

# NEGATIVE ... CONCORD OR POLARITY?: NSIs IN OKINAWAN\*

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## 1 Introduction

Vallduví (1994) examined behaviors of negative-sensitive items (NSIs) and proposed four diagnostic tests (1a)–(1d) to distinguish Negative Concord Items (NCIs) and Negative Polarity Items (NPIs). Giannakidou (2000) further added clause-boundedness (1e) to the list.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Diagnostic Tests for NCI vs. NPI (cf. Vallduví 1994, Giannakidou 2000)

	NCI	NPI	English <sub>any</sub>	Spanish <sub>n-words</sub>
a. Non-negative	*	✓	✓	*
b. Subject Position <sup>2</sup>	✓	*	*	✓
c. <i>Almost</i> -Modification	✓	*	*	✓
d. Fragment Answer	✓	*	*	✓
e. Long-distance	*	✓	✓	*

For example, *any* in (2) in English is diagnosed as NPI, while *n-words* in (3) in Spanish are considered to be NCI (on NPIs and NCIs, see Ladusaw 1979, Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, 1996, Haegeman 1995, 1997, Watanabe 2004, Giannakidou 2006, Miyagawa et al. 2016, Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017, among others).

- (2) NPI: *any* in English

a. Did you see **anyone**?

(Question)

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<sup>1</sup>NCIs and NPIs are further divided into strong/strict and weak/non-strict subtypes (see Zwarts 1998, Giannakidou 2000 among others).

<sup>2</sup>Among these diagnostic tests, the test in (1b)—whether an NSI can appear in subject position or not—is not very reliable, given recent reports on Gã (Korsah and Murphy 2017), Ewe (Collins et al. 2017), and Buli (Akanlig-Pare and Hiraiwa to appear). Thus, I will exclude it from consideration in this paper, even though data are presented.

- b. \***Anyone** did not come. (\*Subject position)  
 c. \*I didn't see almost **anyone**. (\*Almost-modification)  
 d. Q: Who did you see? A: \***Anyone**. (=I didn't see anyone) (\*Fragment answer)  
 e. I don't say I saw **anyone**. (Long-distance licensing)

(3) NCI: n-words in Spanish (Vallduví 1994, Penka 2011)

- a. \*¿Quieres **nada**?  
 2Sg.want nothing  
 'Do you want anything?' (\*Question)  
 b. **Nada** funciona.  
 nothing 3Sg.work  
 'Nothing works.' (Subject position)  
 c. Q: ¿A quien has visto? A: A (casi) **nandie**.  
 a who 2Sg.Perf see a almost no.one  
 'Q: Who'd you see? A: (Almost) no one.' (Almost-modification/Fragment answer)  
 d. \*No dije que había **nada** en el frigorífico.  
 Neg said.1Sg C there.was.Ind nothing in the fridge  
 'I didn't say that there was anything in the fridge.' (\*Long-distance licensing)

According to these diagnostic tests, an NSI is classified as either an NCI or an NPI. A number of works that follow have adopted and even extended this generalization further (Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, 1996, Haegeman 1995, Watanabe 2004, Miyagawa et al. 2016, Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017, among others).

Building on my fieldwork studies on Shuri/Naha Okinawan in the Shuri/Naha area in the Okinawa main island, Japan, however, I argue that (i) even a single NSI can be both an NCI and an NPI; (ii) a new four-way partition of NSIs captures the cross-linguistic data; and (iii) Collins and Postal's (2014) theory offers an explanation for the Okinawan-type NSIs.

## 2 NCIs in Japanese

Various indefinite pronouns in Japanese are built on indeterminate pronouns and different quantificational particles (*Ø/mo/ka/demo*), as shown in (4). This is called an *indeterminate system* because quantificational force of each pronoun is only determined by a particle with which they are associated (see Kuroda 1965, 2013, Nishigauchi 1990, Takahashi 2002, Hagstrom 1998, Watanabe 2004, Shimoyama 2008, 2011, Hiraiwa 2015, 2017, 2018b, Saito 2017, among others; also Haspelmath 1997). [ˈ = pitch accent]

(4) The indeterminate system in Japanese (Hiraiwa 2015, 2017, 2018a,b)

	+nominal	+nominal	+nominal	–nominal	–nominal
	Wh	Universal	Existential	NSI	Free Choice
'who'	<b>daˈre</b> -CASE	<b>daˈre-mo</b> -CASE	<b>daˈre-ka</b> -CASE	<b>dare-mo</b>	<b>dare-demo</b>
'what'	<b>naˈni</b> -Ø	— <sup>3</sup>	<b>naˈni-ka</b>	<b>nani-mo</b>	<b>nan(i)-demo</b>
'where'	<b>doˈko</b> -Ø	<b>doˈko-mo</b>	<b>doˈko-ka</b>	<b>doko-mo</b>	<b>doko-demo</b>

<sup>3</sup>See Hiraiwa (2017) for a theoretical explanation of the gap.

Examples of the five indefinite pronouns are given below with the ‘who’ series.

(5) Japanese

- a. **Da<sup>re</sup>-ga** kimasi-ta **ka**?  
who-Nom come-Past Q  
‘Who came?’ (Wh-question)
- b. **Da<sup>re</sup>-mo-ga** ki-ta.  
who-MO-Nom come-Past  
‘Everyone came.’ (Universal)
- c. **Da<sup>re</sup>-ka-ga**/\***Dare-mo** ki-ta.  
who-KA-Nom/who-MO come-Past  
‘Someone came.’ (Existential)
- d. **Dare-mo** ko-nakat-ta.  
who-MO come-Neg-Past  
‘No one came.’ (NSI)
- e. **Dare-demo** ko-re-ta.  
who-DEMO come-can-Past  
‘Anyone could come.’ (Free choice)

What is of our interest is NSIs, the second column from right *dare-mo* ‘anyone’, *nani-mo* ‘anything’, and *doko-mo* ‘anywhere’. They are composed of an indeterminate pronoun and the additive quantificational particle *mo*, and are unaccented. They are illicit in affirmative declarative sentences as shown in (5c).<sup>4</sup> The question is whether these negative-sensitive items are NCIs or NPIs. Watanabe (2004) argues that these indeterminate-based NSIs in Japanese are NCIs, given the diagnostic tests in (1).

(6) Japanese

- a. \***Dare-mo** kita?  
who-MO came  
‘Did anyone come?’ (\*Non-negative: Question)
- b. **Dare-mo** ko-nakat-ta.  
who-MO come-Neg-Past  
‘Nobody came.’ (✓ Subject position)
- c. \***Mosi dare-mo** kitara sirasete.  
if wh-MO came let.me.know  
‘If anyone comes, please let me know.’ (\*Non-negative: Conditional)
- d. (Hotondo) **Dare-mo** ko-nakat-ta.  
almost who-MO come-Neg-Past  
‘(Almost) Nobody came.’ (✓ *Almost*-modification/Subject position)
- e. Q: **Dare-ka** ki-ta? A: (Iya,) **Dare-mo**.  
who-KA come-Past No who-MO  
‘Q: Did anyone come? A: Nobody (came).’ (✓ Fragment answer)

<sup>4</sup>As table (4) shows, case-marked NSIs in Japanese are +nominal and accented, while non-case-marked ones are -nominal and unaccented. See Hiraiwa (2017) for an explanation of why this generalization holds.

- f? \*Watasi-wa [koko-ni **dare-mo** ki-ta to] omow-ana-i.  
 1Sg-Top here-Dat who-MO come-Past C think-Neg-Pres  
 ‘I don’t think that anyone came here.’ (Long-distance)

These indeterminate-based NSIs in Japanese pattern exactly with NCIs, as shown in table (7).

(7) Japanese (Watanabe 2004)

	NCI	NPI	Japanese <sub>wh+mo</sub>
a. Non-negative	*	✓	*
b. Subject Position	✓	*	✓
c. <i>almost</i> -Modification	✓	*	✓
d. Fragment Answer	✓	*	✓
e. Long-distance	*	✓	*

### 3 The Morphosyntax of Negative-Sensitive Items in Okinawan

Okinawan also has an indeterminate system, just as Japanese does (see Sugahara 1996 for preliminary data). Each of the five indefinite pronouns in Okinawan combines an indeterminate pronoun and one of the quantificational particles (*Ø/n/gana/yatin*) (cf. (4)).

(8) The indeterminate system in Okinawan

	+nominal	+nominal	+nominal	–nominal	–nominal
	Wh	Universal	Existential	NSI	Free Choice
‘who’	<b>taa</b> -CASE	<b>taa</b> -CASE- <b>n</b>	<b>taa</b> <sup>ˀ</sup> - <b>gana</b> -CASE	<b>taa</b> - <b>n</b>	<b>taa</b> <sup>ˀ</sup> - <b>yati</b> - <b>n</b>
‘what’	<b>nuu</b> -CASE	<b>nuu</b> -CASE- <b>n</b>	<b>nuu</b> <sup>ˀ</sup> - <b>gana</b> -CASE	<b>nuu</b> - <b>n</b>	<b>nuu</b> <sup>ˀ</sup> - <b>yati</b> - <b>n</b>
‘where’	<b>maa</b> -CASE	<b>maa</b> -CASE- <b>n</b>	<b>maa</b> <sup>ˀ</sup> - <b>gana</b> -CASE	<b>maa</b> - <b>n</b>	<b>maa</b> <sup>ˀ</sup> - <b>yati</b> - <b>n</b>

Examples of the five indefinite pronouns in Okinawan are given below with the ‘who’ series.

(9) Okinawan

- a. **Taa**-ga choo-ta **ga**?  
 who-Nom come-Past Q  
 ‘Who came?’ (Wh-question)
- b. **Taa**-ga-**n** chuu sa.  
 who-Nom-N come Sfp  
 ‘Everyone will come.’ (Universal)
- c. **Taa**<sup>ˀ</sup>-**gana**-ga/\***Taa**-**n** chan.  
 who-GANA-Nom/who-N come.Past  
 ‘Someone came.’ (Existential)
- d. **Taa**-**n** kuu-n-tan.  
 who-N come-Neg-Past  
 ‘No one came.’ (NSI)
- e. **Taa**<sup>ˀ</sup>-**yatin** chuu sa.  
 who-YATIN come Sfp  
 ‘Anyone will come.’ (Free choice)

What is of our interest, again, is NSIs, the second column from right *taa-n* ‘anyone’, *nuu-n* ‘anything’, and *maa-n* ‘anywhere’. They are composed of an indeterminate pronoun and the additive quantificational particle *n*, and are uniformly unaccented. They are illicit in affirmative declarative sentences as shown in (9c). The question to ask is whether NSIs in Okinawan are NCIs or NPIs.

## 4 NSIs in Okinawan are both NCIs and NPIs

Okinawan NSIs, however, show unexpected behaviors. They pattern with NPIs in that they can appear in non-negative contexts such as questions and conditionals (10a)–(10b) and can be licensed at a distance (10e). Recall that these properties are not found in Japanese indeterminate-based NCIs. On the other hand, they pattern with NCIs in that they can be modified by *almost* (10c) and appear as a fragment answer (10d).

### (10) Okinawan

- a. **Taa-n** choo tii?  
 who-N came Q  
 ‘Did anyone come?’ (✓ Non-neg contexts: Question)
- b. Mushi **taa-n** chiinee, naraachi kwiri yoo.  
 if who-N come.Cond know do.for.me Sfp  
 ‘If anyone comes, please let me know.’ (✓ Non-neg contexts: Conditional)
- c. (Ansuka) **taa-n** kuu-n-tan.  
 almost who-N come-Neg-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) Almost no one came.’ (✓ *Almost*-modification/Subject position)
- d. (Wuwuu,) **taa-n**. (as an answer to (10a))  
 No who-N  
 ‘(No,) no one.’ (✓ Fragment Answer)
- e. Wannee, [<sub>CP</sub> **taa-n** chuun chee], umu-ran.  
 1Sg.Top who-N come C-Top think-Neg.Pres  
 ‘I don’t think that anyone will come.’ (✓ Long-distance licensing)

These indeterminate-based NSIs in Okinawan pattern neither with NCIs nor NPIs, as shown in table (11). Rather, they show properties of both NCIs and NPIs.

### (11) Okinawan

	NCI	NPI	Okinawan <sub>wh+n</sub>
a. Non-negative	*	✓	✓
b. Subject Position	✓	*	✓
c. <i>almost</i> -Modification	✓	*	✓
d. Fragment Answer	✓	*	✓
e. Long-distance	*	✓	✓

## 5 Two Different Structures of NSIs in Okinawan

The Okinawan data raise two issues. First, they speak against the traditional view that an NSI is either an NCI or an NPI. Second, an analysis is needed that accounts for the difference between indeterminate-based NSIs in Japanese and Okinawan. These are the two questions that we address in this final section.

### 5.1 A New Typology

The Okinawan data lead us to envisage a new perspective on the typology of NSIs.

#### (12) Diagnostic Tests for NCI vs. NPI and Typological Data

	NCI	NPI	English <sub>any</sub>	Spanish <sub>n-words</sub>	Japanese <sub>wh+mo</sub>	Okinawan <sub>wh+n</sub>
a. Non-negative	*	✓	✓	*	*	✓
b. Subject Position	✓	*	*	✓	✓	✓
c. Modifiability	✓	*	*	✓	✓	✓
d. Fragment Answer	✓	*	*	✓	✓	✓
e. Long-distance	*	✓	✓	*	*	✓

In fact, Okinawan is actually like Catalan (cf. Italian; see Zanuttini 1991). NSIs *ningú* and *res* in Catalan behave as NCIs except that they can appear in non-negative contexts and be licensed long-distance.<sup>5</sup>

#### (13) Catalan (Vallduví 1994, Giannakidou 2006)

- a. Que vol **res** **ningú**?  
Q 3Sg.want nothing no.one  
'Does anyone want anything?' (✓ Non-negative context: Question)
- b. Si vol **res** **ningú**, aviseu-me.  
if 3Sg.want nothing no.one 2Pl.Imp.warn-1Sg  
'If anyone wants anything, let me know.' (✓ Non-negative context: Conditional)
- c. **Res** (no) funciona.  
nothing Neg 3Sg.work  
'Nothing works.' (✓ Subject position)
- d. Q: Qui has visit? A: (Gairebé) **Ningú**.  
who 2Sg.Perf see almost no.one  
'Q: Who did you see? A: (Almost) No one.'  
(✓ Almost-modification/✓ Fragment answer)
- e. No dire secrets que puguin ofendre **ningú**.  
Neg Fut.tell.1Sg secrets that can.Pl offend.3Pl anyone  
'I wouldn't reveal secrets that could offend anybody.' (✓ Long-distance)

Vallduví (1994) dismissed the NPI-like behavior of the Catalan n-words as exceptional, saying "[t]he lawful presence of n-words in a nonnegative polar environment must be seen as an exceptional case (Vallduví 1994:286)." and "[i]t appears that the nonnegative ancestors of

<sup>5</sup>Okinawan NSIs still require negation when in subject position, in contrast with Catalan in (13c).

these present-day n-words acted as a polar minimizers (Vallduví 1994:287).” But our data from Okinawan show that the behaviors of Catalan NSIs are not exceptional.

Rather, two generalizations emerge from from table (12). First, the non-negative diagnosis (12a) and the long-distance diagnosis (12e) form a cluster. Second, the modifiability diagnosis (12c) and the fragment answer diagnosis (12d) form another cluster.

Thus, we are led to a new partition based on these two clusters. Type 1 is exemplified by indeterminate-based NSIs in Okinawan and n-words in Catalan. This type shows properties of both NCIs and NPIs. Type 2 is exemplified by indeterminate-based NSIs in Japanese and n-words in Spanish and W. Flemish. Type 2 NSIs are so-called NCIs. Type 3 is exemplified by NSIs based on quantificational determiners in English and Hindi and NSIs based on noun class pronouns in Buli. Type 3 NSIs are so-called NPIs. Finally, Type 4 is exemplified by NSIs based on quantificational determiners in Gã. Type 4 NSIs are NPIs that require local negation.<sup>6</sup>

(14) A New Partition of NSIs

NSI type	Cluster 1 <sub>non-neg/long-distance</sub>	Cluster 2 <sub>modifiability/fragment answer</sub>
Type 1: Okinawan, Catalan	✓	✓
Type 2: Japanese, Spanish	*	✓
Type 3: English, Hindi, Buli	✓	*
Type 4: Gã	*	*

## 5.2 Collins and Postal (2014): Why the Difference between Okinawan and Japanese?

The Okinawan data also raise an interesting question of what makes NSIs in Okinawan Type 1 and NSIs in Japanese Type 2, respectively.

Watanabe (2004) argues that the focus particle *mo* makes a NEG feature of an NSI active for agreement with sentential negation and this makes an NSI an NCI in Japanese. Watanabe (2004) goes on to claim that NCIs have, but NPIs lack, a neg-feature, which explains why they can be used as a fragment answer without sentential negation. He proposes that NCIs in Japanese and Greek have an uninterpretable focus feature that makes them active for Agree with a Neg head. Stress in Greek NCIs is a PF-realization of this feature and so is the additive particle *mo* in Japanese NCIs.

(15) Greek (Giannakidou 2000)

Q: Ti idhes? A: **TIPOTA**.  
 what saw-2Sg nothing  
 ‘Q: What did you see? A: Nothing.’

(16) Japanese<sup>7</sup> (Watanabe 2004)

Q: Nani-o mimashi-ta ka? A: **Nani-mo**.  
 what-Acc see-Past C what-MO/what-MO  
 ‘Q: What did you see? A: Nothing.’

<sup>6</sup>Yosho Miyata p.c points out that another kind of NSI in Japanese, exceptive *XP-sika* ‘only XP’ also behaves as a Type 1 NSI. See Miyagawa et al. (2016) and, in particular, Miyata (2018) on the exceptive NSIs and fragment answers.

<sup>7</sup>Another phonological realization of a focus feature may be optional gemination in NSIs. *nani-mo* vs. *nanni-mo* ‘anything’ and *doko-mo* vs. *dokko-mo* ‘anywhere’. This kind of gemination is not found in the other indeterminate-based indefinite pronouns.

The presence of focus morphology in Japanese concord items is an indication of an uninterpretable focus feature, which requires checking with a Neg head, and hence blocks occurrence in nonnegative contexts.

Furthermore, he suggests that the scalar focus particle meaning *also/even* can participate in checking only when it is part of the indeterminate system exemplified by Japanese (Watanabe 2004, 600). This explains why Hindi NSIs behave as NPIs, even though they are associated with the focus particle *bhii also/even*.

(17) Hindi

Q: raam-ne kyaa khaayaa? A: \***kuch bhii**.

Ram-Erg what ate anything BHII

‘Q: What did Ram eat? A: Nothing.’

Interesting though it is, his analysis is not readily applicable to the Okinawan NSIs. They are based on an indeterminate system, just as Japanese NSIs are, and the particles *n* in Okinawan and *mo* in Japanese mean *also/even* as shown in (18). Nevertheless, NSIs in Okinawan behave differently from NSIs in Japanese.

(18) a. Japanese

Kodomo-**mo** sitteru.

child-also know

‘A child also knows it.’

(Additive)

b. Okinawan

Warabi-ga-**n** shicchoon.

child-Nom-also know

‘A child also knows it.’

(Additive)

One striking difference between Okinawan and Japanese is order of case particles and the quantificational particles *mo* and *n*. The quantificational particle precedes a case particle in Japanese, while the former follows the latter in Okinawan. I take this to be evidence that a high position for the quantificational particle *n* is available in Okinawan but not in Japanese.

(19) a. Japanese

**Da're-mo**-ga kuru yo.

who-MO-Nom come Sfp

‘Everyone will come.’

(Universal)

b. Okinawan

**Taa**-ga-**n** chuu sa.

who-Nom-N come Sfp

‘Everyone will come.’

(Universal)

Collins and Postal (2014) and Collins et al. (2017) propose that NPIs come in two varieties. One has a unary-NEG structure and the other has a binary-NEG structure.

(20) Collins and Postal (2014)

a. Unary-NEG: [[NEG1 SOME] NP]

(NCIs/Strong NPIs)



- b. Binary-NEG: [[NEG1 [NEG2 SOME]] NP]<sup>8</sup> (Weak NPIs)

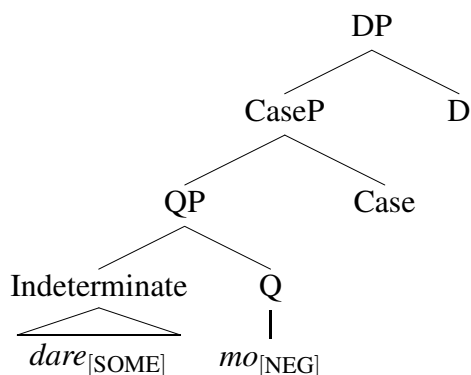
Adopting their analysis, I argue that the indeterminate-based NSIs in Japanese have a unary-NEG structure, while the indeterminate-based NSIs in Okinawan are structurally ambiguous.

(21) NSIs in Okinawan

	Japanese <sub>wh+mo</sub>	Okinawan <sub>wh+n</sub>
a. Non-negative	*	✓ (Binary-NEG)
b. Subject Position	✓ (Unary-NEG)	✓ (Unary-NEG)
c. Modifiability	✓ (Unary-NEG)	✓ (Unary-NEG)
d. Fragment Answer	✓ (Unary-NEG)	✓ (Unary-NEG)
e. Long-distance	*	✓ (Binary-NEG)

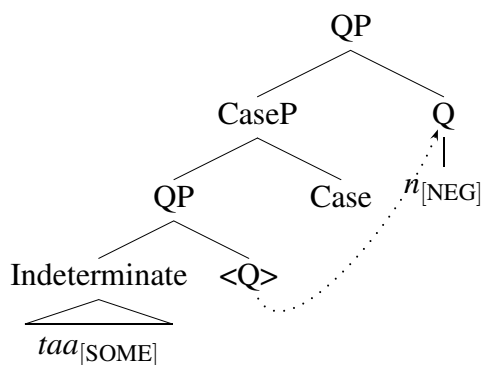
Given that the quantificational particle *mo* appears right-adjacent to an indeterminate pronoun and precedes a case particle in Japanese, it is merged low in the DP structure and remains there (see Watanabe 2006 for a DP structure in Japanese). I take the position to be the head of QP (Hiraiwa 2015, 2017).

(22) (Low Q)



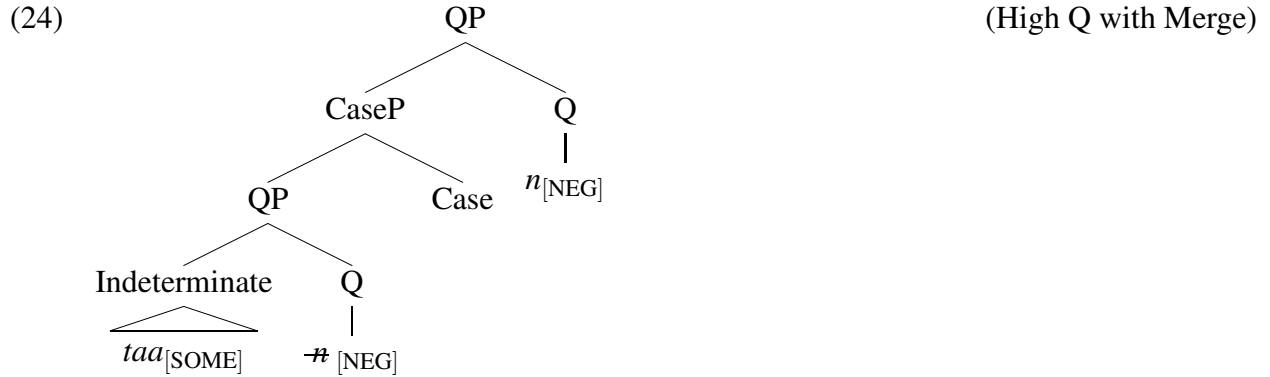
In contrast, the fact that the quantificational particle *n* appears after a case particle in Okinawan means that a high Q position is available and the quantificational particle must end up there. To this end, two derivations are available. One possible derivation is that a quantificational particle with a NEG feature is merged low and moves to the high Q position. Assuming that the locus of a NEG feature is the quantificational particle, this creates a unary-NEG structure.

(23) (High Q with movement)



<sup>8</sup>There is more than one way to have NEG doubled in syntax. See Akanlig-Pare and Hiraiwa (to appear) for another case where reduplication leads to doubling of NEG.

The other possible derivation is that a quantificational particle with a NEG feature is merged low and another quantificational particle with a NEG feature is merged in the high Q position.<sup>9</sup> This creates a binary-NEG structure.



Crucially, Japanese lacks this derivation because the high Q position is unavailable.

In Collins and Postal's theory, so-called non-strict/weak NPIs have a positive meaning by way of having a binary-NEG structure. Thus, it is predicted that the NSI *taa-n* 'anyone' in each example above can be replaced with an existential quantifier *taa-gana* 'someone,' except for cases where local sentential negation is involved. The prediction is borne out, which presents evidence that those NSIs that do not require local negation have a binary-NEG structure.

(25) Okinawan

- a. **Taa<sup>-</sup>-gana-ga** chuu mi?  
 who-GANA-Nom come Q  
 '(Lit.) Will someone come?' (✓Non-neg contexts: Question)
- b. Musi **taa<sup>-</sup>-gana-ga** chiinee, naraachi kwiri yoo.  
 if who-GANA-Nom come.Cond know do.for.me Sfp  
 'If someone comes, please let me know.' (✓Non-neg contexts: Conditional)
- c. \*Ansuka **taa<sup>-</sup>-gana-ga** kuu-n-tan.  
 almost who-GANA-Nom come-Neg-Past  
 '(Lit.) Almost someone came.' (\*Almost-modification)
- d. \*(Wuuwuu,) **taa<sup>-</sup>-gana.** (as an answer to (25b))  
 No who-GANA  
 '(Lit.) (No,) Nobody.' (\*Fragment answer)
- e. Wannee, [<sub>CP</sub> **taa<sup>-</sup>-gana-ga** chuun chee], umu-ran.  
 1Sg.Top who-GANA-Nom come C-Top think-Neg.Pres  
 '(Lit.) I don't think that someone will come.' (✓Long-distance licensing)

## 6 Conclusion

First, I have demonstrated that even a single NSI can be both an NCI and an NPI, as the indeterminate-based NSIs in Okinawan show. Second, I have proposed that a new four-way

<sup>9</sup>The lower *n* is unpronounced perhaps due to haplology (see Neeleman and de Koot 2006, 2017, Hiraiwa 2010a,b)

partition of NSIs captures the cross-linguistic typology of NSIs. And finally, adopting Collins and Postal's (2014) theory, I have argued that the Okinawan-type NSIs are structurally ambiguous between unary-NEG structure and binary-NEG structure. The difference between the Japanese-type and the Okinawan-type NSIs reduces to whether a high QP projection is available or not: its availability makes room for two particles with a NEG feature, and hence for a binary-NEG structure.

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