

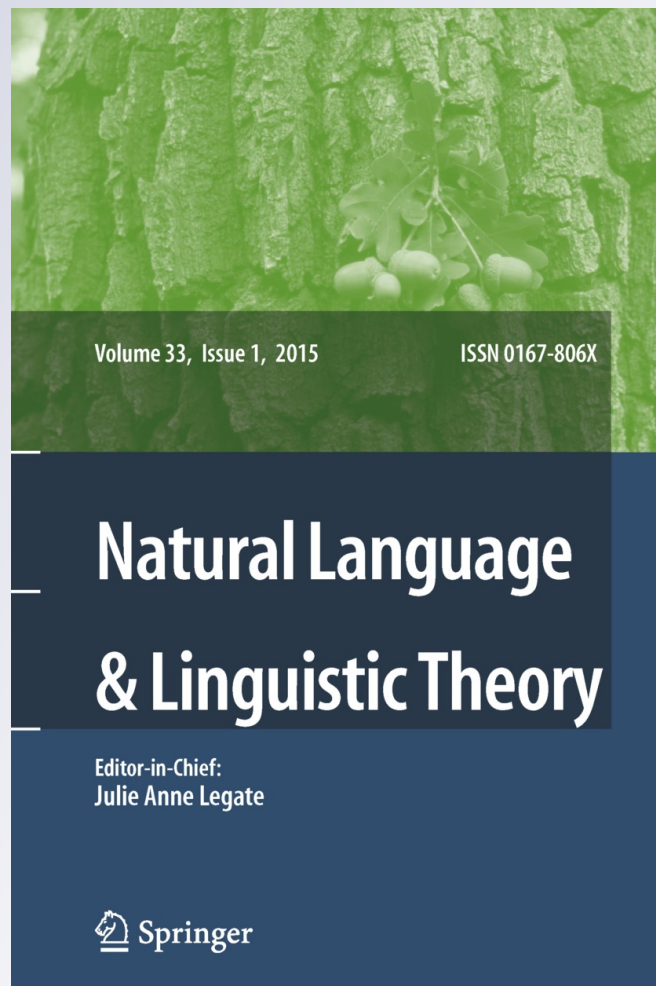
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Natural Language & Linguistic Theory

ISSN 0167-806X
Volume 33
Number 1

Nat Lang Linguist Theory (2015)
33:47-77
DOI 10.1007/s11049-014-9252-x



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Syntactic and prosodic scrambling in Japanese

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Received: 14 August 2011 / Accepted: 9 June 2013 / Published online: 15 July 2014
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Abstract This paper presents evidence that Japanese has prosodic scrambling of phonological phrases (ϕ) in addition to the well-studied syntactic scrambling of XPs. All cases of scrambling in Japanese involve fronting constituents, be they syntactic XPs or phonological ϕ s. If the syntax cannot move XPs, the phonology is forced to move their prosodic equivalents: these ϕ s are fronted to the left edge of the intonational phrase (ι) that contains them and join to make a single recursive ϕ , the domain for tonal downstep (Itô and Mester 2012, 2013). Syntactic scrambling ‘bleeds’ prosodic scrambling, adding support for a uni-directional, feed-forward model of syntax-phonology interactions. Syntactic scrambling fronts XPs and obeys syntactic conditions on movement, and the scrambled XP exhibits interpretive effects in its surface position. Prosodic scrambling fronts ϕ s and is blind to syntactic conditions on movement, and the scrambled ϕ s are interpreted *in situ*, as expected.

Keywords Japanese · Scrambling · Prosodic movement · Syntax-phonology interface · Prosodic phrasing

1 Introduction: single and multiple scrambling in Japanese

Canonical cases of scrambling in Japanese involve movement of a single syntactic constituent (usually NP or PP) to clause-initial position (Harada 1977; Inoue 1978). Since Saito (1985, 1992), scrambling has been analyzed as an instance of syntactic movement that is sensitive to islands and has an effect on semantic interpretation.

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Canonical cases of (long-distance) scrambling are shown in (1), and are assumed to involve adjunction to TP of the scrambled NP or PP. Scrambled material is in *italics*.

- (1) a. *sono mame-o*₁ John-ga [Mary-ga Bill-ni *t*₁ watasita to]
that bean-ACC John-NOM Mary-NOM Bill-DAT handed C
omotteiru <koto>¹
think fact
'John thinks that Mary handed that bean to Bill.'
- b. *Hawai-de*₁ John-ga [Kiyomi-ga *t*₁ Masami-ni purezento-o
Hawaii-in John-NOM Kiyomi-NOM Masami-DAT present-ACC
katta to] omotteiru <koto>
bought C think fact
'John thinks that Kiyomi bought a present for Masami in Hawaii.'

It has been observed that multiple XPs cannot be scrambled in the same way (Saito 1985; Koizumi 2000).

- (2) a. ?**Bill-ni*₁ *sono mame-o*₂ John-ga [Mary-ga *t*₁ *t*₂ watasita to]
Bill-DAT that bean-ACC John-NOM Mary-NOM handed C
omotteiru <koto>
think fact
- b. ?**Purezento-o*₃ *Masami-ni*₂ *Hawai-de*₁ John-ga [Kiyomi-ga
present-ACC Masami-DAT Hawaii-in John-NOM Kiyomi-NOM
*t*₁ *t*₂ *t*₃ katta to] omotteiru <koto>
bought C think fact

Koizumi (2000) and Fukui and Sakai (2006) observe, however, that the 'multiple long-distance scrambling' in (2) improves significantly if the scrambled IO *Bill-ni* and DO *sono mame-o* are phrased together prosodically:

- (3) a. (*Bill-ni sono mame-o*)_ϕ (John-ga)_ϕ (Mary-ga watasita to)_ϕ
Bill-DAT that bean-ACC John-NOM Mary-NOM handed C
(omotteiru koto)_ϕ
think fact
'John thinks that Mary handed that bean to Bill.'
- b. (*Purezento-o Masami-ni Hawai-de*)_ϕ (John-ga)_ϕ (Kiyomi-ga
present-ACC Masami-DAT Hawaii-in John-NOM Kiyomi-NOM
katta to)_ϕ (omotteiru koto)_ϕ
bought C think fact
'John believes that Kiyomi bought a present for Masami in Hawaii.'

We can see that the scrambled elements are phrased together prosodically by the effects of tonal downstep: the phonological phrase ϕ is the domain of tonal downstep in

¹ Here and in the relevant examples to follow, <koto> 'the fact that' is added to the end of some examples in order to avoid the unnaturalness resulting from the lack of topic in a matrix clause.

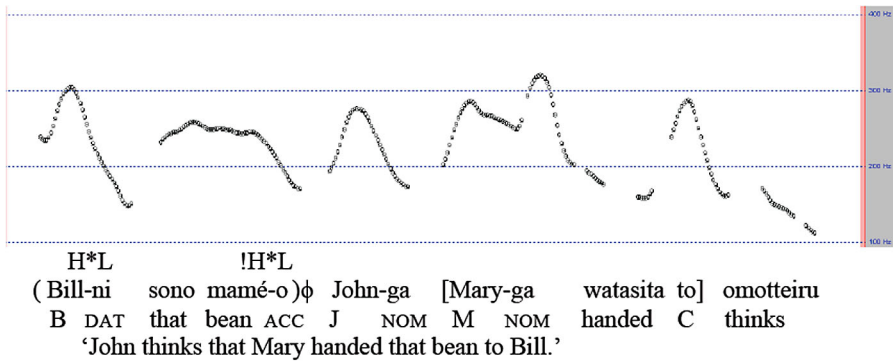


Fig. 1 Pitch track for scrambling of the ϕ (*Bill-ni sono mamé-o*) ϕ

Japanese (Itô and Mester 2012, 2013), and tonal downstep occurs within the fronted constituents in (3a). This can be seen in the pitch track in Fig. 1, taken from an adult female speaker of Tokyo Japanese.

Note that *Bill-ni* and *mamé-o* both have H tones (the former by general rule, the latter lexically), but that the H tone on *mamé-o* is visibly lower (!) than the H on *Bill-ni*. The H tone of *mamé-o* is downstepped (its pitch is lowered) in relation to that of the H tone on *Bill-ni* because they are contained within the same ϕ . The pitch register is reset with *John-ga*, *Mary-ga*, etc., which begin new ϕ domains. Thus the lowered H on *mamé-o* makes it clear that the IO *Bill-ni* and the DO *sono mamé-o* form a single prosodic constituent.²

The domain of downstep is traditionally the “Major Phrase” in Japanese (Martin 1952; McCawley 1968; Poser 1984; Kubozono 1988; Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1988; Selkirk and Tateishi 1988), but Itô and Mester (2012, 2013) argue convincingly that this prosodic domain is actually a recursive phonological phrase. We follow them here but note that our analysis only requires that the fronted material in (3a, b) form *some* prosodic constituent, which is completely uncontroversial given the tonal downstep. (On the general need for recursive prosodic structure, see Inkelas 1989; Ladd 1986, 1992; McCarthy and Prince 1993a, 1993b; Selkirk 1995.)

Clearly, the IO and DO in (3) do not form a constituent syntactically; if the fronted material in (3a, b) were scrambled directly in the syntax, it would involve moving a non-constituent, which we take to be syntactically impossible. Given the standard view that scrambling is a syntactic process, it might be tempting to argue that in these cases syntax targets a phonological constituent for movement. But this would constitute a radical departure from the strong thesis that syntax has no access to phonological structure, in accordance with the principle of *phonology-free syntax* (Zwicky and Pullum 1986a, 1986b). Any account that allows syntax to move a phonological constituent would therefore depart undesirably from a restrictive theory of syntax-phonology interaction. Following Agbayani and Golston (2010), we propose that the movement in (3) takes place entirely within the phonological component away from

²See Hirotani (2005) for related discussion of processing constraints for prosodic packaging in single and multiple scrambling in Japanese.

any syntactic constituency or limitations on movement, moving multiple ϕ s to the left edge of the intonational phrase (ι) they are part of.

We take the restrictive view that the interaction between syntax and phonology begins and ends with the mapping from syntactic constituency (clause, XP, X^0) to phonological constituency (ι , ϕ , ω) within a standardly assumed model in which syntax derivationally precedes and feeds phonology; i.e., syntax receives no feedback from phonology, nor is there any further syntax-phonology interaction outside of the one-way mapping of syntactic structure to phonological structure. We pursue the parallel thesis to Zwicky and Pullum's 'phonology-free syntax': that the phonological component of the grammar applies operations and conditions that refer only to units of phonological structure, and has no direct access to syntactic constituency, syntactic features, or syntactic conditions—a 'syntax-free phonology' (Chen 1987; Selkirk 1986, 1995; Nespor and Vogel 1982, 1986; Hayes 1989). The phonological component applies its own operations on units of phonological structure to yield a PF representation for use by the articulatory-perceptual system.

The proposals in this paper therefore argue against Golston's (1995) claim that syntax outranks phonology (in Optimality Theoretic terms) and conceptions of grammar in which the phonology can outrank syntax or provide feedback information to syntactic operations (Harford and Demuth 1999). Our proposals also go against analyses in which syntax and phonology are co-present, where prosodic conditions have the ability to constrain syntax (Zec and Inkelas 1990), or where phonological information can serve as a trigger for syntactic operations (Szendrői 2001; Richards 2010). As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, our proposals are compatible with a multiple Spell-Out approach in which the construction of prosodic structure goes partly in parallel with syntactic derivation, where a new prosodic constituent is created and added to the phonological representation at each Spell-Out (Cheng and Downing 2009; Dobashi 2003; Kahnemuyipour 2009; Kratzer and Selkirk 2007; Ishihara 2007; Pak 2008). Even in this approach, there is a one-way feeding from syntax to phonology.

In this paper, we present evidence that cases of multiple scrambling in Japanese involve movement of ϕ s within the phonology. We call this species of movement *prosodic scrambling*, following recent work on free word-order phenomena in Classical Greek (Agbayani and Golston 2010), Latin and Russian (Agbayani et al. 2011), and Ukrainian (Teliga 2011). The diagnostic properties of phonological movement in those languages are that (i) it affects only prosodic constituents, (ii) it is sensitive to conditions on prosodic structure (the OCP), and (iii) it is semantically vacuous and does not obey syntactic conditions of any kind. Our findings for Japanese are consistent with (i)–(iii), though we find no evidence in Japanese for (ii). A unique aspect of scrambling in Japanese is that it may apply syntactically, (1) or—if forced to do so—phonologically, (3). Our goal in this paper is to characterize the properties of prosodic scrambling, the conditions under which it occurs, and how it interacts with the well-studied case of syntactic scrambling.

2 Syntactic and prosodic scrambling

We first address two accounts of multiple scrambling mentioned earlier, Koizumi (2000) and Fukui and Sakai (2006). Koizumi (2000) claims that there is vacuous

overt verb raising in Japanese and that cases like (3) are derived by scrambling of the remnant VP whose head V has been raised, as shown in (4):

- (4) [_{VP} *Purezento-o Masami-ni Hawaii-de* *t_V*] John-ga [Kiyomi-ga *t_{VP}*
present-ACC Masami-DAT Hawaii-in John-NOM Kiyomi-NOM
katta to] omotteiru <koto>
bought C think fact
'John believes that Kiyomi bought a present for Masami in Hawaii.'

Fukui and Sakai (2006) show, however, that it is possible to scramble just a portion of the alleged VP remnant as long as it forms a prosodic unit:

- (5) (*Masami-ni Hawaii-de*) John-ga [Kiyomi-ga *purezento-o katta to*]
Masami-DAT Hawaii-in John-NOM Kiyomi-NOM present-ACC bought C
omotteiru <koto>
think fact
'John believes that Kiyomi bought a present for Masami in Hawaii.'

Here a non-constituent portion of VP (IO and locative PP) is scrambled, leaving the DO and V *in situ*, and the result is acceptable. Under Koizumi's (2000) analysis there is no way to scramble just a portion of the VP remnant and the remnant analysis wrongly rules out examples like (5).³ Moreover, Fukui and Sakai counter that there is no overt verb raising in Japanese. They examine three cases that, according to Koizumi (2000), involve syntactic processes operating on a VP whose head V overtly raises to T: coordination, pseudo-cleft, and the multiple scrambling seen in (4). They show that Koizumi's analysis faces serious problems in all three cases and that his arguments for the presence of overt verb raising in Japanese do not go through; in the absence of supporting evidence for overt verb raising, they conclude that it does not occur in Japanese. Instead, they propose that multiple XPs are scrambled individually in the syntax and undergo 'Phrase-Level Merger' (extending Marantz's 1988 Morphological Merger) at PF, where they form a phonological constituent. The nature of Phrase-Level Merger is unclear and we show below that multiple scrambling cannot result from multiple syntactic movement of XPs in any case; we propose instead that multiple scrambling always involves movement of ϕ s within the phonological component.

³Arguably, Koizumi (2000) could analyze (5) in the following way: the object *purezento-o* 'present-ACC' is first scrambled out of the VP (and the verb *kau* undergoes overt verb raising), and then the remnant VP undergoes long-distance scrambling. Such a derivation, however, results in a proper binding condition violation like (ii) (Saito 1989; Hiraiwa 2010):

- (i) Ken-ga Naomi-o tataki-sae sita
Ken-NOM Naomi-ACC hit-even did
'Ken even hit Naomi.'
- (ii) *[[*t₁* tataki-sae/wa]₂ Naomi-*o*₁ Ken-ga *t₂* sita]
hit-even/TOP Naomi-ACC Ken-NOM did
(Hiraiwa 2010:137)

We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

There is evidence against the idea that individual XPs scramble in syntax and are then parsed into a single phonological phrase in the phonology. Multiple long-distance scrambled phrases cannot be split by anything scrambled in the higher clause; they are never parsed together prosodically. Boeckx and Sugisaki (1999) observe that XPs undergoing long-distance scrambling cannot be split by an element in the higher clause. The following examples are taken from Hiraiwa (2010:154):

- (6) a. *Reizooko-kara ringo-o* Naomi-ni Ken-ga [Yuuko-ga nusunda
fridge-from apple-ACC Naomi-DAT Ken-NOM Yuko-NOM stole
to] iituketa
C told
'Ken told Naomi that Yuko stole some apples from the fridge.'
- b. **Reizooko-kara* Naomi-ni *ringo-o* Ken-ga [Yuuko-ga nusunda
fridge-from Naomi-DAT apple-ACC Ken-NOM Yuko-NOM stole
to] iituketa
C told

In (6a, b), *reizooko-kara* 'fridge-from' and *ringo-o* 'apple-ACC' are scrambled out of the embedded clause through long-distance scrambling. While (6a) is well-formed, (6b) is not, because the matrix element *Naomi-ni* 'Naomi-DAT' splits up the two scrambled phrases. The ill-formedness of (6b) suggests that scrambling individual XPs in the syntax and then parsing them into a phonological constituent cannot save multiple XP scrambling in syntax (cf. Fukui and Sakai 2006). If multiple XP scrambling out of the embedded clause were possible, nothing would rule out the interleaving of XPs in (6b). The locative PP *reizooko-kara* and DO *ringo-o* must end the day as a single constituent, if not in syntax, then in phonology. The scrambled material cannot form a syntactic constituent but provably does form a prosodic constituent ϕ (recall the tonal downstep), which suggests that if multiple XPs cannot scramble in the syntax, the XPs bundle into a single ϕ in phonology and scramble there. This prosodic scrambling derives (7), where the scrambled ϕ is recursively built up from the ϕ s that contain the locative PP and DO:

- (7) (*Reizooko-kara ϕ ringo-o ϕ*) ϕ Naomi-ni Ken-ga [Yuuko-ga nusunda to]
fridge-from apple-ACC Naomi-DAT Ken-NOM Yuko-NOM stole C
iituketa
told

Again, it seems that the impossibility of scrambling multiple XPs in the syntax causes them to be scrambled and combined into a single ϕ in the phonology.

We are *not* suggesting that independent XPs regularly unite to form a single ϕ in phonology; the regular syntax-to-phonology mapping that we adopt for Japanese (Itô and Mester 2013) generally maps independent XPs to independent ϕ s:

- (8) [NP-DAT] [NP-ACC] Syntax
↓
() ϕ () ϕ Phonology

However, whereas syntax cannot scramble multiple XPs, it seems that phonology can and does scramble multiple ϕ s, if forced to do so. We hypothesize that material is targeted for scrambling within syntax, and is moved either in syntax or phonology, subject to the condition in (9):

- (9) Scrambled material must be
 (i) non-predicative,
 (ii) maximal, and
 (iii) contained in a single domain-initial constituent.⁴

Exactly what motivates scrambling in Japanese is not presently understood, and is a topic for further research. We do know that scrambling changes the focus potential of a sentence and so seems to be motivated by Information Structure (Miyagawa 1997; Ishihara 2001), rather than by formal feature checking of phi-features (cf. Fukui 1993), or of the Edge feature used to activate Merge in syntax (Chomsky 2001, 2005). We assume that the effects induced by Information Structure are not limited to the syntax or to the phonology, but apply to both. This allows the task of scrambling to be ‘passed on’ to phonology if the material targeted for scrambling is not a single syntactic XP. If the material targeted for scrambling forms a single syntactic XP, it always scrambles in syntax and ‘bleeds’ prosodic scrambling; if the material targeted for scrambling cannot form a single syntactic XP, the phonology simply ‘inherits’ the job of fronting the material targeted for scrambling and ensuring that they form a single constituent. In fact, if the material targeted for scrambling is a syntactic XP, then it *must* scramble in the syntax and cannot be passed on to the phonology even if the movement causes the syntax to crash. We turn our focus to (9i–iii) and how they are interpreted by the syntax (when XPs are scrambled) and by the phonology (when ϕ s are scrambled).

Condition (9i) requires that the scrambled material be non-predicative, excluding VP and AP. Saito (1985:236) has shown that there is no VP scrambling in Japanese:

- (10) a. John-ga sono hon-o katta koto
 John-NOM that book-ACC bought fact
 ‘the fact that John bought that book’
 b. *[sono hon-o katta]₁ John-ga t₁ koto
 that book-ACC bought John-NOM fact

Nor is there predicate AP scrambling:

- (11) a. John-ga suugaku-ni tuyoi koto
 John-NOM math-DAT be.good.at fact
 ‘the fact that John is good at math’
 b. *[[suugaku-ni tuyoi]₁ John-ga t₁ koto
 math-DAT be-good-at John-NOM fact

⁴This precludes ‘early Spell-Out’ analyses of scrambling, which send the scrambled XPs one-by-one to the phonological component for so-called ‘PF scrambling’ (Fukui and Kasai 2004; van Gelderen 2003).

Scrambling of a predicate NP is also ungrammatical:

- (12) a. John-ga sono eiga sutaa-ni mutyuu datta koto
 John-NOM that film star-DAT was-crazed fact
 'the fact that John was crazed about that film star'
 b. *[[sono eiga sutaa-ni mutyuu datta]₁ John-ga t₁ koto
 that film star-DAT was-crazed John-NOM fact

In (12), the predicate NP is scrambled together with the copula, which is presumably an element of INFL (Tense), and one might therefore argue that (12b) is not a case of NP scrambling. But, scrambling the NP alone, leaving the copula *in situ*, is not available either:

- (13) *[[sono eiga sutaa-ni mutyuu]₁ John-ga t₁ datta] koto
 that film star-DAT crazed John-NOM was fact

The only generalization we see that captures the patterns in (10)–(13) is that the scrambled material must not be predicative.

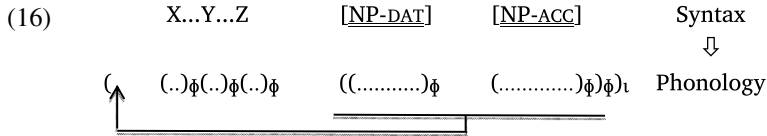
Condition (9ii) requires that the scrambled material be maximal, i.e., that scrambling a proper subset of a non-predicative XP is not allowed. The restriction is necessary to block stranding a possessor via prosodic scrambling. Selkirk and Tateishi (1991) discuss nominal phrases such as *Oomiya-no Inayama-no yuuzin* 'the friend of Mr. Inayama from Oomiya', which have a reading in which *Oomiya-no* 'Oomiya-GEN' modifies *yuuzin* 'friend'; in such a case, there is a prosodic boundary before *Inayama*: (*Oomiya-no*)_φ (*Inayama-no...*)_φ. An anonymous reviewer suggests that we might expect the prosodic unit *Inayama-no yuuzin* 'Mr. Inayama-GEN friend' to be able to scramble together with the following NP, stranding *Oomiya-no* 'Oomiya-GEN'. However, stranding the possessor is ungrammatical:

- (14) [Bill-ga [Oomiya-no Inayama-no yuuzin-ga nattoo-o tabeta to]
 Bill-NOM Oomiya-GEN Inayama-GEN friend-NOM nattoo-ACC ate that
 omotteiru
 thinks
 'Bill thinks that Mr. Inayama's friend from Oomiya ate nattoo.'
 (15) *(*Inayama-no yuuzin-ga nattoo-o*)_φ (Bill-ga)_φ (Oomiya-no)_φ tabeta to
 omotteiru

The maximality requirement prohibits non-maximal XPs from being targeted for scrambling. The material targeted for scrambling is double-underlined in the syntactic representation in (14). Part of this material, *Inayama-no yuuzin-ga* 'Inayama-GEN friend-NOM', is not a maximal NP, but an intermediate projection of N, and therefore cannot be targeted for scrambling without having the genitive targeted as well. Similarly for *yuuzin-ga* 'friend-NOM', which cannot be targeted without involving its maximal NP.

Condition (9iii) requires that the scrambled material be contained in a single domain-initial constituent, relativized to the component in which the scrambling takes place. Syntactic scrambling must result in a single clause-initial (TP-adjoined) XP;

prosodic scrambling must result in a single ι -initial ϕ .⁵ (9iii) is satisfied straightforwardly when a single XP is scrambled in the syntax, as we saw in (1). But if the material targeted for scrambling includes multiple XPs that do not form a constituent in the syntax, (9iii) rules out syntactic scrambling and the scrambling is passed on to the phonological component. Prosodic scrambling moves the ϕ s that correspond to the separate XPs to ι -initial position and packs them into a recursively embedded single ϕ .⁶ (16) illustrates this for the scrambled material from example (3a). XYZ represents material at the left edge. A double underline in the syntactic representation indicates that material is targeted for scrambling.



By (9iii), there is no way for the syntax to scramble the targeted material, because the IO and DO cannot be contained in a single XP. But (9iii) has better luck in the phonology, where recursive ϕ s are licit *if forced by high-ranked constraints* (Itô and Mester 2013). Assuming that (9iii) acts as such a constraint, the targeted material is prosodically scrambled to the left edge of ι and forced into a single (recursive) ϕ .

Again, in Japanese scrambling, the effects induced by Information Structure are not limited to the syntax or to the phonology, but apply to both. The manipulation of structures in syntax and phonology by the outside system is heavily restricted, however, by the constraints of the grammatical sub-systems involved. Syntactic scrambling fronts XPs to clause-initial (TP-adjoined) position; prosodic scrambling fronts ϕ s to ι -initial position. Since syntax derivationally precedes phonology, syntactic scrambling ‘bleeds’ prosodic scrambling, and the latter applies only when the material targeted for scrambling cannot form a single syntactic constituent.

In (17) we consider a case in which the material targeted for scrambling is a constituent both in the syntax (an XP) and in the phonology (a recursive ϕ) and consider evidence that in such a case it is always scrambled in the syntax rather than in the phonology. In (17a) the DO *Suzy-no sono tegami-o* ‘Suzy’s that letter-ACC’ scrambles syntactically to clause-initial position:

- (17) a. [Suzy-no [sono tegami-o]]₁ John-ga [Mary-ga Bill-ni t₁
 Suzy-GEN that letter-ACC John-NOM Mary-NOM Bill-DAT
 watasita to] itta <koto>
 handed that said fact
 Lit. ‘John thinks that Mary handed [Suzy’s that letter] to Bill.’

⁵We do not deal with so-called ‘VP-internal scrambling’, since it is not clear whether variable DO–IO order VP-internally is derived by movement or base-generation.

⁶Note that this also excludes ‘multiple scrambling’ cases in which one of the XPs scrambles syntactically, and the other scrambles prosodically. As we show in the next section, grammatical instances of ‘multiple long-distance scrambling’ do not obey syntactic conditions or have the same interpretive effects of single syntactic scrambling. This suggests that good cases of ‘multiple scrambling’ cannot involve *any* form of syntactic movement.

- b. ((*Suzy-no*)_ϕ (*sono tegami-o*)_ϕ)_ϕ John-ga [Mary-ga Bill-ni
 Suzy-GEN that letter-ACC John-NOM Mary-NOM Bill-DAT
 watasita to] itta <koto>
 handed that said fact

(17b) shows what prosodic scrambling of the same material would look like. Although syntactic scrambling arguably leaves a trace in the base position of the scrambled phrase for preservation of thematic relations at LF (17a), there is no such motivation for prosodic scrambling. We therefore assume that prosodic scrambling does not leave a trace, and that the syntax-phonology mapping ignores traces and the nodes that dominate them (Uechi 1998; Tokizaki 2006).

We can test whether the movement is syntactic or prosodic by seeing whether syntactic conditions are respected (syntactic movement) or ignored (prosodic movement). The following examples show that an NP with a genitive NP, when scrambled, is sensitive to Ross's (1967) Complex NP Constraint (18), to Saito's (1985) ban on scrambling nominative subjects (19), and to the ban on scrambling from within adjuncts (20):

- (18) ??[*Suzy-no tomodati*]-ni₁ Mary-ga [[t₁ sono hon-o watasi wasureta]
 Suzy-GEN friend-DAT Mary-NOM that book-ACC give forgot
 hito]-o sagasiteiru
 person-ACC look-for
 Lit: 'To Suzy's friend, Mary is looking for the person who forgot to give that book.'
- (19) *[*Suzy-no kuruma*]-ga₁ John-ga [t₁ Tookyoo-eki-ni tuita to]
 Suzy-GEN car-NOM John-NOM Tokyo-station-at arrived C
 omotteiru
 think
 'John thinks that Suzy's car arrived at Tokyo station.'
- (20) ??[*Suzy-no tomodati*]-ni₁ Mary-ga [John-ga t₁ sono tokei-o ageta
 Suzy-GEN friend-DAT Mary-NOM John-NOM that watch-ACC gave
 kara] okotteiru
 because be.angry
 Lit: 'To Suzy's friend, Mary is angry because John gave that watch.'

Our analysis models the ungrammaticality of (18)–(20) as follows: since the targeted material constitutes a syntactic constituent, it *must* undergo scrambling in the syntax, making it subject to the Complex NP Constraint, to the ban on nominative subject scrambling, and to the adjunct condition; prosodic scrambling is excluded in principle when syntactic scrambling is available.⁷ If the material targeted for scrambling is a syntactic XP, then it *must* scramble in the syntax and cannot be passed on to the

⁷Note that 'heaviness' does not play a role in determining whether a string scrambles syntactically or prosodically in Japanese. The determining factor is whether the material can scramble as a syntactic constituent or not. If not, the material targeted for scrambling is scrambled in phonology and combined into a single ϕ .

phonology even if the movement causes the syntax to crash. Again, syntactic scrambling ‘bleeds’ prosodic scrambling, and prosodic scrambling applies if and only if the material targeted for scrambling cannot form a single syntactic XP. This results from a fundamental architectural property of the grammar: syntax derivationally precedes phonology.⁸

Any targeted material that cannot scramble as a single XP in syntax will be scrambled and forced into a single constituent in phonology. This should also apply to cases in which the targeted XPs in syntax are (potentially) non-contiguous in the canonical ordering. Take, for example, a case in which the subject and the direct object are targeted to the exclusion of the indirect object within a clause. The subject and direct object would be non-contiguous targets, assuming the canonical ordering is Subj–IO–DO. Consider (21b), a variant of example (3), which is derived from the base structure in (19a) where the embedded subject and direct object are targeted for scrambling to the exclusion of the intervening indirect object. The targeted material would be impossible to scramble as a single constituent in syntax. They can, however, be prosodically scrambled, as the grammatical (21b) shows, where the scrambled material is parsed into a single recursive ϕ (as evidenced again by tonal downstep on *mamé-o*).

- (21) a. John-ga [Bill-ga Mary-ni sono mamé-o watasita to]
 John-NOM Bill-NOM Mary-DAT that bean-ACC handed C
 omotteiru
 thinks
 ‘John thinks that Bill handed that bean to Mary.’
- b. (*Bill-ga sono mamé-o*) ϕ John-ga [Mary-ni watasita to]
Bill-NOM that bean-ACC John-NOM Mary-DAT handed C
 omotteiru
 thinks

Nothing in the phonology precludes the targeted XPs from forming a single phonological phrase at the left edge, since recursively embedded ϕ s are independently well-attested in the language (Itô and Mester 2012, 2013). Such an output is impossible in syntax, however, where [IO DO]_{XP} is not a possible XP.

To wrap up this section, consider again examples (1)–(3). If the material targeted for scrambling is an XP, it scrambles syntactically (1). If the targeted material is not an XP, it cannot be scrambled syntactically (2), and the problem is passed along to the phonology, where the targeted material is fronted prosodically and put into a recursive ϕ (3). Since prosodic scrambling occurs entirely within the phonological component, it is not subject to syntactic conditions and the scrambled material can only be interpreted *in situ* at LF in terms of its binding and scope properties. Syntactic scrambling, on the other hand, occurs in the syntax proper, obeys syntactic conditions

⁸Note that there is no need to appeal to anything like the Earliness Principle (Pesetsky 1989) to derive this effect, since an architecture in which syntax derivationally precedes and feeds phonology will derive this effect automatically. We also avoid the complication of appealing to reference sets that compare different derivational outputs which apply scrambling in syntax or in phonology, as operations in syntax and phonology are not comparable for the purposes of economy; there is no sense in which syntactic scrambling is ‘less costly’ than prosodic scrambling or vice-versa, and thus there is no need to appeal to notions such as Earliness or Procrastinate (Chomsky 1993, 1995), which would decide between the two operations.

on movement, feeds LF, and gives the scrambled XP interpretive effects at LF in its surface position. In Sect. 3 we contrast these properties of syntactic and prosodic scrambling for both long-distance and clause-internal scrambling.

3 Evidence from long-distance and clause-internal scrambling

Scrambling in Japanese can be clause-internal or long-distance and, as we have seen, it can be syntactic or (if that is impossible) prosodic. We now look to how these types interact.

3.1 Long-distance scrambling

3.1.1 Scrambling of a 'true adjunct'

Long-distance scrambling of a 'true adjunct' is ungrammatical (Saito 1985:175; Koizumi 2000:242):

- (22) **[Riyuu-mo naku]₁* Mary-ga [John-ga t_1 sono setu-o sinziteiru
reason-even without Mary-NOM John-NOM that theory-ACC believe
to] omotteiru <koto>
C think fact
'Mary thinks [that John believes in that theory without any reason].'
- (23) **Naze₁* Mary-wa [Bill-ga t_1 sono hon-o katta to] itta no
why Mary-TOP Bill-NOM that book-ACC bought C said Q
'Why₁ did Mary say [that Bill bought the book t_1]?''

In (22)–(23), the 'true adjuncts' *riyuu-mo naku* 'without any reason' and *naze* 'why' in the matrix domains can be associated only with the matrix clauses. In other words, (20)–(21) are deviant if the scrambled material is interpreted *in situ*. As pointed out by Koizumi (2000:243), however, when a 'true adjunct' is scrambled with another XP, the result is acceptable even under the *in-situ* interpretation, as shown in (24), (25).

- (24) a. (*Riyuu-mo naku sono setu-o*)_φ Mary-ga [John-ga
reason-even without that theory-ACC Mary-NOM John-NOM
sinziteiru to] omotteiru <koto>
believe C think fact
'Mary thinks [that John believes in that theory without any reason].'
- b. (*Sono setu-o riyuu-mo naku*)_φ Mary-ga [John-ga
that theory-ACC reason-even without Mary-NOM John-NOM
sinziteiru to] omotteiru <koto>
believe C think fact
- (25) a. (*Naze sono hon-o*)_φ Mary-wa [Bill-ga katta to] itta no
why that book-ACC Mary-TOP Bill-NOM bought C said Q
'Why₁ did Mary say [that Bill bought the book t_1]?''
- b. (*Sono hon-o naze*)_φ Mary-wa [Bill-ga katta to] itta no
that book-ACC why Mary-TOP Bill-NOM bought that said Q

If this movement is syntactic, it is hard to explain why moving an adjunct with another XP (24)–(25) is acceptable while simply moving the adjunct is not (22)–(23), especially since moving the adjunct and XP together involves moving a non-constituent.

Under our analysis, the scrambling that applies in (24)–(25) has to be prosodic because the moved material does not form an XP and thus cannot have moved in the syntax. Because the movement takes place in the phonology, we can explain why it has no effect with respect to LF conditions on modification: the scrambled ‘true adjuncts’ in (24)–(25) are associated with the embedded clause because they remain *in situ* in the LF representation.

3.1.2 Scrambling of a nominative subject

Saito (1985) provides evidence for a syntactic constraint against scrambling of a nominative subject. This constraint rules out cases like (26)–(27):

(26) *?*Sono ressyga-ga*₁ John-ga [t₁ Tookyoo-ni tuita to] omotteiru <koto>
that train-NOM John-NOM Tokyo-in arrived C think fact
‘John thinks that that train has arrived in Tokyo.’

(27) *?*Syatyoo-no hoosin-ga*₁ John-ga [t₁ syain-no urami-o
president-GEN policy-NOM John-NOM employee-GEN hostility-ACC
katteiru to] omotteiru <koto>
earn C think fact
‘John thinks that the president’s policy is making an enemy of the employees.’

It is clear from the semantics that the preposed nominatives *sono ressyga-ga* ‘that train-NOM’ and *syatyoo-no hoosin-ga* ‘president-GEN policy-NOM’ are to be interpreted as subjects of the embedded clauses. But if the nominative subject scrambles with another XP, the result is acceptable (28–29):

(28) (*Sono ressyga Tookyoo-ni*)_φ John-ga [tuita to] omotteiru <koto>
that train-NOM Tokyo-in John-NOM arrived C think fact
‘John thinks that that train has arrived in Tokyo.’

(29) (*Syatyoo-no hoosin-ga syain-no urami-o*)_φ John-ga
president-GEN policy-NOM employee-GEN hostility-ACC John-NOM
[katteiru to] omotteiru <koto>
earn C think fact
‘John thinks that the president’s policy is making an enemy of the employees.’

Again, if this movement is syntactic, it is hard to explain why moving a nominative subject with another XP (28)–(29) is acceptable, while simply moving the nominative subject is not (26)–(27), especially since moving the nominative subject and the other XP together involves moving a non-constituent. On our analysis, though, scrambling multiple XPs requires prosodic scrambling in the phonology; the scrambling ignores the syntactic constraint because it does not take place in the syntax.

3.1.3 *Wh-scrambling*

Takahashi (1993) shows that when a *wh*-phrase is syntactically scrambled out of an interrogative clause by itself as exemplified by (30), the dominant reading is one where the scrambled *wh*-phrase has matrix scope (30b). Deguchi and Kitagawa (2002) and Ishihara (2002) counter that examples like (30) are ambiguous once a proper prosody is assigned to them. Deguchi and Kitagawa claim that Japanese *wh*-questions have a characteristic prosodic contour called Emphatic Prosody (EPD). The *wh*-XP is prosodically focused, and everything else in the clause that is in its scope is defocused, which virtually suppresses lexical and phrasal pitch accents up to the end of the *wh*-scope. The matrix *wh*-scope reading (30b) is associated with Long EPD, i.e., EPD which extends to the matrix C. Short EPD, which ends at the embedded C, renders the embedded *wh*-scope reading (30a):

- (30) *Dono hon-o*₁ John-ga [Mary-ga tosyokan-kara *t*₁ karidasita ka]
 which book-ACC John-NOM Mary-NOM library-from borrowed Q
 siritagatteiru no
 want.to.know Q
 a. ‘Which book does John want to know whether Mary borrowed from the library?’
 b. ‘Does John want to know which book Mary borrowed from the library?’

When the *wh*-phrase is scrambled and phrased with another XP yielding a ϕ -boundary and a pitch reset after the fronted material as shown in (31), the embedded scope reading (31b) is still allowed but the matrix scope reading (31a) becomes very hard to get:

- (31) (*Dono hon-o tosyokan-kara*) ϕ John-ga [Mary-ga karidasita ka]
 which book-ACC library-from John-NOM Mary-NOM borrowed Q
 siritagatteiru no
 want.to.know Q
 a. *?‘**Which book** does John want to know whether Mary borrowed from the library?’
 b. ‘Does John want to know **which book** Mary borrowed from the library?’

This obligatory reconstruction effect follows from our analysis, since material prosodically scrambled in phonology can only take scope *in situ* at LF. In (31), we cannot form EPD due to the existence of the pitch reset after the prosodically scrambled material. It is then reasonable to claim that without any effect of EPD, the *in situ* *wh*-phrase cannot take matrix scope due to the *wh*-island constraint.

3.1.4 *Adjacency condition on long-distance scrambled phrases*

As mentioned above, multiple long-distance scrambling does not allow scrambled XPs to be split by something in the higher clause (Boeckx and Sugisaki 1999). The following examples are taken from Hiraiwa (2010:154):

- (32) a. *Reizooko-kara ringo-o* Naomi-ni Ken-ga [Yuuko-ga nusunda
fridge-from apple-ACC Naomi-DAT Ken-NOM Yuko-NOM stole
to] iituketa
C told
'Ken told Naomi that Yuko stole some apples from the fridge.'
- b. **Reizooko-kara* Naomi-ni *ringo-o* Ken-ga [Yuuko-ga nusunda
fridge-from Naomi-DAT apple-ACC Ken-NOM Yuko-NOM stole
to] iituketa
C told

In (32a, b), *reizooko-kara* 'fridge-from' and *ringo-o* 'apple-ACC' are scrambled out of the embedded clause. While (32a) is acceptable, (32b) is not, because the matrix element *Naomi-ni* 'Naomi-DAT' splits up the two scrambled phrases. Under our analysis, multiple long-distance scrambling can only apply in the phonology, by scrambling the ϕ s to ι -initial position and packing them into a single recursive ϕ . When those ϕ s are scrambled, they move to ι -initial position and so cannot end up on opposite sides of something (*Naomi-ni* in (32b)).

- (33) (*Reizooko-kara* ϕ *ringo-o* ϕ) ϕ Naomi-ni Ken-ga Yuuko-ga nusunda to
fridge-from *apple-ACC* Naomi-DAT Ken-NOM Yuko-NOM stole C
iituketa
told

Again, the ill-formedness of (32b) suggests that scrambling multiple XPs in the syntax and simply parsing them into a single ϕ cannot license the multiple scrambling cases we see (cf. Fukui and Sakai 2006). (33) involves both clause-internal syntactic scrambling of an XP and long-distance prosodic scrambling of a ϕ , and it is significant that the latter shows up further to the left than the former. On our analysis this follows from the fact that syntax derivationally precedes phonology: the XP *Naomi-ni* scrambles to the front of the clause in syntax, *then* the recursive ϕ *Reizooko-kara ringo-o* scrambles to the front of the ι -phrase. The opposite order, in which the syntactically scrambled XP precedes the prosodically scrambled ϕ , is ungrammatical and ruled out in principle by our analysis:

- (34) *Naomi-ni (*reizooko-kara ringo-o*) ϕ Ken-ga [Yuuko-ga nusunda to]
Naomi-DAT *fridge-from* *apple-ACC* Ken-NOM Yuko-NOM stole C
iituketa
told

The ungrammaticality of (34) follows directly from the fact that *Naomi-ni* is an XP, while *reizooko-kara ringo-o* is not. The XP scrambles in the syntax but the non-XP must be scrambled in the phonology.

3.1.5 Condition C of the binding theory

There is an argument/adjunct asymmetry with binding reconstruction in English *wh*-movement (van Riemsdijk and Williams 1981; Lebeaux 1988; Chomsky 1995, *inter alios*) and a similar argument/adjunct asymmetry with reconstruction effects in

Japanese scrambling (Nishigauchi 2002; Miyagawa 2005, 2006), as the contrast between the (a) and (b) cases below shows (Miyagawa 2005:193):

- (35) a. ?*[*Minna-no John_i-no hihan-o*]₂ kare_i-ga [Hanako-ga *t*₂
everyone-GEN John-GEN criticism-ACC he-NOM Hanako-NOM
osietekureta to] itta
told.him C said
'Everyone's criticism of John_i, he_i said that Hanako told him.'
- b. [[*Minna-ga John_i-kara kakusite-ita*] *hihan-o*]₂ kare_i-ga
everyone-NOM John-from was-hiding criticism-ACC he-NOM
[Hanako-ga *t*₂ osiete-kureta to] itta
Hanako-NOM told.him C said
'The criticism that everyone was hiding from John_i, he_i said that
Hanako told him.'

While *John* and *kare* 'he' can be coreferential in (35b), they cannot be in (35a). The R-expression *John* is an argument of the noun *hihan* 'criticism' in (35a), whereas it is within the adjunct modifying *hihan* 'criticism' in (35b). Assuming Lebeaux's analysis, Nishigauchi and Miyagawa claim that in (35a), *John* must be merged with *hihan* 'criticism' when *hihan* 'criticism' first appears in the complement position of *osiete-kureta* 'told-him'. The copy of *John* is visible in this position, which results in a Condition C violation. In (35b), on the other hand, *John* may be merged after scrambling has taken place, in which case there is no Condition C violation.

This argument/adjunct asymmetry disappears when multiple XPs are scrambled (36). Crucially, (36b) violates Condition C, even though *John* is within the adjunct modifying *hihan* 'criticism'.⁹

- (36) a. ?*(*Ookuno tomodati-ni minna-no John_i-no hihan-o*) ϕ kare_i-ga
many friend-to everyone-GEN John-GEN criticism-ACC he-NOM
[Hanako-ga *barasita* to] itta
Hanako-NOM disclosed C said
Lit. '[Everyone's criticism of John_i to many friends], he_i said that
Hanako disclosed.'
- b. ?*(*Ookuno tomodati-ni minna-ga John_i-kara kakusite-ita*
many friend-to everyone-NOM John-from was-hiding
hihan-o) ϕ kare_i-ga [Hanako-ga *barasita* to] itta
criticism-ACC he-NOM Hanako-NOM disclosed that said
Lit. '[The criticism that everyone was hiding from John_i to many
friends], he_i said that Hanako disclosed.'

The degraded status of (36b) is unexpected under the analysis proposed by Lebeaux, Nishigauchi, and Miyagawa. However, if (36) involves prosodic scrambling in the phonological component, as it must under our analysis, then the entire prosodically

⁹Note that (36a, b) are both acceptable if *kare* 'he' refers to someone other than *John*.

scrambled phrase in (36b) is interpreted *in situ* with respect to binding at LF, leading to the Condition C violation.¹⁰

3.1.6 Scope economy

Tada (1993) and Miyagawa (2005, 2006, 2008) show that long-distance scrambling does not lead to a new scope relation (Miyagawa 2005:201):

- (37) *Daremo-ni*₁ dareka-ga [John-ga *t*₁ kisu-sita to] omotteiru
 everyone-DAT someone-NOM John-NOM kissed C think
 Lit. 'Everyone, someone thinks that John kissed.'
 *everyone > someone
 someone > everyone

While the existential quantifier *dareka-ga* 'someone-NOM' may take scope over the universal quantifier *daremo-ni* 'everyone-DAT', the inverse scope reading is not allowed; the scrambled phrase *daremo-ni* 'everyone-DAT' must be reconstructed to its original position at LF. Miyagawa (2005, 2006, 2008) observes, however, that if the subject is replaced by a quantificational expression and we add a quantificational adverbial expression in the embedded clause, the sentence becomes ambiguous (cf. Miyagawa 2008:20):¹¹

- (38) *Daremo-ni*₁ dareka-ga [ituka hutari-no-kodomo-ga *t*₁ kisu-sita
 everyone-DAT someone-NOM sometime two-GEN-kids-NOM kissed
 to] omotteiru
 C think

¹⁰As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, another striking contrast predicted by our analysis can be created by adding a modifier like *riyuu-mo-naku* 'without any reason' at the beginning of a sentence like (29b):

- (i) *Riyuu-mo naku minna-ga John_i-kara kakusite-ita hihan-o*
 reason-even without everyone-NOM John-from was-hiding criticism-ACC
kare_i-ga [Hanako-ga osiete-kureta to] itta
 he-NOM Hanako-NOM told-him C said
 a. 'He_i said that Hanako told him [the criticism that everyone was hiding from John_i without any reason].'
 b. '??He_i said that Hanako told him [the criticism that everyone was hiding from John_i] without any reason.'

When *riyuu-mo naku* 'without any reason' is interpreted as modifying the relative clause (ia), (i) can still involve syntactic scrambling and thus no Condition C violation emerges. When *riyuu-mo naku* 'without any reason' is interpreted as modifying the intermediate clause (ib), (i) must involve prosodic scrambling, leading to a Condition C violation. Although the judgment is subtle, there exists such a contrast, as predicted by our analysis.

¹¹The acceptability judgment on the wide scope reading of the universal quantifier *daremo* 'everyone' in (35) varies among speakers. Seven Japanese native speakers were consulted regarding the scope reading for these cases; four of the speakers found the wide scope reading of *daremo* 'everyone' acceptable and three of them found it marginal. It should be noted, however, that even for those who find the wide scope reading of *daremo* 'everyone' in (37) marginal, there is a clear contrast between (37) and (38). The wide scope reading of *daremo* 'everyone' in (37) is much worse than the one in (38), which needs an explanation. We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this issue.

Lit. 'Everyone, someone thinks that at some point two kids kissed.'
 OK/??everyone > someone
 someone > everyone

Miyagawa argues that the contrast between (37) and (38) follows from Fox's (2000:26) Scope Economy, which claims that optional application of QR is possible if it leads to a new scope relation.

(39) Scope Economy

A Scope Shifting Operation can move XP_1 from a position in which it is interpretable only if the movement crosses XP_2 and $\langle XP_1, XP_2 \rangle$ is not scopally commutative.

Miyagawa assumes that scrambling of a quantifier counts as an instance of overt QR and that long-distance QR needs to go through the Spec of C or be adjoined to CP. In (37), the universal quantifier *daremo-ni* 'everyone-DAT' must move into the Spec of the embedded C or be adjoined to the embedded CP to be extracted out of the embedded clause. This movement, however, does not lead to a new scope relation; it does not count as QR due to its violation of Scope Economy. As a result, the universal quantifier *daremo-ni* 'everyone-DAT' cannot take scope over the existential quantifier *dareka-ga* 'someone-NOM' in the matrix subject position in (37). In (38), on the other hand, *daremo-ni* 'everyone-DAT' first moves to the vP edge, where it takes scope over *hutari-no kodomo-ga* 'two-GEN-kids-NOM', then moves to the CP edge, where it again creates a new scope relation relative to *ituka* 'sometime'. These movement operations are licensed as QR. *Daremo-ni* 'everyone-DAT' further moves across another quantifier, *dareka-ga* 'someone-NOM' in the matrix clause. This movement also leads to a new scope relation and thus counts as QR; the scrambled quantifier *daremo-ni* 'everyone-DAT' can take scope over *dareka-ga* 'someone-NOM'.

We observe that such scope economy effects disappear with prosodic scrambling:

- (40) (*Daremo-ni sono hon-o*)_φ dareka-ga [ituka
 everyone-DAT that book-ACC) someone-NOM sometime
 hutari-no-kodomo-ga ageta to] omotteiru
 two-GEN-kids-NOM gave C think
 'Someone thinks that at some point two kids gave that book to everyone.'
 *?everyone > someone
 someone > everyone

Although the embedded clause contains the two quantified expressions *ituka* 'sometime' and *hutari-no-kodomo-ga* 'two-GEN-kids-NOM', *daremo-ni* 'everyone-DAT' cannot take scope over the matrix subject *dareka-ga* 'someone-NOM', which is unexpected under Miyagawa's scope economy account. Under our analysis, prosodic scrambling has to take place in the phonology and *daremo-ni* 'everyone-DAT' can only be interpreted *in situ* with respect to scope at LF; it cannot take scope over the matrix subject.

3.1.7 Idiom chunks

According to Miyagawa (1997), when part of an idiom chunk is long-distance scrambled, it loses its idiomatic meaning. This effect is compatible with the A-bar movement properties of syntactic long-distance scrambling. This is shown in the following example from Miyagawa (1997:13), in which the idiomatic meaning of *te-o nobasu* ‘become involved (Lit: ‘extend hands’)’ is lost when the NP *te-o* ‘hand-ACC’ is syntactically long-distance scrambled (judgment is Miyagawa’s):

- (41) ??*te-o*₁ Mary-ga [John-ga hoteru-gyoo-ni *t*₁ nobasita to]
 hand-ACC Mary-NOM John-NOM hotel-business-DAT extended C
 hookokusita
 reported
 ‘Mary reported that John became involved in the hotel business.’

But it is possible to get an idiomatic reading if part of the idiom chunk is prosodically phrased and scrambled with another XP:

- (42) (*hoteru-gyoo-ni te-o*)_φ Mary-ga [John-ga nobasita to]
 hotel-business-DAT hand-ACC Mary-NOM John-NOM extended C
 hookokusita
 reported

The idiomatic reading is available in (42), where part of the idiom is scrambled as part of a prosodic constituent in phonology; in this case, the idiom remains intact for the purposes of interpretation.

3.1.8 Island constraints

Saito (1985) observes that ‘normal’ long-distance scrambling is sensitive to island constraints like the Complex NP Constraint and the Adjunct Condition, as shown in (43b, c) and (44b, c), though the island effects with scrambling are weak.

- (43) a. Mary-ga imademo [[Bill-ni sono hon-o watasi wasureta]
 Mary-NOM still Bill-DAT that book-ACC give forgot
 hito]-o sagasiteiru <koto>
 person-ACC look.for fact
 ‘Mary is still looking for the person who forgot to give that book to Bill.’
 b. ??*Bill-ni*₁ Mary-ga imademo [[*t*₁ sono hon-o watasi wasureta]
 Bill-DAT Mary-NOM still that book-ACC give forgot
 hito]-o sagasiteiru <koto>
 person-ACC look.for fact
 c. ??*Sono hon-o*₁ Mary-ga imademo [[Bill-ni *t*₁ watasi wasureta]
 that book-ACC Mary-NOM still Bill-DAT give forgot
 hito]-o sagasiteiru <koto>
 person-ACC look.for fact

- (44) a. Mary-ga imademo [John-ga Bill-ni sono tokei-o ageta
Mary-NOM still John-NOM Bill-DAT that watch-ACC gave
kara] okotteiru <koto>
because be.angry fact
'Mary is still angry because John gave that watch to Bill.'
- b. ??*Bill-ni*₁ Mary-ga imademo [John-ga *t*₁ sono tokei-o ageta
Bill-DAT Mary-NOM still John-NOM that watch-ACC gave
kara] okotteiru <koto>
because be.angry fact
- c. ??*Sono tokei-o*₁ Mary-ga imademo [John-ga Bill-ni *t*₁ ageta
that watch-ACC Mary-NOM still John-NOM Bill-DAT gave
kara] okotteiru <koto>
because be.angry fact

Japanese scrambling is also subject to the left-branch condition: no genitive phrase can be syntactically scrambled out of a nominal phrase. In (45b), the genitive phrase *Suzy-no* 'Suzy-GEN' is syntactically scrambled out of the nominal phrase; the result is completely ungrammatical:

- (45) a. John-ga imademo [Mary-ga [Suzy-no imooto]-o izimeta to]
John-NOM still Mary-NOM Suzy-GEN sister-ACC bullied C
omotteiru <koto>
think fact
'John thinks that Mary bullied Suzy's sister.'
- b. **Suzy-no*₁ John-ga imademo [Mary-ga [*t*₁ imooto]-o izimeta to]
Suzy-GEN John-NOM still Mary-NOM sister-ACC bullied C
omotteiru <koto>
think fact

Matters are improved if the scrambled elements form a (recursive) ϕ :

- (46) (*Bill-ni sono hon-o*) ϕ Mary-ga imademo watasi wasureta
Bill-DAT that book-ACC Mary-NOM still give forgot
hito-o sagasiteiru <koto>
person-ACC look.for fact
'Mary is still looking for the person who forgot to give that book to Bill.'
- (47) (*Bill-ni sono tokei-o*) ϕ Mary-ga imademo John-ga ageta kara
Bill-DAT that watch-ACC Mary-NOM still John-NOM gave because
okotteiru <koto>
be.angry fact
'Mary is still angry because John gave that watch to Bill.'
- (48) ?(*Mary-ga Suzy-no*) ϕ John-ga imademo [imooto-o izimeta to]
Mary-NOM Suzy-GEN John-NOM still sister-ACC bullied C
omotteiru <koto>
think fact
'John thinks that Mary bullied Suzy's sister.'

As we mentioned in Sect. 1, when multiple XPs are moved out of an embedded clause through syntactic long-distance scrambling, the result is degraded. Hence, if (46)–(48) were derived by syntactic scrambling, they should be worse than (43b, c), (44b, c), and (45b), respectively, where only one constituent is scrambled out of an opaque domain. The result, however, is the opposite of what a syntactic scrambling analysis predicts. The prosodic scrambling analysis, however, does account for this. When a single XP is scrambled, it is scrambled in syntax and obeys the expected syntactic island conditions. When multiple XPs are scrambled, they are scrambled in phonology, and the scrambling is therefore insensitive to all syntactic locality constraints.¹²

3.1.9 Alternative analyses

We now have substantial evidence that grammatical instances of ‘multiple long-distance scrambling’ arise via prosodic scrambling, i.e., scrambling of ϕ in the phonology.

Alternatively, it could be argued that multiple scrambling of single syntactic XPs occurs in syntax, creating something like (2). These syntactically scrambled elements would then be phonologically adjusted to form a prosodic constituent, forming (3) in the phonological component (cf. Fukui and Sakai 2006). Another alternative would allow adjunction of these elements via ‘oblique movement’ into a single XP that undergoes movement as a single ‘surprising constituent’ in the sense of Takano (2002). The derivation for (3a) under this analysis would proceed as follows:

- (49) [Clause ... [Clause ... [VP [NP IO] [NP DO] V]]]
 → [Clause ... [Clause ... [VP [NP[NP IO] [NP DO]₁ t₁ V]]]
 → [Clause [NP[NP IO] [NP DO]₁]₂ ... [Clause ... [VP t₂ t₁ V]]]

In this two-step process, DO first adjoins to IO, then the resulting NP scrambles out. Takano’s approach would allow the multiply scrambled elements to move as a single constituent in syntax.

As we have seen, though, grammatical instances of multiple long-distance scrambling do not obey syntactic conditions or have the same interpretive effects of single syntactic scrambling. Moreover, Takano’s ‘surprising constituent’ is always a ϕ , but this goes unaccounted for in his analysis. We have shown that prosodic adjustment of syntactically scrambled elements cannot license multiple XP scrambling. This suggests that grammatical cases of multiple long-distance scrambling, where the scam-

¹²A similar effect is observed in Classical Greek (Agbayani and Golston 2010), where pervasive left-branch extraction occurs under movement of prosodic constituents in phonology. Phonological movement is expected to be sensitive to phonological conditions (to which syntactic movement would be immune). Agbayani and Golston show that this expectation is confirmed for Classical Greek, in which phonological movement is sensitive to the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP). Prosodic scrambling in Japanese is also expected to be sensitive to phonological conditions like the OCP; we have not yet found this effect in Japanese.

bled elements form a ϕ but not an XP, cannot involve syntactic movement of *any kind*.¹³ Single XP scrambling, however, must be syntactic movement.

3.2 Clause-internal scrambling

Sentences with multiple instances of clause-internal scrambling (50) are also degraded compared to those with a single instance (51), though the contrast is subtle (Kuno 1978:58; Saito 1985:261).

- (50) a. ?*Tom-o₂ Mary-ni₁ John-ga t₁ t₂ syookaisita*
 Tom-ACC Mary-DAT John-NOM introduced
 'John introduced Tom to Mary.'
- b. ?*Mary-ni₁ Tom-o₂ John-ga t₁ t₂ syookaisita*
 Mary-DAT Tom-ACC John-NOM introduced
- (51) a. *Tom-o₁ John-ga Mary-ni t₁ syookaisita*
 Tom-ACC John-NOM Mary-DAT introduced
 'John introduced Tom to Mary.'
- b. *Mary-ni₁ John-ga t₁ Tom-o syookaisita*
 Mary-DAT John-NOM Tom-ACC introduced

We observe that multiple clause-internal scrambling improves if the scrambled elements form a ϕ , just as we saw for multiple long-distance scrambling:

- (52) a. (*Tom-o Mary-ni*) ϕ John-ga syookaisita
 Tom-ACC Mary-DAT John-NOM introduced
 'John introduced Tom to Mary.'
- b. (*Mary-ni Tom-o*) ϕ John-ga syookaisita
 Mary-DAT Tom-ACC John-NOM introduced

Recall that under our analysis there is a difference between syntactic and prosodic scrambling regarding syntactic conditions and LF interpretations. Prosodic scrambling occurs completely within the phonological component and is therefore not subject to conditions on interpretation for syntactic scrambling. Prosodically scrambled material is interpreted *in situ* for binding and scope at LF, which is counter to what we find with syntactic scrambling, where the moved element is interpreted for binding and scope in its surface position. In this section we show that these predictions are borne out for clause-internal scrambling.

3.2.1 Quantifier scope

It was first observed by Kuroda (1970) that clause-internal scrambling has an effect on quantifier scope, as schematically represented in (53):

¹³The prosodic scrambling analysis is distinct from so-called 'PF movement' proposals, which posit for the most part post-Spell-Out movement of syntactic XPs (Chomsky 1995; Ueyama 1999; Hayashishita 2000; Sauerland and Elbourne 2002; van Gelderen 2003; and Fukui and Kasai 2004).

- (53) a. QP₁-Nom QP₂-Dat/Acc V (Unambiguous)
 QP₁ > QP₂, *QP₂ > QP₁
 b. QP₂-Dat/Acc QP₁-Nom V (Ambiguous)
 QP₁ > QP₂, QP₂ > QP₁

(53a) can only be understood as stating that the subject QP₁ takes scope over QP₂. When we scramble QP₂ (53b), on the other hand, the result is ambiguous: QP₁ takes scope over QP₂ or QP₂ takes scope over QP₁.

Hoji (2003) claims that although there are cases where Kuroda's generalization does not hold, we can still maintain this generalization by using quantifier phrases that cannot be used to refer to a specific group of entities like NP-*dake* 'only NP' (Hoji 2003:410):

- (54) a. *3-tu-no ginkoo-ga Toyota-dake-ni monku-o itta*
 3-CL-GEN bank-NOM Toyota-only-DAT complaint-ACC said
 'Three banks complained only to Toyota.'
 three banks > only Toyota
 *only Toyota > three banks
 b. *Toyota-dake-ni 3-tu-no ginkoo-ga monku-o itta*
 Toyota-only-DAT 3-CL-GEN bank-NOM complaint-ACC said
 'To only Toyota, three banks complained.'
 three banks > only Toyota
 only Toyota > three banks

(54a) is true under situation (55) but not under situation (56). (54b), on the other hand, is true under either (55) or (56). In (55, 56), 'A → B' indicates that A complains to B (Hoji 2003:406–467):

- (55) Situation 1
 There are six banks (1–6) and three companies (T(oyota), N, M). Three out of six banks complained only to Toyota:
 1 → T; 2 → T; 3 → T; 4 → T, N, M; 5 → N, M; 6 → M
 (56) Situation 2
 There are three banks (1–3) and three companies (T(oyota), N, M). It is only Toyota that three companies complained to:
 1 → T; 2 → T, N; 3 → T, N, M

We observe, however, that prosodic scrambling does not affect quantifier scope at all. In (57), *Toyota-dake-ni* 'Toyota-only-DAT' is scrambled together with *monku-o* 'complaint-ACC' with which it forms a ϕ ; it has only the interpretation in which the subject QP 'three banks' has scope over the object QP 'only Toyota':

- (57) (*Toyota-dake-ni monku-o*) ϕ *3-tu-no ginkoo-ga itta*
 Toyota-only-DAT complaint-ACC 3-CL-GEN bank-NOM said
 'Three banks complained only to Toyota.'
 three banks > only Toyota
 ??only Toyota > three banks

In other words, (57) is compatible with (55) but not (56). This can be accounted for by the prosodic scrambling analysis, since the scrambled ϕ can only be interpreted *in situ* at LF and thus (57) should have the same interpretation as its unscrambled counterpart.

3.2.2 Variable binding and reconstruction

Hoji argues that there are two types of bound variable anaphora. One is constrained by the c-command requirement at LF that an NP β can be construed as a variable bound by an NP α only if β is c-commanded by α and its trace at LF (Hoji 2003:395). This type of bound variable anaphora shows reconstruction effects with clause-internal scrambling of a single XP (Hoji 2003:394):

- (58) *So-ko_i-no* *kantoku-o* *Mettu-sae_i-ga* *uttaeta* <koto>
 that-place-GEN manager-ACC Mets-even-NOM sued fact
 ‘Its_i manager, even the Mets_i sued.’

The other type of bound variable anaphora, on the other hand, is constrained by the precedence requirement that an NP β can be construed as a variable bound by an NP α only if β is preceded by α at PF (Hoji 2003:396). Unlike the c-command type, the precedence type of bound variable anaphora does not show any reconstruction effects (Hoji 2003:394):

- (59) **So-no_i* *kyuudan-no* *kantoku-o* *do-no_i* *kyuudan-mo*
 that-GEN baseball.club-GEN manager-ACC which-GEN baseball.club-also
uttateta <koto>
 sued fact
 ‘**That_i** (baseball) team’s manager, **every_i** (baseball) team sued.’

Hoji (2003) claims that on a descriptive level, the bound variable construal between the NP-*sae* ‘NP-even’ type (as the binder) and the *so-ko* NP ‘that place NP’ type (as the bindee) must be based on LF c-command whereas the one between the *do-no* NP ‘which NP’ type (as the binder) and the *so-no* NP ‘that-GEN NP’ type (as the bindee) must be based on PF precedence.

We observe that when prosodic scrambling applies, the reconstruction effects emerge even with the ‘precedence type’ of bound variable anaphora:

- (60) (*Komissyonaa-ni so-no₁ kyuudan-no kantoku-o*) ϕ *do-no₁*
 commissioner-DAT that-GEN baseball.club-GEN manager-ACC which-GEN
kyuudan-mo uttateta <koto>
 baseball.club-also sued fact
 ‘**Every₁** (baseball) team sued **that₁** (baseball) team’s manager to the commissioner.’

Under the prosodic scrambling analysis, this displacement occurs in the phonology, which does not have any effect on LF. It follows that in (60), the scrambled

elements are interpreted as if they are *in situ*, and thus the reconstruction effects emerge.¹⁴

3.2.3 *Otagai* ‘each other’

Saito (1992, 2003) claims that clause-internal scrambling in Japanese can be ‘A-movement’ in the sense that the scrambled phrase can function as an ‘A-binder’ (Saito 2003:485):

- (61) a. *Karera_i-ga* [*otagai_i-no* sensei]-*o* hihansita <koto>
 they-NOM each.other-GEN teacher-ACC criticized fact
 ‘They_i criticized each other_i’s teacher.’
 b. *?*[Otagai_i-no* sensei]-*ga* *karera_i-o* hihansita <koto>
 each other-GEN teacher-NOM they-ACC criticized fact
 ‘Each other_i’s teacher criticized them_i.’
- (62) ?*Karera_i-o₂* [*otagai_i-no* sensei]-*ga* *t₂* hihansita] <koto>
 they-ACC each.other-GEN teacher-NOM criticized fact
 ‘Each other_i’s teacher criticized them_i.’

Saito argues that (61a, b) show that the reciprocal *otagai* ‘each other’, which he assumes is a local anaphor, requires a c-commanding antecedent. (62) is derived from (61b) by scrambling the object *karera-o* ‘they-ACC’. The fact that (62) improves indicates that the scrambled phrase *karera-o* ‘they-ACC’ is in an ‘A-position’, serving as an ‘A-binder.’

Hoji (2003, 2006) counters that *otagai* ‘each other’ is not a local anaphor. He argues that the internal structure of *otagai* ‘each other’ is [*pro* [*otagai*]] ‘each other’, where *pro* is a phonetically empty argument, and that what has been considered as an anaphoric relation between *otagai* ‘each other’ and its antecedent should be understood as the relation between *pro* and its antecedent. As evidence for his analysis, Hoji shows that there are cases where the antecedent of *otagai* ‘each other’ (more precisely, *pro*) need not c-command *otagai* ‘each other’ (*pro*) as shown below, in contrast to Saito’s (61b) example (Hoji 2003:433):

- (63) [*pro_i* *otagai*]-*no* *koibito*]-*ga* [*John to Bill*]_{*i*}-*o* *yuuwakusita*
 each.other-GEN lover-NOM [John and Bill]-ACC seduced
 ‘Each other_i’s lovers seduced [John and Bill]_{*i*}.’

Hoji claims that the relevant relation in (61) is that of coreference. The availability of the relevant coreference relation is affected by various lexico-semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic factors, especially notions like salience. Hence, contrary to Saito’s claim, Hoji argues that the improvement seen in (62) cannot be used as evidence for the ‘A-position’ status of the landing site of clause-internal scrambling.

¹⁴Note also that in Hoji’s (2003) analysis, his ‘PF representation’ still feeds information to LF in terms of variable binding. Our prosodic scrambling, on the other hand, is purely phonological in the sense that it does not have any effect on variable binding at all.

Hoji (2006) argues that in contrast to (61–63), (64), where the antecedent is a quantifier, involves variable binding rather than coreference (Hoji 2006:4):

- (64) (Watasi-wa) [kanarino kazu-no nihonzin huuhu]_i-ga
 I-TOP considerable number-GEN Japanese couple-NOM
 [*pro*_i otagai]-no (katute no) onsi-o batoosuru
 each.other-GEN former teacher-ACC harshly.criticize
 (no-o mita)
 COMP-ACC saw
 ‘(I saw) [a good number of Japanese couples]₁ harshly criticize each other₁’s
 (former) teacher.’

This bound variable reading becomes unavailable in a typical LF weak crossover configuration (Hoji 2006:4):

- (65) *?(Watasi-wa) [*pro*_i otagai]-no (katute no) onsi-ga [kanarino
 I-TOP each.other-GEN former teacher-NOM considerable
 kazu-no nihonzin huuhu]_i-o batoosuru (no-o mita)
 number-GEN Japanese couple-ACC harshly.criticize COMP-ACC saw
 ‘(I saw) each other₁’s (former) teacher harshly criticize [a good number of
 Japanese couples]₁.’

As pointed out by, among others, Mahajan (1990) and Saito (1992), clause-internal scrambling remedies a weak crossover effect:

- (66) (Watasi-wa) [kanarino kazu-no nihonzin huuhu]_i-o
 I-TOP considerable number-GEN Japanese couple-ACC
 [*pro*_i otagai]-no (katute no) onsi-ga batoosuru
 each.other-GEN former teacher-NOM harshly.criticize
 (no-o mita)
 COMP-ACC saw
 ‘(I saw) each other₁’s (former) teacher harshly criticize [a good number of
 Japanese couples]₁.’

We observe that even in cases like (67), prosodic scrambling of ϕ does not remedy a weak crossover violation as shown in (69) below. This is in contrast with (68), where syntactic clause-internal scrambling remedies a weak crossover violation:

- (67) *?[*pro*_i otagai]-no (katute no) onsi-ga [nikkei kigyoo]-ni
 each other-GEN former teacher-NOM Japanese company-DAT
 [kanarino kazu-no nihonzin huuhu]_i-o syookaisita <koto>
 considerable number-GEN Japanese couple-ACC introduced fact
 ‘Each other₁’s (former) teacher introduced [a good number of Japanese
 couples]₁ to a Japanese company.’
- (68) [kanarino kazu-no nihonzin huuhu]_i-o [*pro*_i otagai]-no
 considerable number-GEN Japanese couple-ACC each.other-GEN
 (katute no) onsi-ga [nikkei kigyoo]-ni syookaisita <koto>
 former teacher-NOM Japanese company-DAT introduced fact

- (69) *?([*kanarino kazu-no nihonzin huuhu*]_i-o [*nikkee kigyoo*]-ni)_φ
 considerable number-GEN Japanese couple-ACC Japanese company-DAT
 [*pro*]_i otagai]-no (katute no) onsi-ga syookaisita <koto>
 each.other-GEN former teacher-NOM introduced fact

No remedy of a weak crossover violation in (69) follows from the prosodic scrambling analysis: the scrambling applies to a ϕ in phonology, and thus does not have any effects on variable binding. The prosodically scrambled string is interpreted as if it were *in situ*.

The same pattern is observed with the bound variable construal between QP and its dependent term whether it is of the LF c-command type or of the PF precedence type (70)–(75):¹⁵

- (70) *?So-ko_i-no kantoku-ga Mettu-sae_i-o saibansyo-ni uttaeta
 that-place-GEN manager-NOM Mets-even-ACC court-DAT sued
 <koto>
 fact
 ‘Its_i manager sued even the Mets_i in court.’
- (71) Mettu-sae_i-o so-ko_i-no kantoku-ga saibansyo-ni uttaeta
 Mets even-ACC that-place-GEN manager-NOM court-DAT sued
 <koto>
 fact
- (72) *?(Mettu-sae_i-o saibansyo-ni)_φ so-ko_i-no kantoku-ga uttaeta
 (Mets-even-ACC court-DAT) that-place-GEN manager-NOM sued
 <koto>
 fact
- (73) *?So-no_i kyuudan-no kantoku-ga do-no_i kyuudan-mo
 that-GEN baseball.club-GEN manager-NOM which-GEN baseball.club-also
 saibansyo-ni uttaeta <koto>
 court-DAT sued fact
 ‘That_i (baseball) team’s manager sued every_i (baseball) team in court.’
- (74) Do-no_i kyuudan-mo so-no_i kyuudan-no kantoku-ga
 which-GEN baseball.club-also that-GEN baseball.club-GEN manager-NOM
 saibansyo-ni uttaeta <koto>
 court-DAT sued fact
- (75) *?(Do-no_i kyuudan-mo saibansyo-ni)_φ so-no_i kyuudan-no
 which-GEN baseball.club-also court-DAT that-GEN baseball.club-GEN
 kantoku-ga uttaeta <koto>
 manager-NOM sued fact

¹⁵An anonymous reviewer asks of (72) whether the judgment remains the same if the order of the constituents within the ϕ is reversed (i.e., *saibansho-ni Mettu-sae-o*). It seems to us that it does, though the judgment is subtle.

In (71) and (74), syntactic scrambling remedies a weak crossover violation, while in (72) and (75), prosodic scrambling does not.

4 Conclusion

This paper has presented evidence for a species of scrambling which applies to ϕ s in the phonology. Prosodic scrambling is blind to syntactic constituency and is not subject to syntactic conditions, and the scrambled material can only be interpreted *in situ* at LF. The existence of a prosodic counterpart to syntactic scrambling provides new evidence for an intriguing parallelism between the two components of grammar.

Acknowledgements We would like to thank four anonymous *NLLT* reviewers for very helpful comments. Portions of this paper were presented at ICEAL 2, FAJL 5, and seminars on Linguistic Theory and Japanese Language at MIT. We would like to thank the audiences at these conferences for helpful comments and discussions on earlier versions of this paper, especially Shin Fukuda, Junko Itô, Armin Mester, Shigeru Miyagawa, Mamoru Saito, Lisa Selkirk, and Satoshi Tomioka. We would also like to thank Hidehito Hoshi, Norvin Richards and Hideaki Yamashita for helpful comments on a draft of this paper, as well as Tomoko Kozasa for help with phonetic analysis and native speaker judgments. Remaining errors and omissions are, of course, the sole responsibility of the authors. This work was supported in part by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science under grant Scientific Research C 26370578 to Ishii.

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