

On the fine structure of the Left Periphery: the positions of Topic and Focus in Cantonese

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Goals of this paper:

- To examine the syntactic properties of *wh*-fronting construction in Cantonese.
- To argue that *wh*-fronting is best-analyzed as a strategy for licensing Identificational Focus, which should be distinguished from topicalization.
- To show that the syntactic properties of *wh*-fronting construction in Cantonese can be nicely accommodated under a monoclausal analysis.
- To investigate the topography of Topic and Focus in the left periphery of Cantonese.

1. *Wh*-fronting construction in Cantonese

1.1 The appearance of *hai*

In Cantonese, a *wh*-word can be fronted to the pre-subject position preceded by *hai*, as exemplified in (1). Similar examples can also be found in Mandarin, as shown in (2):

- (1) Hai **bingo**, Siufan zeoi zungji t aa?
HAI who Mary most like Q
'Who is it that Mary likes most?'
- (2) Shi **shei**, Xiaofen zui xihuan t ne?
SHI who Xiaofen most like Q
'Who is it that Xiaofen likes most?'

In the literature, *wh*-fronting construction in Mandarin has been proposed as an instance of topicalization (Xu & Langendoen 1985, Li 1996, Wu 1999, Pan 2006, inter alia), while Hoh & Chiang (1990) and Cheung (2008, 2009a,b) argue that it involves focalization. Built on Cheung's proposal that *wh*-fronting in Mandarin is best-analyzed as a strategy for licensing Identificational Focus (IdentF; also known as Contrastive Focus), this paper extends Cheung's analysis to *wh*-fronting in Cantonese, and argues that it is a strategy for licensing IdentF.

2. Unraveling the properties of Identificational focus

2.1. Exhaustivity

É. Kiss (1998): IdentF expresses *exhaustive identification*, i.e. it specifies an exhaustive set of discourse entities for which a given proposition holds true and excludes other possibilities (see also Szabolcsi 1994, Zubizarreta & Vergnaud 2006, a.o.).

- (2) It is [IdentF John] that Mary likes.
≈It is John and no one else that Mary likes.

■ *Diagnostics of exhaustivity:*

- Conjunction test: Zubizarreta & Vergnaud (2006) note that clefted questions in French unambiguously give rise to exhaustivity, which requires "uniqueness of description". This requirement is violated in (3A) due to the presence of multiple IdentFs in two separate conjoined clauses, and hence it is ruled out:

- (3) Q: C'est [IdentF qui] qui a écrit un livre sur les rats? (French)
'It is who that wrote a book about rats?'
- A: *C'est [IdentF le chat] qui a écrit un livre sur les rats, et c'est aussi [IdentF la chauve-souris].
'It is the cat that wrote a book about rats, and also the bat.'
(Zubizarreta & Vergnaud 2006: (9))

Similar observations hold for Cantonese, as witnessed by the contrast between (4A1), and (4A2):

- (4) Q: Hai [IdentF matje je], Siufan maai-zo aa?
HAI what thing Siufan buy-Perf Q
'What thing was it that Mary bought?'
- A1: Keoi maai-zo [InfoF mou], jikdou maai-zo [InfoF ngoitau].
she buy-Perf hat also buy-Perf coat
'She bought a hat, and also a coat.'
- A2: *Hai6 [IdentF mou], keoi maai-zo, jikdou maai-zo [InfoF ngoitau].
HAI hat she buy-Perf also buy-Perf coat

2.2 Scope

É. Kiss (1998): IdentF occupies a scope position.

- (5) a. Minden fiú [_{IdentF} **Marival**] akart táncolni. (Hungarian)
every boy Mary.with wanted to. dance
'For every boy, it was Mary [of the relevant persons] that he wanted to dance with.'
(every > Mary; *Mary > every) (É. Kiss 1998: (22a))
b. [_{IdentF} **Marival**] akart táncolni minden fiú.
Mary.with wanted to. dance every boy
'It was Mary [of the relevant persons] that every boy wanted to dance with.'
(Mary > every; *every > Mary) (É. Kiss 1998: (22b))

The clefted *wh*-phrase in clefted questions occupies a scope position, as evidenced by the absence of pair-list interpretation (6):

- (6) [_{IdentF} **What**] was it that everyone bought for Sue?
a. *For every x, for which y, x bought y for Sue? (pair-list interpretation)
b. For which y, for every x, x bought y for Sue? (individual interpretation)

The *wh*-word licensed by *wh*-fronting takes scope, as evidenced by the fact that the pair-list interpretation is available with in-situ *wh*-questions, as in (7), but not those involving *wh*-fronting (8):

- (7) Muigojan maai-zo **matje je** bei Siufan aa?
everyone buy-Perf what thing for Siufan Q
a. 'For every x, for what thing y, x bought y for Siufan?' (pair-list interpretation)
b. 'For what thing y, for every x, x bought y for Siufan?' (individual interpretation)
(8) Hai [**matje je**], muigojan maai-zo bei Siufan aa?
HAI what thing everyone buy-Perf for Siufan Q
a. *'For every x, for what thing y, x bought y for Siufan?' (pair-list interpretation)
b. 'For what thing y, for every x, x bought y for Siufan?' (individual interpretation)

2.3 Similarities between clefted questions and *wh*-fronting construction

2.3.1 Restrictions on the cleft constituent

É. Kiss (1998): IdentF can be manifested as the cleft constituent in *it*-clefts in English. In English clefted questions, while *wh*-arguments (9a) and *wh*-adjuncts (9b) can be clefted, *how*

cannot, regardless of whether it is interpreted as instrumental (10a), manner (10b) or causal *how* (10c).

- (9) a. [_{IdentF} **Who**] is it that John likes?
b. [_{IdentF} **Where**] was it that John saw Mary?
(10) a. *[_{IdentF} **How**] was it that John planned to go to Peking? [Instrumental]
b. *[_{IdentF} **How**] was it that John criticized you? [Manner]
c. *[_{IdentF} **How come**] was it that John burst into tears? [Causal]

Similar restrictions hold for Cantonese: *wh*-fronting can involve *wh*-arguments (11) and *wh*-adjuncts (12), but not *dimjoeng* regardless of whether it is interpreted as "instrumental how" (13a) or "manner how" (13b) (see Tsai 1992, 1999, 2008 for detailed discussions of *how* in Mandarin).

- (11) *Wh*-arguments
Hai [**bingo/matje je/bin-go jan**], Siufan zeoi zungji aa?
HAI who/what thing/which-Cl person Siufan most like Q
'Who/what thing/which person is it that Siufan likes most?'
(12) *Wh*-adjuncts
Hai *(**hai**) **bindou**/*(**hai**) **matje deifong**, Siufan gindou Siuming aa?
HAI at where/at what place Siufan see Siuming Q?
'Where/what place was it that Siufan saw Siuming?'
(13) *Dimjoeng* 'how'
a. *Hai [**dimjoeng**], Mingzai *daasyun/gaiwaak* heoi Toibak aa?
HAI how Ming intend/plan go Taipei Q
Intended: 'By what means is it that Ming plans to go to Taipei?' [Instrumental]
b. *Hai [**dimjoeng**], Mingzai paiping nei aa?
HAI how Ming criticize you Q
Intended: 'In what manner was it that John criticize you?' [Manner]

2.3.2 Presupposition failure

Clefted questions are partitioned into IdentF and presupposition (14a), as evidenced by the fact that the denial of the content of the presupposition will result in presupposition failure (14b). In contrast, presupposition failure is not observed with *wh*-questions (15a, b):

- (14) a. Q: [_{IdentF} **What**] was it [_{Presupposition} that John bought]?

b. A: #Nothing.

(15) a. Q: What did John buy?

b. A: Nothing.

The same observation holds for Cantonese: presupposition failure is observed with *wh*-questions involving *wh*-fronting (16a, b) but not in-situ *wh*-questions (17a, b):

(16) a. Q: Hai [bingo], Mingzai caau-zo aa?

HAI who Ming fire-Perf Q

‘Who was it that Ming fired?’

b. A: #Keoi mou caau jamho jan.

he not fire any person

‘He didn’t fire anyone.’

(17) a. Q: Mingzai caau-zo bingo aa?

Ming fire-Perf who Q

‘Who did Ming fire?’

b. A: Keoi mou caau jamho jan.

he not fire any person

‘He didn’t fire anyone.’

All the findings presented so far point to the conclusion that *wh*-fronting should be analyzed as *wh*-focalization with the *wh*-word serving as IdentF.

3. Against the analysis of *wh*-fronting as topicalization

3.1 Conjunction test

Recall that an answer with an IdentF and an InfoF in two separate conjoined clauses is prohibited due to exhaustivity (4). In contrast, topics are not subject to such restriction (18):

(4) Q: Hai [IdentF matje je], Siufan maai-zo aa?

HAI what thing Siufan buy-Perf Q

‘What thing was it that Siufan bought?’

A1: Keoi maai-zo [InfoF mou], jikdou maai-zo [InfoF ngoitou].

she buy-Perf hat also buy-Perf coat

‘She bought a hat, and also a coat.’

A2: *Hai6 [IdentF mou], keoi maai-zo, jikdou maai-zo [InfoF ngoitou].

HAI hat she buy-Perf also buy-Perf coat

(18) Q: Siufan zungji muigwaifaa ding baakhapfaa aa?

Siufan like rose or lily Q

‘Does Siufan like roses or lilies?’

A: [Top Miugwaifaa], Siufan zungji. [Top Baakhapfaa], keoi dou zungji.

rose Siufan like lily she also like

‘Roses, Siufan likes. Lilies, she also likes.’

3.2 Compatibility with topic markers

While topics can be followed by a topic marker (TM), such as *aa*, as in (19) (Matthews & Yip 1994), topic markers are incompatible with *wh*-words licensed by *wh*-fronting (20):

(19) [Top Lei-go hoksaang] aa, ngo gin-gwo hou geici laa.

this-Cl student TM I see-Exp good few.times SFP

‘This student, I have seen several times.’

(20) *Hai [IdentF bingo] aa, nei gin-gwo hou geici aa?

HAI who TM you see-Exp good few.times Q

3.3 Resumption

A topic can be linked to a tonic pronoun or an epithet but a *wh*-word licensed by *wh*-fronting cannot:

(21) [Top Mingzai]i aa, Siufan hou zungji keoi/lei-go sozai; gaa.

Ming TM Siufan very like him/this-Cl fool SFP

‘Ming, Siufan likes him very much.’

(22) *Hai [IdentF bingo]i, Siufan hou zungji keoi/lei-go sozai; aa?

HAI who Siufan very like him/this-Cl fool Q

All the evidence presented in this section lends support to our view that *wh*-fronting cannot be analyzed on a par with topicalization, and *wh*-fronting construction should be distinguished from topic structures.

4. The syntax of *wh*-fronting construction

4.1 Previous analyses of *it*-clefts

4.1.1 Biclausal approach

Base-generation analysis: the clefted phrase, being an IdentF, is base-generated in Spec-FocP, and is licensed by establishing a predication relation with the operator (Op) in the lower Spec-CP, which is moved from within the lower IP. An example is an *it*-cleft whose cleft constituent is the subject. Since movement of the subject to Spec-FocP will violate ECP, the base-generation strategy has to be employed

- (23) $[_{CP} [_{IP} It [_{VP} was [_{FocP} me_i [_{CP} Op_i that [_{IP} t_i was sick]]]]]]]$ (É. Kiss 1998)
- predication movement

Movement analysis: the clefted phrase, being a PP, undergoes overt movement to Spec-FocP due to the fact that PPs cannot be coindexed with the Op:

- (24) $[_{CP} [_{IP} It [_{VP} was [_{FocP} to Peter_i [_{CP} t_i that [_{IP} I spoke t_i]]]]]]]$ (É. Kiss 1998)
- movement movement

4.1.2 Monoclausal approach

Meinunger (1998): adopting a modified version of Rizzi's (1997) fine structure of the CP domain, Meinunger posits a FocP and a TopP dominating the CP. Assuming that the base structure of *it*-clefts are simplex sentences contained in an IP, the cleft sentence is derived by an overt movement of the clefted phrase to Spec-FocP with the copula being inserted in the head of TopP, and the expletive *it* in Spec-TopP:

- (25) $[_{TopP} It [_{Top'} was [_{FocP} to Peter_i [_{CP} t_i that [_{IP} I spoke t_i]]]]]$
- movement movement

Crucially, Meinunger's analysis envisages the possibility of having Topics above IdentF, which is supported by the topography of Italian Topic and Focus advanced by Benincà & Poletto (2004) (see also Benincà 2001):

- (26) $[[HT][[Scene Setting][[LD][[LI][[IdentF][[InfoF]]]]]]]$

4.2 Evidence for the movement analysis

4.2.1 Connectivity effects

Wh-fronting involving a *wh*-argument or a *wh*-adjunct exhibits connectivity effects:

Condition A:

(27) *Wh*-argument

Hai **[bin-zoeng keoizigei_{i/*j} ge soeng]_k**, Mingzai_i m gin-zo **t_k** aa?
HAI which-Cl himself GE photo Ming not see-Perf Q
'Which photo of himself_{i/*j} was it that Ming_i lost?'

(28) *Wh*-adjunct

Hai **[hai bindou jing ge keoizigei_{i/*j} ge soeng]_k**, Mingzai_i m gin-zo **t_k** aa?
HAI at where take GE himself GE photo Ming not see-Perf Q
'Which place x such that the photo of himself_{i/*j} took at x was it that Ming_i lost?'

Condition C:

(29) *Wh*-argument

Hai **[bin-zoeng Mingzai_i ge soeng]_k**, keoi_{i/*j} m gin-zo **t_k** aa?
HAI which-Cl Ming GE photo he not see-Perf Q
'Which photo of Ming_i was it that he_{i/*j} lost?'

(30) *Wh*-adjunct

Hai **[hai bindou jing ge Mingzai_i ge soeng]_k**, keoi_{i/*j} m gin-zo **t_k** aa?
HAI at where take GE Ming GE photo he not see-Perf Q
'Which place x such that the photo that Ming_i took at x was it that he_{i/*j} saw?'

Idiom chunks:

- (31) Hai **[bingo ge cou]_i**, Mingzai sengjat haap **t_i** aa?
HAI who GE vinegar Ming often eat Q
'Who is it that Ming is often jealous of?'

4.2.2 Locality conditions

Wh-fronting involving a *wh*-argument or a *wh*-adjunct obeys locality conditions:

Complex NP Constraint:

(32) *Wh*-argument

*Hai **bingo/bingo sailou**, Mingzai tengdou [gingcaat haidou wan **t** ge siusik]?
HAI who/which kid Ming hear police Prog look.for GE news

*‘Who/which kid was it that Ming hear the news that the police had been looking for t?’

(33) *Wh*-adjunct

*Hai **hai bindou/hai matje sihau**, Mingzai tengdou [Siufan **t** satzung ge siusik]?

HAI at where/at what time Ming hear Siufan disappear GE news

*‘Where/when was it that Ming heard the news that Siufan had disappeared t?’

4.2.3 Parasitic gaps (PGs)

PGs can only be licensed by overt movement, as witnessed by the contrast between (34a), (35a) and (34b), (35b) (see Lin 2005, Ting & Huang 2008 for detailed discussion of PG construction in Mandarin):

(34) a. Hai **bingo**, Mingzai [hai gin **pg** zicin] zau caau-zo **t** aa?

HAI who Ming at meet before ZAU fire-Perf Q

‘Who was it that Ming fired before meeting?’

b. *Mingzai [hai gin **pg** zicin] zau caau-zo **bingo** aa?

Ming at meet before ZAU fire-Perf who Q

(35) a. Hai **matje mangin**, Mingzai [hai tai-gwo **pg** zihau] zau dam-zo **t** aa?

HAI what document Ming at read-Exp after ZAU throw.away-Perf Q

‘What document was it that Ming threw away after reading?’

b. *Mingzai [hai tai-gwo **pg** zihau] zau dam-zo **matje mangin** aa?

Ming at read-Exp after ZAU throw.away-Perf what document Q

All the evidence presented above suggests that the fronted *wh*-word must be derived by overt movement.

4.3 Evidence for the biclausal analysis

Hai can occur in any preverbal positions (see Huang’s (1984, 1988) discussion of *shi* in Mandarin), as witnessed by the contrast between (36a-d) and (36e):

(36) a. **Hai** keoi kamjat hai hokhaau daa-zo Mingzai.

HAI he yesterday at school hit-Perf Ming

‘It was him that hit Ming at school yesterday.’

b. Keoi **hai** kamjat hai hokhaau daa-zo Mingzai.

he HAI yesterday at school hit-Perf Ming

‘It was yesterday that he hit Ming at school.’

c. Keoi kamjat **hai** hai hokhaau daa-zo Mingzai

he yesterday HAI at school hit-Perf Ming

‘It was at school that he hit Ming yesterday.’

d. Keoi kamjat hai hokhaau **hai** daa-zo Mingzai.

he yesterday at school HAI hit-Perf Ming

i. ‘It was Ming that he hit at school yesterday.’

ii. ‘It was hitting Ming that he did at school.’

e. *Keoi kamjat hai hokhaau daa-zo **hai** Mingzai.

He yesterday at school hit-Perf HAI Ming

Intended: ‘It was Ming that he hit at school yesterday.’

Co-occurrence restrictions on *hai*: each clause allows only one *hai* (see (37a-b) vs. (38)):

(37) a. Mingzai **hai** zeoi zungji Siufan.

Ming HAI most like Siufan

i. ‘It is liking Siufan most that Ming does.’

ii. ‘It is Siufan that Ming likes most.’

b. **Hai** Mingzai zeoi zungji Siufan.

HAI Ming most like Siufan

‘It is Ming that likes Siufan most.’

(38) ***Hai** Mingzai **hai** zeoi zungji Siufan.

HAI Ming HAI most like Siufan

The co-occurrence restriction on *hai* can still be observed when *wh*-fronting takes place, as in (39a)-(39b), suggesting that *wh*-fronting construction is *biclausal*, given that each clause can only contain one *hai* (cf. (37a-b) vs. (38) above):

(39) a. ***Hai** bingo/matje jan/bin-go jan, **hai** Mingzai zeoi zungji t aa?

HAI who/what person/which-Cl person HAI Ming most like Q

‘Who/what person/which person is it that it was Ming that likes most?’

b. ***Hai** bingo/matje jan/bin-go jan, Mingzai **hai** zeoi zungji t aa?

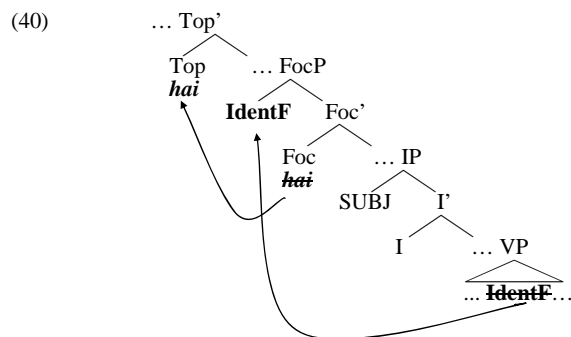
HAI who/what person/which-Cl person Ming HAI most like Q

‘Who/what person/which person is it that it is liking most that Ming does (to her)?’

4.4 A syntactic analysis of *wh*-fronting

Proposal:

- Based on the fact that *wh*-fronting construction is subject to connectivity effects, locality conditions and can license PGs, the *wh*-word, being an IdentF, is proposed to be raised to Spec-FocP à la É. Kiss (1998).
- The fact that the co-occurrence restriction on *hai* is observed in *wh*-fronting construction can be explained under a monoclausal analysis in line with Meinunger's (1998) analysis of English *it*-clefts.
- Adopting a modified version of Rizzi's (1997) fine structure of the CP domain (see Meinunger 1998), each CP can be split into a number of functional projections, including TopP and FocP. Further assuming Brody's (1990, 1995) focus theory, which requires the head of FocP to be lexicalized, *hai* is postulated to be base-generated in the head of FocP, which is then raised to the head of TopP à la Meinunger (1998).



Predictions:

(i) Following Rizzi (1997) who analyzes Topic (Top) as a set of recursive projections which can appear above and below a single Focus (Foc) projection (see also Rizzi 2002), we expect that TopP can appear iteratively above and below FocP whose Spec hosts the IdentF, as in (41):

(41) ...**Top*** ...**Foc** ...**Top***...

(ii) Based on a detailed study of the fine structure of the left periphery in Italian, Benincà & Poletto's (2004) proposes that Topic and Focus are best-analyzed as "fields", each of which contains a set of contiguous projections hosting different types of Topic and Focus with distinct syntactic properties and are ordered hierarchically, as in (42) (see also Benincà 2001).

On this view, we expect that there are ordering restrictions among different types of Topic and Focus:

(42) [[Hanging Top] [[Scene Setting] [[Left-dislocated Top] [[LI] [[IdentF] [[InfoF]]]]]]]]

Topic field

Focus field

5. The topography of Topic and Focus in Cantonese

Based on a detailed study of the syntactic properties and ordering restrictions among different types of Topic and Focus, Del Gobbo & Badan (D&B, 2007), Badan & Del Gobbo (B&D, to appear) propose (43) as the fine structure of the left periphery in Mandarin (see also Paul 2005), which is later revised by Cheung (2009b), as in (44), due to the absence of genuine Hanging Topic and Left-dislocated Topic in Mandarin.

(43) Aboutness Top (AT) > Hanging Top > Left-dislocated Top > *lian* 'even'-Focus > IP

Topic field

Focus field

(44) Aboutness Top (AT) > Canonical Top (CT) > PP Top (PPT) > *lian* 'even'-Focus > IP

Topic field

Focus field

Built on the previous studies of the fine structure of the left periphery in Mandarin, I explore the topography of different types of Topic and Focus in Cantonese below, based on their ordering restrictions.

AT > CT:

- (45) a. [AT Faa] aa, [CT miugwaifaa]i laa, Siufan jatding zungji ti.
 flower TM rose TM Siufan definitely like
 '(As for) flowers, roses, Siufan definitely likes.'
 b. *[CT Miugwaifaa]i aa, [AT faa] laa, Siufan jatding zungji ti.
 rose TM flower TM Siufan definitely like

CT > PPT:

- (46) a. [CT Mingzai]i aa, [PPT hai tousyugun]j aa, ngo tj zong-gwo tj/keoi, hound ci laa.
 Ming TM at library TM I run.into-Exp him many time SFP

‘Ming, at the library, I ran into (him) many times.’

- b. *[PPT Hai tousyugun]_j aa, [CT Mingzai]_i aa, ngo t_j zong-gwo t_i/keoi_i houndo ci laa.
at library TM Ming TM I run.into-Exp him many time SFP

PPT > Lin ‘even’-Focus:

- (47) a. [PPT Hai ukkei]_j aa, [lin jat houzi]_j, Mingzai t_i t_j dou mei ceot-gwo.
at house TM even one cent Ming DOU never give-Exp
‘At home, even ten cents, Ming has never given.’
b. *[Lin jat houzi]_j, [PPT hai ukkei]_i aa, Mingzai t_i t_j dou mei ceot-gwo.
even one cent at home TM Ming DOU never give-Exp

Based on (45)-(47), I propose the following as the fine structure of the left periphery of Cantonese (to be revised later):

- (48) $\underbrace{\text{Aboutness Top (AT)} > \text{Canonical Top (CT)} > \text{PP Top (PPT)}}_{\text{Topic field}} > \underbrace{\text{lin ‘even’-Focus}}_{\text{Focus field}} > \text{IP}$

AT > IdentF:

- (49) a. [AT Faa]_i, hai [IdentF bin-zung faa]_i, Siufan zeoi zungji t_i aa?
flower HAI which-kind flower Siufan most like Q
‘(As for) flowers, which kind of flowers is it that Siufan likes most?’
b. *Hai [IdentF bin-zung faa]_i, [AT faa]_i, Siufan zeoi zungji t_i aa?
HAI which-kind flower flower Siufan most like Q
‘(As for) flowers, which kind of flowers is it that Siufan likes most?’

CT > IdentF:

- (50) a. [CT Mingzai]_i, hai [PPT hai bindou]_j, nei t_j zong-gwo t_i/keoi_i houndo ci aa?
Ming HAI at where you run.into-Exp him many time Q
‘Ming, where was it that you ran into (him) many times?’
b. *Hai [PPT hai bindou]_j, [CT Mingzai]_i, nei t_j zong-gwo t_i/keoi_i houndo ci aa?
HAI at where Ming you run.into-Exp him many time Q

IdentF > PPT:

- (51) a. *[PPT Hai tousyugun]_i aa, hai [IdentF bingo]_j, nei t_i zong-gwo t_j houndo ci aa?
at library TM HAI who you run.into-Exp many time Q
b. Hai [IdentF bingo]_j, [PPT hai tousyugun]_i aa, nei t_i zong-gwo t_j houndo ci aa?

HAI who at library TM you run.into-Exp many time Q
‘Who was it, at the library, you ran into many times?’

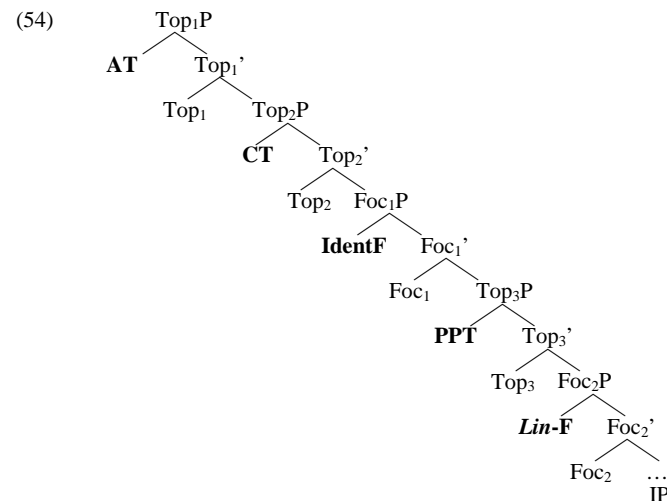
IdentF > Lin-focus:

- (52) a. *Lin [Mingzai]_i, hai [IdentF matje je]_j, t_i dou zungji t_j aa?
even Ming HAI what thing DOU like Q
b. Hai [IdentF matje je]_j, lin [Mingzai]_i dou zungji t_j aa?
HAI what thing even Ming DOU like Q
‘What is it that even Ming likes?’

(53) summarizes the ordering restrictions among different types of Topic and Focus in Cantonese:

- (53) AT > CT > IdentF > PPT > Lin ‘even’-Focus > IP

Based on (53), I propose (54) as the fine structure of the left periphery in Cantonese:



The cartography of Topic and Focus schematized above reveals that different types of Topic and Focus are ordered hierarchically. This lends support to Benincà & Poletto’s (2004) view that there is a one-to-one mapping between function and syntactic position, contrary to Rizzi (1997) who treats TopP as recursive. However, unlike Italian whose Topic and Focus fields

are separate (see (42)), Cantonese allows PPTs to reside in the Focus field, suggesting that the hierarchical orders of different types of Topic and Focus may be subject to parametric variation. Comparing the inventory of Topic and Focus available in Italian (42) with that in Cantonese (54) further reveals that the inventory of Topic and Focus available in individual languages may vary.

6. Summary

- *Wh*-fronting is best-analyzed as a strategy for licensing IdentF, which should be distinguished from topicalization.
- Analyzing *wh*-fronting construction as having a monoclausal structure with the *wh*-word being derived by movement can account for all of its crucial syntactic properties.
- Adopting Rizzi's (1997) Split CP approach, our investigation of the distribution of Topic and Focus in the left periphery lends support to Benincà & Poletto's (2004) view that different types of Topic and Focus with distinct syntactic properties are subject to ordering restrictions reflected by their hierarchical orders, contrary to Rizzi (1997) who treats TopP as recursive.
- Our investigation further reveals that the inventory of Topic and Focus and their hierarchical orders may vary across languages.

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