Making 'yes' stronger by saying 'no'

Utterance-initial *iya* in statements of 'yes' in Japanese

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The present study examined the recordings of naturally occurring conversations among native speakers of Japanese, and analyzed the cases of *iya* 'no' that are uttered in response to yes-no questions. The analysis has shown that *iya* can be uttered in response to a yes-no question even when the response to the question is 'yes,' as long as the propositional information that follows *iya* signals 'yes' to the question. When *iya* prefaces a response of 'yes,' the speaker can express a stronger message of 'yes' since it creates a pragmatic effect of expressing *needless to ask…* along with signaling 'yes' with the propositional information that follows *iya*.

Keywords: Japanese, *iya*, pragmatics, yes-no question, agreement, disagreement, presumption

1. Introduction

The yes-no response system in Japanese and the response tokens associated with it such as *hai, ee, un, ie, iie, uun*, and *iya* have been discussed in many studies that examine the usage of these tokens in interactive situations (Kitagawa 1980; Okutsu 1989; Saft 1998; Angles et al. 2000; Togashi 2003; Kushida 2005; Hayashi 2010; Tanaka 2010; Hayashi and Kushida 2013; Fukuhara 2014; Kushida and Hayashi 2015, etc.). *Iya* is one of those frequently used tokens and is typically translated as 'no' in English; however, *iya* has several properties that cannot be directly translated into 'no' in English. The present paper focuses on one of these properties of *iya*, and examines the cases in which *iya* can be used to indicate a stronger message of 'yes' when the speaker expresses agreement to the preceding statement uttered by another speaker.

1.1   Utterance-initial *iya* in Japanese

Japanese *iya* is an expression that is often uttered when the speaker expresses dis-
agreement with the previous utterance. For example, similar to *ie* and *iie*, which
are often translated as 'no' in English, *iya* is uttered as a response to a yes-no ques-
tion. Examples (1) and (2) demonstrate such usage of *iya* that corresponds to 'no'
in English.

(1)   A.   *Kono keeburu o tsunagu n desu ka?*
           this   cable   o connect N CP   Q
           'Are you going to connect this cable?'
      B.   **_Iya_**.
           iya
           'No.'   (Togashi 2003, 1)

When *iya* is uttered to indicate 'no,' it is uttered with the Low-High pitch pattern,
the first syllable being low and the second syllable being high.[1] In addition, similar
to 'no' in English, the utterance that follows *iya* can be information relevant to say-
ing 'no,' such as reasons for saying no, additional information, etc.

(2)   A.   *Kinoo   tenisu shimashita ka?*
           yesterday tennis did   Q
           'Did you play tennis yesterday?'
      B.   **Iya**, *jikan ga arimasen deshita.*
           iya time SB have-NEG CP
           'No, I did not have time.'   (Saft 1998, 125)

For the usage of *iya* in response to a yes-no question, it must be noted that when a
yes-no question is uttered with a negation morpheme such as *nai*, using *iya* in the
response still indicates that the speaker disagrees with the negated propositional
information included in the question utterance. Observe the usage of *iya* in (3).

(3)   A.   *Korya kaette konai   n desu ka?*
           this   come back-NEG N CP   Q
           'Does this mean he won't come back?'
      B.   **Iya**, *kaette kuru to omoimasu kedo ne.*
           iya come back QT think   but   FP
           '*Iya*, I think he will come back.'   (Saft 1998, 124)

In (3), A's question includes *konai*, which is a combination of the verb *kuru* 'to come' and a negation morpheme *nai*. B's response is initiated with *iya*, and what B expresses with *iya* is disagreement with the propositional information included in A's question utterance, rather than the negation of the verb *kuru*.

Furthermore, the usage of *iya* is not limited to its usage as a prefacing utterance for a response to a yes-no question. The following example is from Togashi (2003). In (4), A is a teacher and B is a student, and the conversation took place at the beginning of a class in school.

(4) A. *De wa shusseki   o torimasu. Aizawa-san.*
then   attendance o check   Aizawa Mr./Ms.
'Then, I am going to check attendance. Mr./Ms. Aizawa.'

　　B. **Iya**, *anoo, sensei   no kurasu wa tonari desu yo.*
iya well teacher LK class   TP next   CP   FP
'*Iya*, well, your classroom is next to this one.'   (Togashi 2003, 6)

According to Togashi (2003), B can use *iya* to express that A's action of checking attendance is inappropriate for the given situation, and this type of usage of *iya* indicates that *iya*'s scope can include the addressee's action, not just the propositional content of the addressee's prior utterance.

Similarly, the scope of *iya* can target the action conducted through the act of asking a question. Assume that the following conversation took place in an important business meeting.

(5) A. *Ohiru wa nani tabeyoo ka?*
lunch TP what eat   Q
'What should we eat for lunch?'

　　B. **Iya**, *ima wa kankee   nai desho sono hanashi wa.*
iya now TP relevant NEG CP   that topic   TP
'*Iya*, that topic irrelevant right now.'   (Togashi 2003, 5)

Togashi (2003) argues that *iya* in B's utterance in (5) targets the action conducted through A's utterance, which is bringing up the topic of lunch in an important business meeting.

From the perspective of Conversation Analysis, Kushida (2005), Hayashi and Kushida (2013), Kushida and Hayashi (2015) argue that *iya* is often uttered as resistance to a *wh*-question in Japanese talk-in-interaction. Regarding the cases of *iya* used in response to a *wh*-question, Hayashi and Kushida (2013) explain that "*iya*-prefacing serves as an alert to the questioner that the respondent finds some aspect of the preceding question problematic" (p. 231). Example (6) demonstrates such usage of *iya* in response to a *wh*-question.

(6)   A.   *Nani shi ni kiteta no are?*
        what do for came LK that
        'What did he come (to our company) for?'

   B.   **Iya,** *chotto yotte mite dake rashii n da kedo.*
        iya a little stop by   just seems N CP but
        'No, it seems like he was just stopping by.'   (Hayashi and Kushida 2013, 234)

In (6), A's question is a *wh*-question since it includes *nani* 'what' as part of the question. However, B prefaces his/her utterance with *iya* and does not provide a specific reason for stopping by in response to the question. Hayashi and Kushida (2013) labels this type of usage of *iya* as *iya* used for "resistance to *wh*-questions," and claim that *iya* can index the respondent's resistance to (a) the epistemic stance invoked by the question regarding the knowledge states of the questioner and the respondent; (b) the type of response pursued by the question; (c) an assumption conveyed by the question regarding the state of affairs it addresses; and/or (d) a larger course of action of which the preceding question is a part (p. 235, for more details, see Hayashi and Kushida 2013).

It must be noted that *iya* as a regular lexical item exists in Japanese, and it can be used as an adjective in a sentence to indicate meanings such as 'dislike,' 'disagreeable,' and/or 'unpleasant.' Examples (7) and (8) demonstrate such usage of *iya* as a regular lexical item.

(7)   *Ayamaru   no wa dooshitemo iya   datta.*
       apologizing LK TP absolutely   dislike CP
       'I absolutely disliked the idea of apologizing.'
                        (*Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary,* Matsuda 1974, 573)

(8)   *Nan to iu   iya na   yatsu da.*
       what QT disagreeabe CP fellow CP
       'What a disagreeable fellow he is.'
                (*The Kodansha Japanese-English Dictionary,* Shimizu and Narita 1976, 83)

As demonstrated in (7) and (8), *iya* as an adjective can be used as a regular lexical item, not as a response token, in sentences in Japanese. However, even though there may be some semantic connections between *iya* as a regular lexical item and *iya* uttered as a response token, because of the scope of the present study, the present study's data analysis will focus on *iya* uttered as a response token only, the cases of *iya* that precede statements of 'yes.'

Furthermore, *iyaa*, which resembles *iya* but with an elongated vowel *aa*, can be used as a filler in Japanese. When *iyaa* is uttered as a filler, it is often uttered with an emotionally loaded exclamatory tone as seen in (9).

(9)   (after entering a meeting room where the attendants are waiting for the
       speaker)
       Iyaa, doomo doomo, osoku narimashita.
       iyaa   sorry   sorry   late   became
       '*Iyaa*, sorry, sorry for being late.'   (Togashi 2003,10)

Iyaa as a filler morphologically resembles *iya* as seen in (9); however, it does not
signal 'no' to the addressee nor negate semantic information of the presiding utter-
ance. Therefore, *iyaa* as a filler is not included in the scope of the present study.

1.2   *iya* directly before a statement of 'yes'

Examples (1) through (6) in the previous section have shown typical cases of *iya*
that preface utterances of disagreement, denial, or what Hayashi and Kushida
call resistance to a *wh*-question. In those cases, *iya* is typically uttered to simply
indicate 'no' in response to a question, or the speaker is expressing some sort of
disagreement or resistance to the preceding utterance. However, if we pay atten-
tion to cases of *iya* used in naturally occurring conversations in Japanese, we can
observe that *iya* is also used when the speaker expresses 'yes' in response to a yes-
no question. The following example includes such a case of *iya*.

(10)   [*CABank: Sakura18*]
       Taka: *Omoshiroi no? Doobutsu no Mori tte.*
              interesting Q   *Doobutsu no Mori* QT
              'Is it interesting? *Doobutsu no Mori.*'
       Toshi: ***Iya,*** omoshiroi yo.
              iya   interesting FP
              '*Iya*, it's interesting.'

In (10), Taka's question is a yes-no question, and Toshi prefaces his answer to
the question with *iya*. As indicated by *omoshiroi,* 'interesting' without negation
in both the question and the answer, Toshi's response clearly expresses that
Doobutsu no Mori (name of a video game) is interesting. However, Toshi's
response is prefaced with *iya* instead of a typical response token that indicates
'yes' such as *hai* or *un*. (This particular example will be analyzed further in detail
later in this paper.) It seems that *iya* after a yes-no question in this manner is
not uncommon in Japanese; however, as far as the author of the present study is
aware, no studies have been conducted specifically on this type of usage of *iya*
after a yes-no question.

2.   Research design

In order to explore the cases of *iya* that directly preface statements of 'yes,' the present study has examined a linguistic corpus containing recordings of naturally occurring conversations by native speakers of Japanese. The corpus used for the present study was accessed via *Talkbank* (MacWhinney 2007, http://www.talkbank.org), an online public database for conversational recordings for research purposes. For the present study, 18 conversational recordings included in the *Sakura* corpus were examined, and the total length of the examined recordings from the *Sakura* corpus was approximately 7 hours and 30 minutes. Four conversational participants were prompted to carry on a conversation on a given topic in each recording in the corpus; however, in addition, they were allowed to deviate from the given topic throughout the course of the conversation. The age group of the participants was college-age students who were between 19–22 years old, and both male and female speakers were included in the recordings, even though in some of the recordings, the gender was either dominantly male or female. The conversations in the recordings were mostly conducted in the so-called casual style, illustrating that there were no clear hierarchical differences among the participants. In addition, 30 recordings of telephone conversations between two L1 speakers of Japanese, totaling approximately 12 hours and 57 minutes, were examined to explore the usage of *iya* that precedes statements of 'yes' further. The telephone conversations included speakers ranging from 17 to 57 years old, and the genders of the speakers were mixed. The speech style in the recordings was mostly the casual style; however, some speakers carried out the conversation in the polite style (addressee-honorific style) throughout the recording.

In the recordings examined for the present study, five cases of *iya* that precede statements of 'yes' directly were found, and those cases were qualitatively analyzed. For the transcription of data, pseudonyms were used for the names of the participants. As mentioned earlier, because of the scope of the present study, the cases of *iya* used as an adjective in a sentence and *iyaa* used as a filler are not included in the analysis.

3.   Data analysis

In this section, the cases of *iya* that precede statements of 'yes' in the examined data are qualitatively examined, and findings from the data analysis are discussed and summarized.

3.1 *iya* used to express 'no'

Before exploring the cases of *iya* that directly precede the statements of 'yes,' it must be noted that a significant portion of the cases of *iya* found in the examined data were used to indicate the commonly recognized interpretation of *iya*, which is the usage that is typically translated as 'no' in English. The following excerpt is a conversation between four male college students, and they are discussing their habits of spending money in everyday life.

(11) [*CABank: Sakura18*]

  1 Toshi: *Raigetsu wa kondake kasegu kara, jyaa kongurai nakunattemo*
      next month TP this much earn since then
      heeki yan mitai na kanji de bonbon bonbon tsukatteru to
      about this lose okay FP like quickly quickly using when
      kieteta kara ne.
      disappeared because FP
      'My money disappeared when I quickly spent it, like "I can earn this much next month, so it's okay to use this much."'

  2 Taka: *Aa, zenzen keikakusee no nai kanji.*
      oh completely planning LK NEG like
      'Oh, it's like doing no planning at all.'

  3 Hiro: *Keekakusee nai.*
      planning NEG
      'No planning.'

  4 Taka: *E, konbini   no saa, reji no yoko ni aru okashi toka*
      ah convenience store LK FP registar LK next to exist snacks etc.
      kacchau taipu?
      buy type
      'Ah, are you a type of person who buys the snack items located next to the cash register in convenience stores?'

→ 5 Toshi: **<u>Iya,</u>** *kawanai kawanai sore wa nai.*
      iya buy-NEG buy-NEG that TP NEG
      'No, I don't buy them, I don't buy them, I don't do that.'

  6 Taka: *Kawanai n da.*
      that CP FP
      'You don't buy them.'

In line 4 of the above excerpt, Taka asks a yes-no question about the pattern of spending money, which asks whether or not the addressee is the type of person who purchases the snack items that are displayed next the cash register. In response to Taka's question, in line 5, Toshi prefaces his utterance with *iya* with the Low-High pitch pattern, and utters *kawanai kawanai sore wa nai* 'I don't buy

them, I don't buy them, I don't do that.' Judging from Toshi's utterance that follows *iya*, the case of *iya* that prefaces line 5 can be considered to be the commonly recognized usage of *iya*, which can be translated to 'no' in English.

3.2   *iya* directly before statements of 'yes'

The previous example has demonstrated a case of *iya* that is used in a commonly recognized way. However, the examined data included five cases of *iya* that deviate from the typical pattern of usage of *iya*. This section will qualitatively examine those five cases of *iya*, and analyze what the speaker expresses by using *iya* in each example. All of the deviant cases of *iya* in the data are uttered with the Low-High pitch pattern, which does not show any phonological/intonational differences from the pitch pattern of the cases of *iya* used in commonly recognized ways.

3.2.1   iya *in response to a yes-no question*

The following excerpt, (12), is from a scene where four conversationalists talk about *Doobutsu no Mori*, which was a newly released video game for *Nintendo Wii* at the time of the recording. The gender of all of the speakers in this excerpt is male. The short segment used for Example (10) in an earlier section of this paper was also from this excerpt.

(12)   [*CABank: Sakura18*]

> 1   Toshi: *Wii de sa, Doobutsu no Mori ga atarashuku deta   n da yo*
> *Wii* for FP *Doobutsu no Mori* SB newly   released N CP FP
> *saikin.*
> recently
> '*Doobutsu no Mori* was released for *Wii* recently.'
>
> 2   Hide: [*Doobutsu no Mori tte shiranai.*]
> *Doobutsu   no Mori* QT know-NEG
> 'I don't know what *Doobutsu no Mori* is.'
> [*Doobutsu no Mori hhh*]
>
> 3   Taka: *Doobutsu   no Mori*
> '*Doobutsu no Mori*.'
>
> 4   Hiro: [hhhhhhhhh]
>
> 5   Taka: *Osu   naa oi.*
> recommend FP   hey
> 'Hey, you recommend it.'
>
> 6   Taka: *Omoshiroi no? Doobutsu no Mori tte.*
> interesting Q   *Doobutsu no Mori* QT
> 'Is it interesting? *Doobutsu no Mori*.'

→ 7   Toshi: <u>**Iya,**</u> *omoshiroi   yo.*
                    iya   interesting FP
                    '*Iya*, it's interesting.'

  8   Toshi: [*Rokuyon   de yatta.*]
                    Nintendo 64 on played
                    'I played it on *Nintendo 64*.'

  9   Taka: [*Are sugoi sa, hora,*] *onnanoko toka ga sa, sugoi yatteru tte kiku*
                    that a lot FP ah   girls   etc. SB FP a lot playing QT hear
                    jan.
                    FP
                    'I hear that a lot of girls play it.'

10   Toshi: *Aa, maa ne.*
                    oh right FP
                    'Oh, that's right.'

In line 6 in (12), Taka asks a yes-no question about whether *Doobutsu no Mori* is interesting. Because of the propositional information included in Taka's question, if the respondent thinks *Doobutsu no Mori* is interesting, it is typically expected that he or she utters a response token that signals 'yes' such as *hai* (formal-style 'yes') or *un* (casual-style 'yes'). On the other hand, if the respondent thinks *Doobutsu no Mori* is not interesting, it is expected that the respondent utters a response token such as *iie, iya*, or *uun* to indicate 'no' to the question. However, in response to Toshi's question, Taka prefaces his utterance with *iya*, and utters *omoshiroi yo* 'it is interesting,' which is interpreted as a response that signals 'yes' to the preceding question.

The first thing that we can observe from this seemingly mysterious occurrence of *iya* in line 7 is that *iya* does not necessarily impede the speaker from expressing 'yes' to a yes-no question. As indicated by Example (1) in the introduction section, if Toshi's utterance in line 7 was *iya* by itself and no utterances had followed *iya*, Toshi's response to Taka's question would have been interpreted as 'no,' indicating that he thinks that *Doobutsu no Mori* is not interesting. However, when *iya* is followed by statements that signal 'yes' to a yes-no question such as *omoshiroi yo* 'it is interesting,' even when the utterance is prefaced with *iya*, the interpretation of the whole response is still 'yes.'

In addition, in line 7 in (12), it was possible for Toshi to use a response token that expresses 'yes' such as *un*, and complete the utterance, forming an utterance such as *un, omoshiroi yo* instead of *iya, omoshiroi yo*. The occurrence of *iya* instead of *un* in line 7 may appear contradictory since Toshi's response to Taka's yes-no question is clearly 'yes,' but if we pay attention to the presumption on which Taka's question is based, the reason for using *iya* instead of *un* can be explained.

Before we proceed onto the analysis of *iya* with the notion of presumption, what presumption refers to in the present study must be clarified. The present study adopts *presumption* as a working terminology to refer to the speaker's presumed recognition of the situation on which the speaker's utterance is based. The word *presupposition* is intentionally avoided here to avoid limiting the present study's focus to the narrower sense of presupposition, which is a highly technical term in the studies of logic and semantics. On the definition of presupposition in conversational situations, Stalnaker (1973) claims that "[a] person's presuppositions are the propositions whose truth he takes for granted, often unconsciously, in a conversation, an inquiry, or a deliberation" (p. 448). Based on this type of definition of presupposition, when the speaker utters *Is John coming to the meeting on Thursday?*, the utterance is based on the presupposition that there is a meeting on Thursday; however, the speaker's recognized uncertainty of John coming or not coming to the meeting is technically not included in the scope of the utterance's presupposition. In addition, as Plumer (2016) observes that "[o]ften in ordinary (hence, non-legal) contexts, the notions of an argument's presumption, assumption, and presupposition do not appear to be distinguishable" (p. 470); similar but slightly different terminologies such as presumption, assumption, and presupposition overlap with each other and the boundaries between these terms are not always clearly identifiable. Therefore, to avoid creating technical complexity not related directly to the purpose of the present study, presumption is used as a cover term to refer to the speaker's general recognition of the situation on which his/her utterances are based. Also, this notion of presumption appears to be analogous to what Kushida and Hayashi (2013) list as one of the four signals indexed by *iya* uttered in response to a *wh*-question, which is a resistance to "an assumption conveyed by the question regarding the state of affairs it addresses" (p. 234).

For the case of *iya* after a yes-no question by Toshi in (12), the presumption on which the question is based is Toshi's speculation about *Doobutsu no Mori* not being interesting. In other words, if Toshi were completely certain that *Doobutsu no Mori* is interesting, he would not have asked the yes-no question that he asked in line 6. Therefore, the act of asking the question in line 6 also exhibits the presumption associated with the question, which is the reasonably high possibility of *Doobutsu no Mori* not being interesting. As we saw earlier in Examples (4), (5), and (6), the scope of *iya* does not always target the propositional content included in the preceding utterance, and it is also reasonable to interpret that the case of *iya* in (12) targets the presumption on which the question is based, rather than targeting the propositional content of the preceding utterance.

In addition, if we pay attention to the social action that is conveyed by the act of asking a question in line 6, the case of *iya* in line 7 can be interpreted as Toshi's display of doubt. A study by Schegloff (1984) shows that utterances that

are syntactically structured as questions are not always recognized as questions by the addressee, and depending on the situation in which the utterance is made, the interpretation can be ambiguous for the addressee. For example, an utterance formed as a question such as *why is it that we have to go there?* can be treated as a mere question by the addressee; however, the same utterance can also be interpreted as a display of complaint. Similarly, the question in line 6 in (12) can be interpreted as a mere information-seeking question, but also as an expression of doubt about *Doobutsu no Mori* being interesting. Therefore, based on the interpretation that Taka's utterance in line 6 is an expression of his doubt, the case of *iya* in line 7 by Toshi can be interpreted as a response token of denial that targets the doubt expressed by Taka, which is also based on the presumption that *Doobutsu no Mori* may not be interesting.

A remaining question is the pragmatic motivation behind the use of *iya*, when the answer to a yes-no question is 'yes.' The motivation for using *iya* instead of *un* can be explained if we pay attention to the level of assertion that can be made in response to a yes-no question. In line 7 in (12), Toshi utters, *iya, omoshiroi yo*, and *iya* in the utterance denies the presumption exhibited by asking the question, which is the possibility of *Doobutsu no Mori* not being interesting. In addition, *omoshiroi yo* that follows *iya* signals 'yes' to the question by Taka. Therefore, in line 7 in (12), Toshi is expressing two separate messages to assert that *Doubusu no Mori* is interesting. More precisely, the first message is the denial of the presumption associated with the act of asking the question, which is the possibility of *Doobutsu no Mori* not being interesting. The second message is the answer to Taka's yes-no question, which also asserts that *Doobutsu no Mori* is interesting. If Toshi had uttered *un, omoshiroi yo* in line 7, he would have had only one chance to assert that *Doobutsu no Mori* is interesting, since the only message that can be expressed with *un, omoshiroi yo* is the answer to the yes-no question. On the other hand, with *iya, omoshiroi yo*, Toshi can deny the possibility of *Doobutsu no Mori* not being interesting with *iya*, and also express that *Doobutsu not Mori* is interesting by signaling 'yes' to the yes-no question. Therefore, by saying *iya* instead of *un* in line 7, Toshi can express a stronger sense of 'yes,' indicating that *needless to ask, Doobutsu no Mori is interesting*.

The author of the present study is not aware of response tokens in other languages that resemble *iya* in Japanese, but it should be mentioned that the pragmatic effect created by using *iya* prior to a statement of 'yes' in Japanese seems to contrast with Burridge and Florey's (2002) observation on *yeah-no* in Australian English, which can be used as a hedging device in a discourse. Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) examine the hedging of the illocutionary force of a speech act as part of the politeness phenomena, and Fraser (2010) labels this type of hedging as "speech act hedging" (p.18). The following excerpt is from Burridge

and Florey (2002), and it includes a case of *yeah-no* that is used as a device for speech act hedging. In (13), Peter and his grandmother Dorothy are talking with an interviewer, Andrew L. Urban.

(13) Dorothy: His children are sixth.
      Andrew Urban: Yeah? Have you got any …?
      Peter: I've got three boys.
      Andrew Urban: Three [<XX>]
      Dorothy: [We've got] to do this shopping Peter.
      Peter: **Yeah, no** it's alright nanna, we've got 5 minutes.
      Andrew Urban: We won't keep you long.

(Burridge and Florey 2002, 164)[2]

For the case of *yeah-no* by Peter in the above excerpt, Burridge and Florey (2002) explain that "[h]e uses *yeah-no* to acknowledge his grandmother's concern while also softening his disagreement" (p. 164). According to Burridge and Florey, speakers can use *yeah-no* as a hedging device to mitigate the effects of a potentially face-threatening utterance by making a positive evaluation with *yeah* first, then, following it with a negative evaluation. In contrast, in the case of Japanese *iya* followed by a statement of 'yes,' *iya* signals 'no' to the presumption on which the preceding utterance is based, and a statement of 'yes' follows it for the propositional information, resulting in creating a stronger sense of assertion. What is notable in the comparison here is the sequence organization of agreement/disagreement that appears in the utterance. In the case of Australian English *yeah-no*, the sequence of agreement/disagreement is <u>agreement => disagreement</u>, and it creates a pragmatic effect of speech act hedging. For Japanese *iya* followed by a statement of 'yes,' the sequence is <u>disagreement => agreement</u>, and the utterance's assertiveness is strengthened. The present study does not explore further data in other languages to examine whether or not this is a universal phenomenon across multiple languages; however, the relationship between the sequential order of agreement/ disagreement and its effect on the statement's illocutionary force may be worth investigating further in future studies.

The present study will explore several more examples to demonstrate further that *iya* can strengthen the illocutionary force of statements of 'yes.' The following excerpt, (14), includes a case of *iya* that also targets the presumption on which a yes-no question is based. (14) is from a segment of a conversation in which four conversational participants talk about pets. The participants in this excerpt are all female between the ages of 19–22. Prior to the beginning of excerpt (14), Aya mentions that her dog, *Kenken*, is more than 10 years old, and

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2. <XX> in the transcript refers to an indistinct segment of the recording.

his age is considered very old for a dog. Aya lives apart from her family; how-ever, *Kenken* stays with her family.

(14)   [*CABank: Sakura09*]

      1   Mari: *Oya   ni iwarechatta,*
                parents by was told
                'My parents told me.'

      2   *Omaera futari kau   dake de   juubun dakara tte.*
                You   two   people keep only enough because QT
                'Keeping you two is enough.'

      3   Miho: *Aa.*
                oh
                'Oh.'

      4   Mari: *Iware chatta.*
                was   told
                'I was told.'

      5   Miho: *Soo da yo ne.*
                that CP FP FP
                'That's true.'
                Kanekuimushi me tte.

      6   Mari: money   pit QT
                'They told me that I'm a money pit.'

      7   Miho: *Kane   ga nakunaru.*
                money SB disappear
                'Money disappears.'

      8   Mari: *Gakusee shooganee   ja nee ka yo.*
                students can't do anything CP FP Q   FP
                'Students can't do anything about it.'

      9   ((2.0 second-long silence))

   10   Mari: *Kenken tsugi kaetta   toki ikiteru kana?*
                Kenken next go home time alive   Q
                'Will *Kenken* be still alive next time you go home?'

→ 11   Aya: **Iya,** *daijoobu da to omou kedo toriaezu.*
                iya, okay   CP QT think FP   for a while
                '*Iya*, I think he will be okay for a while.'

   12   Mari: *Samusa ni wa tsuyoi n da.*
                coldness in TP strong N CP
                'He is strong in cold weather.'

   13   Aya: *Tsuyoi to omou yo.*
                strong QT think FP
                'I think he's strong.'

In line 10 in the above excerpt, Mari asks if *Kenken* will still be alive the next time Aya goes home with the sentence-final particle *kana*. Matsugu (2005) analyzes the sentence-final particle *kana*, and claims that even though *kana* is traditionally defined as a doubt marker, *kana* also serves as a question marker when the utterance is directed toward other speakers. In response to Mari's yes-no question in line 10, Aya utters *iya, daijoobu da to omou kedo toriaezu* '*iya*, I think he will be okay for a while.' In line 11, Aya's response to a yes-no question starts with *iya*; however, it is clear that *daijoobu* 'okay' included in the utterance shows that Aya's answer to Miho's yes-no question is 'yes,' which indicates that Aya believes that *Kenken* will still be alive the next time she goes home.

Similar to the case of *iya* in (12), the case of *iya* in (14) appears to be targeting the presumption on which the preceding yes-no question is based. Mari's act of asking the question in line 10 demonstrates she presumes that there is a reasonably high possibility of *Kenken's* death by the next time Aya goes home. In other words, if Mari had presumed little or no possibility of *Kenken*'s death, she would not have asked whether or not he is going to be alive in the form of a yes-no question. Therefore, by using *iya* instead of *un*, Aya expresses a stronger sense of 'yes' since *iya* denies the presumption on which Mari's yes-no question is based, and the utterance that follows *iya* also expresses 'yes' to the yes-no question. If *un* was used in line 11, the sense of 'yes' expressed with the utterance would have been weaker since Aya cannot deny the presumption associated with Mari's question with *un*.

The previous two examples were from the recordings of in-person conversations with four participants. The data from the telephone conversations examined for the present study also included two cases of *iya* that prefaces statements of 'yes.' Even though the following two examples are not examined in detail, they are included in this paper to confirm further that *iya* can be used to strengthen the illocutionary force of statements of 'yes.' (15), is a telephone conversation between Koji and Ken, both of whom are male college students. In (15), the two speakers are talking about the examination for becoming diplomats.

(15)   [*CABank: CallFriend/JPN6221*]
   1 Koji: *Gaikookan wa minna hikki na n desu yo.*
     diplomat   TP   all   writing CP N CP   FP
     'The diplomat exam is all in writing.'
   2 Ken: *Fuun, aa, maakushiito ja nakute.*
     oh   ah   scantron   CP NEG
     'Oh, ah, it's not a scantron exam.'
   3 Koji: *Nani, kokusaihoo toka deru n desu ka?*
     ah   international law etc. included N CP   Q
     'Ah, are things like international law included?'

→ 4 Ken: **Iya,** *kokusaihoo   toka mochiron anoo kenpoo   toka.*
  iya international law etc. of course ah   constitution etc.
  '*Iya*, international law, etc., of course, constitution, etc.'

  5 Koji: *Un un un nihonkoku kenpoo.*
  yes yes yes Japan   constriction
  'Yes, yes yes, the Japanese Constitution.'

  6 Ken: *Nihonkoku kenpoo   toka kokusaihoo   toka, sorekara nan*
  Japan   constitution etc. international law etc. and   what
  datta kke na, iroiro.
  CP   FP FP various
  'The Japanese Constitution, international law, and what else?,
  various things.'

Koji asks a yes-no question in line 3 in (15), and Ken prefaces his response to the question with *iya* in line 4. The yes-no question asked by Koji in line 3 is about whether or not international law is included in the examination for diplomats, and the presumption on which this question is based is the possibility of international law not included in the exam. As illustrated by Ken's use of *mochiron* 'of course' in line 4 and the flow of the conversation in lines 5 and 6, Ken's response to Koji's yes-no question is clearly 'yes,' which indicates that international law is included in the exam. For this particular example, the case of *iya* by Ken in line 4 appears to be negating the presumption associated with Koji's question, which is the possibility of international law not being included in the exam. In addition, the illocutionary force of Ken's response in line 4 is strengthened by *iya* since it targets the preceding question's presumption, and this intensification of 'yes' by Ken also aligns with *mochiron* 'of course' included as part of his utterance.

The next excerpt includes another case of *iya* before a statement of 'yes' found in the telephone conversation corpus. The two conversationalists are the same as the ones in the previous example. In (16), Ken and Koji talk about Ken's hairstyle when he had a job interview.

(16) [*CABank: CallFriend/JPN6221*]
  1 Ken: *Rikuruuto fasshon*
  recruit   fashion
  'Recruit fashion.'

  2 Koji: *Donna n desu, atama?*
  how   N CP   hair
  'How was your hairstyle?'

  3 Ken: *Atama wa chanto   koo*
  hair   CP properly like this
  'My hair was properly, like this.'

4   Koji: *Shichisan   toka?*
　　　　seven-three etc.
　　　　'Seven-three (side) parting style?'

5   Ken: *Uun, maa, sore ni chikai yoo na.*
　　　　well well that   close like
　　　　'Well, well, it was close to that.'

6   Koji: *Sukoshi shichisan ni   shita n desu ka?*
　　　　a   little   seven-three did N CP Q
　　　　'Was it a little like the seven-three parting style?'

7   Ken: *Ee* hhh hhh hhh.
　　　　yes
　　　　'Yes.'

8   Koji: hhh *honma ni?*
　　　　　　　　really
　　　　'Really?'

→ 9   Ken: **Iya** *honma ni.*
　　　　iya really
　　　　'*Iya*, really.'

10   Koji: *Ima wa?*
　　　　now TP
　　　　'How is it now?'

11   Ken: *E?*
　　　　huh
　　　　'Huh?'

12   Koji: *Masshuruum modotta n desu ka?*
　　　　mushroom   returned N CP   Q
　　　　'Returned to the mushroom-style hair?'

13   Ken: *Soo soo soo.*
　　　　yes yes yes
　　　　'Yes, yes, yes.'

In response to Koji's yes-no question *honma ni?* 'really?' in line 8, Ken initially utters *iya* and repeats *honma ni* with the non-question declarative intonation in line 9, which signals 'yes' to Koji's yes-no question. From Ken's perspective, Koji's yes-no question about the truth value of what Ken said can be interpreted as Koji's expression of doubt, and Ken seems to be challenging Koji's doubt by using *iya*, followed by *honma ni* to deliver 'yes' to Koji's yes-no question. Consequently, the illocutionary force of Ken's utterance in line 9 is strengthened because *iya* targets Koji's doubt, and *homma ni* also delivers 'yes' the preceding yes-no question.

3.2.2 iya *after a non-question utterance*

The previous four examples have shown how *iya* can be used after a yes-no question to deny the presumption on which the question is based. In addition, the examined data for the present study included a case of *iya* that is not uttered after a yes-no question, but still used to preface an utterance that expresses 'yes.'

The next excerpt is from a segment of a conversation where four female participants talk about the differences between cats and dogs. Shortly before the beginning of (17), the participants were discussing how pets' instincts as wild animals influence their behavioral traits. Among the participants, Miho has owned a cat before; however, Mari has not.

(17)   [*CABank: Sakura09*]

1   Miho: *Inu tte kazoku mitai na mon na no?*
dog QT family like   CP N   CP Q
'Are dogs like your family members?'

2   Mari: *E, neko datte kazoku ja nai no, neko wa.*
ah cat   also family CP NEG Q   cat   TP
'Ah, aren't cats also family members?'

3   Miho: *Neko wa nee, ano nee, jibun   no shinu sugata o misenai*
cats   TP FP   well FP   themselves LK dying body   O show-NEG
kara,   inaku nacchatte
because hide   away
'Cats hide away when they die because they don't want to be seen when they die.'

4   Mari: *Yasee jan sonna no.*
wild   FP that   N
'That's wild.'

5   Mari: *Yasee no doobutsu minna soo da yo ne.*
wild   LK animals all   that CP FP FP
'Wild animals are all like that, right?'

6   Miho: ((nodding toward Mari))

7   Mari: *Mada yasee no honnoo aru n da, inu yori.*
still   wild LK instinct have N CP dogs more
'They still have more wild instincts than dogs do.'

→ 8   Miho: **Iya,** *aru aru.*
iya, have have
'*Iya*, they have, they have.'

9   Miho: *Ano nee, neko o kau to, iya   na hito   wa honto iya*
              well FP cat o have if dislike CP person TP really dislike
              kamoshirenai.
              probably
              'If you don't like cats, probably you will really dislike having a
              cat.'

10   *Nezumi o ga tto   tsukamaete, ie   ni hoochi shitari toka,*
              mice   o quickly catch   home in leave etc.   and
              suzume   tsukamaetari
              sparrows catch

11   *toka suru kara.*
              etc. do   because
              'Because they do things like quickly catching mice and bringing
              them home, and catching sparrows, etc.'

In line 7 in (17), Miho utters *mada yasei no honnoo aru n da* 'they still have
wild instincts,' followed by a post-predicate addition *inu yori* 'more than dogs do.'
Mari's utterance in line 7 includes the so-called extended predicate *n da*. Noda
(1997) argues that when an exclamatory statement is made with the *n da* form, it
shows that the speaker has just found out that the reality is different from what
he or she previously expected. It appears that Noda's argument on the usage of
the *n da* form applies to Mari's utterance in line 11, and it indicates that Mari has
just realized that cats have wild instincts. In addition, the case of *jan* in line 4 also
shows that Mari has just realized that cats have wild instincts, since *jan* is simi-
lar to *ja nai ka* and can indicate that the speaker has just realized something new
(Matsumaru 2001).

    In response to Mari's utterance in line 7, Miho utters *iya, aru aru* '*iya,* they
have, they have' in line 8. Even though the utterance in line 8 is prefaced with *iya*,
since *aru aru* in Miho's utterance refers to the existence of wild instincts among
cats, it is clearly indicated that Miho believes that cats have wild instincts. In
other words, even though Miho does not disagree with the propositional infor-
mation included in Mari's utterance in line 7, the utterance is still prefaced with
iya in line 8.

    Similar to what we observed in the previous section for the cases of *iya* after
yes-no questions, the occurrence of *iya* can be explained by examining the pre-
sumption associated with the utterance directly before the case of *iya*. For a state-
ment of realization to be made, the state of mind prior to realization must be
having no information, or believing information that is different from the newly
received information. Therefore, Mari's statement of realization about cats' wild
instincts in line 7 is based on her prior presumption that cats may or may not
have wild instincts. Thus, the case of *iya* in line 8 can be considered to be targeting

Mari's presumption, that is, the idea that cats may or may not have wild instincts, which was the necessary condition for Mari's realization to occur.

For the communicative effect created by using *iya* instead of *un* in line 8 in (17), the effect appears to be similar to what we observed for the cases of *iya* after yes-no questions. Examples (12), (14), (15), and (16) in the present study have shown that the speaker can deliver a stronger message of 'yes' by using *iya* after a yes-no question when the answer to the yes-no question is 'yes.' Similarly, even when the preceding utterance is not a yes-no question, the speaker can express a stronger sense of 'yes' when the preceding utterance follows the binary system of yes-no. As discussed earlier, the case of *iya* in line 8 in (17) targets the possibility of cats not having wild instincts, and *aru aru* that follows *iya* states that cats have wild instincts. If Miho's utterance was *un, aru aru* in line 8, even though it would be still possible for her to state that cats have wild instincts, her utterance would have been a weaker statement of 'yes' since she cannot deny the presumption that exists behind the preceding utterance with *un*.

4.   Conclusion

The present study has examined naturally occurring conversations among L1 speakers of Japanese, and analyzed the cases of *iya* 'no' that are used to preface statements that express 'yes.' As the data analysis section has shown, those cases of *iya* appear to be used to target the presumption on which the preceding statement is based, not the propositional content included in the preceding utterance. For the case of *iya* that is uttered in response to a yes-no question, the speaker can utter *iya* to reject the presumption on which the question is formulated; however, he/she can still express 'yes' to the yes-no question based on the propositional content that is included in the statement that follows *iya*. For the pragmatic effect created by using *iya* instead of response tokens that indicate 'yes' such as *un* and *hai*, it was argued that the speaker can express a stronger sense of 'yes' when the response to a yes-no question is prefaced with *iya*, since it creates an effect of expressing *needless to ask*, in addition to signaling 'yes' with the propositional information that follows *iya*. The present study has also shown that even when the preceding utterance is not a yes-no question, the speaker can use *iya* to deny the presumption associated with the preceding utterance, and then agree with the propositional information in the preceding utterance in order to deliver a stronger message of 'yes.'

As we have observed, the denial of presumption is a notion that is crucial for the analysis of the response token *iya*. The scope of the present study was limited to the cases of *iya* in response to a yes-no question, or a case that is similar

to it. However, it seems that *iya* used for the denial of the presumption of the prior utterance can also be found in other interactional situations, as exemplified in the studies on the cases of *iya* after *wh*-questions by Hayashi and Kushida (2013) and Kushida and Hayashi (2015). More unexplored properties of *iya* as a response token may be revealed by further examination of *iya* that targets the presumption of the prior utterance. In addition, as discussed in the comparison between Japanese *iya* before a statement of 'yes' and *yeah-no* in Australian English explored by Burridge and Florey (2002), there may be a tendency for the relationship between the discourse sequence of agreement/disagreement and the illocutionary force of the utterance, and the tendency could be generalized across multiple languages. An examination of various response tokens that signal yes/no in other languages may reveal the existence of patterns that can be generalized across languages.

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Appendix.   Transcription conventions and abbreviations

CP	various forms of copula verb *be*
FP	final particle
LK	nominal linking particle
NOM	nominalizer
NEG	negative morpheme
O	object marker
Q	question marker
QT	quotative marker

SB   subject marker
TP   topic marker
( )   unintelligible segment
(( ))   transcriber's description of events
hhh   laughter
[the point where overlapping talk begins
]   the point where overlapping talk ends