

# 主題要素の種類とその語順を巡って

## カートグラフィと情報構造のインターフェイス

### Issues of the Rigid Word Order Restrictions among Topic Elements

#### Interface between Cartography and Information Structure (presented in Japanese)\*

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#### 1. Introduction

This paper argues, by providing Japanese, English and some Spanish data, against the view of rigid word order restrictions among topic elements. In section 2, We provide Italian, German, and Chinese data, which stand in favor of the rigid word order proposal. In contrast, section 3 puts forward Japanese, English and some Spanish data, which constitutes the core idea of our analysis that there is no such restriction among topic elements. Section 4 concludes the paper and touches upon our future issues.

#### 2. Previous analyses on the rigid word order among Topic Elements

Frascarelli (2019:144) proposes the word order restrictions among topic elements as in (1). Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007:96-97) present various Italian data to support (1), which are shown in (2). They also argue that among topic elements, only Familiar Topic can occur multiply in a sentence. Here, ST, FT, CT, and Foc designate Shifted Topic, Familiar Topic, Contrastive Topic, and Focus Element, respectively. Similarly, Badan and del Gobbo (2010:87) propose (3) for Chinese and state that Chinese topic elements also occur in a rigid word order.

(1) [ForceP [ShiftP [ContrP [FocP [FamP [FinP [IP ]]]]]]]

(2)a. **Io, inglese** non l'          avevo          mai          fatto  
I    English not it(CL)    have.Past.1SG    never    done

'I never studied English before.'

*Io=ST, inglese=FT*

b. Io francamente **questa attività particolare** non me          la          ricordo  
I    frankly    this activity    particular    not to.me(CL)    it(CL)    remeber.1SG

'Frankly, I don't remember that particular activity.'

*questa attività=CT, particolare=FT*

c. L'          ha                                  sempre tirato fuori    LUI, **il discorso**  
it(CL)    have.3SG    always    taken out                  he    the discourse

'It is HIM who always took this topic.'

*LUI=Foc, il discorse=FT*

d. E          **su questa, loro-i** gladiatori    lottavano  
and    on this    they    the gladiators fight.Past.3PL

'And gladiators, they would fight on this.'

*su questa=FT, loro=FT*

e. io non ho          mai    saputo    come si dicevano    **sti sentimenti**    in inglese  
I    not have.1SG    never known    how IMP say.Past.3PL    these feelings    in English

'And I had never learnt how these sentiments were called in English.'    *sti sentimenti=FT, in inglese=FT*

(3) Aboutness Topic>Hanging Topic (HT) >Left-dislocated Elements(LD)>*lian* Focus>

(4)a. **Wo de jia ren,**          **baba,**          Zhangsan    yijing    gen ta          tan guo le  
I    DE family-people father,          Zhangsan    already with him    speak EXP MOD

'As for my family, as for my father, Zhangsan already spoke with him.'

*Wo de jia ren=AT, baba=HT*

b. \***Baba,**    **wo de jia ren,**          Zhangsan    yijing    gen ta          tan guo le  
father    I de family-people          Zhangsan    already    with him    speak EXP MOD

*Baba=HT, wo de jia ren=AT*

All the sentences in (2a-e) and (4a) are grammatical, while the one in (4b) are not. This is because (4b) has the HT-AT worder, which cannot be predicted from the schema presented in (3).

### 3. Japanese, Hungarian, and English data to provide an argument against the topic rigid word order

- (5) Syoobootai-wa sono-kazi-wa saiwai hayaku ki-ta  
 fire-brigade-CT that-fire-GT fortunately quickly come-Past  
 ‘The fire brigade came quickly as for that fire.’ *Syoobootai-wa=CT, sono-kazi-wa=ST*
- (6) a. Sono-hon-wa insei-tachi-wa syoosan-si-ta  
 that book-GT grad student-PL-CT admire-do-Past  
 ‘As for that book, at least grad students admired it.’ *Sono-hon-wa=GT, insei-tachi-wa=CT*
- b. Sono-hon-wa gakkai-de-wa insei-tachi-wa syoosan-si-ta  
 that book-GT conference-LOC-CT grad student-CT admire-do-Past  
 ‘As for that book, at the conference, at least grad students admired it.’  
*Sono-hon-wa=ST, gakkai-de-wa=CT, insei-tachi-wa=CT*
- (7) Yooroppa-de-wa Taro-no-otooto-wa furansu-de-wa wain-wa nomi-tai  
 Europe-Loc-AT T-Gen younger brother-AT France-Loc-CT wine-CT drink-want to  
 ‘In Europe, as for Taro’s younger brother, in France, he wants to drink at least wine.’  
*Yooroppa-de-wa=AT, Taro-no-otooto-wa=AT, furansu-de-wa=CT, wain-wa=CT*

(5b) demonstrates that CT can occur before ST. In addition, (6a) displays that GT can occur before CT. Moreover, (6b&7) straightforwardly manifest the multiple occurrences of AT and CT. These paradigms cast doubts on the validity of the schema presented in (5). Let us next move on to Hungarian and English data in (8a,b).

- (8) a. A fiúnak a gyümölcsöt meghámozza, a lányoknak a zöldséget vizont  
 the boys-Dat the fruit-Acc peels the girls-Dat the vegetable-Acc C-PRT cooks  
 ‘(S)he peels the fruit for the boys, and she cooks the vegetables for the girls.’  
*A fiúnak=CT, a lányoknak=CT*
- b. Now my father<sub>i</sub>, this junk, he<sub>i</sub> was always collecting. And my mother, this same junk, she was always throwing away.  
*my father= fronted dislocated topic, this junk=fronted topic*
- c. Now, this junk, my father<sub>i</sub>, he<sub>i</sub> was always collecting, and this same junk, my mother, she was always throwing away.  
*this junk=fronted topic, my father= fronted dislocated topic*

(8a) indicates that multiple CTs occur in a sentence. Furthermore, (8b) constitutes another exemplification that a sentence has more than one fronted topic. Besides, (8c) denotes the relatively free word order among topic elements. This is because the topic elements' word orders in (8b) and (8c) are reversed, and still they are grammatical.

### 4. Conclusion and future issues

In this paper, we have provided Japanese, Hungarian, and English data to provide an argument against the rigid word order among topic elements, which are observed in Italian and Chinese. Finally, let us mention our future issues. Too many definitions for topic elements have been provided, and still no unified clarification has been proposed. These are among many things we have to scrutinize.

### 5. References

- Badan, Linda and Francesca Del Gobbo (2010) “On the Syntax of Topic and Focus in Chinese,” in *Mapping the Left Periphery: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, Vol 5. Frascarelli, Mara (2019) “Topics, Conversational Dynamics and the Root/Non-root Distinction,” in *Architecture of Topic*. Frascarelli, Mara and Roland Hinterhölzl (2007) “Types of Topics in German and Italian,” in *On Information Structure, Meaning and Form*.

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