WH-QUESTIONS IN JAPANESE AND SPEECH ACT PHRASE[*]

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines several types of WH-questions in Japanese and their interaction with Speech Act Phrase, which is a projection hosting discourse participants (the speaker and the hearer) argued for by scholars such as Speas & Tenny (2003) and Haegeman & Hill (2013). Miyagawa (2012) analyzes Japanese WH-questions in terms of Speech Act Phrase, suggesting that the obligatory presence of the politeness marker in matrix WH-questions means that the hearer plays an important role. Yokoyama (2013) provides grammatical matrix WH-questions lacking the politeness marker such as conjectural questions and rhetorical questions. I argue that Yokoyama's examples are not damaging evidence for Miyagawa's approach but they constitute supporting evidence for it by showing that in these questions it is the speaker, which is also a discourse participant, that plays an important role. I also suggest a slight modification of typology of WH-questions offered by Littell, Mathewson & Peterson (2010), which reveals a type of WH-questions, namely quizmaster questions, whose behavior also supports Miyagawa's analysis.

Key words: Japanese, Speech Act Phrase, WH-questions, conjectural questions, rhetorical questions

1. INTRODUCTION

The idea that discourse participants such as the speaker and the addressee are syntactically represented goes back to Ross' (1970) performative analysis. Recently proposals have been made to put this idea in minimalist terms. This idea is a natural move, given that Rizzi's (1997) idea that the complementizer zone may involve projections dedicated to discourse related information.

Speas & Tenny (2003) suggest that a clause may contain, above CP, a shell structure called Speech Act Phrase, dedicated to dealing with discourse participants. A modified version is provided in Hill (2007) and Haegeman & Hill (2013).

Contributions can be found from studies on the behavior of sentence final particles in Japanese. Based on Speas & Tenny (2003), Tenny (2006) analyzes the behavior of sensation predicates in Japanese, suggesting that the Japanese sentence the final particle such as *yo* occupies the Speech Act head position. Endo (2010) examines various types of particles and argues

that each particle is assigned a specific head position in projections in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy, which is assumed to be located lower than CP. Saito & Haraguchi (2012) claim that discourse particles are elements in Speech Act Phrase. Since they occur only in main clauses, it is natural to consider them to be somewhere higher than the largest embedded CP, indicating that they belong in the Speech Act domain.

The existence of Speech Act Phrase in Japanese is argued for from another perspective as well. Miyagawa (2012) motivates it from agreement related considerations, with a condition on the complementizer *ka*. This paper aims to support Miyagwa's analysis by showing that apparent counterexamples to his analysis in fact constitute evidence for it.

2. MIYAGAWA (2012)

Miyagawa's (2012) analysis of Japanese WH-questions as involving Speech Act Phrase is based on the paradigm originally discussed in Miyagawa (1987), which has to do with the obligatory presence of the politeness marker in matrix WH-questions and its obligatory absence in embedded ones.

(1) *Matrix questions: the politeness marker must be present*
   a.　Dare-ga　　ki-mas-u　　　　ka
   　　who-NOM　come-POL-PRES Q
   　　'Who will come?'
   b.　*Dare-ga　　ku-ru　　　　ka
   　　who-NOM　come-PRES Q
   　　'Who will come?' (intended)　　　　　　　　　　(Miyagawa 2012:87, (15-16))

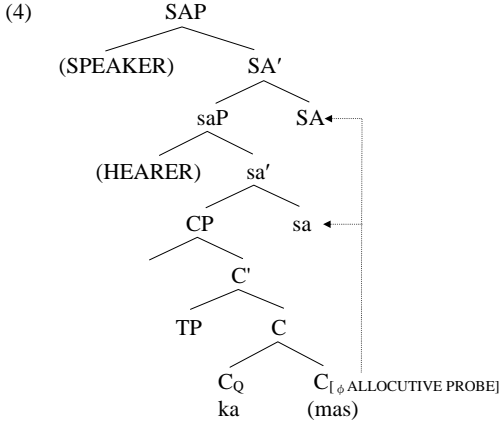(2) *Embedded questions: the politeness marker must be absent*
   a.　Bill-wa [dare-ga　　ku-ru　　ka] ki-ita.
   　　Bill-TOP who-NOM come-PRS Q　　ask-PAST
   　　'Bill asked who will come.'
   b.　*Hanako-wa [dare-ga　ki-mas-u　　　　ka] sittei　mas-u
   　　Hanako-TOP who-NOM come-POL-PRES Q　　know POL-PRES
   　　'Hanako knows who will come.'

As in (1), the politeness marker *-mas-* is obligatory in a matrix question, but disallowed in an embedded clause, as in (2).

Miyagawa (2012) derives this asymmetry from the following set of assumptions.

(3)　a.　The complementizer *ka* must be selected by a head.
　　b.　Politeness markers bear an allocutive feature originating in C (Oyharçabal 1993).
　　c.　An interrogative clause can be dominated by a super structure called Speech Act Phrase (Speas & Tenny 2003), which may involve discourse roles such as SPEAKER and HEARER.
　　d.　The allocutive probe in C finds its goal HEARER, after undergoing head movement to a head in Speech Act Phrase, thereby c-commanding HEARER.

The relation of CP and Speech Act Phrase is illustrated in (4).

(4)   SAP
                    _____|_____
            (SPEAKER)   SA′
                          _____|_____
                      saP   SA ◂┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┐
                  _____|_____   ┆
            (HEARER)   sa′   ┆
                      _____|_____   ┆
                   CP   sa ◂┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┘
                  __|__
               C'
             __|__
          TP   C
                  __|__
               C_Q $C_{[\phi \text{ALLOCUTIVE PROBE}]}$
               ka   (mas)

In (4) the allocutive probe undergoes head movement through the lower Speech Act head to the higher Speech Act head, where it c-commands its goal HEARER, establishing the probe-goal relation (Chomsky 2008). In this structure, *ka* is selected by the lower Speech Act head, meeting the condition in (3a).

Let us see how Miyagawa's approach, which is shown in (5) and (6), takes care of the examples in (1) and (2).

(5)   *Matrix questions: the politeness marker must be present*
       a.   [SAP [CP Dare-ga ki-mas-u   ka] SA^0]   (*ka* selected by SA^0)
       b.   *[CP Dare-ga ku-ru   ka]   (*ka* not selected)

(6)   *Embedded questions: the politeness marker must be absent*
       a.   Bill-wa   [CP dare-ga   kuru ka] kiita.   (*ka* selected by a verb)
       b.   *Hanako-wa [SAP [CP dare-ga ki-mas-u   ka] SA^0] sitte i-mas-u.

                                 (the matrix predicate cannot select SAP; it selects CP)

(5a) is a rough structure of (1a), which is fine and has the politeness marker *-mas-*. In (5a) the presence of *-mas-* induces the presence of SAP, which creates the configuration in which the interrogative complementizer *ka* is selected by the Speech Act head. (5b) depicts the structure of (1b), which does not contain *-mas-* and is unacceptable. Since the politeness marker is absent, there is no occurrence of SAP, which leads to *ka* not being selected, yielding deviance.

The contrast between the embedded questions in (2) can be handled as well. The structures in (6a) and (6b) are for (2a) and (2b), respectively. The embedded question in (2a) does not involve *-mas-*, so the embedded question projects only up to CP. There is no occurrence of SAP to select *ka*. It is instead selected by the matrix predicate *kiita* 'asked', as shown in (6a). The degraded status of (2b) is due to the selectional property of the matrix predicate. Since the embed-

ded question has the politeness marker, it projects up to SAP. The matrix predicate, however, does not select SAP, hence it is deviant. This is the main argument in Miyagawa (2012).

3. YOKOYAMA (2013)

While accepting Miyagawa's analysis, Yokoyama (2013) correctly notes that there are grammatical matrix questions without a politeness marker, which appear to cast some doubt on Miyagawa's approach. Yokoyama observes that (1b) is perfect as a rhetorical question.

(7)   Dare-ga   ku-ru   ka!
       who-NOM come-PRES Q
       'No one will come!'

He also points out that (1b) significantly improves if it ends with a discourse particle *naa*, which makes it a conjectural question, rather than an ordinary information-seeking question, which was already noticed in Miyagawa (1987).

(8)   Dare-ga   ku-ru   ka naa?
       who-NOM come-PRES Q PRT
       'I wonder who will come.'

Based on these and other examples, Yokoyama suggests that there are two types of *ka*, as in (9).[1]

(9)   *Two types of* ka
       a.   The [-assertive] *ka*, which heads an ordinary information-seeking question, realized
             with rising intonation, needs to be licensed and requires HEARER in SAP for the
             checking of the allocutive feature.
       b.   The [+assertive] *ka*, which heads rhetorical questions and conjectural questions, real-
             ized typically with falling intonation, does not need to be selected.

The [-assertive] *ka* is the type examined by Miyagawa, and the [+assertive] *ka*, proposed by Yokoyama, is the kind that escapes Miyagawa's treatment.

4. ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS

In this section, I would like to suggest a way to cover the effects observed in Yokoyama in Miyagawa's terms, with some additional assumptions.

4.1. Two types of *ka* and rhetorical questions

What is thought-provoking with Yokoyama's idea is the claim that there are two types of *ka*. I agree with him on this particular point but I depart from him by suggesting (10).

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[1] It is unclear whether the relevant feature really concerns assertiveness, since speakers of conjectural questions do not seem to assert anything.

(10)   *There are two types of* ka
      a.   Regular *ka*
      b.   Rhetorical *ka*

As shown in (10), *ka* is divided into two types, one being for ordinary information-seeking questions and conjectural questions, and the other for rhetorical questions.
     I claim that the rhetorical question in (7) is a shortened version of (11).[2]

(11)   Dare-ga   ku-ru   mono ka!
      who-NOM come-PRES MOD   Q
      'No one will come!'

The example in (11) contains a modal element *mono* and it is allowed only as a rhetorical question (see Goto 2012 for pragmatic properties of *mono ka* rhetorical questions). I assume that (7) has a phonetically null instance of *mono*.
     What is striking with these two questions is that they both allow negative polarity items such as *daremo* 'anyone', while other questions do not (McGloin 1976; Horn 1989).

(12)   a.   Daremo   ku-ru   ka!
            anyone   come-PRES Q
            'No one will come!'
      b.   Daremo   ku-ru   mono ka!
            anyone   come-PRES MOD   Q
            'No one will come!'

(13)   a.   *Daremo ki-mas-u   ka?
            anyone   come-POL-PRES Q
            'Will anyone come?'
      b.   *Daremo ku-ru   ka   naa?
            anyone   come-PRES   Q   PRT
            'I wonder if anyone will come.'

As the contrast between (12) and (13) shows, only rhetorical questions allow *daremo*. Then it seems quite safe to say that the rhetorical *ka* has a negative feature.
     The idea of dividing *ka* into two types is supported by the following paradigm.

(14)   a.   Dare-ga   ki-mas-u   (ka)?
            who-NOM   come-POL-PRES   Q
            'Who will come?'
      b.   Daremo ku-ru   (mono) *(ka)!
            anyone   come-PRES MOD   Q
            'No one will come!'

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[2] Yokoyama distinguishes (7) and (11), the latter of which he refers to as a resistive. As we see directly, however, they pattern in the same way, calling for a unified treatment.

As in (14a), in ordinary questions, the complementizer can be dropped, but as shown in (14b), *ka* must be present in rhetorical questions. This can be captured by assuming the following.

(15) a.   The rhetorical *ka* has a negative feature.
      b.   A negative feature must be phonetically detectable.

(15a) is necessary to account for the possibility of the negative polarity item in rhetorical questions and (15b), which seems reasonable, is necessary to capture (14b).

A natural question concerning rhetorical questions is the property of *mono*. *Mono* is a modal element (Goto 2012), which is sometimes used in an exclamatory sentence like (16).

(16) John-mo   tosi-o   totta   mono   da!
      John-also age-ACC   took   MOD   COP
      'John got old!'

This sentence states that John got old, but it also conveys the speaker's emotional attitude toward the described situation, thus showing the speaker's surprise or sadness about John's getting old.

The same thing can be said of (7) and (11). In both examples, the speaker has some strong emotion or a strong conviction about the described situation, as shown by the exclamation point. Thus, rhetorical questions are fine with adverbs like *zettaini* 'definitely', indicating the speaker's firm belief, but not with *hyottositara* 'maybe', which is a sign of his or her uncertainty.

(17) a.   Zettaini   daremo   ku-ru   (mono) ka!
            definitely anyone   come-PRES MOD   Q
            'Definitely no one will come!'
      b. ??Hyottositara daremo   ku-ru   (mono) ka!
            maybe   anyone   come-PRES MOD   Q
            'Maybe no one will come!'

Now that the interpretive properties of rhetorical questions are clarified, we are in a position to ask the following question: How can we structurally guarantee that the modal *mono* reflects the speaker's attitude? This is where Speech Act Phrase comes in. I assume that *mono* has the point of view (POV) feature (Chou 2012), which is properly valued by the discourse role of SPEAKER in SAP. This is illustrated in (18).[3]

(18) [$_{SAP}$ SPEAKER [$_{CP}$ [$_{MOD}$ [$_{TP}$ daremo ku-ru] mono$_{[POV/SPEAKER]}$] ka$_{[+negative]}$] SA^0]

In this structure, the discourse role of HEARER is omitted, given that rhetorical questions can be uttered even when the hearer is absent. In this structure, *ka* is selected by the Speech Act head, satisfying the requirement in (3a).

Given the presence of Speech Act Phrase, it is expected that rhetorical questions cannot be embedded, on a par with questions involving a politeness marker. This expectation is borne out.

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[3] Technically, Chou (2012) posits features such as [+discourse participant] and [+addresser] to refer to SPEAKER. But here, I will use SPEAKER for the sake of simplicity.

(19) *Boku-wa [saP daremo ku-ru   mono ka] sitteiru/siranai/siritai.
     I-TOP   anyone come-pres MOD Q   know/know.not/know.want
     'I know/don't know/want to know no one will come.'

The degraded status of (19) is well expected, since the predicate *sitteiru* 'know' selects CP, not SAP.

  Thus, rhetorical questions, which are provided by Yokoyama as counterexamples to Miyagawa's analysis, turn out to be captured in Miyagawa's treatment in terms of the Speech Act structure.

4.2. Conjectural questions

Conjectural questions such as (8), repeated here, do not require a politeness marker.

(8) Dare-ga ku-ru   ka naa?
     who-NOM come-PRES Q PRT
     'I wonder who will come.'

If the argument in the previous subsection is correct, then Speech Act Phrase, which saves the complementizer *ka*, can be induced without the presence of an allocutive agreement. We saw that the Speech Act domain can be motivated when the discourse role of SPEAKER is required. This idea can be readily carried over to (8), since, as the gloss shows, the presence of SPEAKER is felt in conjectural questions. Since SPEAKER is motivated, the Speech Act structure is induced, as a result of which the complementizer *ka* is successfully selected by the Speech Act head, as in (20).

(20) [$_{SAP}$ SPEAKER [$_{CP}$ Dare-ga ku-ru ka] SA^0 naa]

The view of the particle *naa* as belonging to the Speech Act domain is independently argued for by Saito & Haraguchi (2012).

  As reported in Yokoyama, there is another type of conjectural question, which involves a modal element, as exemplified in (21).

(21) Dare-ga   ku-ru   no-da-roo   ka?
     who-NOM come-PRES FIN-FOC-MOD Q
     'I wonder who will come.'

This example does not have a politeness marker, but instead it has a modal element *roo*. We have already seen that the complementizer in rhetorical questions is saved by the modal element *mono*. It seems natural, then, to assume that the same thing happens in (21). I suggest that the modal element *roo* involves a POV feature (Ono 2006), whose value is determined by SPEAKER in Speech Act Phrase, as in (22).

(22) [$_{SAP}$ SPEAKER [$_{CP}$ [$_{MOD}$ [[$_{TP}$ dare-ga ku-ru] no-da] roo$_{[POV/SPEAKER]}$] ka] SA^0]

In this structure, *ka* is selected by the Speech Act head, which is motivated by the POV feature of the modal.

It is not surprising to see that (21) cannot be embedded.

(23) *Boku-wa [dare-ga ku-ru   no-da-roo   ka] siranai
         I-TOP   who-NOM come-PRES FIN-FOC-MOD Q   know.not
        'I don't know who will come.'

The degraded status of (23) is only natural, since the matrix predicate does not take Speech Act Phrase as its complement.

5. TYPES OF WH-QUESTIONS

So far, we have dealt with three types of WH-questions: ordinary questions, rhetorical questions, and conjectural questions. Yokoyama cites Littell, Mathewson & Peterson (2010) to characterize these questions based on the availability of the answer to the speaker and/or to the hearer. Their original three-way typology is given in (24).

(24)   *Speaker knows the answer*   *Addressee knows the answer*
         Ordinary Questions   No   Yes
         Conjectural Questions   No   No
         Rhetorical Questions   Yes   Yes

One question about this typology has to do with whether the addressee knows the answer or not. The speaker of a conjectural question does not necessarily expect anyone to respond. The authors add another feature, which concerns whether an answer is required or not. I simplify their argument and remove the feature concerning the availability of the answer to the hearer but I add the feature which indicates whether the speaker requires an answer or not, as in (25).

(25)   *Speaker knows the answer*   *Speaker requires an answer*
         Ordinary Questions   No   Yes
         Conjectural Questions   No   No
         Rhetorical Questions   Yes   No

This classification works fine for Japanese WH-questions.

There is one more question concerning typology (24). It involves two types of answers, so four combinations should be possible. Littell, Mathewson & Peterson (2010), however, discuss only three of the four possible combinations. In our terms, the fourth possibility is the case where the speaker knows the answer and he/she requires an answer from the addressee. This is the typical situation where quizmaster questions are uttered (Postal 1972; Authier 1993; Comorovski 1996).

One interesting property of quizmaster questions is that the speaker of such a question does not necessarily assume that the hearer knows the answer. This property does not fit well into the typology suggested by Littell, Mathewson & Peterson (2010), according to which it has to be clear whether the hearer knows the answer or not.

Thus, we have the four-way classification of WH-questions.

(26)   *Speaker knows the answer*
                                          Yes   No
          Speaker expects   Yes   Quizmaster questions   Ordinary Questions
          an answer   No   Rhetorical Questions   Conjectural Questions

In the next section, I examine some properties of quizmaster questions in Japanese.

6. QUIZMASTER QUESTIONS

This section considers some properties of quizmaster questions in Japanese. Examples of such questions are given below.

(27) a.   Dare-ga   Hamlet-o   kaki-mas-ita   ka?
           who-NOM   Hamlet-ACC   write-POL-PAST Q
           'Who wrote Hamlet?'
     b.   Kamakura   bakufu-wa   nan-nen-ni   seeritu   si-mas-ita   ka?
           Kamakura   shogunate-TOP what-year-in establish do-POL-PAST Q
           'In what year was the Kamakura shogunate established.'(Ijima 2011:75)

Quizmaster questions typically end with falling intonation, unlike information-seeking questions, which are realized with rising intonation. This difference also suggests that these questions should be treated differently.
      There is another way to ask quizmaster questions, as shown below.

(28) a.   Dare-ga   Hamlet-o   kai-ta   no-des-yoo   ka?
           who-NOM   Hamlet-ACC write-PAST FIN-FOC(POL)-MOD Q
           'Who wrote Hamlet?'
     b.   Kamakura bakufu-wa   nan-nen-ni   seeritu   si-ita   no-des-yoo   ka?
           Kamakura shogunate-TOP what-year-in establish do-PAST FIN-FOC(POL)-MOD Q
           'In what year was the Kamakura shogunate established?'

The questions in (28) involve *-des-*, which is a polite form of the Focus head da (Kuwabara 2013) and *yoo*, which is an allomorph of the modal *roo*.
        Interestingly, if the modal element *yoo* is omitted from the above examples in (28), they do not sound like quizmaster questions. They are interpretable only as ordinary questions.

(29) a.   Dare-ga   Hamlet-o   kai-ta   no-desu   ka?
           who-NOM Hamlet-ACC write-PAST FIN-FOC(POL) Q
           'Who wrote Hamlet?'
     b.   Kamakura bakufu-wa   nan-nen-ni   seeritu   si-ita   no-desu ka?
           Kamakura shogunate-TOP what-year-in establish do-PAST FIN-FOC   Q
           'In what year was the Kamakura shogunate established?'

Kuwabara (2013) notes that questions which end with *no-desu-ka*, like the ones in (29), sound odd as quizmaster questions because this kind of questions are generally used when the speaker

assumes that the answer is already known to the hearer, an observation which he attributes to Tanomura (1990). This sort of presupposition is canceled if the questions involve the modal element *yoo*, as in (28).

We have observed WH-questions involving the modal *roo*. In those cases, the modal element reflects the point of view of SPEAKER. In the quizmaster questions in (28), on the other hand, the modal reflects the viewpoint of HEARER. Thus, they can be paraphrased as follows.

(30) a.   Who wrote Hamlet? What do you think?
      b.   In what year was the Kamakura shogunate established? What do you think?

Give this, the questions in (28) are assumed to have the following structure.

(31) *Quizmaster questions*
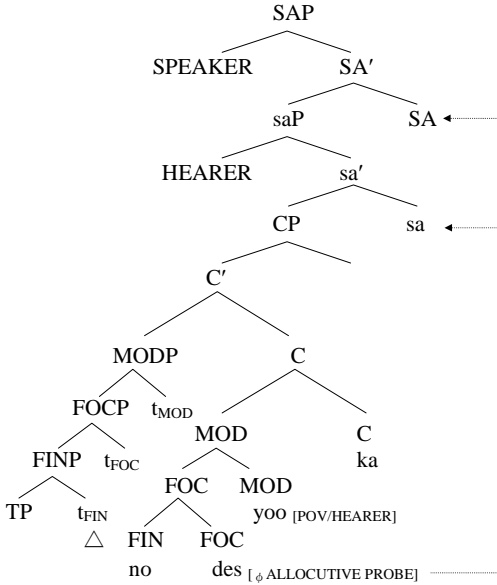
In (31), the heads above TP are assumed to undergo head movement. The Finite head *no* is adjoined to the Focus head *des*, and this amalgamate structure undergoes head movement and gets adjoined to the Modal head *yoo*. This whole complex structure is adjoined to the interrogative head *ka*. From this position, the allocutive probe moves through the lower Speech Act head to the higher Speech Act head, where it c-commands its goal HEARER. The modal *yoo* is c-commanded by HEARER.

As expected, quizmaster questions cannot be embedded, as shown in (32) and (33).

(32) a. *Sono sikaisya-wa   dare-ga   Hamlet-o   kaki-mas-ita   ka tazuneta
        the   quizmaster-TOP who-NOM Hamlet-ACC write-POL-PAST Q   asked
        'The quizmaster asked who wrote Hamlet.'
    b. *Sono sikaisya-wa   Kamakura bakufu-ga   nan-nen-ni   seeritu
        the   quizmaster-TOP Kamakura shogunate-NOM what-year-in establish
        si-mas-ita   ka tazuneta
        do-POL-PAST Q   asked
        'The quizmaster asked in what year the Kamakura shogunate was established.'

(33) a. *Sono sikaisya-wa   dare-ga   Hamlet-o   kai-ta   no-des-yoo   Q
        the   quizmaster-TOP who-NOM Hamlet-ACC write-PAST FIN-FOC(POL)-MOD ka
        tazuneta
        asked
        'The quizmaster asked who wrote Hamlet.'
    b. *Sono sikaisya-wa   Kamakura bakufu-ga   nan-nen-ni seeritu si-ita
        the   quizmaster-TOP Kamakura shogunate-NOM what-year-in establish do-PAST
        no-des-yoo   ka   tazuneta
        FIN-FOC(POL)-MOD Q   asked
        'The quizmaster asked in what year the Kamakura shogunate was established.'

Thus, quizmaster questions, which are not dealt with by Miyagawa or by Yokoyama, can be handled in Miyagawa's approach.

7. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have argued that with some additional assumptions, Miyagawa's approach to WH-questions in Japanese can cover many more cases than he originally intended. Rhetorical questions and conjectural questions, provided by Yokoyama as counterexamples to Miyagawa's analysis, have been shown to be captured in Miyagawa's terms based on Speech Act Phrase, the presence of which can be motivated by the discourse role of SPEAKER as well as that of HEARER. I have also shown that Miyagawa's approach can handle quizmaster questions, which neither Miyagawa nor Yokoyama discusses.

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