

We argue for the inclusion of information structure (IS) features in the syntactic derivation (cf. Rizzi 1997; López 2009), using new data from the ‘Subpart of Focus Fronting’ (SFF) phenomenon in German. This is in contrast with Fanselow & Lenertová (F&L 2011), who claim that SFF represents optional movement that can only be explained by recourse to prosody (cf. Szendrői 2001, a.o.). However, when López (2009)’s discourse subordination test for topichood is applied to the data, the optionality vanishes: SFF is only possible in topic (‘discourse anaphora’) contexts. This undermines the evidence for the optionality of SFF and implies that IS features must in fact be present in the derivation.

In SFF, the first stressed phrase of a sentence- or predicate-focus (i.e. an answer to ‘What happened’) may undergo fronting to Spec-CP (in 1c, *die Flinte* ‘the gun’). Crucially, the second stressed phrase *ins Korn* ‘into the grain’ may not. F&L argue that SFF is syntactic movement, but it cannot be due to a focus feature, because the whole sentence is under focus, not just *die Flinte*. Instead, they propose an ‘Early Accentuation’ operation that linearizes phrases immediately following Merge; then, an optional unselective edge feature on C only allows the most local stressed phrase as its specifier.

- (1) (a) A: What happened?/What did he do?
 (b) *Er hat die FLinte ins KORN geworfen.*
 he has the gun into-the grain thrown
 B: ‘He has given up.’ (Fanselow & Lenertová 2011: 179) GERMAN
 (c) B: [*Die FLinte*]_i *hat er t_i ins KORN geworfen.*
 (d) B: #[*Ins KORN*]_i *hat er die Flinte t_i geworfen.*

It is well established, however, that a simple Question-Answer paradigm is not a sufficient control for context (cf. Tonhauser & Matthewson 2015). Instead, we claim that the discourse subordination test from Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (Asher & Vieu 2005) is necessary to diagnose topic movement. In this test, sentences can be linked via coordination of separate events (e.g. ‘X happened. Then, Y’) or subordination, in which one event is elaborated upon (e.g. ‘X happened. As a result Y’). López (2009) demonstrates that topic-movement (‘discourse anaphora’) in Catalan is only licensed in discourse subordination contexts. We present data from two native speakers of Catalan that establish that the test used by F&L (‘What happened’) is transparent to discourse relations: topic-movement (clitic right-dislocation of *el cafè*) is only felicitous in subordination contexts, even if ‘What happened’ intervenes (3d). This shows that F&L’s context is insufficient to control for discourse relations.

- (2) (a) A: First, the cafe was renamed. Then, it moved.
 (b) B: *Què va passar?* ‘What happened?’ (cf. ‘What happened next?’)
 (c) *El cafè va tancar.*
 the cafe PAST.3SG close.PART
 A: ‘The cafe closed.’ [Discourse Coordination with (a)] CATALÁN
 (d) A: #*Es va tancar, el cafè.*
- (3) (a) A: Paolo stopped working at the cafe.
 (b) B: *Què va passar?* ‘What happened?’ (cf. ‘What happened as a result?’)
 (c) A: #*El cafè va tancar.* [Discourse Subordination with (a)]
 (d) A: *Es va tancar, el cafè.* ‘It closed, the cafe.’ CATALÁN

Data from three native speakers of German present the same asymmetry for SFF: fronting is only licensed in discourse subordination contexts (4d vs 5d). This shows that a discourse subordination feature must be present to enable SFF; crucially, prosody is not predictive. We support F&L’s Early Accentuation operation, but instead propose that SFF is the result of López (2009)’s [+anaphora] feature, which is blindly assigned at the vP phase boundary by an invasive pragmatics module to phrases in Spec-vP. We propose that the [+a] feature in German is likewise assigned to phrases in Spec-vP. However, Early Accentuation can force a phrase not otherwise anaphoric to occupy this position. Thus, the [+a] feature only marks discourse subordination. Then, the [+a] feature results in movement to Spec-CP (see Figure 1 for a schematic). There is cross-linguistic support for unselective IS marking. In Paraguayan Guaraní, the contrastive topic marker is a suffix on the subject, regardless of which phrase is the contrastive topic (Constant 2014, citing Tonhauser 2012); focus association and nuclear stress are also classically unselective.

- (4) (a) A: John tried to climb the wall. He tried a second time. Then a third.
 (b) B: What happened?/What did he do? (cf. What happened next?)
 (c) A: *Er hat die FLinte ins KORN geworfen.* [Discourse Coordination with (a)]
 (d) A: #*[Die FLinte]_i hat er t_i ins KORN geworfen.* GERMAN
- (5) (a) A: Jessica used to be in our department. Now, she’s working at Starbucks.
 (b) B: What happened?/What did she do? (cf. What happened as a result?)
 (c) A: #*Sie hat die FLinte ins KORN geworfen.* [Discourse Subordination with (a)]
 (d) A: *[Die FLinte]_i hat sie t_i ins KORN geworfen.* GERMAN

We maintain that IS features should be present in the syntactic derivation and that prosody is insufficient to explain SFF. SFF is only possible in topic (‘discourse anaphora’) contexts, and its relation to prosody could be related to a growing consensus that linearization occurs earlier in the derivation than previously thought (Richards 2016). Furthermore, we raise a methodological point that thethetic question ‘What happened’ has multiple readings, which may mask discourse relations; the Question-Answer paradigm is not sufficient to diagnose IS. Finally, we conjecture that other instances of apparent optional fronting may be reanalyzable after the discourse subordination test is applied.

Asher, Nicholas and Laure Vieu. 2005. Subordinating and coordinating discourse relations. *Lingua* 115; **Constant, Noah.** 2014. Contrastive topic: Meanings and realizations. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; **Fanselow, Gisbert and Denisa Lenertová.** 2011. Left peripheral focus: Mismatches between syntax and information structure. *NLLT* 29:169–209; **López, Luis.** 2009. A derivational syntax for information structure. Oxford University Press; **Richards, Norvin.** 2016. Contiguity theory. MIT Press; **Rizzi, Luigi.** 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar: A handbook of generative syntax*, ed. L. Haegeman, 281–327. Kluwer; **Szendrői, Kriszta.** 2001. Focus and the syntax-phonology interface. Doctoral Dissertation, University College London; **Tonhauser, Judith and Lisa Matthewson.** 2015. Empirical evidence in research on meaning. Manuscript, November 2015, <http://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/002595>.

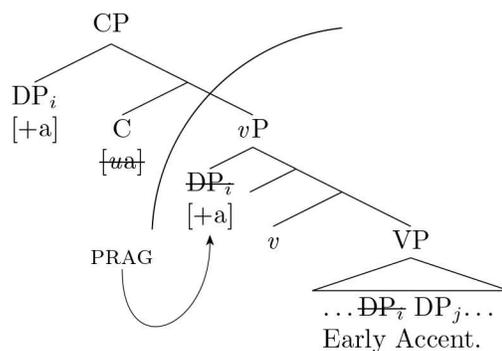


Figure 1: Schematic of SFF