Comments on Hyun Kyung Hwang's "Wh-intonation and Information Structure in South Kyeongsang Korean, Fukuoka Japanese and Tokyo Japanese"

Shinichiro Ishihara (University of Potsdam) Sept. 14, 2008, UCL IS Workshop

Introduction

- 1. Prosodic effects of New/Given distinction
- 2. Experiment Design/Methodology
- 3. Experimental results in Ishihara (2004, 2005) and alternative explanations

1 Prosodic Effects of New/Given Distinction

- Clear data on context effects (FOCUS > New > Given).
- Definitions of 'focus', 'new', and 'given' are different among researchers, e.g.:
 - Rooth (1992): Focus triggers focus semantic value based on an alternative set.
 - Selkirk (2002, 2003): Contrastive FOCUS vs. Presentational focus.
 - Schwarzschild (1999): Focus \leftrightarrow Given (i.e. there is no non-given, non-F-marked element.)
- Recently, several proposals have been made regarding the prosodic effects of givenness (Sugahara 2003, Féry and Samek-Lodovici 2006, Selkirk 2006, Féry and Kügler im press). The results in Hwang's experiment support this line of analysis.

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- Sugahara (2003)
 - FOCUS raises the f0 of the focused phrase and lowers the f0 post-focally (post-focal reduction).
 - Givenness lowers f0 (in addition to post-focal reduction)
- Féry and Samek-Lodovici (2006), Selkirk (2006)
 - Focus (F-marking)
 - Given (G-marking)
 - New (formerly often categorized as focus) as unmarked default
- 3-way distinction (FOCUS / New / Given), or interaction of 2 independent factors (\pm FOCUS / \pm Given, 2 × 2 = 4 combinations)?
 - Realization of phrases that are FOCUSed and given at the same time.
 - If FOCUS effect and Givenness effect are both detected, it would support the second hypothesis. (e.g. Second Occurrence Focus, Féry and Ishihara 2008, Büring in preparation)
 - If [+FOCUS, +Given] behaves in the same way as [+FOCUS, -Given], it could either means that the first analysis is correct, or the FOCUS effect suppresses the givenness effect.

2 Methodology

2.1 Wh-intonation and Focus Intonation in FJ/SKK

- Wh-intonation and Focus Intonation are realized differently.
 - In TJ, two effects (wh/focus) cannot be distinguished.
- Words lose their lexical pitch accents in the wh-intonation domain.
 - Existence/absence of accent indicates the wh-intonation domain.
 - Wh-phrase triggers a flat f0-plateau, but does not trigger an extra prominence.

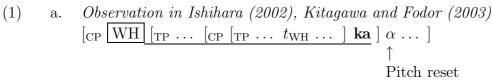
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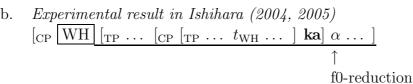
2.2 Methodology

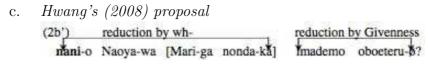
Hwang's (2008) experimental design does not fully take advantage of the prosodic properties of SKK/FJ.

- Examining maximum and minimum f0 does not reflect the landmark property of effect wh-intonation in SKK/FJ, i.e. accent deletion.
- In the results, no indication of wh-intonation effect (even in TJ).
 - If there is no sign of wh-intonation, it is natural that we do not find any significant effect at the target (matrix dative phrase), either.
 - The data does not support the claim that *wh*-intonation only appears up to the embedded clause Comp.
- In order to support the claim, the following should be shown
 - 1. Existence of post-wh accent deletion in the embedded clause (and the lack of it in the non-wh-question.)
 - 2. Lack of such an effect on the matrix dative phrase (i.e. target).

3 Ishihara (2004, 2005)







- In Hwang's proposal, it is still unclear why such Givenness effect only appears in the scrambled wh-phrase but not in the scrambled non-wh-phrase.
- Two potential alternative accounts:
 - 1. Post-focal reduction triggered by an extra focus on a scrambled wh-phrase.
 - 2. Mismatch between production rules and perception principles.

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3.1 Extra focus on the scrambled wh-phrase

• A scrambled wh-phrase bears an extra FOCUS. Neither a non-scrambled wh-phrase nor a scrambled non-wh-phrase has it.

- (2) a. Non-scrambled wh-phrase $[CP \mid TP \dots \mid WH_{WH} \mid \dots \mid ka_{WH} \mid \alpha \dots (Comp)]$

 - c. Scrambled non-wh-phrase $[_{\text{CP}} \quad \text{DP}_{\emptyset} \quad [_{\text{TP}} \dots \ [_{\text{CP}} \ [_{\text{TP}} \dots \quad t_{\text{DP}} \quad \dots \] \ \mathbf{to}_{\emptyset} \quad] \ \alpha \dots (\mathbf{Comp}_{\emptyset}) \]$

3.2 Mismatch between Production and Perception

In a(n unnatural) configuration like (1), a mismatch takes place between what production rules would produce, and what perception principles require.

- Production: Multiple Spell-Out Model (Ishihara 2004, 2005) creates (1b)
- Perception: Prosody-Scope Correspondence (cf. Hirotani 2005) prefers (1a)
- This mismatch is the source of disagreement among researchers (between (1a) and (1b)).
 - In a **production experiment**, with less attention to the prosody-scope correspondence (perception principle), sentences are produced according to the production rule (= (1b)).
 - In a **grammatical judgement**, with special attention to the prosody-scope correspondence, speaker would find the sentence more natural with a *wh*-intonation only up to the end of the embedded clause (i.e. *wh*-scope).
- This mismatch is the source of unnaturalness or degraded judgements reported in the literature. Also, in an ambiguous configuration below, the mismatch creates a bias toward the matrix *wh*-scope reading in the scrambling case (3b).
- (3) One wh-phrase, Two Q-particles: (Takahashi 1993, Ishihara 2002)
 - a. Wh-in-situ: Ambiguous $[_{\text{CP}} \quad [_{\text{TP}} \dots \ [_{\text{CP}} \ [_{\text{TP}} \dots \ \boxed{\text{WH}}_{\text{WH}} \dots \] \ \mathbf{ka} \] \ \alpha \dots \mathbf{no} \]$

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b. Scrambled wh-phrase: Matrix reading only
$$[CP \ WH] [TP \dots [CP \ TP \dots \ t_{WH} \dots] \ \mathbf{ka}] \alpha \dots \mathbf{no}]$$

• Note that Takahashi (1993) only reported the matrix reading for (3b). This is because this reading does not induce a mismatch between production and perception. If one produces this configuration, the production rule would produce a wh-intonation that matches with the matrix wh-scope reading. The embedded reading can be drawn only when the prosody-scope correspondence is (forcefully) maintained, by changing the contour.

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