Different Origins of Quiz Questions in English and Japanese

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In this talk I would like to discuss the third type of *wh*-questions in English and Japanese, quiz questions, which have so far received little attention in the literature, and will claim that the origins of quiz questions are different in English and Japanese: English has derived quiz questions from its echo questions whereas Japanese has inherited the same Q feature from its ordinary type of *wh*-questions.

1. The Characteristics of Quiz Questions

   Quiz and echo questions are similar in that there is no *wh*-movement as follows:

   (1) A: John bought ****.
       B: John bought WHAT? (echo question)

   Moreover, since no *wh*-movement is involved, both types are not subject to island effects as follows:

   (2) John bought [a book which was written by WHO]? (echo/quiz question)

   I assume that *wh*-expressions in echo and quiz questions do not go through *wh*-movement and are unselectively bound by C, whereas *wh*-expressions in ordinary *wh*-questions are raised to C covertly in Japanese or overtly in English. (See Sobin (2010) for a detailed account of echo questions.)

   Echo questions are normally employed for clarification. Thus, when person B cannot hear A’s utterance clearly, s/he can ask as in (1)B for clarification. However, quiz questions are different from echo questions in that they do not require repetition of an utterance made by another speaker,

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so B’s question in (1) can be used as a quiz question without A’s utterance. I define quiz questions as follows:

(3) A is a quiz question iff (i) it is asked to elicit information, and (ii) it does not employ wh-movement.

To summarize, quiz questions can be used to ask for information as in ordinary wh-questions.

According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 873), “[Quiz questions] generally occur, however, only in contexts of sustained questioning, such as quizzes and interrogations by legal counsel, police, and so on.” Contrast an ordinary wh-question and a quiz question as follows:

(4) a. Where are those senses located?
    b. And those senses are located where?
    
    Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 873)

To distinguish the two types, Morita (2012, 2013a) claims that a quiz question must be “an inquiry about a single event” on the basis of facts that expressions such as sonotoki ‘at that time’ and dake ‘only’ induce quiz questions in Japanese. However, as the following example shows, quiz questions need not be an inquiry about a single event:

(5) And Kennedy visited which countries in 1961?

Visiting more than one country indicates that more than one event was involved. Accordingly, I would like to propose the following condition of use for quiz questions.

(6) The speaker of a quiz question presupposes that the predetermined answer to the question exists.

As a result, quiz questions can be asked in quizzes and interrogations. In the case of (5), the questioner knows that Kennedy visited more than one country in 1961 although s/he may not know which countries they are. (See Morita (2013a) for semantic differences between quiz and ordinary wh-questions.)
2. Quiz Questions in Japanese

Interestingly, Japanese employs a distinct question particle for echo questions, i.e. て, whereas quiz and ordinary wh-questions share the same question particles such as か or な to as follows:

(7) a. John-ga nani-o kattat te? (Echo question)
   -Nom what-Acc bought Q_{echo}
   ‘John bought what?’

b. John-ga nani-o kaimasita ka? (Ordinary/Quiz question)
   -Nom what-Acc bought Q
   ‘What did John buy?’ or ‘John bought what?’

As will be shown below, if Morita (2012, 2013a) is correct in that quiz and ordinary type of wh-questions are of a distinct type although they share the same forms at PF, three types of wh-questions must be distinguished syntactically: ordinary wh-questions, echo questions, and quiz questions.

The fact that the forms of quiz and ordinary wh-questions are identical at PF in Japanese causes judgmental variability among Japanese. According to Morita (2012, 2013a), due to its ambiguous status, speakers make various grammatical judgments as to the intervention effect as follows:

(8) a. OK~?\(^{77}\) \underline{daremo-ga} nani-o yonda no?
   everyone-Nom what-Acc read Q
   ‘What did everyone read?’

b. OK~?\(^{77}\) \underline{Ken-ka Mary-ga} doko.ni itta no?
   -or -Nom where went Q
   ‘Where did Ken or Mary go?’

Interveners, underlined in the present paper, cannot precede wh-expressions as in (8). The ungrammaticality can be attributed to the economy condition; specifically, C attracts interveners instead of wh-expressions resulting in ungrammaticality. If so, the examples should be clearly ungrammatical for every speaker, contrary to the fact. To explain the judgmental variability among speakers syntactically, Morita (2012, 2013a) claims that quiz and ordinary wh-questions, although they go through different syntactic derivations, share the same forms at PF, so speakers are not sure which type of wh-question to apply to the sentence, and hence, cannot make definite judgment without context.
As one method to induce quiz questions alone, *dake* ‘only’ is attached to *wh*-expressions, and the examples become perfectly grammatical, which are from Morita (2013a: 66):

(9) a. *daremo-ga* *nani-*<em>dake</em>-*o* yonda no?
   everyone-Nom what-only-Acc read Q
   ‘What is the only thing everyone read?’

   b. *Ken-ka Mary-<em>ga</em> doko-<em>n</em>*<em>dake</em> itta no?
   -or -Nom where-only went Q
   ‘Where is the only place Ken or Mary went to?’

In contrast to (8), the examples in (9) are grammatical and have no judgmental fluctuation among speakers because they are unambiguously quiz questions (due to *dake*), which do not require (covert) *wh*-movement; hence, no economy condition is violated in (9).

Another test to distinguish quiz questions from ordinary *wh*-questions is availability of multiple-pair answers. Before discussing it, consider the following dialogue, first:

(10) Q: Which boy came to the party yesterday?
   A<sub>1</sub>: John did.
   A<sub>2</sub>: #/* John and George did.

If a singular noun is preceded by *which*, only one referent is presupposed to count as an answer as in (10).

Nevertheless, more than one pair of answer is available in the case of more than one *which N* in a question as follows, which is from Dayal (2002: 512):

(11) Q: Which professor likes which linguist?
    A<sub>1</sub>: Professor Smith likes Professor Brown. (single-pair)
    A<sub>2</sub>: Professor Smith likes Professor Brown and Professor King likes Professor Matthew. (multiple-pair)

It is possible to answer the question with a single pair as in A<sub>1</sub>, which is called a single-pair reading or answer, or with more than one pair as in A<sub>2</sub>, which is called a multiple-pair reading or answer.

Interestingly, Dayal (2002) presents that when two *which N*’s are separated by an island, multiple-pair answers are unavailable as follows:
Q: Which linguist will be offended if we invite which philosopher?

A1: Professor Smith will be offended if we invite Professor Brown.

A2: Professor Smith will be offended if we invite Professor Brown, and Professor King will be offended if we invite Professor Matthew.

Accordingly, she claims that every *wh*-expression must be moved to C to generate multiple-pair interpretations. That is to say, no multiple-pair interpretation indicates that not every *wh*-expression is raised to C.

Next let us apply Dayal’s method to Japanese examples:

Q: Do no gakusei-ga paatii-ni kimasita ka
   ‘Which student came to the party?’

   ‘John did.’

A2: John to Mary-ga kimasita.
   ‘John and Mary did.’

Q: Mary-ga dono gakusei-ni dono hon-o yondeageta no?
   ‘To which student did Mary read which book?’

A1: Mary-ga John-ni kocchira-no hon-o yondeagemasita.
   (single-pair) 
   ‘Mary read this book to John.’

A2: Mary-ga John-ni kochira-no hon-o, sosite Taroo-ni achira-no hon-o yondeagemasita.
   (multiple-pair) 
   ‘Mary gave this book to John, and that book to Taro.’

As the dialogue in (13) shows, *dono N* requires only one referent as an answer as *which N* in English. (14) exhibits that more than one *dono N* in a question may generate multiple-pair as well as single-pair answers as in English.

Most interestingly, the intervention effect blocks multiple-pair interpretations as follows:

Q: Daremo-ga dono gakusei-ni dono hon-o yondeageta no?
   ‘To which student did everyone read which book?’

A1: John-ni kochira-no hon-o yondeagemasita.
   ‘(Everyone) read this book to John.’

A2: John-ni kochira-no hon-o, sosite Taroo-ni achira-no hon-o yondeagemasita.
‘(Everyone) read this book to John, and read that book to Taro.’

Whether (15) is grammatical or not, it can only be answered with single-pair answers, the fact of which suggests that there is no wh-movement when the intervention effect is involved. In other words, for those who detect no intervention violation, quiz questions rather than ordinary wh-questions are adopted to interpret the question. In this way, Morita (2012, 2013a) attributes judgmental variability in the intervention effect to two identical surface forms of wh-questions in Japanese, quiz and ordinary wh-questions.

3. Differences between English and Japanese Quiz Questions

There are a few differences between quiz questions in English and Japanese. One has already been mentioned; that is, echo and quiz questions share their overt forms in English, whereas ordinary wh-questions and quiz questions do so in Japanese. Another difference is that the use of quiz questions in Japanese is very free while that in English is limited to circumstances such as quiz shows and legal interrogations. As discussed above, Japanese speakers use ordinary wh-questions and quiz questions freely and interchangeably, if no specific context is given. However, quiz questions in English are normally used only in “contexts of sustained questioning.” I will come back to this difference at the end of the paper. The last difference is scope. As the following examples indicate, the scope of quiz questions is limited to root clauses in English, while embedded as well as root scope is possible in Japanese:

(16)a. The teacher asked which countries the President visited in 1961.
   b. *The teacher asked (if/whether) the President visited which countries in 1961.

(17)sensee -ga [1961nen-ni daittooryo-ga dono kuni-[Hake]-o teacher-Nom year-in president-Nom which country-only-Acc houmonsita ka] tazuneta.
visited Q asked
‘The teacher asked which is the only country the President visited in 1961.’

As (16)b exhibits, it is impossible to embed quiz as well as echo questions in English. In contrast, it is possible to ask indirect quiz questions as in (17) in Japanese. This data supports that Japanese allows indirect quiz questions unlike English.

To account for the difference, I will claim that Japanese has derived its quiz questions from its ordinary type of wh-questions, whereas English has
adapted its echo questions to derive quiz questions. This claim automatically explains the scope difference between the two languages. Furthermore, there is evidence that Japanese quiz questions employ the same question particle as a wh-question particle as follows:

(18) John-ga nani-\text{Lake} o katta ndai/*nokai?
   -Nom what-only-Acc bought Q_{WH}/Q_{YN}

   ‘John bought only what?’

According to Yoshida and Yoshida (1997), Japanese can utilize distinct question particles for Yes/No (i.e. nokai) and WH (i.e. ndai) questions. As (18) shows, quiz questions can be uttered with the wh-question particle, ndai, but not with the Yes/No question particle, nokai. This fact further supports that ordinary wh-questions and quiz questions are very similar to each other in Japanese.

To formally represent the difference of echo questions between English and Japanese, I present the following sets of features in C for ordinary wh-questions and echo questions:

(19) English/Japanese

C: \{Q_{wh}, uWH\} \hspace{1cm} \text{(ordinary wh-question)}

C: \{Q_{echo}, \exists\} \hspace{1cm} \text{(echo question)}

Explanation of the terms is in order. [Q] indicates interrogative force, and has two kinds: one for ordinary wh-questions, [Q_{wh}], and the other for echo questions, [Q_{echo}].\textsuperscript{1} The former is used to ask for information whereas the latter is employed for clarification. [uWH] is an uninterpretable WH feature and triggers overt or covert wh-movement. I assume that wh-movement is necessary for ordinary wh-questions in English and Japanese, and the difference is only whether the movement is overt or not. Thus, it is necessary for ordinary wh-questions to have [uWH].\textsuperscript{2} [\exists] unselectively binds unraised wh-expressions, and is necessary for echo (and quiz) questions. In addition, there is selectional restriction: nothing can select [Q_{echo}], so that echo questions in both languages permit only root scope, whereas verbs can select [Q_{wh}], so embedded scope as well root scope is available in wh-questions in both languages.

\textsuperscript{1} Yes/No questions are excluded here.

\textsuperscript{2} Following Groat and O’Neil (1996) and Morita (2013b), I assume that it is not a probe (attractor) but a goal (attractor) that decides whether phrasal movement is overt or covert.
Next, C of quiz questions has the following features in English and Japanese:

(20) English quiz questions: \( C: [Q, \exists] \)
Japanese quiz questions: \( C: [Q_{wh}, \exists] \)

Starting with Japanese quiz questions, the same Q feature as that of ordinary wh-questions is employed, which makes it possible for them to be embedded in Japanese as in (17). Moreover, it also follows that the use of quiz questions in Japanese is very free unlike in English. Since there is no \([aWH]\) in quiz questions unlike ordinary wh-questions, no wh-expression will be raised in quiz questions as well as in echo questions, so \( [\exists] \) is necessary to unselectively bind unraised wh-expressions (in both languages).

Turning to English quiz questions, a new Q is introduced, which is derived from \( Q_{echo} \). Since \( Q_{echo} \) is never embedded, Q is never embedded either, which accounts for the root scope condition such as (16)b. However, Q and \( Q_{echo} \) are not exactly the same in that the former is employed to seek information while the latter is for clarification. Nevertheless, the fact that the use of quiz questions in English is very limited can be attributed to the claim that Q is derived from \( Q_{echo} \), which is also employed in special context.

According to Sobin (2010: 247), the form of echo questions is very restricted because its C (or \( Q_{echo} \) in the present paper) “takes a U (the previous utterance by another speaker) as its complement.” It is possible to extend this idea to answer why the use of quiz questions in English is very limited. In other words, the set of questions is prepared mentally or physically before asking a series of quiz questions. Consider (4)b again, which is repeated below:

(4)b. And those senses are located where?  Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 873)

To ask a quiz question such as (4)b, the speaker has to have the following type of Fill-in questions such as (21)a prepared before uttering the quiz questions:

(21) a. And those senses are located (place)?  (in the speaker’s mind)
b. And those senses are located where?  (uttered by the same speaker)

The Q of the quiz question in (21)b, which is the same as (4)b, must select (21)a, as echo questions must select a U by another speaker. Moreover, due to (6), the fixed answer to the question must exist and fit into the bracket in
This may be the reason why quiz questions in English are limited to sustained questioning contexts such as show quizzes and legal interrogations, where questions must be prepared beforehand and its fixed answers are supposed to exist. Japanese quiz questions do not have such a restriction because their Q is not derived from Qecho.

Finally, let me comment on a possible connection between the two types of quiz questions and the availability of overt wh-question particles. Suppose the edge feature of Qwh must be overtly marked (or checked) either by an overt wh-expression or an overt wh-question particle. Then since English has no overt question particle, it must resort to overt wh-movement to check the edge feature of Qwh, the movement of which independently checks uWH in C. Since one overt movement checks both Qwh and uWH, the two features stay bundled inseparable in C in ordinary English wh-questions. This may be the reason why English has not utilized Qwh and instead has modified Qecho for quiz questions, which does not require wh-movement. In contrast, the edge feature of Qwh in C is satisfied by a question particle such as ka in Japanese, so no overt wh-movement is necessary. However, (covert) movement of wh-expressions is necessary to erase uWH in C. Thus, two independent operations are necessary: (external) merge of a wh-question particle and (covert) movement of wh-expressions. This situation may have enabled [Qwh] to arise independently of [uWH] in C in Japanese; thus, the C for ordinary wh-questions can optionally omit [uWH] and be adapted to the C for quiz questions.

This claim, if correct, partially supports Cheng’s (1991) Clausal Typing Hypothesis, which is the following:

(22) Clausal Typing Hypothesis
In-situ languages have wh-particles. Languages with wh-particles are in-situ languages.  
(Cheng (1991: 24))

The present claim is in line with the first half of the hypothesis: In-situ languages have wh-particles. Having a wh-particle in C makes it possible to separate the edge feature of [Qwh] from [uWH] in C, and this state, in turn, will present an option to raise wh-expressions covertly. Therefore, for a language to change from overt wh-movement language to in-situ language, a wh-particle is essential. However, the present paper does not necessarily support the second half of the hypothesis because it predicts that there are languages which have a wh-particle and overt wh-movement. That is to say, [uWH] in C does not affect the choice of overt or covert movement of wh-expressions as mentioned in footnote 2. Therefore, the existence of a
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wh-particle does not necessarily result in covert movement of wh-expressions.

Let me finish this paper by presenting one possible piece of evidence from Lele, which is a Chadic SOV language:

(23) Me ba gol di ti gâ?

What FOC see 3.SG INTER ‘What did he see?’

In this example, the wh-expression is raised despite the question marker.

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