

Information Structure

This chapter introduces **information-packaging** constructions, which differ syntactically from the canonical constructions. These information-packaging constructions express the same truth conditions or illocutionary meaning as their more basic counterparts, but present and package the contained information in a different way. The following [i] sentences are the variants of their canonical [ii] counterparts.

[1] Object preposing

i. 這兩套書他看過。 / 他這兩套書看過。

zhe4/this liang3/two tao4/series shu1/book ta1/he kan4/look
guo4/GUO . / ta1/he zhe4/this liang3/two tao4/series shu1/book
kan4/look guo4/GUO

'These two series of books, he has read.'

ii. 他看過這兩套書。

ta1/he kan4/look guo4/GUO zhe4/this liang3/two tao4/series
shu1/book

'He has read these two series of books.'

[2] Locative inversion

i. 搖籃裡躺著出世未久的嬰兒

yao2lan2/cradle li3/inside tang3/lie zhe/ZHE chuishi4wei4jiu3/new_born
de/DE ying1er2/baby

'In the cradle lies the newly born baby.'

ii 出世未久的嬰兒躺在搖籃裡。

chu1shi4wei4jiu3/new_born de/DE ying1er2/baby tang3/lie
zai4/PREP yao2lan2/cradle li3/inside

'The newly born baby lies in the cradle.'

[3] . Unaccsative inversion

i. 家裡來了一個外國人。

jiaili3/home lai2/come le/LE yi1/one ge4/CL wai4guo2ren2/foreigner

'(What happened at our home was that) a foreigner came.'

ii. 有一個外國人來家裡。

you3/YOU yi1/one ge4/CL wai4guo2ren2/foreigner lai2/come
jia1li3/home
'A foreigner came to my home.'

[4] BA-construction

i. 他把那本書看完了。

ta1/he ba3/BA na4/that ben3/CL shu1/book kan4/look wan2/complete
le/LE

'He finished reading THAT BOOK.'

ii. 他看完了那本書。

ta1/he kan4/look wan2/complete le/LE na4/that ben3/CL
shu1/book

'He finished reading that book.'

[4]i. 他被蜜蜂刺了一下。

ta1/he bei4/BEI mi4feng1/bee ci4/sting le/LE yi1/one xia4/CL

He was stung by a bee.'

ii. 蜜蜂刺了他一下。

mi4feng1/bee ci4/sting le/LE ta1/he yi1/one xia4/CL .

A bee stung him.'

[5] *Shi...de* construction

i. 我是從美國來的。

wo3/I shi4/be cong2/from mei3guo2/United_States lai2/come de/DE

'It is from the United States that I came.'

ii. 我從美國來。

wo3/I cong2/from mei3guo2/United_States lai2/come

'I came from the United States.'

[6] *Lian...dou/ye* construction

i. 他們連自己的心跳聲都聽見了。

taimeno/they lian2/even zi4ji3/oneself de/DE xinitiao4/heartbeat
sheng1/sound dou1/all tingjian4/hear le/LE

'They can even hear their own heartbeat.'

ii. 他們聽見了自己的心跳聲。

ta1men0/they tingjian4/hear le/LE zi4ji3/oneself de/DE
xin1tiao4/heartbeat sheng1/sound

'They heard their own heartbeat.'

[7]zhi sentences

i. (你)只有這條路(你)可以走。

(ni3/you) zhi3you3/only zhe4/this tia02/CL lu4/way (ni3/you) ke2yi3/can
zou3/walk

‘This is the only way you can take.’

ii. 你只可以走這條路。

ni3/you zhi1/only ke4yi3/can zou3/walk zhe4/this tia02/CL lu4/way

‘You only can take this way.’

The word order variations are largely motivated by how speakers choose to convey parts within the sentences as **given** or **new** information in discourse introduced in Chapter 15. While phonetic stress may be a device of marking emphasis, Mandarin also utilizes various syntactic means to package prominent information. Given information, or **old** or **familiar** information, is the information that the speaker takes or assumes to be shared by speaker and addressee, being **discourse-old**. By contrast, **unfamiliar** or **new** information that is newly introduced to the current discourse is termed as being **discourse-new**. Discourse-old status can be applied to elements that have some salient and relevant relationship to entities that have been evoked, even if they have not been mentioned previously.

[8] i. 有位朋友送我一本書，作者是 Roni。

you3/YOU wei4/CL peng2you3/friend song4/give wo3/I
yi1/one ben3/CL shu1/book , zuo4zhe3/author shi4/be
Roni/Roni

‘A friend of mine gave me a book. The author is Roni.’

ii. 月梅直奔阿吉的練團室。門掩著。

yue4mei2/Yuemei zhi2/directly ben4/run a1ji2/A-Ji de/DE
lian4tuan2shi4/practice_room . men2/door yan3/close
zhe/ZHE . ting1jian4/hear nan2ren2/man hou3jiao4/roar
de/DE sheng1yin1/sound

‘Yuemei rushed to A-Ji’s practice room. The door was closed.’

[9] 人能夠發聲動物也會發聲，鳥會叫，狗會吠。

ren2/human neng2gou4/can fa1sheng1/make_sound
dong4wu4/animal ye3/also hui4/can fa1sheng1/make_sound ,
niao3/bird hui4/can jiao4/chirp , gou3/dog hui4/can fei4/bark

‘Men can make sound, so do animals. Birds can chirp. Dogs can bark.’

作者 *zuo4zhe3* “author” in [8i] is discourse-old information because it relates to the book just mentioned. Likewise, there is a part-whole relation between the door and the room in **Error! Reference source not found.**[8ii]; hence, we can infer that 門 *men2* “door” refers to the practice room in the first clause. Bare nouns like 鳥 *niao3* “bird” and 狗 *gou3* “dog” in [**Error! Reference source not found.**] are discourse-old because their hypernym 動物 *dong4wu4* “animal” has been activated in the context. Discourse-old information is often addressee-old information that is familiar to the addressee. But the addressee can also be assumed to be familiar with entities that have not been mentioned or activated in the discourse. Therefore, the situation pertains to being **discourse-new** but **addressee-old**.

- [10] i. 水能覆舟，亦能載舟。
shui3/water neng2/can fu4/flip zhou1/boat , yi4/also
neng2/can zai4/carry zhou1/boat
‘Water can carry boats, and can also flipboats over.’
- ii. 總統對中油努力探勘油源所花費的心力，表示肯定。
zong2tong3/president dui4/PREP
zhong1you2/China_Petroleum nu3li4/make_efforts
tan4kan1/prospect you2yuan2/oil_source suo3/SUO
hua1fei4/spend de/DE xin1li4/efforts , biao3shi4/show
ken3ding4/acknowledge
‘The president acknowledges China Petroleum’s prospecting efforts for oil.’

The above sentences show that although 水 in [10i] and, 總統 *zong2tong3* “*president*” in [10ii] seems to appear for the first time they are both known to the addressee. I.e. the addressee is assumed to know both the concept of water as a kind of object (and perhaps familiar with this idiom), as well who the president is. Hence, the subjects are discourse-new but addressee-old information. Information that is new to the addressee, i.e. **addressee-new**, serves the **focus** or emphasis of a clause

- [11] i. Q: 你是從哪裡來的?
ni3/you shi4/be cong2/from na2li3/where lai2/come de/DE
‘Where are you from?’
- ii. A: 我是從美國來的。
wo3/I shi4/be cong2/from mei3guo2/United_States lai2/come
de/DE

'It is the United States that I am from.'

The phrase 從美國 *cong2 mei3guo2* "from United States" in [11ii] is as a focus answer to the question of [11i], with the presupposition that *you have come from somewhere*. This focus is further highlighted in 是...的 *shi4...de* construction.

Terms like "topic" and "focus" have been commonly used to package the given/new pragmatic information. In general, topics express discourse-old information, and foci addressee-new information. There are two main devices to manage the pragmatic information: by alternating the word order such as those in [1]-[5] or by utilizing focus constructions, e.g., such as 是...的 *shi4...de* in [6], 連...都 *lian2...dou1* [7] and 只 *zhi3* "only" in [8]. Before turning into each pattern, some general properties of information structure are summarized as follows:

[i] More informative items tend to occur later. Hence given information tends to precede new information; and general information precedes specific information.

[ii] The preverbal position is a device to mark given information of marking definiteness, whereas there is no such a restriction in postverbal positions.

[iii] Given information is usually expressed with definite, or specific nominal phrases, while new information is often expressed with indefinite or bare forms.

[iv] A sentence may be partitioned into "topic" and "comment" parts, the former of which identifies a contextually understood entity and the latter of which elaborates on or provides more information about the topic. In a canonical subject-predicate pattern, the subject may be interpreted as a topic, and the predicate as the comment. Topics usually occur at the beginning of a clause.

17.1 Topic and object preposing

Topic positions typically involve preposing of an participant of the main predicate and have the following information packaging functions: signaling of discourse-old information, frame-setting, and contrastive topics.

17.1.1. Discourse-old Information

A topic usually occurs in the beginning of the sentence, and the rest part of the

sentence, the comment, elaborates on it or talks about it. They are definite or specific nominal phrases which have either been mentioned in the previous discourse or relevant to the discourse context. Take a short narrative in [12] for an example:

- [12] i. 我特別喜歡讀...賈平凹的書。 --SVO
 wo3/I te4bie2/especially xi3huan1/like du2/read ...
 jia3ping2wa4/Jia_Pingwa de/DE shu1/book
 'I especially like to read books by Jia Pingwa.
- ii. 在台灣只看到了平凹的兩本書，...。
 zai4/PREP tai2wan1/Taiwan zhi3/only kan4dao4/see le/LE
 ping2wa4/Pingwa de/DE liang3/two ben3/CL shu1/book ,
 yi1/one ben3/CL shi4/be tian1gou3/Tiangou , yi1/one
 ben3/CL shi4/be fu2zao4/Fuzao
 In Taiwan, I only saw two of Pingwa's books....
- iii. 這兩本書我都要看爛了。 --OSV
 zhe4/this liang3/two ben3/CL shu1/book wo3/I
 dou1yao4/almost kan4/look lan4/torn_apart le/LE
 These two books, I read them to the extent that they are almost
 torn apart.'

The underlined post-verbal object in [12i], books written by JIA Pingwa, is **discourse-new** information, just introduced to the discourse. In the following sentence [12ii] the speaker specifies two of his books that she can get in Taiwan. When more new information about these two books is to be added in [12iii], the object, which is expressed by a definite nominal 這兩本書 *zhe4 liang3 ben3 shu1* "these two books", signaling the background of **discourse-old** information, occurs in the sentence-initial position as a topic for the remaining comment clause to elaborate on. Bare nominal phrases [13] and specific nominals in [14] can also function as topics. A specific nominal phrase occurring with the modal verb 能 *neng2* "can" in [14ii] is interpreted as a generic topic.

- [13] 只要肯做，困難一定能克服。
 zhi3yao4/as_long_as ken3/willing zuo4/do ,
 kun4nan2/difficulty yi1ding4/surely neng2/can
 ke4fu2/overcome
 'As long as (you) are willing to do it, difficulties can be overcome.'
- [14] i. 一個可容以萬計人數的大堂，出現在眼前，
 yi1/one ge4/CL ke3/can rong2/accomodate yi3/PREP
 wan4/ten_thousand ji4/count ren2shu4/number_of_people

de/DE da4tang2/hall , chu1xian4/appear zai4/PREP
 yan3qian2/front , da4tang2/hall di3bian1/floor shi4/be
 ge4/CL zheng4fang1xing2/square
 ‘A hall that can accommodate tens of thousands of people
 appears in front of us.’

- ii. 一篇上好的佳作並不是只靠以上三點就能完成。
 yi1/one pian1/CL shang4hao3/first-class de/DE
 jia1zuo4/excellent_work bing4/however bu4/not shi4/be
 zhi3/only kao4/rely_on yi3shang4/above san1/three
 dian3/point jiu4/thus neng2/can wan2cheng2/achieve
 ‘An excellent writing cannot be achieved just by the above three
 points.’

17.1.2. Frame-setting, Aboutness Topics

Discourse-old topics set a spatial, temporal, or individual frame relevant to the comment clause, which talks **about** or adds new information to the topics. Sentences containing frame-setting or aboutness topics may exhibit a “part -whole” relation between the comment and the topic.

- [15] i. 香港消費的水果以進口的為主。...。
 xiang1gang3/Hong_Kong xiao1fei4/consume de/DE
 shui2guo3/fruit yi3/PREP jin4kou3/import de/DE
 wei2zhu3/be_in_majority . jin4kou3/import de/DE
 shui2guo3/fruit zhu3yao4/mainly lai2zi4/come_from
 mei3guo2/United_States , tai4guo2/Thailand yi3ji2/and
 zhong1guo2/China nei4di4/mainland
 ‘Fruits consumed in Kong Kong are mainly imported....’
- ii. 在進口的各種水果中，以橙子和蘋果最多。
 zai4/PREP jin4kou3/import de/DE ge4zhong3/various_kinds
 shui2guo3/fruit zhong1/among , yi3/PREP cheng2zi0/orange
 he2/and ping2guo3/apple zui4duo1/most
 ‘Among various imported fruits, oranges and apples are the
 most common.’

The topic 在進口的各種水果中 *zai4 jin4kou3 de ge4zhong3 shui3guo3 zhong1* “AMONG THE IMPORTED FRUITS” in [Error! Reference source not found.ii], refers to the previously mentioned imported foods in Hong Kong in [15i], meanwhile setting a “frame” (the “whole”) for the remaining comment clause to specify the most

common sub-types: oranges and apples (the “parts”).

Sentences in [16] to [Error! Reference source not found.] further illustrate the part-whole relation and the frame-setting function of the topic, e.g., the Song dynasty--its territory and population in [16], and Chinese dynasties in [17]. Despite that the first nominal phrase can also be a subject, the so-called double-subject construction as in [18ii], it can also serve as a topic, particularly when followed by a longer pause or a phrasal boundary marker like 啊 *a4*, 呢 *ne0*.

- [16] 宋朝 地廣人眾，縱然戰敗，實力仍強。
song4chao2/Song_Dynasty di4/land guang3/vast ren2/people
zhong4/many , zong4ran2/even_though zhan4bai4/defeated ,
shi2li4/strength reng2/ still qiang2/strong .
'The Song Dynasty has abounded territory and large population;
even if it is defeated (in tis war), it still has great strength.'
- [17] 中國 歷代 吃蟹花樣繁多。
zhong1guo2/China li4dai4/all_dynasties chi1/eat xie4/crab
hua1yang4fan2duo1/have_various_ways .
'The China dynasties have various ways of eating crabs.'
- [18] i. 你六十四年次的嗎？你看起來怎麼那麼老？我不太相信呢！ ...
ni3/you liu4shi2si4nian2ci4/the_sixty_fourth_year de/DE
ma1/MA ? ni3/you kan4/look qi3lai2/up zen3me0/how
na4me0/so lao3/old ? wo3/I bu4tai4/not_really
xiang1xin4/believe ne0/NE !
'(You said)You were born in 1975? How come you look so old? I
don't believe it.'
- ii. 你 身分證 讓我看一下好不好？
ni3/you shen1fen4zheng4/identity_card rang4/let wo3/I
kan4/look yi1/one xia4/CL hao3/OK bu4/not hao4/OK ?
'How about your ID, can I see it?'

Discourse-old information applies not only to elements that have been explicitly mentioned in the prior discourse, but also to those that are relevant to the current discussion, though not having been explicitly said. Phrases like location, temporal and prepositional phrases are commonly used as frame-setting topics.

- [19] i. 中研院的對面有所胡適國小，側邊有座胡適公園，院區內還有個胡適紀念館。
zhong1yan2yuan4/Academia_Sinica de/DE
dui4mian4/opposite you3/YOU suo3/CL hu2shi4/HU_Shi
guo2xiao3/elementary_school , ce4bian1/side you3/YOU

zuo4/CL hu2shi4/HU_Shi gong1yuan2/park ,
 yuan4qu1/campus nei4/inside hai2/also you3/have ge4/CL
 hu2shi4/HU_Shi ji4nian4guan3/memorial_museum
 'At Academia Sinica, there is Hu Shi elementary school in front
 of it, Hu Shi park to its side, and Hu Shi memorial museum on
 campus.

- ii. 在這個地方，胡適先生似乎享有著一份特殊的地位。
 zai4/PREP zhe4/this ge4/CL di4fang1/place , hu2shi4/HU_Shi
 xian1sheng1/sir si4hu1/as_if xiang3you3/enjoy zhe/ZHE
 yi1/one fen4/CL te4shu1/special de/DE di4wei4/respect
 At this place, Dr. Hu Shi seem to enjoys a special status.'

- [2] 在台大的四年裡，我只聽過一次錢校長 ...的演說。
 zai4/be_at tai2da4/NTU de/DE si4/four nian2/year
 li3/within , wo3/I zhi3/only ting1/hear guo4/GUO yi1/one
 ci4/CL qian2/Qian xiao4zhang3/president ... de/DE
 yan3shuo1/speech
 'In the four years (when I was at) National Taiwan University, I
 only heard President Qian's speech once.'

- [21] 從鍾的論述可知...台灣...已有過度醫療化的現象...
 cong2/from zhong1/Zhong de/DE lun4shu4/statement
 ke3/can zhi1/know ... tai2wan1/Taiwan ... yi3/already
 you3/YOU guo4du4/over yi1liao2hua4/medicalized de/DE
 xian4xiang4/phenomenon
 'From Chong's argumentation, we know that Taiwan has
 become over-medicalized.'

In the context of mentioning the places near Academia Sinica named after Dr.胡適 *hu2shi4*, the topic 在這個地方 *zai4 zhe4 ge4 di4fang1* "at this place" in [19] is uttered to continue the discussion and serve a background for its following comment clause. Sentences in [20] illustrate temporal frame-setting topics; while [21] contains a prepositional topic phrase: 從鍾的論述 *cong2 zhong1 de lun4shu4* "from Mr. Zhong's statement". Aboutness topics may include phrases introduced by 至於 *zhi4yu4*, 關於 *guan1yu2* or 對於 *dui4yu2* "as for, regarding". These topics direct hearer's attention to some salient entities relevant to the previous discourse, though they are not necessarily identical to the prior mentioned elements.

- [22] i. 「文化大革命」中林被捕入獄四年半。

- “ wen2hua4da4ge2ming4/Cultural_Revolution ”
 zhong1/within lin2/Lin bei4/BEI bu3/arrest
 ru4yu1/go_to_prison si4/four nian2/year ban4/half
 ‘During cultural revolution, Lin was jailed for four years.
- ii. 大量的精心作品先已浸入水盆、浴缸中溶成紙漿，從下水道沖走。
 da4liang4/a_lot_of de/DE jing1xin1/carefully zuo4pin3/works
 xian1/earlier yi3/already jin4ru4/immerse shui3/water
 pen2/basin , yu1gang1/bathtub zhong1/in rong2/dissolve
 cheng2/into zhi3jiang1/paper_pulp , cong2/PREP
 xia4shui3dao4/sewer chong1/flush zou3/go
 ‘A lot of his carefully crafted works had been immersed in water
 in a basin or tub to dissolve into pulp, and flushed away
 through the sewer.
- iii. 至於油畫，則早在杭州淪陷後被日軍用作防雨布了。
 zhi4yu1/as_for you2hua4/oil_painting , ze2/then zao3/early
 zai4/PREP hang2zhou1/Hangzhou lun2xian4/fall hou4/after
 bei4/BEI ri4jun1/Japanese_army yong4zuo4/use_as
 fang2yu3bu4/tarpaulin le/LE
 As for his paintings on canva, (they) had already been gone
 when Hangzhou fell to Japanese army earlier, used as tarpaulin
 by them.’

In a context of discussing the political turmoil that devastated art works in the 1950’s, the painter 林 lin2 was mentioned as in [Error! Reference source not found.22i]. Although the topic phrase 大量的精心作品 da4liang4 de jing1xin1 zuo4pin3 “a lot of (Lin’s) carefully crafted art masterpieces” in [22ii] is not explicitly mentioned in the previous context, the knowledge of his works has been assumed to be shared by the addressee. Hence appearing in the sentence initial position, the phrase facilitates the function of confining the issue to his art works. In its following sentence [22iii], the attention is shifted to his works which were lost earlier: the topic 至於油畫 zhi4yu2 you2hua4 “as for the oil paintings” was elaborated on by the following comment clause.

17.1.3. Contrastive Topics

In addition to the topics conveying given information, a topic may be introduced into the discourse to contrast a relevant entity with what has been established in the context, often termed as **contrastive topic**. It is discourse-old, but it is informative, sometimes addressee-new. A contrastive topic is not necessarily mentioned

previously.

- [3] i. 周先生子女皆知上進， ...。
zhou1/Zhou xian1sheng1/sir zi2nu3/kids jie1/all zhi1/know
shang4jin4/self-motivated , zi4ji3/oneself zhi1dao4/know
yong4gong1/work_hard
'Mr. Zhou's kids are all self-motivated ...'
- ii. 對於孩子的教養，周先生主張讓孩子思想多方面發展。
dui4yu1/PREP hai2zi0/child de/DE jiao4yang3/nurture ,
zhou1/Zhou xian1sheng1/sir zhu3zhang1/suggest rang4/let
hai2zi0/child si1xiang3/thought duo1/many fang1mian4/facet
fa1zhan3/develop
'As for how to raise his children, Mr. Zhou's believe that one
should allow their ideas and thoughts to develop in multiple
directions.'
- iii. 但行為則須稍有約束。
dan4/but xing2wei2/behavior ze2/then xu1/need
shao1/somewhat you3/YOU yue1shu4/discipline
'...but their behaviors should be somewhat disciplined.'

[23] discusses Mr. Zhou's philosophy for raising children. [23ii] contains a typical frame-setting or aboutness topic, 對於孩子的教養 *dui4yu2 hai2zi0 de jiao4yang3* "as for raising the children" for the comment clause to assert his support for kid's free-thinking development. In [23iii] the contrastive topic 行為 *xing2wei2* "behavior" contrasts with 思想 *si1xiang3* "thought" in [23ii] in that, unlike the freedom given to development of thoughts, he claims that behaviors should be disciplined. Contrastive topics allow indefinite but specific nominal phrases, usually accompanied by prenominal modifiers, as in [24].

- [24] 何先生藏書逾萬本 一些目前國內已不多見的珍本，在他的書架上也可找到。
he2/HE xian1sheng0/sir cang2shu1/collection_of_books
yu2/exceed wan4/ten_thousand ben3/CL ... yi4xie1/some
mu4qian2/recently guo2nei4/within_the_country yi3/already
bu4duo1jian4/rare de/DE zhen1ben3/precious_book ,
zai4/PREP ta1/he de/DE shu1jia4/bookshelf shang4/on
ye3/also ke3/can zhao3dao4/find
Mr. He's collections over ten thousands books,... Some of rare
book which are rarely seen in our country, (they) can be found
in his bookshelves.

Another characteristic of contrastive topics is that they are often preceded by (or contextually understood) a topic of sum, of which the contrastive topic is a subordinate part or hyponym. For example, the answer in [26i], 多半兒的意思 *duo1ban4er0 de yi4si0* “MOST OF THE MEANINGS”, is a part of the topic of sum in [25], Dr. You’s speech. And the remaining answers employ contrastive topics to juxtapose the parts that the speaker understands and those not.

- [25] Q: 剛才尤博士的演講，你聽得懂聽不懂？
 gang1cai2/just_now you2/YOU bo2shi4/doctor de/DE
 yan2jiang3/speech , ni3/you ting1/listen de/DE
 dong3/understand ting1/listen bu4/not
 dong3/understand
 As for Dr. You’s speech just now, did you understand it?
- [26]A i: 多半兒的意思我都聽懂了。
 duo1ban4er0/most de/DE yi4si0/meaning wo3/I dou1/all
 ting1/listen dong3/understand le/LE
 I could understand most of the contents.
- ii: 只有一小部分不太懂。
 zhi2you3/only yi1xiao3bu4fen4/a_small_portion
 bu4tai4/not_really dong3/understand
 There is only a small portion that I don’t understand.
- iii: 可能是那些字，我還沒學過。
 ke3neng2/maybe shi4/be na4xie1/those zi4/character ,
 wo3/I hai2/yet mei2/not xue2/learn guo4/GUO
 Maybe it is because of those words that I haven’t learned.

17.1.4. Clause internal objects

In addition to the clause-initial topics, an object may be placed in between the subject and the verb as clause-internal object. The clause-internal objects can be given or shared information but are intended for emphasis or contrast. They can be a definite nominal phrase ([Error! Reference source not found.]), or a bare nominal as in [Error! Reference source not found.].

- [27] i. 李先生這一覺睡到次日辰時才醒。

li3/Li xian1sheng0/sir zhe4/this yi1/CL jiao4/sleep
shui4/sleep dao4/PREP ci4ri4/the_next_day
chen2shi2/CHEN_period cai2/just xing3/wake_up
Mr. Li slept and didn't wake up until 8ish next morning.

- ii. 儘管對這本書所講的宏觀經濟理論我略知一二，
但這本書卻看不懂。
jin4guan3/although dui4/PREP zhe4/this ben3/CL shu1/book
suo3/SUO jiang3/talk de/DE hong2guan1/macro
jing1ji4/economy li3lun4/theory wo3/I
lue4zhi1yi1er4/know_a_little, dan4/but zhe4/this ben3/CL
shu1/book que4/however kan4/look bu4/not
dong3/understand
Although I understand a little about the macro economy theory
discussed in this book, but I don't understand this book.

- [28] 許多民眾最近紛紛反應中央健康保險局電話打不進去，
xu3duo1/many min2zhong4/people zui4jin4/recently
fen1fen1/in_succession fan3ying4/complain
zhong1yang1/central
jian4kang1bao3xian3ju2/Central_Health_Insurance_Bureau
dian4hua4/telephone da3/dial bu4/not jin4qu4/enter
Many people recently complained that calls to Central Health
Insurance Bureau failed to connect.

Clause-internal objects may convey new information, such as 功課 'homework' in
[29].

- [29] 游先生下午酒後回家察覺小兒子功課沒寫， ...。
you2/YOU xian1sheng0/sir xia4wu3/afternoon jiu3/wine
hou4/after hui2jia1/go_home cha2jue2/notice xiao3er2zi0/son
gong1ke4/homework mei2/not xie3/write, dong4shou3/beat
guan3jiao4/discipline xiao3hai2/child
'Mr. You went home in the afternoon after drinking and noticed
his younger son didn't finish his homework

They are often used to express contrastive alternatives; see the below parallel
structures of contrasting various foods in [30].

- [4] i. 小時候我特別的偏食...我...這雞不吃、鴨不吃，魚不吃、肉不吃，
xiao3/little shi2hou4/when wo3/I te4bie2/very de/DE
pian1shi2/picky_with_foods ... wo3/I ... zhe4/this ji1/chicken

bu4/not chi1/eat , ya1/duck bu4/not chi1/eat , yu2/fish
bu4/not chi1/eat , rou4/meat bu4/not chi1/eat
When I was little, I was picky with foods. I didn't eat chicken,
duck, fish, or meat.

- ii. 除了雞、鴨、魚、肉之外... 我蔬菜水果也吃得很少，不過我鮮奶
喝得很多
chu2le/excluding ji1/chicken , ya1/duck , yu2/fish , rou4/meat
zhi1wai4/other_than ... wo3/I shu1cai4/vegetable
shui2guo3/fruit ye3/also chi1/eat de/DE hen3/very
shao3/few , bu2guo4/but wo3/I xian1nai3/fresh_milk
he1/drink de/DE hen3/very duo1/much
In addition to chicken, duck, fish, or meat, I also seldom ate
vegetables and fruits. But I drank milk a lot.

A clause-internal object may further specify a part of a superordinating type or
hypernym that is contextually understood.

- [5] i. 爸爸媽媽...說..你書唸不好就不讓吃飯 ...就是恐怕不上中學，
ba4ba0/dad ma1ma0/mom ... shuo1/say .. ni3/you shu1/book
nian4/read bu4/not hao3/good jiu4/thus bu4/not rang4/allow
chi1fan4/eat ... jiu4shi4/just kong3pa4/afraid bu4/not
shang4/up zhong1xue2/middle_school
Dad and Mom kept saying if you didn't study well, you were
not allowed to eat. They were just afraid that I couldn't be able
to test into a middle school.
- ii. ...其實四川的中學也考上了。
... qi2shi2/in_fact si4chuan1/Sichuan_province de/DE
zhong1xue2/middle_school ye3/also kao3/examine shang4/up
le/LE
...in fact I did test into a middle school in Sichuan.

In [31ii] the contrasted object 四川的中學 *si4chuan1 de zhong1xue2* “middle school
in Sichuan” is an instance of the high school, which was introduced in [31i].
Clause-internal objects are often accompanied with a negation [32i], which can be
preceded by adverbs 也 *ye3* “ALSO” in [Error! Reference source not found.ii], and
[32i], or 都 *dou1* “ALL” in [32ii].

- [6] i. 他越想越害怕...他飯也吃不下，覺也睡不著， ...。
ta1/he yue4/more xiang3/think yue4/more hai4pa4/fear ..
ta1/he fan4/meal ye3/also chi1bu4xia4/cannot_eat ,

jiao4/sleep ye3/also shui4bu4zhao2/cannot_sleep ,
zheng3tian1/all_day chou2mei2ku3lian3/sad de/DE
The more he thought about (it), the more scared he became. He
could neither eat nor sleep

- ii. 有一隻小蚱蜢叫明明，他非常頑皮，功課都不寫，...
you3/YOU yi1/one zhi1/CL xiao3/little
zha4meng3/grasshopper jiao4/call ming2ming2/Mingming ,
ta1/he fei1chang2/very wan2pi2/naughty ,
gong1ke4/homework dou1/all bu4/not xie3/write
There is a little cricket called Mingming. He is very naughty and
doesn't like to do homework.

Quantifiers are another way to mark the clause-internal objects as contrastive topic as in [33]. Strong quantifiers indicating higher degrees, such as 每 *mei3* “every”, 很多 *hen3duo1* “many, much” are typically followed by 都 *dou1* “all”. In [33] 每一張按摩椅 *mei3 yi1 zhang1 an4mo1yi3* “EVERY MASSAGE CHAIR” is highlighted in contrast with the set of all chairs in the previous clause.

- [33] ...一看到這幾張按摩椅，他...直嚷著每一張按摩椅都要躺過了一遍才肯罷休。
wo3men2/we ... yi1/once kan4dao4/see zhe4/this ji3/some
zhang1/CL an4mo1yi3/massage_chair , ta1/he ...
zhi2/all_the_time rang3/yell zhe/ZHE mei3/every yi1/one
zhang1/CL an4mo1yi3/massage_chair dou1/all yao4/want
tang3/lie guo4/GUO le/LE yi2bian4/once cai2/just ken3/will
ba4xiu1/stop
Once (we) saw these massage chairs, he kept yelling that he
must try each and every massage chair before we can leave.

Moreover, wh-phrases can co-occur with 都 *dou1* “all” in affirmative sentences to function as clause-internal contrastive topics. They are exemplified by 什麼 *shen2me0* “WHAT” + 都 *dou1* “all” in [34i], 怎麼樣 *zen3me0yang4* “HOW” + 都 *dou1* “all” rendering in [34ii], and 哪裡 *na3li3* “WHERE” + 都 *dou1* “all” in [34iii].

- [34] i. 能把茶泡得那麼好喝的人，做什麼都會成功！
neng2/can ba3/BA cha2/tea pao4/make de/DE na4me0/so
hao3/good he1/drink de/DE ren2/person , zuo4/do
shen2me0/what dou1/all hui4/will cheng2gong1/succeed
'A person who can make such good tea, he can succeed in
whatever he does.'

- ii. 你怎麼樣答都錯。
ni3/you zen3me0yang4/no_matter_how da2/answer dou1/all
cuo4/wrong
'No matter how you answer, you are always wrong.'
- iii. 我哪裡都能睡。
wo3/I na2li3/wherever dou1/all neng2/can shui4/sleep
'I can sleep anywhere.'

When a clause-internal wh-phrase and 都 *dou1* "all" occur in a negative sentence, it leads to a negative polarity *any* reading. In [35i], 什麼 *shen2me0* "what" has the typical interrogative function, but it is interpreted as *any* in negative sentence in [35ii], and so are the wh-phrases in [36].

- [35] i. Cabanne 問他：「那你相信什麼呢？」
Cabanne/Cabanne wen4/ask ta1/he : " na4/then ni3/you
xiang1xin4/believe shen2me0/what ne0/NE
'Cabanne asked him, "What do you believe then?"'
- ii. 他答：「當然什麼都不相信！」
ta1/he da2/answer : " dang1ran2/of_course shen2me0/what
dou1/all bu4/not xiang1xin4/believe
'He answered, "Of course I don't believe in anything.'

- [36] 王子宣稱除了要她作他的新娘以外，誰都不娶。
wang2zi3/prince xuan1cheng1/claim chu2le/excluding
yao4/want ta1/she zuo4/make ta1/he de/DE
xin1niang2/bride yi3wai4/other_than , shei2/who dou1/all
bu4/not qu3/marry
'The prince claims that ...he won't marry anyone except her.'

Note that the wh-indefinite phrase can also occur at sentence initial position as in [37] or as a head noun of a free relative as in [38].

- [37] i. 弟弟說：等我長大了，什麼我都會。
di4di4/brother shuo1/say : deng3/wait wo3/I
zhang3da4/grow_up le/LE , shen2me0/what wo3/I dou1/all
hui4/can
'Younger brother says, "when I grow up, I can do everything."'
- ii. 什麼東西我都給。我那兒都有

shen2me0/what dong1xi0/thing wo3/I dou1/all gei3/give .
 wo3/I na3er0/there dou1/all you3/YOU
 'I will give out everything. I have everything.'

- [38] i. [他給我什麼東西]我都吃。
 [ta1/he gei3/give wo3/I shen2me0/what dong1xi1/thing]
 wo3/I dou1/all chi1/eat
 'Whatever he gave me, I will eat.'
- ii. [誰欺侮她] 我們都不放過。
 [shei2/who qi1wu3/insult ta1/she] wo3men0/we dou1/all
 bu4/not fang4guo4/let_go
 'Whoever insulted her, we will not let him go.'

In addition to the above indefinite usage, wh-phrases are sometimes used in rhetorical questions.

- [39] i. ...她衝我喊, 什麼沒給你? 你還想要什麼?
 ta1/she chong1/to wo3/I han3/yell , shen2me0/what mei2/not
 gei3/give ni3/you ? ni3/you hai2/yet xiang3yao4/want
 shen2me0/what
 'She shouted at me, what didn't I give to you? What do you want?'
- ii. 「你都沒有什麼想跟我說的嗎?」 「你怎麼都不說話啊?」
 " ni3/you dou1/all mei2you3/NEG_YOU shen2me0/what
 xiang3/want gen1/PREP wo3/I shuo1/say de/DE ma0/MA ? "
 " ni3/you zen3me0/how dou1/all bu4/not shuo1hua4/talk
 a0/A
 'Didn't you have anything to talk to me? Why didn't you talk?'

Rather than its literal interrogative meaning of asking the question of what was not given, the rhetoric question [39i] implicates that *I have given you everything*. Likewise, instead of asking if there is not anything you wanted to tell me, the speaker in [39ii] presumes that you should have something to tell me.

17.1.5. Topic chain

In addition to the topic-comment pattern at the sentence level, a topic can stand for unexpressed co-referential nominals in subsequent sentences. The domain that is associated with the topic can be extended possibly to range over many sentences. The first occurrence topic (a "shared topic" or "chain-topic") and its subsequent

unexpressed nouns form a so-called “topic chain”; also see chapter 16.

- [40] i. 長庚醫院...官醫師，在一篇文章中便舉出幾個例子，
chang2geng1/Changgeng yi1yuan4/hospital ... guan1/Guan
yi1shi1/doctor , zai4/PREP yi1/one pian1/CL
wen2zhang1/article zhong1/in bian4/then ju3chu1/provide
ji3/some ge4/CL li4zi0/example
'Doctor Guan from Changgeng Hospital provides some
examples in an article;
- ii. 介紹幾種常與內在腫瘤相關連的皮膚病變，值得民眾參考。
jie4shao4/introduce ji3/some zhong3/kind chang2/often
yu3/PREP nei4zai4/inherent zhong3liu2/tumor
xiang1guan1lian2/related de/DE pi2fu1bing4bian4/dermatosis ,
zhi2de/worth min2zhong4/people can1kao3/reference
[he] introduces several types of skin pathological changes relevant to
tumors, which are worth referencing for ordinary people.'

In [40 i], the dermatologist 官醫師 *guan1 yi1shi1* “Doctor Guan” is the topic in its own clause, and is also a shared topic that the unexpressed subject pronoun in [40ii] refers to. The use of zero or unexpressed pronouns is quite common in Mandarin when the references of the noun phrases are retrievable in context.

Phrases with various grammatical functions can serve as the chain-topics.

- [41] i. 我念大學時，每逢月頭都會去郵局盼掛號信，等家裡大哥寄來的三
佰塊錢。
wo3/I nian4/read da4xue2/college shi2/when ,
mei3feng2/whenever yue4/month tou2/beginning dou1/all
hui4/will qu4/go you2ju2/post_office pan4/look_forward
gua4hao4xin4/registered_mail , deng3/wait jia1li3/home
da4ge1/brother ji4/mail lai2/come de/DE
san1bai3/three_hundred kuai4/yuan qian2/money
'When I was in college, I would go to the post office to check if I
had a registered mail, waiting for my big brother to mail me
\$300 from home.'
- ii. 收到後，好興奮，開始盤算該吃幾碗陽春麵，...牛肉..麵可吃多少
碗？
shou1dao4/receive hou4/after , hao3/so xing1fen4/excited ,
kai1shi3/start pan2suan4/plan gai1/should chi1/eat
ji3/how_many wan3/bowl

yang2chun1mian4/plain_noodles , ... niu2rou4/beef ..
mian4/noodle ke3/can chi1/eat duo1shao3/how_many
wan3/bowl

'After I received it, I would be excited and start to calculate how many bowls of plain noodles I could eat, how many bowls of beef noodles I could eat.'

iii. 偶爾寫點稿有三十塊的稿費，就加兩塊臭豆腐。

ou3er3/sometimes xie3/write dian3/some gao3/draft
you3/have san1shi2/thirty kuai4/yuan de/DE
gao3fei4/royalty , jiu4/thus jia1/add liang3/two kuai4/CL
chou4dou4fu0/stinky_tofu

'Sometimes I would earn \$30 for publishing article, then I could have added two pieces of stinky tofu.'

[42] 我母親看稻草上面，常有沒打乾淨，剩下來的穀粒，覺得燒掉可惜，用擣衣的椎，一椎一椎的椎了下來，一天可以得穀一合，
wo3/I mu3qin1/mother kan4/see dao4cao3/rice_stalk
shang4mian4/on , chang2/often you3/YOU mei2/not
da3/thresh gan1jing4/clean , sheng4xia4lai2/remain de/DE
gu3li4/grain , jue2de/feel shao1diao4/burn ke3xi1/pity ,
yong4/use dao3/beat yi1/clothes de/DE zhui1/pounder ,
yi1/one zhui1/pounder yi1/one zhui1/pounder de/DE
zhui1/pounder le/LE xia4lai2/down , yi1/one tian1/day
ke2yi3/can de2/get gu3/grain yi1/one he2/CL .

'My mother saw there were grains remaining on the rice stalks after threshing. She felt it was wasteful to burn them, so she used a clothes pounder to beat the remaining grains off the stalks, and she could collect about 200 grams of rice in a day.'

The grammatical subject of [41] and the narrator's mother in [42] links all unexpressed nouns in the sentence to form a topic-chain. Moreover, a topic chain may contain another topic chain in the same passage. A direct object, such as 掛號信 *gua4hao4xin4* "registered mail" in [41] and 剩下來的穀粒 *sheng4xia4lai2 de gu3li4* "remaining grains" in [42], serve as a separate chain topic. Consequently, there are two topic chains in [41], the subject 我 *wo3* "I" and the object 掛號信 *gua4hao4xin4* "registered mail"; and in [42] 我母親 *wo3 mu3qin1* "my mother" and 穀粒 *gu3li4* "grains". Note that the primary and secondary topic chain may have different relations. For instance the secondary topic chain 'registered letter' in [41] only linked to the second sentence referring to its receipt; while the both primary and secondary topic chains are linked to most sentences in [42].

A bare noun as a clause-internal object as in [43] or an indefinite subject denoting genericity as in [44] can serve a chain topic as well.

- [43] i. 許多民眾最近紛紛反應中央健康保險局電話打不進去，
xu3duo1/many min2zhong4/people zui4jin4/recently
fen1fen1/in_succession fan3ying4/complain
zhong1yang1/central
jian4kang1bao2xian3ju2/Central_Health_Insurance_Bureau
dian4hua4/telephone da3/dial bu4/not jin4qu4/enter ,
'Many people complained that calls to Central Health Insurance
Bureau were always failed to connect.'
- ii. 即使打進去了，工作人員的答案又不相同
ji2shi3/even_if da3/dial jin4qu4/enter le/LE ,
gong1zuo4ren2yuan2/staff de/DE da2an4/answer you4/also
bu4/not xiang1tong2/same .
'Even if they made it successfully, the answers they received
from the staff varied.'
- [44] i. 一隻狗、一隻貓不是生活得很愉快嗎？
yi1/one zhi1/CL gou3/dog , yi1/one zhi1/CL mao1/cat
bu2shi4/not sheng1huo2/live de/DE hen3/very
yu1kuai4/happy ma0/MA
'Does not a dog or a cat have a happy life?'
- ii. 早上吃飽了之後出去每個人到處晃一晃，然後就回家睡覺了，...。
zao3shang4/morning chi1/eat bao3/full le/LE zhi1hou4/after
chu1qu4/go_out mei3ge4ren2/everyone dao4chu4/around
huang4yi2huang4/wander , ran2hou4/then jiu4/thus
hui2jia1/go_home shui4jiao4/sleep le/LE , gen1/PREP
dong4wu4/animal yi2yang4/same
'They go out and wander around after having a full meal in the
morning, and then go back home to sleep,
- iii. 遛達，晚上又跑回來了，跑回來之後睡覺，第二天又起來，跑來跑去。
liu1da0/walk , wan3shang4/evening you4/again pao3/run
hui2lai2/back le/LE , pao3/run hui2lai2/back zhi1hou4/after
shui4jiao4/sleep , di4er4tian1/the_next_day you4/again
qi3lai2/wake_up , pao3lai2pao3qu4/run_around
'They wander, and then come back at night to sleep, and get up
and run around again the next day.'

An unexpressed argument can refer to a situation in discussion, and does not have to have an identical nominal phrase as its precedent. In the context in [44], the chain topic concerns a situation that doctors rarely stop in front of the wishing pond. It is referred to in the following discourse by unexpressed forms.

- [44] i. [這裡的醫生絕少在許願池前停留過],
zhe4li3/here de/DE yi1sheng1/doctor jue2shao3/scarcely
zai4/PREP xu3yuan4chi2/wishing_pond qian2/front
ting2liu2/stay guo4/GUO
'Doctors here scarcely ever stop in front of the wishing pond.'
- ii. 從我進醫院工作到現在, 我真的沒有見過,
cong2/from wo3/I jin4/enter yi1yuan4/hospital
gong1zuo4/work dao4/to xian4zai4/now , wo3/I
zhen1de/really mei2you3/not jian4/see guo4/GUO
I have never seen that ever since I joined the hospital.
- iii. 真要說有的話, 他們頂多只是經過而已,
zhen1yao4shui4/if you3/have de/DE hua4/talk ,
ta1men0/they ding3duo1/at_most/ zhi3shi4/only
jing1guo4/pass_by er2yi3/only
The closest I have seen was some of them passing by [the
wishing pond]

17.2 Word Order Variations

17.2.1 Inversion

This section presents inversion patterns in sentences containing locative phrases and unaccusative verbs. The word order variations largely follow the information structure outlined at the beginning; that is, preverbal position is a device of signaling given information, followed by new information.

17.2.2 Locative Inversion

In a canonical sentence, the preverbal nominal phrases represent given information. When the information represented by the agentive nominal phrase contains new information, a common way to present them is to use locative inversion construction and put the nominal phrase in the postverbal position, as in [45-47].

- [45] 池的旁邊有五個大大小小的拱門，裡頭躺著好多病人，，
 chi2/pond de/DE pang2bian1/side you3/have wu3/five
 ge0/CL da4da4xiao2xiao3/big_and_small de/DE
 gong3men2/arch , li3tou2/inside tang3/lie zhe/ZHE
 hao3duo1/many bing4ren2/patient , you3/YOU
 xia1yan3/blind de/DE , que1tui3/cripple de/DE ,
 zhong4feng1/paralytic de/DE
 'Next to the pond were five arches. Inside there lay many
 patients:'
- [46] 門外放著一張大狼皮，做成了墊子的模樣。
 men2/door wai4/outside fang4/place zhe/ZHE yi1/one
 zhang1/CL da4/big lang2pi2/wolf_skin , zuo4/make
 cheng2/into le/LE dian4zi0/capet de/DE mo2yang4/look .
 'Outside the door placed a big wolf skin, which is made into a
 carpet.'
- [47] i. 有一隻小猴子爬到樹上。
 you3/YOU yi1/one zhi1/CL xiao3/small hou2zi0/monkey
 pa2/climb dao4/to shu4/tree shang4/on .
 'A monkey climbed up to the tree.'
- ii. 樹上爬著一隻小猴子，猴子吃著香蕉...
 shu4/tree shang4/on pa2/climb zhe/ZHE yi1/one zhi1/CL
 xiao3/small hou2zi0/monkey , hou2zi0/monkey chi1/eat
 zhe/ZHE xiang1jiao1/banana ...
 'On the tree there is a small monkey climbing; the monkey is
 eating bananas.'

[47] illustrates a typical locative inversion pair. The postverbal location phrase in [447i] is placed at the preverbal subject position in [47ii], hence allowing the nominal phrase to be presented as new information by occurring at a post-verbal position.

17.2.2.1 Unaccusative

An unaccusative verb allows a single argument (typically a theme or experience) to occur in either the subject or postverbal positions (see Chapter 4). The former order reflects on the topic-comment structure, whereas the second is a presentative structure introducing the nominal phrase as new information.

- [48] 他們看見家裡來了一個外國人，都很好奇。
 ta1men0/they kan4jian4/see jia1li3/home lai2/come le/LE
 yi1/one ge4/CL wai4guo2ren2/foreigner , dou1/all hen3/very
 hao4qi2/curious .
 ‘When they saw that a foreigner came to our home. They were
 curious.’
- [49] 果然可以發現最近坊間出現了不少新的名詞。
 guo3ran2/as_expected ke2yi3/can fa1xian4/find
 zui4jin4/recently fang3jian1/neighborhood chu1xian4/appear
 le/LE bu4shao3/some xin1/new de/DE ming2ci2/term .
 ‘As expected, one can find new terms appearing and being
 used.’
- [50] 島上的原住民也消失了十多個民族。
 dao3/island shang4/on de/DE yuan2zhu4min2/aborigine
 ye3/also xiao1shi1/disappear le/LE shi2/ten duo1/more
 ge4/CL min2zu2/nation .
 ‘Of the aborigines on this island, over ten groups have become
 extinct.’

The above examples showed that a locative inversion can be used together with the unaccusative verb to indicate the actual location of the event [48], the metaphor location of the event [49], or, when involving a part-whole relation, the phrase expressing the whole [50]. In addition to the above mentioned condition of familiar-new information bipartition, an inversion commonly serves a scene-setting function at the outset of a narrative, such as [45-47] above. The verbs used often include existential, posture, or locating verbs (有 *you3* “have”, 放 *fang4* “place”, 躺 *tang3* “lay”, 爬 *pa2* “crawl”, 裝 *zhuang1* “load”, etc.) and presentational unaccusative (來 *lai2* “come”, 出現 *chu1xian4* “appear”, 消失 *xiao1shi1* “DISAPPEAR”, 走 *zou3* “leave”, etc.) verbs. An inversion provides a minimally informative setting relative to which the postverbal nominal phrase can be interpreted on the one hand, and the post-posed nominal allows the following predicates to be predicated of it.

17.2.3 BA sentences

BA construction was introduced in Chapter 15, describing how an object may be

placed in a preverbal position immediately following 把 *ba3*. In line with the information structure mentioned above, the nominal phrase after 把 *ba3* usually expresses given information, e.g., [51]. The definite nominal 那本書 *na4 ben3 shu1* “that book” in the second clause of [51] has been previously established. The speaker provides further information of how he has done with it; namely, having finished reading it.

- [7] 他很喜歡語文課本上的課文，一個星期就把那本書看完了。
 ta1/he hen3/very xi3huan1/like yu3wen2/language
 ke4ben3/textbook shang4/on de/DE ke4wen2/text , yi1/one
 ge4/CL xing1qi1/week jiu4/thus ba3/BA na4/that ben3/CL
 shu1/book kan4/look wan2/complete le/LE .
 ‘S/He likes the text in the textbook for the language class. He finished reading that book in one week.’

Nevertheless, the BA-phrase can also be discourse-new but addressee-old information. For example, though the quantifiers in [52] are not previously mentioned, they are assumed to be familiar or activated based on the relevant contexts. Hence, it is natural to place them preverbally for the main predicate to add further information to them.

- [52] i. 沒有一個局處長像他一樣，把每一個觀眾問題蒐集起來
 mei2you3/no yi1/one ge4/CL ju2/bureau chu4/division
 zhang3/head xiang4/like ta1/he yi2yang4/same , ba3/BA
 mei3/every yi1/one ge4/CL guan1zhong4/audience
 wen4ti2/question sou1ji2/collect qi3lai2/up .
 ‘There is no such a bureau or division head like him who collects each and every question from the audience.’
- ii. 德國廚具...把很多廚房的問題都解決了
 de2guo2/Germany chu2ju4/kitchen_appliance ... ba3/BA
 hen3duo1/many chu2fang2/kitchen de/DE wen4ti2/problem
 dou1/all jie3jue2/solve le/LE .
 ‘Germany kitchen appliance solves many of kitchen problems (that we know).’

Likewise, indefinite nominal phrases illustrate the similar point. When the reference of the indefinite nominal is known to the speaker, it is rendered a specific reading, e.g., [53i]; otherwise it is indefinite nonspecific, [53ii].

- [53] i. 他...曾把一位與他觀點不合的醫生燒死在柱上

ta1/he ... ceng2/once ba3/BA yi1/one wei4/CL yu3/PREP
 ta1/he guan1dian3/view bu4he2/disagree de/DE
 yi1sheng1/doctor shao1/burn si3/dead zai4/PREP zhu4/pillar
 shang4/on
 ‘He once burned to death on a stake a doctor who had opposing
 views with him.’

- ii. 我...切肉的時候，不小心把一塊肉掉在地上。
 wo3/I na2qi3/pick_up dao1/knife he2/and cha1zi0/fork
 qie1/cut rou4/meat de/DE shi2hou0/when ,
 bu4xiao3xin1/carelessly ba3/BA yi1/one kuai4/CL rou4/meat
 diao4/drop zai4/PREP di4/ground shang4/on .
 ‘When I ... cut the meat, I accidentally dropped a piece of meat
 on the ground.’

While indefinite non-specific nominals are usually prohibited as clause initial topics, it is possible for them to follow 把 *ba3*. The object may be a part or an instance of what have been established in the discourse, e.g., 肉 *rou4* “meat” / 一塊肉 *yi1 kuai4 rou4* “a piece of meat” in [53ii], or is preposed when the main predicate is “heavy”, e.g., 打入酒裡 *da3 ru4 jiu3 li3* “beating and blending into wine” in [54i]. Moreover, the nominal phrase can serve as a chain topic of the following clauses, as shown in [54ii].

- [54] i. ...把一顆蛋打入酒裡，過一陣子蛋白部分會熟透，
 ta1/he ceng2/once zuo4/make guo4/GUO
 shi2yan4/experiment , ba3/BA yi1/one ke1/CL dan4/egg
 da3/break ru4/into jiu3/wine li3/in , guo4/after
 yi2zhen4zi0/a_while dan4bai2/egg_white bu4fen4/part
 hui4/will shou2tou4/cooked
 ‘...Crack an egg and beat and blended it into wine. After a while
 its egg white will be cooked.’
- ii. 我把一小塊餅乾弄碎，撒在空地上，各式各樣的鳥兒，...，不一
 會兒就把餅乾吃光了！
 wo3/I ba3/BA yi1/one xiao3/small kuai4/piece
 bing3gan1/cookie nong4sui4/smash , sa3/sprinkle zai4/PREP
 kong4di4/ground shang4/on , ge4shi4ge4yang4/various
 de/DE niao3er0/bird , bian4/then
 cheng2qun2jie2dui4/in_droves de/DE dao4/arrive
 kong4di4/ground shang4/on lang2tun1hu3yan4/devour ,
 bu2yi4hui3er2/soon jiu4/then ba3/BA bing3gan1/cookie
 chi1guang1/eat_up le/LE

'I crushed a small piece of cookie and sprinkled them on the ground. All kinds of birds,... devour them in no time.'

Although the non-specific indefinite nominal may not correlate with pragmatic new information here, it is maneuvered in 把 *ba3* sentences to lead a topic chain.

17.2.4 BEI sentences

Similarly introduced in Chapter 15, 被 *bei4* sentences manifest another type of topic-comment articulations, in which the affected patient preceding 被 *bei4*, though can also be a grammatical subject, functions as a topic, while the rest of clause serves the comment, usually indicating a resultative state of the activity. The common schema is presented in [55], in which the patient nominal phrases are definite, like topics.

[55] (Patient topic/subject)+ *bei* + (thematic subject) + VP

[56] i. 家產已被他吃喝、賭光了
jia1chan3/family_fortune yi3/already bei4/BEI ta1/he chi1/eat
he1/drink , du3/gamble guang1/gone le/LE
'All the family fortune has been squandered by him lavish
banqueting and gambling.'

ii. 孔子似乎被這個問題難倒了，一時不知如何回答。
kong2zi3/Confucius si4hu1/seem bei4/BEI zhe4/this ge4/CL
wen4ti2/question nan2dao3/stumped le/LE ,
yi1shi2/a_short_while bu4/not zhi1/know ru2he2/how
hui2da2/answer .
'Confucius seemed to be stumped by this question, and didn't
know how to answer it immediately.'

[57] 世界的政要幾乎都已經被西裝所統一， ...。
shi4jie4/world de/DE zheng4yao4/political_leaders
ji1hu1/almost dou1/all yi3jing1/already bei4/BEI
xi1zhuang1/suits suo3/SUO tong3yi1/unite , zhi2you3/only
hui2jiao4/Islam ling3xiu4men0/leaders reng2ran2/still shi4/be
bao1/wear tou2jin1/turban
'Almost all the political leaders in the world are unified by the
suits they wear; ...'

[58] i. [雲先生]只覺背上微微一痛，似乎被蜜蜂刺了一下，

[yun2/YUN xian1sheng0/sir] zhi3/just jue2/feel bei1/back
 shang4/on wei1wei1/mild yi1/one tong4/pain , si4hu1/seem
 bei4/BEI mi4feng1/bee ci4/sting le/LE yi1/one xia4/CL
 ‘[Mr. Yun] felt a mild pain in his back... It seems he was stung
 by a bee.’

- [59] [種子]...身價一天比一天高 ..; 結果被一個土匪搶了去。
 [zhong3zi0/seed] ... shen1jia4/value yi1/one tian1/day
 bi3/compare yi1/one tian1/day gao1/high .. ;
 jie2guo3/as_a_result bei4/BEI yi1/one ge4/CL tu2fei3/bandit
 qiang3/rob le/LE qu4/away
 ‘The seeds became more and more valuable everyday; then
 (they) were robbed by a bandit.’

The thematic subject is optional. It is overt when the referent is (required to be) identified, being definite [56], generic [57], bare indefinite [58], or indefinite [59] nominal phrases. In [56ii], 這個問題 *zhe4 ge4 wen4ti2* “this question” further functions as a chain topic, and a parallel between the two clauses is achieved for a more concise presentation, which is not possible with the canonical word order. The patient subject which are unexpressed in [56ii], [58] and [59] thus correlates with their old information status; in the meantime, the agent following 被 *bei4* is spelled out for informativeness.

- [60] [有一對父子，帶了一頭驢子到市場去賣]。路途上，被一個路人看到了，嘲笑他們。
 [you3/YOU yi1/one dui4/pair fu4zi3/father_and_son ,
 dai4/take le/LE yi1/one tou2/CL lv2zi0/donkey dao4/go_to
 shi4chang3/market qu4/go mai4/sell] . lu4tu2/way
 shang4/on , bei4/BEI yi1/one ge4/CL lu4ren2/passers-by
 kan4dao4/see le/LE , chao2xiao4/laugh_at ta1men0/they

‘A father and a son took a donkey to the market to sell. On the way to the market, (this) were seen by a passer-by, who laughed at them.’

The unexpressed object could also be a full clause, as in [60]. In such cases, the interpretation of the topic chain in subsequent clauses can sometimes have context-dependent variations. In [60], it is the way that the father-son pair is bringing the donkey to the market that was seen by the passer-by; but the pronoun 他們 *ta1men1* ‘them’ whom the the passer-by is laughing at refers to the father-son

specifically.

17.3 Sentences involving *shi*

This section presents sentences involving 是 *shi4* “be”, including the emphatic 是... 的 *shi4...de*, bare 是 *shi4*, and pseudo-cleft 的是 *de shi4* constructions, which are distinguished from A 是 B pattern, a specifying copular equation sentences; see Chapter 9.

17.3.1 Emphatic sentences

Unlike English *it*-clefts that divide a canonical clause into two parts, Mandarin 是... 的 *shi4...de* sentences in [61] follow the basic word order: 是 *shi4* “be” occurs in preverbal positions, and 的 *de* occurs sentence-finally as a sentence final particle, which expresses speaker’s subjective affirmative attitude. These sentences manifest a topic-comment pattern: the element before 是 *shi4* “be” as the topic, and the part following 是 *shi4* “be” as the comment. Usually the first element after *shi* in the comment receives the focal center (not necessarily phonetic stress), as shown by the subject focus in [62], and the adjunct focus in [63].

- [61] i. 是 subject + VP + 的
ii. Subject 是 + (adjunct) + VP + 的

- [62] i. 是誰讓這些...老人成為老賊的?
shi4/be shei2/who rang4/let zhe4xie1/these ...
lao3ren2/old_man cheng2wei4/become lao3/old zei2/thief
de/DE
Who allowed these old men to become deadwood
assemblymen?
ii. 是立委讓這些...老人成為老賊的。
shi4/be li4wei3/legislators rang4/let zhe4xie1/these ...
lao3ren2/old_man cheng2wei4/become lao3/old zei2/thief
de/DE
It is THE LEGISLATORS who allowed these old men to become
deadwood assemblymen.

- [63]i. Q: 你是從哪兒來的?
ni3/you shi4/be cong2/from na3er0/where lai2/come de/DE
Where do you come from?
ii. A: 我是從美國來的。

wo3/I shi4/be cong2/from mei3guo2/United_States lai2/come
de/DE

I come/am from the United States. / It is from the United States
that I come.

In addition, 是...的 *shi4...de* sentences are commonly used in forming *wh*-interrogatives to elicit focal information as well as the answers. In [62i] and [63i] the speaker's presupposition is clearly framed by 是...的 *shi4...de*.

是...的 *shi4...de* is often used to contrast alternatives. In [64], the object topic 成績 *cheng2ji4* "grade" is predicated with opposing clauses: *given by teachers* vs. *industriously earned by students*.

[64] 在許多同學的觀念裡，成績是[老師給學生]的，而不是[學生自己努力
去爭取得來]的。
zai4/PREP xu3duo1/many tong2xue2/student de/DE
guan1nian4/opinion li3/in , cheng2ji1/grade shi4/be
[lao3shi1/teacher gei3/give xue2sheng1/student] de/DE ,
er2/but bu2shi4/not [xue2sheng1/student zi4ji3/oneself
nu3li4/work_hard qu4/go zheng1qu3/earn de2/get lai2/come]
de/DE

'In many students' mind, grades are what teachers gave to
students, not what students themselves earned through hard
work.'

是 *shi4* "be" can only occur in preverbal positions. When it is the object to be
focused, the pseudo-cleft 的是 *de shi4* pattern is employed, to be discussed in
17.3.7. Please also see specifying copular sentence containing a headless relative
clause in Chapter 9.

是...的 *shi4...de* often occurs in regular *wh*-interrogatives, or is used to express
a predicative relation between the topic and the comment. In this sense, it does not
bring as strong a focus as the English *it is X that* counterpart, which it is often
compared to. [65i] simply means *who created men*, and [65ii] *God created men* is a
natural answer.

- [8]i. Q: 人是誰創造的?
ren2/human shi4/be shei2/who chuang4zao4/create de/DE
'As for men, who created them?'
- ii. A: 是神創造的。
shi4/be shen2/God chuang4zao4/create de/DE
'(Men) God created (them).'

17.3.2 Subject Focus

The section further illustrates that the topic-comment relation in 是...的 and various foci signaled by 是.

- [66]i. 這個道理是誰告訴你的呢 ?
zhe4/this ge4/CL dao4li3/principle shi4/be shei2/who
gao4su4/tell ni3/you de/DE ne0/NE
Who told you this principle?
- ii. 孔融：我自己想出來的。
kong3rong2/KONG_Rong : wo3/I zi4ji3/oneself xiang3/think
chu1lai2/out de/DE
I myself thought of it.

In the question part of [66i], 這個道理 *zhe4 ge4 dao4li3* "this principle" is backgrounded in the discourse and assumed by the speaker to be revealed to KONG Rong by someone else. The comment/answer clause in [66ii] asserts the whole proposition: (*it is that*) *I thought of it* and consequently the subject serves the most prominent element. Note that 是 *shi4* "be" can be omitted, as in [66ii].

- [9] i. [這張畫好或那張畫好], 是我們後人加以判定的。
zhe4/this zhang1/CL hua4/painting hao3/good huo4/or
na4/that zhang1/CL hua4/painting hao3/good], shi4/be
wo3men2/we hou4ren2/later_generations jia1yi3/proceed
pan4ding4/judge de/DE
'Whether this or that painting is better is decided by us the latter generations.'
- ii. 不管陝西人怎麼樣解釋, 客棧主人就認定[豬]是他偷的。
bu4guan3/no_matter shan3xi1/Shaanxi_province ren2/person
zen3me0yang4/how jie3shi4/explain , ke4zhan4/inn

zhu3ren2/owner jiu4/thus ren4ding4/believe [zhu1/pig]
 shi4/be ta1/he tou1/steal de/DE
 ‘No matter how the person from Shaanxi explained, the
 innkeeper believed that the pig was stolen by him.’

Likewise, in [67i] the topic is predicated with 是...的 *shi4...de* comment, rendering the meaning that *the value of paintings is decided by later generations*. In [67ii] 是他偷的 *shi4 ta1 tou1 de* “is stolen by him” is the asserted and predicated of the topic, *the missing pig*.

17.3.3 Adjunct Focus

是 *shi4* “be” can precede various adjuncts including location, temporal, and manner phrases, as schematized in [68] and [69].

- [68] i. (overt/zero) Subject -是- adjunct - VP - 的
 ii. (overt/zero) Subject -是- adjunct - V-的- O

[69] (subject)- object topic- (subject) -是- adjunct - V - 的

The structure of [68i], the subject (or the topic) preceding 是, is exemplified by the temporal foci in [70] and [71ii], location phrases in [71i], and the manner foci in [72]. The structural variant in [68ii] is more common used in northern dialects will not be further discussed here.

- [70] i. 法國政府是在昨天做出這一決定的。
 fa4guo2/France zheng4fu3/government shi4/be zai4/PREP
 zuo2tian1/yesterday zuo4chu1/make zhe4/this yi1/one
 jue2ding4/decision de/DE
 ‘The French government made this decision YESTERDAY.’
 ii. 穆巴拉克總統是在新年前夕發出上述呼籲的。
 mu4ba1la1ke4/Mubarak zong2tong3/president shi4/be
 zai4/PREP xin1nian2/New_Year qian2xi1/eve fa1chu1/issue
 shang4shu4/above-mentioned hu1yu4/appeal de/DE
 ‘President Mubarak made such a appeal on NEW YEAR’S EVE.’

[71]i. Q: 我那幾位朋友都是去年從美國來的。李先生，您是哪年來的？
 wo3/I na4/that ji3/some wei4/CL peng2you3/friend dou1/all
 shi4/be qu4nian2/last_year cong2/from

mei3guo2/United_States lai2/come de/DE . li3/Li
xian1sheng0/sir , nin2/you shi4/be na3/which nian2/year
lai2/come de/DE
'My friends all came from THE UNITED STATES LAST YEAR.
Mr. Li, which year did you come?'

- ii. A: 我是一九八五年來的。
wo3/I shi4/be yi1jiu3ba1wu3/1985 nian2/year lai2/come
de/DE
'I came in 1985.'

- [72] i. 學校的老師都是坐著船來的。
xue2xiao4/school de/DE lao3shi1/teacher dou1/all shi4/be
zuo4/sit zhe/ZHE chuan2/boat lai2/come de/DE
'School teachers all come by BOAT.'
- ii. 第二隻小豬是用樹枝作材料來建造房子的...第三隻胖小豬是用磚瓦做材料來建造房屋的。
di4er4/the_second zhi1/CL xiao3/small zhu1/pig shi4/be
yong4/use shu4zhi1/twig zuo4/make cai2liao4/material
lai2/come jian4zao4/build fang2zi0/house de/DE ...
di4san1/the_third zhi1/CL pang4/fat xiao3/small zhu1/pig
shi4/be yong4/use zhuan1wa3/brick zuo4/make
cai2liao4/material lai2/come jian4zao4/build fang2wu1/house
de/DE

'The second pig uses TWIGS to build its house, and the third pig
uses BRICKS to build its house.'

As for structure [69], 是 *shi4* "be" precedes adjunct phrases and follows the object topic, which is followed or preceded by an overt or unexpressed subject, illustrated by the location focus in [73], temporal in [74], and manner phrases in [75]. Note that the object topic can occur in the clause initial position, and the subject may be null as in [73i], or in the clause medial position as in [73ii]. The topic, a self-portrait in [75], is not overtly mentioned but understood in the discourse.

- [73] i. 我本人學的是社會學, [博士學位]是在美國大學獲得的。
wo3/I ben3ren2/oneself xue2/learn de/DE shi4/be
she4hui4xue2/sociology , [bo2shi4/doctor xue2wei4/degree]
shi4/be zai4/PREP mei3guo2/United_States
da4xue2/university huo4de2/earn de/DE

'I studied sociology. My doctorate was earned from a US UNIVERSITY.'

- ii. 學生在校期間有[一半左右的時間]是在宿舍度過的。
xue2sheng1/student zai4/PREP xiao4/school qi1jian1/period
you3/YOU [yi2ban4/half zuo3you4/about de/DE
shi2jian1/time] shi4/be zai4/PREP su4she4/dorm
du4guo4/spend de/DE
'Half of the time that students spend in schools is in THE DORM.'

- [10] 已有一百三十萬人餓死..[這個數字]_i是在文化革命初期披露的。
yi3/already you3/YOU yi1bai3san1shi2wan4/1.3_million
ren2/people e4si3/starve_to_death .. [zhe4/this ge4/CL
shu4zi4/number] shi4/be zai4/PREP
wen2hua4ge2ming4/Cultural_Revolution chu1qi1/early_days
pi1lu4/disclose de/DE
'1.3 million people had starved to death. This number was disclosed in the early period of the Cultural Revolution.'

- [75] 「你畫得真像啊！」東尼笑笑說:「我是對著鏡子畫的。」
“ ni3/you hua4/paint de/DE zhen1/really xiang4/resemble
a0/A!” dong1ni2/Tony xiao4xiao0/laugh shuo1/say: “ wo3/I
shi4/be dui4zhe/PREP jing4zi0/mirror hua4/paint de/DE
“Your painting resembles you.” Tony laughed, “I painted it by looking at the mirror.’

The above sentences demonstrate that not only the comment clause contained in 是...的 *shi4...de* can express novel information, the adjunct that follows 是 *shi4* “be” is singled out to be the focal center, which is not limited to one constituent; e.g., the temporal and location phrases in [71i].

17.3.4 Predicate Focus

Sentences [76] through [78] illustrate the emphatic (or contrastive) verb phrases, which are predicated of the subject/topic.

- [76] [牧場內有五匹馬]是屬於這個社區的。

[mu4chang3/ranch nei4/inside you3/YOU wu3/five pi1/CL
ma3/horse] shi4/be shu3yu1/belong_to zhe4/this ge4/CL
she4qu1/community de/DE

'There are five horses in the ranch. They belong to the
community.'

[77] 父母永遠是站在他那一邊而伸出援手的。

fu4mu3/parents yong3yuan3/always shi4/be zhan4/stand
zai4/PREP ta1/he na4/that yi1/one bian1/side er2/thus
shen1chu1yuan2shou3/give_a_hand de/DE

'Parents always stand by his side and lend him a helping hand.'

[78] 維生、養生是「做」出來的，是要付辛勤代價的，不是不勞而獲的。

wei2sheng1/maintain_living ,
yang3sheng1/keep_in_good_health shi4/be " zuo4/make "
chu1lai2/out de/DE , shi4/be yao4/need fu4/pay
xin1qin2/industrious dai4jia4/price de/DE , bu4/not shi4/be
bu4lao2er2huo4/reap_without_sowing de/DE , bu4/not
shi4/be qiu2/expect " bao4fa1/burst " chu1lai2/out de/DE

'To maintain and cultivate a healthy living, one must 'act' and
pay earn it with your efforts. One cannot reap without
sowing.'

是...的 *shi4...de* sentences are also used to explicate a fact or proposition by
way of asserting the manner, purpose, reason, or means, as shown in the following
examples.

[79]i. 門房：請問先生有什麼事？

men2fang2/doorman : qing3wen4/excuse_me xian1sheng0/sir
you3/YOU shen2me0/what shi4/issue

'Doorman: Sir, may I ask why are you here?'

ii. 吳先生：我是公司派來驗貨的。

wu2/WU xian1sheng0/sir : wo3/I shi4/be gong1si1/company
pai4/send lai2/come yan4/check huo4/goods de/DE

'Mr. Wu: I am sent by my company to check the merchants.'

[80] [第十二屆金旋總決賽的多樣化]，讓李先生認為，是來欣賞節目，
而不是來當評審的。

[di4shi2er4/the_twelveth jie4/CL jin1xuan2/Gold_Melody
zong3jue2sai4/final_competition de/DE

duo1yang4hua4/diversify] , rang4/make li3/Li

xian1sheng0/sir ren4wei2/believe , shi4/be lai2/come

xin1shang3/enjoy jie2mu4/program , er2/but bu2shi4/not
 lai2/com dang1/act_as ping2shen3/judge de/DE
 'The rich varieties in the 12th final competition of Golden
 Melody award made Mr. Li think that he came here to enjoy the
 programs, not to be a judge.'

- [81] 找妳，不是要妳來懺悔的，也不是要讓妳感覺內疚的...，
 zhao3/find ni3/you , bu2shi4/not yao4/ask ni3/you lai2/come
 chan4hui3/repent de/DE , ye3bu2shi4/nore yao4/want
 rang4/make ni3/you gan3jue2/feel nei4jiu1/guilty de/DE
 'The reason I come to see you is not to ask you to repent, nor to
 make you feel guilty.'

是...的 *shi4...de* utterances express one's subjective stance toward the asserted proposition, conveying mental perceptions, making inferences, or evaluating the state of affairs, such as [82]. They are compatible with modals of volition 會 *hui4* "will" as in [83], necessity 應該 *ying1gai1* "should" as in [84], or ability 可以 *ke3yi3* "can" as in [85].

- [82] 這一家子...大夥兒瞧不起阿小，阿小是知道的。
 zhe4/this yi4jia1zi0/a_family ... da4huo3er0/everyone
 qiao2bu4qi3/despise a1xiao3/A-Xiao , a1xiao3/A-Xiao shi4/be
 zhi1dao4/know de/DE
 'In this family, everyone looks down on A-Xiao. And A-Xiao
 knows it.'

- [83] i. 生活富裕是會使人懶散，不知惜福的。
 sheng1huo2/life fu4yu4/rich shi4/be hui4/can shi3/make
 ren2/people lan3san3/indolent , bu4/not zhi1/know
 xi1fu2/appreciate de/DE
 'Affluent life will make people lazy and unable to appreciate
 once fortune.'
- ii. 如果按照這草案做下去，是會出人命的！
 ru2guo3/if an1zhao4/follow zhe4/this cao3an4/draft_plan
 zuo4/do xia4qu4/down, shi4/be hui4/will
 chu1ren2ming4/lose_life de/DE
 'If this proposal is followed through, lives could be lost.'

- [11]i. Q: 妳說我這麼做對嗎？
 ni3/you shuo1/say wo3/I zhe4me0/so zuo4/do dui4/right
 ma0/MA

- ‘Do you think what I did is right?’
 ii. A: 嗯！妳是應該這麼做的！
 en4/yes ! ni3/you shi4/be ying1gai1/should
 zhe4me0/this_way zuo4/do de/DE
 ‘Yes, you should do this way!’

- [85] 不是每個人都可以成為哲學家的。
 bu2shi4/not mei3ge4ren2/everyone dou1/all ke2yi3/can
 cheng2wei4/become zhe2xue2jia1/philosopher de/DE
 ‘It’s not the case that everyone can be a philosopher.’

Deontic modals are also compatible with 是...的 *shi4...de* assertions, such as ability 能 *neng2* in [86], obligation 能 *neng2* in [87], and concession 可以 in [88].

- [86] [白馬]已經老了只能慢慢的走，但終是能回到中原的。
 [bai2/white ma3/horse] yi3jing1/already lao3/old le/LE
 zhi3neng2/can_only man4man4/slowly de/DE zou3/walk ,
 dan4/but zhong1/finally shi4/be neng2/can
 hui2dao4/return_to zhong1yuan2/China de/DE
 ‘The white horse is getting old and can only go slowly, but it surely can return to China eventually.’

- [12] 孫小姐，...這批貨是不能耽誤的。
 sun1/SUN xiao2jie3/Miss , .. zhe4/this pi1/CL huo4/goods
 shi4/be bu4neng2/cannot dan1wu4/delay de/DE
 ‘Ms. Sun, these goods cannot be delayed....’

- [88] 他做的反應，我想是可以理解的。
 zhe4/this ci4/CL ju3dong4/action ne0/NE , ta1/he zuo4/make
 de/DE fan3ying4/reaction , wo3/I xiang3/think shi4/be
 ke2yi3/can li2jie3/understand de/DE
 ‘His reaction (to this incident) is understandable in my view.’

Assertion may be modified and preceded by the prediction modal 可能 *ke3neng2* “possible” in [89], and obligation 應該 *ying1gai1* “should” as in [90].

- [89] 這部小說想說明一個假設：同性戀可能是經由母系而遺傳的。
 zhe4/this bu4/CL xiao3shuo1/novel xiang3/want
 shuo1ming2/explicate yi1/one ge4/CL jia3she4/hypothesis :
 tong2xing4lian4/homosexuality ke3neng2/possible shi4/be

jing1you2/via mu3xi4/mother's_side er2/thus
yi2chuan2/inherit de/DE
'This novel attempts to explicate a hypothesis: homosexuality
may be inherited from mother's side.'

[90] 大多數的人總覺得義工應該是為家人或親友做的，
da4duo1shu4/most de/DE ren2/people zong3/always
jue2de/feel yi4gong1/volunteer ying1gai1/should shi4/be
wei4/for jia1ren2/family huo4/or qin1you3/relative zuo4/do
de/DE
'Most people think volunteers should do service for family and
relatives.'

In sum, the emphatic sentences follow the topic-comment information structure. The phrase framed by 是...的 *shi4...de* serves as the comment, in which either the immediate phrase following 是 *shi4* "be" is the focus and the rest of the comment the presupposition, or the whole phrase as the new information.

17.3.5 Specifying copular sentences

A specifying copular sentence, unlike previous 是...的 *shi4...de* emphatic sentences, equates two nominal phrases before and after the copular 是 *shi4* "be", as schematized in [91] and exemplified in [92]; also see Chapter 9. The predicate contains a headless relative clause.

[91] A 是 [VP 的]_B.

[92] [這土地]_A 是[他們祖先留下來___A 的]_B
[zhe4/this tu3di4/land] shi4/be [ta1men0/they
zu3xian1/ancestor liu2xia4lai2/hand_down de/DE
'This land is what their ancestors handed down.'

Specifying copular sentences can be preceded by 就 *jiu4* "just", as shown in 93]. And the subject can be replaced by a demonstrative 這 *zhe4* "this" or 那 *na4* "that", referring to the unexpressed head noun of the relative clause as in [93]. Moreover, the head of the relative clause noun can be 'recovered' and represented by a generic noun, like 事 *shi4* "matter", or 東西 *dong1xi0* "thing", etc [94].

- [13] i. [彼此感恩，互相提攜，...], 這就是[我們應該要歡喜的]。
 [bi2ci3/each_other gan3en1/thankful , hu4xiang1/each_other ti2xi2/lead_by_hand , mai4xiang4/walk_into wei4lai2/future de/DE kang1zhuang1da4dao4/broad_road] , zhe4/this jiu4/thus shi4/be [wo3men2/we ying1gai1/should yao4/need huan1xi3/happy de/DE
 ‘Being thankful and helpful to each other, ... This is exactly what we should be happy about.’
- ii. [世界上第一架飛機], 就是[他們兄弟兩個發明的]。
 [shi4jie4/world shang4/on di4yi1/first jia4/CL fei1ji1/airplane] , jiu4/thus shi4/be [ta1men0/they xiong1di4/brother liang3/two ge4/CL fa1ming2/invent de/DE
 ‘The first airplane in the world is just what the two brothers invented.’
- [94] 你說的，是歷史上從未發生過的事
 ni3/you shuo1/say de/DE , shi4/be li4shi3/history shang4/on cong2wei4/never fa1sheng1/happen guo4/GUO de/DE shi4/event
 ‘What you described is something that has never happened before in history.’

Specifying copular sentences are also used in contrasting alternatives. In talking about two sets of chivalrous novels, the pair of specifying copular sentences [95ii] and [95iii] are used to underline the differences between them.

- [95] i. 他也只看過「飛狐外傳」與「神鵬俠侶」這兩套書。
 ta1/he ye3/also zhi3/only kan4/look guo4/GUO
 “ fei1hu2wai4zhuan4/Feihu_Waizhuan ” yu3/and
 “ shen2diao1xia2lv3/Shendiao_Xialv ” zhe4/this liang3/two tao4/set shu1/book
 ‘He only read ‘Feihu Waizhuan’ and ‘Shendiao Xialv’ , these two sets.’
- ii. 前者是我半年多前買的，
 qian2zhe3/former shi4/be wo3/I ban4nian2/half_a_year duo1/more qian2/before mai3/buy de/DE
 ‘The former is what I bought half year ago.’
- iii. 後者則是他向阿姨借的。
 hou4zhe3/latter ze2/however shi4/be ta1/he xiang4/PREP a1yi2/aunt jie4/borrow de/DE
 ‘The latter is what he borrowed from his aunt.’

If there is a context through which a nominal phrase can be recovered or explicitly expressed, then sentences like [96i] may be ambiguous between a specifying reading like [96ii] and an emphatic reading.

- [96] i. 人是神創造的
ii. 人是神創造的(生物)
ren2/human shi4/be shen2/God chuang4zao4/create de/DE
(sheng1wu4/creature)
-specifying: Human beings are (one of) the creatures that God created.
-emphatic: Human beings were created by God.

In addition to the topic-comment reading, the same string [96] may denote an equation of 人 ren2 “human” and the head noun of the relative clause, e.g., 生物 sheng1wu4 “creature”, giving rise to the specifying pattern. The ambiguity can be resolved depending on the contextual information although their truth-conditional meanings can be considered equivalent in most contexts.

17.3.6 Bare *shi* sentences

A sentence with 是 *shi4* “be” without 的 *de* simply affirms the elements in the domain of 是 *shi4* “be”, without strong speaker’s subjective stance of the emphatic information structure of 是...的 *shi4...de*. Sentence [97] expresses surprise by spotting a wolf. Bare 是 *shi4* “be” sentences are also used to contrast alternatives as in [98] or in wh-interrogatives [99].

- [97] 一隻狼出現了，樂師看到后說道：「哎呀！是一隻狼來看我了。」
yi1/one zhi1/CL lang2/wolf chu1xian4/appear le/LE ,
yue4shi1/musician kan4dao4/see hou4/after shuo1dao4/say :
“ ai1ya1/Aiya ! shi4/be yi1/one zhi1/CL lang2/wolf lai2/come
kan4/see wo3/I le/LE
A wolf appeared. The musician saw it then said: “Aiya! It’s the
wolf that comes to see me.”

- [98] 炸彈我是沒見過，炸蛋倒是吃過。
zha4dan4/bomb wo3/I shi4/be mei2/not jian4/see
guo4/GUO , zha4/fry dan4/egg dao4shi4/actually chi1/eat
guo4/GUO

'Zh4dan4 (bombs), it is true that I haven't seen them before; but zha4dan4 (fried eggs), I have eaten before.'

- [99] 有人請我吃飯，可是我不記得是誰請我了。
you3/YOU ren2/people qing3/invite wo3/I chi1fan4/eat ,
ke3shi4/but wo3/I bu4/not ji4de/remember shi4/be
shei2/who qing3/invite wo3/I le/LE
'Someone has invited me for dinner, but I cannot recall who [did it.]'

Adjuncts like temporal, location and manner phrases can follow *shi*.

- [100] 他們是上周六啟程到泰國。
ta1men0/they shi4/be shang4/last zhou1liu4/Saturday
qi3cheng2/live dao4/PREP tai4guo2/Thailand
'It was last Saturday when they left for Thailand.'

- [101] 孔子是用唱歌來表示愉悅的心境。
kong2zi3/Confucius shi4/be yong4/use chang4ge1/singing
lai2/come biao3shi4/express yu1yue4/cheerful de/DE
xin1jing4/mood
'It is with singing that Confucius expressed his happy emotion.'

Bare 是 sentences are employed to focus the predicate in [102], or predicates containing modals of possibility [103i] or necessity [103ii].

- 102] 李先生過去裹紮傷口，說：「伯伯，我是盡力而為，你忍一忍痛。」
li3/Li xian1sheng0/sir guo4qu4/go_over guo3zha1/wrap
shang1kou3/wound , shuo1/say : " bo2bo0/uncle , wo3/I
shi4/be jin4li4er2wei2/do_one's_best , ni3/you ren3/hold
yi1/one ren3/hold tong4/pain
'Mr. Li went to wrap the wound for him, saying 'Uncle, I am trying my best. Please bear with the pain for a while.'

- [103] i. 他是可能把標準訂得太高了。
ta1/he shi4/be ke3neng2/probably ba3/BA
biao1zhun3/standard ding4/set de/DE tai4/too gao1/high
le/LE
'It is probable that he was setting the standard too high.'
- ii. 男女雙方是該試著調整心態，。

nan2nv3/men_and_women shuang1fang1/both_sides shi4/be
 gai1/should shi4/try zhe/ZHE tiao2zheng3/adjust
 xin1tai4/attitude , bu2zai4/no_longer ju1ni4/stick yu2/PREP
 chuan2tong3/tradition si1xiang3/idea ... de/DE jia1suo3/yoke
 ‘Both men and women SHOULD try to change their attitudes.’

Bare 是 *shi4* “*be*” pattern is employed to associate with the emphatic marker 是 *shi4* “*be*” the focused phrase(s) in its domain. In general, there is no restriction to the verb types or aspects that can co-occur with bare 是 *shi4* “*be*” sentences.

17.3.7 Pseudo-clefts

的是 *de shi4* sentences, also referred to as pseudo-clefts, consist of (i) a headless relative clause as the subject, (ii) the copula 是 *shi4* “*be*”, and (iii) a focused element, as illustrated in [104iv]; also see Ch 9.

- | | Part 1 | Part 2 |
|----------|--|--|
| [104] i. | [母親寄來] | [一張美金支票] |
| | [mu3qin1/mother ji4/mail lai2/come] | [yi1/one zhang1/CL mei3jin1/US_dollar zhi1piao4/check] |
| | Mother sent over a US dollar check. [canonical sentence] | |
| ii. | [母親寄來] 的 | [一張美金支票] |
| | [mu3qin1/mother ji4/mail lai2/come] | de/DE [yi1/one zhang1/CL mei3jin1/US_dollar zhi1piao4/check] |
| | a US dollar check sent over by Mother [relative clause] | |
| iii. | 是 [母親寄來的一張美金支票] | |
| | shi4/be [mu3qin1/mother ji4/mail lai2/come de/DE yi1/one zhang1/CL mei3jin1/US_dollar zhi1piao4/check] | |
| | (What this is) is a US dollar check sent over by Mother. [emphatic sentence] | |
| iv. | [母親寄來的] 是 [一張美金支票] | |
| | [mu3qin1/mother ji4/mail lai2/come de/DE] | shi4/be [yi1/one zhang1/CL mei3jin1/US_dollar zhi1piao4/check] |
| | What mother sent over was a US dollar check. [pseudo-cleft] | |

We can see from above that the information structure is largely maintained with a canonical sentence [104i], a relative clause [104ii], an emphatic sentence [104iii], and

a pseudo-cleft [104iv]; with all of them introducing the check sent by mother as the new information. The main difference among them is the focus. The canonical sentence and the relative clause does not assign focus; while 是 *shi4* “be” introduces focus to the element following it, the full description in the emphatic sentence [104iii] but only the check itself in the pseudo-cleft [104iv]. The post-copular focus element can be a nominal phrase that is related to the unexpressed argument inside the relative clause, such as the object in [104 iv] and [105], and the subject in [106].

- [105] [學術研究講求]的是[細緻精確],
 本院景觀呈現的[卻是粗糙凌亂的面貌].
 [xue2shu4/academic yan2jiu1/research jiang3qiu2/stress]
 de/DE shi4/be [xi4zhi4/refined jing1que4/accurate],
 ben3/this yuan4/institution jing3guan1/landscape
 cheng2xian4/present de/DE [que4/however shi4/be
 cu1cao1/crude ling2luan4/chaotic de/DE
 mian4mao4/appearance
 ‘What(we) strive for in academic research is refinement and
 precision, but what our academy presents is a coarse and chaotic
 image.

- [106] [主張人文之美的]是[孔子], [主張人格之美的]是[孟子]
 [zhu3zhang1/advocate ren2wen2/humanities zhi1/DE
 mei3/beauty de/DE] shi4/be [kong2zi3/Confucius],
 [zhu3zhang1/advocate ren2ge2/personality zhi1/DE
 mei3/beauty de/DE] shi4/be [meng4zi0/Mencius]
 ‘The one who advocates the beauty of the humanities is
 Confucius, the one who advocates the beauty of human virtue is
 Mencius.’

Heavy phrases are candidates for the focus, such as the clausal subject in [107],
 clausal complement in [108], or adjunct phrases as in [109].

- [14] [妙的]是[s 造物者僅只用了約百分之一的遺傳基因就造成了一個有
 血肉有思想的人]。
 [miao4/marvelous de/DE] shi4/be [zao4wu4zhe3/creator
 jin2zhi3/only yong4/use le/LE yue1/about
 bai3fen1zhi1yi1/one_percent de/DE yi2chuan2ji1yin1/gene
 jiu4/then zao4cheng2/create le/LE yi1/one ge4/CL you3/have
 xie3rou4/flesh you3/have si1xiang3/though de/DE
 ren2/human

‘What is so marvelous is that the creator only used 1% of the gene to create a full-fleshed human with thinking mind.’

- [15] [我唯一能做的]只是[遞給她一包面紙]
[wo3/I wei2yi1/only neng2/can zuo4/do de/DE] zhi3/just
shi4/be [di4/pass gei3/give ta1/she yi1/one bao1/package
mian4zhi3/tissue]
‘The only thing I can do is to just give her a pack of tissues...’

- [16] 有人 ... 百般巴結老師... [為的]只是[能順利畢業，早日出校當官]。
you3/YOU ren2/people ... bai3ban1/do_everything
ba1jie2/please lao3shi1/teacher ... [wei2/for de/DE]
zhi3shi4/only neng2/can shun4li4/successfully
bi4ye4/graduate , zao3ri4/early chu1/leave xiao4/school
dang1/act_as guan1/officer
‘The reason why some will do anything and everything to please their teachers is just so that they can graduate without any problem and become officers earlier.’

■ Provide new information

The post-copular element is intended to provide specific novel information on account of the pre-copular background information. This background-focus pseudo-cleft pattern is often used in wh-interrogative and answers.

- [17] i: ...我輕輕的說：爸爸，您看什麼書啊？
(wo3/I) ... kan4jian4/see fu4qin0/father ... zai4/at ..
kan4shu1/read_book . wo3/I qing1qing1/gently de/DE
shuo1/say : ba4ba40/dad , nin2/you kan4/look
shen2me0/what shu1/book a0/A
‘I asked gently, “Father, what are you reading?”’
- ii: 父親...說 [我看的]是[一本古詩]。父親..自言自語的念了兩句詩。 ...
fu4qin0/father ... shuo1/say : [wo3/I kan4/look de/DE]
shi4/be [yi1/one ben3/CL gu3shi1/ancient_poem] .
fu4qin1/father .. zi4yan2zi4yu3/mumble de/DE nian4/read
le/LE liang3/two ju4/sentence shi1/poem
‘Father said: what I am reading is a book of ancient poems. He recited two verses to himself.’
- iii: 我笑著說：爸爸，[您念的]是[什麼詩]啊？

wo3/I xiao4/ smile zhe/ZHE shuo1/say : ba4ba0/dad ,
[nin2/you nian4/read de/DE] shi4/be [shen2me0/what
shi1/poem] a0/A

'I laughed and asked, "Father, what poem are you reciting?"'

iv: 父親說：[我念的]是[唐朝詩人的詩句]。

fu4qin0/father shuo1/say : [wo3/I nian4/read de/DE]
shi4/be [tang2chao2/Tang_Dynasty shi1ren2/poet de/DE
shi1ju4/verse

'Father said, "What I was reciting was the verses of a poet in
Tang Dynasty.'

In [110], the father's reading event is backgrounded in [110i]. In reply to his son's question, the father emphasizes *a book of poetry* in [110ii] that he is reading. The son continues to elicit further details by placing the wh-interrogative as the focus in [100iii]. The father answers with the same pattern by highlighting *verses from a poet in Tang Dynasty* in [110iv].

The post-copular phrase is used to introduce to a new entity for the following discourse to elaborate on.

[18] i. [值得一提的]是[我在台灣認識了一個新朋友名叫棕背伯勞]。

[zhi2deyi4ti2/worth_mentioning de/DE] shi4/be [wo3/I
zai4/PREP tai2wan1/Taiwan ren4shi0/know le/LE yi1/one
ge4/CL xin1/new peng2you3/friend ming2/name jiao4/call
zong1bei1bo2lao2/shrike

'What's worth mentioning is that I came to know a new friend
in Taiwan called rufous-backed shrike.'

ii. 他...，因下背至尾上覆羽紅棕色而得名。

ta1/he de/DE ti3ge2/body xiang1dang1/quite
kui2wu3/tall_and_strong , shen1chang2/height 27
gong1fen1/cm , yin1/because_of xia4bei4/lower_back zhi4/to
wei3shang4/top_tail fu4/cover yu3/feather
hong2zong1se4/red_brown er2/thus de2ming2/be_named
'Itis named for red-brown feathers from lower back to the tail.'

As a way to express emphasis, the speaker may use this pattern to express his/her stance of surprise, like, dislike or fear, etc.

[112] 她衝我喊，什麼沒給你？你還想要什麼？...[我恨的]就是[這句話]。

ta1/she chong4/to wo3/I han3/yell , shen2me0/what mei2/not
 gei3/give ni3/you ? ni3/you hai2/yet xiang3yao4/want
 shen2me0/what ? hai2/yet xiang3yao4/want shen2me0/what ?
 [wo3/I hen4/hate de/DE] jiu4/thus shi4/be [zhe4/this
 ju4/CL hua4/words
 ‘She shouted to me, “What didn’t I give you? What else do you
 want?” ‘What I hate is these words.’

[112] also provides an example, similar to [108], where the focus marker 是 *shi4* “be” is preceded and modified by the adverb 就 *jiu4* “just” and is separated from 的 *de*. This underlines the fact that even though 的是 *de shi4* is a single phonological unit in speech, it belongs to two different syntactic units.

■ Contrast alternatives

的是 *de shi4* sentences are often used to contrast alternatives. In addition to the above purpose of providing specification or new information, speakers may use 的是 *de shi4* pattern to clarify a possible misunderstanding, or contradict something said or presupposed, as indicated below and [113] above.

- [113]i. Q: 「彼得跟我說是明天走。」
 bi3de2/Peter gen1/PREP wo3/I shuo1/say shi4/be
 ming2tian1/tomorrow zou3/leave
 “Peter said it’s tomorrow that he will leave.”
- ii. A: 「妳大概記錯了，[明天走的]是[我]。」
 ni3/you da4gai4/probably ji4/remember cuo4/wrong le/LE ,
 [ming2tian1/tomorrow zou3/leave de/DE] shi4/be [wo3/I
 “You’re probably got it wrong. The one who will leave
 tomorrow is me.”

- [114] [但最後得獎的]是[羅伯茲]而非[周芷]。
 [dan4/but zui4hou4/finally de2jiang3/win_prize de/DE]
 shi4/be [luo2bo2zi1/Roberts] er2/but fei1/not
 [zhou1zhi3/Zhou_Zhi
 ‘The one who won the prize is Roberts not Zhou Zhi.’

■ Elaboration of nuance:

Another function of 的是 *de shi4* is to elaborate nuance of preceding conversation.

- [115] i. 游先生倡行社區教育委員會主導學校行政，可惜的是，...家長會
企圖把持校務 ... , ...

you2/YOU xian1sheng0/sir chang4xing2/advocate
she4qu1/community jiao1yu4wei3yuan2hui4/Education_Board
zhu3dao3/lead xue2xiao4/school xing2zheng4/administration ,
ke3xi2/unfortunate de/DE shi4/be , ... jia1zhang3hui4/PTA
qi3tu2/attempt ba3chi2/manipulate
xiao4wu4/school_affairs ... , zhen1li3/truth wei4bi4/may_not
shi4/be zhan4/stand zai4/PREP duo1shu4/majority
ren2/people de/DE yi1fang1/side de/DE

‘Mr. You advocates community education board should be leading administrative decisions, but the PTA attempts to manipulate school affairs... ..’

- ii. 在此[我要說的]是, [事實與理論往往是相差甚遠的...],
zai4/PREP ci3/here [wo3/I yao4/want shui4/say de/DE]
shi4/be , [shi4shi2/reality yu3/and li3lun4/theory
wang2wang3/more_often_than_not shi4/be xiang1cha1/differ
shen4/very yuan3/far de/DE
‘Here what I want to say is that reality often deviates the theory.’

In [115], the speaker agrees with Mr. You’s view, which is challenged by a minority of parents. The speaker then elaborates the nuance of his point by uttering a 的是 *de shi4* sentence. A speaker may also summarize previous points as a focus by using 的是 *de shi4*.

- [19] i. 如果一個執政者有心...應該...做個具備泰雅族特色的博物館...,
...成為泰雅族傳承的標竿....
ru2guo3/if yi1/one ge0/CL zhi2zheng4zhe3/governor
you3xin1/thoughtful ... ying1gai1/should zuo4/do ge0/CL
ju4bei4/have tai4ya3zu2/Atayal te4se4/characteristic de/DE
bo2wu4guan3/museum ... , ... cheng2wei4/become
tai4ya3zu2/Atayal chuan2cheng2/heritage de/DE
biao1gan1/standard
‘If those who govern care for the aboriginal people, ...they should build a museum featuring Atayal characteristics..., as a standard bearer of the Atayal heritage.’
- ii. [可惜的]是[這樣的人太少了]!
[ke3xi1/unfortunate de/DE] shi4/be [zhe4yang4/such de/DE
ren2/people tai4/too shao3/few le/LE
‘It is a pity is that we have too few of such people.’

On a par with the above mentioned information structure, 的是 *de shi4* pseudo-cleft manifests another type of topic-comment bipartition: the relative preceding 是 *shi4* “be” serves as a background and the phrase following 是 *shi4* “be” as the focus.

17.4 Lian...dou/ye 'Even' Sentences

連...都/也 *lian2...dou1/ye3* “even...all/also” sentences not only assert the sentence proposition, but also implicate the focused element after 連 *lian2* to be the least expected alternative in one’s presupposition in the context (See Chapter 12). 連 *lian2* and 都 *dou1* “all”/也 *ye3* “also” occur in a preverbal position. As schematized in [117], various preverbal positions can host the 連-phrase, while 都/也 *dou1/ye3* “all/also” usually immediately precedes the verb phrase. Adverbs like 甚至(於) *shen4zhi4(yu2)*, 竟然 *jing4ran2*, 居然 *ju1ran2* “unexpectedly” can optionally precede 連-phrases.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| [117] | i. | 連 + S ... | + 都/也 + VP | --subject focus |
| | ii. | S + 連 adjunct | + 都/也 + VP | --adjunct focus |
| | iii. | S + 連 complement | + 都/也 + V __ | --complement focus |
| | iv. | 連 complement | + S + 都/也 + V__ | --complement focus/CT |
| | v. | 連 adjunct | + S + 都/也 + VP | --adjunct focus/CT |

Sentences in [118] correspond to the structure of [117i], in which the bracketed subject is presupposed to be the least likely individual that the VP is predicated of. Adjunct foci [117ii] are illustrated in [119]

- [20] i. 連[嚮導]也是第一次來。
lian2/even [xiang4dao3/guide] ye3/also shi4/be
di4yi1ci4/fist_time lai2/come
 ‘Even the guide was here at the first time.’
- ii. 由於河水實在太急，連[大象]也站不住腳。
you2yu2/because he2shui3/stream shi2zai4/really tai4/too
ji2/rapid , lian2/even [da4xiang4/elephant] ye3/also
zhan4/stand bu2/not zhu4/firm jiao3/foot
 ‘The stream is so rapid that even the elephant cannot stand firm.’

- [119]
- i. ...地震，...連[在蘭州市區]也有輕微震感。
di4zhen4/earthquake , zhen4fu2/range suo3/SUO zhi4/arrive ,
lian2/even [zai4/PREP lan2zhou1/Lanzhou

shi4qu1/urban_area] ye3/also you3/YOU qing1wei2/slight
zhen4/shake gan3/feel

'The earthquake can be felt even in Lanzhuo urban area.'

ii. 我真的沒想到..., 連[在街上走]都會發生意外。

wo3/I zhen1de/really mei2/not xiang3dao4/imagine ... ,

lian2/even [zai4/PREP jie1shang4/on_the_street zou3/walk]

dou1/all hui4/can fa1sheng1/happen yi4wai4/accident

'I cannot imagine that one may encounter accidents even when walking on the street.'

Being able to be separated from 都/也 *dou1/ye3*, a 連- *lian2* can occur in the clause-initial position. As presupposed to be the least likely element, it often serves as adding further information in continuation of the previous discourse, as in [119ii].

Since focused elements introduced by 連 *lian2* "even" must occur preverbally, postverbal elements such as nominal or clausal direct objects must be preposed, as shown in [120] and [121] respectively.

[21] i. 思東連[開玩笑的話]都會用了, 簡直跟中國人一樣了嘛。

si1dong1/Stone lian2/even [kai1wan2xiao4/joke de/DE

hua4/words] dou1/all hui4/can yong4/use le/LE ,

jian3zhi2/almost gen1/PREP zhong1guo2ren2/Chinese

yi2yang4/same le/LE ma0/MA

'Stone even knows how to use jokes. He is essentially a Chinese!'

ii. 有時甚至連[計程車]也不見得叫得到。

you3shi2/sometimes shen4zhi4/even lian2/even

[ji4cheng2che1/taxi] ye3/also bu2jian4de/may_not jiao4/call

de/DE dao4/come

'Sometime one cannot even find a taxi.'

[121] 她居然連[我叫什麼名字]都知道!

ta1/she ju1ran2/unexpectedly lian2/even [wo3/I jiao4/call

shen2me0/what ming2zi0/name] dou1/all zhi1dao4/know

'She even knows what I am called.'

These sentences often co-occurs with 甚至 *shen4zhi4*, 竟然 *jing4ran2*, 居然 *ju1ran2* adverbs for further emphasis, as in [122 i], and [122ii].

[122] i. 甚至連[選舉日]他們都寧願加班。

bu2dan4/not_only zai4/PREP gong1zuo4/work shang4/on
li4qiu2/strive_for biao3xian4/performance , jin3liang4/try
bu4/not qing3jia4/ask_for_leave wai4/besides ,
shen4zhi4/even lian2/even [xuan2ju3/election ri4/day]
ta1men0/they dou1/all ning2yuan4/would_rather
jia1ban1/work_overtime

‘They prefer to work overtime even on voting day.’

- ii. 當我們雙腿一伸的時候，連[一片雲彩]我們都帶不走。
dang1/when wo3men2/we shuang1tui3yi2shen1/die de/DE
shi2hou0/when , lian2/even [yi1/one pian4/CL
yun2cai3/cloud] wo3men2/we dou1/all
dai4bu4zou3/cannot_take_away
‘When we die, we cannot take away even a cloud.’

In the context in [122i] about the downturn of the economy, to work overtime on the voting day is thought to be the least likely alternative given the societal value of voting in newly democratic Taiwan [122ii] shows that non-definite can appear in this position for the meaning of ‘not even one...’.

In addition, clause-initial 連-phrase is used for contrasting alternatives [123].

- [123] 凱洛琳不是你搶走的？威瑪不是你搶走的？現在連[貝珍]你也要搶！
kai3luo4lin2/Caroline bu4/not shi4/be ni3/you
qiang3zou3/take_away de/DE ? wei1ma3/Wilma bu4/not
shi4/be ni3/you qiang3zou3/take_away de/DE ?
xian4zai4/now lian2/even [bei4zhen1/Bea_Jane] ni3/you
ye3/also yao4/want qiang3/take_away
‘Didn’t you take away Caroline? Didn’t you take away Wilma!
Now you want to take even Bea Jane away from me!’

While the clause-initial 連-phrase retains its focus status, it behaves similarly as a contrastive topic, which may be addressee-new but discourse-old in the sense of having an understood alternative to be contrasted with.

When 連 *lian2* “even” bring focus on a noun phrase denoting the smallest amount (一 or 半+classifier+noun, often called *minimizer*) in negative sentences, the proposition denies the existence of even the smallest amount, resulting in the meaning of *none*.

- [22] i. 他在山上...跑了一整天, 卻連[一隻野兔]都沒有發現。
 ta1/he zai4/PREP shan1/mountain shang4/on ... pao3/run
 le/LE yi1/one zheng3/whole tian1/day , que4/but lian2/even
 [yi1/one zhi1/CL ye3tu4/hare] dou1/all mei2you3/not
 fa1xian4/find
 'He hunted a whole day in the mountain, but didn't find even a hare.'
- ii. 思漢覺得自己很笨, 連[一個字]也沒聽懂。
 si1han4/Sihan jue2de/feel zi4ji3/oneself hen3/very
 ben4/stupid , lian2/even [yi1/one ge4/CL zi4/word] ye3/also
 mei2/not ting1/listen dong3/understand
 'Sihan felt himself stupid; he didn't understand even a word.'
- iii. 沒有一個例外, 連[半個]都沒有呢。
 mei2you3/NEG_YOU yi1/one ge4/CL li4wai4/exception ,
 lian2/even [ban4/half ge4/CL] dou1/all
 mei2you3/NEG_YOU ne0/NE
 'There is no exception, not even half an exception.'

- [125] 耶穌曾說過他要睡覺連[個枕頭]都沒有__。
 ye1su1/Jesus ceng2/once shuo1/say guo4/GUO ta1/he
 yao4/want shui4jiao4/sleep lian2/even [ge4/CL
 zhen3tou2/pillow] dou1/all mei2you3/not_have
 Jesus once said that he didn't even have a pillow to sleep on.
- ii.

[124i] means he didn't find any prey, not even a hare, which is assumed to be the most likely prey to be found. [124ii] means Sihan didn't understand anything, and [124iii] means the speaker didn't earn anything in his first day business. Note the numeral 一 *yi1* "one" can be omitted, as shown in [**Error! Reference source not found.**].

With appropriate context, omission of 連 *lian2* "even" before a minimizer does not affect the meaning in a negative sentence with a minimizer, as shown below.

- [126] i. 爸爸至少救了上百人, 可是[半個]都沒有來家感謝的意思。
 ba4ba4/dad zhi4shao3/at_least jiu4/save le/LE
 shang4/approaching bai3/hundred ren2/people ,

- ta1/he (tou2lan2/shoot 5 ci4/time) zhi3/only jin4/enter 1
 qiu2/ball
 ‘He (shot five times) only made one.’
- ii. 他(投籃 5 次)只有 1 球投進了。 --S zhiyou-O V
 ta1/he (tou2lan2/shoot 5 ci4/time) zhi3you3/only 1 qiu2/ball
 tou2/shoot jin4/enter le/LE
 ‘He (shot five times) and only made one shot.’
- iii. (投籃 5 次)只有 1 球他投進了。 -- zhiyou-O S V
 (tou2lan2/shoot 5 ci4/time) zhi3you3/only 1 qiu2/ball ta1/he
 tou2/shoot jin4/enter le/LE
 ‘(Having shot five times) there was only one shot that he made.’

[129] 我一想，果然只有這條路可以走，
 wo3/I yi1/one xiang3/think , guo3ran2/as_expected
 zhi3you3/only zhe4/this tiao2/CL lu4/path ke2yi3/can
 zou3/walk
 ‘I realized that I can take only this path.’

[130] 牠剛從母體落地時，僅僅只有八九十克。
 ta1/it gang1/just cong2/PREP mu3ti3/mother luo4di4/born
 shi2/when , jin2jin3/only zhi2you3/only
 ba1jiu3shi2/eighty_to_nighty ke4/gram
 ‘When it was just born, it only weighs 80-90 grams.’

In [128i] 只 *zhi3* “only” precedes the verb phrase in a canonical SVO sentence. By contrast, the object focus in [128ii] is displaced to precede the verb, or [128iii] to the clause-initial position. The displacement is possible only when the verb 有 *you3* “have” conflates with 只 *zhi3* “only”. As the subject is often omitted, the preverbal 只有+phrase is possible both in the clause medial or initial positions, e.g. [129], meaning *there is only X that*. Sometimes a restrictive adverb 僅僅 *jin3jin3* “only” (e.g., [130]) may precede 只 *zhi3* “only” for further emphasis.

When the subject is restricted, 只有 *zhi3you3* “only” immediately precedes it and often co-occurs with another restrictive focus (strictly preverbal) adverb 才 *cai2*.

[131] i. 孔子認為只有「天」才真正了解他，
 kong2zi3/Confucius ren4wei2/think zhi2you3/only
 tian1/God cai2/just zhen1zheng4/truely liao3jie3/understand
 ta1/he

- ‘Confucius thinks only “heaven” can understand him.’
- ii. 大家都恥笑他，只有鮑叔牙替他辯護
 da4jia1/everyone dou1/all chi3xiao4/mock ta1/he ,
 zhi2you3/only bao4shu2ya2/Bao_Shuya ti4/for ta1/he
 bian4hu4/defend
 ‘Everyone looks down on him. Only BAO Shuya defended him.’

Like other preverbal elements, adjuncts to be restricted are preceded by 只有 *zhi3you3* “only”.

- [131]. [數十萬隻紅尾伯勞群集一處的自然奇觀]
 全世界只有恆春才看得到。
 [shu4shi2wan4/several_hundred_thousands zhi1/CL
 hong2/red wei3/tail bo2lao2/shrike qun2ji2/gather yi1/one
 chu4/place de/DE zi4ran2/nature qi2guan1/wonder]
 quan2shi4jie4/all_over_the_world zhi2you3/only
 heng2chun1/Hengchun cai2/just kan4de2dao4/be_able_to_see
 ‘The natural wonder of hundred thousands of Rufous-backed
 Shrikes gathering at one place can be watched only in
 Heng-chun.’

In addition to the restricting function, 只 *zhi3* “only” is used to contrast with opposing alternative(s), sometimes juxtaposed with a negative conjunct.

- [132] 解說人員的言論只代表他們個人觀感，而不代表藝術中心或創作者
 jie3shuo1ren2yuan2/docent de/DE yan2lun4/speech zhi3/only
 dai4biao3/represent ta1men0/they ge4ren2/individual
 guan1gan3/opinion , er2/but bu4/not dai4biao3/represent
 yi4shu4zhong1xin1/art_center huo4/or
 chuang4zuo4zhe3/artist
 What the docents say only represents their own personal views,
 not those of the art center or the artists.

只 *zhi3* “only” can co-occur with 是 *shi4* “be” in regular copular specifying sentences to restrict the predicate rendering *only*, or *just* in [133], as well as in *not only* context in [134].

- [133] 孔子原來只是個平凡的小孩，家裡很窮...
 kong2zi3/Confucius yuan2lai2/originally zhi3/only shi4/be
 ge4/CL ping2fan2/common de/DE xiao3hai2/child ,
 jia1li3/family hen3/very qiong2/poor

‘Confucius was just an ordinary child, from a poor family...’

- [134] 桂花烏龍不只是茶香味美而已，還有一種細膩溫潤。
gui4hua1/osmanthus wu1long2/oolong bu4zhi3/not_only
shi4/be cha2/tea xiang1/fragrant wei4/taste mei3/beautiful
er2yi3/only , hai2/also you3/have yi1/one zhong4/kind
xi4ni4/delicacy wen1run4/tenderness
‘Osmanthus oolong tea does not just have fragrance and taste, it
also has a touch of delicacy and tenderness.’

A whole proposition may be restricted in cases where 只是 *zhi3shi4* “*be only*” precedes the clause.

- [135] ...「沒有啦！...只是昨天晚上有兩名青少年騎車在街上遊蕩，被人
拿刀砍傷...
“ ... shi4/be bu4/not shi4/be you3/have
qiang1zhan4/gun_fight ? ” nian4xin1/Nianxin
jie1zhe/immediately shuo1/say : “ mei2you3/NEG_YOU
la0/LA ! zhi3shi4/only zuo2tian1/yesterday
wan3shang4/evening you3/have liang3/two ming2/CL
qing1shao4nian2/young_man qi2/ride che1/scooter zai4/PREP
jie1/street shang4/on you2dang4/wander , bei4/BEI
ren2/people na2/use dao1/knife kan3/stab shang1/hurt

Nothing. It was just that yesterday there were two young men riding scooters on the street and being stabbed.”

The restrictive semantics then gets further extended to concession to soften the (opposing) tone of the speech, indicated by the sentence final particle 啦 *la0* in [135] and 罷了 *ba4le* in [136i, ii].

- [136] i. 投資再多的電廠也只是浪費罷了。
tou2zi1/invest zai4/more duo1/many de/DE
dian4chang3/power_plant ye3/also zhi3shi4/only
lang4fei4/waste ba4le/SFP
No matter how much investment one puts in more power plants,
it is just a waste.
- ii. 台灣並不產虎，最多只是被暱稱為大貓的石虎罷了！
tai2wan1/Taiwan bing4/however bu4/not chan3/produce
hu3/tiger , zui4duo1/at_most zhi3shi4/only bei4/BEI

ni4cheng1/nickname wei4/as da4/big mao1/cat de/DE
shi2hu3/leopard_cat ba4le/SFP
Taiwan does not have tigers. The closest to tigers is just the
leopard cat, which is nicknamed 'the big cat'.

There are other means to express uniqueness, such as by employing the
modifiers 唯獨 *wei2du2* "only" or 唯一 *wei2yi1* "only".

- [137] i. 別的好說，唯獨這件事，我不管就受不了。
bie2de/others hao3shuo1/easy_to_handle , wei2du2/only
zhe4/this jian4/CL shi4/issue , wo3/I bu4guan3/ignore
jiu4/thus shou4bu4liao3/cannot_stand
'Other things are fine. Only this matter, I cannot stand ignoring
it.'

- ii. 唯一比較困難的地方是台灣早期的資料都是用日語寫的。

mu4qian2/at_present zai4/PREP yu3yan2/language
yan2jiu4/research zi1xun4/information de/DE qu3de2/obtain
fang1mian4/facet bu4/not gou4cheng2/form
wen4ti2/problem , wei2yi1/only bi2jiao3/somewhat
kun4nan2/difficult de/DE di4fang1/place shi4/be
tai2wan1/Taiwan zao3qi1/early_stage de/DE zi1liao4/material
dou1/all shi4/be yong4/use ri4yu3/Japanese xie3/write
de/DE
The only difficulty came from the fact that early documents in
Taiwan were all written in Japanese.'