

Copular Short Answers and Speech-Act Phrase in Japanese

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Introduction

Introduction

Theme of SICOGG 25:

The Syntax and Semantics of Polarity and Questions

Goal:

- Presenting unprecedented empirical data for Japanese **copulative short-answers**
- Arguing that there are **two** distinct anaphoras that differ in size in syntax.

Introduction

Main data (approximate translation in English)

(1) Speaker A: Didn't Ken run?

Speaker B: a. (It) is **so**. (So-Anaphora Answers, SAA)
b. (It) is . (Copular Short Answers, CSA)

Claim:

(2) While, semantically, they appear similar, they involve **different syntactic derivations**.

Introduction

Outline

Introduction

Data

Proposal

Analysis

Conclusion

Data

Data

(3) Speaker A: Ken-wa hasiri-**masi**-ta-ka-ne?
Ken-TOP run-HON-PAST-Q-SFP

‘Did Ken run, didn’t he?’

Speaker B: a. **Soo-** **da**-ne. (SAA)
so- **COP**-SFP

‘(It) is so (= He ran).’

b. **Da**-ne. (CSA)
COP-SFP

‘(It) is (= He ran).’

Data

Similarities: *honorifics* does not make any difference

(4) Speaker A: Ken-wa hasiri-**masi**-ta-ka-ne?
Ken-TOP run-HON-PAST-Q-SFP

‘Did Ken run, didn’t he?’

Speaker B: a. **Soo-** **desu**-ne. (SAA)
so- **COP(HON)**-SFP

‘(It) is so (= He ran).’

b. **Desu**-ne. (CSA)
COP(HON)-SFP

‘(It) is (= He ran).’

Data

Similarities: *polarity* does not make any difference

(5) Speaker A: Ken-wa hasiri-mas-**en**-desi-ta-ka-ne?
Ken-TOP run-HON-**NEG**-COP(HON)-PAST-Q-SFP

‘Did Ken **not** run, did he?’

Speaker B: a. **Soo-** {**da/desu**}-ne. (SAA)
so- **COP**-SFP

‘(It) is so (= He did **not** run).’

b. {**Da/desu**}-ne. (CSA)
COP-SFP

‘(It) is (= He did **not** run).’

Data

Naive analysis:

(6) **Naive hypothesis:** **Soo** is optionally deleted.

This hypothesis is, however, untenable, given their differences:

Data

Differences:

Observation 1: Co-occurring phrases

(Sakamoto 2020)

→ **An object** cannot co-occur with a *soo* replacement.

- (7) a. **Rubii-o** Taroo-wa [_{VP}[_{CP} Hanako-ga ***t_i*** nusun-da to] danteisi]-ta.
Ruby-ACC Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM steal-PST C assert-PST

‘**A Ruby_i**, Taro asserted that Hanako stole ***t_i***.’

- b. * **Daiamondo-j-o** Ziroo-wa [_{VP} ***soo***-si]-ta.
Diamond-ACC Ziro-TOP so-do-PST

‘**A diamond**, Ziro did so.’

Data

Differences:

Observation 1: Co-occurring phrases

(Sakamoto 2020)

→ **A subject** can co-occur with a *soo* replacement.

(8) a. [Akai nanika]_i-ga [dono heya-ni-mo *ti* ok]-are-ta-no-wa sitteita-ga,
red something-NOM every room-in-MO put-PASS-PST-C-TOP knew-but

‘I knew that something red was put in every room, but...’

b. [Aoi nanika]_j-ga [_{VP} *soo*-s]-are-ta-no-wa siranakatta.
blue something-NOM SO-DO-PASS-PAST-C-TOP know.not

‘I didn’t know that something blue was done so.’

Data

Differences:

Observation 1: Co-occurring phrases

- (9) A: [Kinoo-wa zen'in-ga [eigo-o zyoozuni hanas-e-masi]-ta-ne].
yesterday-TOP all-NOM English-ACC well speak-CAN-HON-PST-SFP
'Yesterday, everyone could speak English well.'
- B: a. (Kinoo-wa) (zen'in-ga) (*eigo-o) [soo]-{dat/desi}-ta-ne.
yesterday-TOP all-NOM English-ACC SO-COP/COP(HON)-PST-SFP
'(Yesterday, everyone,) (it) is/was so.'
- b. (*Kinoo-wa) (*zen'in-ga) (*eigo-o) [ϕ]{dat/desi}-ta-ne.
yesterday-TOP all-NOM English-ACC COP/COP(HON)-PST-SFP
'(It) is/was.'

Data

Differences:

Observation 2: Embedded uses

The *no* clause can embed a **soo** phrase, but not **null soo** (φ).

(10) A: Ken-ga kita?
Ken-NOM came
'Did Ken come?'

B: a. [**Soo**-dat-ta-**no-ka**]-wa wakaranai.
SO-COP-PST-C-Q-FOC know.not
'I don't know if (it) was so.'

b. * [Dat-ta-**no-ka**]-wa wakaranai.
COP-PST-C-Q-FOC know.not
'I don't know if (it) was.'

Data

Differences:

Observation 3: Interaction with a sentence-final particle (SFP)

CSA is ungrammatical without a SFP. But SAA is not.

(11) A: Ken-ga kita?
Ken-NOM came
'Did Ken come?'

B: a. **Soo**-{da/desu} ({**yo/ne** }).
SO-COP/COP(HON) SFP
'It is so.'

b. {Da/desu} * ({**yo/ne** }).
 COP/COP(HON) SFP
'(Lit.) It is.'

Data

Differences:

Observation 4: Co-occurrence with a negation marker

CSA cannot be followed by a negation marker.

(12)A: Ken-ga kita?
Ken-NOM came
‘Did Ken come?’

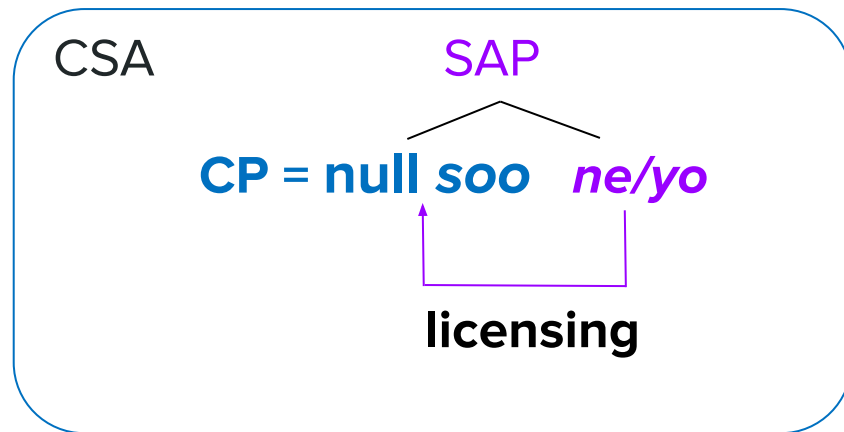
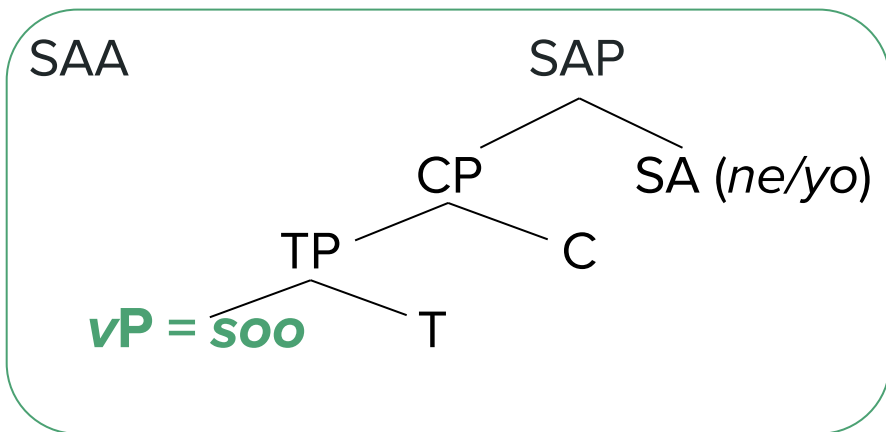
B: a. [[**Soo**-de]-wa **nai**]-desu-ne.
SO-COP-FOC NEG-COP(HON)-SFP
‘It is not so.’

b. * [[De]-wa **nai**]-desu-ne.
COP-FOC NEG-COP(HON)-SFP
‘(Lit.) It is not.’

Proposal

Proposal

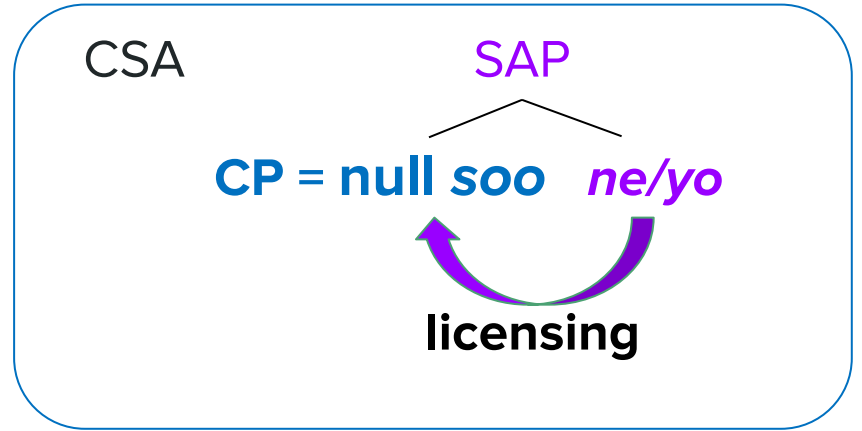
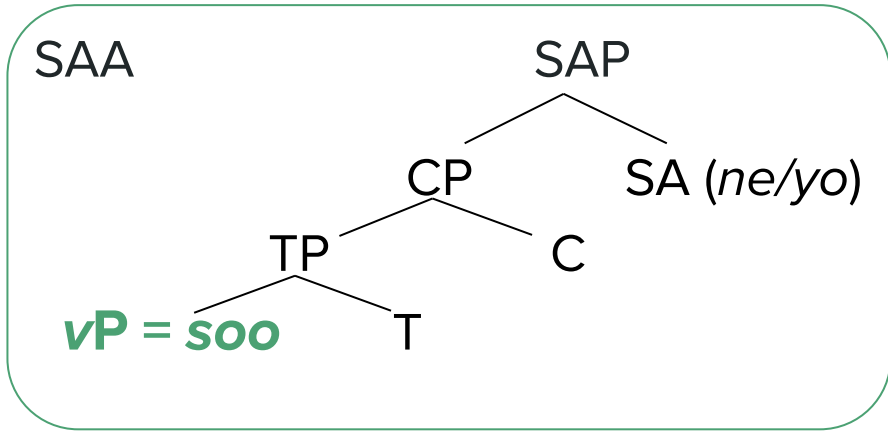
- **soo** in SAA replaces **vP**, while **null soo (φ)** in CSA replaces **CP**
- **null soo (φ)** needs to be licensed by **the overt SA, whose morphological realization can be a sentence-final particle (SFP)**



Analysis

Proposal

- **soo** in SAA replaces **vP**, while **null soo (φ)** in CSA replaces **CP**



Analysis : the position of **soo**/**null soo** (φ)

- **soo** in SAA replaces **vP**, while **null soo** (φ) in CSA replaces **CP**

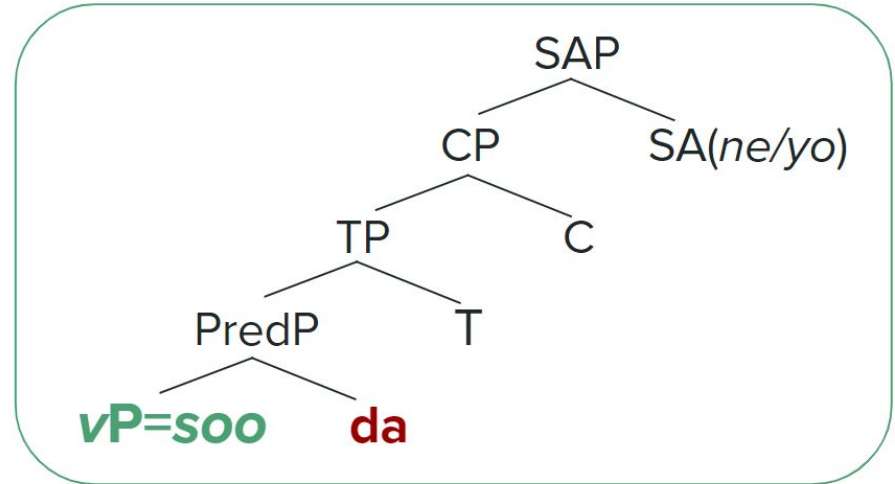
(3) A: Ken-wa hasiri-masi-ta-ka-ne?
Ken-TOP run-HON-PAST-Q-SFP

‘Did Ken run?’

B: a. **Soo-da** ne.

SO-COP/COP(HON) SFP

‘(It) is so.’ (SAA)



Analysis: the positions of **soo**/**null soo** (φ)

- **soo** in SAA replaces **vP**, while **null soo** (φ) in CSA replaces **CP**

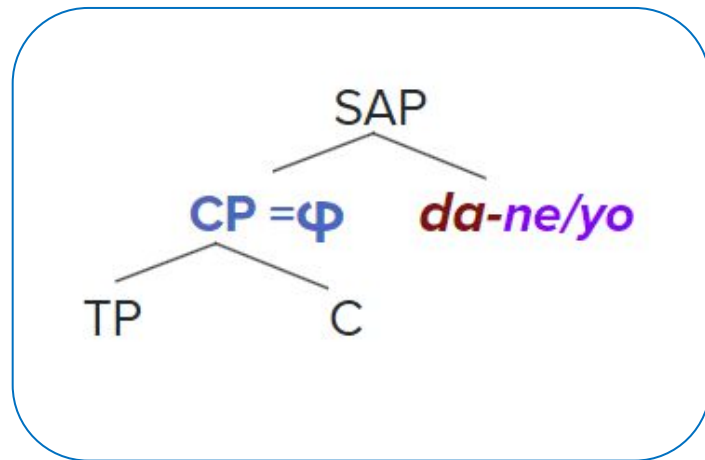
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Ken-TOP run-HON-PAST-Q-SFP

‘Did Ken run?’

B: b. **da ne**

COP SFP

‘(It) is.’ (CSA)



Analysis: the position of **soo**

- **soo** in SAA replaces **vP**, while **null soo (φ)** in CSA replaces **CP**

(9) A: [**Kinoo-wa** **zen'in-ga** [**eigo-o** **zyoozuni** **hanas-e-masi**]-ta-ne].
yesterday-TOP all-NOM English-ACC well speak-CAN-HON-PST-SFP
'Yesterday, everyone could speak English well.'

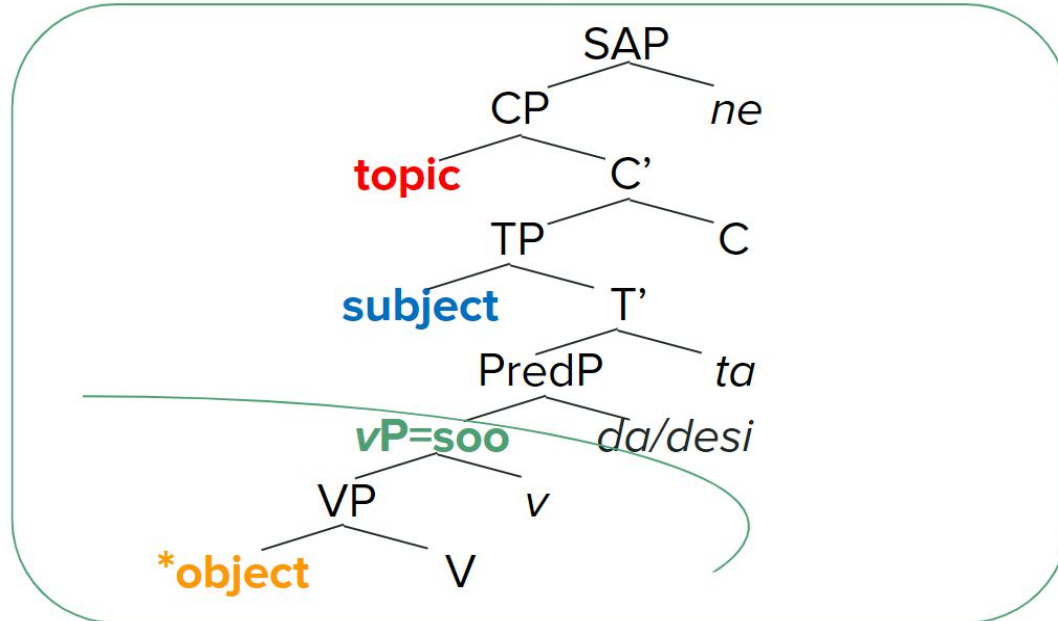
B: a. (**Kinoo-wa**) (**zen'in-ga**) (***eigo-o**) [**soo**]-{dat/desi}-ta-ne.
yesterday-TOP all-NOM English-ACC SO-COP/COP(HON)-PST-SFP
'(Lit.) (Yesterday, everyone,) (it) is/was so.'

[[CP **topic** [TP **subject** [vP = **soo** ***object**]-COP T] C] SA]

Analysis: the position of **soo**

- **soo** in SAA replaces **vP**, while **null soo (φ)** in CSA replaces **CP**

(9) B: a. **(Kinoo-wa)** **(zen'in-ga)** **(*eigo-o)** **[soo]**-[dat/desi]-ta-ne.
 yesterday-TOP all-NOM English-ACC SO-COP/COP(HON)-PST-SFP



Analysis: the position of **null soo** (φ)

- **soo** in SAA replaces **vP**, while **null soo** (φ) in CSA replaces **CP**

(9) A: [[**Kinoo-wa** **zen'in-ga** **eigo-o** zyoozuni hanas-e-masi-ta]-ne].
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'Yesterday, everyone could speak English well.'

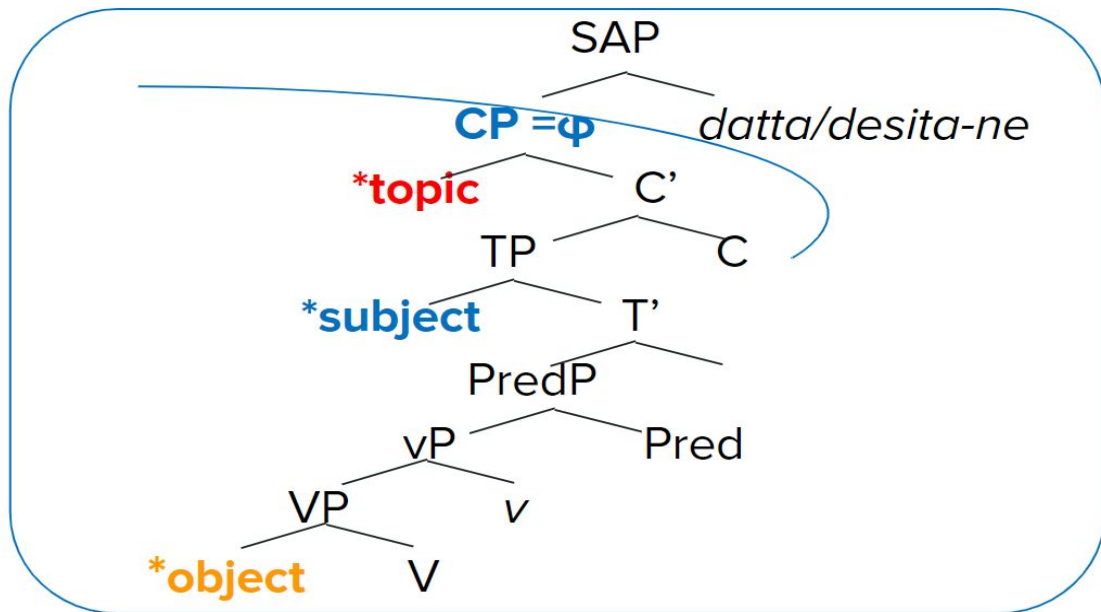
B: b. (***Kinoo-wa**) (***zen'in-ga**) (***eigo-o**) {dat/desi}-ta-ne.
yesterday-TOP all-NOM English-ACC COP/COP(HON)-PST-SFP
'(Lit.) (Yesterday, everyone,) (it) is/was.'

[[**CP = φ** ***topic** ***subject** ***object**] COP SA]

Analysis: the position of **null soo** (φ)

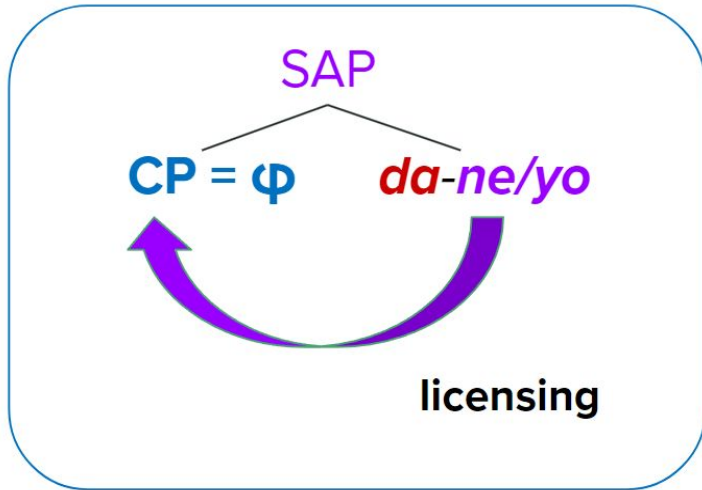
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(9) B: b. (***Kinoo-wa**) (***zen'in-ga**) (***eigo-o**) {dat/desi}-ta-ne.
 yesterday-TOP all-NOM English-ACC COP/COP(HON)-PST-SFP



Proposal

- **null soo** (φ) in CSA needs to be licensed by **the overt SA, whose morphological realization can be a sentence-final particle (SFP)**



Cf. VP-Ellipsis must be the complement of
a morphologically realized T head.

(Potsdam 1997)₃₀

Analysis: licensing of **null soo** (φ) by the overt SA/SFP

Empirical support 1: short answers with only SFP

(13) A: (John-wa) hasiri-masi-ta yo ne.
(John-TOP) run-HON-PAST-Q SFP SFP
'Did John run, didn't he?'

B: (**da/desu**) **ne**.
(COP/COP(HON) SFP
'(Intended) It is so.'

Analysis: licensing of **null soo (φ)** by **the overt SA/SFP**

Empirical support 2: CSA is ungrammatical without a SFP. But SAA is not.

(11) A: Ken-ga kita?
Ken-NOM came
'Did Ken come?'

B: a. **Soo**-{da/desu} ({**yo/ne**}).
SO-COP/COP(HON) SFP
'It is so.'

b. {Da/desu} * ({**yo/ne**}).
COP/COP(HON) SFP
'(Lit.) It is.'

Analysis: licensing of **null soo** (φ) by the overt SA/SFP

Empirical support 3: Embedded uses

The *no* clause can embed a **soo** phrase, but not **null soo** (φ).

(10) A: Ken-ga kita?
Ken-NOM came
'Did Ken come?'

B: a. [**Soo**-dat-ta-**no-ka**]-wa wakaranai.
SO-COP-PST-C-Q-FOC know.not
'I don't know if (it) was so.'

b. * [**Dat-ta-no-ka**]-wa wakaranai.
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'I don't know if (it) was.'

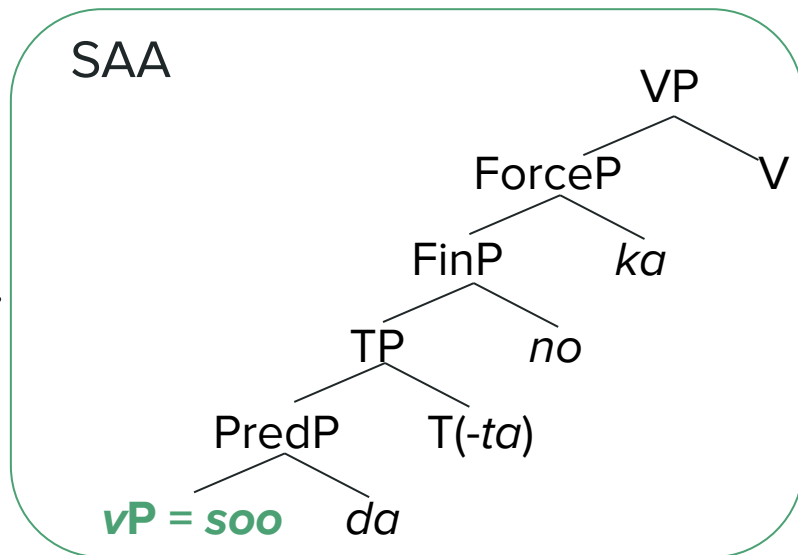
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'I don't know if (it) was so.' (SAA)



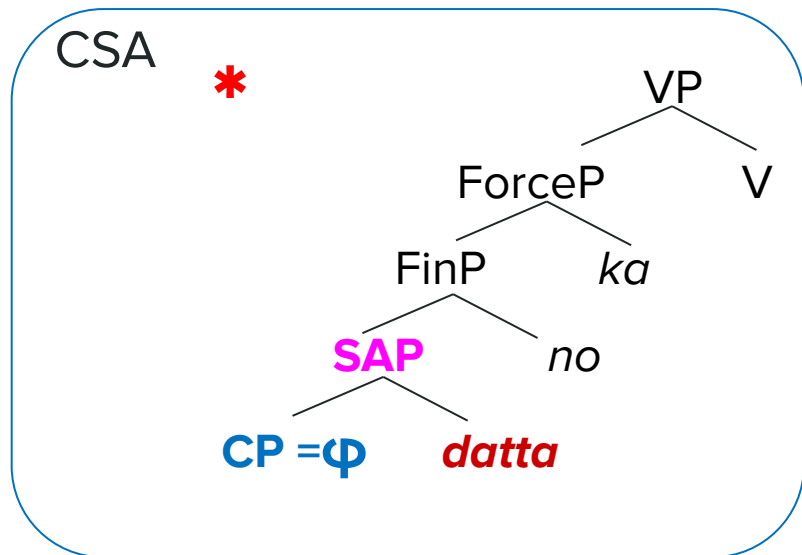
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(10) A: Ken-ga kita?
Ken-NOM came
'Did Ken come?'

B: b. ***[Dat-ta-no-ka]**-wa wakaranai.
COP-PST-C-Q-FOC know.not
'I don't know if (it) was.' (CSA)



Analysis: Co-occurrence with a negation marker

CSA cannot be followed by a negation marker.

- (12) A: Ken-ga kita?
Ken-NOM came
‘Did Ken come?’
- B: a. [[**Soo-de**]-wa **nai**]-**desu**-ne.
SO-COP-FOC NEG-COP(HON)-SFP
‘(It) is not so.’
- b. *[[**De**]-wa **nai**]-**desu**-ne.
COP-FOC NEG-COP(HON)-SFP
‘(Lit.) (It) is not.’

Previous literature: Distinct positions for *desu* (Miyagawa 2022, Yamada 2023).

(14) [SAP [CP [TP [NegP [PredP [vP V] **desu**] Neg] T] **desu**] ne]

Analysis: Co-occurrence with a negation marker

CSA cannot be followed by a negation marker.

- (12) A: Ken-ga kita?
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- B: a. [[**Soo-de**]-wa **nai**]-**desu**-ne.
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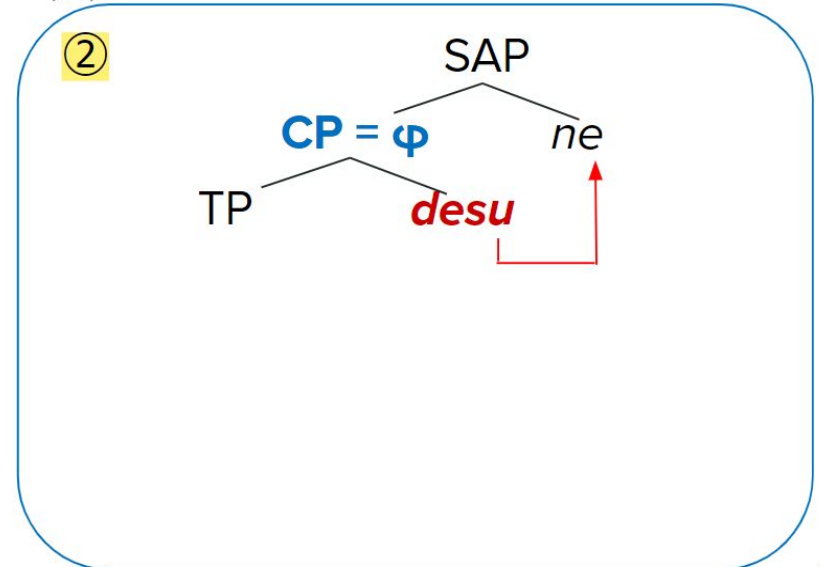
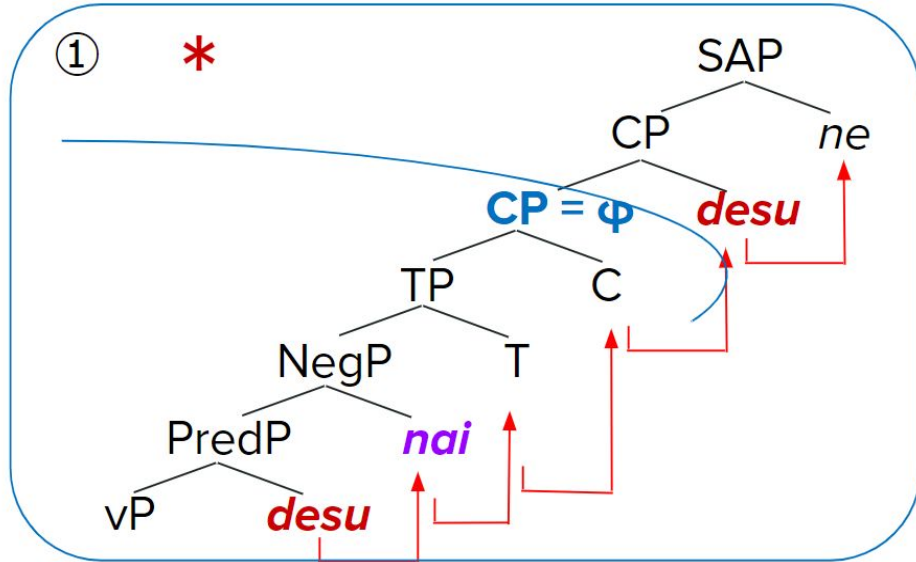
- (15) [SAP [CP [TP [NegP [PredP [vP = soo] **desu**] Neg] T] **desu**] ne]

Analysis: Co-occurrence with a negation marker

CSA cannot be followed by a negation marker.

(13) A: Ken-ga kita?
 Ken-NOM came
 'Did Ken come?'

B: a. *[[**De**]-wa **nai**]-**desu**-ne.
 COP-TOP NEG-COP(HON)-SFP
 '(It) is not.'



Extension: SAA/CSA in Korean? (p.c. An Duk-Ho)

(16) A: Ken-i tali-ess-ci?

Ken-NOM run-PST-CI

‘Ken ran, didn’t he?’

B: a. Kuleh-ci. b. *i-ci.

so-CI.

COP-CI

‘It is so.’

‘(Lit.) is’

• When a question ends with *-ci*, the speaker is biased for a positive response.

• In Korean, the sequence “so+copula” is unattested. The copula can only be used after a noun. After other categories, it is not overtly realized. Whatever “so” is, it is not a noun. The overt copula cannot follow so.

• Normally, the copula in Korean behaves like a suffix. It should be attached to the preceding noun.

Conclusion

Conclusion

- **soo** in SAA replaces **vP**, while **null soo (φ)** in CSA replaces **CP**
- **null soo (φ)** needs to be licensed by **the overt SA, whose morphological realization can be a sentence-final particle (SFP)**

Empirical differences between SAA and CSA

- (i) compatibility with the topic and subject
- (ii) sensitivity to the embedding C
- (iii) requirement of the sentence final particles
- (iv) compatibility with the negation

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