taiwanese and Japanese both have homonymous topic markers and sentence-final evidential markers. They differ in that the topic marker in Taiwanese is in the CP,

<sup>24</sup> In both cases, the pronunciation of this SFP is the same.

<sup>25</sup> Published by Shogakukan (小学館).

<sup>26</sup> 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.

<sup>27</sup> Retrieved from “[http://www.dipex-j.org/gb\\_bc/50a/18/1578.html](http://www.dipex-j.org/gb_bc/50a/18/1578.html)” on August 11, 2011. The original text: “「大変だわ！」と言ったわ”. Please refer to the glosses and translation in (38).

but its Japanese equivalent is in the left periphery of the IP.

## 6.2 Korean *Un*

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

- (39) Chelswe-nun [[<sub>ᵗ</sub> 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 (39), the topicalized DP “flower,” attached by the intra-sentential topic marker *un*, is in the subordinate clause. By parity of reasoning, I propose that there is also a topic projection with an overt topic marker in the IP participating in the topicalizing constituent(s) in Korean. Since Japanese and Korean are close in syntax, this similarity is not surprising.

To summarize, the three languages in question all employ specific topic markers. Unlike the topic markers in Japanese and Korean, which can occur in the IP, the Taiwanese topic marker *kóng* only occurs in the CP. Furthermore, Taiwanese and Japanese both use a homonym of a topic marker in the sentence-final position as an evidential particle.<sup>28 29</sup>

## 7. Concluding Remarks

By studying the non-verbal *kóngs* in detail, I provide a fine-grained analysis in both syntax and semantics that is not found in previous studies. Although all these *kóngs* are C-elements (in a loose interpretation), as pointed out in the literature, I argue that they should not be treated as identical items. Furthermore, it is indicated that the SFP *kóng* is hierarchically lower than the conventional CP domain. If H&S (2007) is on the right track in explicating the motivation and re-ordering process that relocate particles to sentence-final positions, their proposal can only work by resorting to a workable version of phase theory, after re-defining the domain of the CP.

<sup>28</sup> Note that Japanese is a head-final language, in contrast to Taiwanese, which is assumed to be head-initial by most researchers.

<sup>29</sup> Note that, in Taiwanese and Mandarin sentences, it is possible to have the subject NP precede the evidential adverb (and some other adverb(ial)s in the left periphery). This shows that topic position(s) is/are also available in the left periphery of the IP in Sinitic languages. Nevertheless, no overt marker is allowed therein.

Compared with the topic markers in Japanese and Korean, the Taiwanese *kóng*, when used as a topic marker, seems to occupy a different position. Coincidentally, just like Taiwanese, Japanese also has an evidential marker that is homonymous with the topic marker. Similar grammaticalization processes may be involved in these two languages.

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## 台灣話的非動詞「講」

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### 摘 要

本文提供了台灣話中非動詞「講」的詳細分析，並指出其中至少應區分為三種不同的成份。緊隨在溝通或認知性動詞之後者，屬補語連詞（標句詞），不具實質語意內涵；句中的「講」則是位處於補語短語中的主題化成份，這個成份可提升到句首以表達額外的示意語力；至於句末的「講」則為一言據性標記（Chang, 1998; Hsieh & Sybesma, 2007）。此外，文中亦指出，句末的「講」生成於屈折短語的左緣，而非傳統指涉的補語短語範域之內。

在日語及韓語中也有主題化標記，但其位置低於補語連詞，透過跨語言比較，可知台灣話裡頭同音異義的主題化標記與言據性標記並非特例，日語中亦存在同樣的情況，前述的觀察顯示兩種語言可能在此類成份上有著雷同的語法化過程。

關鍵字：講、主題化標記、補語連詞、言據性標記、台灣話