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Wh-NP Rhetorical Questions in Japanese and Chinese[*]

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1. Introduction

This paper explores negative rhetorical questions (RQs) using *nani-ga* 'what-NOM' and *doko-ga* 'where-NOM' in Japanese as in (1), and also RQs with the Chinese *shenme* 'what' and *nali* 'where.' I propose that these RQs with *nani-ga* and *doko-ga* as well as Chinese *shenme* are copula sentences and have an embedded structure as in (2), in which any types of predicates can occur.

(1)   Nani-ga/Doko-ga   Kenji-ni   eigo-ga   hanaseru

              What-NOM/where-NOM   Kenji-DAT   English-NOM   speak

              tte   iuno!

              Quot   say.C

              'Why do you say that Keniji can speak English? (He cannot speak English.)'

                                                          [Japanese; Yamadera 2010:166]

(2)   [CP[TP[CP[TP[DP Nani-ga/Doko-ga] [PredP[CP/TP (in)direct quoted phrases]]] te] (anata) iu] no]
                 What-NOM/where-NOM   quote (you) say C

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 discusses previous research and basic data. Section 3 provides more data from Chinese and presents comparisons of the negative *wh*-construction between Japanese and Chinese. Some structures of *Nani-ga/Doko-ga* in Japanese and their counterparts in Chinese are proposed in Section 4. Section 5 concludes this paper.

2. Basic Data and Previous Research

Examples of *nani-ga* 'what-NOM', and *doko-ga* 'where-NOM' in Japanese are shown in (3) and examples of the Chinese *shenme* 'what' and *nali* 'where' are provided in (4). These *wh*-questions are used in a context where the speaker disagrees with what has just been heard.

(3)   Hanako: Kare-ga   taoreteru yo.

                He-NOM   fall.down C

'He has fallen down.'

Taro: Nani-ga/doko-ga   kare-ga   taoreteiru tte.

     What-NOM/where-NOM he-NOM fall.down C

     'Why do you say that he has fallen down? (He has not fallen down.)'

(4)   Zhang san: Ta   yao   dao.

              He   will   fall.down

              'He will fall down.'

       Limei: Shenme ta   yao   dao.

              What   he   will   fall.down.

              'Why do you say that he will fall down? (He will not fall down.)'

Cheung (2009) discusses mainly *where/how/when* in RQs "negative *wh*(NWH)-word" as in (5), which expresses the speaker's negative assertion in a particular situation so that "NWH-word+*p*" is paraphrased as "No way *p*" or "It is not true that *P*."[1]

(5)   a. Koei   bindou   jau   hai   tousyugun   sik je   aa?! [Cantonese]

       he   where   have   be.at   library   eat thing Q

       'No way did he eat anything in the library.'

      b. Kare-no doko-ga   1 meetoru 80 senti   na   no?!   [Japanese]

       he-Gen where-Nom   1 meter 80 centimeter   Decl Q

       'No way is he 6 feet tall.' (lit. 'Where of him is 1.80m?!')   (Cheung 2009:310)

While Cheung (2009) provides a Japanese example of *kare-no doko-ga* 'where of him,' Yamadera (2010) illustrates some examples with *nani-ga* 'what-NOM' and she mentions that it can alternate with *doko-ga* 'where-NOM.'

(6)   Nani-ga/Doko-ga   Kenji-ni   eigo-ga   hanaseru

       What-NOM/where-NOM   Kenji-DAT   English-NOM   speak

       tte   iunoyo!

       Quot   say.C

    'Why do you say that Keniji can speak English? (He cannot speak English.)'

                                                       (Yamadera 2010:166)

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[1] Cheung (2009) also suggests that the negative *wh*-constructions should be analyzed as interrogative questions. See Cheung (2009) for details.

The *wh*-NPs appear with noun phrases as in (7) and (8), transitives as in (9), intransitives as in (10), unaccusatives as in (11), passive sentences as in (12), and adjectives as in (13) and (14). Yamadera (2010) proposes that these *wh*-NPs can occur with any types of predicates.

(7)   Nani-ga/doko-ga   datsukanryoseiji   na   no?
        What-NOM/where-NOM   non-bureaucratic.government is   Q
        'Why do you say that it is a non-bureaucratic government? (It is not.)'
                                                                        (See Yamadera 2010:166)

(8)   Nani-ga/doko-ga   kinenchu   da!
        What-NOM/where-NOM   off.cigarette   is
        'Why do you say that she/he is off cigarettes? (She/he is not.)'   (ibid.)

(9)   Nani-ga/doko-ga   anata-ga   heya-o   soujishitat   te.
        What-NOM/where-NOM   you-NOM   room-ACC cleaned   Quote
        'Why do you say that you cleaned the room? (You didn't clean it.)'   (ibid.)

(10)   Nani-ga/doko-ga   anata-ga   hashitta   te.
        What-NOM/where-NOM   you-NOM   ran   Quote
        'Why do you say that you ran? (You didn't run.)'

(11)   Nani-ga/doko-ga   tsunami-ga   kurut   te.
        What-NOM/where-NOM   tsunami-NOM   come   Quote
        'Why do you say that tsunami will come? (It won't.)'   (Yamadera 2010:166)

(12)   Nani-ga/doko-ga   watashi-ga   yugusarete   te
        What-NOM/where-NOM   I-NOM   be.treated.favorably   Quote
        iu   no.
        say   Q
        'Why do you say that I am treated favorably? (I'm not.)'   (ibid.)

(13)   Nani-ga/doko-ga   kare-ga   yasashi   noyo.
        NOM/where-NOM he-Nom   kind   C
        'Why do you say that he is kind? (He is not.)'

(14)   Nani-ga/doko-ga   Shinjuku-ga   yake-ga   kirei
        what-NOM/where-NOM   Shinjuku-Nom   night.view-Nom   beautiful
        na   no.
        is   Q
        'Why do you say that the night view of Shinjuku is beautiful?'   (Yamadera 2010:166)

Furthermore, for major subject construction, *nani-ga* occurs at a position higher than the major subject *Shinjuku-ga* 'Shinjuku-NOM' as in (15). Thus, Yamadera (2010) concludes that *nani-ga* is in

the CP area and analyzes it as an adjunct.

(15) a. Nani-ga   Shinjuku-ga   yakei-ga   kireina   no.
          What-NOM   Shinjuku-NOM   night.view-NOM   beautiful   C
       'Why do you say that it is Shinjuku that a night view is beautiful?'
      b. ??Shinjuku-ga   nani-ga   yakei-ga   kireina   no.
          Shinjuku-NOM   what-NOM   night.view-NOM   beautiful   C
       'Why do you say that it is Shinjuku that a night view is beautiful?'
      c. *Shinjuku-ga   yakei-ga   nani-ga   kireina   no.
          Shinjuku-NOM   night.view-NOM   what-NOM   beautiful   C
       'Why do you say that it is Shinjuku that a night view is beautiful?'   (Yamadera 2010:171)

Although Yamadera (2010) argues that *nani-ga* is an adjunct and it can occur with any types of predicates, in this paper, I discuss *nani-ga/doko-ga* in Japanese and the Chinese *shenme* 'what' and propose that these *wh*-questions are copula sentences and have an embedded structure, in which even direct quotes can occur.

3.   More Data on the Negative *Wh*-Constructions in Chinese and Japanese

As Yamadera (2010) illustrates, *nani-ga/doko-ga* can occur with any types of predicates, which is also the case in Chinese. Chinese *shenme* and *nali* can appear with a nominal predicate as in (16), adjectives in (17), intransitives in (18), transitives in (19), unaccusatives in (20), and passives as in (21).

(16)   a. Shenme ta   shi   yisheng.   (Noun Phrase)
           What   he   is   doctor
        b. Ta   nali   shi   yisheng   a.
           He   where   is   doctor   C
        'Why do you say that he is a doctor? (He is not.)'
(17)   a. Shenme ta   wenrou.   (adjective)
           What   he   kind
        b. Ta   nali   wenrou.
           He   where   kind
        'Why do you say that he is kind? (He is not.)'
(18)   a. Shenme ta   zai   pao.   (intransitive)
           what   he   Prog   run
        b. Ta   nali   zai   pao

He   where   Prog   run

'Why do you say that he is running? (He is not.)'

(19)   a. Ta   hui   shuo   shenme   yingyu.   (transitive)

He   can   speak   what   English

b. Ta   nali   hui   shuo   yingyu.

He   where   can   speak   English

'Why do you say that he can speak English? (He cannot.)'

(20)   a. Ta   yao   dao   shenme   a.   (unaccusative)

He   will   fall.down   what   C

b. Ta   nali   yao   dao   (a/le).

He   where   will   fall.down   C

'Why do you say that he will fall down? (He will not fall down.)'

(21)   a. Ta   bei   haozi   da   shenme   le.   (passive)

He   Pass   Hanako   hit   what   past.

b. Ta   nali   bei   haozi   da   le.

He   where   Pass   Hanako   hit   past.

'Why do you say that he was hit by Hanako? (He was not.)'

So far, Japanese *nani-ga/doko-ga* and Chinese *shemne/nali* share the same properties; however, there are two noteworthy points here. First, while in Japanese these negative *wh*-NPs co-occur with direct quotes as in (22-3), Chinese *nali* is not allowed to co-occur with direct quotes unlike Chinese *shenme*. See the Chinese examples in (24-5).

Japanese

(22)   Nani-ga/?Doko-ga   [watashi-ga   omiyage-o   takusan   kattekuru

What-NOM/where-NOM   I-TOP   souvenir   a.lot   buy

ne]   yo.

C   C

'Why do you say "I will buy a lot of souvenirs" ?'

(23)   Nani-ga/Doko-ga   [boku-wa kimi-o   aishiteiru ndayo]   yo.

What-NOM/where-NOM   I-TOP   you-ACC love   C   C

'Why do you say "I love you, you know" ?'

Nali, which has to follow a subject, cannot occur with direct quotes as indicated in (25) as opposed to the indirect case as in (26).

Chinese

(24) a. Shenme [wo   ai   ni   ya]   a.
         What   I   love   you   C   C
         'Why do you say "I love you, " ?'
      b. [Wo   ai   ni   ya]   shenme. a
          I   love   you   C   what   C
(25) a. *Wo   nali   ai   ni   ya
         I   where   love   you   C
         'Why do you say "I love you" ?'
      b. *Nali   wo   ai   ni   ya
         where   I   love   you   C
(26)   Ni   nali   ai   wo   ya
         you   where   love   me   C
         'Why do you say that you love me?'

Second, in Japanese, predicates with noun phrases can appear with these *wh*-NPs as in (27); whereas, in Chinese, *shenme* is allowed as in (28), but not *nali* as illustrated in (29). *Nali* follows a subject as in (30).

(27)   Nani-ga/doko-ga   datsukanryoseiji   na   no?
         What-NOM/where-NOM   non-bureaucratic.government COP   Q
         'Why do you say that it is a non-bureaucratic government? (It is not.)'

                                                          [Japanese; See Yamadera 2010:166]
(28) a. Yisheng shenme   a.   [Chinese]
         Doctor what   C
      b. Shenme yisheng   a.
         'Why do you say that he is a doctor? (He is not.)'
(29) a. *Nali   yisheng   a.
         Where   doctor   C
      b. *yisheng nali   a.
         'Why do you say that he is a doctor? (He is not.)'
(30)   Ta   nali   shi   yisheng   a.
         He   where   is   doctor   C
         'Why do you say that he is a doctor? (He is not.)'

Nani-ga/doko-ga 'what/where' in Japanese and *shenme* 'what' in Chinese behave in a similar

fashion; whereas, *nali* 'where' in Chinese shows different characteristics. The next section discusses the structures of these *wh*-questions.

4. Structures of the Negative *Wh*-Constructions in Japanese and Chinese

　　Based on the data in the previous section, we will consider the structures for *wh*-questions with *nani-ga*/*dokoga* in Japanese and Chinese *shenme* and *nali*. *Nani-ga* can be used as ordinary questions (OQs) as seen in (31) and the structures are shown in (32); these sentences are copula constructions and *na* or *da* is a Pred head. Regardless of whether it denotes OQ or RQ, the underlying structure is the same according to Cheung (2009) and Caponigro and Sprouse (2007). Sentences in question for using *nani-ga* and *doko-ga* in (33) are illustrated in (34). The (in)direct quoted phrases occupy the complement position of PredP.

(31)　　Speaker: nani-ga　　　　　ichibanninki　　　nano?
　　　　　　　　What-NOM　　　the.most.popular　C
　　　　　　　　'What is the most popular?'
　　　　Addressee: Kono hon-ga　　ichibanninki　　　da.
　　　　　　　　This.book-NOM the.most.popular　COP
　　　　　　　　'This book is the most popular.'

(32)　　a. [CP [TP [DP Nani-ga]　　　[PredP [DP ichibanninki]　　　na]]　　no]
　　　　　　　What-NOM　　　　　　　　the.most.popular　COP　　C
　　　　　　　'What is the most popular?'
　　　　b. [CP [TP [DP Kono hon-ga]　　[PredP [DP ichibanninki]　　　da]]]
　　　　　　　This.book-NOM　　　　　　　the.most.popular　COP
　　　　　　　'This book is the most popular.'

(33)　　a. Nani-ga/Doko-ga　　　　　Taro-ga　　　　yasashi　noyo
　　　　　　What-NOM/where-NOM　Taro-NOM　　　kind　　　C
　　　　　　'Why do you say that Taro is kind? (He is not.)'
　　　　b. Nani-ga/Doko-ga　　　　　Taro-ga　　　　yasashit　te　　　iu noyo
　　　　　　What-NOM/where-NOM　Taro-NOM　　　kind　　　Quote　say.C
　　　　　　'Why do you say that Taro is kind? (He is not.)'

(34)　　a. [CP[TP[DP Nani-ga/Doko-ga] [PredP [CP/TP (in)direct quoted phrases] na]] noyo]
　　　　　　　What-NOM/where-NOM　　　　　　　　　　　　　　COP C
　　　　b. [CP[TP[CP[TP[DP Nani-ga/Doko-ga][PredP[CP/TP (in)direct quoted phrases]]] te] (anata) iu] no]
　　　　　　　What-NOM/where-NOM　　　　　　　　　　　　　quote (you) say.C

　　Chinese *shenme* can appear with direct quotes and nominal predicates, in which case, the

structure for the *wh*-question using *shenme* is considered to be the same as (34) in Japanese. Examples of *shenme* in OQs are illustrated in (35). The example of the negative *wh*-construction and its structure are shown in (36).

(35)　　a. Shenme　zui　　　youqu.
　　　　　What　　most　　interesting
　　　　'What is the most interesting?'
　　　　b. Zhe ben shu　　　zui　　　you qu.
　　　　　This.book　　　most　　interesting
　　　　'This book is the most interesting.'

(36)　　a. Shenme　　　ta　　　wenrou.
　　　　　What　　　　he　　　kind
　　　　　'Why do you say that he is kind? (He is not.)'
　　　　b. [CP[TP[DP shenme]　[PredP [CP/TP (in)direct quoted phrases]]]

For the Chinese *nali*, from observations so far, it would seem that it cannot appear with direct quotes as in (25). But, if an OQ is with *nali*, an analysis might yield that a genitive *de* is omitted since the answer has a genitive marker as illustrated in (37). However, *nali* appears where *de* is prohibited such as in (38). This *nali* in question is different from *-de nali*. Therefore, the conclusion is that Chinese *nali* occupies a position following a subject and its position is restricted in contrast to the Japanese *nani-ga/doko-ga* or Chinese *shenme*.

(37)　　Speaker:　Ta　　(de)　　nali　　hao.
　　　　　　　　　He　　GEN　　where　　good
　　　　　　　　　'Where of him is good?'
　　　　Addressee: Ta　　de　　xing ge　　　hao.
　　　　　　　　　He　　GEN　　personality　　good
　　　　　　　　　'lit. His personality is good.'

(38)　　Ta　　(*de)　　nali　　zhu　　zai　　riben?
　　　　　He　　GEN　　where　　live　　in　　Japan
　　　　'Why do you say that he lives in Japan? (He does not.)'

Before concluding this paper, consider the inner island effect. Since the *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* 'what-ACC' meaning 'why' exhibits the inner island effect as in (39a) unlike the *wh*-argument or *why* as shown in (40) and (39b), respectively; the Chinese shows the same restriction as represented in (41) and (42).

(39)　　　a. *Taro-wa　　　　nani-o　　　　　　hashi-tte　inai　　　no?[2]　[Japanese: wh-adjunct]

　　　　　　　Taro-TOP　　　　what-ACC　　　　ran-Prog　not　　　Q

　　　　　　　'Why isn't Taro running?'

　　　　　b. Taro-wa　　　　　　　　naze　　　　　　　hashi-tte　inai　　　no?

　　　　　　　Taro-TOP　　　　　　　why　　　　　　　ran-Prog　not　　　Q

　　　　　　　'Why isn't Taro running?'　　　　　　　　　　　　　(See also Kurafuji 1996, 1997)

(40)　　　Taro-ga　　　　nani-o　　　　　　tabete-i　nai　　　no? [Japanese: wh-argument]

　　　　　Taro-NOM　　　what-ACC　　　　eat-Prog　not　　　Q

　　　　　　'What isn't Taro eating?'

(41)　　　a. *Ta　　mei　　zai　　pao　　shenme?　　　　　　[Chinese: wh-adjunct]

　　　　　　　He　　not　　Prog　run　　what

　　　　　　　'Why isn't he running?'

　　　　　b. Ta　　weishenme　　　mei　　zai　　pao?

　　　　　　　He　　why　　　　　　not　　Prog　run

　　　　　　　'Why isn't he running?'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(See also Ochi 1999)

(42)　　　Taro　mei　　zai　　chi　　shenme?　　　　　[Chinese: wh-argument]

　　　　　Taro　not　　Prog　eat　　what

　　　　　　'What isn't Taro eating?'

In contrast, as for the negative *wh*-constructions with *nani-ga/doko-ga* as in (43) and Chinese *shenme* as in (44), they can have a negation, but they are not examples of the inner island in a main clause. They have embedded structures so that negation can appear.

(43)　　　a. Doko-ga　　　　kare-ga　　　　yasashi　kunai　　noyo.　　[Japanese]

　　　　　　　Where-NOM　　he-NOM　　　kind　　　Neg　　　C

　　　　　　　'Why do you say that he is not kind? (He is kind.)'

　　　　　b. Nani-ga　　　　kare-ga　　　　yasahi　kunai　　noyo.

　　　　　　　what-NOM　　he-NOM　　　kind　　Neg　　　C

　　　　　　　'Why do you say that he is not kind? (He is kind.)'

(44)　　　a. Shenme [ta　　shi　　yisheng].　　　　　　　　[Chinese]

　　　　　　　What　　he　　is　　　doctor

　　　　　　　'Why do you say that he is a doctor? (He is not a doctor.)'

　　　　　b. [Ta　　bu　　shi　　yisheng] shenme.

　　　　　　　He　　not　　is　　doctor　　what

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[2] *Wh*-adjuncts occupying lower position than NegP exhibit the inner island effect.
(i) a. Why didn't Geraldine fix her bike?
　　b. *How didn't Geraldine fix her bike?　　(Shlonsky and Soare 2011:656)

'Why do you say that he is not a doctor? (He is a doctor.)'
    c. Shenme [ta   bu   shi   yisheng].
      what   he   not   is   doctor
    'Why do you say that he is not a doctor? (He is a doctor.)'

With respect to Chinese *nali*, it occupies a higher position than a negation and does not show the inner island effect as in (45).

(45) Ta   nali   bu   wenrou.
    He   where   Neg   kind
    'Why do you say that he is not kind? (He is kind.)'

5. Conclusion

    For the negative *wh*-constructions using *nani-ga*/*doko-ga* in Japanese or *shenme* in Chinese, I argued that these *wh*-questions are analyzed as copula sentences and quoted parts can have any types of predicates. Regarding *nali,* it must appear in the position following subjects and cannot occur with direct quotes. We have focused on the cases in which *shenme* occurs in the sentence-initial position. *Shenme* can occur in the sentence-final position or the position following a verb, which is in need of further explanation.

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