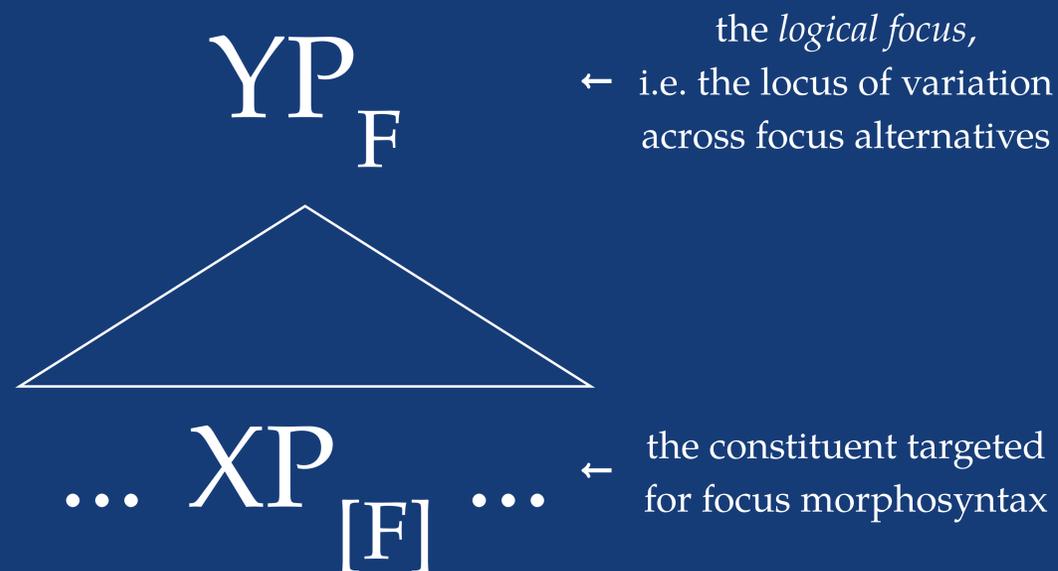
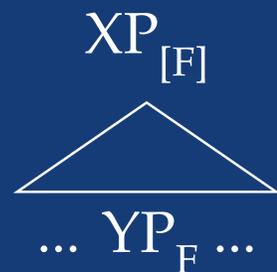


Anti-pied-piping

refers to where the morphosyntax targets a proper subpart of the logical focus for operations such as focus particle placement and movement.



Compare to *pied-piping*, where the morphosyntax targets a constituent properly containing the logical focus.



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Focus particles in Miyara Yaeyaman (Ryukyuan; SOV) are *systematically ambiguous* in their choice of associating logical focus (Davis 2013: 33):

- (1) Q: *Who hit Jiro?* / Q: *What happened?*
(subject focus) (broad focus)
[Hajasi-san]=**du** ziroo=**ba** bari.
Hayashi-san=**DU** Jiro=**ACC** hit
'Hayashi-san hit Jiro.'
- (2) Q: *What did she eat?* / Q: *What did she do?*
(object focus) (VP focus)
Kunu midunpito=**o** [izi=**ba**]=**du** fai.
this woman=**TOP** fish=**ACC=DU** ate
'This woman ate fish.'

...and similarly in various other languages.

Generalization: The logical focus — as determined by the interpretation of the focus particle — is the focus-particle-marked constituent *or the next propositional node up* (TP, vP). The latter are instances of *anti-pied-piping*.

Focus movement in Kikuyu (and other lang.'s) leads to similar ambiguities (Schwarz 2007: 12):

- (3) Ne- [mae] Abdul a-nyu-ir-e ____.
FOC 6.water Abdul 1s-drink-ASP-FV
'Abdul drank water.' (object or VP focus)

VP focus in (3) also instantiates *anti-pied-piping*.

Anti-pied-piping focus particle placement *can then feed scrambling* in Japanese (Kotani 2008: 46):

- (4) After winning a gold medal, that athlete has been on TV and is dating an actress...
Uta=**sae** kare-wa [VP ____ dasi-]_F -ta.
song=**EVEN** he=**TOP** release- -**PST**
'He [that gold-medalist] even released a song.'

Anti-pied-piping particle placement thus *cannot simply be post-syntactic lowering!*

In many languages, anti-pied-piping displays a positional preference — the *leftmost* constituent within the logical focus is chosen:

- (1') * S O=du V Intended: 'Hayashi-san hit Jiro.'
(5) a. Ne- [iβuku] A. a-ðom-ay-era ____ mwana.
FOC 5.book A. 1S-read-ASP-APPL 1.child
b. ??Ne- [mwana] A. a-ðom-ay-era iβuku ____.
FOC 1.child A. 1S-read-ASP-APPL 5.book
'Abdul read the child a book.' (Schwarz 2004: 95)

This suggests that anti-pied-piping can refer to post-syntactic properties, like "*edgemo*st."

This closely resembles well-known restrictions on *pied-piping*!

- (6) a. [Whose picture] did you paint ____?
b. ??[A picture of *whom*] did you paint ____?

Here, the logical focus (*wh*) prefers to be *leftmost* within the pied-piped constituent.

A theory of (anti-)pied-piping

A bipartite syntax for constituent focus particles:

1. **Operator (OP):** Semantically contentful. Adjoins to a position of propositional type and takes scope there. Possibly unpronounced.
2. **Focus particle (PRT):** Reflects the presence of OP, but not itself semantically contentful. OP must take logical focus and PRT in its scope.

During cyclic Spell-Out by phase (Chomsky 2001 a.o.), PRT is Late Adjoined in the scope of OP.

- PRT ON logical focus = no mismatch
- PRT ON focus-containing constituent = *pied-piping*
- PRT ON constituent within focus = *anti-pied-piping*

PRT placement during Spell-Out can refer to PF information such as "*edgemo*stness."

Since PRT is present in the narrow syntax, further operations may target the phrase which PRT has adjoined to (like Cable's Q), explaining (3–6).

Anti-pied-piping

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Extended handout with further data:

<https://mitcho.com/research/handout-anti-pied-piping2019.pdf>