

## Discourse new, focused and given

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Focus is not a uniform notion, either grammatically or interpretively. Following Selkirk 2008 I motivate a distinction between discourse new and marked focus, the former grammatically unmarked, the latter F-marked. I show how default syntax/prosody mapping not only determines discourse new prosody, but also determines prosody in a variety of all-Given accent domains (Schwarzschild 1999, Büring 2006, Féry & Samek-Lodovici 2006) Following Kratzer & Selkirk 2007 and Selkirk 2008, I assume that F-marking is interpreted by alternative semantics (Rooth 1992), G-marking by a modification of Schwarzschild (1999)'s GIVENNESS. I also assume that F- and G-marking are freely assigned. In the resulting system, a node  $\alpha$  is (i) F-marked only if the phrasal scope  $\varphi$  of the focus  $\sim$  operator corresponding to it has an antecedent in the discourse for its focus semantic value  $[[\varphi]]^f$ ; (ii) G-marked only if  $[[\alpha]]^o$  is GIVEN; (iii) F- and G- marked only if  $[[\varphi]]^o$  is GIVEN; and (iv) unmarked only if  $[[\alpha]]^o$  is not GIVEN. I argue that discourse new is not an Information Structure (IS) trigger for movement, consistent with the hypothesis that discourse new is grammatically unmarked. Finally, I speculate that IS triggers are restricted to just two information structure categories, focused and GIVEN, grammatically represented as F-marked and G-marked, respectively.

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