

## Negation in the Predicate Reduplication Construction in Japanese\*

Yuki Ishihara

Tokyo Institute of Technology/ University of Tokyo

ishihara@flc.titech.ac.jp

*This paper discusses the occurrence of negation in the predicate reduplication construction in Japanese. We claim that what is emphasized in the predicate reduplication construction occurring in an answer to a polar question is a polarity expressed by yes or no rather than the one expressed by the reduplicated predicate, and propose an account for it, based on Holmberg's (2013a, b) analysis of answers to polar questions.*

*Keywords: predicate reduplication construction, negation, affirmation, polarity, emphasis*

### 0. Introduction

In Japanese there is a construction in which a verb, an adjective or an adjectival noun is reduplicated along with its tense to express emphasis.

- (1) a. Ah, tabe-ta tabe-ta. Moo kore izyoo tabe-rare-nai.  
ah eat-PST eat-PST more this more.than eat-can-NEG<sup>1</sup>  
'Ah, I've eaten so much. I cannot eat any more.'
- b. Ah, atu-i atu-i. Atu-sugi-ru.  
ah hot-NPST hot-NPST hot-too-NPST  
'Ah, it's really hot. It's too hot.'
- c. Sono eiga mi-ta mi-ta. Moo 10-kai izyoo mi-ta-yo.  
the movie see-PST see-PST already10-times more.than see-PST-SFP  
'I've seen that movie many times. I've already seen it more than ten times.'
- (2) a. A: Kyoo-no asa-dora mi-ta?  
today-GEN morning-drama see-PST  
'Did you watch this morning's drama?'
- B: Un, mi-ta mi-ta. Omosirokat-ta-yo-ne.  
yes see-PST see-PST funny-PST-SFP-SFP  
'Yes, I DID. It was funny, wasn't it?'
- b. A: Atarasii raamen-ya oisikat-ta?  
new ramen-restaurant good-PST  
'Was the ramen at the new ramen restaurant good?'

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\* This is a revised and extended version of a paper presented at the 149<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan held at Ehime University on November 15, 2014. I am thankful to the audience at the conference for valuable comments and questions, especially to Hideki Kishimoto, Taisuke Nishigauchi, Ayumi Ueyama, Tomohiro Miyake, Kazumi Matsuoka and Takeo Kurafuji. I am also indebted to Noriko Imanishi, Harumasa Miyashita, Shinichiro Inada, Chigusa Morita and Hiromune Oda for helpful discussion. My sincere thanks are due to the two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments and valuable suggestions on the earlier version of this paper. Needless to say, all remaining errors are my own. This research is supported by JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) 25370544.

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations used in this paper are: NOM=nominative, ACC=accusative, GEN=genitive, TOP=topic, T=tense, PST=past, NPST=nonpast, C=complementizer, Q=question particle, COP=copula, PASS=passive, NEG=negation, PROG=progressive, PERF=perfective, IMP=imperative, GER=gerundive, ADN=adnominal, POLIT=polite, SFP=sentence-final particle and CL=classifier.

- B: Un, oisikat-ta oisikat-ta. Men-to suupu-no baransu-ga yokat-ta-yo.  
 yes good-PST good-PST noodles-and soup-GEN balance-NOM good-PST-SFP  
 ‘Yes, it was really good. The balance between the noodles and the soup was good.’

As discussed by Ishihara (2013, 2014), the predicate reduplication construction (henceforth, PRC) can be interpreted in two ways depending on the target of emphasis. It can be used to emphasize the extent or degree of the action or state, or the frequency of the action, denoted by a predicate, as exemplified in (1a-c), or to emphasize the polarity of a statement, especially when it occurs in an answer to a polar question, as shown in (2a, b).<sup>2</sup>

In this paper we will focus on the PRC used in an answer to a polar question, and point out that negation is allowed in the PRC with polarity emphasis if a speaker agrees strongly with a proposition included in the polar question or if the negation occurs without an overt tense marker. A syntactic account will be provided, incorporating Holmberg’s (2013a, b) analysis of polar questions and their answers into Ishihara’s (2013) analysis of the PRC.

The paper is organized as follows. After giving an overview of Ishihara’s (2013) analysis of the PRC in section 1, section 2 presents new data regarding the reduplication of negative predicates. Section 3 proposes to revise Ishihara’s analysis and accounts for the distribution of negation in the PRC, drawing on Holmberg’s (2013a, b) analysis of answers to polar questions. Section 4 concludes the paper.

### 1. Previous Analysis: Ishihara (2013)

The occurrence of the PRC is not limited to Japanese. Martins (2007, 2013), Kandybowicz (2013) and Nunes and Quadros (2008) propose an analysis of the PRC in Portuguese, Nupe, and Brazilian Sign Language respectively, based on Chomsky’s (1995) copy theory of movement. Ishihara’s (2013) account of the PRC in Japanese that occurs in an answer to polar questions is also based on the copy theory of movement, claiming that reduplication is a result of pronouncing both a predicate and its copy in a head movement chain. Let us briefly go over her analysis.

First, Ishihara observes that a target of reduplication is a whole inflected predicate complex including a tense affix. While a verbal complex including a tense morpheme, a causative morpheme, a passive morpheme, a politeness morpheme among others can be reduplicated as in (3), its subpart alone cannot as in (4).

- (3) a. Yon-da yon-da.  
 read-PST read-PST  
 ‘I did read it.’  
 b. Kak-ase-rare-ta kak-ase-rare-ta.  
 write-CAUSE-PASS-PST write-CAUSE-PASS-PST  
 ‘I was really made to write it.’  
 c. Yari-mas-u yari-mas-u.  
 do-POLIT-NPST do-POLIT-NPST  
 ‘I WILL do it.’
- (4) a. \*Tabe-tabe-ta.  
 eat-eat-PST  
 ‘I did eat it.’  
 b. \*Tabe-ta-ta.  
 eat-PST-PST  
 ‘I did eat it.’

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<sup>2</sup> The construction can be interpreted in two ways at the same time, depending on the context and the type of a predicate used.

- c. \*Kak-ase-ase-rare-ta.  
write-CAUSE-CAUSE-PASS-PST  
'I was really made to write it.'
- d. \*Kak-ase-rare-rare-ta.  
write-CAUSE-PASS-PASS-PST  
'I was really made to write it.'

Second, morphemes that occur above TPs cannot be reduplicated along with an inflected predicate complex. (5) shows that complementizers *no*, *ka*, or *to* cannot be reduplicated with a tensed verb.<sup>3</sup>

- (5) a. \*Taroo-wa Hanako-ga hon-o ka-u-no-(o) ka-u-no-o mi-ta.  
Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM book-ACC buy-NPST-C-ACC buy-NPST-C-ACC see-PST  
'Taro saw Hanako really buy a book.'
- b. \*Taroo-ni hannin-o mi-ta-(no)-ka mi-ta-(no)-ka tazune-ta.  
Taro-DAT criminal-ACC see-PST-C-C see-PST-C-C ask-PST  
'I asked Taro if he had really seen the criminal.'
- c. \*Taroo-wa hon-o yon-da-to yon-da-to it-ta.  
Taro-TOP book-ACC read-PST-C read-PST-C say-PST  
'Taro said that he did read the book.'
- (Ishihara (2013: 40))

In addition modals that occur above TPs such as a surmise modal *daroo* and hearsay modals like *rasii* and *soda* cannot be reduplicated in the PRC.<sup>4,5</sup>

- (6) A: Asita ame hur-u-ka-na?  
tomorrow rain fall-NPST-Q-SFP  
'Will it rain tomorrow?'
- B:a.\* Hur-u-daroo hur-u-daroo.  
fall-NPST-may fall-NPST-may  
'It may rain indeed.'

<sup>3</sup> An anonymous reviewer has observed that the following is not unacceptable in contrast to (5c).

- (i) ?Taroo-wa hon-o yon-da yon-da-to it-te i-ru.  
Taro-TOP book-ACC read-PST read-PST-C say-PROG be-NPST  
'Taro is saying that he HAS read the book.'

However, (i) seems to involve the reduplication of *yon-da* followed by a quotative *to*. Another example pointed out to me by the reviewer is the following.

- (ii) Tabe-ta-tte tabe-tatte.  
eat-PST-C eat-PST-C  
'I'm saying that I did eat it.'

Even though C is repeated in (ii), a pause is necessary between the two predicates, which leads us to suspect if (ii) really exemplifies the PRC under consideration. Note also that this example involves ellipsis of a matrix tensed predicate. See footnotes 4 and 5.

<sup>4</sup> The sentences are acceptable, if a pause is inserted between the two predicates. However, such sentences are not the examples of the PRC, since the PRC does not require a pause within.

<sup>5</sup> Ayumi Ueyama (p. c.) has observed that (i) is possible.

- (i) Ii-kamo ii-kamo.  
good-maybe good-maybe  
'It maybe good.'
- (ii) ?\*Ii-kamosirenai ii-kamosirenai.  
good-maybe good-maybe  
'It maybe good.'

In contrast, (ii) does not sound as good as (i). It may be that (i) does not constitute a full CP as (ii) does, especially because a tense morpheme is missing in (i).

- b.?\* Hur-u-rasii      hur-u-rasii.  
 fall-NPST-I.hear fall-NPST-I.hear  
 ‘I hear it’s going to rain indeed.’
- c.?\* Hur-u-sooda      hur-u-sooda.  
 fall-NPST-I.hear fall-NPST-I.hear  
 ‘I hear it’s going to rain indeed.’

(Ishihara (2013: 39))

Third, the PRC is allowed only in matrix clauses.<sup>6</sup>

- (7) a. \*Hanako-ga    kat-ta    kat-ta    hon  
 Hanako-NOM buy-PST buy-PST book  
 ‘the book that Hanako did buy’
- b. \*Hanako-ga    si-ta    no-wa    hon-o    yom-u    yom-u    koto    da.  
 Hanako-NOM do-PST NO-TOP book-ACC read-NPST read-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Hanako did was read a book indeed.’

(Ishihara (2013: 40))

The PRC is not allowed in embedded clauses such as relative clauses as in (7a) and cleft sentences as in (7b).

Another property of the PRC worth noting is its semantic similarity to sentences ending with stressed sentence-final particles (SFPs) such as *yo* and *wa*.<sup>7</sup> Vermeulen (2012) observes that a natural answer to polar questions consists of an inflected verb with an emphatic stress, and when the SFP *yo* occurs with it, the stress can be either on the verb or on the SFP. These are the phonological manifestations of polarity focus, which confirms or falsifies the truth of the proposition expressed. Ishihara’s (2013) claim is that the stressed SFP and the PRC fulfill the same role of emphasizing polarity when they occur in answers to polar questions.

- (8) A:      Kyoo-no    asa-dora      mi-ta?  
 today-GEN morning-drama see-PST  
 ‘Did you watch this morning’s drama?’

<sup>6</sup> Hideki Kishimoto (p. c.) has suggested to me that the PRC looks like fragments rather than complete sentences. If so, it is natural that they occur only in matrix clauses. It is true that many arguments and case-markers drop in the PRC, for it occurs in colloquial speech, as discussed in Ishihara (2013). However, it is not clear at the moment whether the data presented in section 2 can be given a principled account, if the whole clausal structure is not assumed for the PRC. This concerns an important issue of division of labor between syntax and pragmatics, and deserves further investigation.

<sup>7</sup> Tomohiro Miyake (p. c.) has pointed out to me that the sentential-final particle, *yo*, adds performative function to imperatives, so (ia) and (ib) do not have the same meaning.

- (i) a. Mi-ro      mi-ro.  
 look-IMP look-IMP  
 ‘Come take a look.’
- b. Mi-ro-yo.  
 look-IMP-SFP  
 ‘Do take a look.’

Imperatives do not occur as an answer to polar questions, so they are beyond the scope of this paper, but it is necessary to compare and contrast the PRC used for different speech acts carefully. In this regard, it is interesting to note that some cases of the PRC are interpreted as imperatives rather than statements.

- (ii) a. Saa,    kat-ta.  
 well buy-PST  
 ‘Buy this!’
- b. Kat-ta    kat-ta.  
 buy-PST buy-PST  
 ‘I really bought it.’ or ‘Buy this!’

Simple past tensed verbs are hard to interpret as perfective imperatives except when they are preceded by expressions like *saa* ‘well’ as in (iia), which forces the utterances to be interpreted as directed toward hearers. The PRC sometimes shows the same effect as *saa*, as in (iib).

- B: a. Un, mi-ta mi-ta. Omosirokat-ta-yo-ne.  
 yes see-PST see-PST funny-PST-SFP-SFP  
 ‘Yes, I DID. It was funny, wasn’t it?’ (=2a)
- b. Un, mi-ta-YO. Omosirokat-ta-yo-ne.  
 yes see-PST-SFP funny-PST-SFP-SFP  
 ‘Yes, I DID. It was funny, wasn’t it?’

The semantic equivalence between (8Ba) and (8Bb) can be explained naturally, if the second *mi-ta* in (8Ba) occupies the same position as the SFP, *yo*, in (8Bb), which is presumably in the C domain of clauses. If the second predicate in the PRC occurs in the C domain, the incompatibility of the PRC with C elements can also be accounted for.<sup>8</sup>

Specifically, Ishihara (2013) proposes to account for the PRC based on the assumptions listed in (9). Her account is summarized in (10).

- (9) a. A functional head, SA (Speech Act), in the right periphery of matrix clauses in Japanese (cf. Speas and Tenny (2003), Miyagawa (2012), Saito (2013a, b) etc.)  
 b. Syntactic verb raising in Japanese (cf. Koizumi (1995), Mihara (2011, 2012), Funakoshi (2012) etc.)  
 c. Copy theory of movement and Nunes’s (2004) claim that when an adjunction structure undergoes morphological fusion and becomes a single terminal element, it becomes invisible to the LCA
- (10) a. A phonetically-null element  $\emptyset$  occurs in SA in assertive sentences.  
 b. A polarity focus feature on SA triggers movement of a verbal complex from T to SA.<sup>9</sup>  
 c. The moved verbal complex in SA fuses with  $\emptyset$  and is pronounced along with its copy left in T.

<sup>8</sup> There are some people who allow the repetition of a predicate including SFP, and an anonymous reviewer appears to be one of them.

- (i) % Mi-ta-yo mi-ta-yo.  
 see-PST-SFP see-PST-SFP  
 ‘I have really seen it.’

Ishihara (2013) claims that an assertion marker,  $\emptyset$ , can select either TP or SAP, and that these speakers have the ability of reanalyzing *mi-v-ta-yo- $\emptyset$*  as a morphological word. See Ishihara (2013) for details of the analysis.

As for (ii), which has also been brought to my attention by the reviewer, there is a pause between *mi-ta-yo* and the following *mi-ta*, so it is possible to regard it as two separate sentences put together. (iii) is another possible sequence. Whether it is possible to repeat a predicate more than twice without a pause in between, as in (iv), is not clear to me, but if so, we would need to assume recursion of  $\emptyset$ ’s to accommodate such cases.

- (ii) Mi-ta-yo, mi-ta mi-ta.  
 see-PST-SFP see-PST see-PST
- (iii) Mi-ta mi-ta, mi-ta-yo.  
 see-PST see-PST see-PST-SFP
- (iv) ?Mi-ta mi-ta mi-ta.  
 see-PST see-PST see-PST

<sup>9</sup> Taisuke Nishigauchi (p. c.) has suggested to me that the following contrast can be explained, if movement to SA is assumed.

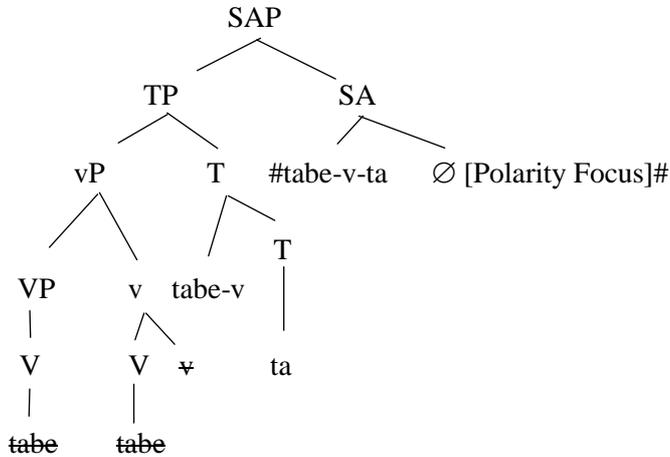
- (i) a. Boku-wa samu-i-yo./ Samu-i samu-i.  
 I-TOP cold-NPST-SFP cold-NPST cold-NPST  
 ‘I am cold.’/‘I’m very cold.’
- b. \*Taro-wa samu-i-yo./ Samu-i samu-i. (\* under the reading ‘Taro is very cold.’)  
 Taro-TOP cold-NPST-SFP cold-NPST cold-NPST  
 ‘Taro is cold.’/‘Taro is very cold.’

- (ii) [ ... [ Epistemic [ Evidential [ Speech Act ]]]]

If a predicate with a first person subject does not require an evidential projection, but the one with a third person subject does, and if every predicate has to move to SA, movement of the latter to SA is ruled out by the minimality condition, unless it stops at an evidential head. When it does, it gets realized as *samu-gatte-iru* ‘Taro is feeling cold.’ This provides a nice piece of evidence for verb movement to SA. I am thankful to him for this suggestion.

Let us look at an example in (11) to see how this works.

- (11) Tabe-ta tabe-ta.  
 eat-PST eat-PST  
 ‘I did eat.’



SA is a functional category that selects TP, which Saito (2013a, b) argues hosts SFPs. Ishihara (2013) proposes that a phonetically-null assertion marker,  $\emptyset$ , occurs in SA in declarative sentences that end with a conclusive form, and that it carries a polarity focus feature in the PRC in answers to polar questions. The verb, *tabe*, moves to T via *v* by head movement, and its movement to SA is triggered by a polarity focus feature on  $\emptyset$ . Both the head of the chain in SA, *tabe-v-ta-∅*, and the tail of the chain in T, *tabe-v-ta*, are pronounced because *tabe-v-ta-∅* in SA is morphologically fused into a single terminal element. The reduplication of predicates results from the head movement of a verbal complex and copy spell-out.

In the next section we will present new data that pose a problem for this analysis.

## 2. Behavior of Negation in the PRC with Polarity Emphasis

How do negative predicates behave in the PRC? In an answer to polar questions beginning with *uun* ‘no’ or *iie* ‘no,’ the reduplication of a predicate ending with a negative morpheme, *nai*, is more acceptable than that of a predicate ending with *nakat-ta*, the past form of *nai*.

- (12) A: Nee, kinoo kono hon yon-da-no?  
 hey yesterday this book read-PST-Q  
 ‘Hey, did you read this book yesterday?’  
 B: a. Uun, yon-de-nai yon-de-nai.  
 no read-PERF-NEG read-PERF-NEG  
 ‘No, I really haven’t read it.’  
 b. ??Uun, yom-anakat-ta yom-anakat-ta.  
 no read-NEG-PST read-NEG-PST  
 ‘No, I really didn’t read it.’
- (13) A: Kinoo-no gozen 3-ji-goro Tanaka Haruo-san-o koros-ita-daroo?  
 yesterday’s a.m 3-o’clock-around Tanaka Haruo-Mr.-ACC kill-PST-may  
 ‘You killed Mr. Haruo Tanaka at around 3 a.m, didn’t you?’  
 B: a. Iie, koros-ite-mas-en koros-ite-mas-en.  
 no kill-PERF-POLIT-NEG kill-PERF-POLIT-NEG  
 ‘No, I really didn’t kill him.’

b. ??Iie, koros-imas-en-des-ita koros-imas-en-des-ita.  
 no kill-POLIT-NEG-COP.POLIT-PST kill-POLIT-NEG-COP.POLIT-PST  
 ‘No, I really didn’t kill him.’

(14) A: Obake-yasiki kowak-atta-desyo?  
 haunted-house afraid-PST-perhaps  
 ‘You were afraid of the haunted house, weren’t you?’

B: a. Uun, kowaku-nai kowaku-nai. Heiki-da-tta-yo.  
 no afraid-NEG afraid-NEG OK-COP-PST-SFP  
 ‘No, I was not afraid of it at all. I was OK with it.’

b. ??Uun, kowaku-nakat-ta kowaku-nakat-ta. Heiki-da-tta-yo.  
 no afraid-NEG-PST afraid-NEG-PST OK-COP-PST-SFP  
 ‘No, I was not afraid of it at all. I was OK with it.’

As shown in (12Ba, b), the reduplication of *yon-de-nai* sounds better than that of the past form, *yom-nakat-ta*. Similar contrasts involving polite verb forms and adjectives are illustrated in (13) and (14) respectively. It seems that negative predicates marked with past tense are hard to repeat in the PRC.

Ishihara (2013) observes this contrast, and attributes it to a prosodic constraint, saying that it is difficult to reduplicate “long” predicates, i.e. those consisting of many morae. The past form consists of more morae than the nonpast form, so the data in (12-14) can be covered by this proposal.

Alternatively, it may be possible to claim that the contrast results from a “here and now” property of the PRC. It seems natural that the PRC should be optimized for describing a situation or an event that is taking place in front of a speaker’s eyes, and thus nonpast forms are used to describe the event that took place in the past to bring about a vivid narrative effect. Such an analysis seems all the more plausible, given the PRC is often found in descriptions of war scenes in the earlier literature, as discussed by Aoki (2009). Under this analysis the reduplication of past-tense affirmative verbs like *tabe-ta tabe-ta* ‘ate ate’ would be analyzed as the reduplication of perfective verbs.

However, there are data that argue against such explanations. It is possible to repeat past tense negative predicates, if the answer to polar questions starts with *un/hai* ‘yes.’

(15) A: Kinoo kono hon yom-anakat-ta-no?  
 yesterday this book read-NEG-PST-Q  
 ‘Didn’t you read this book yesterday?’

B: a. Un, yom-anakat-ta yom-anakat-ta.  
 yes read-NEG-PST read-NEG-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘Yes, I really didn’t read it.’

b. Uun, yon-da yon-da.  
 no read-PST read-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘No, I did read it.’

(16) A: Obake-yasiki kowaku-nakat-ta-desyo?  
 haunted-house afraid-NEG-PST-perhaps  
 ‘You weren’t afraid of the haunted house, were you?’

B: a. Un, kowaku-nakat-ta kowaku-nakat-ta.  
 yes afraid-NEG-PST afraid-NEG-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘Yes, I really wasn’t afraid of it.’

b. Uun, kowak-atta kowak-atta.  
 no afraid-PST afraid-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘No, I was really afraid.’

Compare (15Ba) with (12Bb). We have seen that a past tense negative verb cannot be repeated in (12Bb), but the same predicate, *yom-anakat-ta*, can be repeated in the PRC, if it occurs in an answer to a negative polar question, beginning with *un* ‘yes.’ Similarly, a past tense negative adjective can occur in the PRC in an answer starting with an affirmative answer particle (16Ba) in contrast to (14Bb). This means that in order to determine whether a certain predicate yields a good PRC or not, it is not enough to just look at its form. We need to look at the context in which the PRC occurs, specifically, whether a sentence represents an affirmative answer to a polar question or not.

In (15Ba) and (16Ba), a negative predicate is reduplicated, but Speaker B does not intend to emphasize negation. The contrast between (15Ba) and (12Bb) and that between (16Ba) and (14Bb), suggest that *un* ‘yes’ preceding the PRC is responsible for the acceptability of (15Ba) and (16Ba). What is emphasized here is Speaker B’s agreement with a proposition included in Speaker A’s question, i.e., s/he did not read this book yesterday, and s/he was not afraid of the haunted house, respectively. The negative predicate is repeated only because it is included in the proposition presented to Speaker B by Speaker A. Speaker B’s disregard of negation in (15Ba) and (16Ba) can be seen from the fact that the repetition of negative predicates is pronounced very quickly in them.

Neither the prosody nor the “here and now” property of the PRC can account for the acceptability of (15Ba) and (16Ba), because the forms of predicates that are targeted for reduplication are the same in (15Ba) and (12Bb), and in (16Ba) and (14Bb). These examples demonstrate that the proper treatment of the PRC with polarity emphasis cannot ignore contextual factors such as what question is raised by the interlocutor, and whether or not the speaker agrees with the proposition included in the question.

### 3. Analysis

#### 3.1. Holmberg’s (2013a, b) Account of Polar Questions and Their Answers

In the previous section we have seen that *un* ‘yes’ and *uun* ‘no’ play an important role in licensing the PRC. This subsection discusses Holmberg’s (2013a, b) analysis of polar questions and their answers, which will be integrated into Ishihara’s (2013) analysis in the next subsection.

Holmberg (2013a) posits a Pol(arity) P(hrase) in the highest position of a finite clause.<sup>10</sup> According to his analysis, in a polar question as in (17), open polarity feature in Pol is probed by Foc(us) head and moved to Spec, FocP by a “semantically motivated” wh-movement. When combined with an illocutionary force feature in Q, the sentence is interpreted as “Tell me the value of the focused variable, [uPol], such that the proposition P is true.” In an answer to the question, *yes* or *no* occurs in Spec of FocP, which acts as an operator, and assigns a value [Aff(irmative)] or [Neg(ative)] to the sentence-internal unvalued polarity feature in Pol as in (18).

(17) a. Is he coming?

b. [ Q [<sub>FocP</sub> *is*+ [uPol] [<sub>Foc'</sub> FOC [<sub>PolP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> *he*] [<sub>Pol'</sub> *is*+ [uPol]] [<sub>TP</sub> *is he coming*]]]]]]

(18) a. Yes.

b. [<sub>FocP</sub> *yes* [<sub>Foc'</sub> FOC [<sub>PolP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> *he*] [<sub>Pol'</sub> [Aff]] [<sub>TP</sub> *is he coming*]]]]]



((17, 18): Holmberg (2013a: 36-37))

Holmberg proposes that negation occurs in three different positions in English negative polar questions: highest negation, which is interpreted outside IP (19a), middle negation, which is interpreted within IP but with a sentential scope (19b), and low negation, which takes vP as its scope (19c).

(19) a. Highest negation

<sup>10</sup> A polarity head was first proposed by Laka (1990), who called it Σ.

- Q: Isn't John coming (too)? (positive bias)  
 A: Yes. ('John is coming.')
- No. ('John is not coming.')
- b. Middle negation  
 Q: i. Isn't John coming (either)? (negative bias; unacceptable for some speakers)  
 ii. Is John not coming?  
 A: #Yes. (indeterminate/uninterpretable in this context)  
 No. ('John is not coming.') (Holmberg (2013a: 48))
- c. Low negation (vP-scope)  
 Q: Does John sometimes not show up for work?  
 A: Yes. ('John sometimes does not show up for work.')
- ?No. ('John does not sometimes not show up for work.' i.e., 'John always shows up for work.')
- (Holmberg (2013a: 39-40))

In (19c) *not* is placed below a frequency adverb to make sure that negation is in a low position.<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, in this case a *yes* answer to a polar question is interpreted with negation.

- (20) a. Does John sometimes not show up for work?  
 b. [ Q [<sub>FocP</sub> does+[uPol] [<sub>Foc'</sub> FOC [<sub>PolP</sub> John [<sub>Pol'</sub> [uPol] [<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>vP</sub> sometimes [<sub>vP</sub> not show up for work]]]]]]]]]
- (21) a. Yes.  
 b. [<sub>FocP</sub> yes [<sub>Foc'</sub> FOC [<sub>PolP</sub> John [<sub>Pol'</sub> [Aff] [<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>vP</sub> sometimes [<sub>vP</sub> not show up for work]]]]]]]]]
- 
- ((20, 21): Holmberg (2013a: 40-41))

In (21b), while *yes* in Spec, FocP assigns an affirmative value to a polarity feature in Pol, *not* occurs within vP, negating vP. Because low negation occurs independently of Pol, *yes* can co-occur with negative vP.

Holmberg (2013b) claims that the cross-linguistic variation of answers to polar questions can be attributed to the position of negation. According to his proposal, languages with a polarity-based answering system only have middle or high negation, whereas languages with a truth-based answering system such as Japanese only have low negation. English, having high, middle and low negation, has a mixed answering system.

Note that the data that are problematic for Ishihara (2013), i.e. (15Ba) and (16Ba), can be explained naturally, if we assume with Holmberg (2013b) that negation is low in Japanese, just as in the English examples in (20, 21). Pol, whose polarity feature needs to have its value determined, is assigned a value by *un/hai* 'yes' or *uun/iie* 'no' in Spec, FocP, independently of the form of a predicate. This is the reason why *un/hai* and negative predicates can co-occur in Japanese.

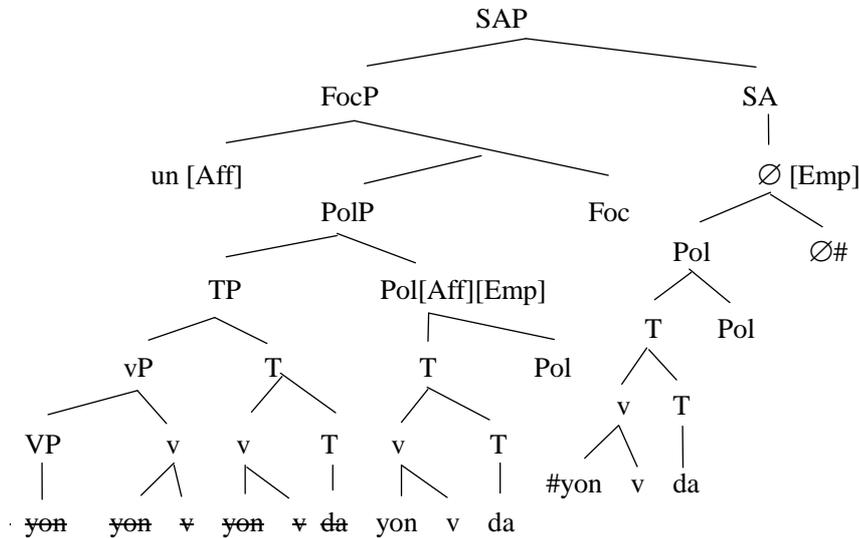
### 3.2. Proposal

We have seen that Holmberg's (2013a, b) analysis employing PolP that is independent of low negation can successfully account for the co-occurrence of a positive answer particle and a negative predicate in an answer to polar questions in Japanese. The data in section 2, indicating that the PRC with past tense negative predicates is possible when preceded by *un/hai* 'yes,' have led us to conclude that what is emphasized in the PRC in an answer to polar questions is not negation expressed by predicates, but Pol. To implement this idea, we propose to combine Holmberg's (2013a, b) account with Ishihara's (2013) analysis of the PRC by assuming that Pol in the PRC has an emphasis feature.

First let us consider a case of the affirmative PRC starting with *un* 'yes.'

<sup>11</sup> Holmberg (2013a) assumes that in contrast to low negation, middle negation occurs in Pol, with a subject DP raised to Spec, PolP.

- (22) A: Kono hon yon-da-no?  
 this book read-PST-Q  
 ‘Did you read this book?’  
 B: Un, yon-da yon-da.  
 yes read-PST read-PST  
 ‘Yes, I really read it.’



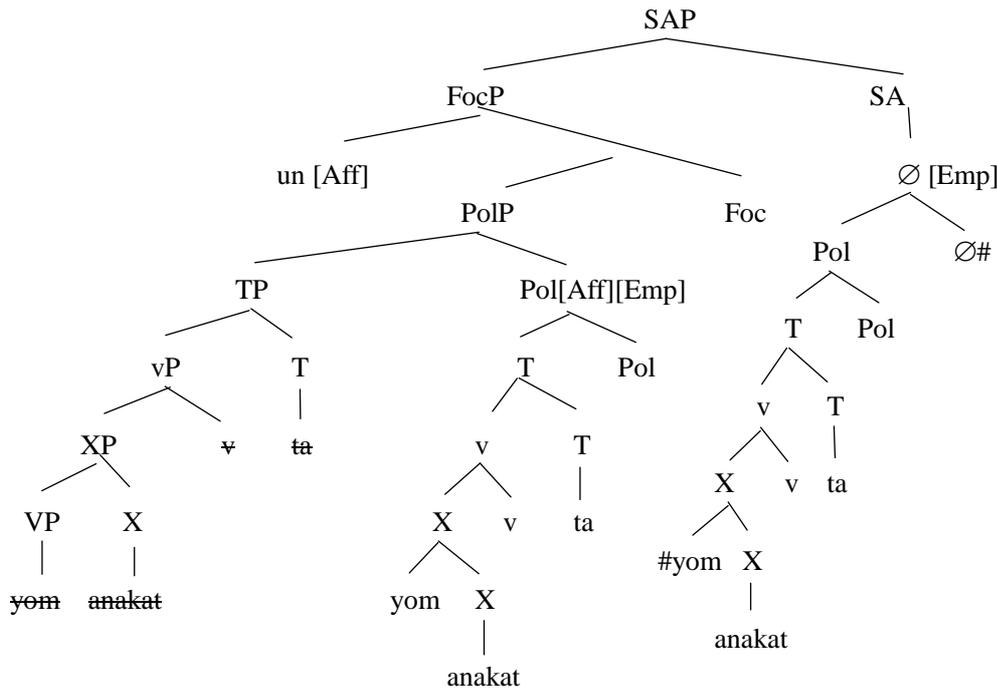
There is a phonetically null assertion marker  $\emptyset$  with a polarity emphasis feature in an S(peech) A(ct) head of the PRC, which probes an interpretable emphasis feature and triggers movement. In (22B) Pol has an emphasis feature, and its unvalued polarity feature is assigned an affirmative value by the affirmative answer particle in Spec, FocP. Pol, being an affix, is raised with V-v-T complex in T, to  $\emptyset$ , due to its emphasis feature. In SA the verbal complex V-v-T-Pol- $\emptyset$  is morphologically fused into a word, and is pronounced. Since its internal structure is not accessible after fusion, the link of a verbal chain in Pol, V-v-T-Pol, is pronounced as well. The PRC results because the predicate in SA and its copy in Pol are both pronounced.<sup>12</sup>

The PRC preceded by *un* ‘yes’ can host negative predicates, as we have observed in section 2.<sup>13</sup>

- (23) A: Kono hon yom-anakat-ta-no?  
 this book read-NEG-PST-Q  
 ‘Didn’t you read this book?’  
 B: Un, yom-anakat-ta yom-anakat-ta .  
 yes read-NEG-PST read-NEG-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘Yes, I really didn’t read it.’

<sup>12</sup> A question raised by an anonymous reviewer concerns what happens if Foc contains a phonetically null element, since *Un, yon-da wa yon-da* ‘Yes, I really read it’ is possible. This would be a problem, if it blocks the association of Pol and SA. We assume that the SFP, *wa*, occurs in SA, as proposed by Saito (2013a, b), but even if there should be some element in Foc, it would not interfere with the movement of Pol to SA, since the movement is driven by an emphasis feature, which is not shared by Foc. In other words, we depart from the Head Movement Constraint à la Travis (1984), and assume that the association of two heads is blocked by an intervening head with a relevant feature. See Vicente (2009) among others for arguments for long head movement.

<sup>13</sup> Head movement of V to T via v is omitted from tree diagrams here and below, since it is irrelevant to the discussion.



Here we tentatively assume, following Holmberg (2013a, b), that negation in Japanese occurs in a low position within vP, indicated by X in a tree diagram in (23B). As with the case in (22B), in (23B) the polarity feature of Pol with an emphasis feature is assigned an affirmative value by *un* ‘yes’ in Spec, FocP. The emphasis feature on  $\emptyset$  triggers movement of Pol, along with a verbal complex including negation, to SA, but what is emphasized is the affirmative feature on Pol, and not the negation expressed by the predicate.

As for the PRC preceded by *uun* ‘no,’ the polarity feature of Pol is assigned a negative value by the negative answer particle. We propose the following condition on negative Pol.

- (24) An emphasis feature on negative Pol has to be phonetically realized in Japanese.

And we assume that it can be phonetically manifested as nonpast negation, *nai*, but not as the past form, *nakat-ta*.<sup>14</sup>

- (25) Negative *nai*, but not *nakat-ta*, can occur in Pol.

An emphasis feature on Pol is often manifested as a stress.

- (26) a. He DID come.  
b. He did NOT do it.

In (26a) the emphasis feature on affirmative Pol is realized as *did*, so that it can receive a phonetic stress.<sup>15</sup> The PRC in Japanese can be regarded as an instance of phonetically realizing an emphasis feature by reduplication. When negative Pol is involved, the condition in (24) is imposed, which allows only the reduplication of a predicate ending with *nai*.

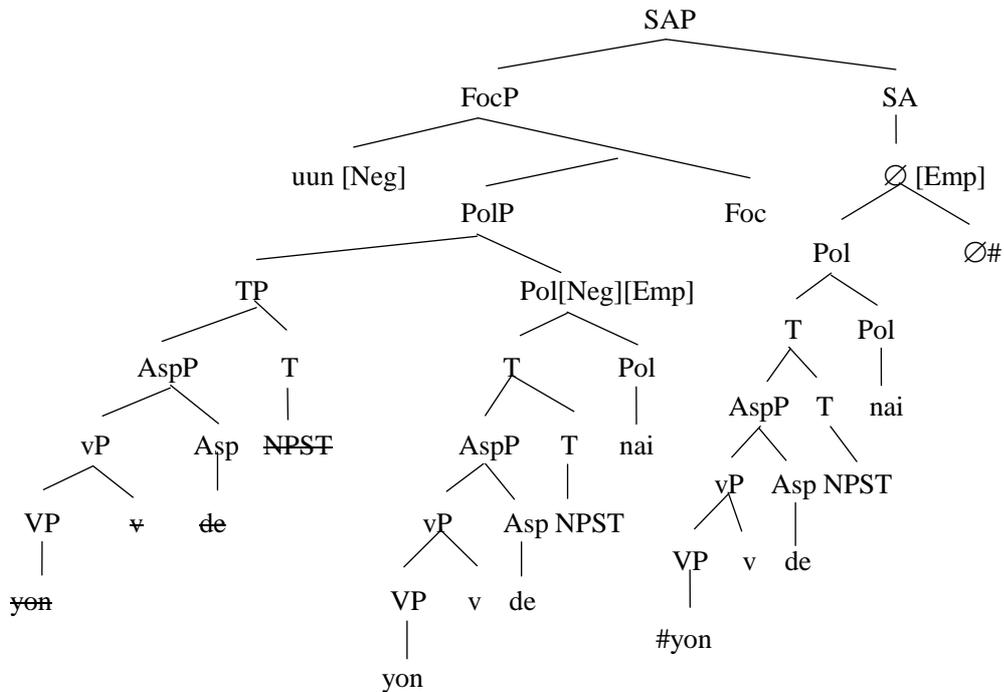
To illustrate, let us consider the following contrast.

<sup>14</sup> A sentence with *nai* in Pol represents an instance of middle negation in Japanese, and is not allowed in answers to polar questions beginning with *un* ‘yes.’

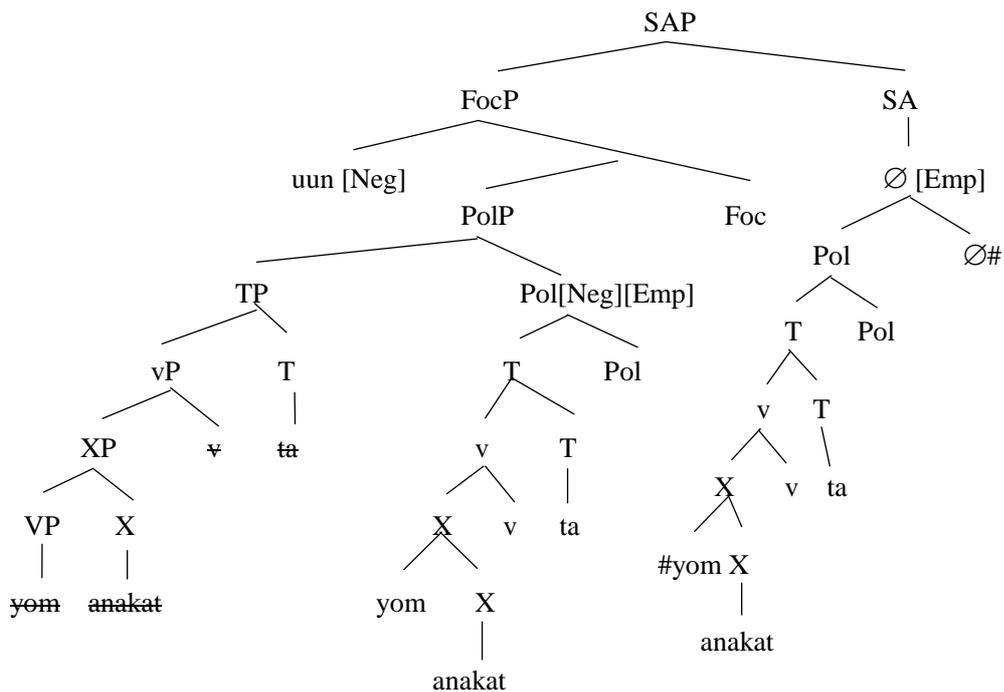
<sup>15</sup> Holmberg (2013a) assumes that the affirmative *do/does/did* and the negative *don't/doesn't/didn't* occur in Pol rather than T.

(27) A: Kono hon yon-da-no?  
 this book read-PST-Q  
 'Did you read this book?'

B: a. Uun, yon-de-nai yon-de-nai.  
 no read-PERF-NEG read-PERF-NEG  
 'No, I really haven't read it.'



B: b. ??Uun, yom-anakat-ta yom-anakat-ta .  
 no read-NEG-PST read-NEG-PST  
 'Yes, I really didn't read it.'



While the reduplication of the nonpast negative predicate, *yondenai*, is allowed as in (27Ba), that of the corresponding past negative predicate, *yomanakatta*, is not, as in (27Bb). This is because while the emphatic negative Pol is realized as *nai* in (27Ba), it is not in (27Bb) in violation of the condition in (24). The past negative, *nakatta*, is trapped within TP, so to speak, since *ta* is a distinct past tense marker that occurs in T. *Nai*, on the other hand, can occur above TP, because it can transcend time, for example, in generic sentences.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, let us take a look at the effect of a negative answer particle that reverses negative predicates into affirmative predicates.

- (28) A: Kinoo kono hon yom-anakat-ta-no?  
 yesterday this book read-NEG-PST-Q  
 ‘Didn’t you read this book yesterday?’  
 B: Uun, yon-da yon-da.  
 no read-PST read-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘No, I did read it.’ (=(15Bb))

The proposition contained in the question (28A) is *hon-o yom-anakat-ta* ‘the addressee did not read the book.’ The polarity feature of Pol in (28B) is assigned a negative value by *uun*, which negates the predicate containing negation, just as in the English example we have seen in (19c) involving low negation, repeated here as (29).

- (29) Q: Does John sometimes not show up for work? (=(19c))  
 A: Yes. (‘John sometimes does not show up for work.’)  
 ?No. (‘John does not sometimes not show up for work.’ i.e., ‘John always shows up for work.’)

Instead of repeating *yom-anaku-nakat-ta* ‘read-NEG-NEG-PST,’ which is quite complex involving double negation, the addressee chooses to answer the question by repeating the affirmative form *yon-da* ‘read-PST,’ which is equivalent in meaning.

We have shown how our analysis works with the PRC preceded by answer particles such as *un, hai* ‘yes’/ *uun, iie* ‘no.’ When there is no overt answer particle in an answer to polarity questions, we assume that it contains a phonetically-null answer particle with an affirmative/negative polarity feature in Spec, FocP, and that valuation of the polarity feature in Pol is carried out just as in the examples with overt answer particles we have seen above. If a null answer particle occurs with a polarity feature incompatible with the context (e.g. the question asked, the form of a predicate in the answer etc.) as in (30Ab), it cannot be interpreted properly at the CI interface and is ruled out accordingly.

- (30) Q: Hon-o yon-da-no?  
 book-ACC read-PST-Q  
 ‘Did you read the book?’  
 A: a.  $\emptyset_{[Aff]}$ , yon-da yon-da.  
 read-PST read-PST  
 ‘Yes, I really read it.’

<sup>16</sup> As an anonymous reviewer has observed, the negative *nai* that occurs in Pol is incompatible with past tense markers. The following examples are due to the reviewer.

- (i) \*Uun, yon-da-nai yon-da-nai.  
 no read-PST-NEG read-PST-NEG  
 ‘No, I did NOT read it.’  
 (ii) \*Uun, yom-anakat-ta-nai yom-anakat-ta-nai  
 no read-NEG-PST-NEG read-NEG-PST-NEG  
 ‘No, I did NOT not read it.’ (=I read it.)



In (33B) it is not clear whether the NPI, *nani-mo*, is licensed by an answer particle, *uun* ‘no’ or by (an elided) negative predicate, *nom-anakat-ta-yo*. If we look at an answer to a negative question, however, we can determine which element is responsible for the licensing of NPIs.

- (34) A: Nani-mo nom-anakat-ta-no?  
 anything-MO drink-NEG-PST-Q  
 ‘Didn’t you drink anything?’  
 B: Un, nani-mo (nom-anakat-ta-yo).  
 yes anything-MO drink-NEG-PST-SFP  
 Lit. ‘Yes, (I didn’t drink) anything.’
- (35) A: Dare-mo ko-nakat-ta-no?  
 anybody-MO come-NEG-PST-Q  
 ‘Didn’t anybody come?’  
 B: Un, dare-mo (ko-nakat-ta-yo).  
 yes anybody-MO come-NEG-PST-SFP  
 Lit. ‘Yes, anybody (came).’

The affirmative answer particle *un*, ‘yes,’ should not be able to license NPIs, so it is the negative morpheme within the (elided) verbal complex that licenses them.

Here we have a problem. Holmberg’s (2013a, b) analysis of polar questions and their answers is not consistent with Kishimoto’s (2008) analysis of Japanese NPIs: while negation should be high enough to license NPIs in a subject position as in (35B) according to Kishimoto, it should not be high enough to give a value to Pol under Holmberg’s analysis, which is affirmative in (34B, 35B).

An attempt is made by Uchishiba (2014) to solve this problem. He claims that Kishimoto’s analysis of Neg raising (Pol raising in Uchishiba’s terms) can be maintained, if it is assumed that the higher Pol head has a relative polarity feature: the “same” relative polarity feature selects *hai* ‘yes’ in its Spec, and the “reverse” polarity feature selects *ie* ‘no’ in its Spec. In other words, he takes that Neg raising analysis is correct and departs from Holmberg’s analysis of answer particles.

However, it seems that Uchishiba’s proposal is too simple. *Hai* ‘yes’ in Japanese does not always occur in answers with the “same” relative polarity feature.

- (36) A: Kinoo Meguro-no Ziroo-ni ik-anakat-ta?  
 yesterday Meguro-GEN Ziroo-to go-NEG-PST  
 ‘Didn’t you go to Ziroo Ramen restaurant in Meguro yesterday?’  
 B: a. Un, ik-anakat-ta-yo.  
 yes go-NEG-PST-SFP  
 Lit. ‘Yes, I didn’t go.’  
 b. Un, it-ta-yo.  
 yes go-PST-SFP  
 ‘Yes, I did.’  
 c. Un.  
 yes  
 ‘Yes.’

In (36Ba) *un* ‘yes’ is used, and the polarity of a predicate is the same as the one in the question, (36A). However, (36A) can also be answered with (36Bb), where the polarity of the predicate is reversed from the one in the question. This is possible, if Speaker B thinks that his/her going to Ziroo Ramen restaurant is presupposed by Speaker A, but this usage of *un* ‘yes’ is not expected under Uchishiba’s analysis. The short answer consisting only

of an answer particle as in (36Bc) is ambiguous, and thus is usually avoided.

In some negative questions, positive bias shows up more clearly.

- (37) A: Nee, sanpatu si-nakat-ta?  
hey haircut do-NEG-PST  
'Hey, didn't you have your hair cut?'  
B: Un.  
'Yes.'

When Speaker A asks (37A), seeing Speaker B with a short haircut, Speaker B's short answer in (37B) is more likely to be interpreted as "he had his hair cut" than as "he did not have his hair cut." This is the same phenomenon as shown in (19A), repeated here as (38), which is an example of Holmberg's (2013a) "highest negation" in which sentences are interpreted as if negation were not present.

- (38) Q: Isn't John coming (too)? (positive bias) (= (19A))  
A: Yes. ('John is coming.')

No. ('John is not coming.')

Another example involves invitation.

- (39) A: Nee, eiga ika-nai?  
hey movie go-NEG.NPST  
'Hey, won't you go to the movies with me?'  
B: Un.  
'Yes.'

(39B) is interpreted as "Yes, I will," and the affirmative answer particle is reversing the polarity of a predicate, contrary to what Uchishiba (2014) claims. Regarding *hai/un* as the same relative polarity marker and *ie/uun* as a reverse relative polarity marker does not cover all the behavior of the answer particles.

Since Uchishiba's attempt to reconcile Kishimoto's analysis of Neg raising with the behavior of answer particles is not satisfactory, our analysis based on Holmberg's (2013a, b) analysis of negation in Japanese seems to be justified as long as it can account for the relevant data.<sup>18</sup> It is clear that the polarity induced by answer particles and the polarity expressed by predicates should be treated separately, but the position of negation still needs to be explicated, which we leave for future research.

### 3.4. Remaining Issues

#### 3.4.1. Unacceptability of Negative Concord Items in the PRC

Let us consider the behavior of Negative Concord Items (NCIs) with respect to the PRC. It appears that the NCIs do not go well with the PRC.

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<sup>18</sup> Negation in Japanese has been an important research issue and its analysis is beyond the scope of this paper, but we would like to suggest here that the problem at hand can be circumvented, if we follow Watanabe's (2004) claim that Japanese indeterminates followed by the particle *mo* are not NPIs like English *any*, but are Negative Concord Items that are licensed by clausemate negation. We can then maintain Holmberg's analysis of answers to polar questions without having to resort to overt Neg raising.

- (40) A: Nani-ka kaw-u-no?  
 anything-KA buy-NPST-Q  
 ‘Are you buying anything?’  
 B: Uun, (??nani-mo) kaw-anai kaw-anai.  
 no anything-MO buy-NEG buy-NEG  
 ‘No, I’m not buying anything.’
- (41) A: Nani-mo kaw-anai-no?  
 anything-MO buy-NEG.NPST-Q  
 ‘Aren’t you buying anything?’  
 B: Un, (??nani-mo) kaw-anai kaw-anai.  
 yes anything-MO buy-NEG buy-NEG  
 Lit. ‘Yes, I’m not buying anything.’
- (42) A: Dare-ka konsinkai-ni ik-u-no?  
 anybody-KA party-to go-NPST-Q  
 ‘Is anybody going to the party?’  
 B: Uun, (??dare-mo) ik-anai ik-anai.  
 no anybody-MO go-NEG go-NEG  
 ‘No, nobody’s going.’
- (43) A: Dare-mo konsinkai-ni ik-anai-no?  
 anybody-MO party-to go-NEG-Q  
 ‘Isn’t anybody going to the party?’  
 B: Un, (??dare-mo) ik-anai ik-anai.  
 yes anybody-MO go-NEG go-NEG  
 Lit. ‘Yes, nobody’s going.’

As discussed by Ishihara (2013), repeating the argument(s) included in a question in its answer is usually avoided for reasons of economy. Even when we replace Speaker A’s questions in (40, 41) with (44a) and those in (42, 43) with (44b) so that Speaker B’s utterance of *nani-mo/dare-mo* ‘anything-MO/anybody-MO’ occurs for the first time in discourse, the answer sentences do not seem to improve in acceptability.

- (44) a. Hon kaw-u-no/kaw-anai-no?  
 book buy-NPST-Q/buy-NEG-Q  
 ‘Are(n’t) you buying a book?’  
 b. Kono hoteru-ni tomat-teiru hito konsinkai-ni ik-u-no/ik-anai-no?  
 this hotel-at stay-PROG people party-to go-NPST-Q/go-NEG-Q  
 ‘Those who are staying at this hotel, are they going to the party?’

It may be possible to attribute the unacceptability of NCIs in the PRC to speakers’ preference to avoid multiple emphases/foci. Since the PRC occurring in an answer to a polar question emphasizes the polarity of a sentence, it is difficult to host an NCI, which would emphasize negation of a predicate.

Ishihara (2013) observes that the PRC is incompatible with *wh*-questions.

- (45) ??Dare-ga ki-ta-no ki-ta-no?  
 who-NOM come-PST-Q come-PST-Q  
 ‘Who did come?’

While the PRC focalizes the polarity of a sentence, a *wh*-word defocuses every element in a sentence except itself. The B examples in (40-43) seem to be degraded for the same reason as (45) is, though the precise characterization

of their unacceptability must be left for another occasion.

### 3.4.2. Other Types of Reduplication

In this paper we have examined question-answer pairs that involve the same predicate. In addition to these cases, there are answers that involve metalinguistic predicates.

- (46) A: Ano hito-ga hankoogenba-ni i-ta hito des-u-ka?  
that person-NOM crime.scene-at be-PST person COP.POLIT-NPST-Q  
'Is that the person who was at the crime scene?'
- B: Hai, soo-des-u soo-des-u.  
yes so-COP.POLIT-NPST so-COP.POLIT-NPST  
'Yes, that is so indeed.'
- (47) A: Kabin-o wat-ta-no-wa anata-des-u-ka?  
vase-ACC break-PST-C-TOP you-COP.POLIT-NPST-Q  
'Is it you who broke the vase?'
- B: Iie, tigail-mas-u tigail-mas-u.  
no not.so-POLIT-NPST not.so-POLIT-NPST  
'No, it is not so at all.'

These are somewhat fixed expressions dedicated to express agreement or disagreement to the proposition included in questions, and *soo-des-u* and *tigail-mas-u* go together with *hai/un* 'yes' and *iie/uun* 'no' respectively. *Tigau* 'not so' includes negation in its lexical meaning, so it is natural that it should occur with a negative answer particle. When it is not used metalinguistically, as in (48), then it can co-occur with *hai/un* 'yes' just like ordinary cases we have been dealing with.

- (48) A: Kore tigail-mas-u-ka?  
this not.so-POLIT-NPST-Q  
'Is this not so?'
- B: Hai, tigail-mas-u tigail-mas-u.  
yes not.so-POLIT-NPST not.so-POLIT-NPST  
Lit. 'Yes, it is not so at all.'

Another type of reduplication construction we have not touched on thus far involves reduplication of answer particles.

- (49) A: Kore deki-mas-u-ka?  
this can.do-POLIT-NPST-Q  
'Can you do this?'
- B: a. Hai hai, deki-mas-u deki-mas-u.  
yes yes can.do-POLIT-NPST can.do-POLIT-NPST  
'Yes, yes, I really can do this.'
- b. Ie ie, deki-mas-en deki-mas-en.  
no no can.do-POLIT-NEG can.do-POLIT-NEG  
'No, no, I really can't do this.'

We have proposed to derive predicate reduplication by raising a predicate to SA. If the reduplication of answer

particles should be derived in a similar way, we would end up having two sentences with two SAs in (49Ba, b), which is not what we want. We suggest that the reduplicated answer particles are lexicalized. The number of such items is very limited, and they have idiosyncratic properties characteristic of lexical items: the reduplication of a contracted form, *ie ie* ‘no no,’ is allowed as in (49Bb) in contrast to the reduplication of a non-contracted *\*ie ie*, or a more informal *\*uun uun*.<sup>19</sup>

Various kinds of repetition of words are observed besides the PRC.

- (50) a. Otto, saihu saihu. (noun)  
 Oh purse purse  
 ‘Oh, (I shouldn’t forget) my purse.’
- b. Sore sore. (pronoun)  
 it it  
 ‘That’s it.’
- c. Doko doko? (wh-word)  
 where where  
 ‘Where is it?’
- d. Nee nee. (interjection/address)  
 hey hey  
 ‘Hey!’
- e. Doomo doomo. (greeting)  
 thanks thanks  
 ‘Thank you very much.’

Questions as to how these examples should be treated and whether or not the reduplication of answer particles should be categorized with them await future research.

#### 4. Conclusion

This paper has shown that the acceptability of the PRC in answers to polar questions cannot be determined just by looking at the form of predicates that undergo reduplication. Rather it is necessary to pay attention to the context in which it occurs, including the corresponding questions and answer particles. We have shown that the target of emphasis in the PRC in answers to polar questions is not a negative morpheme in the predicate, but a polarity feature in Pol, the value of which is determined by an answer particle. By combining Ishihara’s (2013) analysis of the PRC with Holmberg’s (2013a, b) analysis of answers to polar questions, which treats low negation independently of Pol, we have successfully accounted for the fact that the PRC is possible in answers to polar questions when Pol has an affirmative feature or when Pol contains a negative nonpast morpheme *nai*. This revision has left other components of Ishihara’s (2013) analysis intact, so all the data covered by her analysis are explained under the current proposal as well.

The PRC occurs only in colloquial speech and thus discourse properties cannot be ignored in its analysis. We have relied on negative questions to show that the polarity of answer particles and the form of predicates in polar questions play an important role in the derivation of the PRC in their answers, and have argued for postulating a complex syntactic structure for the PRC preceded by answer particles. However, interpreting and answering negative questions is a complex matter. Answers to them are often affected by what the speaker thinks is presupposed by a person who casts a question and what answer s/he thinks is expected of him/her. In addition

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<sup>19</sup> Kazumi Matsuoka (p. c.) has pointed out to me that *hai hai* ‘yes, yes’ has a scornful implication that *hai* alone does not, which can also be taken as an indication of its lexicalized nature.

judgment on sentences including answer particles is somewhat blurred due to the influence of English education. A cursory look at data seems to suggest that the choice of complementizers and the use of clefts affect grammaticality of negative questions and their answers, but how much of the properties of negative questions and their answers can, or should, be treated within the purview of the syntax rather than semantics or pragmatics is an issue that is left for further research.

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