Prosody-Scope Match and Mismatch in Japanese Wh-questions (E)

Shinichiro Ishihara (University of Potsdam) [1] and [2] demonstrated that Japanese wh-questions exhibit a prosody-semantics correspondence between the domain of focus intonation and the wh-scope. I claim, based on experimental data, that this prosody-scope correspondence breaks down when the wh-phrase moves out of its scope via scrambling. I account for both the prosody-scope match and the mismatch by adopting the notion of multiple Spell-Out in the Minimalist framework. The proposed analysis explains several mysteries about wh-scrambling discussed in the literature (Saito, 1989; Takahashi, 1993).

The experimental result reported here, however, contradicts the earlier claims by [2] and [3] that the correspondence can be found in the wh-scrambling cases as well. I attempt to explain the source of this contradiction.

The proposed analysis predicts that the prosody is computed cyclically, based on syntactic cyclicity. I confirm this prediction by another experiment.