Overview

Assumption about syntax-prosody mapping: Prosodic phrases largely reflect syntactic phrases

Movement-based account: Either Lillian will look for Lauren or Bella.

Ellipsis-based account: Either [DWP] Lillian will look for Lauren or she will look for Bella.

Puzzle: Either can be adjacent to disjunction (1a) (e.g. Sag et al. 1985) or appear higher (1b-d) (observed by Larson 1985, Schwarz 1999, den Dikken 2006, among others)

(1) a. Lillian will look for either Lauren or Bella.
   b. Lillian will either look for Lauren or Bella.
   c. Lillian either will look for Lauren or Bella.
   d. Either Lillian will look for Lauren or Bella.

Movement-based account: Either originates as the sister of disjunction (DisjP), and then moves to its surface position (Larson 1985 and Johannesen 2005)

(2) a. Lillian will look for either [DWP] Lauren or Bella.
   b. Lillian will either [DWP] look for t [DWP] Lauren or Bella.
   c. Lillian either [DWP] will look for t [DWP] Lauren or Bella.
   d. Either [DWP] Lillian will look for t [DWP] Lauren or Bella.

Ellipsis-based account: Either is the sister of DisjP. When it seems high, ellipsis has applied in the noninitial disjuncts (Schwarz 1999 and Han & Romero 2004)

(3) a. Lillian will look for either [DWP] Lauren or Bella.
   b. Lillian will either [DWP] look for Lauren or she will look for Bella.
   c. Lillian either [DWP] will look for Lauren or she will look for Bella.
   d. Either [DWP] Lillian will look for Lauren or she will look for Bella.

Discussion

• Prosodic evidence for syntactic claim: Supports the ellipsis-based account but not the movement-based account

• Syntax-prosody mapping: Prosodic structure might correspond to syntactic structure more closely than some theories claimed, distinguishing XPs vs. X-bars ((1a-b) vs. (1c)), and various subclauses (DP vs. VP) ((1a) vs. (1b))