

The Clause-Mate Condition in Japanese Multiple Cleft

Shinichiro Ishihara

Institut für Linguistik
Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main
ishihara@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de
http://alum.mit.edu/www/s_1/

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1 / 36

Outline

1. Japanese Multiple Cleft
Clefts in Japanese
Syntax of Japanese Clefts
2. The Clause-Mate Condition in Japanese Multiple Clefts
The Clause-Mate Condition
CMC Obviation
3. A Prosodic Account of the CMC Proposal
Syntax-Prosody Mapping
Influence of Prosody on Parsing
4. Obviation of the CMC
Focus Prosody
Length Effect
Extension: Long-distance Scrambling

2 / 36

Main Claim

- A new account of the Clause-Mate Condition (CMC) in Japanese multiple clefts
- ▶ differs from purely syntactic accounts (cf. Koizumi 1995, 2000; Talcro 2002)
 - ▶ accounts for both the CMC and the CMC obviation cases (cf. Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002, 2010)
 - ▶ treats the CMC as a result of an interaction of prosody and parsing, assuming the *Implicit Prosody Hypothesis* (Bader 1998; Fodor 1998).

3 / 36

Clefts in Japanese

Basic components

Japanese clefts are composed of three parts:

1. Presuppositional clause
 - ▶ headed by a complementizer *no*
 - ▶ followed by a topic marker *-wa*
2. Focus XP(s) (with Case-marker/Postposition!)
3. Copula *da*

- (1) [Naoya-ga _{ei} labeta no]-wa ringo-o mi-tsu da.
N-NOM ate C-TOP apple-ACC 3-CL COP
'It was three apples that Naoya ate. (Cleft)

4 / 36

Clefts in Japanese

Cleft vs. Pseudo-cleft

If the focus XP does not bear a Case-marker/postposition, they behave differently syntactically. We call them *pseudo-clefts*, and will not discuss it here.

- (2) [Naoya-ga e_i tabeta no]-wa ringo-o mit-tu_i da.
 N-NOM ate C-TOP apple-ACC 3-CL COP
 'It was three apples that Naoya ate. (Cleft)
- (3) [Naoya-ga e_i tabeta no]-wa ringo- \emptyset mit-tu_i da.
 N-NOM ate C-TOP apple 3-CL COP
 'It was three apples that Naoya ate. (Pseudo-cleft)

11 / 56

Clefts in Japanese

Cleft vs. Pseudo-cleft

Syntactic differences between clefts and pseudo-clefts
 (Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002, 2010):

	Cleft	Pseudo-cleft
Multiple foci	OK	*
Clefting across Islands	*	OK
NP-substitution of <i>no</i>	*	OK
Nominative-Genitive Conversion	*	OK

7 / 56

Clefts in Japanese

Multiple Cleft

Japanese clefts allow multiple foci (while pseudo-clefts don't).

- (4) [Naoya-ga e_i ageta no]-wa Mari-ni_i ringo-o_j mit-tu_i da.
 N-NOM gave C-TOP M-DAT apple-ACC 3-CL COP
 '(Lit.) It was three apples to Mari that Naoya gave.' (Cleft)
- (5) * [Naoya-ga e_i ageta no]-wa Mari- \emptyset _i ringo- \emptyset _j mit-tu_i da.
 N-NOM gave C-TOP M- \emptyset apple- \emptyset 3-CL COP
 '(Lit.) It was three apples to Mari that Naoya gave.' (Pseudo-cleft)

3 / 56

Syntax of Japanese Clefts

Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002, 2010)

Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002, 2010) proposed a mono-clausal analysis of clefts in Japanese:

1. Base structure: In-situ focus construction
2. Focus movement of the focus XP(s) to Spec,FocP
3. Topicalization of the remnant FinP to Spec,TopP

10 / 56

Syntax of Japanese Clefts

1. Base structure: In-situ focus

In-situ focus construction (a.k.a. *no da* sentence):

- ▶ Tensed clause
- ▶ headed by a complementizer *no*
- ▶ followed by a copula *da*
- ▶ Prosodically marked focus/foci

- (6) [F_{inP} Naoya-ga RINGO-O MITT-YU tabeta no] da.
 N-NOM apple-ACC 3-CL ate C COP
 'Lit.) It was that Naoya ate THREE APPLES.'

11 / 56

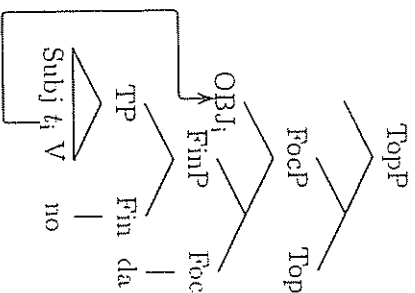
Syntax of Japanese Clefts

2. Focus movement

1. Base: In-situ focus

- ▶ Split CP (Rizzi 1997)
- ▶ Comp. *no*: Head of FinP
- ▶ Copula *da*: Head of FocP

2. Focus Movement



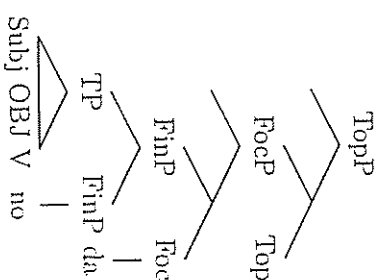
13 / 56

Syntax of Japanese Clefts

1. Base structure: In-situ focus

1. Base: In-situ focus

- ▶ Split CP (Rizzi 1997)
- ▶ Comp. *no*: Head of FinP
- ▶ Copula *da*: Head of FocP



12 / 56

Syntax of Japanese Clefts

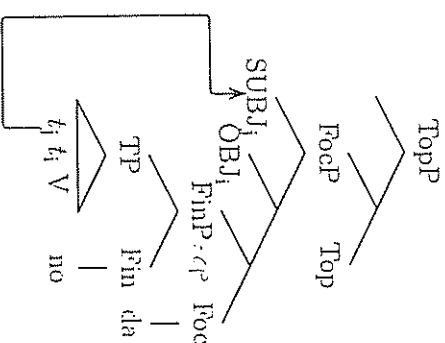
2. Focus movement

1. Base: In-situ focus

- ▶ Split CP (Rizzi 1997)
- ▶ Comp. *no*: Head of FinP
- ▶ Copula *da*: Head of FocP

2. Focus Movement

- ▶ Multiple foci: Multiple Specs

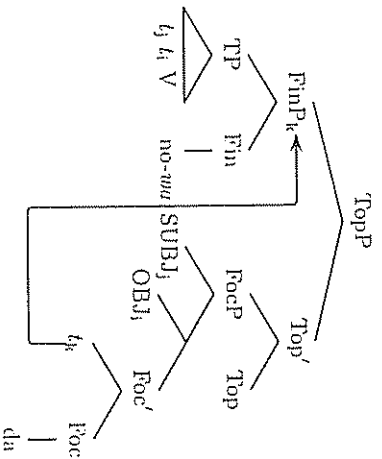


11 / 56

Syntax of Japanese Clefts

3. Topicalization of the remnant FinP

1. Base: In-situ focus
 - ▶ Split CP (Rizzi 1997)
 - ▶ Comp. *no*: Head of FinP
 - ▶ Copula *da*: Head of FocP
2. Focus Movement
 - ▶ Multiple foci: Multiple Specs
3. Remnant FinP Topicalization
 - ▶ Topic marker -*wa*



15 / 56

The Clause-Mate Condition

Multiple foci in clefts must be originated from the same clause (Koizumi 1995).

- (8) [Mari-ga sensei-ni | e_i e_j tabeta to] ittuketa no]-wa
 M.-NOM teacher-DAT ate C told C-TOP
 Naoya-ga; ringo-o_j da.
 N.-NOM apple-ACC COP
 '(Lit.) It was Naoya, an apple that Mari told to the teacher that ate.'
- (9) * [Mari-ga e_i | Naoya-ga e_j tabeta to] ittuketa no]-wa
 M.-NOM N.-NOM ate C told C-TOP
 sensei-ni; ringo-o_j da.
 teacher-DAT apple-ACC COP
 '(Lit.) It was to the teacher, an apple that Mari told that Naoya ate.'

18 / 56

Syntax of Japanese Clefts

Multiple Clefts

According to the analysis above, multiple clefts have the following syntactic and prosodic structure:

- (7) [TopP | FinP Naoya-ga e_i e_j ageta no |]-wa
 N.-NOM gave G-TOP
 [FocP Mari-ni ringo-o mi-tuy | k_r da ||
 M.-DAT apple-ACC 3-CL COP
 '(Lit.) It was three apples to Mari that Naoya gave.'

16 / 56

The Clause-Mate Condition

Previous Accounts

Previous accounts of the CMC:

- ▶ Koizumi (1995, 2000):
 - ▶ Multiple foci are a remnant TP after the string vacuous V-to-T-to-C movement.
 - ▶ [FinP [TP Subj [VP Obj | e_i | V_i-T_j-Fin]
- ▶ Takano (2002):
 - ▶ Multiple foci constitute a single constituent called "surprising constituent."
 - ▶ [XP₁ XP₂ [XP₁ ...] | ... t₁
 - ▶ "Surprising constituents" can be formed only within a clause.

Both accounts treat the CMC as a syntactic constraint, and strictly prohibits multiple non-clause-mate foci.

19 / 56

CMC Obviation

28

Multiple Clefts in *Wh-* and Yes/No-Question

If multiple foci in clefts are *wh*-phrases, or what is being asked in a Yes/No-question, the sentences are exempt from the CMC.

- (10) [Naoya-ga t_i [Mari-ga t_j nonda to] ituketa no]-wa
 N.-NOM M.-NOM drank C told C-TOP
 dare-ni nani-o_j na no (desu ka)?
 who-DAT what-ACC COP C COP Q
 '(Lit.) To whom_i what_j is it that Naoya told t_i that Mari drank t_j ?'

- (11) [Naoya-ga t_i [Mari-ga t_j nonda to] ituketa no]-wa
 N.-NOM M.-NOM drank C told C-TOP
 Yumi-ni wain-o_j na no (desu ka)?
 Y.-DAT wine-ACC COP C COP Q
 '(Lit.) Is it to Yumi_i, wine_j that Naoya told t_i that Mari drank t_j ?'

21 / 56

CMC Obviation

29

Multiple Clefts in *Wh-* and Yes/No-Question

Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002, 2010):

- ▶ The proposed derivation allows non-clause-make foci, but with no restriction.
- ▶ The CMC remains unexplained.
- ▶ Both *Wh-* and Yes/No-questions are always accompanied by a focus prosody.

- (12) Focus prosody
 a. Focal F₀-rise
 b. Post-focal reduction

[_{FinP} ... [WH/FOC] ... Verb] no (desu ka) ?

22 / 56

CMC Obviation

Multiple Clefts in *Wh-* and Yes/No-Question

Multiple *Wh-* and Yes/No-Cleft (violating the CMC):

- (13) [Naoya-ga t_i [Mari-ga t_j nonda to] ituketa no]-wa
 N.-NOM M.-NOM drank C told C-TOP
 [DARE-ni [NANI-o_j na no (desu ka) ?
 who-DAT what-ACC COP C COP Q
 '(Lit.) To whom_i what_j is it that Naoya told t_i that Mari drank t_j ?'

- (14) [Naoya-ga t_i [Mari-ga t_j nonda to] ituketa no]-wa
 N.-NOM M.-NOM drank C told C-TOP
 [SENSEI-ni [WAIN-o_j na no (desu ka) ?
 teacher-DAT wine-ACC COP C COP Q
 '(Lit.) Is it to the teacher_i, wine_j that Naoya told t_i that Mari drank t_j ?'

23 / 56

Proposal

The CMC, and its absence in *Wh-* and Yes/No-questions, are due to the interaction of:

1. Syntax-prosody mapping
 - ▶ default prosodic phrasing for multiple clefts
2. Influence of (implicit) prosody on parsing
 - ▶ Implicit Prosody Hypothesis (IPH)
 - ▶ prosodic phrasing used as a cue for the comprehension of argument structure
 - ▶ intonational phrase (ι) = domain for clause-makes
3. Focus prosody
 - ▶ focus prosody overrides the default prosody, which obliterates the CMC effect.

25 / 56

Syntax-Prosody Mapping

Prosodic Hierarchy

We adopt the prosodic hierarchy proposed by Itô & Mester (2007, to appear)

- ▶ Intonational phrase (*i*)
- ▶ Phonological phrase (φ)
 - ▶ a.k.a. major phrase, intermediate phrase
 - ▶ Minimal φ : a.k.a. minor phrase, accentual phrase
- ▶ Prosodic word (ω)

27 / 56

Syntax-Prosody Mapping

Mapping Principles

Two syntax-prosody mapping principles:

- (15) Phrase-level (Selkirk & Tateishi 1991):
The left edge of a syntactic phrase (XP) coincides with the left edge of a phonological phrase (φ).

$$[XP \implies (\varphi)$$

- (16) Clause-level (Kawahara & Shinya 2008, Selkirk 2009):
The left edge of a syntactic clause (FocP, if any, FinP otherwise) coincides with the left edge of an intonational phrase (*i*).

$$[\text{FocP/FinP} \implies \{i$$

28 / 56

Syntax-Prosody Mapping

Mapping Principles

If we apply the mapping principles to a multiple cleft in (17), we obtain the prosodic structure in (18).

- (17)

[_{TopP} FinP	Naoya-ga sensei-ni	[_{FinP} Mari-ga t _i t _j <i>nonda</i>	
N.-NOM	teacher-DAT	M.-NOM	drank
tol	tituketa no k-wa	[_{FocP} nomiya-de _i wain-o _j t _k da]]	
C told	C -TOP	bar-LOC	wine-ACC
		COP	

‘(Lit.) It is wine at the bar that Naoya told the teacher that Mari drank.’

(18) $\{i(\varphi$ Naoya-ga (φ sensei-ni $\{i(\varphi$ Mari-ga φ nonda to tituketa no-wa $\{i(\varphi$ nomiya-de (φ wain-o da

29 / 56

Syntax-Prosody Mapping

Mapping Principles

Note that a multiple cleft sentence violating the CMC would end up with a similar *l*-phrasing.

- (19)

* [_{TopP} FinP	Naoya-ga t _i	[_{FinP} Mari-ga nomiya-de t _j nonda tol	
N.-NOM		M.-NOM	bar-LOC
tituketa no k-wa	[_{FocP} sensei-ni	wain-o _j t _k da]]	
told	C -TOP	teacher-DAT	wine-ACC
		COP	

‘(Lit.) It is to the teacher; wine; that Naoya told t_i that Mari drank t_j at the bar.’

(20) $\{i(\varphi$ Naoya-ga $\{i(\varphi$ Mari-ga (φ nomiya-de nonda to tituketa no-wa $\{i(\varphi$ sensei-ni (φ wain-o da

30 / 56

Influence of Prosody on Parsing

Implicit Prosody Hypothesis (IPH)

Implicit Prosody Hypothesis (IPH) (Bader 1998; Fodor 1998)

- ▶ In silent reading, an abstract prosodic structure of the sentence is projected in the grammatical representation.
- ▶ This "implicit prosody" may influence syntactic ambiguity resolution.
- ▶ Other things being equal, the parser favors the syntactic analysis associated with the most natural (default) prosodic contour for the construction.
- ▶ If this hypothesis is on the right track, it would mean:
 - ▶ that syntactic acceptability judgement of a sentence *always* involves projection an abstract prosodic structure of the sentence; and
 - ▶ that its influence on acceptability is expected even without an actual phonetic output of the sentence.

Influence of Prosody on Parsing

φ -boundaries as cues for syntactic disambiguation

In production, the syntactic structure of a phrase/sentence is mapped onto prosody based on the syntax-prosody mapping principles discussed above.

(21) joyuu-ni natta koochai-no oneesan

actress-into became junior student-GEN older sister

[the older sister of the junior student who became an actress.]

a. High-attachment [NP2 [nc joyuu-ni natta] [NP1 koochai-no] oneesan;]

b. Low-attachment [NP2 [NP1 [nc joyuu-ni natta]] koochai-no] oneesan]

In comprehension of auditory stimuli, φ -boundaries are used as cues for syntactic disambiguation.

Influence of Prosody on Parsing

φ -boundaries as cues for syntactic disambiguation

- In silent reading, however, no auditory cues.
- ▶ According to the IPH, some kind of 'default' prosodic structure is projected, which imposes a bias toward one reading over the other.
- ▶ The parameterization of 'default' prosody is language-specific.

Influence of Prosody on Parsing

φ -boundaries as cues for syntactic disambiguation

Jun & Koike (2008):

- ▶ Japanese speakers produced phrases like (21) with the phrasing pattern in (21a) more often (about 67%) than that in (21b).

- ▶ They interpret them *in silent reading* as high-attachment more often (66%) than as low-attachment.

(21) joyuu-ni natta koochai-no oneesan

actress-into became junior student-GEN older sister
'the older sister of the junior student who became an actress.'

a. High-attachment [NP2 [nc joyuu-ni natta] [NP1 koochai-no] oneesan;]

b. Low-attachment [NP2 [NP1 [nc joyuu-ni natta]] koochai-no] oneesan]

Influence of Prosody on Parsing

l-boundaries as cues for the comprehension of argument structure

I propose that *l*-boundaries are also used as cues in parsing, in particular, *in parsing the argument structure of clauses*.

- (22) Principle of Argument Structure Parsing (PASP):
XPs within a single intonational phrase (*l*) are interpreted as clause-mates.

Note that the PASP predicts the following asymmetry:

- (23) a. $\{l, XP\} YP \implies$ clause-mates
b. $XP \{l, YP\} \implies$ no preference

Influence of Prosody on Parsing

r-boundaries as cues for the comprehension of argument structure

If we apply the PASP to multiple clefts violating the CMC, the multiple foci are wrongly interpreted as clause-mates.

- (24) * $[r_{\text{top}}]_{\text{FocP}} \text{Naoya-ga } t_1 \text{ [FocP Mari-ga nomiya-de } t_2 \text{ nonda to] }_{\text{N-NOM M-NOM bar-LOC}} \text{ drank C}$
 ituketa $\text{noj}_{\text{C}}\text{-wa [FocP sensei-ni } \text{wain-o}_j \text{ te } \langle \text{dit} \rangle]$
 told C -TOP teacher-DAT wine-ACC COP
 '(Lit.) It is to the teacher_i wine_j that Naoya told t_1 that Mari drank t_2 at the bar.'

- (25) $\{l, (\varphi \text{ Naoya-ga } \{l, (\varphi \text{ Mari-ga } (\varphi \text{ nomiya-de nonda to ituketa no-wa } \{l, (\varphi \text{ sensei-ni } (\varphi \text{ wain-o da} \implies \text{ sensei-ni and wain-o are parsed as clause-mates.}$

A Prosodic Account: Summary

The CMC is due to the incompatibility between the preferred reading triggered by implicit prosody and the intended reading.

- ▶ When the reader parses a sentence as a multiple cleft, the default phrasing pattern is projected.
- ▶ With this default pattern, all the foci will be phrased in a single *l*.
- ▶ According to the PASP, multiple foci tend to be interpreted as clause-mates.
- ▶ ... unless additional prosodic effects are involved.

Focus Prosody

IF/IN and Yes/No-multiple clefts

Recall that interrogative multiple clefts are exempt from the CMC, and that they *obligatorily* exhibit a focus prosody.

- (26) [Naoya-ga t_1 [Mari-ga t_2 nonda to] ituketa no]-wa
 N.-NOM M.-NOM drank C told C-TOP
 [DARE-ni] [NANI-o_j] na no (desu ka) ?
 who-DAT what-ACC COP C COP Q
 '(Lit.) To whom_i what_j is it that Naoya told t_1 that Mari drank t_2 ?'

- (27) [Naoya-ga t_1 [Mari-ga t_2 nonda to] ituketa no]-wa
 N.-NOM M.-NOM drank C told C-TOP
 [SENSEI-ni] [WAIN-o_j] na no (desu ka) ?
 teacher-DAT wine-ACC COP C COP Q
 '(Lit.) Is it to the teacher_i wine_j that Naoya told t_1 that Mari drank t_2 ?'

Focus Prosody

Wh- and Yes/No-multiple clefts

Focus prosody in *Wh-* and Yes/No-multiple cleft *obligatorily* induces additional F₀-rises on the multiple foci, making the sentence look as if there is an *l*-boundary between the two foci.

► The PASP does not apply to (29), i.e., No CMC.

- (28) [F₀P]_{F₁M₁P} Naoya-ga *t_i* [M₁-ga *t_j* nonda to] ituketa no-wa
 N.-NOM M.-NOM drank C told
 ituketa no|wa [DARE-ni] [NANI-o_j] *na no (desu ka) ?*
 C-TOP who-DAT what-ACC COP C COP Q
 ‘(Lit.) To whom what_{*j*} is it that Naoya told *t_i* that Mari drank *t_j*?’

- (29) {_{*l*} {_{*φ*} Naoya-ga {_{*l*} {_{*φ*} Mari-ga nonda to ituketa no-wa
 {_{*l*} {_{*φ*} [DARE-ni] {_{*l*} {_{*φ*} [NANI-o] *na no (desu ka) ?*
 ⇒ *DARE-ni* and *NANI-o* may or may not be clause-mates.

41 / 56

Focus Prosody

Wh- and Yes/No-multiple clefts

This overriding effect of focus prosody active even in implicit prosody, because *focus prosody in questions is obligatory*.

- The default prosody for (multiple) clefts obligatorily contains focus prosody.
 ► If it were optional, the overriding effect would not be guaranteed.

In fact, focus prosody cannot obviate the CMC if the sentence is not a question (Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002).

- (30) *[[Naoya-ga *t_i* [Mari-ga *t_j* nonda to] ituketa no]-wa
 N.-NOM M.-NOM drank C told C-TOP
 [YUMI-ni] [WAIN-o_j] *da*
 Y.-DAT wine-ACC COP
 ‘(Lit.) It is to Yumi, wine that Naoya told *t_i* that Mari drank *t_j*?’

42 / 56

Length Effect

When the first focus is long

When the first of the multiple foci are long (e.g., contains a relative clause), the acceptability improves.

- (31) [F₁M₁P] Naoya-ga *t_i* [F₁M₁P] Mari-ga *t_j* nonda to] ituketa no|k-wa
 N.-NOM M.-NOM drank C told C -TOP
 a. *sensei-ni wain-o_j *t_k* da
 teacher-DAT wine-ACC COP
 b. ?[[*pro* itumo *e_m* sinraisteiru] sensei_{*n*}-ni] wain-o_j *t_k* da
 always trust teacher-DAT wine-ACC COP
 ‘(Lit.) It is to the teacher_{*i*} (he always trusts), wine_{*j*} that Naoya told *t_i* that Mari drank *t_j*.’

41 / 56

Length Effect

When the first focus is long

This is because the reader tends to insert an additional *l*-boundary after a long phrase in the implicit prosody.

► The PASP does not apply to (32), i.e., No CMC.

- (31) [F₁M₁P] Naoya-ga *t_i* [F₁M₁P] Mari-ga *t_j* nonda to] ituketa no|k-wa
 N.-NOM M.-NOM drank C told C -TOP
 b. ?[[*pro* itumo *e_m* sinraisteiru] sensei_{*n*}-ni] wain-o_j *t_k* da
 always trust teacher-DAT wine-ACC COP
 ‘(Lit.) It is to the teacher_{*i*} (he always trusts), wine_{*j*} that Naoya told *t_i* that Mari drank *t_j*.’
 (32) {_{*l*} {_{*φ*} itumo sinraisteiru (_{*φ*} sensei-ni) {_{*l*} {_{*φ*} wain-o da
 ⇒ ... *sensei-ni* and *wain-o* may or may not be clause-mates.

43 / 56

CMC obviation: Summary

- ▶ Focus prosody in interrogatives
 - ▶ The default prosody for interrogatives contains a focus prosody.
 - ▶ An additional *r*-boundary blocks application of the PASP.
 - ⇒ The CMC obviation effect
- ▶ Length effect
 - ▶ A long phrase tends to end with an *r*-boundary.
 - ▶ This additional *r*-boundary blocks application of the PASP.
 - ⇒ The CMC obviation effect
- ▶ The PASP provides an account for further phenomena.

441 / 56

Extension: Long-distance Scrambling

The CMC obviation in LD-scrambling

The so-called long-distance (LD) scrambling also shows the CMC. (Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002)

- (33) [CP Naoya-ga sensei-ni [CP Mari-ga nomiya-de wain-o
N-NOM teacher-DAT M-NOM bar-LOC wine-ACC
nonda to] ituketa]
drank C told
'Naoya told the teacher that Mari drank wine at the bar.'
- (34) Nomiya-de_i wain-o_j [CP Naoya-ga sensei-ni [CP Mari-ga
bar-LOC wine-ACC N-NOM teacher-DAT M-NOM
_i _j nonda to] ituketa]
drank C told
- (35) *?Sensei-ni wain-o_j [CP Naoya-ga _i [CP Mari-ga
teacher-DAT wine-ACC N-NOM M-NOM
nomiya-de _i nonda to] ituketa]
bar-LOC drank C told

48 / 56

Extension: Long-distance Scrambling

The CMC obviation in LD-scrambling

This CMC is also obviated by a focus prosody.

- (35) *?Sensei-ni wain-o_j [CP Naoya-ga _i [CP Mari-ga
teacher-DAT wine-ACC N-NOM M-NOM
nomiya-de _i nonda to] ituketa]
bar-LOC drank C told
- (36) ?[DARE-ni [NANI-o_j] [CP Naoya-ga _i [CP Mari-ga nomiya-de
teacher-DAT wine-ACC N-NOM M-NOM bar-LOC
_i nonda to] ituketa no] ?
drank C told Q
'To whom, what did Naoya tell that Mari drank?'

49 / 56

Extension: Long-distance Scrambling

Ban on LD-scrambling to a non-initial position

LD-scrambling cannot target a non-initial position.

- (37) [CP Naoya-ga sensei-ni [CP Mari-ga wain-o nonda to]
N-NOM teacher-DAT M-NOM wine-ACC drank C
ituketa]
told
'Naoya told the teacher that Mari drank wine.'
- (38) * [CP Naoya-ga wain-o sensei-ni [CP Mari-ga _i nonda
N-NOM wine-ACC teacher-DAT M-NOM drank
to] ituketa]
C told

50 / 56

Extension: Long-distance Scrambling

Ban on LD-scrambling to a sentence-medial position

The Syntax-Prosody Mapping principles and the PASP predict that scrambled phrase and the matrix phrases are preferably interpreted as clause-mates.

- (38) *|_{CP} Naoya-ga wain-o sensei-ni |_{CP} Mari-ga t_i nonda
N.-NOM wine-ACC teacher-DAT M.-NOM drank
to| itituketa|
C told

- (39) {_i Naoya-ga wain-o sensei-ni {_i Mari-ga nonda to itituketa
⇒ *Naoya-ga, wain-o* and *sensei-ni* are clause-mates.

Summary

Multiple Cleft and the CMC

- ▶ No explanation in Hiraiwa & Ishihara (2002, 2010)
- ▶ CMC obviation in interrogative multiple clefts
 - ▶ A problem for the syntactic accounts

Implicit Prosody Account

- ▶ Implicit Prosody Hypothesis (IPH)
 - ▶ Implicit prosody affects syntactic acceptability judgements.
- ▶ Syntax-prosody mapping
 - ▶ No *t*-boundary between multiple foci
- ▶ Principle of Argument Structure Parsing (PASP)
 - ▶ With a default prosody, multiple foci of clefts are interpreted as clause-mates ⇒ CMC.
- ▶ CMC obviation caused by additional prosodic effects overriding the default prosody.
 - ▶ Focus prosody—*Wh*- and Yes/No-multiple clefts
 - ▶ Length effect—Long XP

Thank You!

Contact Info:

- ▶ Postal Address: Shinichiro Ishihara
Institut für Linguistik
Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main
Grünelburgplatz 1
60629 Frankfurt am Main, Germany
- ▶ E-mail: ishihara@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de
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59

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55 / 56

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56 / 56