

Intonation and Interface Conditions

by

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Abstract

The thesis presents a theoretical and experimental investigation of the interaction between *focus intonation pattern (FIP)* and certain syntactic phenomena—especially those involving *wh*-questions—in Japanese. A phonological mechanism of FIP formation is proposed that accounts for the variety of FIPs observed in various syntactic configurations.

In the FIPs of Japanese *wh*-questions, the F_0 of *wh*-phrases is raised, and the F_0 of following phrases is lowered. There is a correlation between the domain of F_0 -lowering and the scope of the *wh*-phrase. In a matrix *wh*-question, F_0 -lowering after the *wh*-phrase continues until the end of the sentence, while in the case of an indirect *wh*-question, it stops at the end of the embedded clause.

I account for this FIP-*Wh*-scope correspondence as follows. A pair of phonological rules is proposed that manipulate the prominence relations between semantically focalized phrases and post-focus phrases. These rules apply cyclically during the course of syntactic derivations, rather than waiting until the whole sentence is syntactically composed. Adopting the *Multiple Spell-Out* analysis (Chomsky, 2000, 2001b), I propose that the phonological rules for FIP formation apply to Spell-Out domains, rather than to a whole sentence. This proposal departs from previous analyses of FIP in Japanese (Truckenbrodt, 1995; Selkirk, 2003; Sugahara, 2003) in two respects: (1) it does not refer to prosodic phrasing; and (2) it is based on a cyclic model instead of a single-output model.

The analysis makes the following prediction: if there are two *wh*-phrases that take different scopes in a single sentence, two independent FIPs will be created at different Spell-Out domains. This prediction was tested instrumentally. The results show that such a pitch contour is possible, and confirms other predictions as well.

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