Some recent research (1) has suggested that prosodic cues to syntactic structure occur only when a speaker has a pragmatic need to provide them, such as in a discourse situation in which the syntax is otherwise ambiguous. I will present evidence drawn from a large set of utterances collected from numerous speakers engaged in a naturalistic task. The results show strong effects of syntactic form on prosodic form, yet also significant variability. Contra the recent claims, the speakers produced strong prosodic cues to syntactic structure in unambiguous and ambiguous situations; the variation in prosodic form was not due to speakers adding prosodic cues in ambiguous situations. Overall the data indicate a significant role for grammatical factors in determining prosodic form, a grammar that allows substantial optionality in certain aspects of prosody, and significant effects of performance factors.