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A Study of Italian Clause Structure

VIERI SAMEK-LODOVICI

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The Interaction of Focus, Givenness, and Prosody

A Study of Italian Clause Structure

VIERI SAMEK-LODOVICI

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*To Raphael and Charlotte,
A Pinuccia ed Emilio*

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General preface

The theoretical focus of this series is on the interfaces between subcomponents of the human grammatical system and the closely related area of the interfaces between the different subdisciplines of linguistics. The notion of ‘interface’ has become central in grammatical theory (for instance, in Chomsky’s Minimalist Program) and in linguistic practice: work on the interfaces between syntax and semantics, syntax and morphology, phonology and phonetics, etc. has led to a deeper understanding of particular linguistic phenomena and of the architecture of the linguistic component of the mind/brain.

The series covers interfaces between core components of grammar, including syntax/morphology, syntax/semantics, syntax/phonology, syntax/pragmatics, morphology/phonology, phonology/phonetics, phonetics/speech processing, semantics/pragmatics, and intonation/discourse structure, as well as issues in the way that the systems of grammar involving these interface areas are acquired and deployed in use (including language acquisition, language dysfunction, and language processing). It demonstrates, we hope, that proper understandings of particular linguistic phenomena, languages, language groups, or inter-language variations all require reference to interfaces.

The series is open to work by linguists of all theoretical persuasions and schools of thought. A main requirement is that authors should write so as to be understood by colleagues in related subfields of linguistics and by scholars in cognate disciplines.

In this new monograph, Vieri Samek-Lodovici challenges the standard cartographic approach to the relationship between syntax and information structure, using the very domain (Italian topic and focus constructions) from which many of the original insights were derived. He argues that contrastive focus in Italian is always *in situ*, but that an independent process fronts focused elements when right-dislocation applies. At a theoretical level, this entails that there is no unique Focus Phrase projection in Italian, and opens up the question of the positions of other informationally marked elements in clausal structure. Samek-Lodovici argues that movement operations cannot always be motivated by feature-checking and he proposes, instead, a constraint-evaluation approach within Optimality Theory. The book weaves together syntactic, semantic, and prosodic arguments for an alternative approach to what has been thought, up to now, to be a well understood set of phenomena at the syntax–information structure interface.

David Adger
Hagit Borer

Acknowledgments

This book grew out of a desire to provide a comprehensive and unified analysis of the entire distribution of contrastive focus in Italian. I am particularly indebted to Klaus Abels, Valentina Bianchi, Giuliano Bocci, Lisa Brunetti, Nicole Dehé, Gisbert Fanselow, Caroline Féry, Jane Grimshaw, Angelika Kratzer, Lisa Selkirk, Sten Vikner, Jenneke van der Wal, and the manuscript's anonymous reviewers for extensive conversations and comments that brought about new insights as well as a better-argued for overall analysis.

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This work also greatly benefited from questions and comments from a variety of audiences. These include audiences at invited talks at the University of Cambridge, NYU, University of Oxford, Rutgers, UCL, Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca, Université Paris-Diderot, University of Konstanz, University of Manchester, University of Potsdam, Yale University, as well as audiences at the International Congress of Linguistics¹⁸, Going Romance 2007, LAGB 2013 and 2014, SFB 632 17th workshop, Doctoral School on Topic and Topicalization (University of Geneva), Workshop on Interfaces at the Left Periphery (Linguistic Institute, Michigan University), NELS 38, and SLE 2014.

This volume would not have been possible without the generous sabbatical leave that I received from University College London, for which I am extremely thankful. Sincere and deeply felt thanks also to the extremely efficient, thorough, and kind editorial team of Oxford University Press, who went out of their way to help me get the book published during this difficult final year. Many thanks also to Kirill Shklovsky for his free and elegant tree-structure drawing software.

Finally, I am grateful to my son Raffy, who learned to speak while this book was being written, and his four British cousins Posy, Dolly, Maisy, and Flo, who wanted me to entitle this book 'Funky Language'. Above all, I am grateful to Charlotte, who genuinely made this book possible through her constant love and support.

List of abbreviations

ϕ_F	Head of Focus projection
ϕ_R	Head of Right dislocation projection
ϕ_{Topic}	Head of Topic projection
ϕ_X	Head of a generic XP projection
AP	Adjective phrase
AspV	Aspect phrase
CLLD	Clitic left dislocation
CP	Complementizer phrase
D	Determiner
DP	Determiner phrase
Dstr-RD	Destress-RD constraint
EPP	Extended Projection Principle constraint
F	Focus
Hd-ip	Head-of-intonational-phrase constraint
Hd-pp	Head-of-phonological-phrase constraint
Hd-up	Head-of-utterance-phrase-constraint
HT	Hanging Topic
<i>ip</i>	Intonational phrase
LD	Left dislocation
M	Marginalized
Marg	Marginalization constraint
NewF	New-information/presentational focus
NPI	Negative polarity item
Ob-Hd	Obligatory Head constraint
PF-phrase	Post Focus phrase
PP	Prepositional phrase
prt	Particle
<i>pp</i>	Phonological phrase
Q	Quantifier
R	Right-dislocated
RD	Right dislocation

RD ⁺	Right dislocation with clitic doubling
RD ⁻	Right dislocation without clitic doubling
RDisl	Right Dislocation constraint
refl	Reflexive particle
Rem. mv.	Remnant movement
RP	Right dislocation phrase
SEC	Single Event Condition
SF	Stress-Focus constraint
T	Tense (head of TP)
Top	Topic
TP	Tense phrase
<i>up</i>	Utterance phrase
V _{-Fin}	Non-finite verb
VP	Verb phrase
<i>v</i> P	The phrase projected by little <i>v</i> above VP
wh	Wh-phrase, interrogative phrase
XP	This term is used to indicate a generic projection, but also the projection immediately above RP in right dislocation structures
Y/N op	Yes/No operator
☞	Optimal structure/winning structure
⊗	Harmonically bounded structure, losing across all rankings
	This symbol closes any preceding square brackets that are still open

Introduction

This book challenges the current consensus on the analysis of Italian contrastive focalization. The most significant insights from a theoretical point of view are listed below. A detailed introduction to the analysis proper follows immediately after.

Clause structure—Italian contrastive focus will be shown to occur in situ. Deviations from this position will be shown to be systematic and always caused by the independently attested and highly productive process of right dislocation, which will be examined at length in its own right. As explained later in this introduction, when right dislocation applies to a constituent containing a focus, the focus is extracted from the right-dislocating phrase and eventually occurs at its left. As a result, a focus may occur in several distinct positions depending on what constituent is targeted by right dislocation.

If this analysis is correct, as this study of contrastive foci across several constructions would suggest, the commonly assumed view of Italian split CPs since Rizzi (1997) needs to be revised because, as will be amply demonstrated starting in this introduction, a unique fixed projection dedicated to contrastive focus cannot be posited. The consequences are substantial: if a focus projection is absent, then the analyses where it is used as a sign post for determining the position of other left-peripheral constituents and projections need to be reconsidered. This book starts addressing this issue by examining the syntactic status of the constituents immediately following left-peripheral foci. But more needs to be done and I hope the arguments presented here will prove both the necessity for such a re-analysis and its potential for further insights.

Empirical coverage—The analysis proposed in this book provides a unified and coherent account of the entire distribution of Italian contrastive focalization. It applies to clause-initial, clause-medial, and clause-final foci. It applies to moved and unmoved foci; to focused phrases but also focused heads, such as focused verbs; to familiar left-peripheral foci, but also to as yet unstudied TP-internal foci acting as left-peripheral foci relative to TP-internal constituents such as VPs and PPs. The same analysis also accounts for the discourse status and syntax of unfocused constituents following focus in each of the above cases.

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This extensive and comprehensive empirical coverage is an important property of the analysis proposed here. Analyses that work well on a large but structurally homogeneous set of cases may turn out to be untenable when the empirical coverage is further enlarged. As I will show, partly already in this introduction, there are strong reasons to believe that this is the case with focalization analyses positing a unique fixed focus projection. They successfully account for a large set of cases, but they will be proved unable to address in a unified and convincing way the larger distribution of focalization examined in this book.

Cartographic hypothesis—The evidence examined here excludes contrastive focus from the scope of the cartographic hypothesis. The multiple positions available to contrastive foci could be accounted for through multiple focus projections, but this would leave the original hypothesis with little explanatory and predictive power. We may wonder, however, whether the hypothesis still holds for other discourse-related projections. In this respect, the investigation of right dislocation is particularly interesting. The analysis proposed here will assume a dedicated projection above TP and could therefore be described as cartographic in spirit (Neeleman p.c.). Yet, on closer inspection right dislocation will turn out to be more dynamic than assumed and require a higher position with specific dislocated phrases. These cases are briefly discussed in Sections 4.4.4 and 5.4.5. They suggest that even apparently fixed discourse-related non-focal projections require more structural mobility than expected under a cartographic approach.

Movement as feature checking—Two important movement operations in this study appear to defy an analysis in terms of feature checking. The first, called ‘focus evacuation’ and discussed in Chapter 5, concerns the extraction of focus from constituents targeted by right dislocation. This movement is triggered by right dislocation and absent otherwise. Its ultimate cause can be debated (I will attribute it to the impossibility of leaving a stressed focus within a right-dislocated phrase, since right dislocation disallows for stress). But its dependency on right dislocation defies modelling in terms of feature checking because the same features forcing movement of the focused constituent when right dislocation is present would remain available and incorrectly trigger movement even when right dislocation is absent. The same issue emerges with a second phenomenon, called ‘left-shift’ and discussed in Chapter 6, where lower unfocused constituents move above a higher stressed focus, arguably to ensure a better alignment of stress with the right edge of the clause. When the higher constituent is not focused, and hence not stressed, the same movement is ungrammatical, arguably because it no longer serves any purpose. As before, feature checking appears unable to account for the fact that movement of one constituent here depends on the discourse-status of another. Here, I do not debate this issue further, since it would require a book of its own. But I consider it to be important that we note the existence of productive movement operations that appear to challenge a model of movement based on feature checking.

The syntax-prosody interface—Prosody and the fundamental design of grammar architecture become relevant when considering the ultimate causes determining the phenomena examined in this book. Why does focus occur in situ? Why must it evacuate from right dislocating constituents? How can its presence trigger left-shift in lower unfocused constituents? The first four chapters of this book concern the representation and syntax of Italian contrastive focalization and right dislocation and are cast in theory-neutral terms. The final chapter, however, argues that the best answer to the above questions emerges from independent prosodic requirements and requires a constraint conflict approach to grammar. Left-shift (including complex left-shift patterns studied here for the first time), focus evacuation, and significant aspects of the prosody of right dislocation and marginalization, will all be shown to emerge naturally from the interaction of simple conflicting constraints governing only the position and availability of prosodic stress, the position of right dislocation, the cost of movement. Constraint conflict makes it possible to model the derivative nature of these complex operations and properties, without directly encoding them in the grammar in any form, i.e. the grammar contains no features, principles, or constraints, that directly refer to ‘focus in situ’, ‘focus evacuation’, ‘left shift’, in their definitions.

The study of focalization—The last insight worth mentioning here is methodological in nature. This book shows that the syntax and representation of focalization cannot be properly understood without also analysing the discourse status and syntax of the non-focused constituents that surround contrastive foci. In Italian, the syntax of these constituents affects that of focalization. Ignoring them inevitably leads us to incorrectly attribute the effects they have on focus to focalization itself.

1.1 Historic context and related issues

Most of the data examined in this book concern Italian. This is intentional. Linguistic evidence constructed around Italian data has played a particularly significant role in shaping the current understanding of information structure and it is therefore essential to show how and why those same data must be reinterpreted and reanalysed.

Rizzi’s seminal 1997 study argued for the template in (1), where a unique focus projection dedicated to left-peripheral contrastive foci and *wh*-phrases is located above TP, preceded and followed by topic projections for discourse-given phrases (see also Rizzi 2004: 237). A parallel template was proposed in Belletti (2004) for new-information foci, with a dedicated projection situated between TP and VP potentially preceded and followed by topic projections as shown in (2) (Belletti 2004: 25). Since then, most studies in this area have systematically examined and revised the nature and number of the projections involved in these templates, but the existence and position of the two original focus projections have mostly been treated as a fundamental truth of clause structure (on Italian, see amongst others Benincá 2001;

Benincá and Poletto 2004; Brunetti 2004; Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007; Cinque and Rizzi 2009; Bianchi 2012; Bocci and Avesani 2011).

- (1) ForceP TopicP* FocP_{Contrastive} TopicP* FinP TP
- (2) TopicP* FocP_{NewF} TopicP* VP

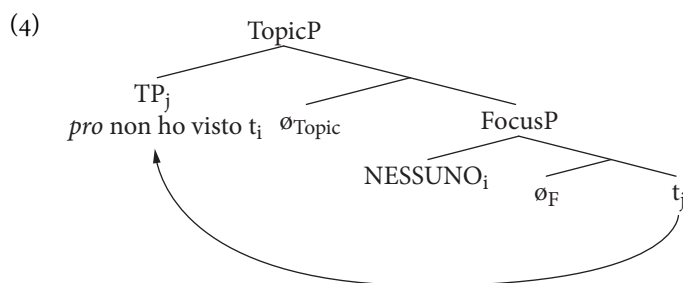
By distinguishing the position of focus and topic relative to each other, the templates shown in (1) and (2) have certainly helped scholars identify and clarify the properties distinguishing different types of topics and foci. Rizzi's template (1) also deepened our understanding of the internal structure of CP by distinguishing the position of finite and non-finite complementizers relative to each other and relative to the topic and interrogative items occurring in-between. Both templates have also been particularly influential in the establishing of the cartographic hypothesis and the related research programme (for a review see Cinque and Rizzi 2009). Under its strictest possible interpretation, proposed in Belletti (2001: 64; 2004: 17), the cartographic hypothesis would maintain that the posited focus projections are unique and have a fixed position in the syntactic representation of the clause. Consequently, contrastive and new-information foci would always need to raise to the relevant projection for interpretation purposes. This hypothesis, too, has proved seminal and with very few exceptions research on Italian information structure has been conducted under the assumption that these templates provide an accurate representation of the Italian clause.

My own research in this area, however, has led me to question the validity of templates (1) and (2) and, more generally, the presence of fixed dedicated projections for contrastive and new-information focus. Several problematic aspects will be highlighted in the chapters to follow, but let me introduce some important ones right away. A first reason for questioning template (1) concerns its inability to account for the distribution of contrastive focalization in its entirety. This distribution includes simple data that despite their run-of-the-mill status do not fit the template. Consider for example the contrastively focused negative object in (3) (The subscript 'F' henceforth denotes contrastive focus, while 'NewF' indicates new-information/presentational focus. Main stress on contrastive foci is shown in capitals).

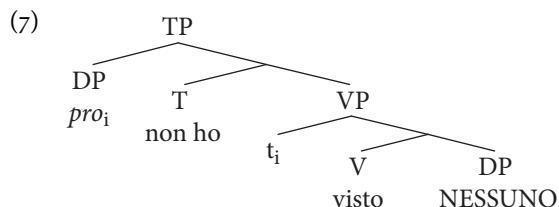
- (3) Non ho visto NESSUNO_F.
(I) not have seen nobody
'I saw NOBODY.'

Like any other Italian postverbal negative phrase, the object must be licensed under *c*-command by the preceding neg-marker *non* (see appendix A). If we analyse it as a left-peripheral focus, as per template (1), we get the structure in (4), where the negative object moves to the specifier of FocusP and then the remnant TP moves to the specifier of a higher topic projection in order to preserve word order. This

structure is highly problematic. To begin with, focused negative objects fronted above TP do not need licensing, see (5) (Zanuttini 1991; Penka 2011). It is unclear why the negative object in (4) should be an exception to this extremely robust generalization. Second, as noted in Cardinaletti (2001), licensing of the negative object by the neg-marker *non* should fail because *non* in this structure does not c-command the object as required. The analysis would have to stipulate that licensing may obtain under reconstruction, but this is not possible in Italian, as shown by the impossibility of licensing wh-phrases containing negative items in (6). Note that both problems disappear when the negative object is analysed as being focalized in situ, since in this position it does require licensing and it can be licensed under c-command by the neg-marker as shown in (7).



- (5) *NESSUNO_F, ho visto.*
 NOBODY, (I) have seen
 ‘NOBODY, I saw.’
- (6) **Nessun articolo di chi, non hai letto?*
 No paper of who, (you) not have read
 ‘No paper of whom, did you read?’



A similar problem emerges with parasitic gaps. In the data below, the parasitic gap in the second clause, represented as ‘_’, is grammatical in (8)(a) but not (8)(b). If the focused object *nostro PADRE* must raise to the left-peripheral focus projection of template (1) in both sentences, it should c-command the parasitic gap in both (8)(a) and (8)(b), incorrectly predicting (8)(b) to be grammatical. Once again the problem disappears if the postverbal focused object in (8)(b) is analysed as in situ and therefore structurally too low to c-command and license the corresponding parasitic gap.

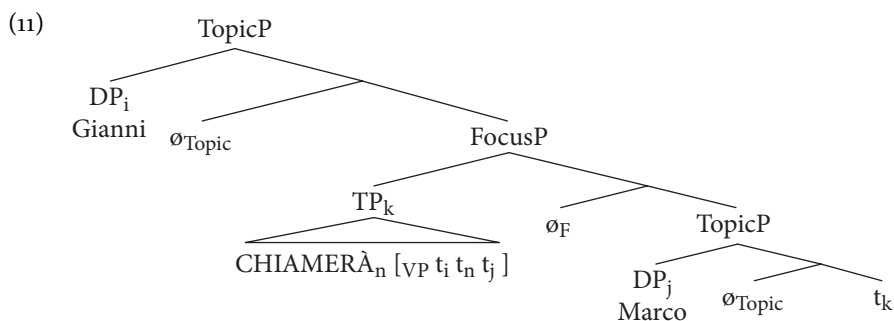
- (8) a. [Nostro PADRE]_F, abbiamo cercato per mesi senza mai trovare ___!
 Our father, (we) have sought for months without ever to-find
 ‘Our FATHER, we sought for months without ever finding!’
- b. * Abbiamo cercato per mesi [nostro PADRE]_F, senza mai trovare ___!
 (We) have sought for months our father, without ever to-find

Other data challenge the template for presentational focus in (2). For example, in the dialogue in (9) the initial focused object in answer A precedes the auxiliary head *ho* ‘have’. If the auxiliary is located in T, the focused object cannot occur in the focus projection of template (2), since in the template the focus projection follows T and thus the object could not precede the auxiliary.

- (9) Q: Dove hai dormito mentre eri a Roma?
 Where (you) have slept while (you) were at Rome
 ‘Where did you sleep while you were in Rome?’
- A: [Da un AMICO]_{NewF}, ho dormito.
 At a friend, (I) have slept
 ‘I slept at a friend’s place.’

It is also unclear how the templates in (1) and (2) extend to data where focalization affects a head rather than a phrase, since heads cannot move to a specifier position. Consider for example the focused verb in (10). As far as I can see, its focalization in FocusP would require raising the entire TP stripped of any unfocused constituent to specFocusP as in (11). The problem disappears if the verb is allowed to focalize in T, i.e. in the position obligatorily required by the independent process that forces Italian finite verbs to raise to T.

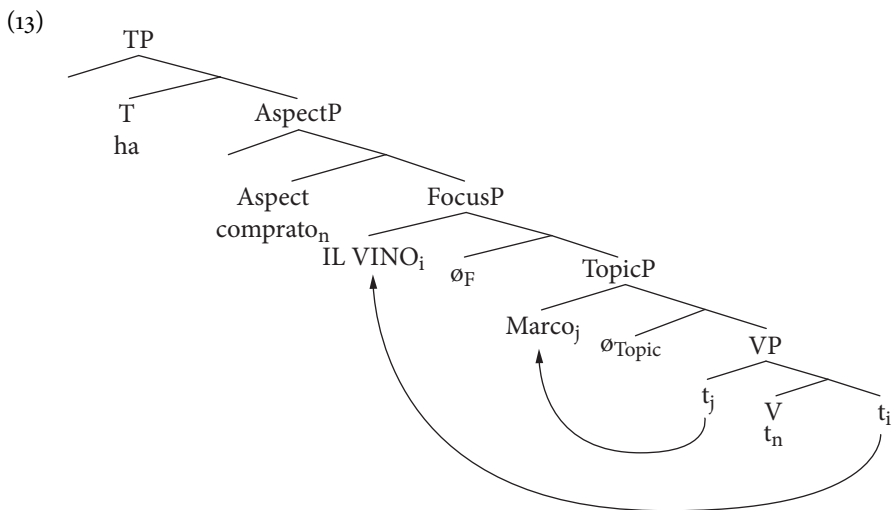
- (10) Gianni CHIAMERÀ_F Marco (ma non lo incontrerà).
 John will-call Mark (but (he) not him will-meet)
 ‘John will CALL Mark (but he will not meet him).’

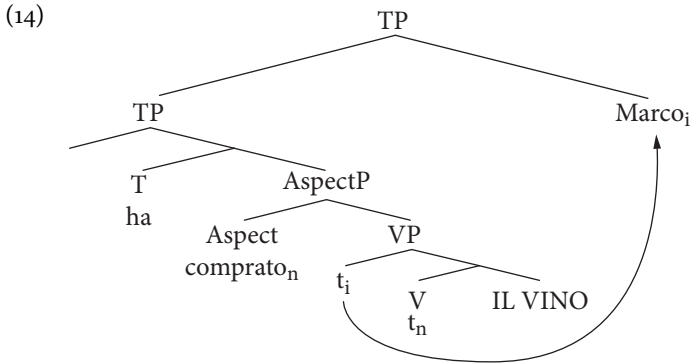


Another set of reasons for reconsidering templates (1) and (2) comes from the fact that important data presented as evidence in their support (including refined versions of them) also allow for different plausible alternative analyses that have not been proved false.

Consider for example (12), where a presentationally focused object precedes a postverbal subject giving the impression that the object has raised above the subject in accord with template (2). The conclusion that the object has moved to a higher focus projection hinges on what analysis is assigned to the subject. It is valid if the subject occurs in situ or has raised to the post-focus topic position made available by the template, see (13). But it is not a valid conclusion if the subject is right-dislocated TP-externally as in (14), since in this case the object might still occur in situ. Given the high productivity of Italian right dislocation (Cardinaletti 2001, 2002; Samek-Lodovici 2006), this is a very real possibility. Yet most literature on Italian focalization does not address this critical issue, usually simply assuming that discourse-given constituents following focus are located in situ. Their potential right-dislocated status is ignored, possibly due to the widespread but—as we will see—incorrect belief that the presence of right dislocation would be signalled by the presence of clitic doubling. (To facilitate discussion, right dislocation is here temporarily represented as rightward TP-adjunction. The more accurate but more complex antisymmetric analysis adopted in this book is introduced in Section 1.4 later in this introduction.)

- (12) Ha comprato il VINO_{NewF}, Marco.
 Has bought the wine, Mark
 ‘Mark bought the wine.’





This book sprang from the realization that it is simply not possible to provide an accurate analysis of the syntax of focalization without also investigating its interaction with the syntax of discourse-given constituents. This is particularly true for Italian where discourse-given constituents are often ambiguous between a marginalized analysis, where they remain in situ, and a right-dislocated one, where they are dislocated above TP. Whenever a focus constituent is followed by a discourse-given constituent C, establishing whether C is marginalized or right-dislocated immediately affects what position can be hypothesized for the focused constituent itself. One of the goals of this book is to systematically examine what positions can be attributed to Italian focalized constituents once the position of post-focal discourse-given constituents is accurately established.

1.2 Main claims

The analysis of Italian contrastive focalization proposed in this book addresses the problematic aspects outlined above by taking into account the syntax of givenness and its effects on the syntax of focalization.

Following Rooth (1985, 1992), Krifka (2007, 2008), and Zimmermann and Onea (2011), I assume that focalization, whether contrastive or not, always evokes a set of alternatives. With Krifka, I will maintain that focalization is contrastive when it involves a contrast with one or more evoked alternatives that are already part of the common ground presupposed by speaker and hearers (but see Neeleman and Vermeulen 2012 for an interesting alternative where contrastivity, like focus, is assigned its own semantic import).

In more descriptive terms, I will consider contrastive foci from the following three classes of Krifka's (2007, 2008) classification: (i) corrective foci like (15) where focalization is used to correct a previously mentioned or implied proposition; (ii) exhaustive foci like (16) where focus identifies the unique referent within the set of evoked alternatives for which the stated proposition holds (cf. Kiss 1998); and (iii)

paralleling foci like (17) where foci signal the contrastive component within otherwise parallel expressions sharing an identical set of alternatives. I will not look for potential exceptional cases where exhaustivity might diverge from contrastivity (Repp 2010: section 2.1.3), but see Zimmerman (2008) amongst others for a possible analysis that reconciles these cases with Krifka's common-ground based notion of contrastivity.

This identifies a set of data sharing a similar semantics and, as I will claim for Italian, an identical syntax. By concentrating on contrastive focalization, however, I do not intend to implicitly exclude the possibility that the results in this book might also extend to a new information focus of the kind elicited in QA-pairs like (18), where the focused item provides the information requested by the wh-operator. Rooth (1985, 1992) showed that these foci, too, are associated with a set of alternatives and Brunetti (2004) showed that by and large Italian new information foci share the same syntactic properties of their contrastive counterparts. I believe that this convergence extends to the claims made in this book, too, but space limits prevent me from extensively testing this hypothesis. The results and arguments in this book, however, are likely to facilitate any future research in this area.

- (15) A: Avete dato il vino a Gianni.
 (You) have given the wine to John
 'You gave the wine to John.'
- B: No. Abbiamo dato il PANE_F, a Gianni.
 No. (We) have given the bread, to John
 'No. We gave the BREAD to John.'
- (16) A: Avete dato il vino o il pane, a Gianni?
 (You) have given the wine or the bread to John
 'Did you give John the bread or the wine?'
- B: Abbiamo dato il PANE_F, a Gianni.
 (We) have given the bread, to John
 'We gave the BREAD to John.'
- (17) A Gianni, daremo il PANE_F, ma a Maria, daremo il VINO_F.
 To John, we will-give the bread, but to Mary, we will-give the wine
 'We will give the BREAD to John but the WINE to Mary.'
- (18) A: Cosa avete dato a Gianni?
 What (you) have given to John
 'What did you give to John?'
- B: Abbiamo dato il PANE_{NewF}, a Gianni.
 (We) have given the bread, to John
 'We gave the BREAD to John.'

Descriptively, Italian contrastive focus may occur in several positions, see for example (19) where the same focused object appears in clause-medial, clause-final, and clause-initial position across the three grammatical answers B1–B3. I will argue that a comprehensive analysis of the distribution of contrastive focalization in the clause¹ must consider its interaction with the independent operations of marginalization and right dislocation potentially affecting discourse-given constituents. Constituents will be assumed to be discourse-given when mentioned or entailed by previous discourse (or, more precisely, when entailed by the existential F-closure of a salient antecedent as discussed in Schwarzschild 1999: 151. See also Féry 2013: 1988).

- (19) A: Avete dato il vino a Gianni.
 (You) have given the wine to John
 ‘You gave the wine to John.’
- B1: No. Abbiamo dato il PANE_F, a Gianni.
 No. (We) have given the bread to John
 ‘We gave the BREAD to John.’
- B2: No. Abbiamo dato a Gianni Il PANE_F.
- B3: No. Il PANE_F, abbiamo dato a Gianni.

I will claim that in Italian contrastive focalization occurs in situ and that any linear displacement from this position not due to well-known independent processes such as V-to-T movement is determined by the operations listed in (20). While some of these operations are known, the in-depth assessment of their properties will challenge some widely assumed but incorrect notions, such as the assumption that right dislocation requires clitic doubling. Their analysis will also uncover as yet unstudied constructions such as the availability of TP-internal left-peripheral focalization relative to VP and PP. Eventually, all these operations will be shown to follow from the interaction of simple prosodic and syntactic constraints as described in Section 1.3 of this introduction.

- (20) Operations responsible for the distribution of contrastive focus in Italian

Contrastive focalization—Focalization occurs in situ. Contrastive foci do not move to higher positions for intrinsic reasons, thus excluding movement to higher focus projections triggered by focused status (see Costa 1998 for similar claims on new information focus in European Portuguese).

Marginalization—Discourse-given constituents generated *lower* than a contrastively focused constituent may optionally be marginalized, i.e. occur de-stressed in situ to the right of the focused constituent (cf. Cardinaletti 2001, 2002).

¹ The term ‘distribution in the clause’ refers to the set of positions taken by contrastive foci in a clause, thus excluding their DP-internal distribution (but see the studies in Aboh et al. 2010). I consider only unsplit foci, thus providing no in-depth study of the split foci discussed in Fanselow and Lenertová (2011), but see footnote 4 in Chapter 5 for a discussion of how they might fit the analysis proposed in this book.

Left-shift—Discourse-given constituents generated *lower* than a contrastively focused constituent may optionally move above it and precede it (Samek-Lodovici 2005; see also Costa 1998: 177, Zubizarreta 1998).

Right dislocation—Any discourse-given constituent, whether generated above, below, or containing a focused constituent, is potentially subject to right dislocation.

- Right dislocation allows for, but does not require, clitic doubling.
- Right dislocation involves movement.
- Right-dislocated constituents are situated outside TP (Cardinaletti 2001, 2002; Frascarelli 2004; Samek-Lodovici 2006).

Focus evacuation—A contrastively focused constituent A_F generated within a larger constituent C targeted by right dislocation will always evacuate C by raising immediately before it.

- Focus evacuation places A_F at the left-periphery of C in linear, descriptive, terms, but as we will see A_F does not c-command C .
- Focus evacuation follows from the need to stress focus. Italian right-dislocated phrases never carry main stress and therefore they cannot include any stressed foci.

The rest of this section describes in greater detail how the above operations will be claimed to determine the distribution of contrastive focus and the associated syntactic structures in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Section 1.3 will instead illustrate how in Chapter 6 the above operations will be shown to follow from simpler constraints governing movement, stress assignment, and the location of right dislocation.

1.2.1 Focalization in situ

In order to identify the authentic position or positions of contrastive focalization we need to consider data that are as much as possible free from interfering factors. For example, focused finite verbs raise to T despite their focused status. Their raising to T, however, is caused by the independent morphosyntactic requirements that force such movement in Italian whether the verb is focused or unfocused. For this reason, focused verbs are not the right items to investigate the intrinsic position of contrastive focalization (which is not equivalent to saying that the final analysis of focalization need not account for them; on the contrary, the interaction with V-to-T movement posits an important challenge that must be met).

For this reason, we need to consider data that are free from right dislocation, since as we saw above right dislocation can interfere with our ability to determine the position of focus. As the book will show, once these precautions are in place, Italian contrastive focalization turns out to occur in situ. This result will be supported by an array of tests showing that postverbal focused constituents never move leftwards when right dislocation is absent. Specifically, these tests show that for any two constituents A and B , with A generated above and before B , when B is focused it

necessarily follows A as in (21)(a). Moving B above A, as in (21)(b), is always ungrammatical. The subscript ‘M’ signals marginalization.

- (21) a. A B_F
 b. *B_{F,i} A_M t_i

Two examples are provided below. Example (22) involves a VP-internal negative subject and a focused object, with the subject preceding the object in (22)(a) but following it in (22)(b). Crucially, negative phrases resist right dislocation and therefore we can safely assume that the object–subject order in (22)(b) requires the focused object to be raised above the stranded subject. Informants who accept VP-internal negative subjects—the majority of my informants—perceive a clear contrast between the grammatical (22)(a) and the ungrammatical (22)(b), showing that when right dislocation is controlled for, short distance focus movement is ungrammatical. Informants who do not accept VP-internal negative subjects find both sentences ungrammatical, making this test uninformative for them, but crucially no informants find movement in (22)(b) grammatical.

- (22) Context: *Nessuno ha invitato i Veneziani.*
 Nobody has invited the Venetians
 ‘Nobody invited the Venetians.’
- a. No. *Non ha invitato nessuno i I MILANESI_F.*
 No. Not has invited anybody the Milanese
 ‘No. Nobody invited the MILANESE.’
- b. * No. *Non ha invitato i MILANESI_F nessuno_M.*
 No. Not has invited the Milanese anybody

When negative subjects are not an issue, focus movement is deemed ungrammatical by all informants. Consider (23), which has the same structure as (22) but involves a discourse-given negative object and a focused infinitival complement. When both are in situ, as in (23)(a), the sentence is grammatical. When the focused complement moves above the object, as in (23)(b), the sentence becomes ungrammatical. Once again, right dislocation in (23)(b) is controlled for through a negative phrase.

- (23) Context: *Non costringerete nessuno a testimoniare.*
 (You) not will-force anybody to testify
 ‘You will not force anybody to testify.’
- a. No. *Non costringeremo nessuno a CONFESSARE_F.*
 No. (We) not will-force anybody to-confess
 ‘No. We will not force anybody to CONFESS.’
- b. * No. *Non costringeremo a CONFESSARE_F nessuno_M.*
 No. (We) not will-force to-confess anybody

The pattern just examined is repeatedly observed across subjects, objects, sentential complements, lower adverbs, quantifiers, and discussed in detail in Chapter 3. It provides strong evidence for focalization in situ and it directly challenges the availability of overt movement to a dedicated focus projection, no matter where such projection is assumed to be located.

1.2.2 Right dislocation determining apparent leftward focus movement

When a higher-generated constituent A is dislocated to the right of a lower constituent B, the resulting linear order gives the misleading impression that B has moved above A even if B is in situ. For example, in (24) the focused object precedes a right-dislocated subject, giving the impression that the object has raised above the subject even if the object could still be, and will be shown to be, in situ. In languages with a highly productive right dislocation process, data displaying this order can be interpreted as evidence for focus movement only if right dislocation is controlled for, yet such controls are often missing. (The subscript ‘R’ marks right dislocation.)

- (24) Non ha invitato i MILANESI_F, Gianni_R.
 Not has invited the Milanese, John
 ‘John did not invite the MILANESE.’

Note, furthermore, how the dislocated subject is not doubled by an overt clitic, masking its right-dislocated status. As we will see in Chapter 4, right dislocation without clitic doubling is possible with any argument or constituent. For example, in (25) the object *i fiori* is certainly right-dislocated since it follows the clitic-doubled right-dislocated object *a Marco*. Yet the corresponding object clitic is missing. The optionality of overt clitic doubling will be shown to be a systematic property of Italian right dislocation and the possibility of null clitics will be also excluded.

- (25) [Maria non gli ha più PORTATO]_{NewF}, a Marco_R, [i fiori]_R.
 Mary not to-him has any-longer brought, to Mark, the flowers
 ‘Mary no longer brought flowers to Mark.’

All cases of apparent focus movement will be shown to be a product of right dislocation and constitute no genuine challenge to focalization in situ.

1.2.3 Right dislocation causing focus evacuation

Right dislocation may also target phrases that contain a focused constituent. In these cases, the focused constituent evacuates the targeted phrase prior to the phrase’s dislocation. Focus will be claimed to move only as much as necessary to exit the dislocating phrase, never more, and to eventually occur at the left of the dislocated phrase.

An example is provided in (26). The focused indirect object *a MARCO* precedes a right-dislocated VP (only the DP *MARCO* is actually focused, but the entire PP is pied-piped because Italian disallows preposition stranding). Note that the right-dislocated status of the VP is certain, since the VP follows the right-dislocated indirect object *della guerra* that is clitic doubled by the clitic *ne*. The focused indirect object must thus have evacuated the VP before the VP's right dislocation.

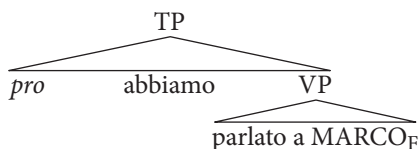
- (26) Context: Avete parlato della guerra a Maria?
 (You) have spoken-of-the war to Mary
 'Did you speak about the war to Mary?'
 a. No. Ne abbiamo a MARCO_F, della guerra_R, [VP parlato]_R.
 No. (We) of-it have to Mark, of-the war, spoken
 'No. We spoke to MARK about the war.'

When the right-dislocated indirect object *della guerra* is absent, as in (27), the evacuated focus immediately precedes the dislocated VP, giving the impression that focus has raised out of an unmoved VP. But once again this is a false impression. We know that leftward raising is absent when right dislocation is controlled for. The order in (27) is the product of the same operations at work in the more transparent (26), namely right dislocation of the VP forcing evacuation of the focused indirect object. Unlike (26), sentences like (27) offer no immediately visible cue for the right-dislocated status of the phrases originally containing the focus, but as we will see in Chapter 5 several pieces of evidence support their right-dislocated status, including the lack of c-command between the evacuated foci and the dislocated phrases.

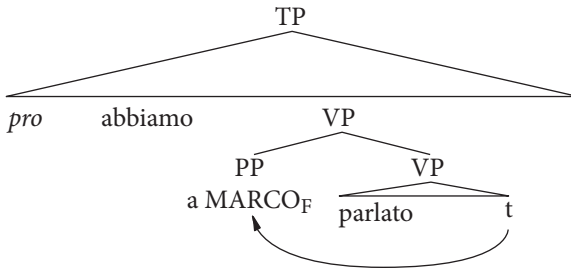
- (27) Abbiamo a MARCO_F, [VP parlato]_R.
 (We) have to Mark, spoken
 'We spoke to MARK.'

An illustration of the derivational steps involved with focus evacuation is provided in (28). Right dislocation is again temporarily modelled as right-adjunction to TP to facilitate this initial discussion. VP is the phrase targeted by right dislocation and the PP *a Marco* the focused indirect object. First, the PP evacuates VP by left-adjointing to it. Then the lower VP-segment is right dislocated outside TP, leaving the PP preceding VP but not c-commanding it. (Corresponding derivations under the leftward movement analysis of right dislocation introduced later in this introduction are provided in Section 5.3).

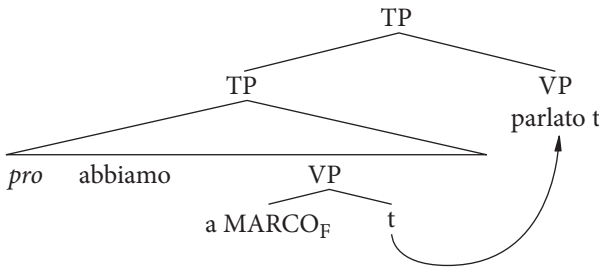
- (28) a. VP is discourse-given and targeted for right dislocation.



- b. The focused indirect object is evacuated above VP.



- c. Then VP is right dislocated; the indirect object is at its left but does not c-command it.



A focused constituent may be contained in several phrasal projections, each larger than the previous one. For example, a focused DP can be part of a PP, within a VP, within a TP. The focus evacuation operation just described predicts that each of these larger phrases can be targeted by right dislocation. As the size of the targeted constituent varies, so should the final position of the evacuated focus vary. This is indeed the case. Example (29) respectively shows focus evacuation from a PP, VP, and TP. Additional examples are provided in Chapter 5.

- (29) Context: Siete andati via da Firenze?

(You) are gone away from Florence

'Did you go away from Florence?'

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| a. Siamo andati via [da MILANO] _F , (non da Firenze). | No RD |
| (We) are gone away from Milan, (not from Florence) | |
| 'We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).' | |
| b. Siamo andati [da MILANO] _F , [via] _R , (non da Firenze). | Dislocated PP |
| (We) are gone from Milan, away, (not from Florence) | |
| c. Siamo [da MILANO] _F , [andati via] _R , (non da Firenze). | Dislocated VP |
| (We) are from Milan, gone away, (not from Florence) | |
| d. [Da MILANO] _F , [siamo andati via] _R , (non da Firenze). | Dislocated TP |
| From Milan, (we) are gone away, (not from Florence) | |

In all these cases, the evacuated focus immediately precedes the right-dislocated phrase. All these sentences have an identical interpretation, too, except for the expected discourse-given flavour of the phrase following focus in each sentence. As (29)(d) shows, when right dislocation targets TP, focus evacuation places focus immediately before the right-dislocated TP, giving rise to the familiar left peripheral focus patterns examined in Rizzi (1997) and many other studies since then. As I will show in Chapter 5, the underlying structure for these patterns is the one associated with focus evacuation, which differs from Rizzi's structure and other similar proposals in several ways. To begin with, the evacuated focus does not c-command the dislocated TP, whereas it does so in any analysis where focus has raised to the dedicated focus projection FocusP located above TP. Second, sentences like (29)(d) involving dislocated TPs have no special status. They are no more fundamental or revealing of the true position of focus than any other data discussed in this introduction. As the paradigm in (29) shows, sentences like (29)(d) identify just a subset of sentences within the more extensive distribution determined by focus evacuation, which is itself a subclass of the wider distribution of focus determined by right dislocation when freely applied (i.e. also including right dislocation affecting phrases not containing focus). The complete distribution of contrastive focus when conceived in linear terms is larger still, since it also includes any structure where right dislocation is absent and focalization occurs in situ (with or without left-shift of lower unfocused constituents).

The issue is whether it is possible to provide a unified, coherent, and comprehensive analysis of this rich distribution. The main claim of this book is that it is indeed possible, provided that focalization is maintained to always occur in situ except when forced elsewhere by independent factors such as the constraint forcing finite verbs to T, or right dislocation forcing focus evacuation in the manner described. It is these external independent factors that are responsible for widening the distribution of focus beyond in-situ focalization.

This view contrasts dramatically with the rigid templates described at the start of this introduction with their unique and fixed positions for all foci. Mapping the entire distribution of contrastive focus onto a single structural position inevitably requires positing an array of overt and covert operations whose only purpose is to match the rich array of linear orders observed in the empirical data against the chosen template; see for example again structure (11) involving focused verbs. In this book, I will repeatedly compare the analysis proposed here—namely focalization in situ plus focus evacuation whenever right dislocation targets constituents containing focus—with its strict cartographic alternative, showing how several properties, including word order, scope, wh-extraction, and NPI-licensing converge in support of the former.

1.3 Deepening the analysis

So far I have described the syntactic operations responsible for the distribution of contrastive focalization in Italian, claiming that focalization in situ and focus evacuation provide a better account of such distribution than the cartographic templates in (1) and (2).

But why does focalization occur in situ? Building on the main insight in Zubizarreta (1998), Costa (1998), Szendrői (2001, 2002, 2003), and Samek-Lodovici (2005), I will claim in Chapter 6 that focalization in situ follows immediately from the prosodic constraints requiring Italian stress to occur clause-rightmost. Focalization occurs in situ because this is the rightmost position available to the constituent being focalized and hence also the rightmost available position for the sentential stress associated with focalization. Any leftward movement of the focused constituent places stress further away from the right edge of the clause, decreasing stress alignment.

This analysis will be shown to be supported by the systematic asymmetry affecting the distribution of focus across a variety of constituents. As we already know, given two constituents A and B, with A generated above B, B cannot raise above A when B is focused, see (30). As (31) shows, movement of the lower constituent is also ungrammatical whenever A and B share the same discourse status (both discourse-given in (a), both contrastively focused in (b), both part of a larger presentational focus in (c)). Movement is optionally possible only when the higher-generated constituent A is focused and B is discourse-given, see (32).

- (30) a. A B_F
 b. *B_{F,i} A t_i
- (31) a. *B_i A t_i
 b. *B_{F,i} A_F t_i
 c. *[… B_i A t_i]_{NewF}
- (32) a. A_F B
 b. B_i A_F t_i

This complex paradigm follows straightforwardly from the constraints governing stress alignment. Movement is grammatical when it improves stress alignment with the right edge of the clause and ungrammatical when it does not. Consequently, the unstressed B may raise above the focused and stressed A_F in (32)(b) because this improves stress alignment by removing the intervening unstressed B. Everywhere else movement is blocked because it does not improve stress alignment. Raising the focused B in (30)(b) decreases stress alignment because the unfocused A then intervenes between the stressed B and the clause right edge. In (31)(a), A and

B are unstressed and the cost of movement is not offset by an improved stress alignment. In (31)(b), A and B are both focused, making movement again irrelevant for stress alignment because stress always falls on whichever amongst A and B occurs rightmost. In (31)(c), stress falls rightmost within the larger focused phrase independently of the order of A and B, again turning movement of B into an unnecessary cost.

Disregarding the prosodic analysis just described in favour of a purely syntactic account is conceptually problematic. Consider the contrast between the grammatical (32)(b) and the ungrammatical (31)(a). They both illustrate movement of a lower-generated unfocused constituent B above a higher-generated constituent A. The two patterns tell us that this movement is possible when A is focused but ungrammatical when A is not focused. Movement of B thus depends on the discourse-status of A rather than the intrinsic properties of B. The prosodic analysis explains why this is the case: B's movement is beneficial for stress alignment only if A is stressed and A attracts stress only when focused. It is instead unclear how the same movement pattern could be accounted for on the basis of B's intrinsic properties alone or the positions involved, since both remain invariant across (31)(a) and (32)(b).

Furthermore, the proposed prosodic analysis will be shown to receive independent support from an interesting observation in Cinque (1999). Cinque noticed that lower unfocused adverbs may not raise above higher focused adverbs without pied-piping the material to their right. I will show that this pattern generalizes beyond adverbs and that it, too, follows from the need to provide the best possible stress alignment. Specifically, given a higher focused constituent A followed by an unfocused branching complement '[B C]', raising the entire complement as in (33)(a) leaves the stress on A closer to the right edge than raising B alone as in (33)(b) and is therefore the preferred option. The same prosodic analysis provided for patterns (30)–(32) thus also explains why raising the complement is the attested option in (33), showing that these are not distinct phenomena. As we will see, the same prosodic constraints also determine whether movement can affect C, which will turn out to depend on the internal structure of the complement '[B C]'.

- (33) a. [TP ... [B C]_i A_F t_i]
 b. * [TP ... B_i A_F [t_i C]]

Focus evacuation, too, will be shown to follow from prosodic constraints requiring the destressing of right-dislocated phrases. Since contrastive foci need stress, they cannot be destressed and must therefore evacuate any right-dislocating constituent containing them. The same constraints will also be shown to predict the wrapping of right-dislocated phrases into separate intonational phrases observed by Frascarelli (2000) and Bocci and Avesani (2011).

The impact of prosody on the syntax of contrastive focalization will be formalized in optimality theoretic terms, consistently with prior works in this area such as, amongst others, Szendrői (2001, 2002), Büring and Gutiérrez-Bravo (2002), Dehé (2005), Samek-Lodovici (2005), Downing (2006), Zerbian (2006), Hamlaoui (2008, 2011), and Cheng and Downing (2009, 2012). The analysis will exploit the conflict between purely prosodic constraints requiring rightmost intonational prominence and a lower ranked constraint Stay penalizing movement. As a result, when no other constraint requires it, movement is possible when it benefits stress alignment but not otherwise. This simple model will be shown to directly account for in-situ focalization and all the other properties touched upon in this section. As a result, the grammar of Italian should be conceived as free of any feature, constraint, or rule referring to the position of focalization, or governing the movement of lower constituents above focus (with or without pied-piping), or requiring the prosodic phrasing of right-dislocated constituents into intonational phrases of their own.

1.4 Marginalization and right dislocation

Italian marginalization and right dislocation are examined at depth in separate self-standing chapters that can be examined independently from the rest of this book. The analysis concerns their syntactic properties and representation. As far as I can see, they share the same pragmatic import. Both affect discourse-given constituents and are licensed under similar pragmatic conditions, but a systematic study of their semantics and pragmatics is left to further research.

With respect to marginalization, I supply additional evidence for Cardinaletti's characterization of marginalized constituents as discourse-given and distressed in situ (Cardinaletti 2001, 2002). Eventually, in Section 6.3.2, their unstressed status will be shown to follow from the prosodic constraints associating stress with focus, showing that the term 'marginalization' need only be conceived as a convenient term for the status, position, and prosody of these constituents, not as an actual operation formally and independently encoded in the grammar of Italian.

With respect to right dislocation, I will provide a comprehensive investigation aiming at determining with a sufficient degree of confidence the obligatory or optional nature of the associated clitic doubling, the position of right-dislocated phrases, and their base-generated or moved status.

Clitic doubling will be shown to be optional and the presence of null clitics will also be excluded (with the exception of subjects doubled by *pro*, see Cardinaletti 2001, 2002).

I will also show that Italian right dislocation is movement-based, as advocated in Vallduví (1992), Zubizarreta (1994a), Kayne (1995), but contra Cardinaletti (2002), Frascarelli (2004), and Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007). This conclusion will be reached by adopting Cinque's (1990) tests for the base-generated status of clitic left

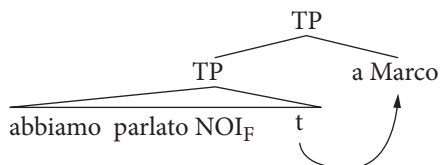
dislocation (CLLD) and then showing that they converge toward a movement analysis when applied to right dislocation.

Most importantly, due to the relevance of this result to the analysis developed in this book, I will argue in accord with Cardinaletti (2001, 2002), Frascarelli (2000, 2004), and Samek-Lodovici (2006) but contra Cecchetto (1999) that Italian right dislocation occurs above TP. In this respect, Italian is similar to French (de Cat 2007) and different from Catalan where right dislocation is truly TP-internal (López 2009; Villalba 2000; Feldhausen 2008, 2010). Several pieces of evidence, including properties related to word order, NPI-licensing, clitic doubling, binding, and right-roof violations, will be shown to converge on this conclusion.

All of these results can in principle be captured through two distinct representations, depending on whether rightward movement is assumed to be possible or not. If it is considered possible, right dislocation can be represented through rightward TP-adjunction. This is the representation used so far in this introduction. It represents the right-dislocated indirect object *a Marco* in (34) as in (35).

- (34) Abbiamo parlato NOI_F, a Marco.
 Have spoken we, to Mark
 ‘WE spoke to Mark.’

- (35) Right dislocation: analysis via right TP-adjunction

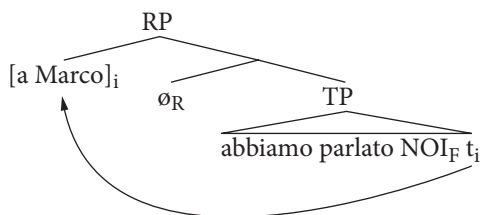


Consistent with antisymmetric models of syntax (Kayne 1994), the analysis adopted throughout this book instead maintains that rightward movement is impossible. Under this perspective, right dislocation is the product of two movement operations. The first one, in (36)(a), moves the right-dislocating constituent to the specifier of a projection RP situated above TP, thus taking care of the attested TP-external positioning of right-dislocated constituents. The second operation, in (36)(b), moves the remnant TP to the specifier of a higher XP projection situated above RP. As I will show at the end of Chapter 6, this latter operation need not be stipulated, since it follows from the requirement that right-dislocated constituents be clause-rightmost, a requirement that thus far no analysis has been able to eliminate.

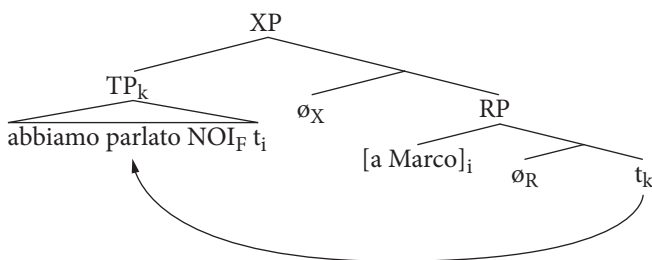
Notice how both the right-adjunction analysis in (35) and the adopted analysis in (36)(b) prevent the constituents within the original TP, including any potential focus in it, from *c*-commanding the right-dislocated item, a structural property that will prove important in the course of the book.

(36) Right dislocation: leftward movement analysis

a. Leftward dislocation



b. Remnant movement of TP



Both representations are consistent with almost all focalization patterns where right dislocation plays a role and the related properties investigated in this book. There are two sets of data, however, where the leftward movement analysis proves superior to rightward adjunction and was therefore preferred. The first concerns the ungrammaticality of rightward focus movement of the kind shown in (37), where the focused subject *NESSUNO* has been extracted from the sentential complement in square brackets. The second concerns the observation that fronted negative foci cannot license right-dislocated negative phrases preceding a second right-dislocated TP, such as the PP *con nessuno* in (38). The ungrammaticality of these two sets of sentences is correctly predicted under the leftward movement representation but missed under rightward TP-adjunction. A detailed discussion is provided in appendix B.²

² The rightward TP-adjunction analysis of right dislocation might at first be favourably considered due to its structural simplicity. From a computational perspective, however, the remnant movement involved in the antisymmetric analysis is no more complex than any other movement operation. It is also worth noting that remnant movement is implicit in mainstream syntactic analyses which are perceived as simple only because highly familiar and not considered in all of their implications. For example, a left-peripheral focus template à la Rizzi might appear simple, yet it too requires remnant movement when used to account for sentences like (i); the predicted structure is in (ii), involving remnant movement of the TP [*siamo andati*] after extraction of the focused PP *da MILANO* and the topic PP *via*. Additional examples are considered in Section 5.3.2.

(i) Siamo andati [da MILANO]_F, [via]_R, (non da Firenze).
(We) are gone from Milan, away, (not from Florence)
'We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).'

- (37) * Ho promesso [di licenziare ___] a Gianni NESSUNO_F.
 (I) have promised [of to-fire] to John nobody
- (38) * NESSUNO_F, con nessuno, ha parlato.
 Nobody, with nobody, has spoken

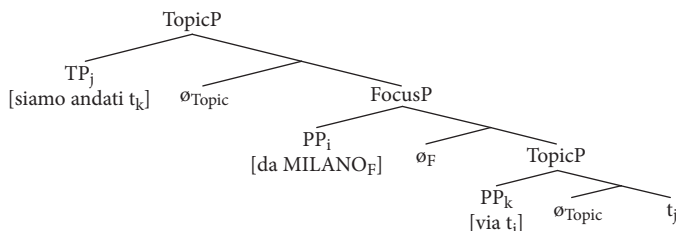
1.5 Layout

Chapter 2 examines the syntax of marginalization, identifying the Italian basic word order and providing additional evidence for Cardinaletti's (2001, 2002) claim that marginalized phrases can follow focus and occur in situ.

Chapter 3 investigates the distribution of contrastive focalization when right dislocation is demonstrably absent. The first part of the chapter provides evidence for focalization in situ by showing how a variety of syntactic environments fail to show focus movement once right dislocation is controlled for. A detailed comparison with analyses assuming a fixed focus projection is also provided. The second part of the chapter examines left-shift, i.e. the optional raising of unfocused constituents above an immediately preceding focus, a pattern that in Chapter 6 will eventually be claimed to follow from the prosodic constraints governing stress placement. The final part of Chapter 3 investigates the binding relations between foci and the surrounding unfocused phrases, showing that unfocused phrases moved above a preceding focus move to an A'-position.

Chapter 4 provides an in-depth study of Italian right dislocation. It proposes the anti-symmetric representation described earlier in this introduction, analysing right-dislocated constituents as raised to the specifier of a dedicated projection above TP. The presence/absence of clitic doubling affects aspects of the syntax of right-dislocated phrases, such as wh-extraction from right-dislocated phrases. The chapter therefore distinguishes two similar but distinct right dislocation operations labelled RD⁺ and RD⁻ depending on the presence or absence of clitic doubling. The rest of the chapter discusses the evidence supporting the TP-external location of right dislocation and its movement-based nature. The chapter ends with a critical review of past analyses of Italian right dislocation and a discussion of the dimensions of variation displayed by right dislocation across distinct European languages.

- (ii) Predicted representation under Rizzi (1997)



Chapter 5 examines the interaction between focalization and right dislocation. The first part addresses the illusion of leftward focus movement that occurs when lower foci precede higher generated constituents dislocated to their right. In all these cases focalization will be shown to actually occur *in situ*. The second part of the chapter is devoted to focus evacuation, discussing several pieces of evidence showing how foci generated inside larger phrases targeted by right dislocation must evacuate them before right dislocation takes place. Left-peripheral foci à la Rizzi (1997) are also examined in detail and shown to simply constitute the specific instance of focus evacuation that occurs when right dislocation targets a TP.

Chapter 6 shows that the structural observations and descriptive generalizations uncovered in the previous chapters all follow from the interaction of simple constraints governing prosodic prominence, movement, and right dislocation. As a result, the terms ‘focalization *in situ*’, ‘focus evacuation’, ‘marginalization *in situ*’, and all other descriptions of the observed phenomena and properties are shown to be just convenient labels with no corresponding entity, rule, or process formally encoded in the grammar.

Appendix A provides an introduction to the distribution of negative phrases in Italian and the related licensing conditions. Appendix B examines the two cases where the leftward movement analysis of right dislocation adopted in this book proves superior to an alternative based on rightward TP-adjunction. Appendix C shows that examining prosodic variation below the level of intonational phrasing adds complexity but no new insights to the analysis presented in Chapter 6.

1.6 A methodological point

Most data in this book are presented explicitly identifying the item carrying main stress (shown in capitals) as well as the discourse context with respect to which the associated grammaticality judgements were elicited. In my experience, providing both is necessary to ensure a reliable replication of the proposed grammaticality assessment by native speakers. This is particularly true for the data involving marginalized negative phrases. They cannot be reliably assessed without also uttering, or at least reading, the provided context. Their discourse-given status appears to be licensed only by the linguistic act of mentioning the context; merely understanding it is insufficient. So if you are a native speaker of Italian, please do read the provided context, best if aloud.

Similarly, I found that paying very careful attention to the position of stress is essential when assessing data involving non-rightmost stress. On complex data, especially those involving left-peripheral foci, it is extremely easy for native speakers—myself included—to unintentionally shift main stress to a different position than the one intended without even realizing that this is happening. Usually the new position corresponds to simpler structures that are irrelevant for the test at hand,

thus producing an invalid assessment. Paying close attention to the context provided should help in this respect as well.

Finally, the optional brief pause preceding post-focal constituents under a variety of contexts will be represented by a comma. The availability of such pause is a fairly reliable cue for the right-dislocated status of the affected constituents. Nevertheless, I ignored this cue in my analysis and always determined the marginalized vs. right-dislocated status of a constituent on the basis of their observable syntactic properties.

Marginalization

2.1 Introduction

The term ‘marginalization’ distinguishes discourse-given phrases that are destressed in situ, examined in this chapter, from discourse-given phrases that are right-dislocated above TP, examined in Chapter 4.¹ It is hard to overemphasize the importance of this distinction for a proper understanding of the syntax of Italian and especially for the analysis of Italian focus. The syntactic properties of focus, including its position, must often be inferred from the properties of the constituents surrounding it. Since Italian focused constituents can be followed by both marginalized and right-dislocated phrases, as explained in Chapters 3 and 4, an accurate identification of these phrases as marginalized or right-dislocated is necessary to avoid invalid conclusions. Yet, few studies examine this aspect, most works usually incorrectly assume that the constituents following focus occur in situ. Similarly, some studies of right dislocation, too, fail to distinguish genuinely right-dislocated phrases from marginalized phrases, assigning the properties of one type of phrase to the other.

¹ ‘Marginalization’ is a direct translation of the Italian term ‘emarginazione’ used in Antinucci and Cinque (1977) in their seminal study of Italian right peripheral constituents. Its meaning, however, has changed over time. In both Cardinaletti (2001, 2002) and this book ‘marginalization’ is used in opposition to ‘right-dislocation’ to distinguish post-focus discourse-given phrases located in situ from post-focus discourse-given phrases right-dislocated outside the clause. This differs from Antinucci and Cinque’s original use where ‘emarginazione’ characterized any construction where discourse-given constituents *obligatory* occur at the right edge of the clause, independently of whether such positioning involves movement or in-situ realization. For example, the obligatorily displaced postverbal subjects of Italian interrogative clauses, like *Cosa ha MANGIATO, Gianni* (what has eaten, John) were considered marginalized independently of their actual position. An in-situ clause-final subject in a declarative clause, however, would not be considered marginalized because declaratives also allow for preverbal subjects. Consequently, the constituents analysed as marginalized in Antinucci and Cinque (1977) would today be analysed as either marginalized (i.e. destressed in situ) or right-dislocated depending on their final position. More importantly, the properties originally attributed to ‘emarginazione’ by Antinucci and Cinque do not necessarily hold under its new meaning. For example, the free ordering of marginalized constituents claimed by these authors does not apply to marginalized phrases under today’s interpretation of the term (Cardinaletti 2001, 2002); it actually identifies an important attribute of right-dislocated phrases (see Chapter 4).

As I will show later in this book, once we control for the marginalized vs. right-dislocated status of post-focus constituents, a series of important results follows, including the absence of overt focus movement when right dislocation is absent (Chapter 3), the existence of right dislocation without clitic doubling (Chapter 4), the observation that Italian left-peripheral focus involves a wider distribution than the one originally studied in Rizzi (1997), and the realization that left-peripheral foci of all types are triggered by right dislocation when it targets a constituent containing focus (Chapter 5).

Marginalized phrases are characterized by the four properties listed in (1) (Cardinaletti 2001, 2002; Calabrese 1982, 1992; Antinucci and Cinque 1977). Properties (c) and (d), follow from property (b): since marginalized phrases occur in situ, as per property (b), they are inevitably ordered along their base-generation order and disallow clitic doubling, as stated in (c) and (d), consistently with the observation that clitic doubling in Italian only occurs with constituents located outside TP.

- (1) a. Marginalized phrases are discourse-given.
- b. Marginalized phrases are destressed in situ (with minor exceptions, see Section 2.3.5).
- c. The order of marginalized phrases mirrors their base-generated order.
- d. Marginalized phrases disallow for clitic doubling.

This chapter presents and further extends the empirical evidence supporting the above properties, examining the distribution of marginalized postverbal arguments and lower adverbs, as well as the related agreement and binding phenomena. Most of the data presented in this chapter also provide the discourse context in which they should be assessed. The context determines which constituents are focused and which marginalized because discourse-given. Native speakers should always read the context before assessing the data, as the latter are ungrammatical whenever the context is not taken into account (and so they should be, since ignoring the context corresponds to making an assessment under a clause-wide presentational focus where neither marginalization nor contrastive focus are licensed).²

2.2 Italian basic word order

To examine how marginalization, right dislocation, and contrastive focus affect clause structure we first need to establish how the clause is structured when they are absent. To do so, we examine clauses that are entirely presentationally

² For example, the order <V S O> will be shown to be a legitimate order when V is focused and S and O are marginalized, yet the same order is ungrammatical when the entire clause constitutes a new information focus.

focused—i.e. constituting new information—because elicited as answers to general questions like *Any news?* or *Why are you angry/happy?* or out-of-the-blue declaratives. In all these cases, the discourse context presupposes nothing but general world knowledge. This ensures that marginalization, right dislocation, and contrastive focus are absent because no constituent is discourse-given, as required by marginalization and right dislocation, or interpretable as part of a presupposed or context-induced set of alternatives as required for contrastive focus. The word order found in these presentational clauses instantiates what is usually referred to as the *basic, canonical, unmarked* word order of the language. I will refer to this order when examining the distribution of marginalization, right dislocation, and focus.

For Italian declarative clauses, this basic word order is <S V O IO> with main stress falling rightmost in the clause (Antinucci and Cinque 1977; Renzi 1988: 120–1; Belletti and Shlonsky 1995).³ Note that subjects are located in preverbal position, in contrast with languages like Spanish, Portuguese, and Greek where postverbal subjects in specVP are also possible (Ordoñez 1997; Zubizarreta 1998; Costa 1988; Alexiadou and Agnanostopoulou 1999). For example, verbs like *dormire* ‘to sleep’, *sorridere* ‘to smile’, *camminare* ‘to walk’, *lavorare* ‘to work’, *vedere* ‘to see’, and *sentire* ‘to hear’ disallow a postverbal subject under presentational focus, see example (2) where *Marco* is the only child of the couple engaged in the conversation.⁴ Yet they should allow for it if Italian subjects could remain in specVP, because the verb moves to a higher head hosting the past-participle suffix. Answer A2 can only be made grammatical under a context focusing on the subject, for example as an answer to the question *Who slept?*

(2) Q: Why so happy?

A1: [Marco ha DORMITO]_{NewF}.

Mark has slept

‘Mark slept.’

A2: *[Ha dormito MARCO]_{NewF}.

Has slept Mark

The basic word order for internal arguments is harder to pin down. For example, in (3) answers A1 and A2 show opposite orders for the object and indirect object but they are both grammatical answers to the context question.

³ Costa maintains that presentationally focused subjects can occur in specVP immediately before presentationally focused objects. He also notes, however, that such subjects must carry main stress, raising the doubt that his data have not been elicited under a context forcing sentence-wide presentational focus, since such discourse context would impose rightmost stress.

⁴ Postverbal subjects are possible with unaccusative and directional verbs, where the subject is generated as an object and specTP can be filled by a silent directional particle, see Burzio (1986) and Pinto (1997) for discussion.

(3) Q: Any news?

A1: [Marco ha dato dei fiori a MARIA]_{NewF}.

Mark has given some flowers to Mary

‘Mark gave some flowers to Mary.’

A2: [Marco ha dato a Maria dei FIORI]_{NewF}.

Mark has given to Mary some flowers

More refined tests, however, show that direct objects precede other internal arguments. This underlying word order is for example revealed under *wh*-extraction in ditransitive clauses involving sentential complements. As shown in (4), *wh*-extraction from within the sentential complement is only possible when the complement follows the direct object (Calabrese 1982; Cardinaletti 2002). The contrast follows if the sentential complement lies in situ in (4)(a) but not in (4)(b), where its raising to a specifier position above the object adversely affects *wh*-extraction.

(4) a. Che cosa hai convinto Marco a FARE?

That what (you) have convinced Mark to to-do

‘What did you convince Mark to do?’

b. * Che cosa hai convinto a fare MARCO?

That what (you) have convinced to to-do Mark

Further evidence for the proposed order follows from the possible interpretations associated with the adverb *solo* ‘only’ (Renzi 1988). Assume that John fancies Mary and consider the context question in (5). From a purely structural perspective, sentence A1 with its canonical <V O IO> order allows for two interpretations: a first one where the adverb modifies the entire VP, as in (6)(a), and meaning that the only action that Mark did was giving flowers to Mary, plus a second one which is infelicitous under the given context where the adverb focuses the object as in (6)(b) and meaning that Mark gave Mary only flowers.

Now consider answer A2, where the order of object and indirect object is switched. It only allows for the infelicitous interpretation where the adverb modifies the indirect object alone, as in (7)(a). Crucially, it does not allow for the felicitous interpretation where the adverb modifies the entire VP. Yet, if indirect objects could be base-generated before objects, this interpretation should be available, as shown in (7)(b). The ungrammaticality of A2 shows that indirect objects are base-generated lower than objects. The interpretation focusing the entire VP is unavailable because the structure of A2 requires movement of the indirect object within the focused VP as shown in (7)(c) and since this movement serves no purpose and movement is costly, the structure is ungrammatical (the formal analysis of this intuition is provided in Section 6.3.3).

- (5) Q: Why is John angry with Mark?
 A1. Non lo so. Marco ha dato solo dei fiori a MARIA.
 (I) not it know. Mark has given only some flowers to Mary
 ‘I have no idea. Mark only gave some flowers to Mary.’
 A2. *Non lo so. Marco ha dato solo a Maria dei FIORI.
 (I) not it know. Mark has given only to Mary some flowers
 ‘I have no idea. Mark gave some flowers only to Mary.’
- (6) a. [S aux [V [only [t_s t_v O IO]_F]]]
 b. [S aux [V [t_s t_v [only O_F] IO]]]
- (7) a. [S aux [V [t_s t_v [only IO_F] O]]]
 b. [S aux [V [only [t_s t_v IO O]_F]]]
 c. [S aux [V [only [t_s t_v IO_i O t_i]_F]]]

Finally, and importantly for the analysis of marginalization and right dislocation to follow, note that presentationally focused constituents cannot be clitic-doubled (Calabrese 1988: 557; Kuchenbrandt, Kupisch, and Rinke 2005; Gerlach 1998: 27).⁵ For example, the following sentences with clitic-doubled postverbal internal arguments are strongly ungrammatical under clause-wide presentational focus (here ensured by the presence of clause-final stress, which is resisted by marginalized and right-dislocated phrases).

- (8) a. * [Gianni l’ha dato un cane a MARIA]_{NewF}.
 John it has given a dog to Mary
 ‘John gave a dog to Mary.’
 b. * [Gianni gli ha dato un cane a MARCO]_{NewF}.
 John to-him has given a dog to Mark
 ‘John gave a dog to Mark.’

We may conclude that Italian has the <S V O IO> basic word order. With this knowledge in hand, we may proceed and examine the distribution and properties of marginalized phrases.

2.3 *In situ marginalization*

Teasing apart marginalized phrases from right-dislocated ones requires some care because their most eye-catching property—namely their occurrence in right-peripheral position past the item carrying main stress—is common to both. For example, the

⁵ Even discourse-given phrases can be clitic-doubled only if right-dislocated outside the clause, see Sections 4.2 and 4.3 for discussion.

postverbal unstressed subject in (9) could be either marginalized or right-dislocated, as symbolized by the subscripts ‘M’ and ‘R’.

- (9) [Ha MANGIATO]_{NewF, Marco_{M/R}}.
 Has eaten, Mark
 ‘Mark has eaten.’

We can nevertheless investigate the properties of marginalization by examining items that allow for marginalization but resist right dislocation, such as negative phrases like *nessuno* ‘nobody/anybody’ and negative polarity items (NPIs) like *alcunché* ‘anything’. As explained in detail in appendix A, when negative phrases occur in postverbal position and are c-commanded by T, they must be obligatorily licensed by a c-commanding licenser located in or above T such as, for example, the neg-marker *non* in (10) (Zanuttini 1991; Longobardi 1991; Acquaviva 1999; Penka 2011). This requirement prevents negative phrases from being right-dislocated because right dislocation would place them above TP and therefore outside their licensing domain. Compare the grammatical sentences in (11), showing a non-negative right-dislocated object and indirect object, with the ungrammatical sentences in (12) where the right-dislocated phrases are negative. Similar examples can also be built with non-negative NPIs such as *alcunché* ‘anything’ and *alcun* ‘any’.

- (10) [Gianni non ha visto NESSUNO]_{NewF}.
 John not has seen anybody
 ‘John did not see anybody.’
- (11) a. [Gianni **lo** ha CHIAMATO]_{NewF, Marco_R}.
 John him has called, Mark
 ‘John called Mark.’
 b. [Gianni **gli** ha PARLATO]_{NewF, a Marco_R}.
 John to-him has spoken, to Mark
 ‘John spoke to Mark.’
- (12) a. * [Gianni non **lo** ha CHIAMATO]_{NewF, nessuno_R}.
 John not him has called, anybody
 ‘John did not call anybody.’
 b. * [Gianni non **gli** ha PARLATO]_{NewF, a nessuno_R}.
 John not to-him has spoken, to anybody
 ‘John did not speak to anybody.’

In the above examples the right-dislocated constituents are clitic-doubled, but negative phrases resist right dislocation even when clitic doubling is absent. As (13) shows, non clitic-doubled right-dislocated negative phrases are also ungrammatical. The negative phrases here follow a clitic-doubled right-dislocated argument to ensure

that they are themselves right-dislocated. Note how these sentences become grammatical again in (14) when the negative phrase is replaced by non-negative expressions and licensing is no longer an issue.

- (13) a. * [Gianni non **lo** ha DATO]_{NewF}, il libro_R, a nessuno_R.
 John not it has given, the book, to anybody
 ‘John did not give the book to anybody.’
- b. * [Gianni non **le** ha PARLATO]_{NewF}, a Maria_R, [di nessun libro]_R.
 John not to-her has spoken, to Mary, of any book
 ‘John did not speak about any book to Mary.’
- (14) a. [Gianni non **lo** ha DATO]_{NewF}, il libro_R, a Maria_R.
 John not it has given, the book, to Mary
 ‘John did not give the book to Mary.’
- b. [Gianni non **le** ha PARLATO]_{NewF}, a Maria_R, del nostro progetto_R.
 John not to-her has spoken, to Mary, of-the our project
 ‘John did not speak about our project to Mary.’

Having established that negative phrases cannot be right-dislocated, we may use them to examine the properties of marginalization. Like right-dislocated phrases, marginalized phrases always follow the item carrying main stress and never carry stress themselves. Unlike right-dislocated phrases, however, marginalized phrases occur *in situ* and are not clitic-doubled (Cardinaletti 2001, 2002). It follows that negative phrases should be possible when marginalized, since they remain in the licensing domain of their licensor, even if they cannot be right-dislocated. This is indeed true; see for example the alternation in (15). Sentence (a) is grammatical because the subject *nessuno* is marginalized *in situ*, thus following the raised verb but crucially preceding the right-dislocated object. In contrast (b) is ungrammatical because the same subject now follows the right-dislocated indirect object, thus being right-dislocated itself as in the previous cases. Native speakers assessing these data must consider the provided context, possibly reading it aloud. This is necessary to ensure that the negative phrase does indeed acquire the discourse given status necessary to license marginalization.

- (15) Context: A Maria non ha telefonato nessuno.
 To Mary not has called anybody
 ‘Nobody called Mary.’
- a. No. Non le ha SCRITTO_F nessuno_M, a Maria_R. (marginalized subject)
 No. Not to-her has written anybody, to Mary
 ‘No. Nobody WROTE to Mary.’
- b. *No. Non le ha SCRITTO_F, a Maria_R, nessuno_R. (right-dislocated subject)
 No. Not to-her has written, to Mary, anybody

Another example, this time involving a negative object, is provided in (16). Once again the negative object is grammatical in (16)(a) where it is marginalized in situ and ungrammatical in (16)(b) where it follows the clitic-doubled right-dislocated object *alla festa*.

- (16) Context: Gianni non ha invitato nessuno alla festa.
 John not has invited anybody to-the party
 ‘John did not invite anybody to the party.’
- a. No. Gianni non ci ha PORTATO_F nessuno_M, alla festa_R. (marginalized object)
 No, John not there has brought anybody, to-the party
 ‘No, John did not BRING anybody to the party.’
- b. *No. Gianni non ci ha PORTATO_F, alla festa_R, nessuno_R. (right-disl. object)
 No, John not there has brought, to-the party, anybody

Negative phrases thus provide a powerful tool to separate marginalization from right-dislocation. The next sections exploit this and other diagnostic tools to investigate the position of marginalized constituents.

2.3.1 Evidence from the ordering of negative phrases and NPIs

A first piece of evidence for the position of marginalized phrases comes from the just mentioned observation that postverbal negative phrases can be marginalized. Since they are grammatical, they must lie within the domain of a licenser. A neg-marker in T provides the lowest possible licenser. Therefore, marginalized negative phrases must occur lower than T, consistently with Cardinaletti’s claim that marginalization occurs in situ (Calabrese 1982; Cardinaletti 2001, 2002).

Marginalized phrases also disallow for clitic doubling. This holds even in contexts that can trigger right dislocation and the associated clitic doubling. For example, sentence (16)(a) becomes ungrammatical as soon as an object clitic is inserted, see (17). As Cardinaletti (2002) points out, Italian disallows for clitic doubling within the clause. If marginalized phrases occur in situ, hence TP-internally, the absence of clitic doubling follows straightforwardly.

- (17) Context: Gianni non ha invitato nessuno alla festa.
 ‘John did not invite anybody to the party.’
- *No, Gianni non ce-lo ha PORTATO_F nessuno_M, alla festa_R.
 No, John not there-him has brought anybody, to the party

A third piece of evidence comes from the observation that whenever multiple marginalized constituents are present, they necessarily follow the canonical base-generated order, as expected if marginalization occurs in situ (Cardinaletti 2001, 2002). The sentences in the following examples provide further evidence for this claim. In (18), the subject and the object are both marginalized. The subject is a negative quantified

phrase, and the object is a an NPI. They are both licensed by the c-commanding neg-marker and hence excluding a right dislocation analysis. The sentence is fine when the subject precedes the object but ungrammatical when the order is reversed.

It is worth being aware that some native speakers of Italian systematically disallow for non-final VP-internal subjects, negative subjects included. This aspect of their grammar makes the following test unsuitable for them, since they inevitably find all sentences involved ungrammatical. Even these speakers, however, converge with the other informants on tests that follow the same logic but do not involve VP-internal subjects (e.g. (20)). Furthermore, the reported difference in grammaticality is clearly perceived by the other informants.

(18) Context: *Ma allora ... non ha mangiato nessuno alcunché?*
 ‘But then ... nobody ate anything?’

- a. *No, non ha BEVUTO_F nessuno_M alcunché_M.*
 No, not has drunk anybody anything
 ‘No, nobody DRANK anything.’
- b. **No, non ha BEVUTO_F alcunché_M nessuno_M.*
 No, not has drunk anything anybody

The marginalized subject and locative arguments of an unaccusative verb also obligatorily follow their base-generated order.

(19) Context: *Ma allora ... nessuno è partito per Roma?*
 ‘But then ... nobody left for Rome?’

- a. *No, non è ARRIVATO_F nessuno_M a Roma_M.*
 No, not has arrived anybody to Rome
 ‘No, nobody ARRIVED in Rome.’
- b. **No, non è ARRIVATO_F a Roma_M nessuno_M.*
 No, not has arrived to Rome anybody

The base-generated order is also obligatory when marginalization applies to verbs taking experiencer objects followed by a clausal complement.

(20) Context: *Non avete costretto nessuno a partire?*
 ‘You did not force anybody to leave?’

- a. *No, non abbiamo CONVINTO_F nessuno_M a partire_M.*
 No, (we) not have convinced anybody to to-leave
 ‘No, we did not CONVINCED anybody to leave.’
- b. **No, non abbiamo CONVINTO_F a partire_M nessuno_M.*
 No, (we) not have convinced to to-leave anybody

Finally, the base-generated order is also obligatorily adhered to in sentences involving marginalized subjects and sentential objects (the object includes the NPI *alcunché* ‘anything’ licensed by the initial neg-marker, thus ensuring its non right-dislocated status). Compare (21)(a), where the base-generated order is respected, with the ungrammatical (21)(b), where the order of the two phrases is switched. Sentence (21)(a) provides a pragmatically acceptable reply to the context sentence in a situation where some people who have already eaten do not wish to publicly admit it (possibly because invited to an important dinner). The person uttering (21)(a) is correcting the person uttering the context sentence.

- (21) Context: Si sentivano sazi ma nessuno pensava di aver mangiato alcunché.
 ‘They felt sated but nobody thought they had eaten anything.’
- a. No, non AMMETTEVA_F nessuno_M [di aver mangiato alcunché]_M.
 No, not admitted anybody of to-have eaten anything
 ‘No. Rather, nobody would ADMIT that they had eaten anything.’
- b. *No, non AMMETTEVA_F [di aver mangiato alcunché]_M nessuno_M.
 No, not admitted of to-have eaten anything anybody

The rigid order observed in all the above examples provides strong support for the claim that marginalization occurs in situ, since different orders should be possible if marginalized phrases were able to move. In fact, even ultra-local movement of marginalized phrases, i.e. movement so local that it cannot alter the base-generated order, is excluded. If such movement were present, it should be possible to raise DPs ultra-locally while stranding a quantifier in their base-generated position, thus altering the canonical order <Quantifier DP> of Italian nominals. But this is not the case; see (22) where the marginalized object NPI following the marginalized quantified subject ensures that right dislocation is absent. As (22)(b) shows, stranding the subject quantifier via ultra-local movement of the DP *i ragazzi* (the boys) is ungrammatical.

- (22) Context: Ma allora ... entrambi i ragazzi non hanno mangiato alcunché?
 ‘But then ... both boys ate nothing?’
- a. No, non hanno BEVUTO_F [entrambi i ragazzi]_M alcunché_M.
 No, not have drunk both the boys anything
 ‘No, both boys did not DRINK anything.’
- b. *No, non hanno BEVUTO_F i ragazzi_{iM} entrambi_M alcunché_M.
 No, not have drunk the boys both anything

2.3.2 Evidence from anaphoric and quantifier binding

The binding relations between marginalized phrases are also consistent with their in situ position (see also Cardinaletti 2001). Since in situ subjects c-command in situ

objects, we expect marginalized subjects to bind marginalized object anaphors but not vice versa, as in the schema in (23) where the arrow shows the direction of binding between the postverbal marginalized subject and object.

- (23) Predicted binding relations: a. $V_F \quad S_M \rightarrow O_M$
 b. $*V_F \quad S_M \leftarrow O_M$

As (24) and (25) show, the prediction is borne out.⁶ The possessive anaphor *propri* ‘own’ is successfully bound when occurring as a marginalized object in (24) but not as a marginalized subject in (25) (on the anaphoric status of ‘*propri*’ see Renzi 1988: 614).

- (24) Context: Nessun ragazzo_i ha chiamato i propri_i genitori.
 ‘No boy called his own parents.’

No, non ha INVITATO_F [nessun ragazzo]_{M,i} [i propri_i genitori]_M.

No, not has invited any boy the own parents

‘No, no boy INVITED his own parents.’

- (25) Context: Nessun ragazzo_i è stato chiamato dai propri_i genitori.
 ‘No boy was called by his own parents.’

*No, non hanno INVITATO_F [i propri_i genitori]_M [nessun ragazzo]_{M,i}.

No, not have invited the own parents any boy

‘No, his own parents did not INVITE any boy.’

The context sentence of (25) is a passive because this is the only construction that can express the desired meaning. To check whether this choice is a factor in the ungrammaticality of (25), rather than the position of marginalized phrases, consider (26). It tests whether negative objects like the one in (25) are possible under a passive context sentence when binding is not present. Sentence (26) is marginal but clearly better than (25), confirming that it is a binding failure that causes the ungrammaticality of (25).

- (26) Context: Nessun ragazzo è stato chiamato da Maria.
 ‘No boy was called by Mary.’

? No, non ha INVITATO_F Maria_M [nessun ragazzo]_M.

No, not has invited Mary any boy

‘No, Mary did not INVITE any boy.’

⁶ Cardinaletti’s own examples (Cardinaletti 2001: 133) concern phrases introduced by the quantifier *ogni* ‘every’ under the assumption that phrases with this quantifier cannot be right-dislocated. This appears incorrect, see Section 3.5.2.1 for examples and discussion. Some of Cardinaletti’s examples also rest on the assumption that right-dislocated objects obligatorily require clitic doubling, but this assumption, too, will be proven inadequate; see Section 4.2.1 for discussion.

The same asymmetric relation between marginalized subjects and objects are also found under quantifier binding. Consider first the sentences in (27): the quantified subject *nessun ragazzo* ‘no boy’ in specTP binds the possessive pronoun *suo* ‘his’ in object position in (27)(a), but the same possessive pronoun in subject position cannot be bound by the quantified object in (27)(b). (On the pronominal nature of ‘*suo*’ see Renzi 1988: 614.)

- (27) a. [[Nessun ragazzo]_i ha chiamato i suoi_i GENITORI]_{NewF}.
 No boy has called the his parents
 ‘No boy called his parents.’
- b. * [I suoi_i genitori non hanno chiamato [nessun RAGAZZO]_i]_{NewF}.
 The his parents not have called any boy
 ‘His parents called no boy.’

The exact same pattern is found when subject and object are marginalized, showing marginalized subjects binding—and hence *c*-commanding—marginalized objects, but not vice versa, as predicted if marginalized phrases occur in situ. Note that the shift from active to passive in the context sentence is not responsible for the ungrammaticality of sentence (29), as the same sentence is fine when the possessive is not interpreted as bound.

- (28) Context: Nessun_i ragazzo ha chiamato i suoi_i genitori.
 ‘No boy called his parents.’
- No, non ha INVITATO_F [nessun ragazzo]_{M,i} [i suoi_i genitori]_M.
 No, not has invited any boy the his parents
 ‘No, no boy INVITED his parents.’
- (29) Context: Nessun ragazzo è stato chiamato dai suoi_i genitori.
 ‘No boy was called by his parents.’
- *No, non hanno INVITATO_F [i suoi_i genitori]_M [nessun ragazzo]_{M,i}.
 No, not have invited the his parents any boy
 ‘No, his parents INVITED no boy.’

2.3.3 Evidence from agreement loss in regional Italian

Cardinaletti (2001: 131, 2002) proposes evidence for in situ marginalization based on the regional variety of Italian spoken in the area of Ancona. In this variety, preverbal and right-dislocated subjects require agreement in number and person with an auxiliary in T, as in (30)(a) and (30)(b) (note that the subject of (30)(b) is necessarily right-dislocated because it follows a clitic-doubled object). As Cardinaletti (2002) points out, agreement in this case follows from the presence of a preverbal pronominal *pro* doubling the dislocated subject, as shown in (30)(c), and causing obligatory agreement with T as with any other preverbal subject.

- (30) a. Quei bambini *ha / hanno fatto questo DISEGNO.
Those children has / have done this drawing
'Those children did this drawing.'
- b. Lo *ha / hanno fatto IERI_F, il disegno_R, [quei bambini lì]_R.
It has / have done yesterday, the drawing, those children there
'Those children over there, they did it YESTERDAY, the drawing.'
- c. *pro*_i lo hanno fatto IERI_F, il disegno_R, [quei bambini lì]_{R,i}.

In contrast, focused and marginalized postverbal subjects, respectively shown in (31)(a) and (31)(b), allow for a default third person singular agreement even when plural.⁷ This is expected if these subjects are located lower than T and hence unable to enter into an agreement relation with the auxiliary in T, as expected if marginalized phrases occur *in situ* (data from Cardinaletti 2001 and Cardinaletti p.c.).

- (31) a. ?Ha fatto I BAMBINI_F il disegno (non la maestra).
Has done the children the drawing (not the teacher)
'The CHILDREN did the drawing (not the teacher).'
- b. Ha già MANGIATO_F / FINITO_F / DORMITO_F i bambini_M.
Has already eaten / finished / slept the children
'The children already ATE / FINISHED / SLEPT.'

Further support comes from the fixed order of marginalized constituents in clauses showing agreement loss. As (32) shows, marginalized subjects must precede marginalized objects, reflecting their base-generated order. Compare this with the right dislocation sentence in (30), where the order between subject and object remains free.

- (32) a. Ha già FATTO_F / FINITO_F i bambini_M il disegno_M.
Has already done / completed the children the drawing
'The children already DID / COMPLETED the drawing.'
- b. * Ha già FATTO_F / FINITO_F il disegno_M i bambini_M.
Has already DONE / COMPLETED the drawing the children

2.3.4 *Evidence from past participle preposing*

Further evidence comes from past participle preposing (Benincà 1988; Cardinaletti 2002). Italian active past participles obligatorily raise to an aspectual phrase above VP (Cinque 1999). This is shown in (33)(a)–(b), where the past participle, in bold, necessarily precedes the adverb *bene* (well), the lowest adverb in Cinque's adverbial

⁷ Agreement loss with lower postverbal subjects is present in many regional varieties of Italian and also crosslinguistically, see Moravcsik (1978), Corbett (1979), Brandi and Cordin (1989), Barlow (1992), Saccon (1993), Fassi Fehri (1993), Manzini and Savoia (2002), and Samek-Lodovici (2002).

hierarchy. Sentence (33)(c) shows that the same past participle may also optionally raise even higher and precede the negative particle *mica* and the adverbs *completamente* ‘completely’ and *già* ‘already’, which are located relatively high in Cinque’s hierarchy.

- (33) a. [Non abbiamo mica già completamente **rimesso** tutto bene in ORDINE]_{NewF}.
 (We) not have neg already completely put all well in order
 ‘We have not already completely put everything properly in order.’
- b. *[Non abbiamo mica già completamente tutto bene **rimesso** in ORDINE]_{NewF}.
 (We) not have neg already completely all well put in order
- c. [Non abbiamo **rimesso** mica già completamente tutto bene in ORDINE]_{NewF}.
 (We) not have put neg already completely all well in order

As expected, past participles may also precede subject-related floating quantifiers stranded in specVP position, see (34)(a). Consequently, preposing of the aspectual phrase containing the past participle necessarily carries with it any subject and object stranded VP-internally. This is shown in (b) and the corresponding structure in (c). (A suitable discourse context for sentence (b) is provided by sentence (a).)

- (34) a. [Hanno finito tutti il PANE]_{NewF}.
 (They) have finished all the bread
 ‘They have all finished the bread.’
- b. Finito tutti il pane, [non HANNO]_{NewF}.
 Finished all the bread, (they) not have
 ‘Finished the bread, all of them, they have NOT.’
- c. [Finito [tutti t_k] il pane]_i, pro_k non HANNO t_i

If marginalization occurs in situ, then past participle preposing should be blocked whenever marginalized subjects and objects are marginalized in post-auxiliary position, since this makes it impossible to prepose the aspectual phrase headed by the past participle as an unbroken phrasal constituent (Cardinaletti 2002). The prediction is borne out. Whether the marginalized subject and object both follow the auxiliary, as in (35)(a), or just one of them does, as in (35)(b) and (35)(c), past participle preposing is no longer possible.⁸

⁸ Postfocal constituents can be ambiguous between a marginalized and right-dislocated analysis but this aspect only needs to be controlled for with grammatical sentences, lest data involving right-dislocated phrases are used to draw conclusions about marginalized ones, or vice versa. The sentences in (35) are ungrammatical, thus unacceptable under both analyses, hence also under a marginalization analysis, as required for the point concerning past-participle preposing just mentioned.

- (35) a. * Finito, [non HANNO]_{NewF} tutti_M il pane_M.
 Finished, (they) not have, all the bread
 ‘Finished the bread, all of them, they have NOT.’
- b. * Finito tutti, [non HANNO]_{NewF} il pane_M.
 Finished, (they) not have the bread
- c. * Finito il pane, [non HANNO]_{NewF} tutti_M.
 Finished the bread, (they) not have all

2.3.5 *Evidence from the ordering of lower adverbs*

Finally, marginalization *in situ* is supported by the study of lower adverbs. Cinque (1999) shows that the basic word-order of lower adverbs—i.e. the adverbs that occur between the highest position available to an active past participle and its complements—is fixed. For example, when the entire sentence is presentationally focused, the adverbs in example (36) cannot occur in any other order (Cinque 1999: 6).

- (36) [Da allora non accetta mica più sempre i nostri inviti]_{NewF}.
 Since then (he) not accepts neg anymore always the our invitations
 ‘Since then he no longer always accepts our invitations.’

If marginalized phrases remain *in situ*, then lower adverbs should preserve their fixed order even when marginalized. The prediction is borne out. Consider example (37), where the context sentence states that the expected worsening of John’s sight is indeed happening, while the reply in (37)(a) explains by contrastively focusing the verb that what is getting worse is actually John’s hearing. The marginalized adverbs in sentence (37)(a) follow the same fixed canonical order of the adverbs in the context sentence. Any change in this order is ungrammatical, see (37)(b)–(e). Note that the negative object must be licensed by the preverbal neg-marker, hence both the adverbs and the final object cannot have right-dislocated status.

- (37) Context: [Gianni non vede già più sempre bene nessuno di NOI]_{NewF}.
 John not sees already anymore always well any of us
 ‘John already no longer always sees any of us well.’
- a. No. Gianni non SENTE_F già più sempre bene nessuno di noi.
 No. John not hears already anymore always well any of us
 ‘No. John already no longer always HEARS any of us well.’
- b. *No. Gianni non SENTE_F già sempre più bene nessuno di noi.
- c. *No. Gianni non SENTE_F già bene più sempre nessuno di noi.
- d. *No. Gianni non SENTE_F sempre già più bene nessuno di noi.
- e. *No. Gianni non SENTE_F già più bene sempre nessuno di noi.

The fixed sequence of marginalized lower adverbs can also be exploited to examine the position of marginalized objects, which have already been shown to obligatorily

follow marginalized subjects. As the data below show, marginalized objects (in bold) also obligatorily follow lower adverbs, consistently with the claim that marginalization occurs in situ. The only exception is sentence (c), discussed below, where the object is marginally grammatical.

- (38) Context: [Gianni non vede già più sempre bene **nessuno di NOI**]_{NewF}.
 John not sees already anymore always well any of us
 ‘John already no longer always sees any of us well.’
- a. No. Gianni non SENTE_F già più sempre bene **nessuno di noi**.
 No. John not hears already anymore always well any of us
 ‘No. John already no longer always HEARS any of us well.’
 - b. * No. Gianni non SENTE_F già più sempre **nessuno di noi** bene.
 - c. ? No. Gianni non SENTE_F già più **nessuno di noi** sempre bene.
 - d. * No. Gianni non SENTE_F già **nessuno di noi** più sempre bene.
 - e. * No. Gianni non SENTE_F **nessuno di noi** già più sempre bene.

The marginal grammaticality of (38)(c) follows from the right dislocation of the adverbial sequence *sempre bene*, which appears unique in allowing for right dislocation. This is shown in (39), where different adverbial sequences are placed after a right-dislocated clitic-doubled object, thus leaving no doubt about their right-dislocated status. As the example shows, the only marginally grammatical sentence is (39)(a) involving the right dislocation of *sempre bene*. While the reason for this divergence remains unclear, its presence explains the pattern in (38). The object is marginalized in situ in all sentences. (38)(c) is grammatical because *sempre bene* is right-dislocated after the object. In all other cases, right dislocation is unavailable and the sentence is ungrammatical because the marginalized adverbs and the object do not follow the fixed base-generated order.

- (39) a. ? [Gianni non li sente già PIÙ]_{NewF}, i ragazzi_R, [sempre bene]_R.
 John not them hears already anymore, the boys, always well
 ‘John already no longer always hears them well, the boys.’
- b. * [Gianni non li sente già più SEMPRE]_{NewF}, i ragazzi_R, bene_R.
 - c. * [Gianni non li sente GIÀ]_{NewF}, i ragazzi_R, [più sempre bene]_R.
 - d. * [Gianni non li SENTE]_{NewF}, i ragazzi_R, [già più sempre bene]_R.

The base-generated order is also evident when considering marginalized adverbs and subjects, as in (40). Like marginalized objects, marginalized subjects may remain in their base-generated specVP position and follow the entire adverbial series, as in (40)(a). As expected, the subject may not precede any adverb except the right-dislocated *sempre bene* in (40)(b), in parallel with the object case examined above. Unlike objects, however, marginalized subjects may also precede the entire adverbial series, see (40)(f), possibly for reasons associated with case-assignment.

- (40) Context: [Nessuno di noi vede mica poi più sempre BENE]_{NewF}.
 None of us sees neg after-all anymore always well
 ‘After all, none of us always sees well anymore.’
- a. No. Non SENTE_F mica poi più sempre bene **nessuno di noi**.
 No. Not hears neg after-all anymore always well any of us
 ‘No. After all, none of us always HEARS well anymore.’
 - b. * No. Non SENTE_F mica poi più sempre **nessuno di noi bene**.
 - c. ? No. Non SENTE_F mica poi più **nessuno di noi** sempre bene.
 - d. * No. Non SENTE_F mica poi **nessuno di noi** più sempre bene.
 - e. * No. Non SENTE_F mica **nessuno di noi** poi più sempre bene.
 - f. No. Non SENTE_F **nessuno di noi** mica poi più sempre bene.

Marginalized subjects provide the only exception to Cardinaletti’s claim that marginalization always occurs in situ, although even in this case marginalization in situ remains possible, as shown by (40)(a). More importantly, the properties that distinguish marginalization from right dislocation remain unaffected. The raised marginalized subject of (40)(f) is still c-commanded by T, hence still disallowing for clitic doubling. Furthermore, the higher position accessed by subjects in (40)(f) remains inaccessible to objects, as (38) showed, hence preserving the fixed order that characterizes marginalized arguments when compared with the freely ordered right-dislocated ones.

2.4 Conclusions

The distribution of marginalized phrases emerging from this chapter is summarized in (41). Marginalized objects follow marginalized subjects and lower adverbs, see (41)(a). Marginalized lower adverbs respect their base-generated order as in (41)(b). Marginalized objects precede marginalized sentential complements, as in (41)(c), again reflecting the corresponding base-generated order.

- (41) Obligatory order of marginalized phrases:
- a. ... V_F adv_{i,M}...adv_{n,M} S_M O_M
 - b. ... V_F S_M adv_{i,M}...adv_{n,M} O_M
 - c. ... V_F O_M CP_M

The examined data thus support Cardinaletti’s (2001, 2002) claim that marginalized phrases occur in situ, with the exception of subjects which appear able to optionally raise above lower adverbs. In the coming chapters, these results will be used to distinguish marginalized phrases from right-dislocated ones, which instead move outside the clause. This, in turn, will make it possible to accurately determine the position of contrastively focused constituents within the clause.

Contrastive focus and marginalization

3.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the position of Italian postverbal contrastive foci showing that it cannot be captured by templatic analyses positing a unique focus projection (e.g. Rizzi 1997, 2004; Belletti 2004: 29; Cecchetto 1999). Once right dislocation is controlled for, the movement of focused constituents predicted by these analyses is demonstrably absent. The available evidence instead supports focalization in situ (see also the evidence in Chapter 5 emerging from the study of the interaction of focus and right dislocation). This chapter also examines movement of postverbal constituents across different information status assignments, showing that postverbal constituents may raise above a preceding phrase only when they are discourse given and the preceding constituent is focused. Both results will be accounted for in Chapter 6, where I will argue that focalization occurs in situ in order to keep stress as close to the right edge of the clause as possible, consistently with the constraints governing the allocation of prosodic prominence in Italian. Similarly, postverbal constituents may raise only above a higher focus and only if they are discourse-given because under only these circumstances does movement improve the alignment of the stress associated with focus with the clause right edge, again in accord with prosodic requirements.

In Italian, contrastive focus in postverbal position occurs naturally. A native speaker accidentally hearing sentence (1) naturally interprets the postverbal subject as contrastively focused, even if unaware of the preceding discourse context and even if the final stress is of the non-emphatic kind found in simple declaratives. The likelihood of a contrastive reading can be increased by overtly listing the possible alternatives in the sentence itself, as in (2), or in its immediate discourse context, as in (3), but this is not a necessary requirement.

- (1) I biscotti, li ha mangiati GIANNI_F.
The biscuits, them has eaten John
'JOHN ate the biscuits.'
- (2) I biscotti, li ha mangiati GIANNI_F, non Maria.
The biscuits, them has eaten John, not Mary
'JOHN ate the biscuits, not Mary.'
- (3) Q: Li ha mangiati MARIA_F, i biscotti?
Them has eaten Mary, the biscuits
'Did MARY eat the biscuits?'
- A: No. Li ha mangiati GIANNI_F.
No. Them has eaten John
'No. JOHN ate the biscuits.'

Most of the evidence for in-situ focalization discussed in this chapter is obtained by closely examining the distribution of postverbal focused phrases relative to marginalized constituents. Given a discourse-given constituent A and a contrastively focused constituent B generated lower than A as in (4)(a), raising focus to a higher projection would place B above A as in (4)(b) whenever A is marginalized in situ. In contrast, in-situ focalization would leave A before B as in (4)(a) and predict the order in (4)(b) to be ungrammatical.

- (4) a. ... A B_F...
 b. ... B_F A t_i...

This test is only possible if right dislocation is controlled for, as the order <B A> may also arise when focus remains in situ and the higher constituent A is right-dislocated to the right of B. Disentangling marginalization from right dislocation requires some care. Right dislocation is possible also without clitic doubling (see Chapter 4) and can easily be confused with marginalization. As the following sections will show, once these crucial controls are in place, postverbal focused phrases turn out to never precede higher-generated discourse-given phrases, which, in turn, supports focalization in situ.

Controlling for right dislocation will also be essential to establish the second empirical result of this chapter, namely that postverbal constituents may raise above a higher one only when they are discourse-given and the higher constituent is focused, as in (5)(a). This will require establishing that the same movement is ungrammatical whenever the higher constituent is not focused as illustrated by the patterns in (5)(b) and (5)(c), which in turn require controlling that A is marginalized rather than right-dislocated, since grammatical instances of order (5)(b) do exist but are due to A's right dislocation rather than B's movement.

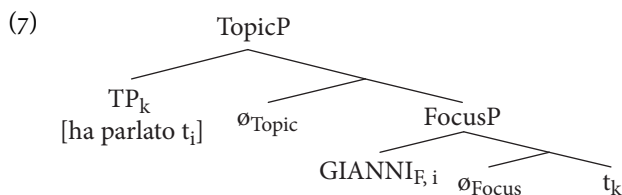
- (5) a. ... B A_F t_i...
 b. *... B_F A_M t_i...
 c. *... B_M A_M t_i...

I will start in Section 3.2 by showing that positing focus movement to a left-peripheral focus projection is sharply inconsistent with the properties displayed by postverbal foci relative to the licensing of n-words and NPIs, parasitic-gaps, and wh-operators. Section 3.3 examines movement to the TP-internal focus projection proposed in Cecchetto (1999) and Belletti (2001, 2004), showing that this movement, too, must be excluded. Section 3.4 examines the movement of discourse-given constituents above a higher focus and its absence when the higher constituent is not focused. Section 3.5 provides two further tests for the established results by checking whether they generalize to Cinque's lower adverb hierarchy and then by testing the binding relations they predict.

3.2 In-situ vs. left-peripheral focalization of postverbal foci

Belletti (2004) assumes that all contrastive foci must move to the high focus projection of Rizzi (1997). She accounts for postverbal contrastive foci by assuming that they move to the focus projection just mentioned, followed by the movement of the entire TP remnant to an even higher Topic projection, so that the raised foci still occur postverbally in linear terms. A sentence like (6) would thus have the analysis in (7).

- (6) Ha parlato GIANNI_F. (non Maria)
 Has spoken John (not Mary)
 'JOHN spoke. (not Mary)'



There are several important pieces of evidence against this analysis and in favour of in-situ focalization. Let me begin with n-words, which, as described in appendix A, must be licensed by an appropriate c-commanding licenser

when located postverbally and lower than T, but need no licensing when preverbal and higher than T. Focused n-words follow the same generalization: they require licensing if postverbal—see (8) where the initial licensing neg-marker *non* cannot be omitted—but they do not require licensing if preverbal, see (9).

- (8) a. Non ha cantato NESSUNO_F.
Not has sung anybody
'NOBODY sang.'
- b. Non abbiamo visto NESSUNO_F.
(We) not have seen anybody
'We did not see ANYBODY.'
- c. Non abbiamo parlato MAI_F.
(We) not have spoken ever
'We NEVER spoke.'
- (9) a. NESSUNO_F ha cantato.
Nobody has sung
'NOBODY sang.'
- b. NESSUNO_F, abbiamo visto.
Nobody (we) have seen
'We saw NOBODY.'
- c. MAI_F, abbiamo parlato.
Never, (we) have spoken
'We NEVER spoke.'

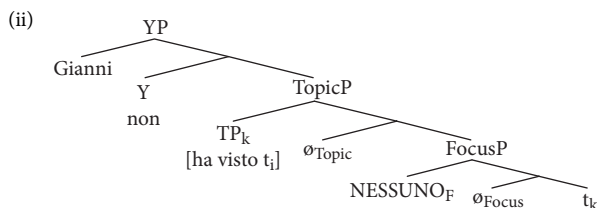
If the postverbal n-words in (8) are focused in situ, their need for licensing is expected, since all n-words c-commanded by T need licensing. The same property cannot be accounted for under a left-peripheral analysis à la Belletti (2004) where the postverbal foci in (8) share the same position of the preverbal foci in (9), since this incorrectly predicts that postverbal foci do not need licensing.

Besides predicting that licensing is unnecessary, a left-peripheral analysis also incorrectly predicts licensing to be impossible. As observed by Cardinaletti (2002), Samek-Lodovici (2006, 2009), Brunetti (2004), and, for Zulu, Cheng and Downing (2009), the associated representation does not allow for the necessary c-commanding relation between the initial neg-marker *non* and the n-word. For example (8)(a) would be expected to have the representation in (10), where *non* does not c-command *NESSUNO* and therefore cannot license it

(remember that this licensing relation is not restored under reconstruction, see appendix A).^{1,2}

¹ Since licensing under reconstruction is not available, the only conceivable structure potentially able to license postverbal negative focused phrases under a left-peripheral analysis requires the licensing neg-marker to occur higher than left-peripheral focus, with overt subjects placed even higher, as shown in (ii) which provides the structure for (i).

- (i) Gianni non ha visto NESSUNO_F.
John not has seen anybody
'John did not see anybody.'



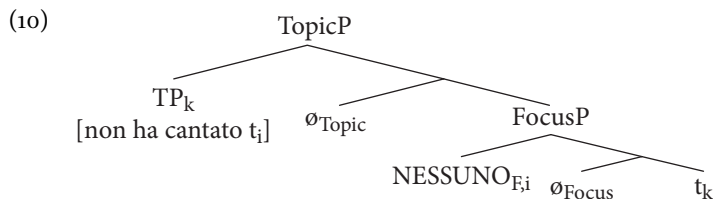
Even this hypothetical solution, however, is untenable. Consider sentence (iii)a where the neg-marker and the focused postverbal object occur in a non-finite subordinate clause introduced by the complementizer *di*. Rizzi (1997: 288) shows that this complementizer lies in FinP, which is located lower than left-peripheral focus. Consequently, a left-peripheral analysis of (iii)a would have to maintain that *di* is part of the remnant constituent raised above FocusP, as shown in structure (iii)b, or else it would follow the focused object. Since the neg-marker *non* necessarily follows *di*—see the ungrammatical inverted order in (iii)c—it too must be part of the remnant phrase (here a FinP rather than a TP). But this contradicts the above hypothesis, where the neg-marker *c*-commands Rizzi's CP-level focus projection.

- (iii) a. Gianni crede di non aver visto NESSUNO_F.
John thinks of not to-have seen anybody
'John believes that he did not see anybody.'
- b. [Gianni crede [[_{FinP} di *PRO* non aver visto t_i]_k empty_{Topic} [NESSUNO_F empty_{Focus} t_k]]
- c. * Gianni crede *non di* aver visto NESSUNO_F.

² Zubizarreta (2010) and Belletti (2004) examined this issue, too, reaching different but ultimately non-tenable conclusions. Zubizarreta (2010: 156, fn12) proposes that the licensing neg-marker might be located higher than the fronted negative phrase, hence outside the remnant TP and *c*-commanding the relevant constituents. The empirical evidence against this hypothesis is discussed in the previous footnote. Furthermore, this hypothesis still does not explain why licensing is needed at all, since licensing is not necessary with preverbal focused phrases.

Belletti (2004: 37) accepts that a preceding neg-marker cannot license a postverbal NPI focused in a left-peripheral position but considers this a correct prediction. Belletti's original contrastive focus data and judgements follow (see example (51) in Belletti 2004: 37).

- (i) Context: Ha espresso la verità quel comportamento / quel ministro.
Has expressed the expressed truth that behaviour / that minister
'That behaviour / minister expressed the truth.'
- a. *?No, non ha espresso la verità ALCUNCHÈ_F / ALCUN MINISTRO_F.
No, not has expressed the truth anything / any minister
- (ii) Context: Hanno detto la verità tutti i partecipanti.
Have said the truth all the participants
'All participants said the truth.'
- a. *? No, non ha detto la verità NESSUNO_F.
No, not has said the truth anybody
- b. *? No, non hanno detto la verità [CHE GLI STUDENTI]_F.
No, not have said the truth that the students



The context sentence for (i) is highly unnatural, which in turn makes the answer in (i)a equally unnatural, making a reliable grammaticality judgement difficult. Sentences similar to (i)a, however, are acceptable once an appropriate context is provided, see (iii) and (iv) which have been checked with several native speakers.

- (iii) Context: Ha parlato un solo ministro.
Has spoken a single minister
'Only one minister spoke.'
- a. No, non ha parlato ALCUN MINISTRO_F.
No, not has spoken any minister
'No, NO minister spoke.'
- (iv) Context: Ha scricchiolato il muro.
has creaked the wall
'The wall creaked.'
- a. No, non ha scricchiolato ALCUNCHÈ_F.
No, not has creaked anything
'No, NOTHING creaked.'

The ungrammaticality of (ii)a is only perceived by some native speakers of Italian and it is almost certainly due to a constraint shared by those speakers against the presence of direct objects before a rightmost focus. Speakers insensitive to such constraint, like myself, find (ii)a grammatical. More importantly, sentences not involving direct objects, like (v), are grammatical across both sets of speakers and require the focused subject *NESSUNO* to be licensed by the negative marker *non*, against Belletti's analysis. This sentence, too, has been checked with several speakers.

- (v) Context: Ieri ha parlato GIANNI_F.
Yesterday has spoken John
'JOHN spoke yesterday.'
- a. No. Ieri non ha parlato NESSUNO_F.
No. Yesterday not has spoken anybody
'No. NOBODY spoke yesterday.'

A search query at the CORIS corpus of written Italian (FICLIT, 2001) also provides example (vi), where *NESSUNO* contrasts with *gli aggressori*.

- (vi) Context: ... poi finalmente si sono decisi a venire con me nel bar dove erano andati gli aggressori ...
... then finally (they) self are decided to to-come with me in-the bar where were gone the attackers ...
'... then, finally, they decided to come with me to the bar where the attackers had gone ...'
- a. ... ma naturalmente non c'era più NESSUNO_F.
... but obviously not there-was any-longer anybody
'... but of course NOBODY was any longer there.'

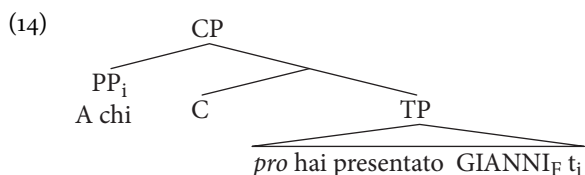
This leaves only (ii)b, which involves an infrequent and structurally complex NPI of the '*che NP*' form. These NPIs deserve further research, but the fact that simpler and more frequently used negative phrases and polarity items are grammatical when contrastively focused in postverbal position shows that licensing by a preceding neg-marker is possible, against what is predicted under a left-peripheral analysis.

The same problem applies to focused postverbal NPIs such as *alcunché* in (11). While licensing is expected and possible if the focused NPI occurs in situ, it is no longer possible if the NPI is analysed as hosted in a focus projection above TP where it would no longer be c-commanded by its licenser.

- (11) Context: Gianni ha pulito la cucina.
 John has cleaned the kitchen
 ‘John cleaned the kitchen.’
- a. No, Gianni non ha pulito ALCUNCHÉ_F.
 No, John not has cleaned anything
 ‘No, John did not clean ANYTHING.’

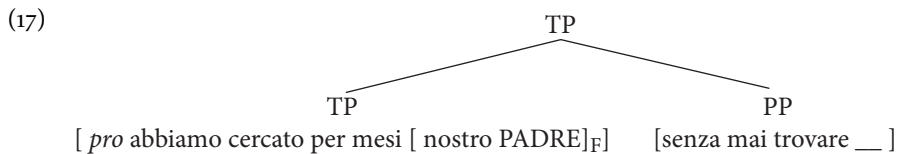
Another argument supporting focalization in situ for postverbal foci comes from the distribution of *wh*-phrases relative to contrastive focus. As Rizzi (1997) observed, there are sentences where *wh*-phrases and left-peripheral contrastive focus appear to occur in complementary distribution when they are both preverbal as in (12). Rizzi derived this effect by maintaining that focus and *wh*-operators compete for the specifier of the same fixed focus projection (but see Section 5.4 in Chapter 5 for a different analysis). If postverbal foci, too, are raised to the same specifier, then they too should show a similar complementary distribution relative to *wh*-phrases. Yet this is not the case. See for example question (13), asking whom John—rather than someone else—was introduced to. When main stress is placed on the focused object, (13) is perfectly natural and grammatical, despite the co-occurrence of *wh*-phrases and contrastive focus. This is unexpected if the focused object and the *wh*-operator are competing for the same position in this sentence. It is instead accounted for if the postverbal focused object occurs in situ as in structure (14).

- (12) a. *GIANNI_F a chi hai presentato?
 John to whom (you) have introduced
- b. *A chi GIANNI_F hai presentato?
 To whom John (you) have introduced
- (13) A chi hai presentato GIANNI_F?
 To whom (you) have introduced John
 ‘Who did you introduce JOHN to?’



A final argument comes from an interesting asymmetry in the distribution of parasitic gaps. As (15) and (16) show, fronted focused objects license parasitic gaps whereas postverbal focused objects do not. If postverbal foci focalize in situ, the data in (16) are expected: as (17) shows, in-situ focalized objects are too low to c-command the parasitic gap and therefore they cannot license it either.

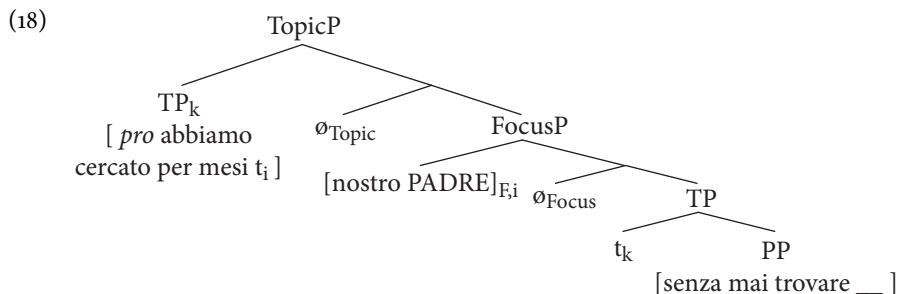
- (15) a. [Nostro PADRE]_F, abbiamo cercato per mesi senza mai trovare!
Our father, (we) have sought for months without ever to-find
'Our FATHER, we sought for months without ever finding!'
- b. [Questo fantastico BAROLO]_F, hanno rimandato indietro senza assaggiare!
This fantastic BAROLO, (they) have sent back without to-taste
'This fantastic BAROLO, they sent back without tasting!'
- (16) a. * Abbiamo cercato per mesi [nostro PADRE]_F, senza mai trovare!
(We) have sought for months our father, without ever to-find
- b. * Hanno rimandato indietro [questo fantastico BAROLO]_F, senza assaggiare!
(They) have sent back this fantastic BAROLO, without to-taste



In contrast, when analysed as left-peripheral foci, the postverbal focused objects in (16) are maintained to share the same position of the fronted foci in (15) and are consequently incorrectly predicted to behave similarly and license the parasitic gap to their right. The correspondent structure is provided in (18).³

³ Under a left-peripheral analysis of postverbal focalization, reconstruction of the initial remnant TP would have to be considered possible, since a subject within the remnant TP can still bind a focused anaphoric object as in (i), and a null subject cannot bind a referential object as in (ii). The structure for (i) is given in (iii). The availability of reconstruction for the remnant TP and the fronted focus provides a potential explanation for why under this analysis the fronted foci in (15) can license parasitic gaps even though they do not c-command their own trace. It follows that the same lack of c-command between the postverbal foci in (16) and their traces cannot be considered the cause of their ungrammaticality.

- (i) Gianni ha cercato per mesi [se STESSO]_F.
John has sought for months himself
'John tried to find HIMSELF for months.'
- (ii) * *pro*_i ha cercato per mesi [GIANNI]_{F,i}.
(He) has sought for months JOHN

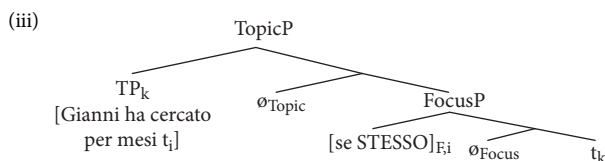


The evidence discussed so far provides some strong reasons in support of focalization in situ while also highlighting some serious problems for a left-peripheral analysis of postverbal contrastive foci. In the next section, I will show that focus movement to a lower intermediate focus projection just above VP is also excluded.

3.3 In-situ focalization vs. raising to an intermediate focus projection

Brunetti (2004: 124, section 5.5) argues at length for the in-situ position of postverbal foci, including a detailed discussion and refutation of the arguments provided in Belletti (2001) in support of the presence of an intermediate focus projection.⁴ This section provides additional evidence for analysing postverbal focused phrases as positioned in situ.

As mentioned in the introduction, given two phrases A and B generated within VP with A higher than B, if focused phrases raise to an intermediate focus projection above VP the order $\langle B_F A_M \rangle$ should be attested, since, on its way to the focus projection, B_F will necessarily raise above A_M, which is marginalized in situ and therefore inside VP. If, instead, focalization occurs in situ, we expect the order $\langle B_F A_M \rangle$ to be impossible, since B cannot move above A. In this latter case we also expect the order $\langle A B_F \rangle$ to be possible because B_F would occur below A whether



⁴ Brunetti (2004) is mostly concerned with establishing the equivalence between contrastive and presentational foci, showing that they share a similar syntax. The analysis proposed in this book shares with her analysis the claim that postverbal foci occur in situ but it differs in the analyses of left-peripheral foci, which raise to a higher position c-commanding the rest of the clause in Brunetti (2004) whereas in my analysis they are followed by a right-dislocated clause that they do not c-command, as explained in Section 5.3.

A remains in situ or moves to a local higher position (note that A in this case is not necessarily marginalized, since marginalized constituents are post-focal; for this reason it is not marked with the subscript ‘M’).

As we will see, the order $\langle B_F A_M \rangle$ is always ungrammatical and the order $\langle A B_F \rangle$ always possible. Contrastive focus in postverbal position thus does not raise to an intermediate focus projection; rather, it occurs in situ. I start by testing postverbal subjects and objects, then consider experiencer objects and sentential complements, then subjects and sentential complements, and finally Cinque’s lower adverbs.

3.3.1 *Postverbal subjects and objects*

The first test concerns the ordered pairs $\langle S O_F \rangle$ and $\langle O_F S_M \rangle$ involving discourse-given subjects and contrastively focused objects. If focalization required raising to an intermediate projection above VP à la Cecchetto (1999) and Belletti (2004), the focused object should be able to precede the marginalized subject, which occurs in situ. This prediction is refuted by the data in (19) and (20): the focused objects always follow the subject as expected if focalization occurs in situ.

The test uses a negative subject to ensure that it is truly marginalized in situ and not right-dislocated when it follows the focused object in sentence (b); as we saw in Chapter 2 negative phrases resist right dislocation. The same caution is unnecessary with the focused object because foci are never right-dislocated.

All sentences are designed so as to avoid any ambiguity in the identification of the subject and the object, since this easily interferes with grammaticality assessments. The subject is always singular and the object plural, so that auxiliary agreement univocally identifies the subject. The size of the subject and the object is also systematically varied to control for potential effects related to prosodic size.⁵ All sentences must be assessed with respect to the provided discourse context

⁵ Prosodic size does affect the distribution of focused pronominal objects. When subject and object are not heavy, pronominal objects show the same distribution of other constituents and cannot precede marginalized subjects when focused, see (i). They might however marginally precede subjects when the subject is heavier, as in (ii). The higher position of focused pronominal objects in (ii) might follow from the independently attested structural and categorical properties of pronominal items, which are known to differ from those of non-pronominal DPs; see Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) and Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002) for discussion.

- (i) Context: Marco e Gianni? Non li ha invitati nessuno?
 ‘Mark and John? Did nobody invite them?’
- a. No. Non ha invitato nessuno NOI_F. $\langle S O_F \rangle$
 No. Not has invited anybody us
 ‘No. Nobody invited US.’
- b. * No. Non ha invitato NOI_F nessuno_M. $\langle O_F S_M \rangle$
 No. Not has invited us anybody

or else marginalization is not triggered, leaving the corresponding sentences ungrammatical for an irrelevant reason. Finally, be aware that as explained in Section 2.3.1 of Chapter 2, this type of test is unsuitable for those native speakers of Italian that always disallow for non-final VP-internal negative subjects. Even these informants, however, converge with other speakers when VP-internal subjects are not involved; see for example the examples in the next subsection, which follow the same logic of the examples below but lack VP-internal subjects.

- (19) Context: Nessuno ha invitato i Veneziani.
 Nobody has invited the Venetians
 ‘Nobody invited the Venetians.’
- a. No. Non ha invitato nessuno i MILANESI_F. <S O_F>
 No. Not has invited anybody the Milanese
 ‘No. Nobody invited the MILANESE.’
- b. *No. Non ha invitato i MILANESI_F nessuno_M. <O_F S_M>
 No. Not has invited the Milanese anybody
- (20) Context: I genitori di Marco? Non li ha invitati nessuno?
 The parents of Mark? not them has invited anybody?
 ‘Mark’s parents? Nobody invited them?’
- a. No. Non ha invitato nessuno [i FRATELLI di Marco]_F. <S O_F>
 No. Not has invited anybody the brothers of Mark
 ‘No. Nobody invited Mark’s BROTHERS.’
- b. *No. Non ha invitato [i FRATELLI di Marco]_F nessuno_M. <O_F S_M>
 No. Not has invited the brothers of Mark anybody
- (21) Context: I veneziani non li ha invitati nessuna ragazza.
 The Venetians not them has invited any girl
 ‘The Venetians, no girl invited them.’
- a. No. Non ha invitato [nessuna ragazza] i MILANESI_F. <S O_F>
 No. Not has invited any girl the Milanese
 ‘No. No girl invited the MILANESE.’
- b. *No. Non ha invitato i MILANESI_F [nessuna ragazza]_M. <O_F S_M>
 No. Not has invited the Milanese any girl
- (ii) Context: Marco e Gianni? Non li ha invitati nessuna ragazza?
 ‘Mark and John? Did no girl invite them?’
- a. ? No. Non ha invitato nessuna ragazza NOI_F. <S O_F>
 No. Not has invited any girl us
 ‘No. No girl invited US.’
- b. ? No. Non ha invitato NOI_F nessuna ragazza_M. <O_F S_M>
 No. Not has invited us any girl
 ‘No. No girl invited US.’

Note that the above data are not sensitive to the particular order of subject and object in the context sentences. The same assessments emerge when the context is changed into an assertion or a question involving a preverbal subject rather than a postverbal one. For example, the assessments in (21)(a)–(b) also hold when elicited under the two alternative contexts in (22), where the subject is mentioned before the object. The same holds for the other data presented above.

(22) Alternative contexts for (21).

Context 1: Nessuna ragazza ha invitato i veneziani.

No girl has invited the Venetians

‘No girl invited the Venetians.’

Context 2: Nessuna ragazza ha invitato i veneziani?

No girl has invited the Venetians

‘Did no girl invite the Venetians?’

The observation that focused objects cannot raise above marginalized subjects is also confirmed by the following data from Anconetan Italian (Cardinaletti 2001: 131), where the marginalized status of the subject is guaranteed by the lack of agreement (see Section 2.3.3). If focused objects could precede marginalized subjects, we would expect the order $\langle O_F S_M \rangle$ to be possible even under default agreement, but this is not the case.

(23) *Ha fatto [QUESTO DISEGNO]_F i bambini_M.

Has done this drawing, the children

‘The children did this drawing.’

Overall, the distribution of postverbal focused objects relative to postverbal subjects is inconsistent with the presence of an intermediate focus projection, whereas it is accounted for if they focus in situ.

3.3.2 *Experiencer objects and infinitival complements*

The focus pattern just examined in the previous section is also found with ditransitive verbs selecting for an experiencer object and an infinitival complement, showing that the absence of focus movement generalizes to different types of constituents and grammatical functions.

As discussed in Chapter 2, non-finite clausal complements are generated below experiencer objects. The same order is found when the clausal complements are focused, showing that they focus in situ rather than raising to an intermediate focus projection. This is shown in the data below, involving a negative object to control for right dislocation. Note that the heaviness of the marginalized object is not a factor: Example (25) is assessed like the other two even though it involves a heavier object.

- (24) Context: Non avete convinto nessuno a bere.
(You) not have convinced anybody to-drink
'You did not convince anybody to drink.'
- a. No. Non abbiamo convinto nessuno a MANGIARE_F. <O CP_F>
No. (We) not have convinced anybody to-eat
'No. We did not convince anybody to EAT.'
- b. *No. Non abbiamo convinto a MANGIARE_F nessuno_M. <CP_F O_M>
No. (We) not have convinced to-eat anybody
- (25) Context: Non avete convinto nessun ragazzo a ballare.
(You) not have convinced any boy to to-dance
'You did not convince any boy to dance.'
- a. No. Non abbiamo convinto nessun ragazzo a CANTARE_F. <O CP_F>
No. (We) not have convinced any boy to to-sing
'No. We did not convince any boy to SING.'
- b. *No. Non abbiamo convinto a CANTARE_F [nessun ragazzo]_M. <CP_F O_M>
No. (We) not have convinced to-sing any boy
- (26) Context: Non costringerete nessuno a testimoniare.
(You) not will-force anybody to to-testify
'You will not force anybody to testify.'
- a. No. Non costringeremo nessuno a CONFESSARE_F. <O CP_F>
No. (We) not will-force anybody to to-confess
'No. We will not force anybody to CONFESS.'
- b. *No. Non costringeremo a CONFESSARE_F nessuno_M. <CP_F O_M>
No. (We) not will-force to to-confess anybody

3.3.3 *Postverbal subjects and infinitival complements*

In-situ focalization is also supported by sentences involving postverbal subjects and infinitival sentential complements. As (27) shows, focused infinitival complements cannot raise above a discourse-given postverbal subject, as expected if focused in situ and unexpectedly under the intermediate focus projection hypothesis.

- (27) Context: Nessuno negherà di aver bevuto.
Nobody will-deny of to-have drunk
'Nobody will deny having drunk.'
- a. No. Non negherà nessuno [di aver MANGIATO]_F. <S CP_F>
No. Not will-deny anybody of to-have eaten
'No. Nobody will deny having EATEN.'
- b. *No. Non negherà [di aver MANGIATO]_F nessuno_M. <CP_F S_M>
No. Not will-deny of to-have eaten anybody

At first, restructuring verbs like *volere* ‘to wish’ appear exceptional in that their infinitival complement must precede rather than follow a marginalized subject even when focused, see (28).

- (28) Context: Non voleva bere nessuno.
 not wished to-drink anybody
 ‘Nobody wished to drink.’
- a. *No. Non voleva nessuno MANGIARE_F. <aux S V_F>
 No. Not wished anybody to-eat
- b. No. Non voleva MANGIARE_F nessuno_M. <aux V_F S_M>
 No. Not wished to-eat anybody
 ‘No. Nobody wished to EAT.’

As explained in Cinque (2004), however, restructuring verbs share the properties of auxiliaries. As such, they are generated in T and form a single clause with the following lexical verb.⁶ Sentences involving restructuring verbs are thus expected to show the same focalization patterns of mono-clausal sentences involving an auxiliary and a past participle. This is indeed the case: compare (28) with (29). In both cases, the lexical verb moves to a higher aspectual projection stranding the marginalized subject behind. Cinque’s analysis thus explains—and in fact finds further support in—the divergent focalization patterns of restructuring and non-restructuring verbs in (27) and (28).⁷

- (29) Context: Non ha bevuto nessuno.
 Not has drunk anybody
 ‘Nobody drank.’
- a. *No. Non ha nessuno MANGIATO_F. <aux S V_F >
 No. Not has anybody eaten

⁶ As Cinque points out, this analysis explains the several properties that distinguish restructuring verbs from non-restructuring ones. For example, Cinque’s analysis accounts for why clitic climbing is allowed with restructuring verbs, see (i), but not with non-restructuring verbs, see (ii) (object clitic in bold). As in any other simple clause, the object clitic in (i) precedes the item in T, which here happens to be the restructuring verb *volere* ‘wished’. Sentence (ii), instead, involves two distinct clauses and therefore clitic-climbing is blocked.

- (i) Gianni **lo** voleva mangiare. (restructuring verb)
 John it wished to-eat
 ‘John wished to eat it.’
- (ii) *Gianni **lo** negava di mangiare. (non-restructuring verb)
 John it denied to-eat
 ‘John denied eating it.’

⁷ The past participle of (29)(b) is focused in the aspectual projection above VP and hence not in situ. Crucially, however, it occurs in this projection independently of its focused status and movement into this position is not related to focalization.

- b. No. Non ha MANGIATO_F nessuno_M. <aux V_F S_M>
 No. Not has eaten anybody
 'No. Nobody ATE.'

Cinque's analysis of restructuring verbs is also essential to the understanding of the pattern displayed by focused subjects in restructuring constructions involving a discourse-given verb and object. Focalization in situ leaves the subject after the raised lexical verb and before the marginalized object as in (30)(a), while moving the subject above the raised verb as in (30)(b) is ungrammatical.

- (30) Context: Gianni non voleva mangiare nulla.
 John not wished to-eat anything
 'John did not wish to eat anything.'
- a. No. Non voleva mangiare MARCO_F nulla_M. <V S_F>
 No. Not wished to-eat Mark anything
 'No. MARK did not wish to eat anything.'
- b. *No. Non voleva MARCO_F mangiare_M nulla_M. <S_F V_M>
 No. Not wished Mark to-eat anything

Summing up, the distribution of focus and marginalization in clauses involving infinitival complements confirms the absence of focus movement. With non-restructuring verbs, focused sentential complements cannot raise above discourse-given subjects. With restructuring verbs, focused subjects may not raise above the aspectual projection targeted by the lexical predicate. Both observations follow if focalization occurs in situ.

3.3.4 *Floating quantifiers*

The previous sections showed that once we control for right dislocation, focused constituents do not raise above higher-generated constituents. What these tests could not ascertain is the presence or absence of movement that is sufficiently local to not alter the base-generated word order of the constituents involved (thanks to Chris Collins for raising this issue). We can test for this kind of local movement by examining the distribution of floating quantifiers. This test, too, confirms that movement is absent and, therefore, that focalization occurs in situ.

Floating quantifiers can be stranded in situ, thus making the original position of a raising DP visible. For example, under a sentence-wide new-information focus the rightmost possible position for the subject-related floating quantifier *tutti* 'all' in a ditransitive clause necessarily precedes the object and the indirect object, consistent with its base-generated specVP position; compare the grammatical (31)(a) where the floating quantifier precedes the object and indirect objects, with (31)(b) and (31)(c) which are unacceptable under the provided context. (Sentence (31)(c) is acceptable when the quantifier is focused on its own, i.e. under a different context.

This is expected, as explained later in Section 3.4, but irrelevant here, where the goal is to establish the initial position of the subject when focus is not a factor.)

- (31) a. [Ieri i ragazzi hanno mandato **tutti** una cartolina alla MAMMA]_{NewF}.
 Yesterday the boys have sent all a postcard to-the mother
 ‘Yesterday the boys all sent a postcard to their mother.’
- b. ?? [Ieri i ragazzi hanno mandato una cartolina **tutti** alla MAMMA]_{NewF}.
- c. ?? [Ieri i ragazzi hanno mandato una cartolina alla mamma **TUTTI**]_{NewF}.

We may now test for the presence of local movement by examining whether a focused subject may move immediately to the left of its quantifier under an appropriate context focusing the quantified DP while leaving the quantifier discourse-given. Such context is provided in (32) and allows for the grammatical answer in (32)(a). As (32)(b) shows, however, local movement of the quantified DP over the quantifier is unavailable, confirming that focalization occurs *in situ*. The structure of (32)(b) is provided in (32)(c). The two sentences in (33) apply the same test to focused objects with identical results. In all examples the final constituent is negative to control for right dislocation.

- (32) Context: Tutte le ragazze non hanno visto nessun ladro.
 All the girls not have seen any thief
 ‘All the girls did not see any thief.’
- a. No. Non hanno visto tutti [i RAGAZZI]_F [nessun ladro]_M.
 No. Not have seen all the boys any thief
 ‘No. All the BOYS did not see any thief.’
- b. *No. Non hanno visto [i RAGAZZI]_F tutti_M [nessun ladro]_M.
 No. Not have seen the boys all any thief
- c. *... V_j DP_{F,i} [Q_M t_i] t_j DP_M
- (33) Context: Non avete mandato tutte le ragazze in nessun posto.
 (You) not have sent all the girls in any place
 ‘You did not send all the girls anywhere.’
- a. No. Non abbiamo mandato tutti [i RAGAZZI]_F [in nessun posto]_M.
 No. (We) not have sent all the boys in any place
 ‘No. We did not send all the BOYS anywhere.’
- b. *No. Non abbiamo mandato [i RAGAZZI]_F tutti_M [in nessun posto]_M.
 No. (We) not have sent the boys all in any place
- c. *... V_j DP_{F,i} t_j [Q_M t_i] PP_M

Note that there is no reason to suspect that some unknown factor specific to these simple sentences blocks focus movement or disallows quantifier stranding, because focus

movement and quantifier stranding is possible when the focused phrase occurs left-peripherally as in example (34). (This construction also involves right dislocation of the clause following focus, hence the ‘R’ subscript in the example; see Chapter 5 for discussion.)

- (34) Context: Tutte le ragazze non hanno visto nessun ladro.
 All the girls not have seen any thief
 ‘All the girls did not see any thief.’
- a. No. [I RAGAZZI]_F, [non hanno visto tutti nessun ladro]_R. (Una ragazza li ha VISTI)
 No. The boys, not have seen all any thief. (A girl them has seen)
 ‘No. All the BOYS did not see any thief. (A girl has SEEN them)’

3.3.5 Summary

In conclusion, the distribution of contrastive focus in postverbal position is inconsistent with the presence of an intermediate focus projection above VP. Under this hypothesis focus should precede higher-generated phrases marginalized in situ as well as discourse-given quantifiers stranded in situ, but the correspondent sentences are ungrammatical. The observed distribution instead follows straightforwardly if focalization occurs in situ, since this predicts that focused phrases will inevitably follow both higher generated discourse-given phrases as well as their own quantifiers.

3.4 Rightmost focus

Besides preceding lower marginalized constituents, postverbal focused phrases may also optionally follow them. For example, a postverbal focused subject may precede a marginalized object as in (35)(a), but also follow it when the object raises above the subject as in (35)(b). When no other constituent follows the focused constituent, this movement leaves focus aligned with the right edge of TP producing the rightmost focus pattern examined in many studies of Italian and similar Romance languages (e.g. Antinucci and Cinque 1977; Calabrese 1982, 1986, 1992; Bonet 1990; Vallduví 1992; Saccon 1993; Belletti and Shlonsky 1995; Zubizarreta 1994b, 1998; Samek-Lodovici 1996, 2005; Belletti 2001; Szendrői 2001, 2002).

- (35) a. ...V S_F O_M]_{TP}
 b. ...V O_i S_F t_i]_{TP}

In this section, I will show that even rightmost focus involves focalization in situ. Furthermore, I will show that the raising of lower-generated phrases

responsible for rightmost focus is induced by focalization, since it is unavailable when focus is absent or when higher and lower constituents are both part of a larger focus. This result will be eventually used in Chapter 6 to argue for a prosody-induced analysis of rightmost focus along the lines pursued by Zubizarreta (1994b, 1998), Szendrői (2000, 2001), and Samek-Lodovici (2005), where the position of focus is determined by the constraints governing the position of the associated stress. The results in this section will also be shown to go against the hypothesis of an intermediate focus projection à la Cecchetto (1999) and Belletti (2004).

3.4.1 Discourse-given phrases raising above higher foci

Let me start with the empirical evidence for the existence of rightmost focus. The data below examine the possible orders of two postverbal items A and B, with A focused and generated above B. The order $\langle A_F B_M \rangle$ is always possible, consistent with the earlier sections showing that constituents might focalize in situ followed by lower marginalized constituents. More interestingly, the order $\langle B A_F \rangle$ is also possible. Since the same order is impossible when A and B are both marginalized, the optional raising of B must be dependent on A's focalization.

As in the previous section, I start by considering the position of subjects and objects, then consider experiencer objects and sentential complements, then subjects and sentential complements, and finally Cinque's lower adverbs.

Postverbal subjects and objects—Postverbal focused subjects may precede lower objects, as in all (a) sentences below, but they also naturally occur in clause rightmost position, as shown by the (b) sentences. This latter order emerges when the object raises above the focused subject.⁸ In all examples, the object is negative to ensure it

⁸ Is rightmost focus necessarily caused by movement of the lower phrase (Grimshaw p.c.)? Analyses of syntactic structures based on the flexible base-generation hypothesis proposed in Abels and Neeleman (2006), Ackema and Neeleman (2002), and Neeleman and Weerman (2001) allow for the generation of rightward higher constituents that could capture rightmost focalization with no resort to movement. Higher focused constituent could focus rightmost when generated to the right of a lower item. For example, the pattern $\langle O S_F \rangle$ could be base-generated as in (i), where specVP is generated rightward.

(i) $[_{VP} [V O] S_F]$

This analysis, however, makes incorrect predictions with respect to in situ marginalization. For example, if focused subjects were generated rightward, we would expect unfocused subjects to be able to do so too and appear marginalized to the right of a focused object, as in structure (ii). But this produces the ungrammatical $\langle O_F S_M \rangle$ order.

(ii) $[_{VP} [V O_F] S_M]$

This problem could in principle be fixed through an optimality-theoretic analysis where the attested precedence relations emerge from the interaction of grammar constraints. In Section 6.4.2, I'll briefly consider the general structure of such an analysis.

cannot be right-dislocated. The examples use subjects and objects of different size to control for potential heaviness effects.

- (36) Context: I veneziani non hanno invitato nessuno.
 the Venetians not have invited anybody
 ‘The Venetians invited nobody.’
- a. ?No. Non hanno invitato i MILANESI_F nessuno_M. <S_F O_M>
 No. Not have invited the Milanese anybody
 ‘No. The MILANESE did not invite anybody.’
- b. No. Non hanno invitato nessuno i MILANESI_F. <O S_F>
 No. Not have invited anybody the Milanese
 ‘No. The MILANESE did not invite anybody.’
- (37) Context: I genitori di Marco non hanno invitato nessuno.
 The parents of Mark not have invited anybody
 ‘Mark’s parents did not invite anybody.’
- a. ?No. Non hanno invitato [i FRATELLI di Marco]_F nessuno_M. <S_F O_M>
 No. Not have invited the brothers of Mark anybody
 ‘No. Mark’s BROTHERS did not invite anybody.’
- b. No. Non hanno invitato nessuno [i FRATELLI di Marco]_F. <O S_F>
 No. Not have invited anybody the brothers of Mark
 ‘No. Mark’s BROTHERS did not invite anybody.’
- (38) Context: I veneziani non hanno invitato nessuna ragazza.
 The Venetians not have invited any girl
 ‘The Venetians did not invite any girl.’
- a. ?No. Non hanno invitato i MILANESI_F [nessuna ragazza]_M. <S_F O_M>
 No. Not have invited the Milanese any girl
 ‘No. The MILANESE did not invite any girl.’
- b. No. Non hanno invitato [nessuna ragazza] i MILANESI_F. <O S_F>
 No. Not have invited any girl the Milanese
 ‘No. The MILANESE did not invite any girl.’

Experiencer objects and infinitival complements—Experiencer objects can be focused in situ followed by a lower discourse-given CP complement, as in (39)(a), but it is also possible for the complement to raise above the focused objects and strand them in rightmost position, as in (39)(b).

- (39) Context: Avete costretto Gianni a cantare.
 (You) have forced John to sing
 ‘You forced John to sing.’

- a. No. Abbiamo costretto MARCO_F [a cantare]_{M/R}. <O_F CP_{M/R}>
 No. (We) have forced Mark to sing
 ‘No. We forced MARK to sing.’
- b. No. Abbiamo costretto a cantare MARCO_F. <CP O_F>
 No. (We) have forced to sing Mark
 ‘No. We forced MARK to sing.’

Since in these constructions n-word licensing from the matrix clause into the infinitival CP-complement is not possible, there is no way to control for its right-dislocated status when it occurs in postfocal position. The infinitival complement in (39)(a) could thus be either marginalized or right-dislocated, hence the ‘M/R’ subscript. What really matters here, though, is the availability of rightmost focus in (39)(b), where right dislocation is not a factor.

Postverbal subjects and infinitival complements—The higher generated focused subjects may precede but also follow the lower infinitival complement, providing further evidence for the occurrence of rightmost focus.

- (40) Context: Gianni negherà di aver mangiato alcunché.
 John will-deny of to-have eaten anything
 ‘John will deny having eaten anything.’
- a. No. Negherà MARCO_F [di aver mangiato alcunché]_M. <S_F CP_M>
 No. Will-deny Mark of to-have eaten anything
 ‘No. MARK will deny having eaten anything.’
- b. No. Negherà [di aver mangiato alcunché] MARCO_F. <CP S_F>
 No. Will-deny of to-have eaten anything Mark
 ‘No. MARK will deny having eaten anything.’

3.4.2 The role of focalization

In all above examples, the lower discourse-given phrase raises above a higher constituent focalized in situ. When focalization is absent, the same movement operation can no longer occur, showing that it is induced by focalization.

A first piece of evidence in this respect comes from the properties of marginalized constituents. As we saw in Chapter 2, their order is fixed and reflects their base-generated position. Raising of the kind under discussion is thus absent when the higher and lower constituents are both unfocused.

Even when the higher constituent is focused, movement of the lower phrase is only licensed if it targets a position preceding focus, thus pushing the focused phrase closer to the right edge of the clause. Compare (41) and (42). When the subject is focused, the lower object can follow it, as in (41)(a), or raise above it, as in (41)(b), whose structure is given in (41)(c). When focus is shifted to the verbal past-participle and the subject is no longer focused, however, the object must follow the subject as in

(42)(a), and movement above the subject in (42)(b) is no longer possible. The structure of (42)(b) is provided in (42)(c).

(41) Context: *Ma allora . . . solo Marco non ha bevuto il vino rosso?*
 ‘But then . . . only Mark did not drink the red wine?’

a. *No. Non ha bevuto NESSUNO_F [il vino rosso]_{M/R}.*

No. not has drunk anybody the wine red

‘No. NOBODY drank the red wine.’

b. *No. Non ha bevuto il vino rosso NESSUNO_F.*

No. not has drunk the wine red anybody

‘No. NOBODY drank the wine.’

c. $[_{TP} \text{ neg-aux } [V_k [O_i [S_F t_k t_i]]]]$

(42) Context: *Ma allora . . . nessuno ha ordinato il vino rosso?*
 ‘But then . . . nobody ordered the red wine?’

a. *No. non ha BEVUTO nessuno_M [il vino rosso]_{M/R}.*

No. Not has drunk anybody the wine red

‘No. Nobody DRANK the red wine.’

b. **No. Non ha BEVUTO [il vino rosso]_M nessuno_M.*

No. Not has drunk the wine red anybody

c. $*[_{TP} \text{ neg-aux } [V_{k,F} [O_i [S_M t_k t_i]]]]$

Similarly, when focus encompasses all constituents, as is the case under sentence-wide focus, the movement here under study is absent. Since full subjects do not remain in situ when the entire clause is focused, we have to examine the movement of objects relative to quantifiers stranded in specVP by the raising subjects. As the contrast between (43)(a) and (43)(b) shows, objects cannot raise above the stranded quantifiers in focused clauses. Raising, however, becomes possible again if only the quantifier is focused and the object is discourse-given, see (44)(a) and (44)(b).

(43) a. $[C' \text{ erano cinque fratelli che avevano bevuto tutti del VINO}]_{\text{NewF}}$.

There were five brothers who had drunk all some wine

‘There were five brothers who had all drunk wine.’

b. $??[C' \text{ erano cinque fratelli che avevano bevuto del vino TUTTI}]_{\text{NewF}}$.

There were five brothers who had drunk some wine all

(44) Context: *Solo TRE hanno bevuto del vino.*

Only three have drunk some wine

‘Only THREE drank wine.’

a. *No, hanno bevuto TUTTI del vino_{M/R}.*

No, have drunk all some wine

‘No, they ALL drank wine.’

- b. No. Hanno bevuto del vino_G TUTTI_F.
 No, have drunk some wine all
 ‘No, they ALL drank wine.’

An appropriate analysis of Italian focus must explain the peculiar properties of the movement operation just examined. Why is it restricted to discourse-given phrases and why must it involve raising above a higher focused constituent?

In Chapter 6, I will argue that the observed movement improves the alignment of main stress relative to the right edge of the clause, as required by the constraints governing the Italian stress system. When the constituents involved are either both discourse-given or both focused the related stress configuration no longer obtains making movement ungrammatical.

3.4.3 *Problems affecting the intermediate focus projection analysis*

Belletti’s intermediate focus projection hypothesis can model the raising of lower discourse-given phrases above focus but it cannot capture its dependency on the presence of focus. The raising discourse-given constituents would have to move to a topic projection immediately above the intermediate focus projection, arguably to check a topic feature. This dissociates the observed movement from focalization. But the same operation is then predicted to be possible even when focalization is absent, which is incorrect. This is further illustrated by the examples (45) and (46). In (45) the entire lower clause constitutes a discourse-given sentential complement and the position of subject and object within this complement cannot be altered, yet this should be possible if the object could raise to a higher TopicP projection. Likewise, the object ought to be able to raise above the subject in (46), where focus occurs left-peripherally, yet this is not the case.

- (45) Context: Gianni ha detto che nella nebbia non vedeva nessuno alcunché.
 John has said that in-the fog not saw anybody anything
 ‘John said that in the fog nobody could see anything.’
- a. No, ha detto MARCO_F che nella nebbia non vedeva nessuno alcunché.
 No, has said Mark, that in-the fog not saw anybody anything
 ‘No, MARK said that in the fog nobody could see anything.’
- b. *No, ha detto MARCO_F che nella nebbia non vedeva alcunché nessuno.
 No, has said Mark that in-the fog not saw anything anybody
- (46) Context: Stamattina, nella nebbia, non vedeva nessuno alcunché.
 This morning, in-the fog, not saw anybody anything
 ‘This morning, in the fog, nobody could see anything.’
- a. No, IERI_F non vedeva nessuno alcunché.
 No, yesterday not saw anybody anything
 ‘No, YESTERDAY, nobody could see anything.’

- b. * No. IERI_F non vedeva alcunché nessuno.
No. Yesterday not saw anything anybody

Finally, note that the incorrect prediction just examined is independent of the specific assumptions governing movement to the higher TopicP projection. Whether discourse-given phrases move to specTopicP on their own or as a larger remnant constituent as proposed in Belletti (2004) for presentational focus,⁹ the operation is incorrectly predicted to be possible even when neither constituent is focused.¹⁰

⁹ The argument against the existence of a lower focus projection extends to new information focus as well. This is shown in (i) and (ii), where the constituent corresponding to the wh-phrase in the context question is presentationally focused and yet we find the exact same patterns found with contrastive focalization. This evidence supports the arguments in Brunetti (2004) who claimed that contrastive and new information focus are non-distinct as far as Italian syntax is concerned. It also calls into question the existence of a lower projection even for new information focus. (In the examples new information focus is marked by the subscript 'NewF'.)

- (i) Context: Chi non ha invitato nessuno?
Who not has invited anybody
'Who did not invite anybody?'
- a. Non hanno invitato i MILANESI_{NewF} nessuno_M. <S_{NewF} O_M>
Not have invited the Milanese anybody
'The MILANESE did not invite anybody.'
- b. Non hanno invitato nessuno i MILANESI_{NewF}. <O S_{NewF}>
Not have invited anybody the Milanese
- (ii) Context: Chi non è stato invitato da nessuno?
Who not is been invited by anybody
'Who was not invited by anybody?'
- a. Non ha invitato nessuno i MILANESI_{NewF}. <S O_{NewF}>
Not has invited anybody the Milanese
'Nobody invited the MILANESE.'
- b. * Non ha invitato i MILANESI_{NewF} nessuno_M. <O_{NewF} S_M>
Not has invited the Milanese anybody

¹⁰ More specifically, Belletti (2004: 37) proposes that a sentence like (i) is represented as in (ii) (where 'IP' has been replaced with 'TP'). When the same analysis is applied to a sentence without auxiliary and with left-peripheral focalization as the example in the main text, repeated in (iii), the resulting structure is (iv). This structure incorrectly predicts the sentence to be grammatical, since the subject may move to the lower topic projection and the VP-remnant containing the object to the higher topic projection.

- (i) Non hanno detto la verità che due studenti.
Not have said the truth that two students
'Nobody said the truth but for two students.'
- (ii) [_{TP} Neg-Aux [_{TopicP} [VP t_i V O]_k ϕ _{Topic} [_{FocP} S_i ϕ _F [_{TopicP} ϕ _{Topic} t_k]]]]
- (iii) * No. IERI_F non vedeva alcunché nessuno.
No, yesterday not saw anything anybody
- (iv) [_{FocP} Adv_F ϕ _F [_{TP} Neg-V_j [_{TopicP} [VP t_i t_j O]_k ϕ _{Topic} [_{TopicP} S_i ϕ _{Topic} t_k]]]]

3.5 Further evidence for in-situ focalization and rightmost focus

This last section considers two further pieces of evidence for the claims made so far. Section 3.5.1 examines lower adverbs, showing that they too disallow focus raising and allow for rightmost focus like all constructions considered so far. Section 3.5.2 examines the binding properties of focused and discourse-given phrases showing that focused constituents bind into lower-generated phrases even when the latter have raised above focus, thus revealing the A'-nature of the involved movement.

3.5.1 Evidence from lower adverbs

The adverbs located between raised active past participles and VP examined in Cinque (1999) provide an independent testing ground for the presence of in-situ focalization and the absence of focus raising to intermediate positions. Cinque argues that the order of lower adverbs visible in sentences like (47) is base-generated. Indeed, when the sentence is interpreted under presentational focus the order cannot be altered. As we saw in Chapter 2, the same fixed order is found when the adverbs are marginalized in situ.

- (47) [Gianni non sente solitamente mica più sempre bene nessun ALLIEVO]_{NewF}
 John not hears usually neg any-longer always well any pupil
 'John usually no longer always properly hears any of his pupils.'

We want to consider what pattern arises when an adverb gets contrastively focused. If focalization occurs in situ, we expect that for any two adverbs Adv₁ and Adv₂, with Adv₁ higher than Adv₂, a focused Adv₂ may not raise above a discourse-given Adv₁, as schematized in (48). Positing an intermediate focus projection above lower adverbs—an even lower position would leave some adverbs unable to focus—makes the opposite prediction since the lower adverb must raise above the higher marginalized one in order to focus.

- (48) *Adv_{2F,i} Adv_{1M} t_i

The available data support in situ focalization. The context sentence in (49) shows the adverbs in their base-generated order and implies that John's understanding of his pupils' speech is getting worse. The replies in (49)(a)–(d) vary only in the position of the lowest adverb *male* (badly), which is focused in contrast with the adverb *bene* (well/properly) in the context sentence. The replies imply that John is beginning to understand his pupils better. Crucially the focused adverb *male* may occur in situ, as in (49)(a), but it cannot raise above any higher adverb, as shown in (49)(b)–(d).¹¹

¹¹ Anna Szabolcsi (p.c.) notes that the original analysis of adverbial movement in Cinque (1999) involves movement of the entire phrase containing the adverb and its complement, rather than movement of individual adverbs, a point I will return to in Section 6.6. Crucially, raising of focalized adverbs is

- (49) Context: Gianni non capisce solitamente mica più sempre bene nessun allievo.
 John not understands usually neg any-longer always properly any pupil
 ‘John usually no longer always properly understands any of his pupils.’
- a. No. Gianni non capisce solitamente mica più sempre MALE_F [nessun allievo]_M.
 No. John not understands usually neg any-longer always wrongly any pupil
 ‘No. John usually no longer always MISunderstands any of his pupils.’
 - b. *No. Gianni non capisce solitamente mica più MALE_F sempre_M [nessun allievo]_M.
 - c. *No. Gianni non capisce solitamente MALE_F mica_M più_M sempre_M [nessun allievo]_M.
 - d. *No. Gianni non capisce MALE solitamente_M mica_M più_M sempre_M [nessun allievo]_M.

Low adverbs also provide independent evidence for the optional availability of movement of lower discourse-given constituents above higher foci, a fact also noticed in Cinque (1999: 14) who observes that focus may alter the adverbial hierarchy by optionally placing focused adverbs in clause rightmost position. For example, the discourse context in (49), also allows for reply (50), where the discourse-given object *nessun allievo* (any pupil) moves above the adverb *male* (badly).

- (50) No. Gianni non capisce solitamente mica più sempre nessun allievo MALE_F.
 No. John not understands usually neg any-longer always any pupil wrongly
 ‘John usually no longer always MISunderstands any of his pupils.’

To wrap up, the interaction of focus and marginalization with respect to Cinque’s lower adverbs shows the same properties found with other constituents: impossibility of focus raising, in-situ focalization, and optional raising of lower discourse-given phrases above focus.

ungrammatical even under Cinque’s analysis of movement. For example, in (i)a the focused adverb *male* ‘wrongly’ raises while pied-piping the lower object as required, but the sentence remains ungrammatical.

- (i) Context: Gianni non capisce solitamente mica più sempre bene nessun allievo.
 John not understands usually neg any-longer always properly any pupil
 ‘John usually no longer properly understands any of his pupils.’
- a. *No. Gianni non capisce [MALE_F nessun allievo]_i solitamente_M mica_M più_M sempre_M t_i.
 No. John not understands wrongly any pupil usually neg any-longer always
 ‘John usually no longer always MISunderstands any of his pupils.’

3.5.2 Binding relations between postverbal focus and discourse-given phrases

The binding relations between focused and discourse-given phrases in postverbal position confirm the results found so far. Postverbal subjects, whether focused or not, always bind lower marginalized objects, as expected if both occur in situ. Discourse-given objects raised above focused subjects, instead, fail to bind them and are themselves bound by the subjects under reconstruction, showing that they raise to an A'-position.

There are three variables at play in the following binding data: the direction of binding between subject and object, their linear order, and which of them is focused. This yields a total of eight cases which are systematically considered below. Whenever the final item is neither focused nor negative, we also have to consider whether that item admits a right-dislocation analysis which might affect the assessment.

<S O_F> cases—Let us start with the cases testing binding between a discourse-given subject and a following focused object. In this case the subject binds the object but not vice versa, as shown in schematic form in (51) where the arrow signals the direction of binding.

- (51) Binding relations for <S O_F>: a. V S → O_F
 b. *V S ← O_F

A first piece of evidence is provided in (52) where the subject binds the following focused object but not vice-versa. To ensure an accurate judgement, subject and object differ in number, so that agreement always identifies the intended subject.

The reported judgements are only valid relative to the intended bound interpretation, and the same applies to any other example in this section. When the pronoun is interpreted as bound by an independent referent (52)(b) becomes grammatical, but this reading is irrelevant here. The reported judgements are also insensitive to phrasal size, remaining invariant even when *nessuno* 'nobody, anybody' is replaced by *nessun ragazzo* 'no boy, any boy'. To enhance readability, the suffixes 'M', 'F', and 'R' appear on the last item of the entire subject or object, with no explicit marking of the boundaries of the affected constituents.

- (52) a. Non ha chiamato nessuno_i i suoi_i GENITORI_F. (Non i suoi amici).
 Not has called anybody the his parents. (not the his friends)
 'Nobody called their PARENTS, (not their friends).'
- b. *Non hanno chiamato i suoi_i genitori NESSUNO_{F,i}. (Non i suoi amici).
 Not have called the his parents anybody. (not the his friends)
 'Their parents called NOBODY (not their friends).'

Anaphoric binding yields the same pattern, see (53) (see also Cardinaletti 2001). The subject of (53)(a) is indefinite, since definite subjects are independently known to be ungrammatical under the <VSO> order when neither focused nor marginalized (Benincà 1988: 124).

- (53) a. Ha chiamato un ragazzo_i i propri_i GENITORI_F. (Non la polizia).
 Has called a boy the own parents. (not the police)
 ‘A boy has called his own PARENTS, (not the police).’
 b. *Hanno chiamato i propri_i genitori GIANNI_{F,i}. (Non il tuo amico).
 Have called the own parents John. (not the your friend)
 ‘His own parents called JOHN, (not your friend).’

<S_F O_M> cases—If we keep the <S O> order but focus the subject rather than the object, the binding relations remain unaltered, with focused subjects binding the marginalized objects but not vice versa, exactly as expected if both occur in situ. The corresponding data for quantifier binding are given in (55).

- (54) Binding relations for <S_F O_M>: a. V S_F → O_M
 b. *V S_F ← O_M
- (55) a. Non ha chiamato NESSUNO_{F,i} i suoi_i genitori. (Non solo Marco).
 Not has called anybody the his parents. (not only Mark)
 ‘NOBODY called their parents, (not just Mark).’
 b. *Non hanno chiamato i suoi_i GENITORI_F nessuno_{M,i}. (Non i suoi amici).
 Not have called the his parents anybody. (not the his friends)
 ‘Their PARENTS called nobody (not his friends).’

Anaphoric binding yields the same pattern. Note that since objects may right dislocate without clitic doubling (see Chapter 4), the object in (56)(a) is ambiguous between a marginalized and a right dislocation analysis. As we will see in Chapter 4, binding into right-dislocated phrases is possible but it involves reconstruction of the right-dislocated item. Sentence (56)(b), too, is ambiguous between a right-dislocated and a marginalized analysis of the object but its ungrammatical status confirms that an object cannot bind a higher focused subject whether marginalized or right-dislocated.

- (56) a. Ha chiamato GIANNI_{F,i} i propri_i genitori_{M/R}. (Non Marco).
 Has called John the own parents. (not Mark)
 ‘JOHN called his own parents, (not Mark).’
 b. *Hanno chiamato i propri_i GENITORI_F Gianni_{M/R,i}. (Non Marco).
 Have called the own parents John. (not Mark)
 ‘His own PARENTS called John, (not Mark).’

< O_{S_F} > cases—As (57) shows, raised discourse-given objects cannot bind a following focused subject, whereas focused subjects may bind raised objects, confirming that the latter raise to an A' -position and may reconstruct in their original position.

- (57) Binding relations: a. * $V \ O_G \rightarrow \ S_F$
 b. $V \ O_G \leftarrow \ S_F$

The corresponding data for quantifier binding are provided in (58). Similar judgements emerge when replacing ‘nessuno’ with the heavier ‘nessun ragazzo’.

- (58) a. *Non hanno chiamato nessuno_i i suoi_i GENITORI_F. (Non i suoi amici).
 Not have called anybody the his parents. (not the his friends)
 ‘Their PARENTS called nobody, (not their friends).’
 b. Non ha chiamato i suoi_i genitori NESSUNO_{F,i}. (Non solo Marco).
 Not has called the his parents anybody. (not only Mark)
 ‘NOBODY called their parents (not just Mark).’

The data concerning anaphoric binding are provided in (59).¹²

- (59) a. *Hanno chiamato Gianni_i i propri_i GENITORI_F. (Non i suoi amici).
 Have called John the own parents. (not the his friends)
 ‘His own PARENTS called John, (not his friends).’
 b. Ha chiamato i propri_i genitori GIANNI_{F,i}. (Non Marco).
 Has called the own parents John. (not Mark)
 ‘JOHN called his own parents, (not Mark).’

< $O_F \ S$ > cases—The final case, involving binding relations between raised focused objects and a following subject as shown in (60), is untestable because as we saw in Section 3.3 focused objects may not raise above discourse-given subjects.

¹² Cardinaletti (2001: 129) claims that discourse-given objects may bind a following focused subject on the basis of example (1) below, where *Gianni* is the object. I personally find (i) ungrammatical (hence the star in parentheses). The difference in judgement could be due to the absence of agreement disambiguation between subject and object, which makes (i) easily susceptible to the irrelevant grammatical reading where *Gianni* is the subject of the sentence. Under this reading, (i) is grammatical because postverbal subjects may bind following focused objects.

- (i) (*) Ha visitato Gianni_i [UN COLLEGA DELLA PROPRIA_i MOGLIE]_F.
 Has visited John a colleague of-the own wife
 ‘A COLLEAGUE OF HIS OWN WIFE visited John.’

In a footnote, Cardinaletti also notices that the following sentence—which provides a more reliable diagnostics because agreement properly disambiguates between subject and object—is ungrammatical, in accord with the results reported here (Cardinaletti 2001: 129, footnote 13).

- (ii) * Hanno visitato Gianni_i [I PROPRI_i GENITORI]_F.
 Have visited John the own parents
 ‘HIS OWN PARENTS visited John.’

The corresponding data for quantifier binding in (61) confirm the impossibility of focus raising.¹³

- (60) Binding relations: a. *V O_F → S_M (ungrammatical for independent reasons)
 b. *V O_F ← S_M (ungrammatical for independent reasons)
- (61) a. *Non hanno chiamato NESSUNO_{F,i} i suoi_i genitori_{M/R}. (Non solo Marco).
 Not have called anybody the his parents. (Not only Mark)
 ‘Their parents called nobody, (not just Mark).’
- b. *Non ha chiamato i suoi_i GENITORI_F nessuno_{M,i}. (Non i suoi amici).
 Not has called the his parents anybody. (Not the his friends)
 ‘Nobody called their PARENTS (not their friends).’

The corresponding data for anaphoric binding allow for the grammatical sentence in (62)(b) because the final subject allows for a right-dislocation analysis on a par with (63), where a right-dislocated subject follows an equally right-dislocated clitic-doubled indirect object. As discussed at length in Chapter 4, the subject dislocates to a clause external position, thus allowing the focused object to remain in situ. The sentence is grammatical because the reconstructed subject binds the object. For the same reasons, in (62)(a) the reconstructed copy of the subject is not c-commanded by the in-situ focused object, therefore binding fails.

- (62) a. * Hanno chiamato GIANNI_{F,i} i propri_i genitori_{M/R}. (Non Marco).
 Have called John the own parents. (not Mark)
 ‘His own parents called JOHN, (not Mark).’
- b. Ha chiamato i propri_i GENITORI_F, Gianni_{M/R,i}. (Non i suoi amici).
 Has called the own parents John. (not the his friends)
 ‘John called his own PARENTS, (not his friends).’
- (63) Le ha portato una ROSA_F, a Maria, Gianni.
 To-her has brought a Rose, to Mary, John
 ‘John brought a ROSE to Mary.’

In summary, the attested binding relations between postverbal subjects and objects follow from the analysis developed in the precedent sections. Constituents focused and marginalized in postverbal position occur in situ. Therefore, focused subjects bind marginalized objects but not vice versa. Furthermore, discourse-given objects

¹³ Interestingly, (61)a is worse than (61)b, even though both are clearly ungrammatical. As mentioned, both sentences are ungrammatical because they raise a focused constituent. In addition, however, binding in (61)a is impossible even under reconstruction, since the reconstructed object does not c-command the subject. In (61)b, on the other hand, the reconstructed object is c-commanded by the subject, thus potentially allowing for binding and possibly determining the difference in assessment.

may A'-raise above focused subjects but they cannot bind them. Rather, they are bound by them under reconstruction.

3.5.2.1 *Divergent binding relations with the universal quantifier 'ogni'* The above discussion also shows the importance of teasing apart marginalization and right dislocation test data that are ungrammatical under one construction are incorrectly interpreted to be grammatical because they are grammatical under the opposite construction, determining erroneous structural conclusions.

The need to distinguish between the two constructions is well illustrated by the binding data in Cardinaletti (2001), where discourse-given objects are reported to bind a focused subject that precedes or follows it, against the results discussed in the previous section. The relevant data from Cardinaletti (2001: 122, 129) are listed in (64) and (65), showing Cardinaletti's original assessment. The absence of agreement disambiguation makes it difficult to easily determine which constituent is the subject and which the object, potentially affecting their grammaticality assessment. However, Cardinaletti's judgements are also supported by the corresponding unambiguous sentences in (66) and (67) and should therefore be considered valid.

- (64) Ha visitato sua_i MADRE_F ogni_i ragazzo. <S_F←O_G>
 Has visited his mother every boy
 'His MOTHER visited every boy.'
- (65) Ha visitato ogni_i ragazzo sua_i MADRE_F. <O_G→S_F>
 Has visited every boy his mother
 'His MOTHER visited every boy.'
- (66) ?Hanno visitato i suoi_i AMICI_F ogni_i ragazzo. <S_F←O_G>
 Have visited the his friends every boy
 'His FRIENDS visited every boy.'
- (67) ?Hanno visitato ogni_i ragazzo i suoi_i AMICI. <O_G←S_F>
 Have visited every boy the his friends
 'His FRIENDS visited every boy.'

The divergence between Cardinaletti's data and the binding relations examined in the previous section follows once we understand two important properties that set the universal quantifier *ogni* apart from the negative quantifiers examined in the previous section.

First, as noted in Szabolcsi (2001), Beghelli (1993), and Beghelli and Stowell (1997), universal quantifiers may attain higher scope than negative quantifiers. This property underlies the distinct distribution of universal and negative quantifiers in Italian, with universal quantifiers allowed to precede and take scope over preverbal subjects, see (68), while negative quantifiers are unable to do so, see (69).

- (68) Hanno rintracciato [ogni ragazzo]_i i suoi_i GENITORI_F.
Have tracked-down every boy the his parents
'Every boy was tracked down by their PARENTS.'
- (69) *Non hanno rintracciato [nessun ragazzo]_i i suoi_i GENITORI_F.
Not have tracked-down any boy the his parents
'No boy was tracked down by his parents.'

Second, contrary to Cardinaletti's assumptions, DPs quantified by *ogni* can right-dislocate and may do so with or without clitic doubling. This is shown by (70) and (71). In sentence (70) the right-dislocated status of the quantified object is confirmed by the presence of clitic doubling. In sentence (71) the quantified subject follows a clitic-doubled object and hence it too is necessarily right-dislocated. It follows, that (64) and (66) allow for a right-dislocation analysis of the quantified object. This result contrasts sharply with the properties of negative quantifier *nessuno*, which always resists right dislocation, as shown by the corresponding ungrammatical sentences in (72) and (73). These sentences are ungrammatical because right-dislocated phrases occur clause-externally, thus placing the negative phrase outside the licensing domain of the initial neg-marker *non* 'not' (see Chapter 4 for discussion). The same problem does not affect the phrases involving *ogni* in (70) and (71), since they are not subject to NPI-licensing.

- (70) L'abbiamo data NOI_F, ogni risposta giusta_R!
It have given we, every answer right
'WE gave every correct answer!'
- (71) [Li ha già INCONTRATI]_F, i suoi professori_R, ogni ragazzo_R.
Them has already met, the his professors every boy
'Every boy has already met his professors.'
- (72) *Non l'abbiamo data NOI_F, nessuna risposta giusta_R!
Not it have given we, any answer right
'WE did not give any correct answer!'
- (73) *[Non li ha ancora INCONTRATI]_F, i suoi professori_R, nessun ragazzo_R.
Not them has yet met, the his professors, any boy
'No boy has met his professors yet.'

Together, these two properties explain Cardinaletti's data. In (65) and (67), the object has moved to the higher position exceptionally available to universally quantified phrases and binds the subject from that position. The same position is not available to negatively quantified phrases, explaining why the negative objects examined in the previous section fail to bind a following subject. As for (64) and (66), the universally quantified object is right-dislocated clause-externally and as such allowed

to reconstruct into the pre-subject position just discussed, from which binding is possible. The same is not possible with negative quantifiers because they cannot raise to the same pre-subject position and cannot be right-dislocated without failing NPI-licensing.

3.6 Conclusions

Once we control for the absence of right dislocation and examine the interaction between contrastive focus and marginalized phrases, two important structural results emerge. First, postverbal phrases focalize in situ. Second, lower discourse-given phrases may raise above a higher-generated phrase, but only when the latter is focused. Both results are stated in (74) and (75), followed by a table listing the main grammatical and ungrammatical sequences of focused and marginalized postverbal constituents discussed in this chapter and supporting these results.

(74) **In-situ focalization**—Postverbal constituents are contrastively focused in situ.

(75) **Raising of discourse-given phrases**—Lower discourse-given phrases may raise above a higher postverbal constituent provided the latter is focused.

(76) The distribution of focus when right dislocation is absent.

	Higher-generated phrase is focused	Lower-generated phrase is focused	Marginalized phrases
Subject and object	V S _F O _M V O S _F	V S O _F * V O _F S _M	V _F S _M O _M * V _F O _M S _M
Subject and infinitival CP	V S _F CP _M V CP S _F	V S CP _F * V CP _F S _M	V _F S _M CP _M * V _F CP _M S _M
Object and infinitival CP	V O _F CP _M V CP O _F	V O CP _F * V CP _F O _M	V _F O _M CP _M * V _F CP _M O _M
Lower adverbs	V Adv _{1F} Adv _{2M} V Adv ₂ Adv _{1F}	V Adv ₁ Adv _{2F} * V Adv _{2F} Adv _{1M}	V _F Adv _{1M} Adv _{2M} * V _F Adv _{2M} Adv _{1M}

These results show that focalization in postverbal position may only trigger movement operations that remove discourse-given constituents located to the right of focus, thus reducing the number of constituents separating focus from the clause right edge. Any movement that increases or leaves unaltered the number of intervening constituents is instead ungrammatical, witness the impossibility of raising focused phrases or reshuffling postfocal discourse-given phrases amongst themselves.

This behaviour is exactly what is expected under an analysis where the distribution of focus is affected by prosodic constraints, as proposed in Zubizarreta (1998),

Szendrői (2001), Samek-Lodovici (2005). Focus requires prosodic prominence, but the constraints governing prosodic prominence in Italian favour a clause-rightmost position. Any movement operation that improves the alignment between focus and the clause right edge is thus welcome, whereas any operation that worsens it is ungrammatical. The corresponding formal analysis is provided in Chapter 6.

The distribution of focus just examined also shows that there are no dedicated positions for focalized constituents in the clause and hence no corresponding projections either. Postverbal constituents focus in situ, hence in different positions. As discussed in this chapter, any attempt to analyse these focused constituents as sharing the same position runs into severe problems. In particular, locating them in a fixed higher left-peripheral position à la Rizzi is inconsistent with the properties of postverbal focus relative to the licensing of n-words and NPIs, as well as the distribution of parasitic gaps and interrogative operators relative to contrastive focus. Positing an intermediate focus projection à la Cecchetto (1999) and Belletti (2004) is in turn inconsistent with the observed absence of leftward movement of postverbal focused phrases. In conclusion, the study of the interaction of focus and marginalization shows that a templatic analysis of focus based on unique fixed projections is not viable because postverbal constituents are focused in situ.

We may still wonder whether a fixed focus projection is necessary for left-peripheral focus, where focused phrases of different origin might at first appear to share a unique position above TP. Left-peripheral focus will be addressed in Chapter 5, where we will see that the properties of fronted contrastive foci, too, are inconsistent with the presence of a fixed left-peripheral focus projection. Rather, their distribution is determined by right dislocation, which affects the constituents containing them. To see this, I will first have to discuss the properties of right dislocation in detail, which I do in Chapter 4.

Right dislocation

4.1 Introduction

Besides being marginalized in situ, Italian discourse-given constituents are routinely displaced to the right periphery of the clause (Antinucci and Cinque 1977; Calabrese 1988; Vallduví 1992, 1994; Cecchetto 1999; Villalba 2000; Cardinaletti 2001, 2002; Frascarelli 2004; Samek-Lodovici 2006; De Cat 2007; Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007; López 2009). Since right-dislocated and marginalized phrases both follow focus, an accurate understanding of the representation and properties of right dislocation—or ‘RD’ for short—is essential for determining the dislocated or marginalized status of post-focus phrases, which in turn is a crucial prerequisite for an accurate analysis of the distribution of focus and the structure of Italian clauses. For example, the analysis of left-peripheral focus in Rizzi (1997, 2004) implies that the TP following focus is marginalized, since it occurs in situ. In the next chapter, I will instead claim that the TP following left-peripheral foci is right-dislocated, forcing a different analysis of left-peripheral focus itself.

This chapter examines the syntactic properties of RD in Italian, which, as we will see at the end of the chapter, are not necessarily shared by constructions that go under the same name in other languages (for a review of the possible semantic function of RD, see Villalba and Mayol 2013). I will show that in Italian declaratives right-dislocated phrases occur clause-externally, i.e. outside the TP where they have been generated. I will also claim that although RD may involve clitic doubling, RD without clitic doubling is possible too, as also claimed in Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007). This result directly affects the analysis of Italian focalization, because it implies that sentences like (1) where a focused phrase precedes one or more higher-generated phrases cannot be proposed as evidence that the focused phrase has moved leftwards. The same word order obtains if focalization occurs in situ and the higher generated constituents have right-dislocated to the right of focus without clitic doubling. In fact, the absence of focus movement when RD is

controlled for, discussed in Chapter 3, confirms that this is the correct analysis of these sentences.

- (1) Aveva dato a TE_F, Gianni_R, i soldi_R.
Had given to you, John, the money
'John had given the money to YOU.'

This chapter also aims at a better understanding of RD for its own sake and is therefore likely to also interest scholars working on dislocation phenomena. Specifically, I will claim that there are two distinct RD operations, one involving clitic doubling, dubbed 'RD⁺', and another lacking it, not even involving null clitics, which I will call 'RD⁻'. But for clitic doubling, the two operations appear similar in all other respects, including their interpretation. The presence/absence of clitic doubling, however, affects the binding and wh-extraction properties of the dislocated constituent. These differences are accounted for by assuming that phrases undergoing RD⁺ are generated as the specifier of a big DP headed by the clitic (Cecchetto 1999), while phrases undergoing RD⁻ involve no such DP and are dislocated directly from their base generated position. The full representation will be introduced in Section 4.2.2.

As for the position of RD and its base-generated or movement-based nature, I will show that Italian RD moves the dislocated item to the specifier of an RP projection above the extended projection of the verb (mostly TP, but also CP when the right-dislocated phrase is an entire interrogative clause). Its right-peripheral position, in turn, follows from the remnant movement of the TP-node containing the original clause to an even higher projection, thus following in this respect the remnant movement analysis attributed to Kayne in Cecchetto (1999) and re-proposed in Samek-Lodovici (2006). Unlike these studies, however, I will not assume that RD shares the position of clitic left-dislocated (CLLD) phrases. Much of the chapter will indeed examine several properties that distinguish RD from CLLD.

The table in (2) illustrates the different analyses proposed by different authors across Romance languages classified relative to the TP-internal vs. TP-external position and the moved vs. base-generated nature attributed to RD. The analysis proposed here belongs in the top left box, in contrast with other scholars arguing for base-generation, or a clause-internal position, or both.

The obligatoriness or optionality of overt clitic doubling is also subject to debate, with Villalba (2000), Cecchetto (1999), and Cardinaletti (2002) assuming obligatory clitic doubling and maintaining that apparent cases of RD lacking it should be reinterpreted as involving marginalization (Cardinaletti 2002; Cecchetto 1999: 65). These and other differences will be addressed as the discussion unfolds.

(2) Analyses of RD in Romance languages

	Movement-based	Base-generation
TP-external	This book Vallduví (1992) Zubizarreta (1994a) ¹ Kayne (1995) ² Samek-Lodovici (2006)	Cardinaletti (2002) Frascarelli (2004) Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) ³ De Cat (2007)
TP-internal	Cecchetto (1999) Villalba (2000) Belletti (2004) López (2009)	Kayne (1994)

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 4.2 examines the availability of right dislocation without clitic doubling and provides the structural representations for RD^- and RD^+ . Section 4.3 examines the position of right-dislocated phrases, claiming that they are located above TP on the basis of evidence from clitic doubling, word order, NPI-licensing, binding, extraction, and agreement. Section 4.4 discusses the evidence for a movement-based analysis, investigating how RD^- and RD^+ diverge from CLLD on the tests for movement and base-generation developed in Cinque (1990) in support of a base-generated analysis of CLLD. Section 4.5 compares the proposed analysis with the alternative accounts in the table in (2), highlighting which properties of Italian RD they cannot explain and also how any relevant property of RD captured by these analyses is addressed by the analysis proposed here. Finally, Section 4.6 examines how Italian RD differs from Catalan and French RD with respect to NPI-licensing, reconstruction, and island sensitivity, showing that RD is crosslinguistically non-uniform.

Readers wishing to gather just the minimal amount of knowledge necessary to understand the interaction between RD and focus discussed in Chapter 5 only need to read Sections 4.2 and 4.3.

¹ Only for clitic-doubled RD. When clitic doubling is absent, Zubizarreta (1994a) claims that the affected phrases right-adjoin to an aspectual projection between T and VP. The evidence provided for this latter case, however, does not distinguish between marginalized and genuinely dislocated phrases.

² This analysis was presented by Kayne in his 1995 Harvard lectures. The analysis is described in Cecchetto (1999) and there is no other reference for it. It crucially differs from the analysis in Kayne (1994) in that it involves movement of the right-dislocating constituents to the position of CLLD constituents, followed by remnant movement of the remaining of the clause.

³ Only for clitic-doubled RD. When clitic doubling is absent, Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl maintain that the dislocated constituents move to a position above TP followed by TP inversion (their analysis uses IP instead than TP). The proposed reconstruction-related evidence does not control for marginalization, which provides an alternative possible cause for the observed reconstruction cases.

4.2 The structure and properties of right dislocation

In Italian, RD is an extremely productive process that optionally applies to one or more discourse-given constituents independently of their syntactic category and grammatical function, as shown by the examples in (3) where all right-dislocated constituents are marked by the subscript ‘R’ and follow a presentationally focused clause. I am here exclusively interested in instances of right dislocation occurring in declarative clauses; right dislocation in yes/no questions will not be considered because as Crocco (2013) showed it has very different properties and appears to constitute a distinct process serving a separate discourse function.

Like marginalized phrases, right-dislocated constituents in Italian declaratives always follow the word carrying main stress, never carry main stress themselves, and are introduced by an intonation break and optional short pause here represented as a comma. Unlike marginalized constituents, right-dislocated constituents can be doubled by a clitic that agrees in person, number, gender, and case with the dislocated constituent whenever a clitic expressing these traits exists (for example, gender specification is expressed in third person object clitics, but not in first and second person ones).

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------|
| (3) | a. [Li abbiamo MANGIATI] _{NewF} , i funghi _R .
(We) them have eaten, the mushrooms
‘We ATE the mushrooms.’ | DP |
| | b. [Le abbiamo PARLATO] _{NewF} , a Maria _R .
(We) to-her have spoken, to Mary
‘We SPOKE to Mary.’ | PP |
| | c. [Ne abbiamo parlato a LUNGO] _{NewF} , di Maria _R .
(We) of-her have spoken at length, of Mary
‘We spoke for a LONG time, about Mary.’ | PP |
| | d. [Ci ha parlato a LUNGO] _{NewF} , con Maria _R , Gianni _R .
(He) with-her has spoken at length, with Mary, John
‘John spoke for a LONG time, with Mary.’ | PP, DP |
| | e. [Gianni lo è sempre STATO] _{NewF} , molto generoso _R .
John it is always been, very generous
‘John has always BEEN very generous.’ | AP |
| | f. [I bambini non lo sono mai STATI] _{NewF} , [puniti per esser arrivati
The children not it are ever been, punished for to-be arrived
in ritardo] _R .
in delay
‘The children have never BEEN punished for arriving late.’ | VP |

- g. [Ci infastidí MOLTO]_{NewF}, [a noi]_R, [non poter terminare i nostri progetti]_R. PP, TP
 Us bothered much, to us, not to-be-able to-complete the our projects
 ‘Being unable to complete our projects bothered us a LOT.’
- h. [Noi gli siamo sembrati SPESSO]_{NewF}, [a Marco], PP, TP⁴
 [guadagnare poco]_R.
 We to-him are seemed often, to Mark, to-earn little
 ‘We have OFTEN seemed to earn little to Mark.’
- i. [Gianni lo sembrava un po’ troppo SPESSO]_{NewF}, [lavorare troppo poco]_R. TP
 John it seemed a bit too often, to-work too little
 ‘John seemed to work too little a bit too OFTEN.’
- j. [Lo abbiamo chiesto SPESSO]_{NewF}, [di poter lasciare il lavoro un’ora prima]_R. CP_{Fin}
 (We) it have asked often, of to-be-able to-leave the work an hour earlier
 ‘We have OFTEN asked it, to be able to leave work an hour earlier.’
- k. [Gianni lo dice SPESSO]_{NewF}, [che la ditta dovrebbe assumere Maria]_R. CP_{Force}
 John it says often, that the firm should hire Mary
 ‘John OFTEN says it, that the firm should hire Mary.’

When clitic doubling involves a silent *pro*, as proposed by Cardinaletti (2001, 2002) for right-dislocated subjects, or it is absent, two properties permit us to distinguish RD from marginalization. First, right-dislocated constituents may occur in any order (Antinucci and Cinque 1977; Vallduví 1992), whereas in-situ marginalized phrases obligatorily follow the base-generated order. See example (4) involving simultaneous RD of a subject (doubled by *pro*), an indirect object, and a second prepositional argument. The six possible orders are all grammatical and contrast sharply with the ungrammatical examples involving freely ordered marginalized phrases discussed in Section 2.3.

- (4) a. [*pro* non gli-e-ne ha PARLATO]_{NewF}, Marco_R, della guerra_R, ai bambini_R.
 Not to-them-prt-of-it has spoken, Mark, of-the war, to-the children
 ‘Mark did not SPEAK about the war to the children.’

⁴ For some native speakers of Italian, *sembrare* is not a raising verb: they judge (i) as ungrammatical and replace it with the finite complement in (ii). These speakers inevitably assess example (h) and (i) in the main text as ungrammatical, but as we just saw the reason is unrelated to right dislocation.

(i) * Gianni sembra guadagnare poco.
 John seems to-earn little
 ‘John seems to earn little.’

(ii) Sembra che Gianni guadagni poco.
 (It) seems that John earns little

- b. [*pro* non gli-e-ne ha PARLATO]_{NewF}, Marco_R, ai bambini_R, della guerra_R.
- c. [*pro* non gli-e-ne ha PARLATO]_{NewF}, ai bambini_R, Marco_R, della guerra_R.
- d. [*pro* non gli-e-ne ha PARLATO]_{NewF}, ai bambini_R, della guerra_R, Marco_R.
- e. [*pro* non gli-e-ne ha PARLATO]_{NewF}, della guerra_R, Marco_R, ai bambini_R.
- f. [*pro* non gli-e-ne ha PARLATO]_{NewF}, della guerra_R, ai bambini_R, Marco_R.

Second, postverbal negative phrases and negative polarity items can be marginalized but not right-dislocated. See the contrast between (5)(a), involving a marginalized object, and (5)(b), where the object is right-dislocated, as demonstrated by the presence of clitic doubling. The same holds when clitic doubling is absent, as is the case in (6) where the negative object follows a clitic-doubled right-dislocated indirect object (further examples will be discussed in the next section).

- (5) Context: Gianni non ha disegnato nessuno / alcunché.
‘John did not draw anybody / anything.’
 - a. No, Gianni non ha FOTOGRAFATO_F nessuno_M / alcunché_M.
No, John not has photographed anybody / anything
‘No, John did not photograph anybody/anything.’
 - b. * No, Gianni non lo ha FOTOGRAFATO_F, nessuno_R / alcunché_R.
No, John not him/it has photographed, anybody / anything
‘No, John did not photograph anybody/anything.’
- (6) Context: Gianni oggi non ha presentato nessuno / alcun ragazzo a Maria.
‘Today John did not introduce anybody / any boy to Mary.’
 - * No, Gianni non le ha presentato IERI_F, a Maria_R, nessuno_R / [alcun ragazzo]_R.
No, John not to-her has introduced yesterday, to Mary, anybody / any boy
‘No, John did not introduce anybody / any boy to Mary YESTERDAY.’

We thus have three properties that help us assess the status of unstressed discourse-given phrases following focus that are potentially ambiguous between a marginalization and a right dislocation analysis. If they are clitic-doubled, or if they do not follow their base-generated order, they are right-dislocated. If they are negative phrases or NPIs and the sentence is grammatical, they are marginalized. The only truly ambiguous cases involve non-clitic doubled phrases which occur ordered along their base-generated order and are neither negative phrases nor NPIs.

4.2.1 *Right dislocation without clitic doubling*

Before proceeding with the structural representation of RD, it is worth examining in detail the optional vs. obligatory status of clitic doubling. Though possible whenever a suitable clitic exists, I claim that clitic doubling of right-dislocated constituents is not mandatory, thus following Benincà (1988) and Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007)

but contra Cardinaletti (2002), who claims that clitic doubling is obligatory, as well as Cecchetto (1999: 65) and Cruschina (2010), who maintain that any case of RD not involving clitic doubling is only apparent, actually involving marginalization.

There are two distinct sets of cases involving RD without clitic doubling. The first instance occurs when a suitable clitic is available and yet clitic doubling is optionally absent. This is illustrated by the following examples where each sentence ends with two right-dislocated constituents, but only the first one is clitic-doubled.

- (7) a. [Gianni non **gli** ha più PORTATO]_{NewF}, a Marco_R, i fiori_R.
John not to-him has any-longer brought, to Mark, the flowers
'John no longer BROUGHT flowers to Mark.'
- b. [Gianni non li ha più PORTATI]_{NewF}, i fiori_R, a Marco_R.
John not them has any-longer brought, the flowers, to Mark
'John no longer BROUGHT flowers to Mark.'
- (8) a. [Gianni **gli** ha già PARLATO]_{NewF}, a Marco_R, di Maria_R.
John to-him has already spoken, to Mark, of Mary
'John already SPOKE to Mark about Mary.'
- b. [Gianni **ne** ha già PARLATO]_{NewF}, di Maria_R, a Marco_R.
John of-her has already spoken, of Mary, to Mark
'John already SPOKE about Mary to Mark.'
- (9) a. [Maria **gli** ha già permesso SPESSE]_{NewF}, a suo figlio_R, di tornare a casa tardi_R.
Mary to-him has already let often, to her son, of to-return to home late
'Mary has already OFTEN let her son come home late.'
- b. [Maria **lo** ha già permesso SPESSE]_{NewF}, di tornare a casa tardi_R, a suo figlio_R.
Mary it has already let often, of to-return to home late, to her son
'Mary has already OFTEN let her son come home late.'

The two sentences in each example are identical except for the order of the right-dislocated phrases and the corresponding omitted clitic. Their interpretation is also identical, as expected if the final two phrases share the same right-dislocated status (see also the examples in Benincà 1988: 147). Their right-dislocated status is also confirmed by the negative phrase/NPI diagnostics. Consider for example the final object of (7)(a) and the final indirect object in (7)(b). If they were marginalized, they should be replaceable by a negative phrase, but this is not possible, see (10)(a–b). Sentences (11)(a–b) act as control, showing that the same negative phrases are fine when the entire clause is presentationally focused and right dislocation is not a factor. It follows that the non clitic-doubled phrases in the above examples are right-dislocated and cannot be analysed as marginalized, as proposed in Cruschina (2010). It also follows that overt clitic doubling with right-dislocated phrases is optional, as originally observed by Benincà (1988).

- (10) a. *[Gianni non gli ha più PORTATO]_{NewF}, a Marco_R, nulla_R.
John not to-him has any-longer brought, to Mark, anything
- b. *[Gianni non li ha più PORTATI]_{NewF}, i fiori_R, a nessuno_R.
John not them has any-longer brought, the flowers, to anybody
- (11) a. [Gianni non ha più portato nulla a MARCO]_{NewF}.
John not has any-longer brought anything to Mark
'John no longer brought anything to Mark.'
- b. [Gianni non ha più portato i fiori a NESSUNO]_{NewF}.
John not has any-longer brought the flowers to anybody
'John no longer brought flowers to anybody.'

The second set of cases occurs when RD affects a constituent for which a suitable clitic is unavailable. Temporal, instrumental, or benefactive adjuncts, for example, lack a corresponding clitic and consequently are never clitic-doubled, yet they can be right-dislocated. This is shown by examples (12)–(14), where the adjuncts at issue follow a clitic-doubled, right-dislocated phrase and therefore must themselves be right-dislocated. Their right-dislocated status is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of (15)(a), where the negative counterpart of the adjunct yields an ungrammatical sentence, as expected if the adjunct is right-dislocated. Sentence (15)(b) acts as control, showing that the same negative adjunct is fine when the entire clause is focused and right dislocation is not a factor.⁵

- (12) [Gianni ci è andato SPESSO]_{NewF}, a Roma_R, l'anno scorso_R.
John there is gone often, to Rome, the year last
'John went OFTEN to Rome last year.'

⁵ Additional cases of obligatory clitic-less right dislocation are examined in Samek-Lodovici (2010), which argues for the presence of right dislocation within DPs. Since DPs lack clitic-hosting functional heads, right dislocation is always clitic-less. The presence of right dislocation can nevertheless be detected through other diagnostics, such as scope. For example, in (i) where the entire sentence provides new information, the indefinite in bold is not dislocated and therefore still interpretable in the scope of the preposition 'senza' (without). Contrast this with (ii), which should be read as an answer to (i) with contrastive focus on the adjective *immediato* 'immediate'. The indefinite in bold is now right-dislocated and consequently takes scope over 'senza', forcing the odd interpretation where the felling concerns a single specific tree, rather than any tree. The change in scope properties follows from the right dislocation of the indefinite, which places it in a DP-external position outside the scope of 'senza' (for further discussion see Samek-Lodovici, 2010).

- (i) [Costruiremo l'autostrada **senza** l'abbattimento **di un singolo ALBERO**]_{NewF}.
(We) will-build the highway without the felling of a single tree
'We will build the highway without felling a single tree.'
- (ii) No. Costruiremo l'autostrada **senza** l'abbattimento IMMEDIATO_F, [**di un singolo albero**]_R.
No. (We) will-build the highway without the felling immediate of a single tree
'We will build the highway without the IMMEDIATE felling of one (specific) tree.'

- (13) [Il bambino l'ha mangiata TUTTA]_{NewF}, la pappa_R, col cucchiaino_R.
The child it has eaten ALL, the soup, with-the spoon
'The child ate the ENTIRE soup with the spoon.'
- (14) [Maria ci ha lavorato tutta la VITA]_{NewF}, a New York_R, per la Goldman and Sachs_R.
Mary there has worked all the life, at New York, for the Goldman and Sachs
'Mary worked her entire LIFE in New York, for Goldman and Sachs.'
- (15) a. * [Gianni non ci è ANDATO]_{NewF}, a Roma_R, in nessuna occasione_R.
John not has gone, to Rome, in any occasion
b. [Gianni non è andato a Roma in nessuna OCCASIONE]_{NewF}.
John not has gone to Rome in any occasion
'John did not go to Rome ever.'

Cardinaletti's claim for obligatory clitic doubling is based on constructions involving direct object DPs. A first piece of data, from Cardinaletti (2002: 33) but here slightly adapted to express the associated intonation and focusing, is shown in (16). The post-sentential object requires clitic doubling. A second example follows in (17) (Cardinaletti 2002: 33, p.c.) and concerns Central and Southern varieties of Italian where right-dislocated accusative objects can be preceded by the case marking preposition a 'to'. As (17)(b) shows, the same preposition becomes ungrammatical when a clitic is absent, showing that its presence is necessary in these RD constructions.

- (16) a. [Che cosa l'hai convinto a FARE], Marco_R?
That what (you) him have convinced to to-do, Mark
'What did you convince Mark to do?'
b. * [Che cosa hai convinto a FARE], Marco?
That what (you) have convinced to to-do, Mark
- (17) a. L'abbiamo invitato NOI_F, a Gianni_R.
Him have invited we, to John
'WE invited him, John.'
b. * Abbiamo invitato NOI_F, a Gianni_R.
Have invited we, to John

When considered in the contexts of the above discussion, where overt clitic doubling was shown to be either optional or impossible, maintaining that clitic doubling is obligatory appears too strong a claim. Rather, factors unrelated to RD, and possibly associated with case-assignment, appear to be forcing the presence of a clitic in (16) and (17). Indeed, when we consider simple sentences involving object DPs, such as the ditransitive clauses in the following examples, we see that object DPs may be right-dislocated without clitic doubling.

- (18) [Ma noi non **gli** abbiamo mai RESTITUITO]_{NewF}, a Marco_R, i soldi_R.
But we not to-him have never returned, to Mark, the money
'But we never RETURNED the money to Mark.'
- (19) [Ma noi **le** avevamo già PRESENTATO]_{NewF}, a Maria_R, Gianni_R.
But we to-her had already introduced, to Mary, John
'But we had already INTRODUCED John to Mary.'
- (20) [A quell'ora son sicuro che **le** avevano già RIPORTATO]_{NewF}, a Maria_R, i bambini_R.
At that time (I) am sure that (they) to-her had already returned, to Mary, the children
'At that time, I am sure they had already RETURNED the children to Mary.'

On the basis of the above discussion, we may conclude that RD does not require overt clitic doubling. What we do not yet know is whether clitic doubling can be structurally absent, i.e. there is *no* clitic, or whether clitic doubling remains present but involves a null clitic.

4.2.1.1 No null object clitics There are at least four pieces of evidence against the hypothesis that RD involves clitic doubling by null clitics (see also the discussion of wh-extraction in Sections 4.4.4 and 4.4.7.4).

A first piece of evidence comes from the observation that Italian object clitics force obligatory past participle agreement, as shown in (21). If null object clitics were possible, they should trigger agreement too. Instead, agreement is obligatorily absent: past participles are obligatorily inflected with default third person singular masculine morphology. This is shown by (22) where the object *le tue zie* is ambiguous between a marginalized and a right dislocation analysis. Crucially, even when right-dislocated it does not trigger agreement.

- (21) **Le** abbiamo già invitat-e NOI_F, le tue zie_R.
Them have already invited-3plF we, the your aunties
'WE already invited your aunties.'
- (22) Abbiamo già invitat-o / *-e NOI_F, le tue zie_R.
Have already invited-3sgM / -3plF we, the your aunties
'WE already invited your aunties.'

A second piece of evidence comes from Cardinaletti's (2002) observation that if null clitics were possible in Italian they should be able to also occur elsewhere. For example, they should be able to replace the obligatory clitic required by left-peripheral object topics. Yet, minimal pairs like (23) show that this is not the case.

- (23) a. Il giornale, [l'ho già COMPRATO]_{NewF}.
The newspaper, (I) it have already bought
'As for the newspaper, I already BOUGHT it.'

- b. * Il giornale, [ho già COMPRATO]_{NewF}.
The newspaper, (I) have already bought

The third argument follows from the analysis of right-dislocated quantified DPs like (24). At first, these sentences may appear to involve right dislocation of a quantifier. Yet this impression is incorrect because unambiguous cases of quantifier extraction are ungrammatical; see (25)(b) and (25)(c), which are derived from (25)(a) via wh-extraction and right dislocation of the quantifier.

- (24) Gli-e-ne ho portate IERI_F, a Marco_R, cinque_R.
(I) to-him-prt-of-them have brought YESTERDAY, to Mark, five
'I brought five of them to Mark YESTERDAY.'
- (25) a. Ho portato tre pizze ieri.
(I) have brought three pizzas yesterday.
'Yesterday I brought three pizzas.'
- b. *Quante_i hai portato [t_i pizze]?
How-many (you) have brought pizzas
- c. *Ho portato [t_i pizze] IERI_F, tre_{R,i}.
(I) have brought pizzas yesterday, three

Sentence (24) therefore involves right dislocation of the entire object DP with no overt clitic doubling, as shown in (26) (the partitive clitic *ne* 'of them' refers to the quantified NP, not the entire DP).

- (26) Gli_j-e-ne_i ho portate t_k IERI_F, [a Marco]_{R,j}, [cinque t_i]_{R,k}.
(I) to-him-prt-of-them have brought yesterday, to Mark, five

Crucially, however, the dislocated DP disallows for any overt clitic doubling whenever the partitive clitic *ne* is present. This is shown in (27)(a), which is ungrammatical under any permutation of the involved clitics, and (27)(b), showing that the same holds even when the indirect object is absent. The conditions that disallow the simultaneous occurrence of the overt object clitic and the partitive clitic *ne* would arguably also apply to a null object clitic, showing that no null object clitic can be present in sentence (24).

- (27) a. *Gli_j-e-le_k-ne_i / Gli_j-e-ne_i-le_k ho portate t_k IERI_F, [a Marco]_{R,j}, [cinque t_i]_{R,k}.
(I) to-him-prt-them-of-them/ to-him-prt-of-them-them have brought yesterday, to Mark, five
- b. *Le_k-ne_i / ne_i-le_k ho portate t_k IERI_F, [cinque t_i]_{R,k}.
(I) them-of-them / of-them-them have brought yesterday, five

A final argument for the existence of clitic-less right dislocation emerges when examining the binding properties of RD. Consider the anaphoric object *se stesso*

(himself) in the three sentences in (28). Its right-dislocated status is certain across all three: in (a), it follows a clitic-doubled right-dislocated indirect object and therefore it too is right-dislocated. In (b) and (c), it is overtly clitic doubled, with (c) also overtly doubling the indirect object.

Sentences (b) and (c) are ungrammatical due to the presence of the overt object clitic *li* (them). The object clitic corefers with the dislocated object anaphor and therefore also with the binding subject, causing a condition B violation.

If sentence (a) involved clitic doubling too, albeit by a null object clitic, its structure would be identical to that of sentence (c), and therefore it too would violate condition B. But (a) is significantly more acceptable than (b) and (c) and therefore it cannot involve a null clitic.

- (28) Context: Domani Marco e Maria descriveranno a Gianni se stessi.
 Tomorrow Mark and Mary will-describe to John themselves
 ‘Tomorrow, Mark and Mary will describe themselves to John.’
- a. No. *pro*_i gli hanno già descritto IER_F, a Gianni_R, **se stessi**_{R,i}.
 No. (They) to-him have already described yesterday, to John, themselves
 ‘No. They already described themselves to John YESTERDAY.’
- b. *No. *pro*_i li_i hanno già descritti IER_F, a Gianni_R, **se stessi**_{R,i}.
 No. (They) them have already described yesterday, to John, themselves
 ‘No. They already described themselves to John YESTERDAY.’
- c. *No. *pro*_i gli_j-e-li_i hanno già descritti IER_F, a Gianni_{j,R}, **se stessi**_{R,i}.
 No. (They) to-him-prt-them have already described yesterday, to John, themselves
 ‘No. They already described themselves to John YESTERDAY.’

That the ungrammaticality of (28)(b–c) follows only from the presence of the object clitic, rather than some other unrelated factor, is confirmed by the sentences in (29), where the anaphoric object in the sentences in (28) is replaced by the object *il proprio lavoro* ‘his own work’, which though anaphoric with the subject, it is not co-indexed with the clitic (since the latter doubles the entire dislocated phrase), thus removing the binding relation between the subject and the object-clitic that violated condition B in the sentences in (28). As expected, binding is now successful even for the clitic-doubled sentences in (b) and (c).

- (29) a. *pro*_i gli_j hanno già descritto IER_F, a Gianni_{R,j}, [il **proprio**_i lavoro]_R.
 (They) to-him have already described yesterday, to John, the own work
 ‘They already described their own work to John YESTERDAY.’
- b. *pro*_i lo_k hanno già descritto IER_F, a Gianni_R, [il **proprio**_i lavoro]_{R,k}.
 (They) it have already described yesterday, to John, the own work
 ‘They already described their own work to John YESTERDAY.’

- c. *pro_i gli_j-e-lo_k* hanno già descritto IER_F, a Gianni_{R,j}, [il *proprio_i* lavoro]_{R,k}.
(They) to-him-prt-it have already described yesterday, to John, the own work
‘They already described their own work to John YESTERDAY.’

In conclusion, the evidence examined in this section shows that Italian does not allow for null clitics, in accord with Cardinaletti (2002). It also shows that RD allows for clitic doubling but does not require it, against the assumption that clitic doubling is necessary, whenever a suitable clitic exists as maintained in Cardinaletti (2002), Cecchetto (1999), Villalba (2000), López (2009), and Cruschina (2010).

Furthermore, since these results have been shown to hold for right-dislocated constituents while controlling for marginalized status, it is not possible to maintain that right-dislocated phrases lacking clitic doubling should be re-analysed as marginalized phrases as proposed in Cruschina (2010). Conversely, the absence of clitic doubling is not a sufficient cue to assume marginalized status.

It follows that any post-focus discourse-given phrase that is neither clitic-doubled nor an NPI or negative constituent is ambiguous between a marginalized or right-dislocated analysis until other diagnostics determine its status. Therefore, any analysis in the literature about focus and givenness in Italian where constituents of this kind have been considered as occurring *in situ* solely because they lacked clitic doubling should be re-examined, as the structural implications associated with a marginalized and right-dislocated status are radically different. Marginalized phrases occur *in situ*, but right-dislocated phrases are extracted and moved to a clause-external position, as discussed in the following sections.

4.2.2 *The representation of right dislocation*

So far we have established that RD is a highly productive operation that optionally applies to discourse-given constituents across distinct syntactic categories, dislocating them to the right of focus, leaving them freely ordered, and occurring both with and without clitic doubling (provided a suitable clitic exists). What we still need to establish is the structural position of right-dislocated phrases and whether their dislocation involves movement or base-generation. In this respect the literature is divided. On one side, Cardinaletti (2001, 2002) and Frascarelli (2004) for Italian and De Cat (2007) for French maintain that right-dislocated constituents are base-generated outside their clause, even though the details of their analyses vary significantly. On the other, Cecchetto (1999) for Italian and Villalba (1998, 2000) and López (2003, 2009) for Catalan, though again with significant differences, maintain that right-dislocated constituents are clause-internal, located lower than T but above *vP* and reaching this position through movement.

The analysis that emerges from the array of evidence discussed in the rest of this chapter diverges from both claims. As for the position of RD, which will play a crucial role in the analysis of left-peripheral focus in Chapter 5, I will show that

Italian right-dislocated phrases are located above TP, in accord with Cardinaletti (2001, 2002), Frascarelli (2004), and De Cat (2007). As discussed in Section 4.3, this analysis accounts for the properties of right-dislocated phrases relative to NPI-licensing, binding, wh-extraction, word order, and agreement.

With respect to the movement/base-generation debate, I will show that right dislocation involves movement, in accord with Cecchetto (1999), Villalba (1998), and López (2003, 2009). Movement will be shown to be necessary whenever clitic doubling is absent, since only a movement-based analysis accounts for the reconstruction properties displayed by right-dislocated phrases in these cases. The clitic-doubled cases are less clear-cut, but as discussed in detail in Section 4.4, the available evidence still favours a movement analysis, in contrast with Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) where movement is restricted to RD^- alone, while RD^+ is assumed to involve base-generation.

A final choice concerns the leftward vs. rightward nature of the movement involved by right dislocation. It is a difficult choice because the two alternative representations emerging from it are consistent with all the properties of right dislocation examined in this chapter and they also account for most of the focalization patterns discussed in Chapter 5. Which representation is best is thus an independent issue; the claims and arguments presented in this chapter about right dislocation and in this book about the position of focus and its interaction with right dislocation remain valid under both representations.

There are however two patterns, one concerning rightward focus extraction and the other right-dislocated phrases sandwiched between fronted foci and right-dislocated TPs, where the representation of right dislocation based on leftward movement turns out to be empirically superior to a rightward movement and is therefore the one being chosen here. The comparison of both representations relative to these cases requires first considering the interaction of right dislocation and left-peripheral foci in Chapter 5, and is therefore provided outside this chapter in Appendix B.

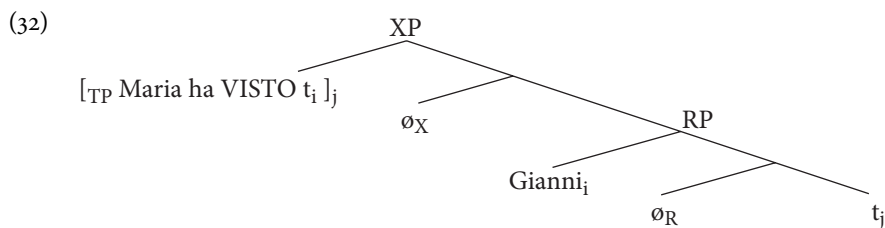
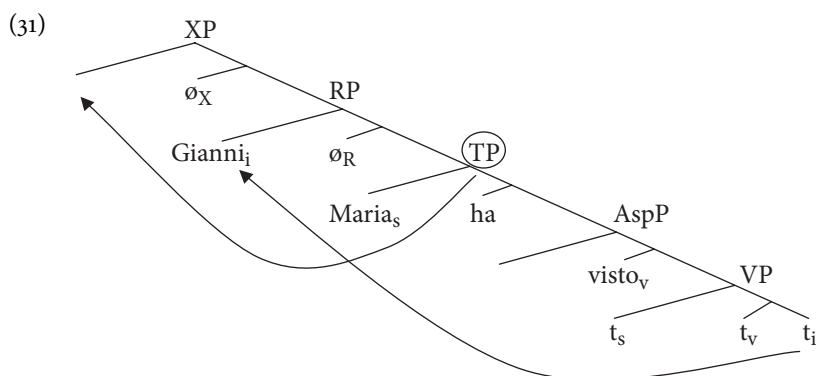
The following two subsections present the representations for RD^- and RD^+ adopted throughout this book. Both are based on leftward movement, thus being consistent with an antisymmetric perspective, and both place right-dislocated phrases above TP. They differ only in the absence vs. presence of clitic doubling.

4.2.2.1 The structure of RD^- When clitic doubling is absent, I maintain that right-dislocated phrases move to the specifier of a projection RP located above the extended projection of the verb (Grimshaw 2000). In most cases, this extended projection coincides with TP, but it may extend to CP when wh-phrases are extracted from right-dislocated clauses, see for example the data in Section 4.4.4 as well as Section 5.4.5.

The operation just described is always followed by remnant movement of the remnant TP (or CP where necessary) to the specifier of a higher projection XP located above RP, which is responsible for stranding right-dislocated phrases in clause-final position.⁶

Consider for example sentence (30) involving a right-dislocated object. As (31) shows, first the object is extracted from its base-generated position and moved to specRP, then the entire TP-remnant moves to the specifier of XP, thus eventually preceding the right-dislocated object. The final structure is provided in (32).

- (30) [Maria ha VISTO]_{NewF}, Gianni_R.
 Mary has seen, John
 ‘Mary SAW John.’



The analysis instantiates the double topicalization analysis attributed to Kayne's 1995 Harvard lectures by Cecchetto (1999) and further developed in Villalba (2000), Samek-Lodovici (2006), and Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007). Unlike Kayne's

⁶ Following a strict minimalist analysis, Abels (2003: 114) claims that TPs cannot move when occurring as the immediate complements of the phase head C. The issue is whether this theoretical claim remains valid given Rizzi's (1997, 2004) decomposition of the CP projection in multiple sub-projections, with TP no longer the immediate complement of finite C. While this book questions the presence of a FocusP projection, Rizzi's results about the distinct positions of finite complementizers, wh-phrases, and non-finite complementizers remain valid. Abels (2003) does allow for TP-movement when TP is not the immediate complement of phasal C.

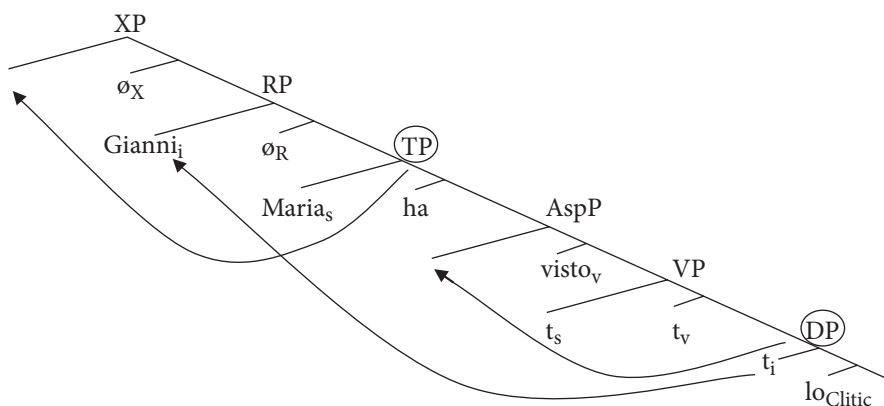
original proposal and Samek-Lodovici (2006), however, I do not maintain that RD follows from CLLD, as this would imply that right-dislocated and CLLD phrases share the same syntactic position, a prediction that is refuted by the several syntactic and pragmatic properties distinguishing CLLD and RD examined in Section 4.4 (further differences are mentioned in Section 5.3 and in Brunetti 2009).

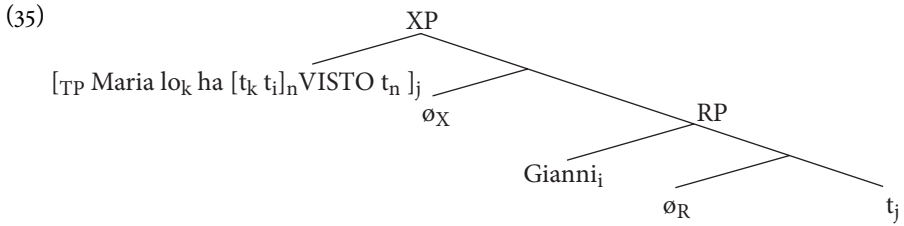
4.2.2.2 *The structure of RD⁺* When a clitic is present, I assume with Cecchetto (1999), Torrego (1995), and Uriagereka (1995), that the dislocating constituent is generated as the specifier of a complex DP headed by the clitic (see also Belletti 1999, where the dislocating phrase constitutes the complement of the clitic rather than its specifier, a difference that has no bearings for the analysis presented here). Support for this complex DP analysis is also provided in Kayne and Pollock (2008), who point out how it better accounts for the agreement between the clitic and the dislocated phrase.

The presence of the clitic DP determines some interesting asymmetries between RD⁺ and RD⁻ which will be examined in Section 4.4, but otherwise the analysis of RD⁺ resembles the analysis for RD⁻ just described. First, the dislocated phrase moves to specRP, then the remnant TP moves to specXP. As for the final position of the clitic, I follow Cecchetto (1999) in assuming that the DP moves at least as high as the specifier of the aspectual projection hosting past participles, accounting for clitic–past-participle agreement. The clitic head then moves to T, or whichever head hosts the agreement and tense features of the clause. The corresponding derivation is given in (34), yielding the final structure in (35).

- (33) [Maria lo ha VISTO]_{NewF}, Gianni_R.
 Mary him has seen, John
 ‘Mary SAW John.’

(34)





4.2.2.3 *Structural properties shared across RD⁻ and RD⁺* Note how in both RD⁻ and RD⁺ the right-dislocated phrase neither *c*-commands nor is *c*-commanded by any of the items in the original TP. Furthermore, right-dislocated phrases necessarily follow focus, because focus cannot be discourse-given and therefore is necessarily part of the remnant TP eventually preceding all right-dislocated phrases. Since focus attracts main stress, this also derives the post-stress location of RD.

I assume that the speaker's conceptual/intentional interface selects which phrases are targeted by RD among the available discourse given phrases, consistently with the optional nature of RD. The pool of discourse-given phrases themselves is determined from the discourse context as discussed in Schwarzschild (1999).

4.3 Right dislocation is located above TP

There is robust evidence for identifying the position of right-dislocated constituents as external to TP. This includes the properties of RD relative to clitic doubling, word order, *wh*-extraction, right roof condition, NPI-licensing, and reconstruction. They are examined in turn below.

4.3.1 Clitic doubling

Dative constructions aside,⁷ Italian strongly disallows clitic doubling within the clause, which in turn supports a clause-external position for clitic-doubled right-dislocated phrases.

⁷ The following examples, slightly adapted from Benincà (1988: 137), show how indirect objects can be clitic-doubled when an object clitic or other complement-related clitic is also present. When this is not the case, even indirect objects cannot be clitic-doubled when located clause-internally; see (i)a and (ii)a.

- (i) a. ?? [Gli ho proposto a Giorgio un ACCOMODAMENTO]_{NewF}.
 (I) to-him have proposed to George an arrangement
 'I proposed to George an arrangement.'
- b. [Gliel'ho proposto a GIORGIO]_{NewF}, un accomodamento_R.
 (I) to-him-prt-it have proposed to George, an arrangement
 'I proposed an arrangement to GEORGE.'
- (ii) a. ?? [Gli ho parlato al DIRETTORE]_{NewF}.
 (I) to-him have spoken to-the director
 'I spoke to the director.'
- b. [Gliene ho parlato al DIRETTORE]_{NewF}.
 (I) to-him-prt-of-it have spoken to-the director
 'I spoke about it to the director.'

For example, Calabrese (1988: 557) observes that when main stress is rightmost in the clause, thus ensuring that all involved constituents lie within the clause, the internal arguments of a verb cannot be clitic-doubled. Some of Calabrese's original examples follow, here slightly adapted to show focalization and stress marking. For completeness, a few additional examples involving different clitics and lacking a final adverbial are listed in (37).

- (36) a. *[**Lo** vedo Gianni SPESSO]_{NewF}.
 (I) him see John often
- b. *[**Gli** ho dato un libro a Carlo IERI]_{NewF}.
 (I) to-him have given a book to Carl yesterday
- (37) a. *[**Ci** andrò a ROMA]_{NewF}.
 (I) there will-go to Rome
- b. *[**Ne** parliamo sempre di MARIA]_{NewF}.
 (We) of-it speak always of Mary
- c. *[**Ci** parlerò con MARCO]_{NewF}.
 (I) with-him speak with Mark

The absence of clitic doubling is independent from the informational status of the doubled phrase: clitic doubling is absent whether the doubled phrase is focused or discourse-given. For example, as pointed out in Vallduví (1992) and Zubizarreta (1994a) with respect to Catalan and Spanish, if clitic doubling of unfocused phrases were possible, the arguments preceding a narrowly focused subject in clause-final position should allow for clitic doubling, as they do in Greek (Anagnostopoulou 1999). In Italian, however, clitic doubling remains impossible in these cases as well, see (38). These sentences become grammatical when the clitic is absent, showing that it is the presence of clitic doubling that makes them ungrammatical. (Note that object clitics trigger past participle agreement. Omitting or changing the agreement suffix does not affect the ungrammatical status of the following (b) sentences.)

- (38) a. Ha chiamato i ragazzi MARCO_F.
 Has called.sgM the boys Mark
 'MARK called the boys.'
- b. * Li ha chiamati i ragazzi MARCO_F.
 Them has called.plM the boys Mark
- (39) a. Ha parlato ai ragazzi MARCO_F.
 Has spoken to-the boys Mark
 'MARK spoke to the boys.'
- b. * Gli ha parlato ai ragazzi MARCO_F.
 To-them has spoken to-the boys Mark

Some languages extend clause-internal clitic doubling to contrastively focused items, see the dialogue in (40) from Limeño Spanish in Sanchez (2005). But for some marginal exceptions in colloquial registers,⁸ this is not possible in Italian, where focused constituents disallow for clitic doubling. See the corresponding dialogue in (41), with clitic doubling impossible in sentence (b).

- (40) a. [María **la** vio a Teresa]_{NewF}.
 Mary her saw to Therese
 ‘Mary saw Therese.’
- b. No, **la** vio a Tatiana_F también.
 No, (she) her saw to Tatiana also
 ‘She saw Tatiana too.’
- (41) a. [Maria ha visto Teresa]_{NewF}.
 Mary has seen Therese
 ‘Mary saw Therese.’
- b. * No, l’ha vista/o anche Tatiana_F.
 No, (she) her has seen.3sgF/3sgM also Tatiana
 ‘She saw Tatiana as well.’

The unavailability of clause-internal clitic doubling in Italian is also confirmed by the empirical study in Kuchenbrandt, Kupisch, and Rinke (2005) which compares the properties of weak and strong pronouns for objects and indirect objects across Italian, French, Portuguese, Romanian, and Spanish. After testing native speakers with structures similar to Calabrese’s ones, they conclude that Italian resists clitic doubling, in contrast with Portuguese, Romanian, and Spanish where clitic doubling is more freely allowed. The same conclusion is also reached in Gerlach (1998), who shows that standard Italian, unlike Romanian, Spanish, French, and specific Italian dialects, resists clause-internal clitic doubling irrespective of the pronominal/non-pronominal, and specific/non-specific nature of the argument being doubled. Similar observations are also mentioned in Fontana (1993), Gerlach (2002), Cardinaletti (2002), and Belloro (2007).

⁸ In colloquial Italian, optional clitic doubling of a focused subject might at first appear possible. The following utterance was attributed to a Fiat worker in Turin in an article of the daily newspaper *Corriere della Sera* (Roncone 2009). Examples like (ii), however, where the same second person clitic is present despite the presence of a first person subject and thus cannot be attributed to clitic doubling, show that the clitic is better analysed as an independently available benefactive clitic referring to the hearer.

- (i) Questi volantini, **te** li distribuisci **TU_F**!
 These flyers, you_{Dat} them distribute you
 ‘As for these fliers, YOU will have to distribute them!’
- (ii) Questi volantini, **te** li distribuisco **IO_F**.
 These flyers, you_{Dat} them distribute I
 ‘As for these fliers, I’ll distribute them for you.’

Overall, the robust evidence against clause-internal clitic doubling forces a clause-external analysis of Italian right dislocation whenever clitic doubling is present. As pointed out by Cardinaletti (2002), a clause-external analysis also offers a straightforward explanation for the differences between marginalization and right dislocation relative to clitic doubling. Marginalized constituents cannot be clitic-doubled because they occur clause-internally, whereas right-dislocated phrases can be clitic-doubled because they are clause-external. In contrast, a clause-internal analysis of right dislocation would have to stipulate that right-dislocated phrases are exceptional in allowing for clause-internal clitic doubling while at the same time being unable to explain why clitic doubling does not extend to marginalized constituents.

4.3.2 *Relative order of marginalized and right-dislocated phrases*

The distribution of right-dislocated phrases relative to marginalized ones provides further support for the clause-external position of right-dislocated items.

Under the proposed analysis of RD, marginalized constituents are predicted to obligatorily precede right-dislocated ones because they occur in situ and hence within the remnant TP that eventually precedes all right-dislocated phrases. The prediction is borne out. Sentences (42)(a) and (42)(b), containing the same marginalized negative subject and clitic-doubled right-dislocated object, differ with respect to their linear order. Crucially, only sentence (a) with the marginalized subject preceding the dislocated object is grammatical.⁹

- (42) Context: Nessun inquilino ha sentito i ladri.
 No tenant has heard the burglars
 ‘No tenant heard the burglars.’

⁹ When the negative phrase is an object, rather than a subject, subject and object can occur in either order. This is unsurprising, because non-negative subjects are ambiguous between a marginalized and a right-dislocated reading and will occur before the object when marginalized and after the object when right-dislocated. See the following examples, where marginalized and right-dislocated status is respectively marked via the ‘M’ and ‘R’ subscripts.

- (i) Context: Gli inquilini non hanno sentito nessun ladro.
 The tenants not have heard any thief
 ‘The tenants did not hear any thief.’
- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| a. No. Non hanno VISTO _F gli inquilini _M nessun ladro _M . | (Peró tutti li hanno SENTITI). |
| No. Not have seen, the tenants, any burglar | (But (they) all them have heard) |
| ‘No. The tenants did not SEE any thief. | (But they all HEARD them.)’ |
| b. No. Non hanno VISTO _F nessun ladro _M , gli inquilini _R . | (Peró tutti li hanno SENTITI). |
| No. Not have seen any thief, the tenants | (but (they) all them have heard) |
| ‘No. The tenants did not SEE any thief. | (But they all HEARD them.)’ |

- a. No. Non li ha VISTI_F nessun inquilino_M, i ladri_R.
 (Peró tutti li hanno SENTITI).
 No. not them have seen any tenant, the burglars
 (But (they) all them have heard)
 ‘No. No tenant SAW the burglars. (But all tenants HEARD them.)’
- b. *No. Non li ha VISTI, i ladri_R, nessun inquilino_M.
 (Peró tutti li hanno SENTITI).

The examples in (43) follow the same logic, testing the order of a marginalized NPI object and a right-dislocated indirect object. Once again, the marginalized object must precede the dislocated indirect object.

- (43) Context: Non hai dato a Marco alcunché.
 (You) not have given to Mark anything
 ‘You did not give anything to Mark.’
- a. No. Non gli ho REGALATO_F alcunché_M, a Marco_R.
 (Ma gli ho VENDUTO di tutto.)
 No. (I) not to-him have donated anything, to Mark
 (But (I) to-him have sold of all)
 ‘No. I did not DONATE anything to Mark. (But I SOLD him many things.)’
- b. *No. Non gli ho REGALATO_F, a Marco_R, alcunché_M.
 (Ma gli ho VENDUTO di tutto.)

If right-dislocated constituents occur clause-externally, the above ordering constraint follows straightforwardly. If, on the other hand, right-dislocated phrases were located clause-internally, the order between marginalized and right-dislocated phrases would closely depend on the structural details of the analysis being assumed. Current clause-internal analyses of right dislocation, such as Cecchetto (1999) and Kayne (1994), make incorrect predictions. In Cecchetto (1999), right-dislocated constituents raise to the specifier of a topic projection located between TP and VP. Since they precede VP, right-dislocated items should precede any marginalized phrase destressed in situ within VP, thus incorrectly predicting (a) to be ungrammatical and (b) grammatical in both examples (42) and (43).

A similar problem affects Kayne (1994: 81), where right-dislocated constituents are stranded in situ. Since marginalized constituents, too, occur in situ, marginalized and right-dislocated phrases should be ordered according to their base-generated order. Consequently, right-dislocated constituents would precede marginalized ones whenever generated above them. Yet this is not the case. As (44) shows, a sentence including a marginalized indirect object and right-dislocated subject and object must order the marginalized phrase first, as in (44)(a), and cannot follow the base-generated order in (44)(b).

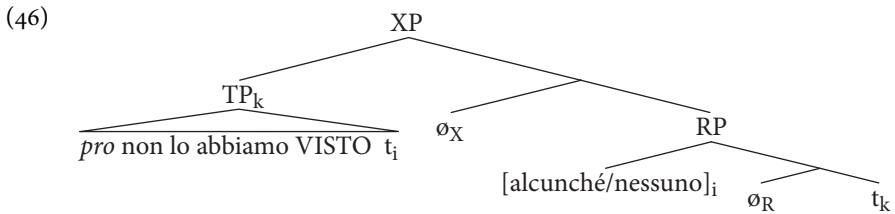
- (44) Context: Marco non ha dato i fiori a nessuno.
 Mark not has given the flowers to anybody
 ‘Mark did not give the flowers to anybody.’
- a. No. Non li ha REGALATI_F a nessuno_M, i fiori_R, Marco_R.
 (Ma li ha VENDUTI a tutti.)
 No. Not them has donated to anybody, the flowers, Mark
 (But (he) them has sold to all)
 ‘No. Mark did not DONATE the flowers to anybody.
 (But he SOLD them to everybody.)’
- b. *No. Non li ha REGALATI_F, Marco_R, i fiori_R, a nessuno_M.
 (Ma li ha VENDUTI a tutti.)

Cecchetto’s and Kayne’s analyses were proposed before Cardinaletti (2001, 2002) and therefore could not take advantage of the clear distinction between marginalization and right dislocation that Cardinaletti’s research made available, nor the tests for marginalization and right-dislocated status developed in this book. Nevertheless, their analyses show that clause-internal analyses of RD, whether involving leftward movement or placement in situ, are inconsistent with the observed relative order of marginalized and right-dislocated phrases, thus supporting a clause-external analysis of right dislocation.

4.3.3 Failure in licensing *n*-words and NPIs

Independent support for the clause-external nature of RD comes from the distribution of *n*-words and NPIs. As discussed in Appendix A, Italian *n*-words located lower than T must be licensed by a *c*-commanding licenser at the surface and the same holds for NPIs (Zanuttini 1991; Longobardi 1991; Acquaviva 1999; Penka 2011). This condition makes them an ideal testing tool for the position of right dislocation (Samek-Lodovici 2006; Villalba 2000). If RD is TP-external, we expect right-dislocated *n*-words and NPIs to be ungrammatical, since they are located above TP and hence outside the licensing domain of a preceding neg-marker in T. For example, the right-dislocated NPI *alcunché* and the *n*-word *nessuno* in (45) would not be licensed because they are not *c*-commanded by the neg-marker *non* in the corresponding structure (46). If, on the other hand, RD is TP-internal, i.e. lower than T as in Cecchetto (1999), we expect the same *n*-words and NPIs to be grammatical because they would still be *c*-commanded by the neg-marker in T. Note that the fact that right dislocation allows for reconstruction, as discussed later in this chapter, is irrelevant because negative licensing under *c*-command must hold in the surface structure, not the reconstructed one (see Appendix A).

- (45) * [Non lo abbiamo VISTO]_{NewF}, alcunché_R / nessuno_R.
 (We) not it have seen, anything / anybody



As the following examples show, the data support the TP-external analysis of RD (see also Calabrese 1992: 93). In each example, sentence (a) lacks right dislocation and the NPI/n-word is licensed by the preceding neg-marker *non* ‘not’ here assumed to be cliticized to T as in Belletti (1990). Sentence (b) right dislocates the NPI/n-word either on their own, as in (47)(b), or as part of a constituent containing them, as in (48)(b) and (49)(b). In all (b) sentences, the occurrence of right dislocation is confirmed by the presence of clitic doubling and the intonation break and optional pause preceding the right-dislocated items here represented by a comma. All (b) sentences are ungrammatical, as predicted.

- (47) a. [Non abbiamo visto ALCUNCHÉ / NESSUNO]_{NewF}.
 (We) not have seen anything / anybody
 ‘We haven’t seen anything / anybody.’
 b. * [Non lo abbiamo VISTO]_{NewF}, alcunché_R / nessuno_R.
 (We) not it have seen, anything / anybody
- (48) a. [Non ho voglia di vedere ALCUNCHÉ / NESSUNO]_{NewF}.
 (I) not have will of to-see anything / anybody
 ‘I don’t wish to see anything / anybody.’
 b. * [Non ne ho VOGLIA]_{NewF} [di vedere alcunché / nessuno]_R.
 (I) not of-it have will, of to-see anything / anybody
- (49) a. [Non desidero mangiare ALCUNCHÉ / NULLA]_{NewF}.
 (I) not wish of to-eat anything / anything
 ‘I don’t wish to eat anything.’
 b. * [Non lo DESIDERO]_{NewF} [di mangiare alcunché / nulla]_R.
 (I) not it wish, of to-eat anything / anything

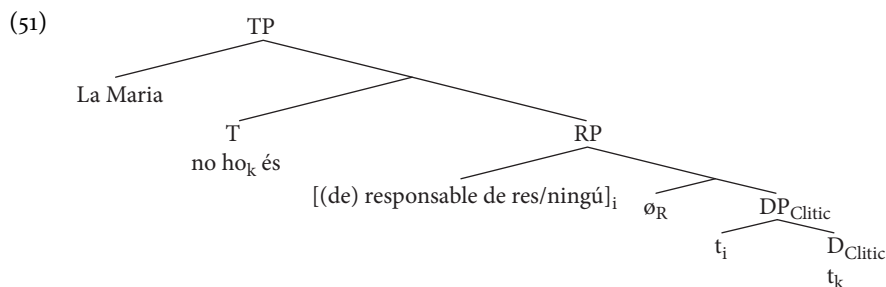
Crucially, any conceivable alternative explanation for the ungrammatical status of the (b) sentences does not stand up to scrutiny. Bocci (2013: 2.2.2.4), for example, appropriately observes that Italian positive indefinite quantifiers like *qualcosa* ‘something’ cannot right dislocate, and suggests that the same property

blocking right dislocation of *qualcosa* might be responsible for the failed right dislocation of n-words and NPIs in the Italian sentences in the previous examples. If this were the case, however, n-words and NPIs would be expected to resist right dislocation even in languages where right dislocation occurs demonstrably lower than T, thus excluding negative licensing from being a factor. One such language is Catalan, but as Villalba (2000) and Feldhausen (2008) show, Catalan right-dislocated n-words and NPIs are actually grammatical, refuting Bocci's hypothesis. See for example (50), where the right-dislocated NPI *res* and the n-word *ningú* are successfully licensed by the initial neg-marker *no*. This shows that n-words and NPIs are compatible with right dislocation, leaving the high position of right dislocation and the consequent negative licensing failure as the only possible explanation for the ungrammaticality of the Italian sentences in the previous examples.

Bocci (2013: 2.2.2.2) also suggests that negative items in the Italian sentences might fail locality conditions on neg-concord that could apply even if they were right-dislocated lower than T. The following Catalan examples, however, refute this hypothesis as well, since they show that when right dislocation is demonstrably low, the locality conditions on negative licensing are satisfied. Once again, this shows that the problem with the Italian sentences in the previous examples is the high position of right dislocation, and not right dislocation itself.

It is worth adding that the right-dislocated status of the constituent containing *res* and *ningú* in the Catalan examples is not in doubt, since it is clitic-doubled by the clitic *ho*. The corresponding structure is provided in (51), based on Villalba's (2000) analysis of right-dislocated items as located in the specifier of a TP-internal topic projection located between TP and ν P. Since (50) is a copular sentence, ν P was replaced with the DP projected by the clitic *ho* necessary for clitic doubling. Villalba's topic projection was renamed 'RP' to ease comparison with the analysis proposed here. Additional Catalan examples of this kind are provided in section 4.6.1.

- (50) La Maria **no** ho és, (de) responsable de **res/ningú**.
 The Mary not it is, (of) responsible of anything/anybody
 'Mary is not responsible of anything/anybody.'



Still playing devil's advocate, we could also wonder whether the ungrammaticality of the Italian sentence (47)(b) might follow from the clitic doubling of the referenceless items *alcunché* and *nessuno*. This explanation, however, cannot account for the ungrammaticality of (48)(b) and (49)(b) where the NPI/n-word is contained within a larger constituent that *does* allow for clitic doubling. Furthermore the same sentences become grammatical again once a c-commanding licenser is inserted within the right-dislocated constituent itself as in (52) and (53). This shows that licensing under c-command is the only condition being violated in (48)(b) and (49)(b), since any other conceivable cause for their ungrammaticality would be expected to also apply in (52) and (53), but it doesn't.¹⁰

- (52) [Ne ho davvero VOGLIA]_F, [di non vedere alcunché / nessuno per qualche giorno]_R.
(I) of-it have really will, of not to-see anything / anybody for a-few day
'I really wish to see nothing / nobody for a few days.'
- (53) [Lo desidero MOLTO]_{NewF}, [di non mangiare alcunché / nulla fino a stasera]_R.
(I) it wish much, of not to-eat anything / anything until to tonight
'I wish to eat nothing until tonight.'

Playing devil's advocate even further, we may finally wonder whether it is the intervening focalization that adversely affects NPI and n-word licensing in examples (47)–(49), and ceases to do so in (52) and (53) where focalized items no longer intervene between licenser and licensee. But as the following examples show, this is not the case either. A neg-marker in the main clause successfully licenses an NPI or n-word in an embedded clause whether they are part of a larger focused constituent as in (54), contrastively focused as in (55)–(56), or following an intervening focus as in (57)–(58).

¹⁰ An alternative way to make the same point is to consider the parallelism between (i) and the equally ungrammatical left dislocation of a negative quantifier in (ii). Rizzi (1997) maintains that (ii) is ungrammatical because the negative quantifier, which is assumed to be generated in a position above TP, cannot build a well-formed operator-variable chain at LF. If it does not move, the quantifier will have no variable to bind; if it moves, the chain will be ill-formed because the variable will not be in an A-position (Rizzi 1997: 295).

(i) * [Non lo abbiamo VISTO]_{NewF}, nessuno_R.
(We) not cl have seen anybody

(ii) * Nessuno, lo abbiamo visto.
Nobody, (we) cl have seen

Rizzi's account, however, cannot extend to the sentences in (48)–(53) in the main text where the negative quantifiers are included in a larger clause. Its validity for sentences like (i) is also in doubt, since the account crucially relies on the base-generated status of *nessuno* in (i). As discussed in Section 4.4, right-dislocated phrases are instead extracted and can reconstruct in their base-generated position, which in turn makes a well-formed quantifier-variable chain possible.

- (54) Context: Come sta Gianni?
How is John
'How is John doing?'
- a. Male. [Non ha voglia di mangiare ALCUNCHÉ]_{NewF}.
Badly. (He) not has wish of to-eat anything
'Badly. He does not wish to eat anything.'
- b. Male. [Non ha voglia di vedere NESSUNO]_{NewF}.
Badly. (He) not has wish of to-see anybody
'Badly. He does not wish to see anybody.'
- (55) Context: Gianni non ha voglia di mangiare la carne.
John not has wish of to-eat the meat
'John does not wish to eat meat.'
- No. Gianni non ha voglia di mangiare ALCUNCHÉ_F.
No. John not has wish of to-eat anything
'No. John does not wish to eat ANYTHING.'
- (56) Context: Gianni non ha voglia di vedere Marco.
John not has wish of to-see Mark
'John does not wish to see Mark.'
- No. Gianni non ha voglia di vedere NESSUNO_F.
No. John not has wish of to-see anybody
'No. John does not wish to see ANYBODY.'
- (57) Context: Gianni non ha voglia di bere alcunché.
John not has wish of to-drink anything
'John does not wish to drink anything.'
- No. Gianni non ha voglia di MANGIARE_F alcunché_M.
No. John not has wish of to-eat anything
'No. John does not wish to EAT anything.'
- (58) Context: Gianni non ha voglia di vedere nessuno.
John not has wish of to-see anybody
'John does not wish to see anybody.'
- No. Gianni non ha voglia di CHIAMARE_F nessuno_M (ma vede tutti volentieri).
No. John not has wish of to-call anybody (but (he) sees all gladly)
'No. John does not wish to CALL anybody (but he would happily see everybody).'

In conclusion, the licensing failure suffered by Italian right-dislocated NPIs and n-words follows from their being positioned above TP. This is particularly evident when comparing Italian right-dislocated n-words and NPIs against their Catalan

counterparts or even their marginalized counterparts in Italian. In all these cases the n-words and NPIs at issue are all discourse-given and always following a focused constituent, but when marginalized in Italian or right-dislocated in Catalan they occur lower than T and can be licensed by a licenser in T, whereas when right-dislocated in Italian they occur above TP, fail licensing, and are therefore ungrammatical.

4.3.4 Binding

The binding relations of RD structures show that right-dislocated phrases reconstruct into their base-generated position. The presence of reconstruction, in turn, prevents binding from providing a test for the final position of right-dislocated constituents. As Cecchetto (1999) showed, their position may still be revealed by the asymmetric behaviour displayed by reconstructed arguments and adjuncts relative to condition C. Closely following Samek-Lodovici (2006), this section exploits these asymmetries to argue for the clause-external position of right-dislocated constituents.

As discussed by Freidin (1986), Lebeaux (1988, 1990), and Chomsky (1995), the absence of theta assignment makes it possible to insert adjuncts at later stages of the derivation, which, in turn, allows them to avoid reconstruction. Consider for example the sentences in (59) and (60) from Safir (1999), each followed by their respective structure, with silent copies shown in angled brackets.

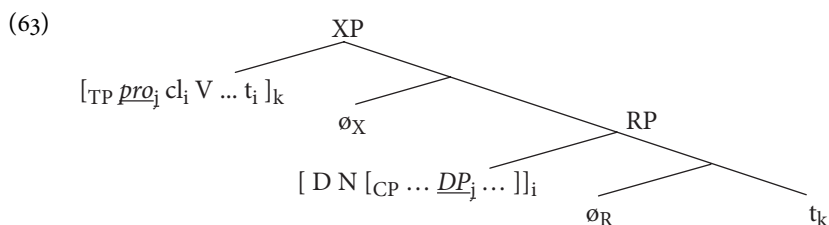
- (59) a. * Which claim that Mary had offended John_i did he_i repeat?
 b. [Which claim that Mary had offended John_i] did he_i repeat <which claim that Mary had offended John_i>.
- (60) a. Which claim that offended John_i did he_i repeat?
 b. [Which claim that offended John_i] did he_i repeat <which claim>.

In (59), *John* and *he* cannot co-refer, whereas they can do so in (60). As Lebeaux (1988) and Chomsky (1995) explain, in (59)(a) the phrase *that Mary had offended John* is a selected argument of *claim* and therefore part of the larger phrase *which claim that Mary has offended John* merged as the complement of *repeat*. As (59)(b) shows, the raising wh-phrase leaves a copy behind containing *John*, which causes a condition C violation when *he* and *John* are co-referential. In (60)(a), instead, the phrase *that offended John*, is just an adjunct modifying *claim* but not selected by it. It may therefore be added when *which claim* has already been extracted from its initial position. As a result, *he* does not c-command any copy of *John*—see (60)(b)—thus allowing for a co-referential reading.

A similar structural asymmetry is found in Italian RD structures. The following sentences, from Samek-Lodovici (2006), test for condition C violations incurred by the initial null subject *pro* when binding a human referent within the right-dislocated object whose head is shown in bold. The bound referent is located either in a relative-clause adjunct of the dislocated object or in its sentential complement. For each pair

of sentences, sentence (a) shows the relative-clause case, involving late insertion of the relative-clause adjunct, whereas sentence (b) shows the sentential complement case, involving reconstruction. The associated tree-structure under the proposed RD analysis is provided in (63), with binder and bindee underlined.

- (61) a. [*pro*_i non **le** rivela certo ai GIORNALI]_{NewF}, [**le prove** che [il procuratore-capo di Palermo]_i trova durante un'inchiesta]_R.
 (He) not them reveals certainly to-the newspapers, the evidence that the public-prosecutor-chief of Palermo finds during an investigation 'Palermo's chief public prosecutor certainly does not reveal to the NEWSPAPERS the evidence that he collects during an investigation.'
- b. * [*pro*_i non **le** rivela certo ai GIORNALI]_{NewF}, [**le prove** che [il procuratore-capo di Palermo]_i viola la legge]_R.
 (He) not them reveals certainly to-the newspapers, the evidence that the public-prosecutor-chief of Palermo breaks the law 'Palermo's chief public prosecutor certainly does not reveal to the NEWSPAPERS the evidence that he breaks the law.'
- (62) a. [*pro*_i **la** vuole pubblicare SUBITO]_{NewF}, [**la dimostrazione** che [il nostro miglior matematico]_i ha inseguito per anni e anni]_R.
 (He) it wants to publish immediately, the proof that the our best mathematician has pursued for years and years 'Our best mathematician wishes to publish IMMEDIATELY the proof that he has pursued for years and years.'
- b. * [*pro*_i **la** vuole tenere SEGRETA]_{NewF}, [**la dimostrazione** che [il nostro miglior matematico]_i ha fatto diversi errori]_R.
 (He) it wants to-keep secret, the proof that the our best mathematician has made several mistakes 'Our best mathematician wishes to keep HIDDEN the proof that he has made several mistakes.'



My own judgements, in (61) and (62), only allow for a bound reading in the adjunct case. The asymmetry was also tested with 18 native speakers, nine linguists tested via email, and nine non-linguists tested through informal one-to-one interviews. As the

following table shows, the relative-clause sentences were considered more acceptable than the corresponding complement sentences in 94% of the sentence pairs assessed across both groups.¹¹ The complete results are available in Samek-Lodovici (2006). Cecchetto (1999), and López (2009: 253) report different judgements for comparable constructions, both discussed in detail in Section 4.5.1.1.3 and 4.6.1.

(64) Adjunct/Complement comparison.

	Proportion	Number of assessed pairs
Relative-clause sentence best	94.4%	34
Equally good/bad	2.8%	1
Complement sentence best	2.8%	1

The asymmetry supports the proposed clause-external analysis of right dislocated phrases. If RD were clause-internal, no asymmetry should arise because the initial

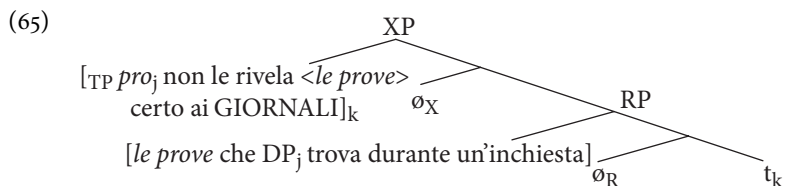
¹¹ The original data tested in in Samek-Lodovici (2006) also included a third sentence pair, repeated here.

- (i) a. [*pro_i* non le mantiene quasi MAI]_{NewF_i} [le promesse che Berlusconi_i fa in campagna elettorale]_R.
(He) not them keeps almost ever, the promises that Berlusconi makes in campaign electoral
'Berlusconi almost NEVER keeps the promises that he makes during the electoral campaign.'
- b. * [*pro_i* non le mantiene quasi MAI]_{NewF_i} [le promesse che Berlusconi_i sarà onesto]_R.
(He) not them keeps almost ever, the promises that Berlusconi will-be honest
'Berlusconi almost NEVER keeps the promises that he will be honest.'

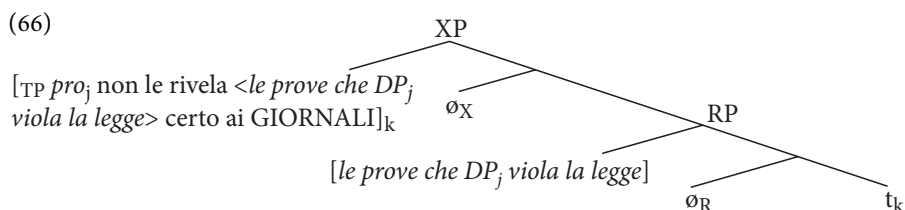
Although the corresponding judgements confirmed the claimed asymmetry, this pair has been omitted from the results reported in the main text in view of comments by Kayne (p.c.) and van de Koot (p.c.), who remarked that when the dislocated noun is deverbal, as is the case with *promesse* 'promises', the argument/adjunct asymmetry might be determined by the null agent implicit in the noun, thus making the pair irrelevant for testing binding by the initial null subject. The same problem does not affect the two sentence pairs discussed in the main text, because the dislocated nouns *prove* and *dimostrazione* are non-agentive under the interpretation required in these sentences. Furthermore, the following argument/adjunct pairs, involving the nouns *voci* 'rumours' and *accuse* 'allegations', which disallow coreference with the initial *pro* subject under the intended interpretations, confirm the results discussed so far.

- (ii) a. [*pro_k* le ha smentite IMMEDIATAMENTE]_{NewF_i} [le voci che Gianni_k ha letto sui giornali]_R.
(He) them has denied immediately, the rumours that John has read on-the newspapers
'John denied them IMMEDIATELY, the rumours that he read in the newspapers.'
- b. * [*pro_k* le ha smentite IMMEDIATAMENTE]_{NewF_i} [le voci che Gianni_k ha corrotto un giudice]_R.
(He) them has denied immediately, the rumours that John has bribed a judge
'John denied them IMMEDIATELY, the rumours that he bribed a judge.'
- (iii) a. [*pro_k* le ha rifiutate CATEGORICAMENTE]_{NewF_i} [le accuse che Gianni_k ha letto sui giornali]_R.
(He) them has denied categorically, the allegations that John has read on-the newspapers
'John denied them CATEGORICALLY, the allegations that he read in the newspapers.'
- b. * [*pro_k* le ha rifiutate CATEGORICAMENTE]_{NewF_i} [le accuse che Gianni_k ha corrotto un giudice]_R.
(He) them has denied categorically, the allegations that John has bribed a judge
'John denied them CATEGORICALLY, the allegations that he bribed a judge.'

pro subject would c-command the dislocated DP independently from the complements or adjunct nature of the phrase containing it. The asymmetry is instead predicted under the proposed clause external analysis. In the (a) sentences, the relative-clause is added when the object has already been dislocated into its clause-external position. Therefore, it remains outside the c-command domain of the initial *pro* subject, thus satisfying condition C. See (65) which provides the structure for (61) (a) with the silent copy of the the right-dislocated object provided in angled brackets.



In the (b) sentences the complement is generated in the main TP, thus causing a condition C violation. See (66), providing the structure for (61)(b).



As a further control that the above results are not spurious, note that when the object is not right-dislocated, whether because marginalized in situ or because focused or part of focus, condition C is violated in the adjunct case as well, as expected. This is shown in (67) for the focused case and (68) for marginalization. This latter sentence requires a negative object to ensure that RD is absent.

- (67) * [*pro*_i non rivela le prove che [il procuratore-capo di Palermo]_i trova durante un'inchiesta certo ai GIORNALI]_{NewF}.
 (He) not reveals the evidence that the public-prosecutor-chief of Palermo finds during an investigation certainly to-the newspapers
- (68) * No. *pro*_i non RIVELA_F [nessuna prova che [il procuratore-capo di Palermo]_i trova durante un'inchiesta]_M.
 No. (He) not reveals any evidence that the public-prosecutor-chief of Palermo finds during an investigation

In summary, the distribution of condition C violations across complements and adjunct of dislocated and non-dislocated objects confirms the clause-external position of right dislocated constituents.

4.3.5 Right roof violations

RD has been described as subject to the right roof constraint (Ross 1967), which prevents right-dislocated phrases from occurring beyond the boundaries of their own clause (Kayne 1994; Villalba 1998; Cecchetto 1999). While this appears true for Italian tensed clauses, about which more in Section 4.4.5, right dislocation from non-finite complements is not upward-bound in Italian and right roof violations are also found in French tensed and untensed clauses (De Cat 2007: 515). Crucially, the presence of right roof violations is inconsistent with a clause-internal analysis of RD.

Examples of right roof violations by right-dislocated phrases are provided in examples (69) and (70), where the focused subject of the higher clause intervenes between a lower infinitival complement and its right-dislocated object.^{12,13}

¹² In De Cat's (2007) French examples, a right-dislocated item from the higher clause—rather than a focused one—intervenes between the lower clause and the item right-dislocated from the lower clause. Of the corresponding Italian translations, shown here, I find the first, involving dislocation from an untensed clause, grammatical, whereas the second, involving a tensed clause, is marginal.

- (i) [Sei partito senza PARLAR-GLI]_{NewF}, tu_R, a Davide_R.
(You) are left without speaking-to-him, you, to David
'You left without speaking to David.'
- (ii) ?? [Mi avevi detto che l'avresti INVITATA]_{NewF}, a me_R, tua madre_R.
(You) to-me had said that (you) her would-have invited, to me, your mother
'You had said that you would have invited your mother.'

¹³ An anonymous reviewer wonders why the following sentence is ungrammatical when the infinitival adjunct *per vedere il direttore* is not right-dislocated (hence the lack of a comma after *ROMA*). The sentence is provided in its original form, which lacked focus subscripts. Presumably the stressed phrase *a ROMA* is focused.

- (i) * Gli ho detto di andare a ROMA per vedere il direttore, a Gianni_R.
(I) to-him have said to go to Rome to see the director, to John

We need to distinguish two cases, depending on the discourse status of the infinitival complement *per vedere il direttore*. If it is not discourse-given, then the cause of the ungrammaticality is the stress pattern. Italian main stress falls rightmost and should thus fall on the rightmost non-dislocated item, namely *direttore*. Indeed, sentence (i) becomes grammatical when stress falls on *direttore*, see (ii).

- (ii) [Gli ho detto di andare a Roma per vedere il DIRETTORE]_{NewF}, [a Gianni]_R.
(I) to-him have said to go to Rome to see the director, to John
'I told John to go to Rome to see the director.'

The second case occurs when the adjunct *per vedere il direttore* is discourse-given and marginalized in situ. Marginalized phrases always require the presence of a context sentence that must be duly read, possibly aloud, before grammaticality can be assessed. This is because unlike right-dislocated phrases, marginalized phrases do not seem to allow for accommodation: their discourse-giveness is not naturally inferred from their position and prosody. When such context is provided, sentence (i) is grammatical, see (iii).

- (iii) A: Hai detto a Gianni di andare a Milano per vedere il direttore?
(You) have said to John to go to Milan to see the director
'Did you tell John to go to Milan to see the director?'
- B: No. Gli ho detto di andare a ROMA_F [per vedere il direttore]_M, [a Gianni]_R.
No. (I) to-him have said to go to Rome to see the director, to John
'No. I told John to go to ROME to see the director.'

- (69) Context: Chi ha promesso di aiutare i ragazzi?
‘Who promised to help the boys?’

Ha promesso di aiutar-li MARCO_F, i ragazzi_R.
Has promised of to-help-them Mark, the boys
‘MARK promised to help the boys.’

- (70) Context: Chi vi ha obbligato a portare le pistole?
‘Who forced you to bring the guns?’

Ci ha obbligato a portar-le MARCO_F, le pistole.
Us has forced to to-bring-them Mark, the guns
‘MARK forced us to bring the guns.’

The presence of right roof violations in the above examples is certain. To begin with, the right-dislocated status of the objects is not in doubt, given the presence of clitic doubling and the typical intonation pattern associated with RD. Furthermore, the focused subject cannot be analysed as part of the lower clause, since the non-finite complement clause lacks a case-assigner for it, and, in (70), even a theta-role, since the lower PRO subject is controlled by the higher clitic object *ci* ‘us’. We may also further check the position of the focused subject by replacing it with its negative counterpart, as in (71), and note that as expected it fails to be licensed by a

The same reviewer also wonders whether the analysis proposed for sentence (iv) also predicts the grammaticality of sentence (v), which s/he finds ungrammatical (personally, I find (v) grammatical, hence the parentheses around the star symbol).

- (iv) Ci ha obbligato a portar-le MARCO_F, [le pistole]_R.
Us has forced to-bring-them Mark, the guns
‘MARK forced us to bring the guns.’
- (v) (*)Ci hanno obbligato a dar-la a Maria I PROFESSORI_F, [la medaglia]_R.
Us have forced to-give-it to Mary the professors, the medal
‘The PROFESSORS forced us to give the medal to Mary.’

As shown in (vi), the two sentences are structurally identical except for the indirect object intervening between the verb and the focused subject in (v). The indirect object is likely to be the cause of the ungrammatical assessment, as some native speakers of Italian appear to disallow discourse-given material from occurring between a verb and a post-verbal focused subject, possibly due to an adjacency constraint on case-assignment.

- (vi) ... Aux V [_{CP} ... t₁ ...] S_{FOCUS}, O_{Ri}

Indeed, sentence (v) becomes grammatical again when the indirect object is expressed through a clitic and the other constituents are made prosodically less heavy. This is shown in (vii), which is grammatical and involves the same ditransitive verb and right dislocated object of (v).

- (vii) Ci ha obbligato a dar-te-la MARCO_{FOCUS}, la medaglia.
Us has forced to-give-to-you-it MARK, the medal
‘MARK forced us to give you the medal.’

Whatever the final analysis of (v), it is worth recalling that the sentences used to show that right dislocation can move constituent outside a clause is (iv), i.e. the type of sentence deemed grammatical by all native speakers, reviewer included. The ungrammaticality of (v) for some speakers is undoubtedly worth studying, but it does not undermine the point being made nor the structural analysis being provided.

neg-marker placed in the subordinate clause, thus confirming that it is part of the main clause, arguably positioned in specVP.

- (71) a. * Ha promesso di non aiutar-li NESSUNO_F, i ragazzi.
 Has promised of not to-help-them anybody, the boys
 b. * Ci ha obbligato a non portar-le NESSUNO_F, le pistole.
 Us has forced to not to-bring-them anybody, the guns

The right roof violations in (69) and (70) are incompatible with clause-internal analyses of RD à la Cecchetto (1999) and Villalba (2000) where right-dislocated constituents raise to an intermediate topic projection between TP and VP. These analyses predict that the right-dislocated object in (69) and (70) would remain within the lower clause and adjacent to the precedent verb; they cannot account for the position of the focused subject. To see this, consider the associated derivation. Assume the focused subject lies in specVP within the main clause as shown in (72) (a), this being the lowest possible position it may take. As (72)(b) shows, right-dislocating the object within the complement clause would leave the focused subject before the verb of the subordinate clause, thus not matching the order in (69) and (70). Even raising the entire complement to the left of the focused subject, as in (72) (c), would not produce the attested linear order because the object never leaves the subordinate clause. (To avoid excessive cluttering, the derivation in (72) does not represent auxiliaries and clitic doubling and the same holds for the other derivations later in this section.)

- (72) 1. Base: $V S_F [_{TP} PRO V_{-Fin} O_R]$
 2. Object dislocated within lower clause: $V S_F [_{TP} PRO V_{-Fin} O_{R,k} t_k]$
 3. Raising of remnant TP: $V [_{TP} PRO V_{-Fin} O_{R,k} t_k]_i S_F t_i$

A more complex analysis, still based on a clause-internal analysis of RD, could raise the object O_R all the way up to the clause-internal topic projection of the higher clause, as in (73)(b). The entire subordinate clause would then have to raise to an even higher topic projection in the main clause as in (73)(c) to ensure that the subordinate verb precedes the object O_R , but even these operations do not yield the order of (69) and (70).

- (73) 1. Base: $V S_F [_{TP} PRO V_{-Fin} O_R]$
 2. RD to higher clause: $V O_{R,k} S_F [_{TP} PRO V_{-Fin} t_k]$
 3. TP raising: $V [_{TP} PRO V_{-Fin} t_k]_i O_{R,k} S_F t_i$

To get the right order, the focused subject would finally have to raise to an intermediate position between the infinitival complement $[_{TP} PRO V_{-Fin} t_k]_i$ and the dislocated object O_R . As we saw in Chapter 3, however, this kind of short-range raising is unavailable to focused constituents: postverbal subjects focus in situ and cannot raise past any immediately higher discourse-given phrase. It follows that even this analysis cannot be maintained.

Any other conceivable derivation based on a clause-internal analysis of right dislocation faces the same problems. On one hand, the object in the infinitival clause must raise to the higher clause, or else it will be impossible to separate it from its clause. On the other hand, the assumed clause-internal position for RD necessarily places the raised object before the focused subject, thus still requiring the short-range focus raising shown to be impossible in Chapter 3.¹⁴

In contrast, a suitable derivation is readily available under the clause-external analysis of RD proposed in this book. As (74) shows, first the object dislocates to the higher clause. Then the infinitival complement shifts to the left of the focused subject; this being the independently attested raising of lower-generated discourse-given constituents above a higher focus examined at length in Chapter 3. Finally, the main clause raises as a remnant again in accord with the analysis of RD, yielding the correct word order.

- (74) 1. Base: $V S_F [_{TP} PRO V_{-Fin} O_R]$
 2. RD to higher clause: $O_{R,j} \phi_R [V S_F [_{TP} PRO V_{-Fin} t_j]]$
 3. TP raising: $O_{R,j} \phi_R [V [_{TP} PRO V_{-Fin} t_j]_i S_F t_i]$
 4. Remnant movement: $[V [_{TP} PRO V_{-Fin} t_j]_i S_F t_i]_k \phi_X [O_{R,j} \phi_R t_k]$

¹⁴ A similar, but not identical, argument applies with respect to De Cat's examples of right roof violation. Consider sentence (i). The corresponding derivation under a clause-internal analysis of RD would have to raise the lower indirect object to the RD-position in the higher clause, as shown in step 2 of derivation (ii). Then the subject of the higher clause would have to dislocate to an RD-position preceding the previous dislocated item in order to match the final word order. Finally, the sentential adjunct would have to shift to an even higher position in the mid-field of the higher clause, again to match the final word order. This latter movement operation is the most questionable. It cannot be an instance of right dislocation because the moved phrase is both stressed and focused. Nor can it be movement to a clause-internal focus projection, since the CP does not express the entire focus of the sentence and clause-internal focus raising is unavailable as explained in Chapter 3.

- (i) [Partirai senza PARLAR-GLI]_{NewP_s} tu_{R_s} a Davide_R.
 (You) will-leave without speaking-to-him, you, to David
 'You will leave without speaking to David.'

- (ii) 1. Base: $V S_R [_{CP} senza V_{-Fin} IO_R]$
 2. IO to RD position of higher clause: $V IO_{R,i} S_R [_{CP} senza V_{-Fin} t_i]$
 3. S to RD position of higher clause: $V S_{R,j} IO_{R,i} t_j [_{CP} senza V_{-Fin} t_i]$
 4. CP-adjunct raised to higher clause: $V [_{CP} senza V_{-Fin} t_i]_k S_{R,j} IO_{R,i} t_j t_k$

In contrast, the clause-external analysis of right dislocation derives the sentence at issue with no need to stipulate any new operation, as shown in (iii). The indirect object dislocates first, followed by the subject, followed by remnant movement of the entire clause, yielding the correct order.

- (iii) 1. Base: $V S_R [_{CP} senza V_{-Fin} IO_R]$
 2. IO to RP, above higher clause: $IO_{R,i} \phi_R [V S_R [_{CP} senza V_{-Fin} t_i]]$
 3. S to RP: $S_{R,j} \phi_R [IO_{R,i} \phi_R [V t_j [_{CP} senza V_{-Fin} t_i]]]$
 4. Remnant movement: $[V t_j [_{TP} senza V_{-Fin} t_i]_k] \phi_X [S_{R,j} \phi_R [IO_{R,i} \phi_R t_k]]$

4.3.6 Agreement loss in regional Italian

As we saw in Chapter 2, agreement loss in Anconetan Italian provides an additional test distinguishing subjects higher than T from postverbal subjects lower than T (Cardinaletti 2001: 131). The relevant data are repeated here: (75) shows that agreement is necessary with specTP subjects, while (76)(a) and (76)(b) show that agreement loss is possible with focused and marginalized subjects in specVP (for further discussion, see Section 2.3.3).

- (75) Quei bambini *ha / hanno fatto questo DISEGNO.
 Those children has / have done this drawing
 ‘Those children did this drawing.’
- (76) a. ? Ha fatto I BAMBINI_F il disegno_{M/R} (non la maestra).
 Has done the children the drawing (not the teacher)
 ‘The CHILDREN did the drawing (not the teacher).’
- b. Ha già MANGIATO_F / FINITO_F / DORMITO_F i bambini_M.
 Has already eaten / finished / slept the children
 ‘The children already ATE / FINISHED / SLEPT.’

If right-dislocated phrases were situated lower than T, we would expect right-dislocated subjects following focus to allow for agreement loss, analogously to the post-focus marginalized subjects in (76)(b). But as (77) shows, agreement loss is impossible with right-dislocated subjects, confirming their clause-external position. The subject of (77) follows a clitic-doubled object to ensure its right-dislocated status.

- (77) Lo *ha / hanno fatto IERI_F, il disegno, quei bambini lì.
 It has / have done yesterday, the drawing, those children there
 ‘Those children over there, they did it YESTERDAY, the drawing.’

López (2009: 267) wonders whether agreement loss might be a quirky property of focused subjects, rather than being sensitive to their position. The data in (76)(b), however, shows that agreement loss is also possible with unfocused marginalized subjects, thus confirming that agreement loss is sensitive to the position of subjects, not their discourse status. We may therefore conclude that the distribution of agreement loss confirms the clause-external position of right-dislocated phrases.

4.3.7 Some apparent exceptions

Bocci (2013) proposes some interesting cases where apparently right-dislocated items precede a focus. The most typical and frequent examples involve sentences with multiple clauses, like (78). In these cases, a right-dislocated item can occur at the right-edge of its clause while still preceding the focus of another following or containing clause, as is the case here where the right-dislocated *la medaglia* ‘the

medal' precedes the focused *MARIA*. The right-dislocated object here occurs within a clausal CLLD-topic, and hence inevitably precedes the in-situ focus of the main clause. This class of data only shows that right-dislocated items do not follow foci in absolute terms, but only foci within the same clause. These data are consistent with the analysis provided here, since the right-dislocated item can still be analysed as located higher than TP with respect to the clause containing it, here the bracketed left-peripheral CLLD-topic.

- (78) [Che avevo deciso di dar-la a Gianni, la medaglia_R], lo sapeva solo MARIA_F.
That (I) had decided to to-give-it to John, the medal], it knew only Mary
'Only MARY knew that I had decided to give it to John, the medal.'

As Bocci (2013) points out, apparently more problematic cases of pre-focal right dislocation may occur within a root clause, although less naturally so; see (79) where the clitic-doubled *Giovanni* precedes the focused *MARINA* and is grammatical under the appropriate intonation. There are at least two reasons to question the right-dislocated status of this object, though. The first concerns its interpretation. *Giovanni* is interpreted contrastively, clarifying that it is Giovanni, not other men, who must be introduced to Marina. That this is indeed the case is shown in (80), which under the appropriate intonation allows for the explicit negation of potential alternatives to Giovanni. This is significant, because as shown by Benincá and Poletto (2004), Brunetti (2009), and Samek-Lodovici (2009), and as further discussed in Section 5.3.4.1.4, genuine right-dislocated items are never contrastive. Indeed, when *Giovanni* occurs as a genuine post-focus right-dislocated object, as in (81), it can no longer be contrasted against potential alternatives, see (82).

- (79) Lo devi presentare, Giovanni, a MARINA_F.
(You) him must introduce, John, to MARINA
'You must introduce John to MARINA.'
- (80) Lo devi presentare, Giovanni, non Marco, a MARINA_F.
(You) him must introduce, John, not Mark, to MARINA
'You must introduce John, not Mark, to MARINA.'
- (81) Lo devi presentare a MARINA_F, Giovanni_R.
(You) him must introduce to MARINA, John
'You must introduce him to MARINA, John.'
- (82) * Lo devi presentare a MARINA_F, Giovanni_R, non Marco.
(You) him must introduce to MARINA, John, not Mark

A second piece of evidence against the right-dislocated status of the prefocal object comes from the observation that it can be easily turned into the object of a typical afterthought expression such as 'I mean', suggesting it might actually constitute an

afterthought. Bocci (2013) provides evidence against an afterthought analysis for the multiclausal sentences examined in (78), but not for the root-clause prefocal items like *Giovanni* in (79), thus leaving an afterthought analysis a distinct possibility.

- (83) Lo devi presentare, Giovanni intendo, a MARINA_F.
 Him (you) must introduce, John I mean, to MARINA
 ‘You must introduce him, John I mean, to MARINA.’

More research is needed to understand the discourse function and syntactic representation of these constructs. Yet, they clearly are not right-dislocated phrases, and hence not an exception to the TP-external position of right-dislocated phrases established in the previous sections.

4.4 Right dislocation is movement-based

Having determined that RD is clause-external, we need to examine whether right-dislocated phrases are moved or base-generated. In this section, I consider the main tests proposed in support of base-generation in Cinque’s (1990) study of CLLD, as well as other properties, and show that they support a movement analysis of RD⁻.

The evidence for a movement analysis of the clitic-doubled variant RD⁺, discussed toward the end of the section, is more limited. Nevertheless, I will argue that a movement analysis remains the most convincing account available for RD⁺ too. I will also briefly consider the claim in López (2009) that CLLD itself is movement-based, which, if correct, makes a base-generation analysis of both RD⁻ and RD⁺ even harder to contemplate.

4.4.1 NE-cliticization

A particularly informative test in Cinque (1990) distinguishes movement from base-generation through the distribution of the Italian pronominal clitic *ne* ‘of them’.

In Italian, the NP complement of a quantified DP of the form ‘[Q NP]’ can be pronominalized by *ne*, as illustrated in structure (84) (Belletti and Rizzi 1981; Rizzi 1982; Cinque 1990: 69). When the quantified phrase occurs in object position and the NP is unexpressed, *ne*-cliticization is obligatory (more precisely, *ne* constitutes the pronominal realization of the NP). This is shown in (85)–(87) for a transitive, passive, and unaccusative clause respectively, where (a) shows the full object DP and (b) the obligatory *ne*-cliticization when the NP is omitted. *Ne*-cliticization, passivization, and unaccusativity all trigger agreement on the verbal past-participle.

- (84) ne_i aux V [_{DP} Quantifier t_i].
- (85) a. [Gianni ha venduto cinquanta BIGLIETTI]_{NewF}.
 John has sold.sgM fifty tickets
 ‘John sold fifty tickets.’

- b. [Gianni *(ne) ha venduti CINQUANTA]_{NewF}.
John (of-them) has sold.plM fifty
'John sold fifty of them.'
- (86) a. [Cinquanta biglietti sono stati venduti]_{NewF}.
Fifty tickets are been sold.plM
'Fifty tickets were sold.'
- b. [* (Ne) sono stati venduti CINQUANTA]_{NewF}.
(Of-them) are been sold.plM fifty
'Fifty of them have been sold.'
- (87) a. [Sono cadute cinquanta galline nel POZZO]_{NewF}.
Are fallen.plF fifty hens in-the well
'Fifty hens fell into the well.'
- b. [* (Ne) sono cadute cinquanta nel POZZO]_{NewF}.
(Of-them) are fallen.plF fifty in-the well
'Fifty of them fell into the well.'

Crucially, the obligatoriness of *ne*-cliticization is preserved under movement (Cinque 1990; Rizzi 1981). For example, *wh*-extracted direct objects still require *ne*-cliticization when the quantified NP is absent: compare (88)(a) showing *ne*-cliticization against the ungrammatical (88)(b) lacking it. The same holds for *wh*-extracted subjects generated in object position in passive and unaccusative constructions, see (89) and (90). In all examples, stress falls clause-finally.

- (88) a. Quanti ne hai venduti?
How-many (you) of-them have sold.plM
'How many did you sell?'
- b. * Quanti hai venduto/i?
How-many (you) have sold.sgM/plM
- (89) a. Quanti hai detto che ne sono stati venduti?
How-many (you) have said that of-them are been sold.plM
'How many did you say have been sold?'
- b. * Quanti hai detto che sono stati venduto/i?
How-many (you) have said that are been sold.sgM/plM
- (90) a. Quante hai detto che ne sono cadute?
How-many (you) have said that of-them are fallen.plF
'How many did you say fell?'
- b. * Quante hai detto che sono caduto/e?
How-many (you) have said that are fallen.sgM/plF

Cinque exploits this property to test for the presence of movement in CLLD. If CLLD quantifiers involved extraction from an object DP with an omitted NP, the DP would obligatorily trigger *ne*-cliticization. But this is not the case, as (91) shows. Therefore, Cinque argues, the CLLD phrases in (91) should be analysed as base-generated DPs with the structure $[Q PRO]$. Cinque's analysis is also supported by the obligatory presence of the DP-related object clitic *le* 'them' for the CLLD phrase in (91)(a), showing that clitic doubling is unproblematic and in fact required. (In the passive and unaccusative cases (91)(b) and (91)(c) the CLLD DP can be analysed as doubled by a resumptive *pro* in specTP).¹⁵

- (91) a. Cinquanta, sappiamo che Gianni li / *ne ha venduti IERI_F.
 Fifty, (we) know that John them / of-them has sold.p1M yesterday
 'We know that John sold fifty YESTERDAY.'
- b. Cinquanta, sappiamo che (*ne) sono stati venduti IERI_F.
 Fifty, (we) know that (of-them) are been sold.p1M yesterday
 'We know that fifty were sold YESTERDAY.'
- c. Cinquanta, sappiamo che (*ne) sono cadute nel POZZO_F.
 Fifty, (we) know that (of-them) are fallen.p1F in-the well
 'We know that fifty fell into the WELL.'

By the same logic, we expect object quantifiers targeted by RD^- to require *ne*-cliticization if movement-based, and lacking it if base-generated as $[Q PRO]$. As the following examples show, *ne*-cliticization is always necessary, confirming the movement nature of RD^- . Compare the grammatical sentences in (a) against their ungrammatical counterparts in (b) lacking *ne*-cliticization (clitics in bold). In all examples, the dislocated quantified phrase follows a clitic-doubled, right-dislocated indirect object or locative, thus ensuring its right-dislocated status and excluding a marginalization analysis.

- (92) Context: Gianni ha venduto cinquanta biglietti a Marco domenica scorsa.
 John has sold fifty tickets to Mark Sunday last
 'John sold fifty tickets to Mark last Sunday.'

¹⁵ As for why *ne*-cliticization is impossible under CLLD, Cinque (1990: 71) argues that any of the structures potentially involving it is excluded. Structure (i) is excluded because *ne* has no source. Structure (ii) is excluded because the trace 't_i' does not qualify as any of the legitimate nominal empty categories. It cannot be *pro* because it is not identified, nor PRO because it is governed, nor an NP trace because it is not A-bound in its governing category, nor a variable because the construction does not involve the movement of an operator (Cinque 1990: 73). Finally, extracting the quantifier on its own, as in (iii), is also not possible because the quantifier is not referential and cannot enter into a binding relation with its trace, nor a government chain due to the absence of a moved operator in CLLD constructions.

(i) $[Q PRO]_i \dots ne_k \text{ aux } V \ t_i$
 (ii) $[Q \ t_k]_i \dots ne_k \text{ aux } V \ t_i$
 (iii) $Q_i \dots ne_k \text{ aux } V \ [_{DP} \ t_i \ t_k]$

- a. No. Gianni **gli-e-ne** ha venduti IERI_F, a Marco_R, cinquanta_R.
 No. John to-him-prt-of-them has sold yesterday, to Mark, fifty
 ‘No. John sold fifty of them to Mark YESTERDAY.’
- b. * No. Gianni **gli** ha venduto/i IERI_F, a Marco_R, cinquanta_R.
 No John to-him has sold.sgM/plM yesterday, to Mark, fifty
- (93) Context: Gianni ha venduto cinquanta biglietti a Marco domenica scorsa.
 John has sold fifty tickets to Mark Sunday last
 ‘John sold fifty tickets to Mark last Sunday.’
- a. No. **Gli-e-ne** sono stati venduti IERI_F, a Marco_R, cinquanta_R.
 No. To-him-prt-of-them are been sold.plM yesterday, to Mark, fifty
 ‘No. Fifty of them were sold to Mark YESTERDAY.’
- b. * No. **Gli** sono stato/i venduto/i IERI_F, a Marco_R, cinquanta_R.
 No To-him are been.sgM/plM sold.sgM/plM yesterday, to Mark, fifty
- (94) Context: Domenica scorsa sono cadute nel pozzo cinquanta galline.
 Sunday last are fallen in-the well fifty hens
 ‘Last Sunday fifty hens fell in the well.’
- a. No. **Ce ne** sono cadute IERI_F, nel pozzo_R, cinquanta_R.
 No. There of-them are fallen.plF yesterday, in-the well, fifty
 ‘No. Fifty of them fell in the well YESTERDAY.’
- b. ?? No. **Ci** sono caduto/e IERI_F, nel pozzo_R, cinquanta_R.
 No. There are fallen.sgM/plF yesterday, in-the well, fifty

In conclusion, the *ne*-cliticization test strongly supports a movement analysis for the clitic-less right-dislocation variant RD⁻.¹⁶

¹⁶ Cinque’s test allows for further interesting results not directly related to RD. The first one concerns the syntactic status of preverbal subjects. As the following examples show, they do not allow for *ne*-cliticization even when supposedly extracted from object position, as in the following passive and unaccusative clauses. These data support the analysis of Italian preverbal subjects as base-generated CLLD topics, as argued—ignoring minor differences—in Frascarelli (2007) and Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998).

- (i) a. [Cinquanta biglietti sono stati VENDUTI]_F.
 Fifty tickets are been sold.plM
 ‘Fifty tickets have been sold.’
- b. [Cinquanta (*ne) sono stato/i VENDUTO/I]_{NewF}.
 Fifty (of-them) are been.sgM/plM sold.sgM/plM
 ‘Fifty have been sold.’
- (ii) a. [Cinquanta galline sono cadute nel POZZO]_{NewF}.
 Fifty hens are fallen.plF in-the well
 ‘Fifty hens fell into the well.’
- b. [Cinquanta (*ne) sono caduto/e nel POZZO]_{NewF}.
 Fifty (of them) are fallen.sgF/plF in-the well
 ‘Fifty fell into the well.’

4.4.2 Absence of mandatory clitic doubling

Another property that Cinque (1990) associates with base-generation is the obligatory presence of clitic doubling for left-dislocated object DPs. This is shown in (95) (a), where the base-generated CLLD phrase *il vino* ‘the wine’ must be doubled by the object clitic *lo*. Compare it with the corresponding clitic-less RD case in (95)(b). The judgement is particularly clear when the sentence is assessed as a reply to the context sentence. As usual, the presence of a right-dislocated indirect object ensures that the object is not marginalized in situ.

- (95) Context: *Domenica scorsa abbiamo portato il vino a Marco.*
 Sunday last (we) have brought the wine to Mark
 ‘Last Sunday we brought the wine to Mark.’
- a. No. *Il vino, *gli / gli-e-lo abbiamo portato IERI_F, a Marco_R.*
 No. The wine, (we) to-him / to-him-prt-it have brought yesterday, to Mark
 ‘No. We brought the wine to Mark YESTERDAY.’
- b. No. *Gli abbiamo portato IERI_F, a Marco_R, il vino_R.*
 No. (We) to-him have brought yesterday, to Mark, the wine
 ‘No. We brought the wine to Mark YESTERDAY.’

Cinque maintains that the obligatory object clitic is a direct consequence of the base-generated status of CLLD. If the CLLD object had been extracted from object position, it would have created an operator-variable chain, allowing for a variable in object position which would make overt clitic doubling unnecessary. Clitic doubling is instead obligatory precisely because CLLD does not involve movement, hence excluding the presence of a variable in object position, while all other potential empty categories are also excluded for independent reasons (*pro* is not identified, *PRO* is governed, an anaphoric NP-trace is unlicensed because unbound in its governing category).

By the same logic, movement must be present when the object clitic can be omitted, since a variable is the only possible item available in object position in this case. Therefore, in the cliticless sentence (95)(b) the right-dislocated object must have been extracted, consistently with a movement analysis of RD.

4.4.3 Reconstruction

Reconstruction effects are present with both CLLD and RD structures. López (2009) makes a strong case against interpreting reconstruction effects in any other way than as movement-based, strongly suggesting that both CLLD and RD involve movement.

Furthermore, the observation that the *wh*-extracted subjects of passives and unaccusatives require *ne*-cliticization, as discussed in the main text, supports Rizzi’s (1986) claim that Italian subjects are *wh*-extracted directly from their VP-position rather than from their derived preverbal position. In the latter case, we would expect *ne*-cliticization to be absent on a par with the above data in (i)(a) and (ii)(a).

Even if Cinque (1990) were correct in maintaining that reconstruction effects per se cannot be considered sufficient evidence for movement, the reconstruction cases examined in Section 4.2.1.1 support a movement analysis of RD. In particular, the reconstruction properties of the anaphoric object in (96)(a) cannot be explained through the presence of a silent object clitic, because if a silent clitic were present an overt clitic ought to be possible too, but it is not, as (96)(b) shows (see Section 4.2.1.1 for discussion).

- (96) a. *pro_i gli hanno già descritto IERI_F, a Gianni_R, se stessi_{R,i}.*
 (They) to-him have already described yesterday, to John, themselves
 ‘They already described themselves to John YESTERDAY.’
- b. * *pro_i gli-e-li_i hanno già descritto IERI_F, a Gianni_R, se stessi_{R,i}.*
 (They) to-him-prt-them have already described yesterday, to John, themselves
 ‘They already described themselves to John YESTERDAY.’

If no clitic is present, however, the attested reconstruction effects can only be explained through a movement analysis involving a silent copy of the right-dislocated anaphoric object in object position, and letting this copy be bound by the subject.

4.4.4 *Wh-extraction*

As base-generated constituents in a specifier position, CLLD phrases unsurprisingly constitute an island to wh-extraction, as this would require movement out of an unselected specifier. As (98) and (97) show, wh-extraction is ungrammatical whether the left-dislocated clause is non-finite or finite respectively. The sentences in (a) show a simple CLLD construction, and the ungrammatical (b) sentences the corresponding wh-extraction case.

- (97) a. *Di voler aiutare Gianni, l'avete detto SPESSO.*
 Of to-want to-help John, (you) it have said often
 ‘As for wanting to help John, you often said it.’
- b. * *Chi, di voler aiutare/aiutarlo, l'avete detto SPESSO?*
 Who of to-want to-help/to-help-him, (you) it have said often
- (98) a. *Che avreste aiutato Gianni, l'avete detto spesso.*
 That (you) would-have helped John, (you) it have said often
 ‘That you would have helped John, you often said.’
- b. * *Chi, che avreste aiutato, l'avete detto spesso?*
 Who, that (you) would-have helped, (you) it have said often

If RD, like CLLD, were base-generated in the specifier of the unselected RP, it too would disallow wh-extraction. Instead, wh-extraction from right-dislocated clauses is possible provided clitic doubling is absent, i.e. under RD⁻. Extraction is more readily available with non-finite clauses, see (99) and (100), but marginally grammatical instances are also possible with finite clauses, see (101). Since the final clause is right-

dislocated, the typical raising intonation of interrogative clauses is not available here. The most natural intonation is close to that of a declarative.

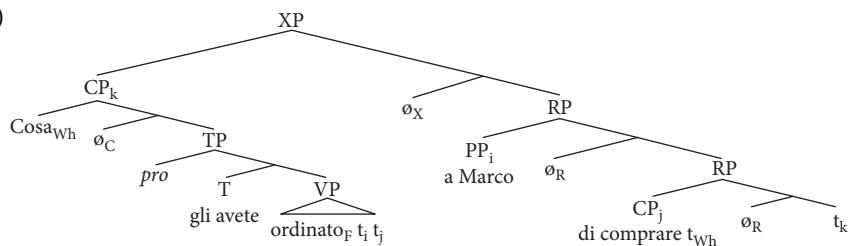
- (99) Chi gli avete detto SPESSE, [a Marco]_R, [di voler aiutare]_R?
 Who (you) to-him have said often, to Mark, of to-want to-help
 ‘Who did you OFTEN say to Mark that you wanted to help?’
- (100) Cosa gli avete ORDINATO_F, a Marco_R, [di comprare]_R?
 What (you) to-him have ordered, to Mark, of to-buy
 ‘What did you ORDER Mark to buy?’
- (101) ? Chi gli avete PROMESSO, [a Marco]_R, [che avreste aiutato]_R?
 Who (you) to-him have promised, to Mark, that (you) would-have helped
 ‘Who did you PROMISE to Mark that you were going to help?’

The availability of wh-extraction is unsurprising under the movement analysis of RD⁻ proposed in Section 4.2.2. The wh-phrase is extracted before the complement clause is dislocated. This is shown in the derivation in (102) for sentence (100). Wh-extraction occurs at step 2, followed by the cliticless dislocation of the complement clause at step 3 (auxiliaries and prepositions have been omitted). Note that the final remnant movement must include the wh-operator in specCP (or the relevant projection under a splitCP analysis), and consequently the RP projection hosting right dislocation must here occur above CP (for additional similar cases, see Section 5.4.5). The final structure is in (103). (The symbol ‘]’ closes all preceding square brackets.)

(102)

1. Base: $pro V_F [_{CP} C PRO V_{-Fin} Wh]_R PP_R$
2. Wh-extraction: $Wh pro V_F [_{CP} C PRO V_{-Fin} t_{WH}]_R PP_R$
3. CP right-dislocated (RD⁻): $[_{CP} C PRO V_{-Fin} t_{WH}]_R \emptyset_R [Wh pro V_F t_{CP} PP_R]$
4. PP right-dislocated (RD⁺): $PP_R \emptyset_R [[_{CP} C PRO V_{-Fin} t_{WH}]_R \emptyset_R [Wh pro cl-V_F t_{CP} t_{PP}]]$
5. Remnant movement: $[Wh pro cl-V_F t_{CP} t_{PP}]_k \emptyset_X [PP_R \emptyset_R [[_{CP} C PRO V_{-Fin} t_{WH}]_R \emptyset_R t_k]]$

(103)



The availability of wh-extraction thus provides independent evidence for the movement analysis of RD⁻. (The lack of wh-extraction under the clitic-doubled RD⁺ is addressed in Section 4.4.7.4.)

4.4.5 *Dislocation to higher clauses from tensed and untensed domains*

The movement-based nature of right dislocation is also confirmed by its unavailability with tensed complements of factive verbs, in direct contrast with the base-generated CLLD which remains available in these contexts as well.

As Truswell (2007a, 2007b, 2009) showed, movement of *wh*-operators out of the complement of factives is possible when the complement is non-finite, as in (104), but not when the complement has finite tense, as in (105) (examples adapted from Portolan 2005: 48. For English, see Erteschik-Shir 1973). Truswell maintains that movement is sensitive to the event articulation of the sentence. When the complement has non-finite tense, it forms a single macro event with the main clause, which, in turn, enables movement. When the complement has finite tense, each clause corresponds to an event of its own and movement is blocked.¹⁷

¹⁷ Truswell (2007a, 2007b, 2009) analyses alternations involving *wh*-extraction from tensed and untensed bare present participial adjunct islands such as the two sentences in (i).

- (i) a. The man that I went to England [after speaking to e]...
 b. * The man that I went to England [after I spoke to e]...

Under his analysis, events determine locality domains for *wh*-extraction. *Wh*-chains are subject to the Single Event Condition (SEC), which requires that the minimal constituent containing the entire chain asserts the existence of a single event in the actual world. In sentences involving adjuncts, like those in (i), the event variable of the matrix and that of the adjunct may form a single macro-event that satisfies the SEC, provided that the adjunct event variable is unbound and hence free to identify with the event of the matrix clause. Extraction is possible from the non-finite adjunct in (i)a but not from the tensed adjunct in (i)b because finite tense existentially quantifies over event variables (Higginbotham 1985). In the tensed adjunct (i)b the event variable of the adjunct is bound, which in turn blocks identification with the matrix event variable and therefore also the construction of a macro-event. Consequently, *wh*-extraction spans across two distinct events, violating the SEC and resulting in the sentence ungrammatical status.

The alternation is also sensitive to the type of verb in the main clause. Under Truswell's analysis, factives behave like tensed adjuncts in that they presuppose the existence of the event expressed by their complement. When the complement is non-finite, event identification enables the creation of a single macro event. *Wh*-extraction then satisfies the SEC and the sentence is fine. When the complement is tensed, instead, its event variable gets existentially bound and the entire sentence expresses two disjoint events. Consequently, *wh*-extraction violates the SEC, determining an ungrammatical sentence.

In contrast, bridge verbs neither presuppose, nor assert, nor deny the event expressed by their complement. Therefore, the only event asserted to exist in the actual world—and hence the only event relevant for the SEC—is the event expressed by the bridge verb itself (e.g. the saying, the thinking). The event expressed by the complement pertains to the belief word of the bridge verb agent, not to the actual world inspected by the SEC. The SEC is thus satisfied, and *wh*-extraction is possible independently of the tense specification of the complement, as shown by the two examples in (ii).

- (ii) a. Chi dice/pensa di aiutare?
 Whom (s/he) says/thinks of to-help
 'Whom does s/he say/think to help?'
 b. Chi dice/pensa che abbiamo aiutato?
 Whom (s/he) says/thinks that (we) have helped
 'Whom does s/he say/think that we helped?'

Truswell's analysis extends to other type of adjuncts, such as purpose clauses and prepositional participials. It also accounts for other empirical properties, explaining, for example, why matrix clauses involving predicates expressing accomplishments and achievements are more likely to allow extraction from untensed adjuncts than other predicates.

- (104) a. Chi si compiace di aiutare?
Whom (s/he) refl takes-pleasure of to-help
'Whom is s/he pleased to help?'
b. Dove si è rallegrato di poter restare?
Where (he) refl is rejoiced of to-be-able to-stay
'Where was he pleased to be able to stay?'
- (105) a. * Chi si compiace che hai aiutato?
Whom (s/he) refl takes-pleasure that (you) have helped
'Whom is s/he pleased that you helped?'
b. * Dove si è rallegrato che sei restato?
Where (he) refl is rejoiced that (you) are stayed
'Where was he pleased that you stayed?'

Truswell's analysis provides a diagnostics for movement. We expect base-generated CLLD constructions involving factives to be grammatical independently from the tense or untensed status of the lower complement, whereas movement-based RD^- should display the same tense-related alternation observed above with respect to wh-movement. Both predictions are borne out.

Starting with RD^- , examples (106) and (107) show that it is possible to right dislocate an argument or a locative adjunct out of non-finite complements, whereas (108) and (109) show that the same is not possible with their tensed counterparts. In all examples, the dislocated phrase lies outside the lower clause, since it follows the focused subject of the matrix clause (this subject cannot be situated in the lower clause, where it would not get case and would violate condition C, see section 4.3.5).

- (106) Context: Gianni si compiace di pescare pesci enormi.
John refl pleases of to-fish fish enormous
'John is pleased to catch enormous fish.'
? No. Si compiace di pescare MARCO_F, pesci enormi_R.
No. refl pleases of to-fish Mark, fish enormous
'No. MARK is pleased to catch enormous fish.'
- (107) Context: Gianni si è rallegrato di vivere in Italia.
John refl is rejoiced of to-live in Italy
'John is pleased to live in Italy.'
? No. Si è rallegrato di vivere MARCO_F, in Italia_R.
No. refl is rejoiced of to-live Mark, in Italy
'No. MARK is pleased to live Italy.'

- (108) Context: Gianni si compiace che hai pescato pesci enormi.
 John refl pleases that (you) have fished fish enormous
 ‘John is pleased that you caught enormous fish.’

*No. Si compiace che hai pescato MARCO_F, pesci enormi_R.
 No. refl pleases that (you) have fished Mark, fish enormous
 ‘No. MARK is pleased that you have caught enormous fish.’

- (109) Context: Gianni si è rallegrato che vivremo in Italia.
 John refl is rejoiced that (we) will-live in Italy
 ‘John is pleased that we will-live in Italy.’

* No. Si è rallegrato che vivremo MARCO_F, in Italia_R.
 No. refl is rejoiced that (we) will-live Mark, in Italy
 ‘No. MARK is pleased that we will live in Italy.’

The same alternation is absent in CLLD constructions. As (110)–(111) show, both the untensed and, crucially, the tensed CLLD counterparts of the RD⁻ cases are grammatical. The assumed context sentences are the same as those provided for the above RD⁻ cases.

- (110) a. No. Pesci enormi, si compiace di pescar-li MARCO_F.
 No. Enormous fish, refl pleases of to-fish-them Mark
 ‘No. As for enormous fish, MARK is pleased to catch them.’
 b. No. Pesci enormi, si compiace che li hai pescati MARCO_F.
 No. Enormous fish, refl pleases that (you) them have fished Mark
 ‘No. As for enormous fish, MARK is pleased that you have caught them.’
- (111) a. No. In Italia, si è rallegrato di viver-ci MARCO_F.
 No. In Italy, refl is rejoiced of to-live-there Mark
 ‘No. As for Italy, MARK is pleased to live there.’
 b. No. In Italia, si è rallegrato che ci vivremo MARCO_F.
 No. In Italy, refl is rejoiced that (we) there will-live Mark
 ‘No. As for Italy, MARK is pleased that we will live there.’

RD⁻ thus patterns with wh-extraction in showing sensitivity to tenseness when extracted from the complements of factives, CLLD shows no similar sensitivity. In the context of Truswell’s analysis, the insensitivity of CLLD to tense finiteness must follow from its base-generated status. By the same logic, however, clitic-less right dislocation must involve movement.¹⁸

¹⁸ Unlike wh-extraction, the sensitivity of RD-extraction to tenseness extends beyond factive verbs. Compare the examples in (i) and (ii), which hold independently from the presence of clitic-doubling (i.e. for both RD⁻ and RD⁺). Using Truswell’s analysis, I speculate that the examples (i) and (ii) encourage a discourse-given interpretation of the complement, hence presupposing the associated event, which eventually leads to the presence of two distinct events and prevents movement as in Truswell’s analysis of factives (see footnote 7).

4.4.6 Inconclusive tests

For completeness, this section examines two additional tests from Cinque (1990) that do not provide conclusive tests when applied to CLLD and RD.

4.4.6.1 Successive cyclicity The first test exploits the observation that movement-less chains lack the intermediate traces made available by successive cyclic movement in chains built by genuine movement operations such as *wh*-extraction. As Cinque points out, this predicts an asymmetry between CLLD and *wh*-movement when they apply to adjuncts lacking corresponding clitics. Since no clitic is present, the presence

- (i) a. Ha già promesso di aiutare/aiutar-li MARCO_F, i ragazzi_R.
Has already promised of to-help /to-help-them Mark, the boys
'MARK already promised to help the boys.'
- b. Ha già promesso di restare/restar-ci MARCO_F, in Italia_R.
Has already promised of to-remain/to-remain-there Mark, in Italy
'MARK already promised to remain in Italy.'
- (ii) a. * Ha già promesso che (li) aiuteremo MARCO_F, i ragazzi_R.
Has already promised that (we) (them) will-help Mark, the boys
- b. * Ha già promesso che (ci) resteremo MARCO_F, in Italia_R.
Has already promised that (we) (there) will-remain Mark, in Italy

The contrast with CLLD extends to these cases as well; see the grammatical CLLD sentences in (iii) involving tensed complement clauses.

- (iii) a. I ragazzi, ha già promesso che li aiuteremo MARCO_F.
The boys, has already promised that (we) them will-help Mark
'As for the boys, MARK already promised that we will help them.'
- b. In Italia, ha già promesso che ci resteremo MARCO_F.
In Italy, has already promised that (we) there will-remain Mark
'As for Italy, Mark already promised that we will remain there.'

Surprisingly, right dislocation to a higher clause is also sensitive to the type of focused constituent being used to delimit the matrix right edge. Focused subjects are fine, as we already saw. Adjuncts are possible too, as shown by (iv), where the focused adverb is interpreted as modifying the matrix clause. In contrast, dislocation past the focused indirect object of the main clause appears degraded, see (v).

- (iv) a. Marco aveva già promesso di aiutare/aiutar-li IERI_F, i ragazzi_R.
Mark had already promised of to-help/to-help-them yesterday, the boys
'Mark had already promised YESTERDAY to help the boys.'
- b. Marco aveva già promesso di restare/restar-ci IERI_F, in Italia_R.
Mark had already promised of to-remain/to-remain-there yesterday, in Italy
'Mark had already promised YESTERDAY to remain in Italy.'
- (v) a. */?/? Marco aveva già promesso di aiutare/aiutar-li a MARIA_F, i ragazzi_R.
Mark had already promised of to-help/to-help-them to Mary, the boys
'Mark had already promised MARY to help the boys.'
- b. */?/? Marco aveva già promesso di restare/restar-ci a MARIA_F, in Italia_R.
Mark had already promised of to-remain/to-remain-there to Mary, in Italy
'Mark had already promised MARY to remain in Italy.'

Fascinating as they are, the investigation of these properties goes beyond the goals of this work and is left to further research.

of intermediate traces becomes essential to establish the required chain of antecedent government relations necessary for licensing the original trace. Consequently, wh-extraction of these adjuncts is possible, whereas they disallow CLLD. For example, he notices the contrast between the grammatical sentences in (112), where the wh-phrase can be interpreted as modifying the lower clause, and those in (113), where the initial CLLD phrases are ungrammatical when interpreted as modifying the lower clause.

- (112) a. In che modo_i ha detto che l'AGGIUSTERÀ t_i?
In what way (s/he) has said that (s/he) it will-fix
'How did s/he say that s/he will fix it?'
- b. Per quale ragione_i ha detto che se ne ANDRÀ t_i?
For what reason, (s/he) has said that (s/he) self prt will-leave
'For what reason did s/he say that s/he will leave?'
- (113) a. * In modo definitivo_i, ha detto che l'AGGIUSTERÀ t_i, prima o poi.
In way permanent (s/he) has said that (s/he) it will-fix, sooner or later
'In a permanent way, s/he said that s/he will fix it, sooner or later.'
- b. * Per questa ragione_i, ha detto che se ne ANDRÀ t_i.
For this reason, (s/he) has said that (s/he) self prt will-leave
'For this reason, s/he says that s/he will leave.'

As (114) shows, however, CLLD constructions involving non-finite subordinate clauses can easily be interpreted as modifying the lower clause, undermining a base-generated analysis of CLLD.

- (114) a. In modo definitivo_i, ci obbligherà ad aggiustarlo t_i MARCO_F.
In way permanent, us will-force at to-fix-it Mark
'MARK will force us to fix it in a permanent way.'
- b. Per questa ragione_i, ci obbligherà a venire t_i MARCO_F.
For this reason, us will-force at to-come Mark
'MARK will force us to come for this reason.'

If CLLD is indeed base-generated, as argued in Cinque (1990), the data in (114) show that a lower-clause interpretation of CLLD adjuncts without movement is possible, under the appropriate circumstances. It follows, that factors other than the absence of intermediate traces must cause the asymmetry between tensed and untensed clauses in (113) and (114). This undermines the above test as a tool for distinguishing base-generated chains from genuine movement, making its application to RD irrelevant.

Furthermore, as we saw in the previous section, RD resists extraction from tensed clauses independently from the argument or adjunct nature of the extracted item. Consequently, the unavailability of a lower-clause interpretation for the right-dislocated adjuncts in tensed clauses, shown in (115), cannot be attributed to the absence

of intermediate traces and taken as evidence for a base-generated analysis of RD, because the same pattern is displayed by right-dislocated arguments lacking intermediate traces, as shown in (108) in the previous section.

- (115) a. ?? Ha detto che lo aggiusteremo t_i MARCO_F, [in modo definitivo]_i]_R.
 Has said that (we) it will-fix Mark, in way permanent
 'MARK has said that we will fix it, in a permanent way.'
- b. * Ha detto che verrete t_i MARCO_F, [per questa ragione]_i]_R.
 Has said that (you) will-come Mark, for this reason
 'MARK has said that you will come, for this reason.'

As in the CLLD cases, the factor determining the licensing of a lower clause interpretation is the finite or non-finite status of the lower clauses. As discussed in the previous section, tensed clauses block extraction, whereas untensed ones allow for it, as also shown by the examples in (116).

- (116) a. Ci obbligherà ad aggiustar-lo t_i MARCO_F, [in modo definitivo]_i]_R.
 Us will-force at to-fix-it Mark, in way permanent
 'MARK will force us to fix it, in a permanent way.'
- b. Ci obbligherà a venire t_i MARCO_F, [per questa ragione]_i]_R.
 Us will-force at to-come Mark, for this reason
 'MARK will force us to come, for this reason.'

More research is needed for a proper understanding of the causes of the above CLLD and RD extraction asymmetries, with Truswell's (2009) analysis of how tense affects event structure and interferes with movement extraction providing a promising research platform. Until the factors affecting extraction are properly identified, the successive cyclicity extraction test is uninformative, as it leads to opposite conclusions depending on whether extraction occurs from a tensed or untensed clause.

4.4.6.2 Parasitic gaps Cinque's (1990) diagnostics for movement also include parasitic gaps. CLLD does not license parasitic gaps, whereas constructions involving wh-extraction or focus movement do.

With respect to this test, RD patterns with CLLD, independently from the presence of clitic doubling. See the examples in (117), showing parasitic gaps licensed by wh- and focus-fronting in (117)(a) and (b), but absent under CLLD and RD in (117)(c) and (d).

As argued in detail in Villalba (2000: 253), however, the asymmetry between CLLD and RD on one side and wh- and focus-extraction on the other might just reflect the non-quantificational nature of CLLD and RD, which contrasts with the quantificational nature of wh- and focus-operators (see also Rizzi 1997). If the licensing of parasitic gaps requires a quantificational operator, lack of licensing under CLLD

and RD is expected and therefore uninformative with respect to their movement or base-generated nature. (But see also López 2009: 225 where parasitic gaps failures extend to wh- and focus-extraction constructions, suggesting that other factors might be relevant too.)

- (117) a. Chi hai cercato per mesi senza mai TROVARE?
Who (you) have sought for months without ever finding
'Who did you seek for months without ever finding?'
- b. GIANNI_F, ho cercato per mesi senza mai trovare!
John, (I) have sought for months without ever finding
'JOHN, I sought for months without ever finding!'
- c. ?? Gianni, [l'ho cercato per mesi senza mai TROVARE]_{NewF}.
John, (I) him have sought for months without ever finding
'As for John, I sought him for months without ever finding him.'
- d. ?? [(L') ho cercato per mesi senza mai TROVARE]_{NewF}, Gianni_R.
(I) (him) have sought for months without ever finding, John
'I sought him for months without ever finding him, John.'

The parasitic gap test is also undermined by the following data, showing that CLLD can license parasitic gaps when narrow focus is present even if it is not binding the parasitic gap; see (118)(a). The same appears possible with RD⁺, although not with RD⁻, see (118)(b)–(c).

- (118)
- a. Il tuo cane, l'ha cercato per mesi senza mai trovare MARIA_F, (non la polizia)!
The your dog, it has sought for months without ever finding Mary, (not the police)
'Your dog, MARY sought it for months without ever finding it (not the police)!'
- b. L'ha cercato per mesi senza mai trovare MARIA_F, [il tuo cane]_R (non la polizia)!
It has sought for months without ever finding Mary, the your dog (not the police)
'MARY sought it for months without ever finding it, your dog (not the police)!'
- c. ?? Ha cercato per mesi senza mai trovare MARIA_F, [il tuo cane]_R (non la polizia)!
Has sought for months without ever finding Mary, the your dog (not the police)
'MARY sought it for months without ever finding it, your dog (not the police)!'

While interestingly puzzling and calling for further research, these data show that the parasitic gap test is inconclusive.

4.4.7 Clitic-doubled RD⁺ is movement-based too

Some of the evidence for movement discussed so far with respect to RD⁻ cannot be applied to the clitic-doubled variant of right dislocation RD⁺. This includes evidence

based on data lacking clitic doubling, such as the discussion of dislocated adjuncts in the previous sections and the availability of right dislocation without clitic doubling examined in Section 4.4.2. Nevertheless, the evidence for a movement analysis of RD^+ remains significant.

4.4.7.1 Ne-cliticization As we saw in Section 4.4.1, the availability of *ne*-cliticization allows us to assess the underlying structure of dislocated object quantifiers. When the quantifier is base generated as part of a more complex DP of the form ‘[Q PRO]’, as in Cinque’s analysis of CLLD quantifiers, clitic doubling requires DP-related clitics and excludes *ne*-cliticization, because *ne* only doubles NPs, not DPs. When the quantifier is instead extracted via movement from an object of the form ‘[Q NP]’ where the NP is not lexically expressed, the stranded NP is obligatorily realized as the pronominal clitic *ne*, triggering *ne*-cliticization (see Section 4.4.1 for details). The test was then used to support the base-generated analysis of CLLD quantifiers, where *ne*-cliticization is obligatorily absent, and the movement analysis of quantifiers dislocated via RD^- , where *ne*-cliticization is obligatory.

A similar contrast is found between CLLD and RD^+ . As (119) shows, clitic-doubled right dislocation of the sole quantifier is not possible. Yet, under a base-generation analysis of RD^+ this sentence should be grammatical on a par with the CLLD sentence in (120). The dislocated quantifier would be base-generated as part of the DP ‘[Q PRO]’ and doubled by the DP pro-form *le* (them). The ungrammaticality of (119), on the other hand, follows immediately under a movement analysis, since the obligatory pronominalization of the stranded NP-complement via *ne*-cliticization is absent.

- (119) Context: Lunedì riceveremo cinquanta auto.
Monday (we) will-receive fifty cars
‘On Monday, we will receive fifty cars.’

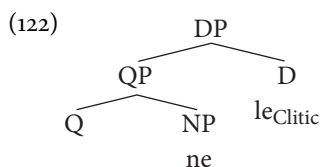
* No. **Le** riceveremo OGGI_F, cinquanta_R.
No. (We) them will-receive today, fifty
‘No. We will-receive fifty TODAY.’

- (120) No. Cinquanta, **le** riceveremo OGGI_F.
No. Fifty, (we) them will-receive today
‘No. We will-receive fifty TODAY.’

Quantifier dislocation by RD^+ remains ungrammatical even when *ne*-cliticization is present, as shown in (121). Under a movement analysis this is expected, as the presence of clitic doubling—inevitable in RD^+ —prevents the successful extraction of the clitic *ne*, as explained below.

- (121) Context: Lunedì riceveremo cinquanta auto.
 Monday (we) will-receive fifty cars
 ‘On Monday, we will receive fifty cars.’
- * No. **Le ne** riceveremo OGGI_F, cinquanta_R.
 No. (We) them of-them will-receive today, fifty

In accord with the analysis of RD⁺ proposed in Section 4.2.2.2, the object DP ‘[Q ne]’ must be generated in the specifier of a larger DP headed by the object clitic *le* responsible for clitic doubling. *Ne*-cliticization is then inevitably blocked, as it would require extraction of *ne* from the unselected specifier QP, which according to Cinque (1990) constitutes an island to extraction. The initial structure of the clitic DP is provided in (122).¹⁹



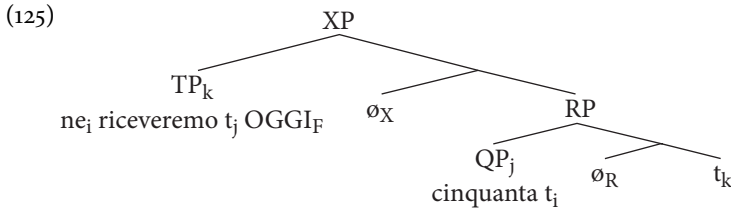
As shown in Section 4.4.1, *ne*-cliticization is instead possible under RD⁻, where the absence of clitic doubling allows for the object ‘[Q ne]’ to be generated in object position, which in turn allows for a successful extraction of *ne* in parallel with any other instance of *ne*-cliticization. An example of successful *ne*-cliticization under RD⁻ is provided in (123), with the corresponding derivation and final structure supplied in (124) and (125).

- (123) Context: Lunedì riceveremo cinquanta auto.
 Monday (we) will-receive fifty cars
 ‘On Monday, we will receive fifty cars.’
- No. **Ne** riceveremo OGGI_F, cinquanta_R.
 No. Them of-them will-receive today, fifty
 ‘No. We will received fifty cars TODAY.’

- (124) 1. Base: $pro\ V\ [Q\ ne]_R\ ADV_F$
 2. *ne*-cliticization: $pro\ ne_i\ V\ [Q\ t_i]_R\ ADV_F$
 3. Object right dislocation: $[Q\ t_i]_j\ \emptyset_R\ [pro\ ne_i\ V\ t_j\ ADV_F]$
 4. Remnant movement: $[pro\ ne_i\ V\ t_j\ ADV_F]_k\ \emptyset_X\ [[Q\ t_i]_j\ \emptyset_R\ t_k]$

¹⁹ Under this analysis, the pronominal or anaphoric nature of the object clitic is irrelevant, predicting that co-occurrence with *ne* will extend to reflexive clitic as well. As (i) shows, the prediction is borne out.

- (i) a. ***Se ne** sono arrivate IERI_F, cinquanta_R.
 refl of-them are fallen.Fpl yesterday, fifty



We thus observe three distinct patterns with respect to *ne*-cliticization in sentences involving quantifier dislocation by CLLD or RD. *Ne*-cliticization is obligatory under the movement-based RD^- , whose structure allows for *ne*-extraction. It is impossible under CLLD, where movement is not involved and the CLLD-ed DP binds a DP-related object clitic. It is also impossible with RD^+ , because its structure disallows *ne* extraction. However, the unavailability of right dislocation without *ne*-cliticization shows that *ne*-cliticization is still required, supporting a movement analysis of RD^+ .²⁰

4.4.7.2 Reconstruction A second argument supporting a movement analysis of RD^+ comes from the reconstruction asymmetries of Section 4.3.4. They show that the complements of right-dislocated nouns necessarily reconstruct. This, in turn, causes condition C violations in sentences involving right-dislocated complements like (126)(a), whereas similar sentences involving right-dislocated adjuncts are grammatical because adjuncts do not need to reconstruct, see (126)(b).

- (126) a. **pro*_k le ha smentite SUBITO_F, le voci che Gianni_k ha corrotto un giudice.
(He) them has denied immediately, the rumours that John has bribed a judge
'The rumours that John bribed a judge, he denied them IMMEDIATELY.'

²⁰ RD^- and RD^+ become indistinguishable when examining dislocated quantified subjects of passives and unaccusative verbs, since they are generated in object position but being subjects do not involve clitic doubling by object clitics. As we already saw in Section 4.4.1, in these cases *ne*-cliticization is obligatorily absent with CLLD and obligatorily present with RD^- . As for the RD^+ cases, since clitic-doubled right-dislocated subjects are doubled by *pro* in specTP (Cardinaletti 2001, 2002), no overt object clitic is present, and therefore extraction of *ne* becomes possible. The outcome is thus identical to the RD^- cases, requiring obligatory *ne*-cliticization as shown in (i)a–b. The derivation of (i)b follows in (ii).

- (i) Context: Cinquanta biglietti sono stati venduti domenica scorsa.
Fifty tickets are been.plM sold.plM Sunday last
'Fifty tickets were sold last Sunday.'
- a. ?? No. Sono stati venduti IERI_F, cinquanta_R.
No. Are been sold.plM yesterday, fifty
- b. No. Ne sono stati venduti IERI_F, cinquanta_R.
No. Of-them are been.plM sold.plM yesterday, fifty
'No. Fifty were sold YESTERDAY.'
- (ii) 1. Base: *pro* V [Q *ne*]_R ADV_F
2. *ne*-cliticization: *pro* *ne*_i V [Q *t*_i]_R ADV_F
3. Object right dislocation: [Q *t*_i]_j *phi*_R [*pro* *ne*_i V *t*_j ADV_F]
4. Remnant movement: [*pro* *ne*_i V *t*_j ADV_F]_k *phi*_X [[Q *t*_i]_j *phi*_R *t*_k]

- b. *pro*_k le ha smentite SUBITO_F, le voci che Gianni_k ha letto sui giornali.
 (He) them has denied today, the rumours that John has read on-the
 newspapers
 ‘The rumours that John read in the newspapers, he denied them
 IMMEDIATELY.’

If RD involved base-generation, and reconstruction involved a non-movement chain between the right-dislocated item and the object clitic, we would expect the dislocated object to reconstruct in its entirety, independently from the adjunct/argument nature of its modifiers, thus neutralizing the above asymmetry. Movement thus appears a necessary prerequisite for the observed alternation.

4.4.7.3 *Dislocation from tensed and untensed complements* The dislocation asymmetry examined in Section 4.4.5 with respect to RD⁻ seamlessly carries over to RD⁺ as well. As the following examples show, dislocation to a higher clause is possible from the untensed complements, but not from the tensed complements, of factives.

- (127) a. Si compiace di pescar-li MARCO_F, [pesci enormi]_R.
 refl pleases of to-fish-them Mark, enormous fish
 ‘MARK is pleased to catch enormous fish.’
 b. Si è rallegrato di viver-ci MARCO_F, in Italia_R.
 refl is rejoiced of to-live-there Mark, in Italy
 ‘MARK is pleased to live in Italy.’
- (128) a. * Si compiace che li hai pescati MARCO_F, [pesci enormi]_R.
 refl pleases that (you) them have fished Mark, enormous fish
 ‘MARK is pleased that you caught enormous fish.’
 b. * Si è rallegrato che ci vivremo MARCO_F, in Italia_R.
 refl is rejoiced that (we) there will-live Mark, in Italy
 ‘MARK is pleased that we will live in Italy.’

As already discussed in Section 4.4.5, the same alternation is present with wh-extraction but not with the corresponding CLLD constructions, suggesting that tenseness differentially blocks movement, and consequently that RD⁺, too, is movement-based (see Section 4.4.5 for further discussion).²¹

²¹ The extraction restrictions just discussed predict that sentences like (i) cannot involve object extraction across both clauses. The only possible analysis has the entire lower clause right-dislocated, and the object *i ladri* (the thieves) right-dislocated only with respect to the lower clause, as schematized in (ii).

- (i) Non SAPEVAMO_F, che li avevano presi, i ladri.
 (We) not knew, that (they) them had captured, the thieves
 ‘We did not know that they had captured the thieves.’
 (ii) Non SAPEVAMO_F, [che li avevano presi, [i ladri]_R]_R.

That this latter analysis is indeed possible is confirmed by the grammaticality of (iii), where the dislocated status of the lower clause is made explicit by the corresponding singular object clitic *lo* in the

4.4.7.4 *Wh-extraction from RD⁺ phrases* Unlike RD⁻, which allows for wh-extraction from untensed complements (Section 4.4.4), RD⁺ always disallows it. This is shown in the following two examples, where (a) and (b) respectively illustrate the cases with untensed and tensed complements.

- (129) Context: Vuoi sapere chi avevo detto che avrei aiutato?
 ‘Do you want to know who I had said that I would help?’
- a. * No. Chi **lo** avevi PROMESSO_F, [di aiutare]_R.
 No. Who (you) it had promised, of to-help
 ‘No. Who did you PROMISE to-help.’
- b. * No. Chi **lo** avevi PROMESSO_F, [che avresti aiutato]_R.
 No. Who (you) it had promised, that (you) would help
- (130) Context: Vuoi sapere dove abbiamo detto di comprare l’auto?
 ‘Do you want to know where we said to buy the car?’
- a. * No. Dove **lo** avete RACCOMANDATO_F, di comprare l’auto.
 No. Where (you) it have recommended, of to-buy the car
 ‘No. Where did you RECOMMEND buying the car.’
- b. * No. Dove **lo** avete RACCOMANDATO_F, che noi comprassimo l’auto.
 No. Where (you) it have recommended, that we bought the car

The absence of wh-extraction follows from the representation of RD⁺. As explained in Section 4.2.2, the dislocated complement is generated in the specifier of the DP headed by the doubling clitic; for example, the initial representation of (129)(a) prior to wh-extraction would be as in (131). This specifier is unselected, and therefore it constitutes an island to extraction (Cinque 1990), preventing wh-extraction. Nor can wh-extraction occur after the right dislocation of the complement, since this too would involve extraction from the unselected specifier hosting the dislocated clause.

- (131) *pro* avevi promesso [_{DP} [_{CP} di aiutare *chi*] **lo**]
 You had promised of to-help who it

It follows that the unavailability of wh-extraction under RD⁺ does not constitute evidence for a base-generated analysis, since it is also expected under a movement

main clause, which contrasts with the plural object clitic *li* required for doubling the plural object *i ladri*. The corresponding structure is sketched in (iv).

- (iii) Non **lo** SAPEVAMO, che **li** avevano presi, *i ladri*.
 (We) not it knew, that (they) them had captured, the thieves
 ‘We did not know that they had captured the thieves.’
- (iv) Non **lo**_i SAPEVAMO, [che **li**_k avevano presi, [*i ladri*]_{R,k}]_{R,i}.

analysis under the representation proposed in Section 4.2.2, which correctly accounts for the asymmetry between RD^- and RD^+ .²²

The asymmetry in wh-extraction also provides further evidence for the claim that the representation of RD^- lacks a doubling clitic, null clitics included (Section 4.2.1.1). If a null clitic were present, it would block wh-extraction in the same way as overt clitics do for RD^+ .

4.4.7.5 Evidence from López (2009) and Villalba (2000) The previous sections argue against a base-generated analysis of RD^+ by contrasting its properties against those of CLLD, which is claimed to be base-generated in Cinque (1990). Villalba (2000: 234–64) and López (2009: 213–38), however, argue forcefully that CLLD involves movement too, providing a detailed reassessment of the evidence supporting base-generation. To begin with, both authors argue that CLLD shows some of the properties typically associated with wh-movement. Villalba shows that CLLD mimics wh-movement in requiring across the board extraction. He also shows that even weak crossover effects become possible when considering long-distance CLLD. López shows that CLLD is sensitive to both weak and strong islands, against Cinque's claims. Both authors also show that subjacency is respected by CLLD. López's evidence involves sentences with complex NPs rather than Cinque's embedded CPs (López 2000: 226). His Catalan examples extend to Italian too; see the examples in (132).

- (132) a. ?? Di libri, non credo alla promessa che Gianni **ne** PORTERÀ.
 Of books, (I) do not believe to-the promise that John of-them will-bring
 'As for the books, I don't believe the promise that John will bring them.'
- b. ?? Intelligente, non credo alla promessa che il candidato **lo** SARÀ.
 Intelligent, (I) do not believe to-the promise that the candidate it will-be
 'As for being intelligent, I don't believe the promise that the candidate will be so.'

Villalba and López also examine Cinque's claim that CLLD involves movement-free binding chains responsible for its binding and reconstruction properties. López argues that only an analysis based on copy theory, and hence movement, may properly explain the binding and reconstruction properties of CLLD and RD and their contrast with genuinely base-generated constructions such as hanging topics, where reconstruction is absent. The same contrast is unaccounted for under Cinque's

²² If López (2009) is correct in maintaining that CLLD, too, is derived via movement, then the absence of wh-extraction under CLLD could be accounted for through a similar analysis whenever clitic doubling is present.

analysis of CLLD. López also examines and either refutes or reinterprets in movement terms most of the remaining arguments for a base-generated CLLD provided in Cinque (1990), Iatridou (1995), Anagnostopoulou (1997), Frascarelli (2004), and Suñer (2006).

If Villalba and López are correct, a movement analysis of right dislocation becomes inevitable, as even those properties that are shared with CLLD could not be interpreted as support for a base-generated analysis.

4.4.8 Summary

The following table summarizes the evidence discussed so far in support of a movement analysis of right dislocation.

(133) Movement related properties of RD^- , RD^+ , and CLLD.

	RD^-	RD^+	CLLD
1. Obligatory <i>ne</i> -cliticization	✓	✓	no
2. Tenseness blocking RD to higher clauses	✓	✓	no
3. Wh-extr. from dislocated complements	✓	no	no
4. No mandatory clitic doubling	✓	n/a	no
5. Successive cyclicity	✓	n/a	✓
6. Reconstruction effects	✓	✓	✓
7. Parasitic gaps	no	varies	varies

For the clitic-less variant RD^- , the evidence for movement is robust. A base-generated analysis would have to explain why RD^- diverges from base-generated CLLD on the first four properties. The remaining two properties, where RD^- and CLLD converge, support movement.

The evidence concerning the clitic-doubled RD^+ variant is more restricted but still compelling. The differences between RD^+ and CLLD with respect to *ne*-cliticization and right dislocation from tensed complements support a movement analysis, and so does the presence of reconstruction and parasitic gaps. The absence of wh-extraction follows from the representation of RD^+ , where the complex DP headed by the doubling clitic blocks extraction; the convergence with CLLD in this respect is thus accidental and cannot be interpreted as support for base-generation.

The evidence for a moved analysis of right dislocation has been supplied under the least favourable conceivable scenario, namely one where CLLD is base-generated as argued in Cinque (1990), as this analysis enables a parallel base-generated analysis of right dislocation. The above results, however, also show that despite the significant

progress in Cinque (1990), Villalba (2000), and López (2009), the status of Italian CLLD deserves further investigation, since properties 1–4 support a base-generated analysis but properties 5–7 favour a movement one. If CLLD turns out to be movement-based, as argued in López (2009), the movement-based nature of Italian right dislocation will be further strengthened, while at the same time raising the interesting issue—though one not relevant to this book—of how to account for the differences between right dislocation and CLLD in table (133).

4.5 Alternative analyses of right dislocation and related issues

This section compares the analysis of RD proposed in this chapter with alternative analyses in the RD literature. It examines the evidence favouring the analysis proposed in Section 4.2.2 over specific alternatives. It also examines those empirical observations from the RD literature that at first appear problematic for the analysis proposed here, showing that they are actually either invalid or need to be reinterpreted.

The first section discusses clause internal analyses of RD. After briefly discussing Kayne (1994), I examine at length Cecchetto (1999) and his critique of remnant movement analyses as well as similar points raised by the comparable analyses in Villalba (2000) and López (2009). The discussion also extends to the issues raised by Villalba (2000) and López (2009) about the binding properties of RD and the interaction of RD and CLLD.

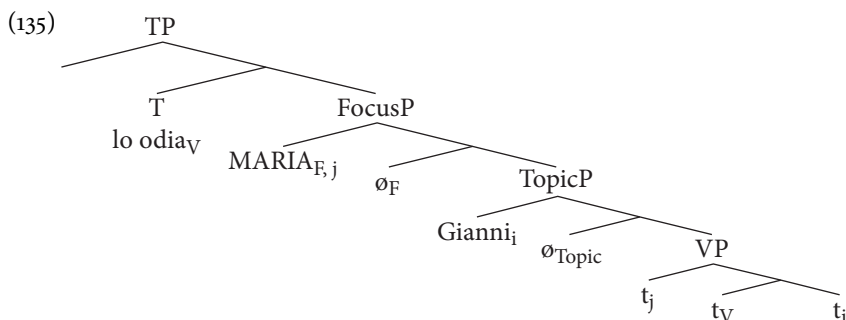
The clause-external analyses of RD are discussed in Section 4.5.2, including the binding and relativized minimality properties highlighted in Frascarelli (2004) and her IP-inversion analysis, where RD is derived from base-generated CLLD.

4.5.1 *Clause-internal analyses*

One of the first clause-internal analyses was proposed in Kayne (1994), where right-dislocated phrases are assumed to be generated in situ and raised to the position of CLLD at LF. When considered in the context of the knowledge gathered so far, this proposal treats right-dislocated phrases as marginalized phrases destressed in situ, and therefore it is unable to predict the observation that marginalized phrases must precede right-dislocated ones. The availability of clitic doubling becomes problematic too, as it is normally excluded within the clause for the reasons examined in Section 4.3.1. As Frascarelli (2000, 2002) points out, Kayne's analysis also incorrectly predicts right-dislocated phrases to be ordered in accord with theta-assignment, whereas in reality they are freely ordered. Further critical remarks are provided in Villalba (2000) and De Cat (2007).

A different and highly seminal analysis was proposed in Cecchetto (1999), where right-dislocated phrases raise to the specifier of an intermediate topic projection located between VP and a higher FocusP located between VP and TP; see (134) and the related structure (135) (slightly adapted from Cecchetto 1999: 58).

- (134) Lo odia MARIA_F, Gianni_R
 Him hates Mary, John
 ‘MARY hates him, John’



Similar analyses—maintaining that right-dislocated phrases move to an intermediate position between TP and VP—have been proposed by Belletti (2004), Villalba (1998, 2000), and López (2009). Belletti, working on Italian, follows Cecchetto (1999) but allows non-dislocated phrases to raise to an intermediate topic projection above focus, so that they can precede both focus and right-dislocated constituents. Villalba, working on Catalan, raises right-dislocated phrases to a topic projection immediately above *v*P. López, also working on Catalan, has RD trigger A-movement to a higher specifier of *v*P (the lower specifier being taken by thematic subjects).

4.5.1.1 Problematic aspects of clause-internal analyses The main problems affecting all clause internal analyses of RD, as far Italian is concerned, have already been discussed in Section 4.3 and need not be considered here. They included the observation that overt clitic doubling within a clause is impossible in Italian (Section 4.3.1), whereas clause-internal analyses must assume that RD is an exception to this generalization, and the observation that right-dislocated phrases always follow marginalized constituents (Section 4.3.2), whereas clause-internal analyses incorrectly predict the opposite order because the dislocated items dominate VP and hence also any item marginalized in situ within VP.

4.5.1.1.1 NPI-licensing A problematic aspect worth further discussion concerns the licensing of negative phrases and NPIs. In clause-internal analyses, right-dislocated constituents are c-commanded by T and hence remain within the licensing domain of a sentential neg-marker in T (or right above T, depending on where neg-markers are assumed to be located). Consequently, right-dislocated negative phrases and NPIs should be licensed, but as we saw in Section 4.3.3 this is not the case.

The clause external analysis proposed in this book correctly predicts this licensing failure, because right-dislocated phrases are not c-commanded by the licensing

neg-marker. In contrast, there does not seem to be any plausible way of modifying a clause-internal analysis so as to derive the same observation.

Consider for example the licensing of the negative adverb *mai* ‘ever’, which, as (136) shows, requires obligatory licensing by a *c*-commanding neg-marker when occurring in post-auxiliary position.

- (136) [Gianni *(non) ha mai comprato una MACCHINA]_F.
 John not has ever bought a car
 ‘John never bought a car.’

As expected, *mai* can be marginalized after a focused past participle with no effects on its licensing, see (137)(a). It cannot, however, be right-dislocated, since in this case it is no longer *c*-commanded by the licensing neg-marker, see (137)(b). Since clitic doubling is unavailable for adverbs, the dislocated adverb follows a clitic-doubled dislocated object, which ensures its right-dislocated status.

- (137) Context: [Gianni non affitterà mai le sue MACCHINE]_{NewF}.
 John not will-rent ever the his cars
 ‘John will never rent his cars out.’
- a. No. Gianni non le VENDERÀ_F mai, le sue macchine.
 No John not them will-sell ever, the his cars
 ‘No. John will never SELL his cars.’
- b. *No. Gianni non le VENDERÀ_F, le sue macchine, mai.

Clause-internal analyses incorrectly predict (137)(b) to be grammatical, since the adverb remains *c*-commanded by the higher neg-marker. Indeed, the availability of this licensing relation in Catalan is offered as evidence for a clause-internal analysis of Catalan right dislocation in Villalba (2000). By the same logic, however, a similar analysis is not valid for Italian, where licensing fails.

There is also no obvious way to rescue clause-internal analyses by identifying other factors as responsible for the licensing failure. For example, we could consider whether licensing fails to extend to items in specifier positions, including the dislocated negative adverb’s one in (137)(b). But according to Cinque (1999: 44), the adverb is in a specifier position also in (137)(a), where it is successfully licensed.

Similarly, stipulating a ban on adverbial right dislocation, however worded, would not account for the observed NPI-licensing failure with non-adverbs. It would also run counter to fact: for example, the adverb *sempre* ‘always’, which according to Cinque (1999: 9) is the positive counterpart of *mai*, can be right-dislocated and, like *mai* above, can occur after a dislocated object, see (138).

- (138) Context: [Gianni affitterà sempre le sue MACCHINE]_{NewF}.
 John will-rent always the his cars
 ‘John will always rent his cars out.’

- a. No. Gianni le VENDERÀ_F, le sue macchine, sempre.
 No John them will-sell, the his cars, always
 ‘No. John will always SELL his cars.’

In conclusion, clause-internal analyses of Italian RD cannot derive the licensing failure affecting right-dislocated negative phrases and NPIs.

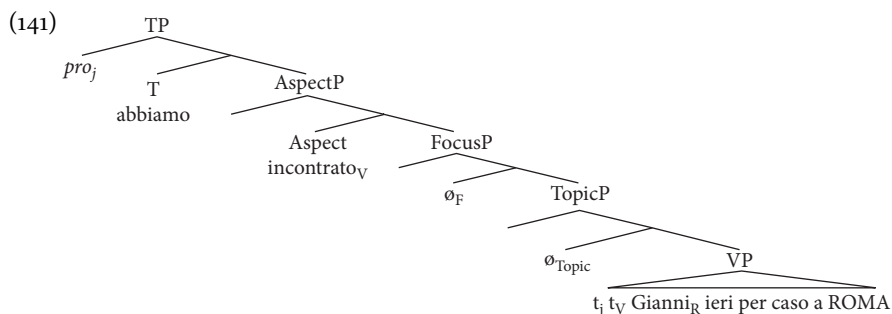
4.5.1.1.2 Interaction with clause-wide focus Another problematic aspect of clause-internal analyses concerns the interaction of focus and right dislocation. In Cecchetto (1999: 58), the focus projection posited immediately above the topic projection responsible for right dislocation is used to represent sentences where a single focused constituent precedes right dislocation, as in example (139) by Cecchetto.

- (139) Lo odia MARIA_F, Gianni_R
 Him hates Mary, John
 ‘MARY hates him, John.’

The same analysis, however, cannot account for sentences where focus encompasses the entire TP while still allowing for right dislocation of a specific constituent. Consider, for example, the derivation of (140a), where focus is TP-wide, except for the object *Gianni* which is discourse-given and right-dislocated.

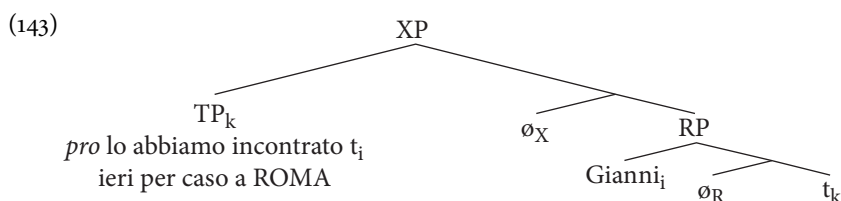
- (140) Context: Notizie di Gianni?
 News of John
 ‘Any news about John?’
- a. [Lo abbiamo incontrato ieri per caso a ROMA]_{NewF}, Gianni_R.
 (We) him have met yesterday by chance in Rome, John
 ‘We met him yesterday by chance in Rome, John.’

Clause-internal analyses à la Cecchetto would have to use the base-generated structure in (141), with its Focus and Topic projections, and dislocate the object *Gianni* to the specifier of TopicP. The problem is that nothing forces the constituents following *Gianni* to raise to the left of the dislocated object, as they are part of the focused TP but they are not independent foci.



Sentence (140a) is instead straightforwardly derived under the proposed clause-external analysis. As shown in (142), first *Gianni* is raised to specRP, then the entire TP is raised to specXP, thus preceding the right-dislocated object as required. As usual, stress falls on the rightmost item of the focused constituent, i.e. *Roma*. The final structure is in (143).

- (142) i. $[_{TP} \textit{pro} \textit{abbiamo} \textit{incontrato} \textit{Gianni}_R \textit{ieri} \textit{per} \textit{caso} \textit{a} \textit{Roma}]_{NewF}$
 ii. $[_{RP} \textit{Gianni}_i \emptyset_R [_{TP} \textit{pro} \textit{lo} \textit{abbiamo} \textit{incontrato} \textit{t}_i \textit{ieri} \textit{per} \textit{caso} \textit{a} \textit{Roma}]_{NewF}]$
 iii. $[_{XP} [_{TP} \textit{pro} \textit{lo} \textit{abbiamo} \textit{incontrato} \textit{t}_i \textit{ieri} \textit{per} \textit{caso} \textit{a} \textit{ROMA}]_{NewF,k} \emptyset_X [_{RP} \textit{Gianni}_i \emptyset_R \textit{t}_k]]$



4.5.1.1.3 Reconstructions effects Cecchetto (1999) argues against the presence of adjunct/argument binding asymmetries of the kind discussed in Section 4.3.4, claiming that binding into adjunct modifiers of dislocated complements is ungrammatical. This is an important observation, which if correct would provide support for a clause-internal representation of RD, since even late-inserted adjuncts would have to be c-commanded by a subject in specTP.

Cecchetto's observations, however, are limited to sentence (144), here repeated in its original format. A more appropriate test would consider more sentences, and, crucially, compare the adjunct cases against their argument counterparts, such as the one provided in (145). This is essential because the complexity of these sentences makes them rather unnatural and it is hard to distinguish grammaticality from pragmatic felicity when assessing them in isolation. Only by examining minimal pairs can we factor out pragmatic felicity and assess the presence of a grammaticality contrast.

- (144) *pro_i lo smentisce sempre dopo poche ore, l'annuncio che [un politico]_i dà alla stampa.*
 (S/he) it denies always after few hours, the announcement that a politician gives to the press
 'A politician always denies after a few HOURS the announcement that s/he gives to the press.'

- (145) * $[pro_i \text{ lo smentisce sempre dopo poche ORE}]_F, [l'annuncio \text{ che un politico, viene arrestato}]_R$.
 (S/he) it denies always after few hours, the announcement that a politician gets arrested
 'A politician always denies after a few HOURS the announcement that s/he has been arrested.'

Personally, I find (144) acceptable, and its argument counterpart in (145) strongly ungrammatical. As reported in Samek-Lodovici (2006), the same contrast was observed by all of the 18 informants consulted on similar minimal pairs, including informants who like Cecchetto did not find the adjunct case acceptable (the individual assessments are listed in Appendix A of Samek-Lodovici 2006). This sharp grammaticality contrast is expected under a clause-external analysis, as explained in Section 4.3.4, whereas it is incorrectly predicted absent by clause-internal accounts of RD.

It is also worth mentioning that two important factors might have interfered with the assessment of (144) reported in Cecchetto (1999). First, as it stands the sentence is pragmatically implausible because the singular definite object *l'annuncio* 'the announcement' appears to suggest that politicians make just one press announcement during their careers. Using a plural object and a plural bound referent makes the sentence more natural and acceptable, see (146).

- (146) $[pro_i \text{ li smentiscono sempre dopo [poche ORE]}]_F, [gli annunci \text{ che i politici, danno alla stampa}]_R$.
 (They) them deny always after few hours, the announcements that the politicians give to the press
 'Politicians deny after just a few HOURS the announcements that they give to the press.'

Second, the sentence was reported without indicating the position of main stress. This can easily lead to assessing it under intonational contours that do not correspond to the desired right dislocation structure.

4.5.1.2 *Cecchetto's arguments against clause-external analyses* Cecchetto (1999) offers an insightful discussion of five issues considered problematic for clause-external analyses of RD, including Kayne's double topicalization analysis which is structurally identical to the analysis proposed here but for the claim that RD and CLLD share the same specifier position.²³ While Cecchetto's issues are indeed problematic for some

²³ Many CLLD examples in Cecchetto (1999) involve a left-peripheral object DP and are therefore technically ambiguous between a CLLD and a hanging topic (HT) analysis (Benincà 2001). This raises the issue of which of the properties discussed by Cecchetto pertain to CLLD and which to HTs. This ambiguity does not affect the discussion of RD in this section. For a review of the properties distinguishing CLLD and HT see the comparison between CLLD and LD in Cinque (1990: 57), where 'LD' stands for Benincà's HTs.

clause-external analyses, they actually do not affect the remnant movement analysis proposed here. The first issue, concerning the reconstruction properties of dislocated adjuncts, was already examined in Sections 4.3.4 and 4.5.1.1.3, where I showed how these properties actually support the proposed analysis of RD. Two other issues, concerning ECP effects and Aux-to-Comp constructions, are irrelevant because, as Cecchetto acknowledges, they are not problematic for analyses exploiting Kayne's remnant movement structure (Cecchetto 1999: 51,53). The two remaining issues concern right-roof effects and proper binding, each discussed in detail below.

4.5.1.2.1 Right-roof effects Cecchetto correctly observes that Kayne's remnant movement analysis predicts long-distance RD to be possible. He is, however, incorrect in maintaining that the prediction is not borne out. As the several examples in Sections 4.3.5, 4.4.5, and 4.4.7.3 show, dislocation to a higher clause from a non-finite complement is amply possible.

Furthermore, the ungrammatical sentence proposed as evidence against long-distance RD extraction in Cecchetto (1999: 52), repeated in (147), is inadequate for two reasons. First, right dislocation occurs from a tensed complement, which as we saw in Sections 4.4.5 and 4.4.7.3, blocks extraction for reasons unrelated to RD, since extraction from untensed complements remains possible. Second, (147) actually involves right dislocation from a CLLD phrase, namely the initial clause *che gliela presti*.²⁴

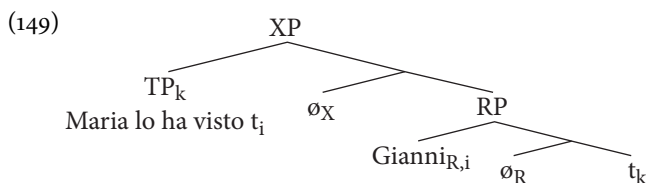
- (147) **Che gli-e-la presti, mi sembra STRANO, la macchina_R.*
 That (s/he) to-him-prt-it lends, to-me seems odd, the car
 'It seems ODD to me that s/he lends the car to him.'

Consequently, right dislocation here takes place from a tensed CLLD clause. Since neither right dislocation to higher clauses from tensed complements (Section 4.4.5) nor extraction from CLLD (Section 4.4.4) is possible, the ungrammaticality of (147) is expected, and therefore uninformative with respect to the properties of long distance RD.

4.5.1.2.2 Proper binding Cecchetto (1999) also argues that a remnant movement analysis à la Kayne fails proper binding when assessed relative to its surface structure since right-dislocated phrases no longer c-command their traces. The same criticism applies to the analysis proposed in this book. See sentence (148) and its structure in (149) where *Gianni* does not c-command its trace. (Remember that the clitic *lo* responsible for clitic doubling is not a resumptive pronoun; the trace 't_i' is still part of the structure.)

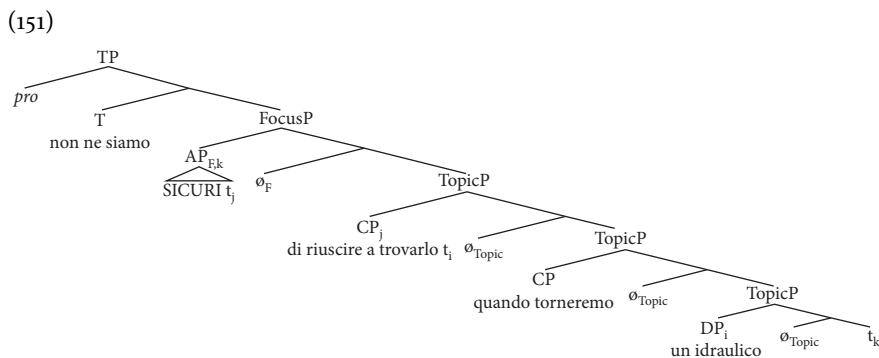
²⁴ Note that the initial clause *che gliela presti* cannot be analysed as a raised subject, as subject raising is case-driven and clauses resist case (Stowell 1981). Furthermore, even preverbal subjects have recently been shown to constitute left-dislocated constituents binding a null pronoun in specTP (Frascarelli 2007, see also Barbosa 1995, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, Cardinaletti 2004, Rizzi 2004).

- (148) [Maria lo ha VISTO]_{NewF}, Gianni_R.
 Mary him has seen, John
 ‘Mary SAW John.’



The same c-command relations, however, are also inevitably present under clause-internal analyses à la Cecchetto and therefore cannot be appealed to as an argument distinguishing them from clause-external alternatives. Consider for example sentence (150), which is very natural when uttered under an appropriate intonation contour involving prosodic downstep after each comma. It involves three right-dislocated phrases: the sentential complement *di riuscire a trovarlo*, doubled by the clitic *ne* in the matrix; the temporal adjunct *quando torneremo*, which must be right-dislocated since it follows the sentential complement; and the final DP *un idraulico*, extracted from the sentential complement, which is clitic doubled by the clitic *lo*. Under Cecchetto’s analysis these three phrases must have moved to the specifier of three corresponding topic projections above the adjectival phrase for *SICURI* (which eventually must raise to the higher FocusP). As the corresponding structure in (151) shows, the traces of *un idraulico* and the CP *di riuscire a trovarlo* are inevitably not c-commanded by their antecedents.

- (150) Non *ne* siamo SICURI_F, di riuscire a trovar-lo, quando torneremo, un idraulico.
 (We) not of-it are sure, of to-be-able to to-find-it, when (we) will-return, a plumber
 ‘We are not SURE that we will be able to find a plumber, when we come back.’



Indeed, the order of the dislocated constituents in the example guarantees a failure of proper binding under any conceivable anti-symmetric representation, independently

of the clause-external or clause-internal position assigned to right dislocation. Proper binding of phrasal traces does not distinguish between these competing representations, both of which must assume that proper binding is satisfied at the time of extraction.

4.5.1.3 *Other potential issues from Villalba (2000) and López (2009)* Like Cecchetto, Villalba and López discuss a series of concerns which at first might appear to also apply to the clause-external analysis proposed here. This section discusses those not already examined or implicitly addressed in the previous sections.

4.5.1.3.1 *Condition C.* López (2009: 90) maintains that Spanish right-dislocated objects are in an A-position and bind lower constituents. His analysis accounts for the alternation in (152) where an object containing a referential expression bound by a preceding indirect object violates condition C when in situ, as in (152)(a), but not when right-dislocated, as in (152)(b). Under López's analysis, the right-dislocated phrase is no longer c-commanded by the indirect object and its A-status blocks reconstruction into its base-generated position.

- (152) a. * Le devolví a ella_i el libro de Anna Tusquets_i.
To-her returned DAT her the book of Anna Tusquets
- b. Se lo devolví a ella_i, el libro de Anna Tusquets_i.
To-her it returned DAT her, the book of Anna Tusquets
'I returned the book by Anna Tusquets to her.'

At first, the corresponding Italian data appear to confirm López's analysis. The pattern in (153) matches that in (152). Violation of condition C even in the right-dislocated case, however, becomes sharply evident as soon as we ensure that the bound referent is an argument of the dislocated noun, as in (154). (Stress on the pronoun *LEI* naturally induces a contrastively focused interpretation, hence the 'F' marking. The listed judgements hold even when imposing a presentational focus interpretation on the TP containing *LEI*.)

- (153) a. * [Gli-e-l'abbiamo restituito a lei_i il libro di Anna Tusquets_i]_{NewF}.
(We) to-her-prt-it have returned to her the book of Anna Tusquets
'We returned to her Anna Tusquets's book.'
- b. ? L'abbiamo restituito a LEI_{F,i}, [il libro di Anna Tusquets_i]_R.
(We) it have returned to her, the book of Anna Tusquets
'We returned to her Anna Tusquets's book.'
- (154) *L'abbiamo ricordato a LEI_{i,F}, [l'arrivo di Maria_i]_R.
(We) it have reminded to her, the arrival of Mary
'We reminded her of Mary's arrival.'

The difference between (153)(b) and (154) concerns the adjunct/argument asymmetry already examined at length in Section 4.3.4. Sentence (153)(b) is marginally acceptable because the phrase *di Anna Tusquets* can be analysed as a possessive late-inserted adjunct not subject to reconstruction. The same is not possible in (154), where the argument of the dislocated noun necessarily reconstructs. A careful testing of condition C thus confirms the presence of reconstruction, consistently with the analysis of RD advocated in this chapter.

4.5.1.3.2 Relativized minimality effects. In his analysis of RD in terms of A-movement, López (2009: 91) also claims that a right-dislocated indirect object blocks subject raising in raising verb constructions. The corresponding Italian sentence in (155) is marginal.

- (155) ?? I pacchi sembrano esser-le_i stati inviati IERI_F, a Maria_R.
 The packages seem to-be-to-her been sent yesterday, to Mary
 ‘The packages seem to have been sent to Mary yesterday.’

If this analysis were correct, RD should also block subject raising when affecting the indirect object of the matrix clause. This is not the case; the corresponding sentence (156) is clearly grammatical.

- (156) I pacchi non le sembravano essere stati incartati BENE_F, a Maria_R.
 The parcels not to-her seemed to-be been wrapped well, to Mary
 ‘The parcels did not seem to Mary to have been properly wrapped.’

Furthermore, sentence (155) is ungrammatical even when right dislocation is absent, provided a dative clitic remains present in the lower clause.

- (157) ?? I pacchi sembrano esser-mi / -ti / -gli / -le / -ci / -vi / -gli stati inviati IERI_F.
 The parcels seemed to-be-to-me/you/him/her/us/you/them been sent
 yesterday
 ‘The parcels seem to have been sent to me/you/him/her/us/you/them
 yesterday.’

It follows that the ungrammaticality of (155) is determined by the as yet still poorly understood constraints governing the distribution of dative clitics. The same constraints are bound to affect right dislocation whenever it involves dative clitic doubling in complement clauses, irrespective of its clause-external or clause-internal nature. Consequently, sentence (155) cannot be considered as evidence for a clause-internal analysis of RD.

4.5.1.3.3 Pronominal binding by quantified phrases. Villalba and López also examine various cases of pronominal binding. Let me consider them in turn.

Preverbal subjects binding into RD—According to Villalba (2000: 191), Catalan preverbal quantified subjects can bind pronouns in RD phrases but not in CLLD

ones. This is shown by the following examples provided under Villalba's original format. The subject *ningú* can bind the null subject *pro* in the object starting with *totes* when the object is right-dislocated, as in (158)(a), but not when the same object occurs as a CLLD phrase in (158)(b).

- (158) a. Ningú_i les recorda, totes les pel·lícules que *pro*_i ha vist.
 Nobody them remembers, all the films that (s/he) has seen
 'Nobody remembers all the films that they have seen.'
- b. *Totes les pel·lícules que *pro*_i ha vist, ningú_i les recorda.
 All the films that (s/he) has seen, nobody them remembers
 'As for all the films that they have seen, nobody remembers them.'

According to Villalba, if RD is located above TP, both sentences will be ungrammatical because *ningú* would not c-command the null subject in both. This conclusion, however, does not consider reconstruction. Since Italian RD reconstructs, the grammaticality of (158)(a) is uninformative because the subject will c-command and bind the reconstructed object independently of whether RD is TP-internal or TP-external.²⁵

The corresponding Italian data differ from the Catalan ones and are consistent with the analysis of RD provided so far. Quantified subjects can bind pronouns in both RD and CLLD phrases. Since RD and CLLD both allow for reconstruction, this is expected.

- (159) a. [Nessuno_i li ricorda con PIACERE]_{NewF} [i soprusi che *pro*_i ha commesso]_R.
 Nobody them remembers with pleasure, the abuses that (s/he) has committed
 'Nobody remembers with pleasure the abuses that they committed.'
- b. I soprusi che *pro*_i ha commesso, nessuno_i li ricorda con PIACERE.
 The abuses that (s/he) has committed, nobody them remembers with pleasure,
 'As for the abuses that they committed, nobody remembers them with pleasure.'

Postverbal subjects binding into RD—López (2009: 92) claims that in Spanish postverbal subjects in spec-*vP* can bind into a following in-situ object but not into a right-dislocated one. According to López, this shows that RD involves A-movement, since A'-movement would enable reconstruction and make binding into right-dislocated objects grammatical.

The corresponding Italian data differ sharply. Postverbal subjects can bind into right-dislocated objects, see the following examples. This would be unexpected if RD involved the same unreconstructable A-movement claimed for Spanish, whereas it

²⁵ Incidentally, note that the ungrammaticality of (158)(b), showing quantifier binding into a CLLD example, is unexpected if CLLD is movement-based as claimed by Villalba (2000) and López (2009), since reconstruction should enable it.

follows straightforwardly if right-dislocated objects are A'-moved and able to reconstruct into their base position.

- (160) [Non l'ha ancora ricevuta NESSUN OPERAIO_i]_{NewF}, [la sua_i paga settimanale]_R.
Not it has yet received any worker, the his pay weekly
'No worker has received his weekly pay yet.'
- (161) [Non l'ha rivelata NESSUN CLIENTE_i]_{NewF}, [la password del proprio_i conto corrente]_R.
Not it has revealed any client, the password of his-own account current
'No client has revealed the password of their current account.'

The reconstruction of right-dislocated phrases is also visible under anaphoric binding, with postverbal subjects successfully binding right-dislocated anaphoric objects.²⁶

- (162) Li ha persi da piccolo GIANNI_{i,F}, i propri_i genitori_R.
Them has lost as little John, the own parents
'JOHN lost his parents as a child.'

²⁶ Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) point out that sentence (i) lacks a distributive interpretation where the object binds the possessive pronoun within the dislocated indirect object.

- (i) * Gli darò [ogni LIBRO]_{F,i}, [al suo_i autore]_R.
(I) to-him will-give every book, to-the its author
'I will give each book to its author.'

Like López, Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl interpret the above sentence as evidence supporting the absence of reconstruction for RD (or, more precisely, RD⁺. The cliticless counterpart of (i), ambiguous between RD⁻ and marginalization, is uninformative because the distributive interpretation becomes possible but the postfocus indirect object could be marginalized in situ rather than right dislocated).

The data examined in (159)–(162), however, show that the bound interpretation associated with reconstruction is present with right-dislocated objects. It is also available for right-dislocated indirect object involving the anaphoric possessive *proprio* (own); see (ii) and (iii), where a postverbal subject successfully binds a possessive pronoun within a right-dislocated indirect object. Note that it is reconstruction rather than QR that is responsible for the bound interpretation, since binding under QR in (iv) yields an ungrammatical weak crossover interpretation.

- (ii) Non gli ha ancora scritto [NESSUN RAGAZZO]_{F,i}, alla propria_i famiglia.
Not to-it has yet written any boy, to-the own family
'NO BOY has written to his family yet.'
- (iii) Gli ha già scritto [OGNI RAGAZZO]_{F,i}, alla propria_i famiglia.
To-it has already written every boy, to-the own family
'EVERY BOY has already written to his family.'
- (iv) ?? La propria_i famiglia ha già scritto ad [OGNI RAGAZZO]_{F,i}.
The own family has already written to every boy
'His own family has already written to EVERY BOY.'

While the ungrammaticality of sentence (i) needs to be eventually accounted for, this evidence shows that reconstruction in RD⁺ does extend to indirect objects.

Right-dislocated phrases binding postverbal subjects—López (2009: 92) also considers data from Catalan where right-dislocated indirect objects bind a preceding postverbal subject stranded within VP, as in the corresponding Italian sentence in (163), which is grammatical both with or without clitic doubling.

- (163) Lo / Gli_i-e-lo ha regalato il suo_i migliore AMICO_F, un libro_R, [ad ogni ragazzo]_{R,i}.
It / to-him-prt-it has donated the his best friend, a book, to each boy
'Each boy's best friend gave each boy a book.'

When the indirect object is clitic-doubled, as in López's original examples, binding is expected independently from the position and A vs. A'-status of the dislocated indirect object, since the corresponding clitic in T c-commands the postverbal subject inside VP.

The clitic-less case, too, follows from the reconstruction properties of RD and therefore does not support right dislocation to a spec-*vP* A-position. As the following data show, quantified objects and indirect objects involving *ogni* (every) may precede and bind postverbal subjects even if the latter are neither right-dislocated nor focused. The dislocated quantified indirect object in (163) may thus reconstruct into this position and bind the postverbal subject from there.

- (164) [Rintracceranno [ogni ragazzo]_i i suoi_i genitori il prima possibile]_{NewF}.
Will-track down every boy the his parents the sooner possible
'Every boy will be tracked down by his parents as soon as possible.'
- (165) Li ha restituiti [ad ogni cliente]_i la propria_i banca IERI_F, i soldi_R.
They have returned to every client the own bank yesterday, the money
'Every client was refunded the money by their bank YESTERDAY.'

As we know from Chapter 2, the same position is not available to non-quantified phrases. As the following examples show, it is also unavailable to negatively quantified constituents. This, too, is not surprising, as the higher scope attained by universal quantifiers relative to negative ones is well documented; see the survey in Szabolcsi (2001), Beghelli (1993), and Beghelli and Stowell (1997).

- (166) a. *[Non rintraccerranno [nessun ragazzo]_i i suoi_i genitori domani]_{NewF}.
Not will-track down any boy the his parents tomorrow
'No boy will be tracked down by his parents tomorrow.'
- b. *Non li ha restituiti [a nessun cliente]_i la propria_i banca IERI_F, i soldi_R.
Not them have returned to any client the own bank yesterday, the money
'No client was refunded their money by his bank YESTERDAY.'

Right-dislocated phrases binding into CLLD and vice versa—López's (2009: 91) evidence for a clause-internal analysis also includes Catalan data in Villalba (2000) showing CLLD phrases binding into right-dislocated phrases, but not vice versa.

This asymmetry is actually problematic for López's analysis, which maintains that both CLLD and RD phrases A-move to spec- ν P with CLLD phrases moving further to specFinP via A'-movement (López 2009: 113). Since right-dislocated phrases are freely ordered, nothing prevents the intermediate spec- ν P position of a CLLD phrase from occurring immediately lower than the final spec- ν P position of a right-dislocated phrase. Since right-dislocated phrases have A-status in López's analysis, they should be able to bind CLLD phrases when they reconstruct into spec- ν P, incorrectly predicting RD binding into CLLD to be grammatical. A similar problem applies to Villalba's analysis, where CLLD moves through the same clause-internal topic position targeted by RD (Villalba 2000: 275).

Italian diverges from Catalan in this respect, as it allows for quantifier binding from CLLD into RD and vice versa, as shown in (167)(a)–(b).

- (167) a. Ad ogni cliente_i, la banca (gli-e-)ne ha già PARLATO_F, della propria_i password.
 To every client, the bank (to-him-prt-)of-it has already spoken, of-the own password
 'The bank has already SPOKEN to every client about their password.'
- b. Della propria_i password, la banca (gli-e-)ne ha già PARLATO_F, ad ogni_i cliente.
 Of-the own password, the bank (to-him-prt-)of-it has already spoken, to every client
 'The bank has already SPOKEN to every client about their password.'

This is exactly what is expected under the remnant movement analysis advocated here, independently of whether CLLD is movement-based or base-generated. Under a movement analysis of CLLD, binding occurs under reconstruction, since the quantified indirect object can bind the remaining argument when both occur in situ, see (168).

- (168) [La banca ha già parlato ad ogni cliente_i della propria_i password]_{NewF}.
 The bank has already spoken to every client of-the own password
 'The bank has already spoken to every client about their password.'

If CLLD is base-generated, pronominal binding remains possible provided quantifier binding from A'-positions is allowed. Binding may then occur because right-dislocated phrases c-command base-generated CLLD-phrases before the final remnant movement, as illustrated by step 2 of derivation (169) for sentence (167)(b).

- (169)
1. Base: [[della propria_i password]_{CLLD} S aux V [ad ogni cliente]_i]
 2. RD: [ad ogni cliente]_i ϕ_R [[della propria_i password]_{CLLD} S aux V t_i]
 3. Remnant mv: [[della propria_i password]_{CLLD} S aux V t_i]_k ϕ_X [[ad ogni cliente]_i ϕ_R t_k]

In summary, the structural inferences that Villalba and López draw from their Spanish and Catalan data do not carry over to Italian nor undermine the analysis of RD being proposed. Unlike Spanish, Italian postverbal subjects can bind right-dislocated objects, as expected if the latter reconstruct into their original position. Unlike Catalan, Italian preverbal subjects and right-dislocated quantified phrases can bind pronouns in CLLD phrases, again consistently with the availability of reconstruction for CLLD phrases. Finally, as in Catalan, Italian right-dislocated indirect objects involving universal quantifiers like *ogni* ‘every/each’ may bind postverbal subjects, consistently with their reconstruction into the position above postverbal subjects that is available to them.

4.5.1.3.4 Interactions between CLLD and RD In their argument for a clause-internal analysis of RD, Villalba (2000) and López (2009) also consider the relation between CLLD and RD. Some of the proposed arguments are not valid, while others apply to Catalan but not to Italian, as explained below.

Extraction of RD from tensed CLLD clauses—Villalba (2000: 211) claims that the ungrammaticality of the following Catalan sentence is unexpected under a remnant movement analysis of RD like the one proposed in this book. The sentence right dislocates the object *el llibre* ‘the book’ from the CLLD complement *que se l’havia comprat* ‘that she had bought it’. It is, therefore, fully analogous to Cecchetto’s right-roof case discussed in 4.5.1.2.1 and as explained there its ungrammaticality follows from the unavailability of extraction from CLLD islands and the additional unavailability of right dislocation from tensed complements.

(170) **Que se l’havia comprat, m’ho va dir, el llibre.*

That (s/he) refl it had bought, (s/he) to-me it says, the book

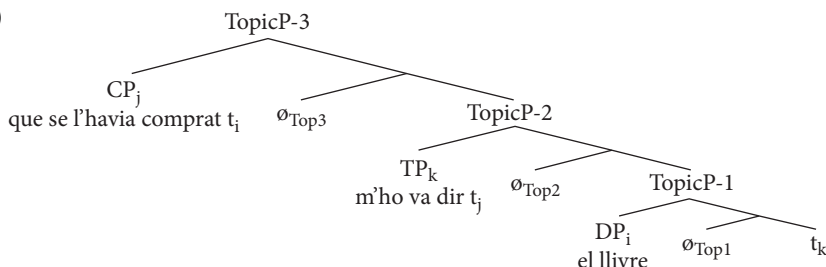
Villalba argues that remnant movement incorrectly makes the sentence grammatical through the derivation in (171). But the proposed derivation violates conditions on extraction and is therefore ungrammatical. At step 2, it right-dislocates the object *el llibre* across both the subordinate and the matrix clause to the specifier of the higher projection Top₁, thus violating the ban against right dislocation from tensed complements discussed in Sections 4.4.5 and 4.4.7.3. Furthermore, at step 4 it extracts the complement *que se l’havia comprat* from the specifier hosting the remnant TP *m’ho va dir*, thus involving extraction from an unselected specifier, i.e. across an island.²⁷ The final structure is shown in (172).

²⁷ As in the original derivation in Villalba (2000: 211), the proposed derivation shows the object clitic *ho* doubling the CLLD complement *que se l’havia comprat* only at step 4. Steps 1–3 lack it, probably because the clitic is licensed by the CLLD phrase. Consequently, these steps show the full form *em* for the first person dative pronoun rather than the reduced form *m* visible in step 4 and in the final sentence.

(171)

1. Base: [em va dir que se havia comprat el llibre]
 2. Object RD: [el llibre]_i \emptyset_{Top1} [em va dir que se l'havia comprat t_i]
 3. Remnant mv: [em va dir que se l'havia comprat t_i]_k \emptyset_{Top2} [[el llibre]_i \emptyset_{Top1} t_k]
 4. CLLD: [que se l'havia comprat t_i]_j \emptyset_{Top3} [[m'ho va dir t_j]_k \emptyset_{Top2} [[el llibre]_i \emptyset_{Top1} t_k]

(172)



Extraction of RD from CLLD prepositional phrases—Building on Villalba, López (2009: 91) considers additional data involving non-clausal CLLD phrases where tense is not an issue and claims that Catalan disallows right dislocation from CLLD phrases.

In this respect, Italian diverges from Catalan. RD is clearly possible provided the right-dislocated constituent is not an argument of the noun in the CLLD phrase; see (173) and (174), which provide the Italian counterparts to the corresponding construction in López (2009: 91, ex.3.13). When argument-hood is involved, as in (175), grammaticality is slightly marginal, but it significantly improves if the CLLD constituent is followed by a short pause.

- (173) Di storie, me ne hai già raccontate MOLTE_F, [su mio zio]_R.
 Of stories, (you) to-me of-them have already told many, on my uncle
 ‘As for stories, you already told me MANY about my uncle.’
- (174) Di capitoli, ne ho letti solo TRE_F, del libro che mi hai dato_R.
 Of chapters, (I) of-them have read only three, of-the book that (you) to-me
 have given
 ‘As for book chapters, I have read only THREE of the book you gave me.’
- (175) ? Spedizioni clandestine, ne abbiamo intercettate IERI_F, [di uranio]_R.
 Shipments illegal, (we) of-them have intercepted yesterday, of uranium
 ‘As for illegal shipments, we intercepted some uranium ones
 YESTERDAY.’

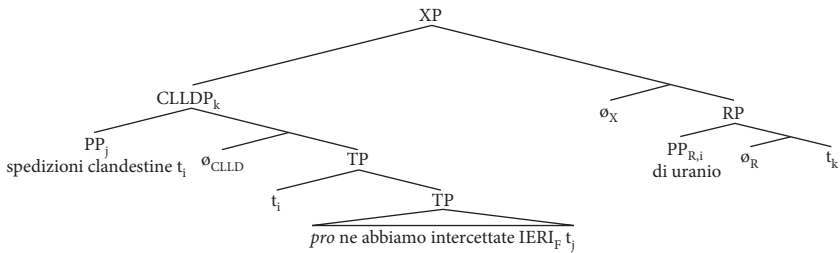
The availability of RD extraction from CLLD phrases is consistent with the analysis of RD proposed in this book provided we assume a movement analysis of CLLD, since a base-generated CLLD phrase would constitute an island to extraction. The RD phrase can then be extracted before CLLD, and hence before the creation of the CLLD island. A derivation consistent with Chomsky’s (1995: 248) root condition is

provided in (176). First, the RD phrase evacuates the larger PP targeted by CLLD (step 2), then CLLD occurs (step 3), then the RD phrase is raised (step 4), and finally the entire clause is remnant-moved completing the right dislocation operation.²⁸ See (177) for the final structure.

(176)

1. Base: [S aux V adv [spedizioni clandestine [di uranio]]]
2. Evacuation: [[di uranio]_i S aux V adv [spedizioni clandestine t_i]]
3. CLLD: [spedizioni clandestine t_i]_j \emptyset_{CLLD} [[di uranio]_i S aux V adv t_j]
4. RD: [di uranio]_i \emptyset_{R} [spedizioni clandestine t_i]_j [\emptyset_{CLLD} [t_i S aux V adv t_j]]
5. Rem. mv.: [[spedizioni clandestine t_i]_j \emptyset_{CLLD} [t_i S aux V adv t_j]]_k \emptyset_{X} [[di uranio]_i \emptyset_{R} t_k]

(177)



Extraction of CLLD from RD prepositional phrases—López (2009: 91) also considers the opposite operation: the extraction of CLLD phrases from right-dislocated constituents. These constructions are grammatical in Catalan and the same is true for Italian, see the data in the following examples. Once again, when the extracted CLLD phrase is an argument of the dislocated noun, grammaticality is marginal but it improves if the CLLD phrase is followed by a brief pause.

- (178) [Su mio zio]_{CLLD}, me ne hai già raccontate MOLTE_F, [di storie]_R.
 On my uncle, (you) to-me of-them have already told many, of stories
 ‘About my uncle, you already told me MANY stories.’

²⁸ Without the evacuation step, the RD phrase would have to move to its final position before CLLD takes place, yielding the two ungrammatical derivations in (i) and (ii). In (i), CLLD precedes remnant movement and consequently cannot target the root node, violating Chomsky’s root condition. In (ii), CLLD follows remnant movement, thus involving extraction from an unselected specifier.

- (i) 1. Base: [S aux V adv [spedizioni clandestine [di uranio]]]
2. RD: [di uranio]_i \emptyset_{R} [S aux V adv [spedizioni clandestine t_i]]
3. CLLD (*root condition): [di uranio]_i \emptyset_{R} [[spedizioni clandestine t_i]_j \emptyset_{CLLD} [S aux V adv t_j]]
4. Remnant mv: [[spedizioni clandestine t_i]_j \emptyset_{CLLD} [S aux V adv t_j]]_k \emptyset_{X} [[di uranio]_i \emptyset_{R} t_k]
- (ii) 1. Base: [S aux V adv [spedizioni clandestine [di uranio]]]
2. RD: [di uranio]_i \emptyset_{R} [S aux V adv [spedizioni clandestine t_i]]
3. Remnant mv: [S aux V adv [spedizioni clandestine t_i]]_k \emptyset_{X} [[di uranio]_i \emptyset_{R} t_k]
4. CLLD (*island): [spedizioni clandestine t_i]_j \emptyset_{CLLD} [[S aux V adv t_j]]_k \emptyset_{X} [[di uranio]_i \emptyset_{R} t_k]

- (179) [Del libro che mi hai dato]_{CLLD}, ne ho letti solo TRE_F, [di capitoli]_R.
Of-the book that (you) to-me have given, (I) of-them have read only three, of chapters
'As for the book you gave me, I have read only THREE chapters.'
- (180) ?/?? [Di uranio]_{CLLD}, ne abbiamo già intercettate IERI_F, [di spedizioni clandestine]_R.
Of uranium, (we) of-them have already intercepted yesterday, of shipments illegal
'As for uranium, we already intercepted illegal shipments of it YESTERDAY.'

The grammaticality of these sentences follows straightforwardly under the proposed analysis of RD. If CLLD is base-generated, the CLLD phrase simply binds the relevant empty category within the right-dislocated constituent prior to its right dislocation. If CLLD is movement-based, then CLLD occurs before RD takes place as in the derivation in (181). I assume that the preposition *di* on the right-dislocated phrase is inserted after right dislocation has taken place in order to satisfy the case filter.

- (181)
1. Base: [S aux V [spedizioni clandestine [di uranio]]]
 2. CLLD: [di uranio]_j \emptyset_{CLLD} [S aux V [spedizioni clandestine t_j]]
 3. RD: [di spedizioni clandestine t_j]_i \emptyset_R [[di uranio]_j \emptyset_{CLLD} [S aux V t_i]]
 5. Rem. mv.: [[di uranio]_j \emptyset_{CLLD} [S aux V t_i]]_k \emptyset_X [[di spedizioni clandestine t_j]_i \emptyset_R t_k]]

In summary, Villalba and López's arguments for a clause-internal analysis do not apply to Italian, which does not show the same asymmetry found in Catalan. Extraction of RD from CLLD and vice versa is possible, consistent with the analysis being proposed.²⁹

²⁹ It may at first appear surprising that extraction from CLLD and RD is possible at all, considering that wh-extraction from a clitic-doubled subordinate clause is not possible, as seen in Section 4.4.7.4. The examples in this section, however, involve the clitic *ne* (of them), and wh-extraction from right-dislocated phrases involving this clitic are actually possible. See for example sentence (i), where wh-extraction under *ne*-cliticization is grammatical. If the clitic *ne* is base-generated in T (or a related position), rather than heading the big DP of RD⁺, then the pattern is accounted for, since wh-extraction would occur from a theta-assigned position.

- (i) Di quale materiale hai detto che ne hai già individuate DUE_F, [di spedizioni clandestine]_R?
Of which material (you) have said that (you) of-them have already identified two, of shipments illegal
'Which material did you say that you already identified TWO illegal shipments of?'

When RD involves an object clitic other than *ne*, as in (ii), wh-extraction is blocked because the clitic creates an island to extraction as explained in Section 4.4.7.4. As expected, the corresponding case of extraction of CLLD from RD is also ungrammatical, see (iii).

- (ii) * Di quale materiale hai detto che le hai individuate IERI_F, [le spedizioni clandestine]_R?
Of which material (you) have said that (you) them have identified yesterday, the shipments illegal
'Which material did you say that you identified the illegal shipments of YESTERDAY?'

4.5.2 *Clause-external analyses*

Clause-external analyses maintaining that RD is base-generated cannot account for the presence of movement and the related evidence examined in Section 4.4. These analyses include De Cat (2007) where CLLD and RD are respectively left and right adjoined to a maximal projection above T, Frascarelli (2004) where RD and CLLD share the same position but RD involves TP-inversion as explained later in this section, and Cardinaletti (2002) where RD is generated as the complement of a projection that contains the non-dislocated part of the sentence in its specifier, as illustrated in (182) and the corresponding structure (183).

With respect to Cardinaletti's analysis, López (2009: 261) and Samek-Lodovici (2006: 859) also point out that it incorrectly predicts the availability of wh-extraction from clitic-doubled right-dislocated phrases, since the latter occur in a complement and head-governed position. López (2009: 259) also remarks that this analysis fails to account for the binding relations available between distinct right-dislocated phrases, since multiple right-dislocated phrases would neither c-command each other nor be able to reconstruct back into the main TP as they are not generated there.

- (iii) * [Di uranio]_{CLLD}, le abbiamo già individuate IERI_F, [le spedizioni clandestine]_R.
Of uranium, (we) of-them have already identified yesterday, the shipments illegal
'As for uranium, we already identified the illegal shipments of it YESTERDAY.'

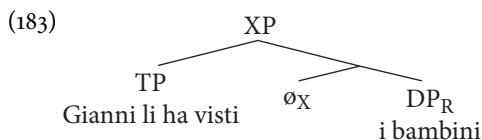
Similarly, a PP blocking wh-extraction in a simple clause, as in (iv), also blocks extraction of CLLD from RD in (v).

- (iv) * Di quale banca avete telefonato agli amministratori?
Of which bank (you) have called to-the administrators
'Which bank did you call the administrators of?'
- (v) * [Della banca]_{CLLD}, gli abbiamo già telefonato IERI_F, [agli amministratori]_R.
Of-the bank, (we) to-them have already called yesterday, to-the administrators
'As for the bank, we already called its administrators YESTERDAY.'

Extraction of RD from CLLD shows the pattern just observed for extraction of CLLD from RD, suggesting that CLLD shares a similar analysis in this respect: wh-extraction from CLLD is possible under *ne*-cliticization in (vi), but not with another clitic in (vii). Extraction of RD from CLLD is heavily marginal with a clitic other than *ne* in (viii), and fully ungrammatical when involving PPs blocking wh-extraction in (ix). Note that (viii) is ambiguous between a CLLD and hanging topic (HT) analysis.

- (vi) Di quale materiale hai detto che, [di spedizioni clandestine]_{CLLD}, ne hai già individuate DUE_F?
Of which material (you) have said that, of shipments illegal, (you) of-them have already identified two
'Which material did you say that you already identified TWO illegal shipments of?'
- (vii) * Di quale materiale hai detto che, [le spedizioni clandestine]_{CLLD}, le hai individuate IERI_F?
Of which material (you) have said that, the shipments illegal, (you) them have identified yesterday
'Which material did you say that you identified the illegal shipments of YESTERDAY?'
- (viii) * [Le spedizioni clandestine]_{CLLD/HT}, le abbiamo già individuate IERI_F, [di uranio]_R.
The shipments illegal, (we) of-them have already identified yesterday, of uranium
'As for illegal shipments, we already identified those of uranium YESTERDAY.'
- (ix) * [Agli amministratori]_{CLLD}, gli abbiamo già TELEFONATO_F, [della banca]_R.
To-the administrators, (we) to-them have already called, of-the bank
'As for the administrators, we already CALLED the bank's ones.'

- (182) Gianni li ha VISTI, i bambini_R.
 John them has seen, the children
 'John saw them, the children.'



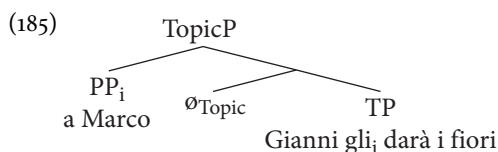
Vallduví (1992: 103) and Zubizarreta (1994a) provide a clause-external analysis similar to De Cat (2007) but involving movement. Under Vallduví's, CLLD and RD left- and right-adjoin to IP, while in Zubizarreta's CLLD left-adjoints to TP and RD right-adjoints to CP. As pointed out in Cecchetto (1999), mirror analyses of this kind where CLLD and RD occur as opposite left and right adjuncts incorrectly predict that CLLD and RD phrases will share the same syntactic properties, thus failing to account for the significant discrepancies between them. Although not all of Cecchetto's described discrepancies apply—Sections 4.3.4 and 4.5.1.3 showed that reconstruction behaves similarly in both constructions and Sections 4.3.5 and 4.5.1.2.1 showed that RD is not clause-bound—Cecchetto's observation remains valid for all the discrepancies discussed in Section 4.4, such as the differences in *NE*-cliticization, the effect of tenseness on extraction, the obligatoriness of clitic doubling in CLLD and its absence in RD⁻, the impossibility of *wh*-extraction from CLLD phrases and its availability under RD⁻. Also problematic for mirror analyses is Villalba's (2000: 188) observation that CLLD can create island effects that are absent under RD.³⁰ Furthermore, analysing RD in terms of right-adjunction predicts an incorrect distribution of clitic doubling under left-peripheral focus (Samek-Lodovici 2009: 351).

As Cecchetto (1999) and Villalba (2000) point out, similar difficulties affect the Kaynian double-topicalization structure described in Cecchetto (1999) and adopted here when assuming that RD and CLLD phrases share the same position as maintained in Samek-Lodovici (2006). The problem is not the structure proposed for RD, which is necessary to account for its properties as argued in Sections 4.3 and 4.4 and is not affected by Cecchetto's critical remarks as already explained in Section 4.5.1.2, but rather the claim that CLLD corresponds to the same structure prior to the final remnant movement. Under this hypothesis, CLLD and RD share the same specifier position, incorrectly predicting a uniform set of syntactic properties across the two.

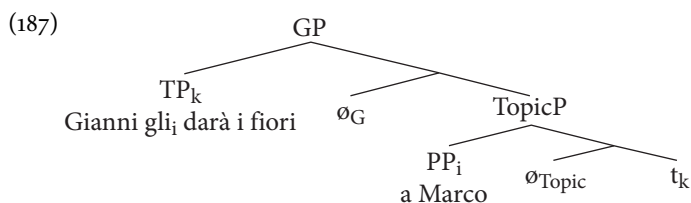
³⁰ Villalba also mentions a discrepancy with respect to anti-reconstruction properties which is not present in Italian; see Section 4.6.1 for discussion.

4.5.2.1 *Potential issues from Frascarelli (2004)* Building on Cinque (1990), Frascarelli (2004) views CLLD³¹ as base-generated in a left-peripheral topic projection, see (184) and the corresponding structure (185). Right-dislocated phrases are claimed to generate in the exact same position and to occur clause-rightmost due to the inversion of the lower TP (or 'IP' in the original analysis), which moves to a higher functional projection 'GP' at the top of the structure; see (186) and the corresponding structure (187). A similar analysis is also proposed in Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) for RD⁺, see their discussion of right-dislocated topics generated in the projection FamP located above TP.

- (184) A Marco, Gianni gli darà i FIORI.
 To Mark, John to-him will-give the flowers
 'As for Mark, John will-give him the flowers.'



- (186) Gianni gli darà i FIORI, a Marco.
 John to-him will-give the flowers, to Mark
 'John will give the flowers to Mark.'



As already pointed out, the analysis cannot account for the movement nature of right dislocation discussed in Section 4.4, or for the divergences between RD and CLLD. López (2009: 229) also notes that the anti-reconstruction data supporting a base-generated analysis are ambiguous between a CLLD and a hanging topic representation, and hence inconclusive, while De Cat (2007) discusses some important interpretational differences between CLLD and RD that cannot be derived if CLLD and RD share the same specifier.

³¹ In Frascarelli's paper, CLLD is referred to as 'LD', for 'left dislocation'. Her explicit references to the CLLD-related evidence in Cinque (1990) and her data, which include clitic left-dislocated PPs consistent only with a CLLD analysis, clearly identify CLLD as the relevant construction.

Here, I wish to further examine two specific observations concerning binding and relativized minimality proposed as evidence for the above analysis that at first might appear to raise an issue for the alternative movement-based analysis proposed in this book.

The first observation concerns the alleged divergence in the reconstruction properties of CLLD and RD. According to Frascarelli (2004), the subject *Leo* of the CLLD topic in (188)(a) can corefer with the *pro* subject of the main clause, whereas the same is not true when the same topic is right-dislocated, as in (189)(a) (I find both sentences grammatical, hence the parentheses around the star in the second example). Under Frascarelli's analysis, (188) is grammatical because the base-generated CLLD prevents *Leo* from *c*-commanding the following *pro*. In contrast, in (189), the matrix *pro* is claimed to *c*-command *Leo*, and thus violates condition C, because under a strict antisymmetric analysis à la Kayne (1994: 23) the highest specifier of the specifier of a projection XP *c*-commands into XP, and therefore *pro* in (189) *c*-commands *Leo*.

- (188) a. Il libro che mi ha dato ieri Leo_i, *pro*_i l'ha scritto da GIOVANE.
The book that to-me has given yesterday Leo, (he) it has written as young
'As for the book that Leo gave me yesterday, he wrote it in his youth.'
- b. [_{TOPP} [Il libro che mi ha dato ieri Leo_i]_k \emptyset _{TOP} [_{TP} *pro*_i lo_k ha scritto t_k da GIOVANE]]
- (189) a. (*)*pro*_i l'ha scritto da GIOVANE, il libro che mi ha dato ieri Leo_i.
(He) it has written as young, the book that to-me has given yesterday Leo
'Leo wrote it in his youth, the book that he gave me yesterday.'
- b. [[_{TP} *pro*_i lo_k ha scritto t_k da GIOVANE]_j \emptyset _G [_{TOPP} [Il libro che mi ha dato ieri Leo_i]_k \emptyset _{TOP} t_j]]

A first problem arises with respect to the adjunct/argument asymmetry. As discussed in Section 4.3.4, testing across a larger set of informants shows that sentences involving late-inserted adjuncts are more acceptable than corresponding sentences involving arguments. The same contrast applies in this case: sentence (189)(a) is significantly more acceptable than the corresponding sentence involving an argument in (190). This systematic contrast is predicted to be absent by Frascarelli's analysis, because the binding relation making (189) ungrammatical should hold independently of the adjunct/argument nature of the phrase containing the bound noun.³²

³² The same problem affects the claim that CLLD is base-generated in Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007). They observe that in (i) if the CLLD object containing the R-expression *Leo* could reconstruct due to its moved nature, it would violate condition C whenever bound by the pronominal subject *lui* 'he'. Since the sentence is grammatical, reconstruction, and hence movement, must be excluded.

- (190) **pro*_i l'ha fatta da GIOVANE, l'affermazione che Leo_i fosse un alieno.
 (He) it has made as young, the assertion that Leo be an alien
 'Leo made it in his youth, the assertion that he is an alien.'

A second potential problem emerges from the analysis' reliance on Kayne's (1994) definition of *c*-command where, as mentioned, the highest specifier of the specifier of a projection *c*-commands into that projection. Under this definition, the claimed contrast between CLLD and RD in (188) and (189) should disappear whenever the binding *pro* subject is not placed highest in the dislocated TP. For example, sentence (191), where *pro* follows the adverb *probabilmente* (probably), should contrast with (189) because *pro* no longer *c*-commands *Leo*. Personally, I cannot find such a contrast. Yet its presence is a distinctive prediction of the analysis under discussion.

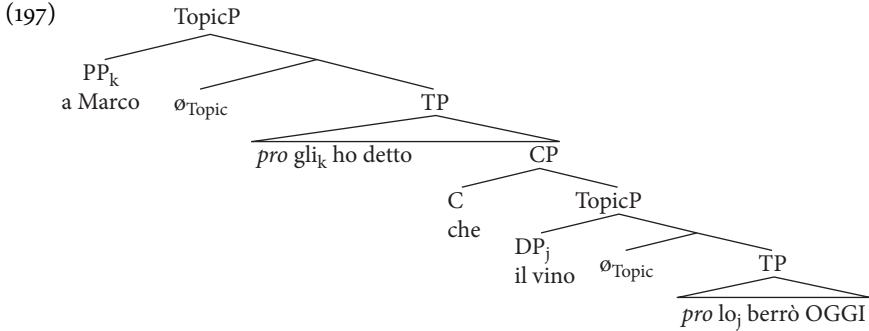
- (191) Probabilmente *pro*_i l'ha scritto da GIOVANE, Il libro che mi ha dato ieri Leo_i.
 Probably (he) it has written as young, the book that to-me has given
 yesterday Leo
 'Leo probably wrote it in his youth, the book that he gave me yesterday.'

Frascarelli (2004) also claims that CLLD and RD constituents are always generated in the left peripheral topic projection of their *own* clause, and, consequently, that CLLD and RD constituents in higher clauses must have moved there. This allows Frascarelli to explain the ungrammaticality of a sentence like (192) in terms of relativized minimality. Due to the crossing movements in structure (193), the raised lower topic *Maria* becomes the closest *c*-commanding topic for the trace of the higher topic *a Gianni*, making the structure ungrammatical. Note that the analysis crucially relies on the assumption that CLLD phrases are base-generated before any movement takes place, since otherwise the topic *a Gianni* could be base-generated above the raised *Maria* and avoid the violation at issue; this assumption will play a critical role below.

- (i) La mia foto con Leo_i, lui_i non l'ha ancora VISTA.
 The my picture with Leo, he not it has yet seen
 'My picture with Leo, he hasn't seen it yet.'

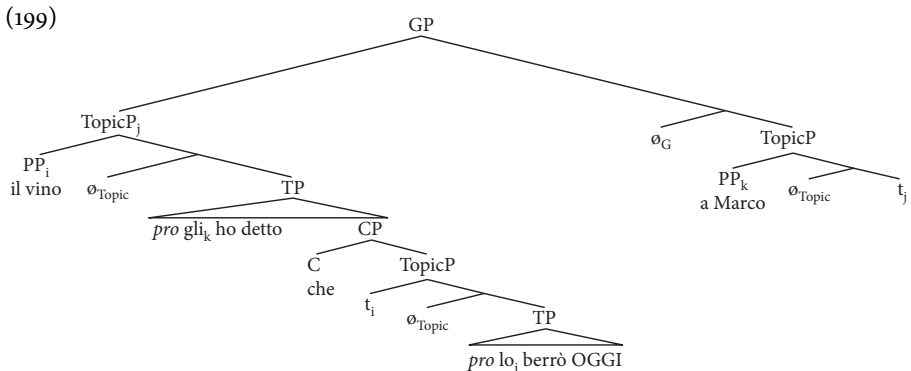
The phrase *con Leo* 'with Leo', however, is an adjunct modifier allowing for late insertion. When the adjunct is replaced by an argument as in (ii), the resulting sentence is indeed sharply ungrammatical, confirming the presence of reconstruction.

- (ii) *L'arrivo di Leo_i, lui_i non l'ha ancora ANNUNCIATO.
 The arrival of Leo, he not it has yet announced
 'Leo's arrival, he hasn't announced it yet.'



If we raise the lower topic *il vino* and then right-dislocate the higher one *a Marco*, we obtain the derivation in (198). First, *il vino* raises from the embedded clause to the front of the entire structure since it eventually precedes the matrix verb. Then, *a Marco* moves above *il vino* in order to enable the final step where *a Marco* is right-dislocated by raising the rest of the clause to a higher specifier. The final structure in (199), however, leaves the raised topic *il vino* as the closest c-commanding topic for the trace ‘ t_k ’ of *a Marco*, hence violating relativized minimality and incorrectly predicting the sentence to be ungrammatical. Nor is it possible to avoid the crossing movements of steps 2 and 3 by raising *il vino* first and then base-generate *a Marco* above it, since as we saw above in the discussion of (192) CLLD phrases must be generated before any movement takes places.

- (198)
1. [_{Top} *il vino*_i [_{Top} *a Marco* [_{pro gli}_k ho detto [_{che} [_{Top} t_i [_{pro lo}_i berrò OGGI]]]]]
 2. [_{Top} *a Marco*_k [_{Top} *il vino*_i [_{Top} t_k [_{pro gli}_k ho detto [_{che} [_{Top} t_i [_{pro lo}_i berrò OGGI]]]]]]]
 3. [_{GP} [_{Top} *il vino*_i [_{Top} t_k [_{pro gli}_k ho detto [_{che} [_{Top} t_i [_{pro lo}_i berrò OGGI]]]]]]]]]_j [_{Top} *a Marco*_k t_j]



Executing right-dislocation before CLLD movement, is equally unsuccessful. This derivation starts again with structure (197), then right-dislocates the topic *a Marco* by moving the entire matrix TP to specGP as in step 1 of (200). We must now raise *il*

vino above the matrix verb but this is not possible. Movement to a top TopP projection, shown in step 2 of (200), involves extraction from an unselected specifier and is therefore unavailable. Raising *il vino* only within its TP violates Chomsky's root extension condition (1995: 248) because it does not target the root.

- (200) 1. $[_{GP} [pro\ gli_k\ ho\ detto\ [che\ [_{TOP}\ il\ vino_i\ [pro\ lo_i\ berr\grave{o}\ OGGI]]]]_j\ [_{TOP}\ a\ Marco_k\ t_j]]$
 2. $[_{TOP}\ il\ vino_i\ [_{GP}\ [pro\ gli_k\ ho\ detto\ [che\ [_{TOP}\ t_i\ [pro\ lo_i\ berr\grave{o}\ OGGI]]]]_j\ [_{TOP}\ a\ Marco_k\ t_j]]$

In conclusion, whichever the order in which right dislocation and CLLD are applied, a derivation consistent with the grammaticality of (196) is not possible, showing that Frascarelli's base-generated analysis cannot be combined with relativized minimality to provide a successful account of the word order effects highlighted in Frascarelli (2004) and hence it is not supported by their existence.

4.6 Crosslinguistic variation

As the previous sections have shown, recent studies of RD across different languages show that the position of right dislocation, its moved vs. base-generated nature, and, if moved, even the A'- vs. A-movement status of the movement involved might vary from language to language. Here, I briefly consider some additional differences between Italian, Catalan, and French concerning the final position of right-dislocated constituents and the presence of movement.³³

4.6.1 Variation in position

The position of right-dislocated phrases appears to vary, occurring clause-externally in Italian and French (for Italian see Section 4.3 and also Cardinaletti 2001, 2002; Frascarelli 2000, 2004; Samek-Lodovici 2006. For French see De Cat 2007), but lower than T in Catalan (Villalba 2000; López 2009; Feldhausen 2008, 2010).

Villalba (2000: 190) and Feldhausen (2008: 148), for example, note that Catalan allows for the licensing of right-dislocated NPIs. Some of Villalba's examples follow, with the NPIs licensed by the neg-marker *no* shown in bold. These examples show that Catalan right-dislocated phrases unlike Italian ones are c-commanded by the preceding neg-marker and thus must occur clause-internally in a position lower than T (gloss and translation have been slightly modified).

³³ Fernández (2012) shows that other aspects of right dislocation might vary too. In particular, he shows that right dislocation in English may only consist of a right-dislocated hanging topic. This, in turn, accounts for the properties that distinguish English right dislocation from Italian, such as the obligatory presence of a resumptive pronoun, the fact that dislocated items must be nominal, and the impossibility of multiple right-dislocated constituents.

- (201) a. La Maria no **ho** és, (de) responsable de **res/ningú**.
The Mary not it is, (of) responsible of anything/anybody
'Mary is not responsible for anything/anybody.'
- b. La Maria no **ho** és, (d') amiga de **cap** lingüista.
The Mary not it is, (of) friend of any linguist
'Mary is not the friend of any linguist.'
- c. La Maria no **hi** confia, en els consells de **gaire** gent.
The Mary not LOC trusts, in the advice of any people
'Mary does not trust the advice of many people.'

Villalba's examples contrast sharply with their Italian direct counterparts, which are strongly ungrammatical, consistently with the evidence discussed in Section 4.3.3 (the third Catalan example cannot be replicated because Italian lacks the counterpart for *gaire*).

- (202) a. *Maria non **lo** È, responsabile di **nulla/nessuno**.
Mary not it is, (of) responsible of anything/anybody
- b. *Maria non **lo** È, amica di **nessun** linguista.
Mary not it is, (of) friend of any linguist

Both Villalba (2000) and Feldhausen (2008) also observe that Catalan CLLD phrases show anti-reconstruction effects. Feldhausen (2008: 150) applies to Catalan the same tests of condition C for dislocated arguments and adjuncts examined in Section 4.3.4 finding that in this language they support a clause-internal analysis of right dislocation. Villalba (2000: 190) compares sentence (203)(a), which is grammatical despite the fact that reconstruction of the initial DP would violate condition C, with the ungrammatical (203)(b), where condition C is expected and indeed appears to be violated as predicted by the low position attributed to right-dislocated phrases in this language. The corresponding Italian sentences in (204) are instead both grammatical, confirming the clause-external position of RD advocated in this book.

- (203) a. Les aptituds que la Maria_i apuntava de jove, *pro*_i no les va confirmar després.
'The aptitudes that Mary suggested when young, she did not confirm later.'
- b. *No *pro*_i les va confirmar després, les aptituds que la Maria_i apuntava de jove.
'She did not confirm them later, the aptitudes that Mary suggested when young.'

- (204) a. Le doti che Maria_i prometteva da giovane, *pro*_i non le ha confermate da ADULTA.
the talents that Mary promised as young, (she) not them has confirmed as adult
'The talents that Mary had as a young woman, she did not confirm as an adult.'

- b. *pro*_i non le ha confermate da ADULTA, le doti che Maria_i prometteva da giovane.
 (She) not them has confirmed as adult, the talents that Mary promised as young
 ‘She did not confirm them as an adult, the talents that Mary had as a young woman.’

Further evidence for the low position of Catalan RD is provided in López (2009) with respect to the adjunct/argument binding asymmetry discussed in Section 4.3.4. The same asymmetry is absent in Catalan, where both arguments and adjuncts violate condition C. This follows from the low position of right-dislocated phrases, since in this case even late-inserted adjuncts remain c-commanded by a binder in specTP.³⁴ An example is provided in (205), repeated from López (2009) with the original format and gloss.

- (205) a. **pro*_i la va poder rebutjar sense problemes, l’evidència de que Joan_i era culpable.
 ‘He_i was able to refute easily, the evidence that Joan_i was guilty.’
 b. **pro*_i la va poder rebutjar sense problemes, l’evidència que semblava problemàtica per en Joan_i.
 ‘He_i was able to refute easily, the evidence that seemed difficult for Joan_i.’

López tested his results with four Catalan linguists through an email questionnaire consisting of 24 sentences and including *wh*- and CLLD-constructions, as well as distracters. Unfortunately, the original sentences of the emailed questionnaire and the related judgements are not included in López (2009), preventing an accurate assessment of the proposed evidence. In particular, two aspects of the reported data are slightly problematic. First, the two sentences reported in López (2009), listed in (205), do not mark the position of stress. If stress was also left unmarked in the original questionnaire sentences, the grammaticality assessments might have been provided under a different intonation than the one intended, potentially affecting the reliability of the test.³⁵ Second, the test’s reliability might have been adversely affected

³⁴ López (2009: 253) observes that the adjunct/argument asymmetry is also absent under CLLD, whereas Italian CLLD shows it (Cecchetto 1999). This raises a potential problem for López’s analysis of CLLD, at least in so far it is intended to provide a uniform account across Italian and Catalan.

³⁵ Controlling for the intended intonation is essential to any test of RD because the position of stress determines what structure the informants are actually assessing. Consider for example sentence (i). This sentence is ungrammatical when stress falls rightmost, as in (ii), and grammatical when stress falls on the indirect object, as in (iii). It is ungrammatical in (ii) because this intonation is only consistent with a structural analysis where the object occurs in situ. As a result, clitic doubling violates condition C. The intonation in (iii) is instead grammatical because it allows a structural analysis where the object is right-dislocated clause-externally, thus also enabling clitic doubling. Marking the position of stress is thus essential for ensuring that informants assess the intended structures.

- (i) Gianni l’ha mangiata con Maria la torta.
 John it has eaten with Mary the cake
 ‘John ate the cake with Mary’.
 (ii) *Gianni l’ha mangiata con Maria la TORTA.
 (iii) Gianni l’ha mangiata con MARIA la torta.

by the distinct grammatical roles assigned to the referent *Joan* across the two sentences, which prevent them from forming a minimal pair. These potential problems notwithstanding, López's evidence converges with Villalba's observations in supporting a low position for Catalan RD and hence also for the presence of genuine variation in the analysis of RD across Catalan and Italian.

4.6.2 *Variation with respect to movement*

Italian and Catalan right-dislocated phrases are the product of movement. The evidence supporting this conclusion for Italian was examined in Section 4.4. The same conclusion is reached for Catalan by Villalba (2000) on the basis of connectiveness and island sensitivity effects, and by López (2009: 215) on the basis of the empirical properties distinguishing RD from base-generated hanging topics.

According to De Cat (2007), the same does not hold in French, where right-dislocated phrases show properties typical of base-generated phrases. While some of the proposed evidence is open to interpretation—e.g. the non-licensing of parasitic gaps, which Villalba (2000) attributes to the non-quantificational nature of RD—De Cat's data show a clear contrast with their Italian counterparts, suggesting a genuine difference between the two grammars.

In particular, French RD shows no reconstruction effects and it is insensitive to strong islands (De Cat 2007). The first property is illustrated by the following French sentence, where according to De Cat the pronoun *ses* 'his' cannot be interpreted in the scope of the quantified subject, thus disallowing an interpretation where each master dismisses one of his own disciples. As (207) shows, reconstruction is instead possible in Italian, where a focused quantified subject may bind the dislocated pronoun. The same holds with unfocused preverbal quantified subjects, provided an appropriate context is supplied as is the case in (208). If right-dislocated phrases were base-generated higher than (Q-raised) preverbal subjects, as claimed by De Cat for French, then (208)(a) should be infelicitous under the suggested distributive interpretation.

- (206) # [Chaque maître]_i l_j'a renvoyé, [un de ses_i disciples]_j.
Each master him has dismissed, one of his disciples
- (207) L_j'ha sgridato [OGNI MAESTRO]_{F,i}, [almeno uno dei suoi_i/propri_i alunni]_j.
Him has scolded every teacher, at-least one of his / his-own pupils
'EVERY TEACHER has scolded at least one of his (own) pupils.'
- (208) Context: Ogni maestro ha sgridato almeno uno dei suoi/propri alunni?
Every teacher has scolded at-least one of his/his-own pupils
'Did every teacher scold at least one of his (own) pupils?'
No. [Ogni maestro]_i l_j'ha SOSPESO_F, [uno dei suoi_i/propri_i alunni]_{R,j}.
No. every teacher him has suspended, one of his/his-own pupils
'No. Every teacher SUSPENDED one of his (own) pupils.'

The insensitivity of French RD to strong islands is illustrated in (209), where *sa fille* ‘his daughter’ follows the matrix-related dislocated pronoun *moi* ‘me’, showing that dislocation across complex-NP islands is possible. The same does not hold in Italian, as shown by the corresponding sentence in (210). Further examples of island sensitivity for Italian RD are provided in section 5.3.4.1.3.

- (209) Je_i connais l’homme qui l_j’a emmenée, moi_i, sa fille_j.
 I know the man who her has taken-away, me, his daughter
 ‘I know the man who took his daughter away.’
- (210) **pro*_i conosco l’uomo che l_j’ha portata VIA, io_i, sua figlia_j.
 (I) know the man who her has taken-away, me, his daughter
 ‘I know the man who took his daughter away.’

In so far as the above distinctions will hold up to further investigations, they suggest that the base-generated vs. moved nature of RD is a parametric property.

4.6.3 Summary

The variability of empirical tests used for RD across distinct studies makes it difficult to compare like with like and reach an accurate picture of its crosslinguistic properties. A rigorous crosslinguistic comparative study that also distinguishes RD⁻ from RD⁺ is even harder to achieve because the great majority of published RD analyses do not consider marginalization and consequently do not disambiguate between marginalization and RD⁻, thus potentially assigning to RD⁻ the properties of marginalization and vice versa. Nevertheless, the existence of clear alternations with respect to specific properties like those illustrated for Italian, French, and Catalan in the previous sections strongly suggests that the position of right dislocation and its movement- vs. base-generated nature vary across distinct languages.

4.7 Conclusions

The syntactic properties of right-dislocated phrases differ from language to language. As far as Italian is concerned, RD may occur with or without clitic doubling, and constituents targeted by right dislocation are located above TP and reach this position via movement. The analysis proposed here locates right-dislocated items in the specifier of an RP projection located above the TP that originally hosted them, which in turn remnant moves to the specifier of an additional projection XP taking RP as complement. Under this analysis, the items within the remnant moved TP and the right-dislocated items do not c-command each other. This analysis successfully accounts for the many properties examined in this chapter, including *NE*-cliticization, right-roof violations, wh-extraction from dislocated constituents, reconstruction, and the differences between right dislocation and CLLD.

An important consequence of these results concerns the status of unstressed phrases following focus when clitic doubling is absent. Since right dislocation without clitic doubling is possible, these phrases are ambiguous between a right dislocation and a marginalization analysis and care should be taken to determine their status through the empirical tests discussed in this and in the previous chapters. Such disambiguation is essential, because as this chapter has shown the structural representation and properties of marginalized and right-dislocated phrases are radically different.

Only once marginalization and right dislocation are clearly distinguished, does it become possible to determine the syntactic position of focus relative to discourse-given phrases following at its right, which is necessary if we wish to reach an appropriate understanding of its distribution and structural properties. We already considered the relation between focus and marginalized phrases in Chapter 3, showing that when right dislocation is absent focus occurs *in situ*. As the next chapter will show, the same holds for focused constituents followed by independent right-dislocated phrases not overlapping with focus. When focus is generated within a larger constituent targeted by right dislocation, however, focus moves leftwards in order to evacuate the hosting constituent and enable its right dislocation. This interesting interaction, which is responsible for the occurrence of left-peripheral foci, is addressed in the second part of the next chapter.

Contrastive focus and right dislocation

5.1 Introduction

As we have seen in the previous chapters, Italian discourse-given phrases can remain in situ (Chapter 2) or be right-dislocated to a position above TP (Chapter 4). We have also seen that contrastive focalization remains in situ whenever right dislocation is absent (Chapter 3).

This chapter pulls together these results to provide a comprehensive analysis of the entire distribution of contrastive focalization in Italian, showing that it is directly affected by right dislocation. The distribution will be shown to be partitioned into two distinct cases depending on what constituents are targeted by right dislocation, with different consequences for focalization.

1. **RD is absent or it targets phrases that do not contain a focused constituent**—In all these cases, focalization occurs in situ (see also Vallduvì 1992).¹ We already saw in Chapter 3 that this is the case when right dislocation is absent. This chapter shows that focalization occurs in situ even when a focus is followed by right-dislocated constituents, provided the focused constituent was not generated within them. When these constituents are generated higher than the focused one, their occurrence to the right of focus gives the impression that focus has moved leftwards, but this is never the case.
2. **RD targets a larger phrase that contains a focused constituent**—In all these cases, the focused constituent evacuates the targeted phrase by moving leftwards just as high as necessary to enable the right dislocation of the targeted constituent. The final position of the evacuated focus thus depends on what phrase is targeted

¹ Vallduvì (1992) provides interesting arguments for the in-situ analysis of contrastive foci. To my knowledge, Vallduvì's work also first pointed out the relevance of right dislocation for an appropriate understanding of the distribution of contrastive focalization. His analysis differs from the one presented here in that it extends in-situ focalization to instances of clause-initial focalization, which I instead claim to occur only when focus is contained in a larger phrase targeted by right dislocation and to require focus movement out of the dislocating constituent, see the rest of this introductory section and Section 5.3.

by right dislocation. For example, a focused constituent evacuating a right-dislocating VP will occur in a lower position than a focused constituent evacuating a right-dislocating TP. The final position of the evacuated focus immediately precedes the right-dislocated phrase. In linear terms, the focus appears left-peripheral relative to the dislocated phrase. But it is not so structurally, since it will be shown to never *c-command* the dislocated phrase to its right.

As we will see, several results follow from this analysis. First, the described interaction correctly accounts for the different properties displayed by unfocused constituents preceding and following focus, such as the observation that CLLD and hanging topics must precede left-peripheral foci whereas unfocused constituents following evacuated and non-evacuated foci are always marginalized or right-dislocated discourse-given constituents.

Second, the data described as ‘left peripheral focalization’ in the literature will be shown to be a strict subset of the linguistic expressions determined by focus evacuation. They are produced whenever right dislocation targets an entire TP and that TP contains a focused constituent. The term ‘left-peripheral’ only holds in linear terms: these foci do not *c-command* the right-dislocated TP to their right.

Third, the articulated interaction with right dislocation described in this chapter shows that focalization cannot be fully understood when studied in isolation. It is not possible to identify and explain the range of positions displayed by contrastively focused constituents without taking into account the effects of right dislocation, despite the independent nature of these two operations. More generally, it is not possible to study the distribution of focalization without taking into consideration the distribution of discourse-given phrases.

Fourth and last, positing a fixed projection for contrastive focalization anywhere in the clause is both incorrect and unnecessary. It is incorrect because it cannot account for all instances of focalization where focused constituents occur lower or higher than the location of the posited projection. It is also unnecessary, since as this chapter and this book show the entire distribution of contrastive focalization can be accounted for by focalization *in situ* and focus evacuation triggered by right dislocation, with the positive theoretical consequence of keeping the grammar maximally simple.

The chapter starts with Section 5.2 discussing the evidence for *in-situ* focalization for the first set of cases, where the constituents targeted by right dislocation and focalization do not overlap. Section 5.3 examines the second set of cases, introducing focus evacuation, the related predictions, and comparing them against the predictions of current analyses based on Rizzi’s (1997) and Belletti’s (2004) focus projections. Section 5.4 examines the interaction with *wh*-extraction, showing that contrastive foci and *wh*-operators can co-occur in the same clause, *contra* Rizzi

(1997, 2004), provided the syntax and intonation of right-dislocated constituents in sentences involving evacuated foci is taken into account.

5.2 The interaction between focalization in situ and right dislocation

When focus and right dislocation target independent constituents, i.e. non overlapping ones, any sentence where focus is followed by a discourse-given constituent falls into one of the following two classes: (i) sentences where the discourse-given phrases following focus are generated lower than the focused constituent, and (ii) sentences where at least one post-focus constituent is generated higher than the focused constituent. Two examples are shown in (1) and (2) respectively. In (1) a focused subject is followed by a lower-generated discourse-given object. In (2) a focused object is followed by a higher-generated discourse-given subject.

- (1) Ha mangiato GIANNI_{F(,)} i biscotti_{M/R}.
 Has eaten John, the biscuits
 'JOHN ate the biscuits.'
- (2) Ha mangiato i BISCOTTI_F, Gianni_R.
 Has eaten the biscuits, John
 'John ate the BISCUITS.'

The post-focal constituent in the first class of sentences is ambiguous between a marginalized or right-dislocated status (hence the parentheses surrounding the comma, which represents the optional pause preceding right-dislocated phrases, which is absent with marginalized ones). Focalization occurs in situ in either case, since in this case the higher focus necessarily precedes the lower constituent whether the latter is marginalized in situ or right-dislocated.

The second class of sentences is more interesting because it may at first appear to provide evidence for leftward focus movement. I will claim that focalization occurs in situ in this case as well, which means that the post-focal constituent must have been right dislocated, as a higher constituent would necessarily precede the lower focus if marginalized in situ. For example, the subject of (2) must have been right dislocated, yielding the structure in (3) with the object focused in situ.

- (3)
-
- ```

graph TD
 XP --> TP_k
 XP --> empty_set_X["∅X"]
 XP --> RP
 TP_k --- TP_k_content["[pro ha mangiato i BISCOTTIF ti]"]
 RP --> Gianni_R_i["GianniR,i"]
 RP --> empty_set_R["∅R"]
 RP --> t_k["tk"]

```

This last observation provides us with a test for in-situ focalization. Since a marginalization analysis is excluded, any higher-generated discourse-given constituent following focus is predicted to show the typical properties of right dislocation while those of marginalization should be absent. The rest of this section shows that this prediction is borne out: postfocal constituents of this kind are indeed always right-dislocated and never marginalized.

### 5.2.1 *The status of higher-generated phrases following postverbal focus*

Consider sentences (4) and (5), both involving a postverbal focused phrase followed by higher-generated discourse-given constituents.

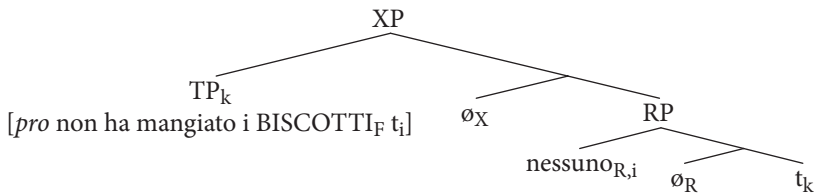
- (4) Ha mangiato i BISCOTTI<sub>F</sub>, Gianni<sub>R</sub>. (Non la torta)  
 Has eaten the biscuits, John. (Not the cake)  
 'John ate the BISCUITS. (Not the cake.)'
- (5) Non (lo) convincerete mai a LAVORARE<sub>F</sub>, Marco<sub>R</sub>. (Ma a dormire, sì!)  
 (You) not (him) will-convince ever to work, Mark (but to to-sleep, yes!)  
 'You will never convince Mark to WORK. (But you will convince him to sleep!)

In-situ focalization predicts that both post-focus constituents are right-dislocated. As a first test of this prediction, we can replace the post-focus constituents in (4) and (5) with the corresponding negative phrases, as in (6)(a) and (7)(a). As explained in Chapter 3, right dislocation places negative phrases outside the licensing domain of the preceding neg-marker *non*, whereas the same phrases are grammatical when marginalized in situ. Since (6)(a) and (7)(a) are ungrammatical, the right-dislocated status of the post-focal constituents is confirmed, which in turn supports the in-situ location of the preceding focus.

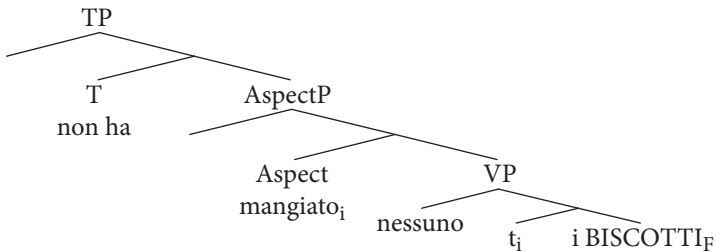
The validity of this test is strengthened by the grammatical sentences (6)(b) and (7)(b) where the negative phrases precede the lower focus and thus allow for marginalization in situ, which in turn produces grammatical sentences as expected. The grammaticality of (6)(b) and (7)(b) also confirms that right dislocation of the post-focus negative phrases is the only factor responsible for the ungrammaticality of the (a) sentences. The structures for (6)(a) and (6)(b) are provided in (8).

- (6) Context: Nessuno ha mangiato la torta.  
 Nobody has eaten the cake  
 'Nobody ate the cake.'
- a. \* No, non ha mangiato i BISCOTTI<sub>F</sub> nessuno<sub>R</sub>.  
 No, not has eaten the biscuits, anybody  
 'No, nobody ate the BISCUITS.'
- b. No, non ha mangiato nessuno i BISCOTTI<sub>F</sub>.  
 No, not has eaten anybody the biscuits  
 'No, nobody ate the BISCUITS.'

- (7) Context: Non convinceremo mai nessuno a dormire.  
 (We) not will-convince ever anybody to to-sleep  
 ‘We will never convince anybody to sleep.’
- a. \* No, non convincerete mai a LAVORARE<sub>F</sub>, nessuno<sub>R</sub>.  
 No, (you) not will-convince ever to to-work anybody  
 ‘No, you will never convince anybody to WORK.’
- b. No, non convincerete mai nessuno a LAVORARE<sub>F</sub>.  
 No, (you) not will-convince ever anybody to to-work  
 ‘No, you will never convince anybody to WORK.’
- (8) a. Structure of (6)(a):



- b. Structure of (6)(b):



The above data also provide evidence against positing a fixed intermediate focus projection between TP and VP. If focus raised leftwards to such a projection, the post-focus negative phrases should remain able to marginalize in situ and be successfully licensed, incorrectly predicting (6)(a) and (7)(a) to be grammatical. (The evidence against positing a fixed projection above TP is discussed later in Section 5.3; see also Section 3.2 and the introduction chapter.)

### 5.2.2 Scope asymmetries induced by right-dislocated indefinites

Further evidence for in-situ focalization comes from the obligatory wide scope displayed by higher-generated post-focus indefinites in negative sentences.

When preceding focus, these indefinite objects may be interpreted within the scope of a preceding c-commanding neg-marker, thus displaying narrow scope. For example, when the entire clause is presentationally focused, the indefinite object in (9) can be interpreted in the scope of the preceding negation, yielding the



interpretation *they did not give us a single biscuit*, i.e. they gave us no biscuits. This reading is even more evident when the adverb *nemmeno* ‘not-even’ is also present, although its presence is not obligatory.

Right-dislocated indefinites, on the other hand, cannot be interpreted in the scope of a preceding neg-marker and must instead take scope over it. This is expected, since they are right dislocated TP-externally and therefore outside the c-commanding domain of the neg-marker. For example, the right-dislocated object in (10) is only grammatical under the odd interpretation where a specific biscuit has not been given to Mary. Note that the indefinite object is not clitic-doubled, but since it follows a clitic-doubled right-dislocated indirect object, its right-dislocated status is not in question.

- (9) [Non ci hanno dato (nemmeno) un BISCOTTO]<sub>F!</sub>  
 (They) not to-us have given not-even a biscuit  
 ‘They gave no biscuits to us!’
- (10) Non le hanno dato IERI<sub>F</sub>, a Maria<sub>R</sub>, un biscotto<sub>R</sub>.  
 (They) not to-her have given yesterday to Mary a biscuit  
 ‘There is a biscuit that they did not give to Mary YESTERDAY.’

Let us further examine the scope properties of indefinites following focus. First of all, consider indefinites generated lower than the focused constituent. Since they can be marginalized in situ they are expected to allow for narrow scope. As (11) shows this is indeed the case; the sentence allows for the interpretation where no worker will be fired.

- (11) Context: Le nostre miniere non licenzieranno un singolo operaio.  
 The our mines not will-fire a single worker  
 ‘Our mines will not fire a single worker.’
- No, non licenzieranno le nostre FABBRICHE<sub>F</sub> [un singolo operaio]<sub>M</sub>.  
 No, not will-fire the our factories a single worker  
 ‘No, our FACTORIES will not fire a single worker.’

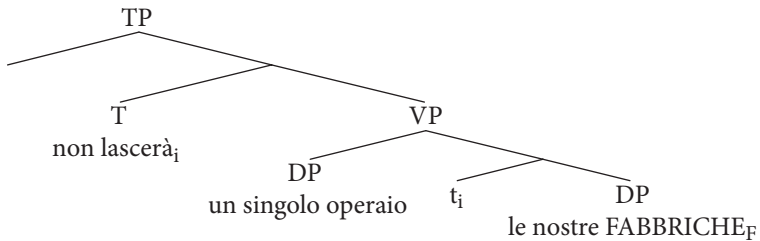
Now consider cases where the post-focus indefinite is generated higher than the focalized constituent. Since focalization occurs in situ, the indefinite can only follow focus if right-dislocated, which in turn predicts an obligatory wide-scope interpretation due to the TP-external position of right-dislocated phrases.

The prediction is borne out. Consider for example the sentences in (12) involving an indefinite subject and a focused object. When the subject precedes the object, as in (12)(a), narrow scope is possible as predicted by the corresponding structure in (13)(a) where the subject occurs in situ. When the subject follows the object, as in (12)(b), narrow scope is no longer available, as expected if the object is right-dislocated

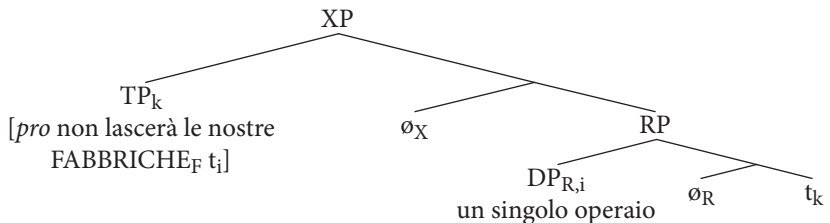
outside TP as shown in (13)(b). Being outside TP, the indefinite subject takes scope over negation, forcing the reading where a single specific worker will not leave the factories. This, in turn, makes (12)(b) an infelicitous reply to the provided context sentence, whose most natural interpretation requires narrow scope. The bracketed comma shows that the observations just described hold even when the post-focal subject is not preceded by a short pause, as could be the case under marginalization, confirming that the interpretation associated with marginalization in situ is absent.

- (12) Context: [Non lascerà le nostre miniere un singolo OPERAIO]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 Not will-leave the our mines a single worker  
 ‘No worker will leave our mines.’
- a. No, non lascerà [un singolo operaio]<sub>M</sub> le nostre FABBRICHE<sub>F</sub>.  
 No, not will-leave a single worker the our factories  
 ‘No, no worker will leave our FACTORIES.’
- b. #No, non lascerà le nostre FABBRICHE<sub>F(○)</sub> [un singolo operaio]<sub>M</sub>.  
 No, not will-leave the our factories a single worker  
 ‘No, a single worker will not leave our FACTORIES.’

(13) a. Structure of (12)(a):



b. Structure of (12)(b):



A similar argument can be built using idiomatic forms based on indefinites. For example, the indefinite *un'anima* ‘a soul’ is often used in negative statements to mean ‘anybody’, but this idiomatic meaning is lost if the indefinite lies outside the scope of negation. As (14)(a) shows, the idiomatic meaning remains available when an indefinite subject of this kind occurs in situ preceding a lower-generated locative adjunct containing a focalized DP. The idiomatic meaning, however, is no longer

available when the indefinite subject follows focus in (14)(b), showing once again that the indefinite has been obligatorily right-dislocated (rather than marginalized in situ) as predicted by the analysis. As the bracketed comma shows, these observations, too, hold even when the post-focal idiomatic expression is not preceded by a short pause.

- (14) Context: Non parlerà un'anima al convegno di Milano.  
 Not will-speak a soul at-the meeting of Milan  
 'Nobody will speak at the Milan meeting.'
- a. No, non parlerà un'anima al convegno di ROMA<sub>F</sub>.  
 No, not will-speak a soul at-the meeting of Rome  
 'No, nobody will speak at the ROME meeting.'
- b. \* No, non parlerà al convegno di ROMA<sub>F(s)</sub> un'anima.  
 No, not will-speak at-the meeting of Rome a soul  
 'No, nobody will speak at the ROME meeting.'

Once again, note how these data cannot be accounted for by analyses positing an intermediate fixed focus projection inducing leftward focus movement. Under these analyses, the focus constituent would be able to move to the left of the higher-generated indefinite while keeping the indefinite in situ and hence in the scope of negation, thus incorrectly predicting the availability of narrow scope.

### 5.2.3 *Scope asymmetries caused by right-dislocated adverbs*

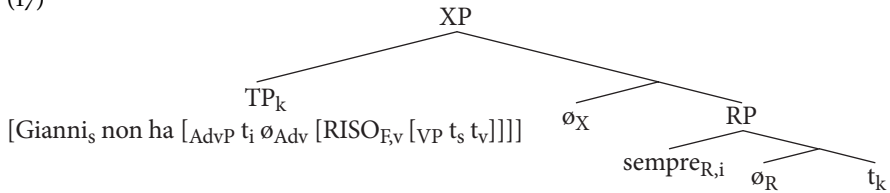
Similar scope asymmetries are also attested with lower adverbs generated between T and the aspectual projection AspectP hosting verbal past-participles. When a discourse-given adverb precedes a focalized past participle, as in (15), it can be interpreted in the scope of the preceding negation. When the same adverb follows the focused past participle, as in (16), it necessarily takes scope over negation. In (16), this forces the unnatural and only marginally acceptable interpretation that laughing is the one action that John never did; he did everything else.

- (15) Gianni non ha sempre RISO<sub>F</sub>. (Ha sempre PIANTO!)  
 John not has always laughed ((He) has always cried!)  
 'John did not always LAUGH. (He always CRIED!)
- (16) ??Gianni non ha RISO<sub>F(s)</sub> sempre.  
 John not has laughed always  
 'For the entire time, John did not LAUGH.'

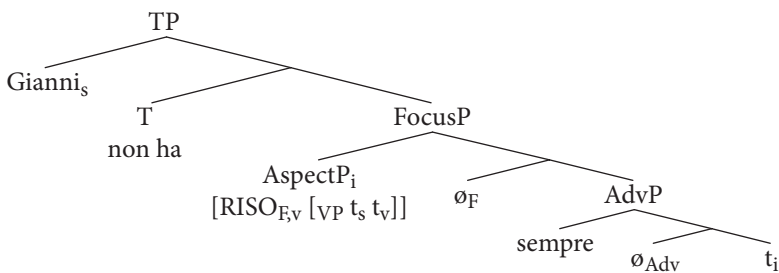
As before, this alternation in scope is exactly what is expected under the proposed analysis, where the post-focus adverb in (16) is right-dislocated and hence outside the scope of negation as shown in (17). The same alternation, however, is unaccounted

for if the focused past-participle is assumed to raise to a focus projection above the adverb as in (18), since in this case the adverb could remain in situ and hence in the scope of the preceding neg-marker.<sup>2</sup>

(17)



(18)



Focalization in situ is also corroborated by the distribution of lower adverbs like *mica* (neg-particle) and *più* (no more) which require licensing by a c-commanding neg-marker and therefore cannot be right-dislocated. As expected, they can precede a contrastively focused past-participle but not follow it, as right dislocation would place them outside their licensing domain. As before, the bracketed comma shows that these observations hold independently from the presence of a short pause right after focus.

- (19) a. Gianni non ha mica MANGIATO<sub>F</sub>.  
 John not has neg eaten.  
 'John did not EAT.'  
 b. \* Gianni non ha MANGIATO<sub>F(s)</sub> mica.

<sup>2</sup> When lower adverbs are focused, as in (i), they may follow the past participle while retaining narrow scope. This, too, is expected, since the adverb is focused in situ and hence within the scope of negation. The past-participle's movement above the adverb constitutes an instance of the movement operation examined in Chapter 3 letting lower-generated unfocused phrases optionally raise above a higher focus.

(i) Gianni non ha riso SPESSO<sub>F</sub>.  
 John not has laughed often  
 'John did not OFTEN laugh.'

- (20) a. Gianni non ha più MANGIATO<sub>F</sub>.  
 John not has any-more eaten.  
 'John did not EAT any more.'
- b. \* Gianni non ha MANGIATO<sub>F(,)</sub> più.

These data, too, are unexpected if focus moved to a higher intermediate focus projection, since the past participle would then raise above *mica* and *più*, thus enabling them to remain in situ and licensed.

#### 5.2.4 Order asymmetries caused by right-dislocated adverbs

The mandatory right-dislocated status of post-focus phrases generated higher than focus also explains the asymmetric distribution of higher adverbs relative to focus noticed in Cinque (1999). Cinque examined the higher pragmatic, evaluative, and modal adverbs that precede lower adverbs. He noticed that like lower adverbs they follow a rigid order when the entire clause is presentationally focused. For example, as the following data from Cinque (1999: 12) show, the pragmatic adverb *francamente* 'frankly' precedes the evaluative adverb *purtroppo* 'unfortunately', the evaluative adverb *per fortuna* 'luckily' precedes the modal adverb *probabilmente* 'probably', and *probabilmente* precedes the adverb *forse* 'perhaps'.

- (21) a. [Francamente ho purtroppo una pessima opinione di VOI]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 Frankly (I) have unfortunately a very-bad opinion of you  
 'Frankly I have unfortunately a very poor opinion of you.'
- b. \* [Purtroppo ho francamente una pessima opinione di VOI]<sub>NewF</sub>.
- (22) a. [Gianni ha per fortuna probabilmente ACCETTATO]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 John has for luck probably accepted  
 'John has luckily probably accepted.'
- b. \* [Gianni ha probabilmente per fortuna ACCETTATO]<sub>NewF</sub>.
- (23) a. [Gianni sarà probabilmente forse ancora in grado di AIUTARCI]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 John will-be probably perhaps still able of to-help-us  
 'John will probably perhaps still be able to help us.'
- b. \* [Gianni sarà forse probabilmente ancora in grado di AIUTARCI]<sub>NewF</sub>.

This rigid order disappears in post-focus position. Consider for example the following sentences from Cinque (1999: 16) showing free ordering between *purtroppo* and *forse*, and between *francamente* and the lower habitual adverb *di solito* 'usually' (the right-dislocated adverbs require a pause right before them).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Cinque does not provide minimal pairs illustrating the rigid order between these adverbs, so I added a few examples here. Example (i) shows that the evaluative adverb *per fortuna* 'luckily' must precede the

- (24) a. *Sembra che lascerà anche NOI<sub>F</sub>, purtroppo, forse.*  
 Seems that (s/he) will-leave also us, unfortunately, perhaps  
 ‘Unfortunately, it seems that perhaps s/he will leave us too.’  
 b. *Sembra che lascerà anche NOI<sub>F</sub>, forse, purtroppo.*
- (25) a. *Non sopporto NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>, francamente, di solito.*  
 (I) not stand anybody, frankly, of usual  
 ‘Frankly, I cannot stand anybody, usually.’  
 b. *Non sopporto NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>, di solito, francamente.*

Cinque’s observation follows straightforwardly from the obligatory right-dislocated status of higher-generated post-focus phrases. The rigid order of higher adverbs under clause-wide focus reflects their base-generated order (independently of whether this order reflects a fixed syntactic hierarchy as per Cinque 1999 or follows from the adverbs’ semantics as in Ernst 2002). Since focus occurs in situ, the only way these adverbs may follow the focused object in the example sentences is through right dislocation. But right dislocation allows for free ordering, explaining why the original rigid order is lost.

### 5.2.5 *Wh-extraction*

In-situ focalization also accounts for a subtle asymmetry involving wh-extraction from pre- and post-focus sentential complements. Consider the context question in

modal adverb *probabilmente* ‘probably’ under clause-wide focus. Yet the same two adverbs are freely ordered when occurring in post-focus position in (ii). Likewise, evaluative *purtroppo* ‘unfortunately’ precedes *forse* ‘perhaps’ under clause-wide focus in (iii), but the two are freely ordered after focus in (iv).

- (i) a. [Gianni per fortuna accetterà probabilmente l’INCARICO]<sub>F</sub>.  
 John for luck will-accept probably the task  
 ‘Luckily John will probably accept the task.’  
 b. ?? [Gianni probabilmente accetterà per fortuna l’INCARICO]<sub>F</sub>.
- (ii) a. Gianni accetterà l’INCARICO<sub>F</sub>, probabilmente, per fortuna.  
 John will-accept the task, probably, for luck  
 ‘Luckily John will probably accept the task.’  
 b. Gianni accetterà l’INCARICO, per fortuna, probabilmente.
- (iii) a. [Gianni purtroppo forse accetterà l’INCARICO]<sub>F</sub>.  
 John unfortunately perhaps will-accept the task  
 ‘John will unfortunately perhaps accept the task.’  
 b. \* [Gianni forse purtroppo accetterà l’INCARICO]<sub>F</sub>.
- (iv) a. Gianni accetterà l’INCARICO<sub>F</sub>, forse, purtroppo.  
 John will accept the task, perhaps, unfortunately  
 ‘Unfortunately, perhaps, John will accept the task.’  
 b. Gianni accetterà l’INCARICO<sub>F</sub>, purtroppo, forse.

(26) which ensures that the subject and sentential complement of the subordinate interrogative clause are discourse given. The two answers in (26)(a) and (26)(b) repeat the same interrogative clause with a new indirect object, thus contrastively focusing it. Crucially, *wh*-extraction is more readily available in (26)(a), where the sentential complement precedes the subject, than in the more marginal (26)(b) where their order is switched.

This slight difference in grammaticality is exactly what is predicted if focalization occurs in situ. Since the focused indirect object occurs in situ, in both sentences the subject *i tuoi fratelli* ‘your brothers’ must be right-dislocated (if it were in situ it would precede the indirect object). In (26)(a) the sentential complement precedes the subject and hence it can be marginalized in situ, and therefore it allows for *wh*-extraction; see the corresponding structure in (27)(a). In (26)(b), instead, the sentential complement follows the right-dislocated subject and therefore it too must have been right-dislocated. Since no clitic doubling is present, *wh*-extraction remains possible but it shows the typical marginal grammaticality characterizing *wh*-extraction from right-dislocated clauses described in Section 4.4.4. The corresponding structure is in (27)(b).

(26) Context:

Vuoi sapere quando i tuoi fratelli hanno promesso a Gianni che arriveranno?  
(You) wish to know when your brothers have promised to John that (they) will-arrive

‘Do you want to know when your brothers promised John that they would arrive?’

No. Voglio sapere...

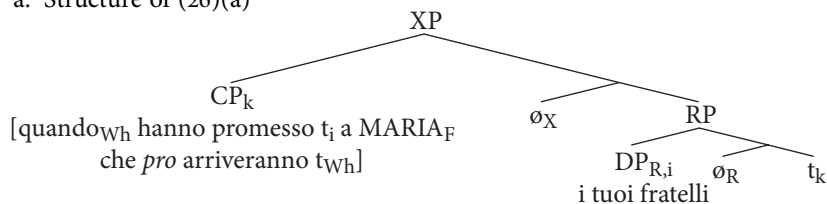
‘No. I want to know...’

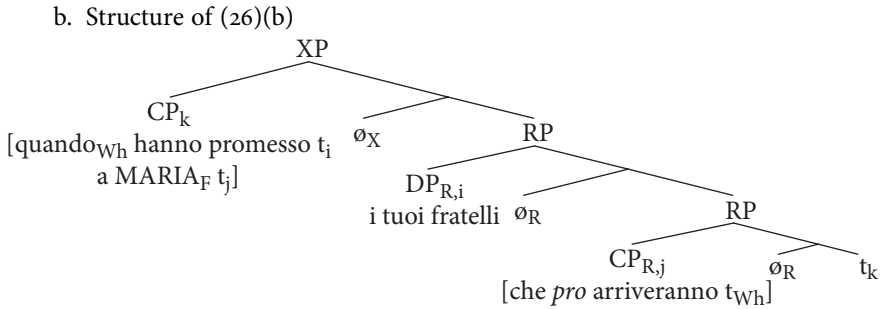
a. ... quando hanno promesso a MARIA<sub>F</sub> [che arriveranno]<sub>M</sub>, i tuoi fratelli<sub>R</sub>.  
... when (they) have promised to Mary that (they) will-arrive, the your bothers

‘... when they promised MARY that they would arrive, your brothers.’

b. ?... quando hanno promesso a MARIA<sub>F</sub>, i tuoi fratelli<sub>R</sub>, [che arriveranno]<sub>R</sub>.  
... when (they) have promised to Mary, the your bothers, that (they) will-arrive

(27) a. Structure of (26)(a)





The same asymmetry is predicted absent under current cartographic analyses positing a fixed focus projection, since in this case the focused indirect object would raise to a focus projection above the unfocused subject, thus enabling both the subject and the sentential object to occur marginalized in situ in sentence (26)(b), incorrectly predicting wh-extraction to be non-marginal in this sentence too.

### 5.2.6 Summary

The previous sections showed that when right dislocation applies to constituents not containing focus, focalization occurs in situ. Focused constituents can be followed by marginalized and right-dislocated discourse-given phrases. Post-focal constituents generated to the right of focus can be either marginalized in situ or right-dislocated; their status is ambiguous and analysts must take this into account before drawing any conclusion (unfortunately this crucial test is currently almost always absent in the literature on Italian focalization). Post-focal constituents generated before focus are instead necessarily right-dislocated, since marginalization in situ is inconsistent with their post-focal position.

These results are analytically valuable, because they enable analysts to identify the right-dislocated status of specific constituents even when clitic doubling is absent. They become even more effective when combined with the following two additional criteria that apply to all phrases. First, since marginalized phrases follow the base-generated order because they occur in situ, any set of post-focal constituent altering such order is necessarily right-dislocated. Second, any constituent following a right-dislocated constituent is also right-dislocated.

As a practical application, consider the six grammatical sentences in (28) showing a focused object followed by a discourse-given subject, indirect object, and temporal adverb in all possible permutations. The above criteria immediately tell us that in sentences (a) and (b) all constituents following focus are right-dislocated because the first of them, the subject *Carlo*, must be right-dislocated because it is generated above the focus. Similarly, all post-focal constituents are right-dislocated in (c) and (d) as well, since the initial adverb *ieri* is base-generated before the focused object and therefore its post-focal position must be caused by right dislocation. Only sentences



(e) and (f) allow for the potential marginalization of the indirect object *a Maria*, since it can be generated lower than the focused object and be marginalized in situ in its original position. The same indirect object might also have been right-dislocated, its status being ambiguous, while the adverb and subject following it can only have been right-dislocated since they are base-generated before the focused object.

- (28) a. (Le) ha dato dei FIORI<sub>F</sub>, Carlo<sub>R</sub>, a Maria<sub>R</sub>, ieri<sub>R</sub>.  
 (To-her) has given some flowers, Carl, to Mary, yesterday  
 ‘Carl gave Mary some FLOWERS yesterday.’
- b. (Le) ha dato dei FIORI<sub>F</sub>, Carlo<sub>R</sub>, ieri<sub>R</sub>, a Maria<sub>R</sub>.  
 c. (Le) ha dato dei FIORI<sub>F</sub>, ieri<sub>R</sub>, a Maria<sub>R</sub>, Carlo<sub>R</sub>.  
 d. (Le) ha dato dei FIORI<sub>F</sub>, ieri<sub>R</sub>, Carlo<sub>R</sub>, a Maria<sub>R</sub>.  
 e. (Le) ha dato dei FIORI<sub>F</sub>, a Maria<sub>M/R</sub>, Carlo<sub>R</sub>, ieri<sub>R</sub>.  
 f. (Le) ha dato dei FIORI<sub>F</sub>, a Maria<sub>M/R</sub>, ieri<sub>R</sub>, Carlo<sub>R</sub>.

Most literature on Italian focalization does not discuss the potential right-dislocated status of the constituents following focus, implicitly assuming that they are never right-dislocated. As example (28) illustrates, this assumption is almost always incorrect, calling into question any conclusions based on it. Right dislocation is much more pervasive than our intuition may at first suggest. It is marginalization that is more uncommon. Even when present, it usually co-exists with an equally possible right-dislocation analysis, as is the case for the indirect object in (28)(e)–(f). Only an appropriate control of right dislocation can ensure accurate and valid deductions about the internal structure of the Italian clause.

### 5.3 Focus evacuation: the role of right dislocation in left-peripheral foci

As we saw in the previous section, when focus and right dislocation apply to distinct constituents, focalization occurs in situ. But right dislocation may also target constituents that contain focused phrases. As this section will show, in this case—and only in this case—the focused phrase is raised to a position outside the dislocating constituent, in order for right dislocation to apply to a focus-free constituent.

I call this operation ‘focus evacuation’ to distinguish it from the ‘left peripheral focus’ analyses à la Belletti (2001, 2004) and Rizzi (1997, 2004) where focalized constituents move to the specifier of a fixed focus projection. As we will see, focus evacuation accounts for all instances of Italian left-peripheral focus (though more research is needed for the partial focus fronting data of Fanselow and Lenertová 2011<sup>4</sup>). Most

<sup>4</sup> Fanselow and Lenertová (2011) examine cases of partial focus fronting in German and Czech where the fronted item constitutes a subpart of the focused constituent. An example for Italian is provided in (i), where the context question in (i)A focuses the entire VP, yet the reply in (i)B only fronts the direct object.

interestingly, the distribution of focus evacuation will be shown to extend beyond the familiar left-peripheral focus data à la Rizzi (1997); Rizzi's data constitute a specific subcase that occurs when the constituent containing focus and targeted by right dislocation happens to be an entire TP (as opposed to, say, VP, PP, AP, DP).

Several properties distinguish focus evacuation from these analyses making it possible to test its validity.

1. **Dependence on right dislocation**—Focus evacuation only occurs when right dislocation is present and targets a constituent containing focus. When right dislocation is absent or targets constituents not including focus, the conditions for focus evacuation are absent and focalization occurs in situ as discussed in Section 5.2. Since right dislocation is an optional process, the analysis immediately accounts for Brunetti's (2003) observation that leftward focus movement is optional. This contrasts sharply with any analysis proposing that all focalized constituents obligatorily raise to a posited focus projection.
2. **Varying position**—The final position of evacuated foci is predicted to vary in accord with the constituent targeted by right dislocation. For example, a focused object will move above TP when TP is targeted but only above VP when the target

(i) A: Cosa hai fatto oggi?  
What (you) have done today  
'What did you do today?'

B: Una risotto ai FUNGHI, mi son mangiato!  
A risotto to-the mushrooms, me<sub>Benefactive</sub> am eaten  
'A MUSHROOM risotto, I have eaten!'

These cases, too, could conceivably be reconciled with the analysis proposed in this book by assuming that in (i)B focalization is limited to the evacuated object and the following TP is treated as discourse-given and right dislocated. Under this hypothesis what is noteworthy in the dialogue in (i) is the fact that speaker B ignores the focalization and givenness assignment imposed by A's question and replies *as if* focalization applied to the object alone. Preliminary support for this hypothesis comes from the observation that partial focus fronting deteriorates when the information treated as discourse-given by B is less obvious, and therefore arguably less easily accommodated as discourse-given by the dialogue participants. For example, as (ii) shows when B's reply contains more information, partial focus fronting becomes infelicitous (as represented by the symbol '#'). The constituent imposed as discourse-given in (ii)B is more informative and less immediately associated with the fronted focus as is the case in (i)B, possibly because mushroom risottos are typically and inevitably eaten, whereas ordering them at the restaurant is a more specific activity contrasting many other conceivable ones (cooking risotto at home, cooking it at a restaurant, eating it at home, eating it at a restaurant, etc.).

(ii) A: Cosa hai fatto oggi?

B: # Un risotto ai FUNGHI, ho ordinato al ristorante!  
A risotto to-the mushrooms, (I) have ordered at-the restaurant  
'A MUSHROOM risotto, I ordered at the restaurant!'

A further development of the hypothesis just described would have to consider how to account for the interesting properties associated to partial focus fronting described in Fanselow and Lenertová (2011). Ideally, it would also identify the conditions determining when a speaker can manipulate the focus and givenness assignments associated with the current discourse context in the way partial focus fronting appears to be doing.

is VP. This, too, contrasts sharply with any analysis where all focalized constituents move to a unique and fixed focused projection.

3. **Status of post-focus constituents**—The constituent containing focus and targeted by right dislocation eventually follows the evacuated focus and is expected to display the typical properties of right-dislocated phrases.<sup>5</sup> The same does not hold in analyses where focus moves to a fixed focus projection, since in this case the constituent following focus need not be affected by any operation (or, to put it differently, can be marginalized in situ).
4. **Lack of c-command**—Since right-dislocated phrases are not c-commanded by the constituents preceding them (see Chapter 4), evacuated foci are predicted to be unable to c-command the right-dislocated constituent originally containing them. Analysis moving focus to a higher focus projection instead predicts that left-peripheral foci can c-command any constituents to their right, since the latter are not obligatorily right-dislocated.

Of the above four predictions, the first has already been examined in the discussion of focalization in situ in Section 5.2. The rest of this section discusses the remaining three as well as several other pieces of evidence. Section 5.3.1 provides the structural details of focus evacuation. Section 5.3.2 examines the different positions taken by evacuated focus, showing in the process that Rizzi's (1997) data identify a specific subclass within the wider set of data determined by focus evacuation. Section 5.3.3 considers NPI-licensing relations, showing that evacuated foci cannot c-command the right-dislocated constituents to their right. Section 5.3.4, refining Samek-Lodovici (2009), examines the left-peripheral focus data studied in Rizzi (1997) and presents several pieces of evidence supporting their evacuated status. Section 5.3.5 examines the alternative analyses proposed in Benincà (2001), Benincà and Poletto (2004),

<sup>5</sup> While the constituent originally containing the evacuated focus is necessarily right-dislocated, it is not possible to conclude that every constituent following an evacuated focus is right-dislocated in all circumstances, as mentioned in Samek-Lodovici (2006: 1, 2009: 334). This conclusion is not possible because a focused constituent XP could be generated within a phrase YP itself located before another lower constituent ZP, as shown in (i). As discussed later in this section, right dislocation of YP in this case causes the evacuation of the focused XP to a left-adjoined YP position which would still precede the unmoved ZP as schematically shown in (ii) where '[YP... t<sub>k</sub>... ]<sub>R,i</sub>' is the right dislocated YP constituent originally including the focused XP<sub>F</sub>.

(i) [TP... [YP... XP<sub>F</sub>... ] ZP ]

(ii) [TP... [YP XP<sub>F,k</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ] ZP ] [YP... t<sub>k</sub>... ]<sub>R,i</sub>

Note, however, that for this configuration to occur YP must be strictly contained in the TP relative to which right dislocation takes place. When right dislocation targets the entire TP, the evacuated focus necessarily precedes the entire right-dislocated TP, as in (iii). In this case, a ZP immediately following the subject could no longer be in situ, since it is outside its original TP. As will be explained later in this section, in this case ZP is itself right-dislocated independently from TP, as schematically shown in (iv).

(iii) [TP XP<sub>F,k</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ] [TP... t<sub>k</sub>... ZP ]<sub>R,i</sub>

(iv) [TP XP<sub>F,k</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ] ZP<sub>R,j</sub> [TP... t<sub>k</sub>... t<sub>j</sub> ]<sub>R,i</sub>

Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007), and Bianchi and Bocci (2012). Section 5.3.6 briefly considers some additional evidence from parasitic gaps constructions. Finally, Section 5.3.7 considers how the proposed remnant movement analysis fares relative to Müller's principle of unambiguous domination (Müller 1996, 1998).

### 5.3.1 Focus evacuation

Schwarzschild (1999: 150) convincingly demonstrated that discourse given phrases may contain focused phrases. Consider (29). When B is uttered after A the items *John*, *apple*, and *green* are trivially discourse-given because they co-refer with identical items in A.

- (29) A: John ate a green apple.  
 B: No, John ate a RED<sub>F</sub> apple.

Schwarzschild argues that the entire sentence B is also given in the context of A because A entails the proposition that John ate an apple of some colour. Formally, he defines a constituent as discourse-given whenever its existential F-closure is entailed by the discourse context, where the existential F-closure is obtained by replacing any focused constituent with a variable and existentially closing the result (modulo existential type shifting, see Schwarzschild 1999 for discussion).<sup>6</sup> He then explains how under this definition the proposition *John ate a RED apple* in B counts as given because its existential F-closure  $\exists Y[\textit{John ate a } Y \textit{ apple}]$ , meaning that John ate an apple of some colour and obtained by replacing *RED* with *Y*, is entailed by sentence A. Using the same definition, Schwarzschild shows that the VP *ate a RED apple* and the DP *a RED apple* also count as given because the corresponding existential F-closures, roughly equivalent to the action of eating an apple of some colour and the existence of an apple of some colour, are also entailed by sentence A.

Similarly, the TP *Bill saw Rome* in (30)(B) counts as given when uttered as a reply to (30)(A) because its existential F-closure, equivalent to the proposition that Bill saw some city, is entailed by (30)(A) even if the object *ROME* contained in it is contrastively focused.

- (30) A: Bill saw Milan.  
 B: No, [<sub>TP</sub> Bill saw ROME<sub>F</sub> ]

<sup>6</sup> Schwarzschild (1999: 151) summarizes the definition of givenness as follows:

- (i) GIVEN = An utterance U counts as *GIVEN* if it has a salient antecedent A and
- a. if U is type e, then A and U co-refer;
  - b. otherwise: modulo  $\exists$ -type shifting, A entails the Existential F-Closure of U.
- (ii) Existential F-Closure of U = the result of replacing F-marked phrases in U with variables and existentially closing the result, modulo existential type shifting.

When the same exchange occurs in Italian, as in (31), the discourse-given TP corresponding to (30)(B) becomes a potential target for right dislocation. Since right dislocation is an optional operation, there are two possible answers to (31)(A). When right dislocation does not apply, the focused object *ROMA* remains inside the TP as in (31)(B<sub>1</sub>), which is fully analogous to its English counterpart in (30)(B) and discussed no further.

When right dislocation does apply, focus moves leftward to evacuate the targeted constituent and enable its right dislocation, giving rise to answer (30)(B<sub>2</sub>).

- (31) A: Bill ha visto Milano.  
       Bill (has) seen Milan  
       ‘Bill saw Milan.’
- B<sub>1</sub>: No, [<sub>TP</sub> *pro* ha visto ROMA<sub>F</sub>].  
       No, (he) has seen Rome  
       ‘No, he saw ROME.’
- B<sub>2</sub>: No, ROMA<sub>F</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> *pro* ha visto]<sub>R</sub>.  
       No, Rome, (he) has seen  
       ‘No, he saw ROME.’

Two issues arise. The first concerns the cause of focus evacuation: why does focus have to leave the constituent targeted by right dislocation? A possible explanation, discussed and formalized in Chapter 6, is that right-dislocated phrases being discourse-given are subject to prosodic constraints requiring discourse-given material to be non-prominent (cf. Féry and Samek-Lodovici 2006). When focus occurs inside a constituent targeted by right dislocation a conflict arises between the need to stress focus and the need to avoid stress on the right-dislocated constituent. Focus evacuation makes it possible to satisfy both requirements.<sup>7</sup>

The second issue concerns the position of evacuated foci. The analysis just described predicts that evacuated foci will raise only as far as is necessary to enable right dislocation of the targeted constituent, thus left-adjoining to it. This is the shortest movement leaving the targeted phrase focus-free and ready to right-dislocate.

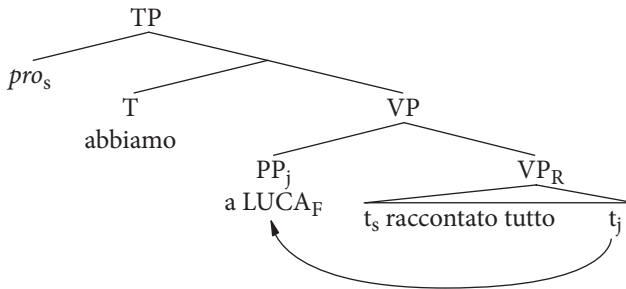
It follows that the final position of evacuated foci will depend on which constituent is targeted by right dislocation. For example, when right dislocation targets a VP containing a focused indirect object, the indirect object will left-adjoin to VP. An example is provided in (32), where the evacuated indirect object *a LUCA* ‘to Luke’, here pied-piping the preposition due to the absence of preposition-stranding in Italian, is followed by the right-dislocated VP to its right (to avoid excessive

<sup>7</sup> A possible alternative, here left unexplored, is that right dislocation marks the domain of focus, in accord with the hypothesis that focus movement marks the focus background proposed in Neeleman et al. (2007) and Neeleman and van de Koot (2008).

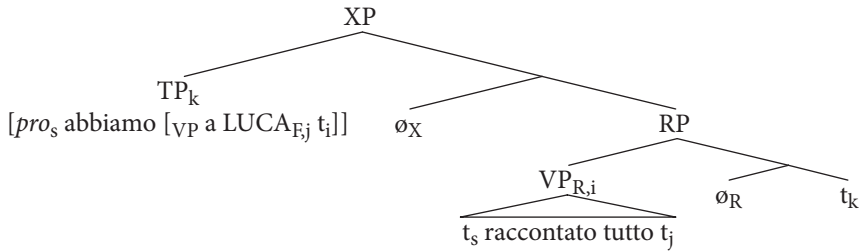
clattering, I am using ‘VP’ also for the projection hosting the verbal past-participle). The corresponding derivation is in (33). First, focus evacuation forces the focused indirect object to VP-adjoin as in (33)(a). Then the lower VP segment is right dislocated as in (33)(b), in accord with the analysis of right dislocation proposed in Chapter 4. Note how the focused indirect object *a LUCA* precedes the dislocated VP but does not c-command it.

- (32) Abbiamo *a LUCA<sub>F</sub>*, [raccontato tutto]<sub>R</sub>, (non a Marco).  
 (We) have to Luke, told everything, (not to Mark)  
 ‘We told everything to LUKE (not to Mark).’

- (33) a. Focus evacuation of the indirect object *a Luca*

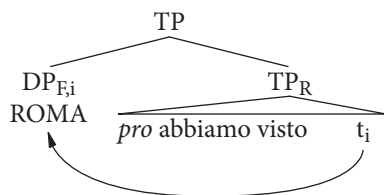


- b. Right-dislocation of the past-participle VP

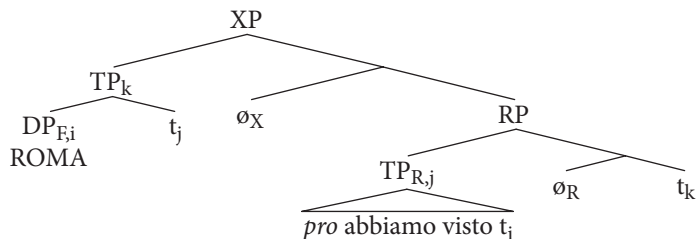


When right dislocation targets an entire TP, focus left-adjoins to TP, giving rise to the more familiar left-peripheral focus sentences discussed in Rizzi (1997) and many subsequent analyses. For example, sentence (34) arises when the TP containing the focused object *ROMA* ‘Rome’ is targeted by right dislocation. The corresponding derivation is shown in (35). First, the focused object is evacuated via leftward TP-adjunction. Second, the lower TP-node is right dislocated. As a result, the focused object linearly precedes but does not c-command the right-dislocated TP.

- (34) *ROMA<sub>F</sub>*, [abbiamo visto]<sub>R</sub>.  
 Rome, (we) have seen  
 ‘We saw ROME.’

(35) a. Focus evacuation of the object *ROMA*

## b. Right dislocation of the original TP



The evidence for the above analysis is discussed in detail in the following sections. When discussing sentences involving right-dislocated TPs, I will where convenient use the term ‘left-peripheral focus’ originally used by Rizzi (1997). This term, however, is potentially misleading, as it suggests that sentences where focus is descriptively left-peripheral—i.e. linearly preceding an entire TP—form a special class, whereas they are just a subset of the structures determined by focus evacuation.

The label ‘left-peripheral focus’ also incorrectly suggests that focus raise to a higher position for intrinsic reasons (e.g. to check its features in a higher fixed focus projection), thus obscuring the key role played by right dislocation in triggering the existence of these structures. Finally, the term may incorrectly be interpreted as implying that the raised focus c-commands the constituents to its right, which is not the case, since the evacuated focus never c-commands the right-dislocated constituent that originally contained it.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> As a native speaker, I find left-peripheral focalization possible with contrastive, corrective, and even presentational focus, but on the possible types of focalization available in this position see also Calabrese (1992), Rizzi (1997), Belletti (2001, 2004), Brunetti (2004, 2009), Bianchi and Bocci (2012), and Bianchi (2012).

Brunetti (2004) argues that the unavailability of left-peripheral presentational focus reported by some speakers follows from the specific tests used to distinguish the two focus types. For example, she claims that QA-pairs, like (i) are inadequate as a diagnostics for new-information focus because for these speakers the background proposition *ho mangiato* ‘I have eaten something’ is too salient and accessible to be repeated again in the answer as a discourse-given constituent as in answer A1. Other speakers, however, are less constrained by the salience of the background proposition and will accept (i)A as grammatical. Most of my informants and myself belong to the second group, since we find (i)A grammatical when the post-focus clause is uttered with the typical intonation of right-dislocated constituents. Calabrese would appear to belong to this group too, as a similar pair involving a left-peripheral focused subject is reported as grammatical in Calabrese (1992: 100). Interestingly, and supporting Brunetti’s point, even the informants

## 5.3.2 Variation in the position of evacuated foci

Focus evacuation predicts that the same focused constituent will move to different positions depending on which containing phrase is targeted by right dislocation.

The following examples show several instances of focus evacuation involving right-dislocated phrases of increasing size, such as DP, AP, PP, VP, and TP. The initial (a) sentence in each set lacks right dislocation and focus occurs in situ. The remaining sentences involve right dislocation of increasingly larger constituents, giving the impression that focus moves further and further leftwards. Under an appropriate intonation, with focus duly stressed, they constitute natural replies to the provided context; the few marginal cases have been marked as '?'. Due to the absence of preposition stranding in Italian, the preposition preceding focus is always pied-piped with the evacuated focus.

- (36) Context: Avete raccontato tutto a Marco?  
(You) have told everything to Mark  
'Did you tell everything to Mark?'
- |    |                                                                                                                                                                                   |       |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| a. | Abbiamo raccontato tutto [a LUCA <sub>F</sub> ], (non a Marco).<br>(We) have told everything to Luke, (not to Mark)<br>'We told everything to LUKE (not Mark).'                   | No RD |
| b. | Abbiamo [a LUCA <sub>F</sub> ], [raccontato tutto] <sub>R</sub> , (non a Marco).<br>(We) have to Luke, told everything, (not to Mark)<br>'We told everything to LUKE (not Mark).' | VP    |
| c. | [A LUCA <sub>F</sub> ], [abbiamo raccontato tutto] <sub>R</sub> , (non a Marco).<br>To Luke (we) have told everything, (not to Mark)<br>'We told everything to LUKE (not Mark).'  | TP    |
- (37) Context: Siete andati via da Firenze?  
(You) are gone away from Florence  
'Did you go away from Florence?'

of mine who found A<sub>1</sub> marginal, found A<sub>2</sub> acceptable, where further repetition strengthens the discourse-giveness of the clause *ho mangiato* 'I have eaten something', making its right dislocation acceptable in the last clause.

- (i) Q: Cosa hai mangiato?  
What have you eaten  
'What did you eat?'
- A<sub>1</sub>: La TORTA<sub>F</sub>, [ho mangiato]<sub>R</sub>.  
The cake, (I) have eaten  
I ate the CAKE.'
- A<sub>2</sub>: Cosa vuoi che abbia mangiato! La TORTA<sub>F</sub>, [ho mangiato]<sub>R</sub>.  
What (you) want that (I) have eaten. The cake, (I) have eaten  
'What else would I eat? I ate the CAKE.'

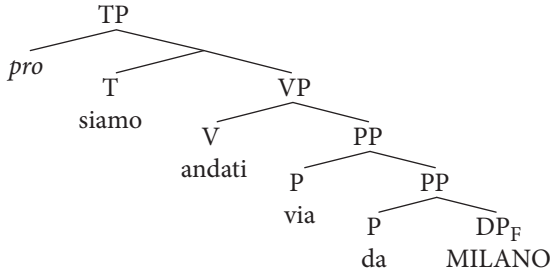


- a. Siamo andati via [da MILANO<sub>F</sub>], (non da Firenze). No RD  
(We) are gone away from Milan, (not from Florence)  
'We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).'
- b. Siamo andati [da MILANO<sub>F</sub>], [via]<sub>R</sub>, (non da Firenze). PP  
(We) are gone from Milan, away, (not from Florence)  
'We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).'
- c. Siamo [da MILANO<sub>F</sub>], [andati via]<sub>R</sub>, (non da Firenze). VP  
(We) are from Milan, gone away, (not from Florence)  
'We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).'
- d. [Da MILANO<sub>F</sub>], [siamo andati via]<sub>R</sub>, (non da Firenze). TP  
From Milan, (we) are gone away, (not from Florence)  
'We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).'
- (38) Context: Siete orgogliosi dei vostri amici?  
(You) are proud of your friends  
'Are you proud of your friends?'
- a. Siamo orgogliosi [dei nostri FIGLI<sub>F</sub>], (non dei nostri amici). No RD  
(We) are proud of-the our children, (not of-the our friends)  
'We are proud of our CHILDREN, (not our friends).'
- b. Siamo [dei nostri FIGLI<sub>F</sub>], [orgogliosi]<sub>R</sub>, (non dei nostri amici). AP  
(We) are of-the our children, proud, (not of-the our friends)  
'We are proud of our CHILDREN, (not our friends).'
- c. [Dei nostri FIGLI<sub>F</sub>], [siamo orgogliosi]<sub>R</sub>, (non dei nostri amici). TP  
Of-the our children, (we) are proud, (not of-the our friends)  
'We are proud of our CHILDREN, (not our friends).'
- (39) Context: Avete visto le fotografie di Gianni?  
(You) have seen the pictures of John  
'Did you see John's pictures?'
- a. Abbiamo visto le fotografie [di MARCO<sub>F</sub>], (non di Gianni). No RD  
(We) have seen the pictures of Mark, (not of John)  
'We saw MARK's pictures, (not John's).'
- b. ? Abbiamo visto [di MARCO<sub>F</sub>], [le fotografie]<sub>R</sub>, (non di Gianni). DP  
(We) have seen of Mark, the pictures, (not of John)  
'We saw MARK's pictures, (not John's).'
- c. ? Abbiamo [di MARCO<sub>F</sub>], [visto le fotografie]<sub>R</sub>, (non di Gianni). VP  
(We) have of Mark, seen the pictures, (not of John)  
'We saw MARK's pictures, (not John's).'

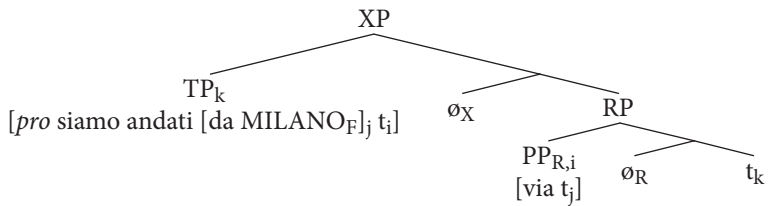
- d. [Di MARCO<sub>F</sub>], [abbiamo visto le fotografie]<sub>R</sub>, (non di Gianni). TP  
 Of Mark, (we) have seen the pictures, (not of John)  
 ‘We saw MARK’s pictures, (not John’s).’

The structures for the four sentences in (37) are provided in (40).

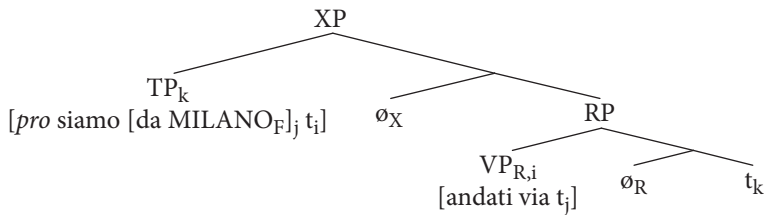
- (40) a. No right dislocation



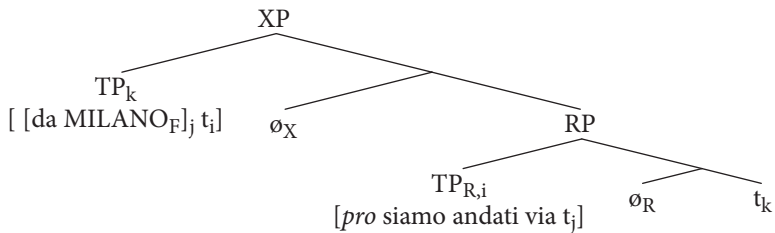
- b. Right dislocation of the PP headed by *via*



- c. Right dislocation of VP



- d. Right dislocation of TP



Since the examples lack clitic doubling, the right-dislocated status of the constituent following the evacuated focus is not immediately evident. Clitic doubling is

inevitably absent when right dislocation targets an entire TP containing a focus, since the head T hosting the clitic is part of the dislocated phrase. But instances of focus evacuation displaying clitic doubling do occur whenever the right-dislocated constituent originally containing focus is smaller than TP. Examples involving focus evacuation out of clitic-doubled APs and DPs are shown in (41) and (42). Right-dislocated verbal past participles disallow for clitic doubling, but as (43) and (44) show they can follow a clitic-doubled constituent, thus leaving no doubt about their right-dislocated status. (Stress falls on focus and each dislocated phrase is preceded by an intonational break.)

- (41) Context: Siete orgogliosi dei vostri amici?  
 (You) are proud of your friends  
 ‘Are you proud of your friends?’  
 Lo siamo [dei nostri FIGLI<sub>F</sub>], [orgogliosi]<sub>R</sub>, (non dei nostri amici). AP  
 (We) it are of-the our children, proud, (not of-the our friends)  
 ‘We are proud of our CHILDREN, (not our friends).’
- (42) Context: Avete visto le fotografie di Gianni?  
 (You) have seen the pictures of John  
 ‘Did you see John’s pictures?’  
 ? Le abbiamo viste [di MARCO<sub>F</sub>], [le fotografie]<sub>R</sub>, (non di Gianni). DP  
 (We) them have seen of Mark, the pictures, (not of John)  
 ‘We saw MARK’s pictures, (not John’s).’
- (43) Context: Ci avete cucinato il PESCE, in questa padella?  
 (You) there have cooked the fish in this pan  
 ‘Did you cook FISH in this pan?’  
 No. Ci abbiamo la CARNE<sub>F</sub>, [in quella padella]<sub>R</sub>, cucinato<sub>R</sub>. VP (past participle)  
 No. (We) there have the meat, in that pan, cooked  
 ‘No. We cooked MEAT in that pan.’
- (44) Context: Avete riportato il tavolo a Maria?  
 (You) brought-back the table to Mary  
 ‘Did you bring back the table to Mary?’  
 No. Lo abbiamo a MARCO<sub>F</sub>, il tavolo<sub>R</sub>, riportato<sub>R</sub>. VP (past participle)  
 No. (We) it have to Mark, the table, brought back  
 ‘No. We brought the table back to MARK.’

The presence of clitic doubling in the previous examples provides a first robust piece of evidence for the focus evacuation analysis. It does unquestionably show that foci can be generated in a larger constituent targeted by right dislocation and that the same foci are extracted before right dislocation takes place. In other words, the visible presence of clitic doubling leaves no doubt that the focus evacuation process proposed in this chapter does occur in Italian. This is not sufficient to refute competing

analyses of left peripheral focalization based on dedicated focus projections, since right dislocation could occur even in those structures, but it establishes that focus evacuation does exist. Since this process is sufficient to account for the left peripheral focalization data, the onus to prove that movement to a higher focus projection is also present is on the corresponding analyses. As I will show in the following sections, several pieces of evidence show that this cannot be the case.

The focus evacuation analysis also provides a unified account for all the above sentences and any other similar ones, correctly predicting when focus remains in situ, when it moves, and how far up it moves. As discussed in the next section, the same does not hold for analyses à la Rizzi (1997, 2004) and Belletti (2001, 2004) which must appeal to additional movement operations that eventually generate ungrammatical sentences.

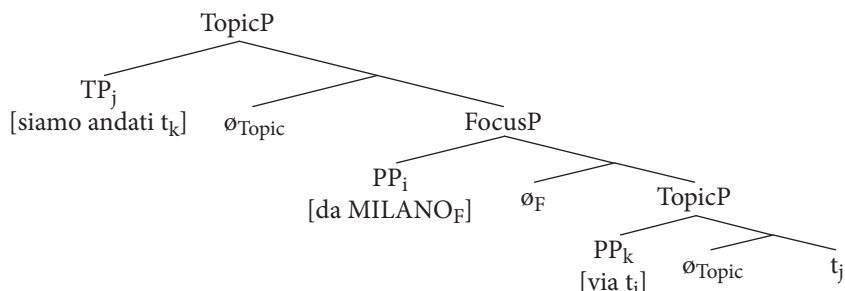
5.3.2.1 *Overgeneration in current cartographic analyses of focalization* Following Belletti (2004), most analyses of focalization assume without much discussion that all contrastive foci move to Rizzi's (1997) fixed focus projection above TP, whatever position they may have in linear terms. Consequently, in these analyses any disruption of the base-generated order must be accounted for by independent processes moving unfocused constituents to the topic projections located above and below FocusP. These movements give rise to problematic consequences.

Consider for example sentence (37)(b) and (37)(c) repeated in (45). In a structure à la Rizzi (1997), the word order for (45)(a) requires movement of the PP '[<sub>PP</sub> via t<sub>i</sub>]' to a topic projection below FocusP, followed by the remnant TP '[<sub>TP</sub> siamo andati t<sub>i</sub>]' moving to a topic projection above FocusP, see structure (46)(a). Likewise, sentence (45)(b) requires movement of the VP '[<sub>VP</sub> andati via t<sub>i</sub>]' to a topic projection below FocusP and movement of the remnant TP '[<sub>TP</sub> siamo t<sub>i</sub>]' to a topic projection above FocusP, see (46)(b).

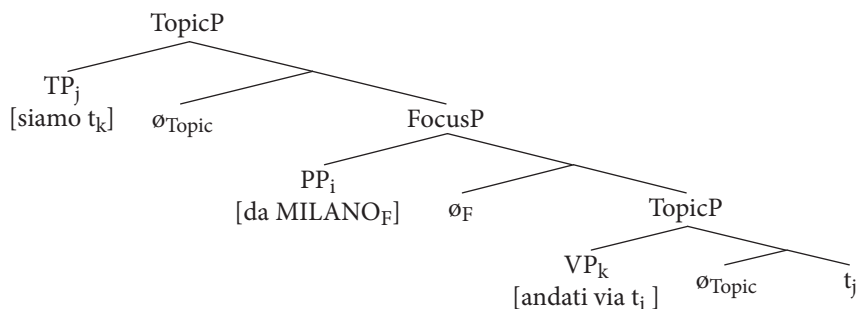
(45) a. Siamo andati [da MILANO<sub>F</sub>], [via]<sub>R</sub>, (non da Firenze).  
(We) are gone from Milan, away, (not from Florence)  
'We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).'

b. Siamo [da MILANO<sub>F</sub>], [andati via]<sub>R</sub>, (non da Firenze).  
(We) are from Milan, gone away, (not from Florence)  
'We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).'

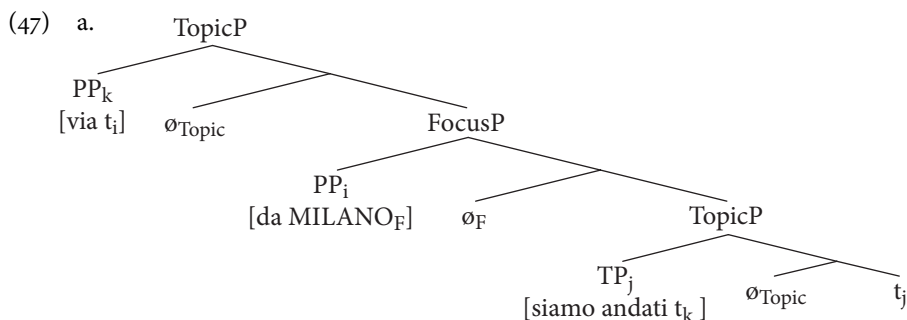
(46) a. Structure of (45)(a) under a left-peripheral analysis à la Rizzi (1997)



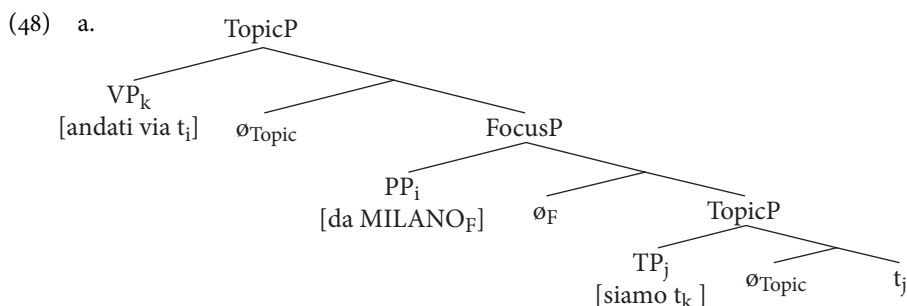
b. Structure of (45)(b) under a left-peripheral analysis à la Rizzi (1997)



Movement to these topic projections must be freely available, or else the above movements would constitute ad hoc operations postulated to obtain the observed word orders. If freely available, however, these operations generate ungrammatical structures. For example, if we switch the landing site for the TP and PP in (46)(a), which should be possible as we are simply swapping the topic projections targeted by the TP and PP, we obtain the structure in (47)(a) which corresponds to the ungrammatical sentence (47)(b). Similarly, if we swap the final positions of TP and VP in (46)(b) we obtain the structure in (48)(a) which corresponds to the ungrammatical sentence (48)(b).



- b. \* [VIA], [da MILANO<sub>F</sub>] siamo andati, (non da Firenze).  
 Away, from Milan, (we) are gone, (not from Florence)  
 'We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).'



- b. \* [Andati <sub>VIA</sub>], [da MILANO<sub>F</sub>] siamo, (non da Firenze).  
 Gone away from Milan, (we) are, (not from Florence)  
 ‘We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).’

The ungrammatical assessment of these two sentences is crucially sensitive to the intonation being provided, which must be the one expected under the corresponding structure. The constituents ‘*via*’ and ‘*andati via*’ in (47)(b) and (48)(b) constitute left-dislocated topics similar to the initial topic ‘Marco’ in the grammatical sentence (49). Therefore, they should carry a B-accent (Büring 1997: 60) here represented in small caps and when uttered at a normal speed they should be followed by an intonational break and short pause (Frascarelli 2000: 48). This intonation crucially distinguishes the ungrammatical sentences in (47) and (48) from their counterparts in (50) which are unsurprisingly grammatical because the PP and VP are here pied-piped with the evacuated focus and therefore show neither a B-accent nor a pause before the focused item.

- (49) Marco, a MARIA<sub>F</sub>, lo abbiamo presentato.  
 Mark, to MARY, (we) him have introduced  
 ‘Mark, we introduced him to MARY.’

- (50) Context: Siete andati via da Firenze?  
 (You) are gone away from Florence  
 ‘Did you go away from Florence?’

- a. No. [Via da MILANO<sub>F</sub>], siamo andati, (non da Firenze).  
 No. Away from Milan, (we) are gone, (not from Florence)  
 ‘No. We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).’
- b. No. [Andati via da MILANO<sub>F</sub>], siamo, (non da Firenze).  
 No. Gone away from Milan, (we) are (not from Florence)  
 ‘No. We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).’

In conclusion, the ungrammaticality of (47) and (48) show that positing a unique focus projection above TP cannot account for the instances of focus evacuation in (45) without introducing additional operations that would then have to be further constrained through additional conditions. These conditions are unnecessary under focus evacuation, which furthermore provides a straightforward and unified analysis of the sentences in (45): they respectively involve evacuation of a PP, pied-piped by a focused DP, from a dislocating PP and VP. Similarly, since no additional operations need to be posited, the ungrammaticality of sentences (47) and (48) is immediately accounted for as due to the extraction of the focalized constituent from the initial PP and VP, which here constitute CLLD phrases and as such constitute an island to extraction. The focus extraction operation itself is unlicensed in these sentences, because focus evacuation can only be triggered by right dislocation in the way described earlier in this chapter.

5.3.3 *Focus evacuation and the licensing of negative phrases*

Focus evacuation makes fine-grained predictions about the availability of licensing relative to focused and unfocused negative phrases. These predictions are all borne out, providing strong support for the analysis.

5.3.3.1 *Focused negative phrases* The first prediction concerns the licensing of focused negative phrases. Italian negative phrases need to be licensed by a *c*-commanding licenser when lower than T but not when *c*-commanding T (see appendix A). We thus expect evacuated negative foci to need licensing depending on their final position, which in turn depends on the size of the constituent targeted by right dislocation. Specifically, evacuated negative foci should require licensing by, for example, a preceding negation when evacuating constituents smaller than TP, but require no licensing when evacuating a right-dislocating TP. The same alternation is instead predicted to be absent under a cartographic analysis where all foci share the same fixed focus projection, since in this case licensing is expected to be uniformly present or uniformly absent depending on the position of the posited focus projection.

The available data support the focus evacuation analysis. For example, a focused negative indirect object requires licensing by the preceding neg-marker *non* when focalized in situ as in (51)(a) and also when evacuating a right-dislocating VP as in (51)(b). Omission of *non* makes these sentences ungrammatical. The same negative indirect object needs no licensing when evacuating an entire TP, as in (51)(c), since in this case it TP-adjoins and therefore it occurs higher than T.

The sentences in (52) show the same pattern with a different set of examples, showing how a focused negative PP needs to be licensed when focused in situ or evacuated from a right-dislocating AP, but not when evacuating a right-dislocating TP.

(51) Context: Avete dato soldi a tutti?

(You) have given money to everybody

'Did you give money to everybody?'

- |    |                                                                                                                                                   |       |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| a. | Non abbiamo dato soldi [a NESSUNO <sub>F</sub> ].<br>(We) not have given money to anybody<br>'We did not give money to ANYBODY.'                  | No RD |
| b. | Non abbiamo [a NESSUNO <sub>F</sub> ], [dato soldi] <sub>R</sub> .<br>(We) not have to anybody given money<br>'We did not give money to ANYBODY.' | VP    |
| c. | [A NESSUNO <sub>F</sub> ], [abbiamo dato soldi] <sub>R</sub> .<br>To anybody (we) have given money<br>'We did not give money to ANYBODY.'         | TP    |

- (52) Context: Siete orgogliosi dei vostri colleghi?  
(You) are proud of your colleagues  
'Are you proud of your colleagues?'
- a. Non siamo orgogliosi [di NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>]. No RD  
(We) not are proud of anybody  
'We are not proud of ANYBODY.'
- b. Non siamo [di NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>], [orgogliosi]<sub>R</sub>. AP  
(We) not are of anybody, proud  
'We are not proud of ANYBODY.'
- c. [Di NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>], [siamo orgogliosi]<sub>R</sub>. TP  
Of nobody, (we) are proud  
'We are not proud of ANYBODY.'

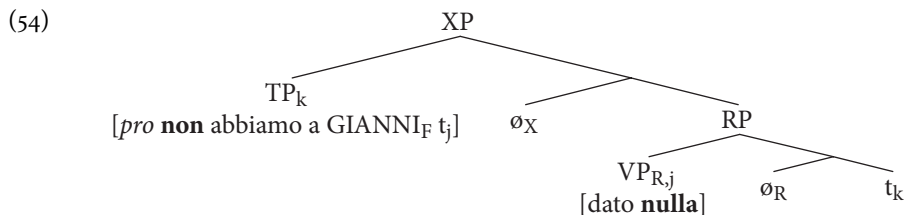
5.3.3.2 *Unfocused negative phrases following evacuated foci* A second prediction concerns the licensing of negative phrases within the right-dislocated constituent that triggered focus evacuation. Since right dislocation lifts this constituent outside TP and since licensing cannot occur under reconstruction (see appendix A), any negative phrase in this constituent no longer occurs within the licensing domain of its original licenser in TP and will consequently be predicted to be ungrammatical. This holds independently from the final position of the evacuated focus.

The prediction is borne out. Consider the data in (53), involving the right dislocation of a VP and leaving the evacuated focus in VP-adjoined position. Sentence (53)(a) is ungrammatical because right dislocation places the entire VP, including the negative object in it, outside the c-commanding domain of the neg-marker *non*, as shown by the corresponding structure in (54).

Note that licensing remains possible when the VP is not right dislocated, as in (53)(b) where the negative object occurs in situ and precedes the focused indirect object, which is also in situ. Grammaticality is also preserved when the VP is right dislocated but contains a non-negative object, as in (55). These last two sentences show that failure in licensing the negative object is the only possible reason for the ungrammaticality of (53)(a), thus further strengthening the evidence for the right-dislocated status of the VP in (53)(a) predicted by focus evacuation.

- (53) Context: Non avete dato nulla a Marco.  
(You) not have given anything to Mark  
'You did not give anything to Mark.'
- a. \*No. Non abbiamo [a GIANNI<sub>F</sub>], [dato nulla]<sub>R</sub>.  
No. (We) not have to John, given anything
- b. No. Non abbiamo dato nulla [a GIANNI<sub>F</sub>].  
No. (We) not have given anything to John  
'We did not give anything to JOHN.'





- (55) Context: Non avete dato i soldi a Marco.  
 (You) not have given the money to Mark  
 ‘You did not give the money to Mark.’

No. Non abbiamo [a GIANNI<sub>F</sub>], [dato i soldi].

No. (We) not have to John, given the money

‘We did not give the money to JOHN.’

The same kind of licensing failure is also expected—and found—when right dislocation affects the entire TP. For example, under sentence-wide presentational focus, preverbal negative subjects in specTP license lower negative phrases such as the negative object in (56). When the negative subject is contrastively focused, however, the object is no longer licensed, see the ungrammatical (57). As shown in the corresponding structure (58), the licensing failure follows from the extra-clausal position taken by the right-dislocated TP, which blocks the necessary *c*-command relation between licenser and licensee.<sup>9</sup>

- (56) [Nessuno ha visto NULLA]<sub>NewF</sub>.

Nobody has seen anything

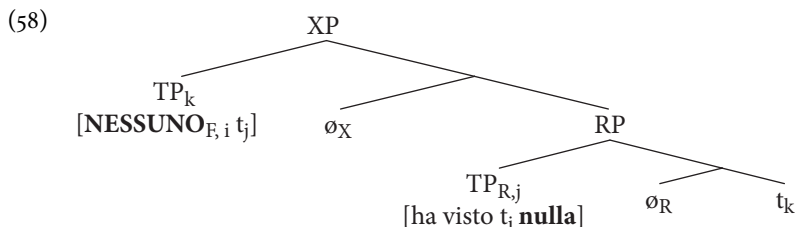
‘Nobody has seen anything.’

- (57) \* NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>, ha visto nulla.

Nobody, has seen anything

<sup>9</sup> Sentences (i)–(iii) supply additional examples but with non-subject negative foci. These cases, too, fail to establish a *c*-command relation between licenser and licensee due to the right-dislocated position of the post-focus TP. Unlike negative subjects, however, these negative constituents do not occur as licensers (i.e. located above T) under clause-wide presentational focus and are thus less suitable for examining the effects of focus evacuation on licensing.

- (i) \* A NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>, abbiamo mai dato soldi.  
 To nobody, (we) have ever given money  
 ‘We never gave money to anybody.’
- (ii) \* NULLA<sub>F</sub>, abbiamo mai dato a nessuno.  
 Nothing, (we) have ever given to anybody  
 ‘We never gave anything to anybody.’
- (iii) \* MAI<sub>F</sub>, abbiamo dato soldi a nessuno.  
 Never (we) have given money to anybody  
 ‘We never gave money to anybody.’



The ungrammaticality of (57) also shows that the subject evacuates the dislocating TP without first moving to specTP, where its trace would be sufficiently high to act as a licenser. This is unsurprising, since other instances of A'-movement affecting subjects, such as subject wh-movement, have been shown to involve extraction directly from the base-generated position of the subject (Rizzi 1982: 118; Brandi and Cordin 1989). The ungrammaticality of (57) also shows that the subject cannot move to specTP and focus there while the rest of the clause is marginalized. This, too, is expected since—as claimed in this book—focalization of the subject should occur in situ whenever right dislocation is absent, i.e. in the subject's base-generated specVP position.

5.3.3.3 *The distribution of the neg-marker 'non'* Focus evacuation also accounts for the peculiar distribution of the sentential neg-marker *non* 'not' relative to negative subjects. Compare (59) and (60). As (60) shows, when the entire TP is presentationally focused and stress falls rightmost, the neg-marker may not co-occur with a preverbal negative subject (Zanuttini 1991; Penka 2011).<sup>10</sup> However, if the preverbal negative subject is focused and stressed, as in (61), the neg-marker can be present, even though it forces a double negation interpretation (Penka 2011).<sup>11</sup>

- (59) [Nessuno ha visto MARCO]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 Nobody has seen Mark  
 'Nobody has seen Mark.'
- (60) \* [Nessuno non ha visto MARCO]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 Nobody not has seen Mark
- (61) NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>, [non ha visto Marco]<sub>R</sub>.  
 Nobody, not has seen Mark  
 'Nobody has not seen Mark.'

<sup>10</sup> The syntax of the neg-marker *non* is discussed in several, very different analyses; see among others Zanuttini (1991), Ladusaw (1992), Isac (2004), Zeijlstra (2004), Penka (2011). Many of these analyses do not address the alternation discussed here. No analysis, amongst those surveyed, takes into account the right-dislocated nature of post-focus TPs.

<sup>11</sup> The presence of a double negation interpretation for this type of sentence is widely attested. Nevertheless, the literature on negative concord also reports cases allowing for a simple negative interpretation under an informal/colloquial register and characterized by variable acceptability across different speakers. See Godard and Marandin (2006), Manzotti and Rigamonti (1991), and Benincá (1988).

Under focus evacuation, the entire pattern follows immediately. The observed differences follow from the presence of a right-dislocated TP in (61), where the focused subject has been evacuated, and its absence in (60), where focus evacuation does not occur.

In (60), the preverbal negative subject in specTP needs no licensing and already negates the entire clause, therefore adding the negative marker is ungrammatical (see for example the account in Haegeman 1994, where economy considerations disallow the overt neg-marker *non* when it shares the same Agr projection of *nessuno*).

In (61), the clause-initial focused subject can only be a product of focus evacuation unleashed by the right dislocation of the containing TP, because when right dislocation is absent subjects focus in situ, i.e. post-verbally in specVP. The evacuated subject and the neg-marker within the right-dislocated TP do not share the same clause at surface. The neg-marker thus becomes possible again. But since the negative focused subject *NESSUNO* does not c-command the right-dislocated TP containing the neg-marker *non*, no neg-concord is possible, forcing the attested double negation interpretation.

#### 5.3.3.4 Problems raised by NPI-licensing to analyses positing fixed focus projections

Current cartographic analyses assuming a dedicated focus projection FocusP above TP cannot account for the data examined in the previous sections. For example, focused negative phrases in FocusP, including negative subjects, would c-command lower negative phrases, incorrectly predicting their successful licensing. For example, (57), repeated in (62), would incorrectly be predicted grammatical in a structure à la Rizzi (1997, 2004) such as (63) because the raised subject 'NESSUNO' inevitably c-commands the lower negative object. (Placing FocusP lower than T would have to explain why preverbal negative foci can be licensed in such a low position, given that their unfocused counterparts cannot, see appendix A.)

(62) \* *NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>, ha visto nulla.*  
 Nobody, has seen anything

(63)

```

graph TD
 FocusP --> NESSUNO["NESSUNOF,i"]
 FocusP --> TP1[TP]
 TP1 --> empty["\emptysetF"]
 TP1 --> TP2["[ha visto ti nulla]"]

```

Before interpreting the observed licensing failure as evidence against positing a fixed focus projection above TP, we should consider whether focalization might interfere with licensing (Adger, p.c.). Such an interference is demonstrably absent.

To begin with, if focalization blocked licensing, we would expect licensing to be equally disrupted when focus intervenes between licenser and licensee. Yet the exact opposite holds. As (64)–(66) show, negative markers and negative subjects do license marginalized negative phrases across an intervening focalized argument (see also the

examples in Chapter 2 where a marginalized negative phrase is licensed across a contrastively focused verb).

- (64) Context: Non hanno dato l'acqua a nessuno.  
'They did not give water to anybody.'

No, non hanno dato il PANE<sub>F</sub> a nessuno<sub>M</sub>.  
No, (they) not have given the bread to anybody  
'No, they did not give anybody the BREAD.'

- (65) Context: Nessuno ha dato l'acqua a nessuno.  
'Nobody gave water to anybody.'

No, nessuno ha dato il PANE<sub>F</sub> a nessuno<sub>M</sub>.  
No, nobody has given the bread to anybody  
'No, nobody gave anybody the BREAD.'

- (66) Context: Gianni non ha sentito nessun rumore.  
John not has heard any noise  
'John did not hear any noise.'

No. Non ha sentito NESSUNO<sub>F</sub> [nessun rumore]<sub>M</sub>.  
No. Not has heard anybody any noise  
'No. NOBODY heard any noise.'

Similarly, if focus interfered with licensing, we would expect licensing to be disrupted when focalization applies to the licensee. Again, this is not the case. The negative marker in (67) successfully licenses a negative object focalized in situ.

- (67) Context: Non avete invitato Marco.  
'You did not invite Mark.'

No, non abbiamo invitato NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>.  
No, (we) not have invited anybody  
'No, we did not invite ANYBODY.'

As the following examples show, even in English, where preverbal focused subjects c-command the rest of the clause, focused negative subjects remain able to license lower NPIs, confirming that focalization does not interfere with NPI-licensing.

- (68) Context: Did you eat anything?  
No. NOBODY<sub>F</sub> ate anything.

- (69) Context: Have you ever been to Paris?  
No. NOBODY<sub>F</sub> here has ever been to Paris.

Playing devil's advocate in order to test the evidence for focus evacuation even further, we may wonder whether the licensing of negative-phrases by negative subjects is limited to negative subjects in specTP but disallows for any higher licenser.

Under this assumption, preverbal focused negative subjects could simply be too high to license postverbal negative constituents, with no need to invoke focus evacuation and the consequent right dislocation of TP. But this hypothesis, too, runs against the available empirical evidence. For example, in (70) the negative indirect object in the sentential complement is licensed by the matrix verb *dubito* 'I doubt', which is clearly located higher than TP since it precedes the complementizer *che* 'that'. Likewise, in (71) the negative object is licensed by the covert interrogative yes/no-operator in the specifier of CP (or the specifier of the relevant projection in the analyses decomposing CP into multiple projections).

(70) *Dubito che Marco abbia telefonato a nessuno, immediatamente prima di essere ucciso.*

(I) doubt that Mark has called to anybody, immediately before of to-be killed  
'I doubt that Mark called anybody immediately before being killed.'

(71) *Avete sentito nessuno per la festa?*

(You) have heard anybody for the party  
'Have you heard from anybody about the party?'

In conclusion, the study of negative-phrase licensing strongly supports the focus evacuation analysis. It also provides robust counter-evidence for alternative analyses positing a high fixed focus projection.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, focus evacuation appears to also extend to absolute participial constructions. Sentences like (i), typically uttered with an exclamatory intonation, are deficient in that they lack an auxiliary. Under sentence-wide presentational focus the initial negative adverb acts as licenser for the following negative object, see the contrast between (i) and (ii). Yet licensing collapses when the same adverb is focused (and hence stressed) as in (iii). Note that when the negative object is replaced with a non-negative counterpart and licensing is no longer required focusing the initial adverb is unproblematic, see (iv). As usual, it is essential to assess these sentences in the context provided.

(i) [*Mai visto NULLA*]<sub>NewF!</sub>

Never seen anything

'I have never seen anything!'

(ii) \* [*Sempre visto NULLA*]<sub>NewF!</sub>

Always seen anything

'I have always seen anything!'

(iii) Context: '*Hai visto nulla nei giorni precedenti il delitto?*'

(You) have seen anything in-the days preceding the crime

'Did you see anything in the days before the crime?'

\* *MAI<sub>F</sub>, visto nulla!*

Never seen anything

(iv) Context: '*Hai visto i documenti segreti?*'

(You) have seen the secret documents

'Did you see the secret documents?'

? *MAI<sub>F</sub>, visto documenti segreti!*

Never seen documents secret

'I have NEVER seen secret documents!'

## 5.3.4 The discourse status of constituents following evacuated left-peripheral foci

We may further test the validity of focus evacuation by examining the properties of fronted constituents occurring immediately after clause-initial foci, such as the object *la mela* following the focused A *MARIA* in (72). Henceforth, I will call these post-focal phrases ‘PF-phrases’. The corresponding sentences are grammatical provided that the initial focus is stressed and all post focus constituents, PF-phrases included, are unstressed and interpreted as discourse-given.

- (72) A *MARIA*<sub>F</sub>, *la mela*, *abbiamo dato*.  
 To Mary, the apple, (we) have given  
 ‘We gave the apple to *MARY*.’

Under focus evacuation, PF-phrases and the TP following them are both predicted to be right-dislocated. The right-dislocated status of the TP follows from the clause-initial position of the focus, which can only obtain if the focus has evacuated a right-dislocating TP. Without right dislocation, focus would occur in situ inside the TP.

As for the PF-phrases, they cannot be analysed as marginalized in situ, since in this case they would not be fronted before their TP. They cannot have been fronted after focus evacuation either, since they would then precede focus. They can, however, be right-dislocated independently of the TP. In fact, there is nothing surprising about PF-phrases and their TP being right-dislocated independently from each other and being ordered as they are, since right dislocation is known to apply to multiple constituents and to dislocate them in any possible order. The corresponding

If these constructions only involved deletion of the top TP projection, we would expect the negative adverb and object in (i) to be ungrammatical, as they would be located lower than T and need a licenser. Nor can we assume that licensing occurred prior to deletion through a neg-marker contained in the deleted TP projection, as in this case the negative object in (ii) could be licensed too in the same fashion.

Rather, the fact that the negative adverb *mai* ‘never’ is both licensed and acting as a licenser in (i) suggests that the root projection of these constructions—let me call it AbsP for ‘AbsoluteP’—has propositional import similar to the one found in TP and that the adverb has raised from its base-generated position located between T and the lowest available position for past-participles (Cinque 1999) to the specifier of AbsP, where it is able to pass its negative feature to AbsP and to license the lower object; the resulting structure is provided in (v).

The ungrammaticality of (iii) then follows straightforwardly from the syntax of focus evacuation. The adverb cannot focus in situ, since its base-generated position is too low to be licensed. When the entire AbsP is targeted for right dislocation, however, the focused adverb is left-adjoined to AbsP, as shown in (vi), thus reaching a sufficiently high position for its own licensing and accounting for (iv). Nevertheless, it would be unable to c-command the negative object in the dislocated AbsP, hence accounting for (iii).

- (v) [<sub>AbsP</sub> ADV<sub>i</sub>  $\phi$ <sub>Abs</sub> [<sub>AdvP</sub> t<sub>i</sub>  $\phi$ <sub>Adv</sub> [<sub>AspectP</sub> V<sub>k</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>k</sub> DP ]]]]
- (vi) [<sub>AbsP</sub> ADV<sub>i,F</sub> t<sub>k</sub> ]<sub>j</sub>  $\phi$ <sub>X</sub> [[<sub>AbsP</sub>  $\phi$ <sub>Abs</sub> [<sub>AdvP</sub> t<sub>i</sub>  $\phi$ <sub>Adv</sub> [<sub>AspectP</sub> V<sub>k</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>k</sub> DP ]]]]<sub>k</sub>  $\phi$ <sub>R</sub> t<sub>j</sub> ]

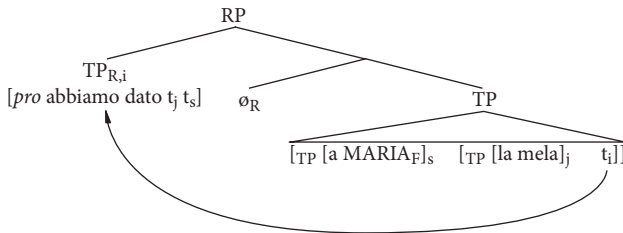
Obviously, important aspects of the analysis just sketched must be further researched in order to clarify the nature of AbsP and its role in the licensing of negative phrases. The focus evacuation analysis, however, provides a preliminary account of why the focalization and licensing patterns in these constructions mimic so closely that of focused negative subjects in TPs.

structure for (72) is provided in (73), showing the PF-object *la mela* and the following TP *abbiamo dato* each right-dislocated to the specifier of a distinct RP projection. (A complete derivation is available in the footnote to this sentence.<sup>13</sup> See also

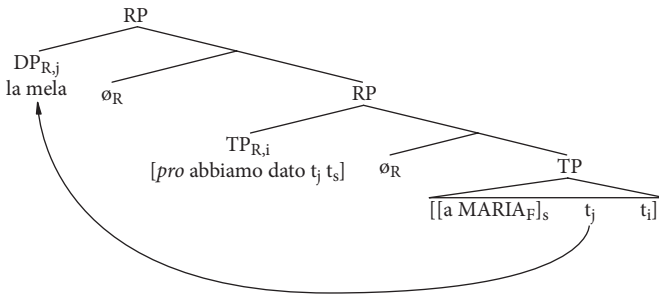
<sup>13</sup> Sentence (72), repeated in (i) below, places the right-dislocated object *la mela* before the right-dislocated TP *abbiamo dato*. In order to obtain this order, the object must move out of the original TP before the TP's right dislocation. It is this movement, shown in step 2 of derivation (ii), that is responsible for the TP-adjoined trace 't<sub>j</sub>' following the focus in the final structure.

- (i) A MARIA<sub>F</sub>, *la mela*, *abbiamo dato*.  
 To Mary, the apple, (we) have given  
 'We gave the apple to MARY.'

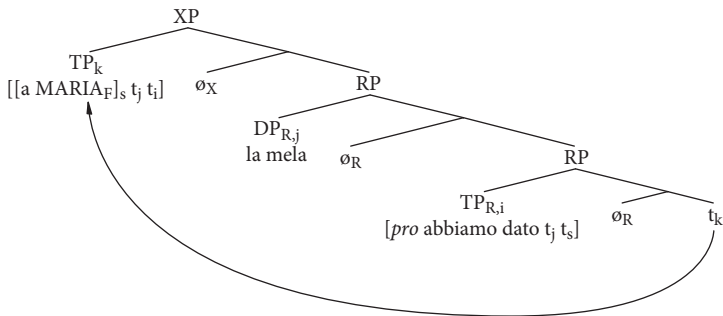
- (ii) 1. Base: [TP *pro* *abbiamo dato* [*la mela*] [*a* MARIA<sub>F</sub>]]
- 2. Object TP-adjunction: [TP [*la mela*]<sub>j</sub> [TP *pro* *abbiamo dato* t<sub>j</sub> [*a* MARIA<sub>F</sub>]]]
- 3. Focus evacuation via TP-adjunction: [TP [*a* MARIA<sub>F</sub>]<sub>s</sub> [TP [*la mela*]<sub>j</sub> [TP *pro* *abbiamo dato* t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>s</sub>]]]
- 4. Right dislocation of TP:



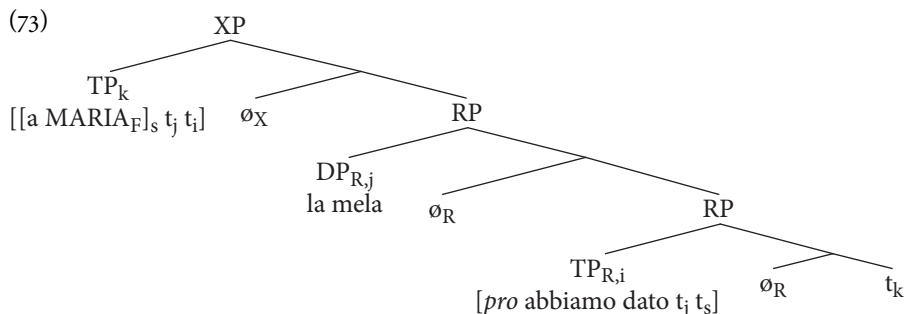
- 5. Right dislocation of the object:



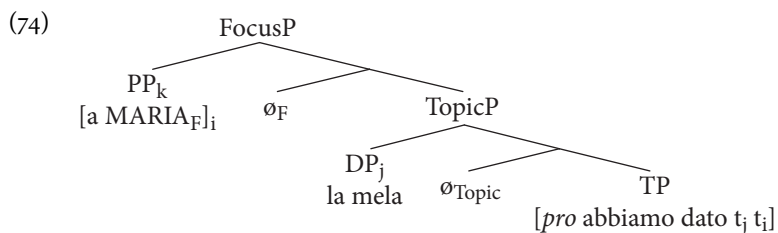
- 6. Remnant movement:



appendix B, which provides the reasons why the representation adopted here is preferable to one produced by a rightward movement analysis of right dislocation.)



The structure in (73) contrasts sharply with the corresponding analysis à la Rizzi (2001, 2004), where the initial focus would occur in a focus projection above TP, while the PF-object would have to be analysed as a left-peripheral topic as in (74).



The two structures differ in what they tell us about PF-phrases. Under focus evacuation PF-phrases *are* right-dislocated and are therefore inevitably expected to show the exact same properties as other right-dislocated phrases. The analysis also fits Neeleman and van de Koot's (2008, 2012) and Neeleman and Vermeulen's (2012) crosslinguistic generalization that foci never move across topics, since focus moves above the PF-phrase as part of the remnant TP and, furthermore, right-dislocated phrases do not qualify as topics, as will be amply shown later in this section.

The Rizzi-like structure in (74) makes the opposite prediction. PF-phrases are analysed as post-focal topics and consequently their properties are predicted to diverge from those of right-dislocated phrases accordingly. Furthermore, as Neeleman and Vermeulen (2012: 4) point out, structures like (74) constitute an exception to the generalization that foci cannot move above topics, since focus here does move across a topic, namely the PF-phrase.

This section will show that PF-phrases are indeed right-dislocated phrases and not topics, as predicted by the focus evacuation analysis. Some preliminary evidence in this direction is already present in the literature on information structure. For example, Brunetti (2009) shows that PF-phrases share the same pragmatic function



of right-dislocated phrases, namely they are discourse-given non-contrastive phrases, or ‘tails’ in Vallduvi’s (1992) terminology. Similar evidence is also available in Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007), who show how naturally occurring PF-phrases display the typical properties of right-dislocated phrases, as discussed later in Section 5.3.5. PF-phrases also show the same intonational contour of right-dislocated phrases, being preceded by the same intonational break and optional pause. This is for example the case for the object in (72), where the intonational break is represented by the preceding comma. Furthermore, the PF-phrase and the TP following it can be freely ordered, much like any other set of right-dislocated items. For example, the object and the TP of (72) can be swapped as in (75). Under the focus evacuation analysis, these findings are all expected because PF-phrases are necessarily right-dislocated phrases.

- (75) A MARIA<sub>F</sub>, abbiamo dato, la mela.  
 To Mary, (we) have given, the apple  
 ‘We gave the apple to MARY.’

The next few sections provide a more in-depth testing of the status of PF-phrases, showing that they systematically share the properties of right-dislocated items. To bring this convergence into relief, PF-phrases will be also shown to diverge from the properties of pre-focal left-peripheral topics, such as hanging topics (HT) and clitic left-dislocated topics (CLLD) (Cinque 1990; Benincà 2001; Benincà and Poletto 2004).<sup>14</sup> As summarized in the table in (76), and as further discussed in the sections

<sup>14</sup> These two topic classes have been given different names across distinct works. CLLD and HT topics are respectively called ‘CLLD’ and ‘LD’ (left dislocation) in Cinque (1990), and ‘LD’ and ‘HT’ in Benincà (2001). I used ‘CLLD’ and ‘HT’ and avoided the ambiguous ‘LD’.

Both HTs and CLLD topics express salient discourse-given referents and occur above TP. CLLD topics can be expressed by any syntactic category, whereas HTs can only be expressed as DPs or NPs, even when relating to an argument normally introduced by a preposition (Cinque 1990; Benincà 2001; Benincà and Poletto 2004). For example, the PP *a Maria* ‘to Mary’ in (i) is a CLLD topic whereas the DP *Maria* in (ii) is an HT since it expresses the indirect argument of the verb without the preposition normally introducing it. As a native speaker, I perceive the two sentences as having the same meaning, but further research is needed to determine whether their pragmatic import is indeed identical.

- (i) A Maria<sub>CLLD</sub>, [ noi (le) abbiamo parlato IERI]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 To Mary, we to-her have spoken yesterday  
 ‘As for Mary, we spoke to her yesterday.’
- (ii) Maria<sub>HT</sub>, [ noi \*(le) abbiamo parlato IERI]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 Mary, we to-her have spoken yesterday  
 ‘As for Mary, we spoke to her yesterday.’

HTs and CLLD topics are also distinguished by clitic doubling, which is always obligatory for HTs and optional—but for objects where it is obligatory—with CLLD topics. This, too, is illustrated by the two sentences in (1) and (2), with the CLLD topic in (1) showing an optional indirect object clitic *le* ‘to-her’, while the same clitic is obligatory with the HT in (2).

DPs and NPs expressing subjects and objects are ambiguous between a CLLD and HT analysis because their category, the lack of a preposition, and their clitic doubling properties cannot distinguish between the

to follow, right-dislocated phrases will be shown to differ from HTs with respect to clitic doubling, contrastivity, the distribution of bare NPs, the deletion of prepositions, the licensing of epithets, and the sensitivity to strong islands. The first three properties also distinguish right-dislocated phrases from CLLD topics. PF-phrases align with right-dislocated constituents with respect to all these properties, as predicted by the focus evacuation analysis.

(76)

|                                        | PF-phrases | Right-dislocated phrases | CLLD topics | Hanging topics |
|----------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| Obligatory clitic doubling for objects | No         | No                       | ✓           | ✓              |
| Contrastive interpretation possible    | No         | No                       | ✓           | ✓              |
| Bare NPs possible                      | No         | No                       | ✓           | ✓              |
| Deletion of preposition                | No         | No                       | No          | ✓              |
| Epithet licensing                      | No         | No                       | No          | ✓              |
| Sensitive to strong islands            | ✓          | ✓                        | ✓           | No             |

5.3.4.1 *Evidence for the right-dislocated status of post-focus phrases* This section examines the above six properties.

5.3.4.1.1 *Preposition dropping* Unlike HTs, right-dislocated phrases cannot drop any preposition normally associated with the argument they express. For example, in (77), the right-dislocated indirect object *a Maria* ‘to Mary’ must retain its preposition.

two. Unambiguous testing of HTs requires DPs and NPs expressing arguments normally requiring a preposition (Benincà 2001), while CLLD topics require non-nominal phrases.

Native speakers can easily distinguish evacuated foci, including clause-initial foci, from HTs and CLLD topics because evacuated foci carry main stress, whereas HTs and CLLDs do not and require a distinctive intonation of their own (see Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007).

- (77) [Le abbiamo parlato IERI]<sub>NewF</sub>, \*(a) Maria<sub>R</sub>.  
(We) to-her have spoken yesterday, (to) Mary  
'As for Mary, we spoke to her yesterday.'

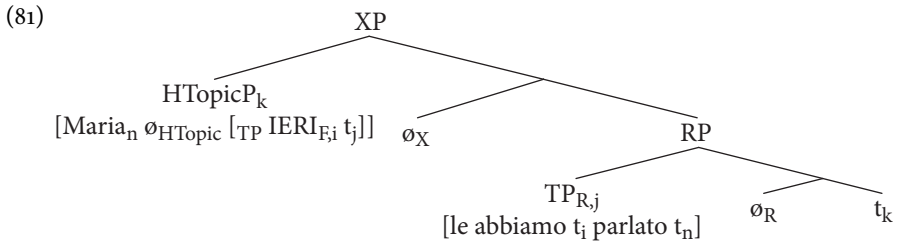
We can therefore test whether PF-phrases can drop prepositions. As illustrated by the examples in (78), this is never the case. Presence or absence of clitic doubling in the following TP is uninfluential. As expected, the same sentences become grammatical once the preposition is supplied, see (79).

- (78) a. \* IERI<sub>F</sub>, Maria, (le) abbiamo parlato.  
Yesterday, Mary, (we) (to-her) have spoken  
'We spoke YESTERDAY to Mary.'
- b. \* A MILANO<sub>F</sub>, il progetto, (ne) abbiamo parlato.  
In Milan, the project, (we) (of-it) have discussed  
'We discussed the project in MILAN.'
- c. \* IERI<sub>F</sub>, Marco, (ci) ho giocato.  
Yesterday, Mark, (I) (with-him) have played  
'I played YESTERDAY with Mark.'
- (79) a. IERI<sub>F</sub>, a Maria, abbiamo parlato.  
Yesterday, to Mary, (we) have spoken  
'We spoke YESTERDAY to Mary.'
- b. A MILANO<sub>F</sub>, del progetto, abbiamo parlato.  
In Milan, of-the project, (we) have discussed  
'We discussed the project in MILAN.'
- c. IERI<sub>F</sub>, con Marco, ho giocato.  
Yesterday, with Mark, (I) have played  
'I played YESTERDAY with Mark.'

When the order between focus and PF-phrases is swapped, the HT analysis is expected to become possible again because HTs are located above TP and therefore they always precede evacuated foci adjoined to TP. As the data below show this is indeed the case. The corresponding structure for (80) is provided in (81).

- (80) a. Maria<sub>HT</sub>, IERI<sub>F</sub>, le abbiamo parlato.  
Mary, yesterday, (we) to-her have spoken  
'We spoke YESTERDAY to Mary.'
- b. Il progetto<sub>HT</sub>, a MILANO<sub>F</sub>, ne abbiamo parlato.  
The project, in Milan, (we) of-it have discussed  
'We discussed the project in MILAN.'

- c. Marco<sub>HT</sub>, IERI<sub>F</sub>, ci ho giocato.  
 Mark, yesterday, (I) with-him have played  
 ‘I played YESTERDAY with Mark.’



The test thus supports the right-dislocated status of PF-phrases and their difference from HTs. The preceding sentences also show that HTs can co-occur with evacuated foci, thus excluding potential interferences with focus as a possible cause for the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (78). Finally, they confirm that HTs must precede evacuated foci, as expected if they are located in projections higher than TP.

5.3.4.1.2 Epithet licensing HTs allow for epithet licensing whereas right-dislocated phrases and CLLD topics do not (Benincà 2001). The asymmetry is illustrated in the following examples.

- (82) Gianni<sub>HT</sub>, [abbiamo già parlato a quell’idiota IERI]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 John, (we) have already spoken to that idiot yesterday  
 ‘As for John, we already spoke to that idiot yesterday.’
- (83) \* A Gianni<sub>CLLD</sub>, [abbiamo già parlato a quell’idiota IERI]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 To John, (we) have already spoken to that idiot yesterday
- (84) \* [Abbiamo già parlato a quell’idiota IERI]<sub>NewF</sub>, a Gianni<sub>R</sub>.  
 (We) have already spoken to that idiot yesterday, to John

If PF-phrases are right-dislocated they should be unable to license epithets. As the data in the following examples from Samek-Lodovici (2009) show, the prediction is borne out. The two sentences in (85) show a subject and an object HT licensing epithets, while (86) shows that epithet resumption is no longer possible when the same subject and object occur as PF-phrases.

- (85) a. Gianni<sub>HT</sub>, temiamo che quell’idiota possa fare UN’ALTRA FESSERIA!<sub>F</sub>  
 John, (we) fear that that idiot might do AN OTHER FOOLISH ACTION  
 ‘As for John, we fear that idiot might do something FOOLISH again!’
- b. Gianni<sub>HT</sub>, mi tocca presentare quel criminale A MIA MOGLIE!<sub>F</sub>  
 John, (it) to-me happens to-introduce that rascal to my WIFE  
 ‘As for John, unfortunately I have to introduce that rascal to my WIFE!’

- (86) a. \* UN'ALTRA FESSERIA<sub>F</sub>, Gianni, temiamo che quell'idiota possa fare!  
 AN OTHER FOOLISH ACTION, John, (we) fear that that idiot might do  
 'We fear that idiot might do something FOOLISH again, John!'
- b. \* A MIA MOGLIE<sub>F</sub>, Gianni, mi tocca presentare quel criminale!  
 To my WIFE, John, (it) to-me happens to-introduce that rascal  
 'Unfortunately I have to introduce that rascal to my WIFE, John!'

Once again we expect an HT analysis and the associated epithet licensing to become possible again when the same subjects and objects precede focus. As the data in the following example show, this is indeed the case. These sentences also confirm again that focus does not interfere with epithet-licensing, leaving the right-dislocated status of PF-phrases predicted by focus evacuation as the only cause for the ungrammatical sentences in (86).

- (87) a. Gianni<sub>HT</sub>, UN'ALTRA FESSERIA<sub>F</sub>, temiamo che quell'idiota possa fare!  
 John, AN OTHER FOOLISH ACTION, (we) fear that that idiot might do  
 'As for John, we fear that idiot might do something FOOLISH again!'
- b. Gianni<sub>HT</sub>, A MIA MOGLIE<sub>F</sub>, mi tocca presentare quel criminale!  
 John, to my WIFE, (it) to-me happens to-introduce that rascal  
 'As for John, unfortunately I have to introduce that rascal to my WIFE!'

5.3.4.1.3 Sensitivity to strong islands Yet another source of evidence comes from the study of strong islands. As (88) and (89) show, HTs are insensitive to strong islands (Cinque 1990, see also Zeller 2006 for Zulu and Vermeulen 2007 for Japanese). Right-dislocated items are instead sensitive to them. This is shown in (90) and (91) where indirect objects cannot be right-dislocated out of a subject and complex NP island respectively. (CLLD-topics are also sensitive, see Cinque 1990: 59.)

- (88) Maria<sub>HT</sub>, crediamo che [parlar-le subito] aiuterebbe MARCO<sub>F</sub>.  
 Mary, (we) believe that to-talk-to-her immediately would-help Mark  
 'As for Mary, we believe that talking to her right away would help MARK.'
- (89) Il presidente<sub>HT</sub>, abbiamo presentato [una persona che gli ha parlato] a MARCO<sub>F</sub>.  
 The president, (we) have introduced a person that to-him has talked to MARK  
 'As for the president, we introduced a person who has talked to him to MARK.'
- (90) \* Crediamo che [parlar-le subito] aiuterebbe MARCO<sub>F</sub>, a Maria<sub>R</sub>.  
 (We) believe that to-talk-to-her immediately would-help MARK, to Mary
- (91) \*Abbiamo presentato [una persona che gli ha parlato] a MARCO<sub>F</sub>, al presidente<sub>R</sub>.  
 (We) have introduced a person that to-him has spoken, to Mark, to-the president

As expected, PF-phrases are sensitive to strong islands too, thus patterning with right dislocation, see (92) and (93).

- (92) \* MARCO<sub>F</sub>, i soldi, crediamo che [ricevere / ricever-li subito] aiuterebbe.  
 MARK, the money, (we) believe that to-receive / to-receive-them immediately would-help  
 ‘We believe that receiving it now would help MARK, the money.’
- (93) \* A MARIA<sub>F</sub>, il progetto, abbiamo presentato [una persona che (lo) conosce bene].  
 To MARY, the project, (we) have introduced a person who (it) knows well  
 ‘We introduced a person who knows it well to MARY, the project.’

As in previous cases, we may exclude any interference with focalization, since as shown in the following examples the same phrases behave as HTs and are insensitive to strong islands when they precede focus.

- (94) I soldi<sub>HT</sub>, MARCO<sub>F</sub>, crediamo che [ricever-li subito] aiuterebbe.  
 The money, MARK, (we) believe that to-receive-them immediately would-help  
 ‘As for the money, we believe that receiving it now would help MARK.’
- (95) Il progetto<sub>HT</sub>, A MARIA<sub>F</sub>, abbiamo presentato [una persona che lo conosce bene].  
 The project, to MARY, (we) have introduced a person who it knows well  
 ‘As for the project, we introduced a person who knows it well to MARY.’

5.3.4.1.4 Contrastivity Right-dislocated constituents are never contrastive, whereas both HTs and CLLD topics can be so (Büring 1997, 2007; Benincà and Poletto 2004; Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007: 101; Brunetti 2009; see also Lambrecht 1981, 1986 for French). For example, in (96) and (97) the initial constituents in the conjoined clauses—here underlined—respectively occur as contrasted HTs and CLLD topics providing a grammatical answer to the question ‘who will speak to whom?’. The same constituents occur as right-dislocated phrases in (98) where each conjunct clause is grammatical on its own, but the entire sentence is ungrammatical showing that right dislocation disallows contrastivity.

- (96) Gianni<sub>HT</sub>, gli parleremo NOI<sub>F</sub>; ma Andrea<sub>HT</sub>, gli parleranno LORO<sub>F</sub>.  
 John, to-him will-speak we; but Andrew, to-him will-speak they  
 ‘John, WE will speak to him; but Andrew, THEY will speak to him.’
- (97) A Gianni<sub>CLLD</sub>, (gli) parleremo NOI<sub>F</sub>; ma ad Andrea<sub>CLLD</sub>, (gli) parleranno LORO<sub>F</sub>.  
 To John, (to-him) will-speak we; but to Andrew, (to-him) will-speak they  
 ‘John, WE will speak to him; but Andrew, THEY will speak to him.’
- (98) \* (Gli) parleremo NOI<sub>F</sub>, a Gianni<sub>R</sub>; ma (gli) parleranno LORO<sub>F</sub>, ad Andrea<sub>R</sub>.  
 (To-him) will-speak we, to John; but (to-him) will-speak they, to Andrew

When the same constituents occur as contrasted PF-phrases, as in (99), they too are ungrammatical, confirming the right-dislocated nature of these constituents predicted by focus evacuation. Once again, each conjunct is grammatical in isolation but the sentence as a whole is ungrammatical independently of whether clitic doubling is present or absent. Even the ellipsis of the second TP—an operation available with right-dislocated phrases—does not improve the overall assessment, see (100). As usual, main stress must fall on the focused subject: it is deceptively easy to inadvertently shift main stress to the indirect object and get the grammatical but irrelevant sentence where the indirect object acts as a focus following a contrastive topic.

- (99) \* NOI<sub>F</sub>, a Gianni, (gli) parleremo; ma LORO<sub>F</sub>, ad Andrea, (gli) parleranno.  
We, to John, (to-him) will-speak; but they, to Andrew, (to-him) will-speak  
'WE will speak to John; but THEY will speak to Andrew.'
- (100) \* NOI<sub>F</sub>, a Gianni, (gli) parleremo; ma LORO<sub>F</sub>, ad Andrea.  
We, to John, (to-him) will-speak; but they, to Andrew

As with all previous properties, the examined constituents can be contrastive when they precede focus, since in this case an HT/CLLD analysis becomes possible. For example, (101) and its ellipsis counterpart in (102) are grammatical as an answer to the question '*I know someone will speak to John and Andrew, but who exactly will speak to them?*'. As in all previous cases, this shows that interference with focalization cannot be the cause of the ungrammaticality of (99) and (100).

- (101) A Gianni<sub>CLLD</sub>, NOI<sub>F</sub>, (gli) parleremo; ma ad Andrea<sub>CLLD</sub>, LORO<sub>F</sub>, (gli) parleranno.  
To John, we (to-him) will-speak; but to Andrew, they (to-him) will-speak  
'As for John, WE will speak to him; but as for Andrew, THEY will speak to him.'
- (102) A Gianni<sub>CLLD</sub>, NOI<sub>F</sub> (gli) parleremo; ma ad Andrea<sub>CLLD</sub>, LORO<sub>F</sub>.  
To John, we (to-him) will-speak; but to Andrew, they

The absence of contrastive PF-phrases is also confirmed by Brunetti's independent study of the interpretative properties of the constituents preceding and following left-peripheral focus (Brunetti 2009). Brunetti notes that only constituents preceding focus can be interpreted as left-peripheral contrastive topics, and that the constituents following focus, such as PF-phrases, always show the same interpretation of right-dislocated constituents (see also Lambrecht 1981, 1986 for French). For example, in sentence (103)(a), the phrase *a Maria* 'to Mary' can be interpreted as a contrastive CLLD topic, while the entire sentence is interpreted as a partial answer to the question in (103) which presupposes that different recipients received a phone call at different times. The same partial answer interpretation, however, is unavailable

when the same phrase follows focus as in (103)(b), making the sentence infelicitous under this context (as symbolized by ‘#’).

- (103) Context: I know you called Mary and Bill, but when did you call them?
- a. A Maria<sub>CLLD</sub>, IERI<sub>F</sub>, abbiamo telefonato.  
To Mary, yesterday, (we) have called  
‘As for Mary, YESTERDAY, we called her.’
- b. # IERI<sub>F</sub>, a Maria, abbiamo telefonato.  
Yesterday, to Mary, (we) have called

The focus evacuation analysis immediately accounts for Brunetti’s observations. Since the post-focus phrase *a Maria* in (103)(b) is right-dislocated, it cannot have the contrastive topic interpretation necessary for making (103)(b) felicitous in the provided context.

5.3.4.1.5 Absence of clitic doubling Left-peripheral object topics require clitic doubling independently of their HT or CLLD status. The same is not true for right dislocation, where clitic doubling is optional (see Chapter 4 for discussion). The contrast is illustrated by examples (104) and (105). Note that the object in the second sentence is necessarily right-dislocated since it follows a clitic-doubled right-dislocated indirect object.

- (104) La lettera<sub>CLLD/HT</sub>, \*(la) scriveremo DOMANI<sub>F</sub>.  
The letter, we (it) will-write tomorrow  
‘As for the letter, we will write it TOMORROW.’
- (105) Gli-(e-la) scriveremo DOMANI<sub>F</sub>, a Gianni<sub>R</sub>, la lettera<sub>R</sub>.  
(We) to-him-(prt-it) will-write tomorrow, to John, the letter  
‘We will write the letter to John TOMORROW.’

We may test the status of object PF-phrases by examining whether they, too, require a clitic. As the following sentence shows, a clitic is unnecessary, consistently with the right-dislocated status of PF-phrases predicted under focus evacuation.

- (106) Context: Scriveranno la lettera dopodomani.  
(They) will-write the letter after-tomorrow  
‘They will write the letter the day after tomorrow.’
- No. DOMANI<sub>F</sub>, la lettera, scriveranno.  
No. Tomorrow, the letter, (they) will-write  
‘No. They will write the letter TOMORROW.’

As in the previous tests, the presence of focus does not interfere with the property being tested. When the object precedes focus an HT/CLLD analysis becomes available again forcing the presence of the object clitic.



- (107) Context: Scriveranno la lettera dopodomani.  
 (They) will-write the letter after-tomorrow  
 ‘They will write the letter the day after tomorrow.’

No. La lettera<sub>CLLD/HT</sub>, DOMANI<sub>F</sub>, \*(la) scriveranno.

No. The letter, tomorrow, (they) (it) will-write

‘No. The letter, they will write it TOMORROW.’

5.3.4.1.6 Availability of bare NPs Bare NPs can occur as HTs and CLLD topics provided they carry the B-accent normally associated with contrastive topics (Büring 1997), see (108). They instead resist right dislocation, see the examples in (109) respectively with and without the partitive clitic *ne* ‘of them’.<sup>15</sup>

- (108) Fragole<sub>CLLD/HT</sub>, ne hai date poche a Marco.  
 Strawberries, (you) of-them have given few to Mark  
 ‘As for strawberries, you gave few of them to Mark.’
- (109) a. \* Gli-e-ne hai date POCHE<sub>F</sub>, a Marco<sub>R</sub>, fragole<sub>R</sub>.  
 (You) to-him-prt-of-them have given few, to Mark, strawberries  
 ‘You gave FEW strawberries to Mark.’
- b. \* Gli hai dato POCHE<sub>F</sub>, a Marco<sub>R</sub>, fragole<sub>R</sub>.  
 (You) to-him have given few, to Mark, strawberries

If the focus evacuation analysis is correct and PF-phrases are right-dislocated, they should disallow bare NPs too. The prediction is borne out.

- (110) \* A MARCO<sub>F</sub>, fragole, (ne) hai dato/e poche.  
 To Mark, strawberries, (you) (of-them) have given.sgM/plF few

As (111) shows, bare NPs remain possible when bare NPs occur as HTs and CLLD topics preceding clause-initial focus, confirming that right dislocation is the relevant factor causing the ungrammaticality of (110).

- (111) Fragole<sub>CLLD/HT</sub>, A MARCO<sub>F</sub>, ne hai date poche.  
 Strawberries, to Mark, (you) of-them have given few  
 ‘As for strawberries, you gave few of them to MARK.’

<sup>15</sup> Bare NPs can be marginalized in situ, see (i). The absence of right dislocation in this sentence is confirmed by the impossibility of clitic doubling, see (ii), which follows from the condition C violation due to the c-command relation between the clitic and the NP. In the examples in the main text, marginalization is controlled for by the addition of a right-dislocated indirect object.

(i) Hai mangiato POCHE<sub>F</sub> fragole<sub>M</sub>.  
 (You) have eaten few strawberries  
 ‘You ate FEW strawberries.’

(ii) \* Ne hai mangiate POCHE<sub>F</sub> fragole.  
 (You) of-them have eaten few strawberries

5.3.4.2 *Clitic-doubled post-focus phrases* If PF-phrases are right-dislocated, as predicted by focus evacuation, they might also be expected to allow for clitic doubling like any other right-dislocated phrase. Yet they have been described by many linguists, myself included, as lacking it (Benincá 2001; Benincá and Poletto 2004; Belletti 2004; Samek-Lodovici 2009). Indeed, when considered outside an appropriate context, sentences with PF-phrases appear to be more natural without clitic doubling; compare for example the two sentences in (112), where the clitic is present only in the second highly marginal sentence.

- (112) a. A MARIA<sub>F</sub>, i fiori, abbiamo dato.  
 To Mary, the flowers, (we) have given.sgM  
 ‘We gave the flowers to MARY.’
- b. ?? A MARIA<sub>F</sub>, i fiori, li abbiamo dati.  
 To Mary, the flowers, (we) them have given.plM  
 ‘We gave the flowers to MARY.’

There are native speakers, however, who find clitic-doubled PF-phrases acceptable (Cardinaletti, p.c., also Brunetti 2004 in Section 5.5.4.2). Clitic doubling becomes indeed possible when an appropriate context is supplied. This is for example the case in (113) and (114) where the presence of clitic doubling in the context sentence appears to be sufficient to make clitic-doubled PF-phrases fully acceptable. Native speakers considering (114) should make sure to place main stress on the auxiliary of the context sentence, rather than on the indirect object.

- (113) Context: Ma a chi li avete DATI, i fiori? A Marco?  
 But to whom (you) them have given the flowers? To Mark?  
 ‘Who did you give the flowers to? To Mark?’
- No. A MARIA<sub>F</sub>, i fiori, li abbiamo dati. Non a Marco!  
 No. To Mary, the flowers, (we) them have given. Not to Mark  
 ‘No. We gave the flowers to MARY. Not to Mark!’
- (114) Context: Non li ABBIAMO mostrati a Luca, i disegni...  
 (We) not them have shown to Luke, the drawings  
 ‘We did not show the drawings to Luke...’
- ... A MARCO<sub>F</sub>, i disegni, li abbiamo mostrati!  
 ... to Mark, the drawings, (we) them have shown  
 ‘... we showed the drawings to MARK!’

The availability of clitic doubling with PF-phrases becomes particularly evident when we consider NPs extracted from a quantified expression and right dislocated. These quantified NPs are exceptional in that they require obligatory clitic doubling. Compare (115), showing clitic doubling by *ne* ‘of them’, against the ungrammatical (116)

where the extracted *fragole* is not clitic doubled (once right dislocated, the NP requires a preposition, possibly for case reasons). If PF-phrases are not right-dislocated phrases and disallow clitic doubling, quantified NPs should never be able to occur as PF-phrases. If, instead, PF-phrases are right-dislocated phrases and as such allow for clitic doubling, then quantified NPs should be able to occur as PF-phrases while also forcing clitic doubling. As (117) attests, where the presence of the clitic *ne* is mandatory, this is indeed the case. The absence of a cliticless counterpart enhances the assessment, making these sentences fully natural. It follows that PF-phrases share the properties of right-dislocated phrases even with respect to clitic doubling.

- (115) Gli-e-ne hai date POCHE<sub>F</sub>, a Marco, di fragole.  
(You) to-him-prt-of-them have given few, to Mark, of strawberries  
'You gave FEW strawberries to Mark.'
- (116) \* Gli hai dato/e POCHE<sub>F</sub>, a Marco, di fragole.  
(You) to-him have given.sgM/plF few, to Mark, of strawberries
- (117) A MARCO<sub>F</sub>, di fragole, ne hai date poche.  
To Mark, of strawberries, (you) of-them have given few  
'You gave few strawberries to MARK.'

5.3.4.3 *Free word order after evacuated focus* As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, if left-peripheral foci are evacuated foci followed by right-dislocated phrases, we expect the right-dislocated phrases to be freely ordered. As showed in Samek-Lodovici (2006: 861), this is indeed the case; see (118) where under an appropriate intonation every possible order of the three post-focal constituents is grammatical.

- (118) Context: Luca ha regalato un libro a Maria.  
Luke has given a book to Mary  
'Luke gave a book to Mary.'
- a. No. Dei bellissimi FIORI<sub>F</sub>, [ha regalato]<sub>R</sub>, Luca<sub>R</sub>, [a Maria]<sub>R</sub>.  
No. Some very-beautiful flowers, (he) has given, Luke, to Mary  
'No. Luke has given Mary some very beautiful FLOWERS.'
- b. No. Dei bellissimi FIORI<sub>F</sub>, [ha regalato]<sub>R</sub>, [a Maria]<sub>R</sub>, Luca<sub>R</sub>.
- c. No. Dei bellissimi FIORI<sub>F</sub>, [a Maria]<sub>R</sub>, [ha regalato]<sub>R</sub>, Luca<sub>R</sub>.
- d. No. Dei bellissimi FIORI<sub>F</sub>, [a Maria]<sub>R</sub>, Luca<sub>R</sub>, [ha regalato]<sub>R</sub>.
- e. No. Dei bellissimi FIORI<sub>F</sub>, Luca<sub>R</sub>, [ha regalato], [a Maria]<sub>R</sub>.
- f. No. Dei bellissimi FIORI<sub>F</sub>, Luca<sub>R</sub>, [a Maria]<sub>R</sub>, [ha regalato]<sub>R</sub>.

The same reviewer wonders whether there might be restrictions on the occurrences of non clitic-doubled objects in these contexts, given the sentence in (119) which the reviewer finds ungrammatical.

- (119) \* A GIANNI<sub>F</sub>, [ha dato]<sub>R</sub>, Maria<sub>R</sub>, [il giornale]<sub>R</sub>.  
 To John, has given, Mary, the newspaper  
 ‘Mary gave the newspaper to JOHN.’

Sentence (119) shows how easily complex right dislocation data become misleading when assessed outside an appropriate context. Once such context is provided and the exchange is made more natural by using slightly less generic verbs, these sentences become grammatical. See the grammatical (120)(a), structurally identical to (119) and like it involving a non clitic-doubled object.

- (120) Context: Maria ha pagato il caffè a Marco.  
 Mary has paid the coffee to Mark  
 ‘Mary bought Mark a coffee.’
- a. No. A GIANNI<sub>F</sub>, [ha pagato]<sub>R</sub>, Maria<sub>R</sub>, [il caffè]<sub>R</sub>.  
 No. To John, has paid, Mary, the coffee  
 ‘No. Mary bought JOHN a coffee.’

5.3.4.4 *Conclusion* As this section showed, PF-phrases display all the hallmarks of right-dislocated phrases: they are discourse-given, cannot omit prepositions, cannot express contrastivity, allow for clitic doubling as well as for its absence, are sensitive to strong islands, disallow epithets, cannot be bare NPs, and, finally, they are not in situ, so they cannot be marginalized phrases. All these properties are immediately accounted for under focus evacuation, where PF-phrases *must* be right-dislocated phrases.

The observed convergence with right dislocation is instead unaccounted for under a fixed focus projection analysis à la Rizzi (1997). Under such an analysis, two issues arise. First, why do the properties of PF-phrases coincide with that of right-dislocated phrases? If both sets of phrases occur in the same position, then an explanation needs to be provided for why right-dislocated phrases follow TP while PF-phrases precede TP. Under focus evacuation this issue is absent, as the TP following the PF-phrases is right-dislocated too. Second, why, when left-peripheral focalization is absent, an initial non-subject expression, such as *A Gianni* in (121), can only be a topic (since it does show all the associated properties) but *not* a right dislocated phrase (since it never shows the properties associated with right dislocation).

- (121) A Gianni<sub>CLLD</sub>, [abbiamo parlato ieri]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 To John, (we) have spoken yesterday  
 ‘John, we spoke to him yesterday.’

Under focus evacuation, this is inevitable, since *A Gianni* in (121) does not follow an evacuated focus and therefore it cannot be a right-dislocated phrase. In an analysis involving Rizzi’s split-CP, where PF-phrases would be analysed as a specific type of topic that happens to be located between FocusP and TP this question remains

unanswered. If these topics can precede TP when focus is present, they are incorrectly predicted to do so even when focus is absent.

### 5.3.5 Existing analyses of post-focal phrases

PF-phrases have also been studied by linguists who assumed a cartographic analysis of left-peripheral foci. This section considers the studies most relevant for the evacuation analysis proposed here. I'll start with Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004), and argue against their claim that PF-phrases are focused. I then consider Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) and show that the properties of PF-phrases that they identified are exactly those expected under the focus evacuation analysis. Finally, I consider Bianchi's (2012) and Bianchi and Bocci's (2012) claim that left-peripheral focus is available with corrective but not contrastive foci and show that the interesting data that they proposed follow immediately from the evacuation analysis once care is taken to consider the conditions under which right dislocation is pragmatically licensed.

5.3.5.1 *PF-phrases are not focused*—Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004) Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004) claim that PF-phrases are foci. If true this would constitute evidence against the analysis proposed here where these phrases are necessarily right-dislocated.

A crucial tenet of their analysis concerns the claim that PF-phrases obligatory lack clitic doubling, a property that—minor exceptions aside<sup>16</sup>—is typical of foci (Benincà 2001). As we saw in Section 5.3.4.2, however, this claim is empirically incorrect. PF-phrases do allow for clitic doubling once appropriate contexts are supplied.

Analysing PF-phrases as foci also incorrectly predicts that constituents that allow for focalization but resist right dislocation should be able to occur as PF-phrases.

<sup>16</sup> Benincà (2001: 45) notes that left-peripheral focus might allow for optional clitic doubling when the focused constituent is an indirect object, even though the choice of lexical verb appears to play a role too. Her examples follow in (i) and (ii).

- (i) A MARIO<sub>F</sub>, (gli) regalerò un libro.  
To Mario, (I) (to-him) will-give a book  
'I will give MARIO a book.'
- (ii) A MARIO<sub>F</sub>, (gli) ho parlato.  
To Mario, (I) (to-him) have spoken  
'I spoke to MARIO.'

While writing this book, I found a second set of cases that involves object DPs where the quantifier is stranded in the base-generated position of the object. Interestingly, the clitic is obligatory here, rather than optional. Compare (iii) and (iv) (past participles agree with the object clitic in gender and number).

- (iii) Gli UOMINI<sub>F</sub>, li ho licenziati tutti, (non le donne).  
The men, (I) them have fired all, (not the women)  
'I fired all the MEN, (not the WOMEN).'
- (iv) \*Gli UOMINI<sub>F</sub>, ho licenziato/i tutti, (non le donne).  
The men, (I) have fired.sgM/plM all, (not the women)

Negative phrases provide the right class of constituents for testing this prediction. They allow for focalization in both preverbal and postverbal position, see (122), but they cannot be right-dislocated, see (123) where the negative phrase follows a clitic-doubled right-dislocated indirect object (see also Section 4.3.3 and Appendix A). If PF-phrases are foci, negative phrases should be able to occur as PF-phrases. But they cannot, see (124). This is expected under the focus evacuation analysis where PF-phrases constitute right-dislocated phrases and therefore exclude negative phrases.

- (122) a. Non ho visto NIENTE<sub>F</sub> / NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>.  
 (I) not have seen anything / anybody  
 ‘I did not see ANYTHING / ANYBODY.’  
 b. NIENTE<sub>F</sub> / NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>, ho visto.  
 Nothing / nobody (I) have seen  
 ‘I saw NOTHING / NOBODY.’
- (123) a. \* Non gli abbiamo REGALATO<sub>F</sub>, a Marco<sub>R</sub>, niente<sub>R</sub>.  
 (We) not to-him have donated, to Mark, anything  
 b. \* Non gli abbiamo PRESENTATO<sub>F</sub>, a Marco<sub>R</sub>, nessuno<sub>R</sub>.  
 (We) not to-him have introduced, to Mark, anybody
- (124) a. \* LORO<sub>F</sub>, niente / nessuno, hanno visto.  
 They, anything / anybody, have seen  
 ‘THEY saw nothing / nobody.’  
 b. \* A MARIA<sub>F</sub>, nessuno, abbiamo presentato.  
 To Mary, anybody, (we) have introduced  
 ‘We introduced nobody to MARY.’

Furthermore, Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) showed that corpus occurrences of PF-phrases are discourse-given. This is indeed a general property of PF-phrases. For example, sentence (125) is only felicitous in contexts that make the PF-phrase *la torta* ‘the cake’ discourse-given and unfocused. Sentence (125) is grammatically acceptable as a correction of sentence (126)(a), with its subject contrastively focused, or as an answer to (126)(b), with the subject now presentationally focused. But it is never possible under contexts that make the PF-phrase non discourse-given. For example, (125) cannot be an answer to (126)(c), where the subject would be contrastively focused. Yet precisely this last case is the one predicted possible by Benincá and Poletto’s analysis since in this case the PF-phrase *la torta* in (125) supplies the non-contrastive ‘relevant information’ focus described as possible in their analysis (Benincá and Poletto 2004: 2).

- (125) GIANNI<sub>F</sub>, la torta, ha mangiato.  
 John, the cake, has eaten  
 ‘JOHN ate the cake.’

- (126) a. Marco ha mangiato la torta.  
Mark has eaten the cake  
'Mark ate the cake.'
- b. Chi ha mangiato la torta?  
Who has eaten the cake  
'Who ate the cake?'
- c. \* Cosa ha fatto Marco?  
What has done Mark  
'What did Mark do?'

The obligatory discourse-giveness of PF-phrases excludes their use as new-information foci. Theoretically, they could still occur as contrastive foci, since this latter type of focalization can be discourse-anaphoric. But contrastive foci are by definition contrastive, whereas PF-phrases are not, as we saw in Section 5.3.4.1.4. The discourse-giveness character of PF-phrases is thus a serious obstacle for any analysis claiming that these phrases are focused. This problem is instead absent under focus evacuation, where discourse-giveness follows straightforwardly from the right-dislocated status of PF-phrases.

Benincá and Poletto (2004) also observe that PF-phrases are subject to weak crossover effects. For example, they find (127) ungrammatical. If correct, this property would distinguish PF-phrases from right-dislocated constituents, since the latter do not display it, see (128).

- (127) \* A MARIA<sub>F</sub>, Giorgio<sub>i</sub>, sua<sub>i</sub> madre presenterà.  
To Mary, George, his mother will-introduce  
'His mother will introduce George to Mary.'
- (128) Sua<sub>i</sub> madre lo presenterà a MARIA<sub>F</sub>, Giorgio<sub>R,i</sub>.  
His mother him will-introduce to Mary, George  
'His mother will introduce George to Mary.'

When care is taken to include a context and assess the PF-phrases relative to it, they no longer appear to show any weak crossover effects. For example, sentence (129) shows no such effects when assessed in the provided context. This suggests that the marginal ungrammaticality of (127) is a reflex of right dislocation and the need to ensure that the necessary pragmatic conditions relevant to its licensing are properly satisfied, rather than a sign of weak crossover effects.

- (129) Context: I suoi<sub>i</sub> genitori l'hanno mandato a studiare a ROMA, Marco<sub>i</sub>.  
The his parents him have sent to study in Rome, Mark  
'Mark, his parents have sent him to study in Rome.'

- a. No. A MILANO<sub>F</sub>, Marco<sub>i</sub>, i suoi<sub>i</sub> genitori l'hanno mandato a studiare.  
 No. To Milan, Mark, his parents him have sent to study  
 'No. Mark, his parents have sent him to study in MILAN.'

Overall, the evidence examined in this section converges in excluding a focus analysis of PF-phrases.

5.3.5.2 *Word order and prosodic contour—Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007)* Further evidence for the right-dislocated status of phrases following evacuated foci comes from Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007), who examined a large corpus of naturally occurring Italian data and identified several asymmetries distinguishing the constituents immediately preceding and immediately following left-peripheral foci. Crucially, pre-focus topics display the typical properties of left-peripheral topics while post-focus ones, including the PF-phrases discussed in the previous sections, show the properties of right-dislocated constituents, thus supporting the focus evacuation analysis.

More precisely, Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl show that pre-focus phrases express aboutness and contrastive topics, must precede focus when carrying this interpretation, cannot be iterated, follow a fixed order, and are respectively associated with an L\*-H and an H\* tonal contour. The post-focus phrases instead must be discourse-given, can be reiterated, can be freely ordered relative to the TP following focus, and are associated with an L\* tone; all of which are properties typical of right-dislocated phrases.

Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl call post-focus phrases 'familiar topics'. They assume a left-peripheral focus analysis à la Rizzi (1997) which they further refine by positing distinct types of topic projections. Familiar topics are claimed to be situated immediately above TP as shown in (130) (with phrasal reiteration marked through the symbol '\*'). As such, they linearly precede any material within TP. Right-dislocated phrases are assumed to be merged in the same position, but unlike pre-TP familiar topics they are maintained to involve remnant movement of the TP to their left, causing their right-peripheral position (see also Frascarelli 2000, 2004).

(130) [AboutnessTopicP [ContrastiveTopicP [FocusP [FamiliarTopicP\* [TP...]]]]]

The analysis in (130) thus shares with focus evacuation the claim that PF-phrases and right-dislocated phrases share the same position, but with several important differences. First, while FP-phrases are analysed as right-dislocated, the TP following them is not: it is marginalized in situ. All problematic predictions stemming from positing a fixed focus projection above TP thus apply to this template as well. For example, it remains unexplained why a focused preverbal negative subject cannot license a postverbal negative phrase or polarity item in the marginalized TP.

Second, it is unclear where the TP is moved to in sentences like (131) where the TP follows a left-peripheral focus but precedes a right-dislocated phrase, here the object.



The target position would have to occur between the higher FocusP and the FamiliarTopicP projection hosting the object, but the proposed template only shows projections for familiar topics in this region. It follows that TP could either be itself right-dislocated into a FamiliarTopicP projection, with the analysis becoming more and more similar to focus evacuation, or alternatively that the TP moves to a different type of topic projection, in which case the existence of such projection and its occurrence between FocusP and FamiliarTopicP\* would have to be stipulated. The issue of why this new position is not available to PF-phrases would also arise.

- (131) A MARIA<sub>F</sub>, lo presenteremo, Giorgio<sub>R</sub>.  
 To Mary, (we) him will-introduce, George  
 ‘We will introduce George to MARY.’

Third, under this analysis the position of each topic class relative to the other topic classes and to focalization is stipulated, as nothing accounts for why the order is not different. The template does precisely that: it stipulates what occurs before what else, but it does not provide a reason for why such order must occur.

The focus evacuation analysis, on the other hand, provides some straightforward explanations for Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl’s observations. The problematic predictions associated with positing a high fixed focus projection are dispensed with in the way described in previous sections. PF-phrases and right-dislocated phrases are structurally identical, with no need to stipulate that right-dislocated phrases require remnant TP-movement while PF-phrases do not. Remnant TP-movement occurs in both cases as part of the analysis of right dislocation (see Chapter 4) with the evacuated focus and—when present—any pre-focus topics being contained in the moved TP (or CP when pre-focus topics are present). There is no need to stipulate new projections between focus and PF-phrases. Finally, since the constituents following evacuated foci are always right-dislocated when foci are left-peripheral (i.e. when evacuated from a right-dislocating TP), all aboutness and contrastive topics must necessarily precede focus or else they too would share the properties of right-dislocated items. This explains the observed order between these topics, focus, and familiar topics (i.e. PF-phrases).

5.3.5.3 *Contrastive and corrective foci—Bianchi (2012) and Bianchi and Bocci (2012)* Bianchi (2012) and Bianchi and Bocci (2012) note that distinct foci show a subtle pragmatic difference in their felicity conditions according to their evacuated or non-evacuated status. For example, the clause-initial focus in (132) is highly acceptable as a corrective reply to sentence (133) but less so as a contrastive reply to sentence (134). The contrast in acceptability is clearly perceivable and has been furthermore confirmed by Bianchi and Bocci through a larger empirical test involving 18 monolingual speakers of Italian.

- (132) Un ARMANI<sub>F</sub>, si era messa, non uno stracchetto di H&M.  
An Armani (dress), (she) refl was put-on, not a piece-of-cloth of H&M  
'She wore an ARMANI dress, not a cheap dress from H&M.'
- (133) L'altra sera a teatro, Maria si era messa uno stracchetto di H&M.  
The other evening at theatre, Mary refl was put-on a piece-of-cloth of H&M  
'Last night at the theatre, Mary wore a cheap dress from H&M.'
- (134) Maria era molto elegante, l'altra sera a teatro.  
Mary was very elegant, the other evening at theatre  
'Last night at the theatre, Mary was very elegant.'

Bianchi (2012) and Bianchi and Bocci (2012) interpret the above contrast as evidence that left-peripheral focus is possible under corrective focalization but not under contrastive focalization. Bianchi (2012) also observes how the uncovered contrast goes against a strict cartographic perspective where even foci found in different positions in linear terms are claimed to occur in the same fixed focus projection above TP, since the observed pragmatic contrast should then be absent.

Interestingly, the observed contrast is expected under focus evacuation. In (132), the focused object must have been evacuated from the right-dislocated TP *si era messa*, or otherwise it would occur within TP. Right dislocation, however, can only apply to discourse-given constituents where givenness is intended as in Schwarzschild (1999). When (132) occurs as a reply to (133) this prerequisite is satisfied because the proposition that Mary had put a dress on is directly entailed via existential closure by the information that she had put on a cheap H&M dress. The same prerequisite is instead failed when (132) occurs as a reply to (134) because the observation that Mary was elegant is not sufficient to entail the proposition that she had put on a specific dress. In other words, the difference described in Bianchi (2012) and Bianchi and Bocci (2012) is genuine, but it emerges directly from the givenness conditions that must be satisfied for licensing right dislocation, rather than being formal properties associated with the different syntactic positions taken by contrastive foci.

If this analysis is correct, we expect (132) to be possible in contrastive focus contexts as well, provided that the right-dislocated TP is given. This is indeed the case. For example, (132) becomes felicitous again when the sentence is assessed as a reply to (135), which has a meaning very close to (134) but it also explicitly mentions that Mary had put on a dress, thus ensuring that the post-focus TP in (132) counts as discourse-given.

- (135) Maria si era messa un vestito molto elegante, l'altra sera a teatro.  
Mary refl was put on a dress very elegant, the other evening at theatre  
'Last night at the theatre, Mary wore a very elegant dress.'

Bianchi and Bocci's data thus provide further evidence for the focus evacuation analysis, since the contrast in acceptability that they observed is a direct consequence

of the right-dislocated status of the TP following focus and the associated givenness prerequisite.

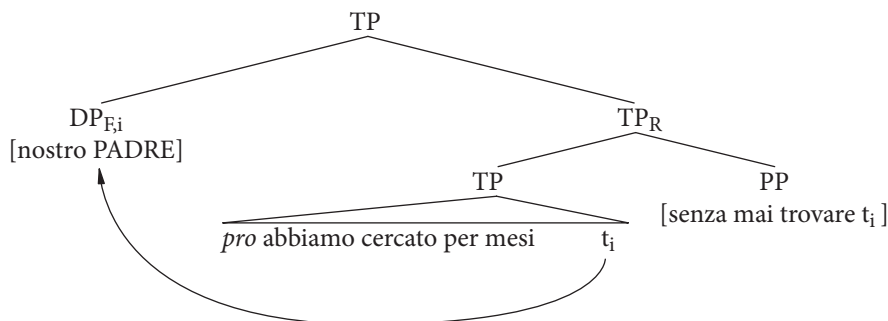
### 5.3.6 Parasitic gaps

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the different positions of evacuated and non-evacuated foci become apparent when considering parasitic gaps, which are licensed by clause-initial foci but not postverbal ones.<sup>17</sup> (*Barolo* is the name of a great Italian wine.)

- (136) a. [Nostro PADRE]<sub>F</sub>, [abbiamo cercato t per mesi] [senza mai trovare t]!  
 Our father, (we) have sought for months without ever to-find  
 ‘Our FATHER, we sought for months without ever finding!’  
 b. \*Abbiamo cercato per mesi nostro PADRE<sub>F</sub>, senza mai trovare!  
 (We) have sought for months our father, without ever to-find
- (137) a. [Questo fantastico BAROLO]<sub>F</sub>, hanno rimandato indietro senza assaggiare!  
 This fantastic BAROLO, (they) have sent back without to-taste  
 ‘This fantastic BAROLO, they sent back without tasting!’  
 b. \*Hanno rimandato indietro questo fantastico BAROLO<sub>F</sub>, senza assaggiare!  
 (They) have sent back this fantastic BAROLO, without to-taste

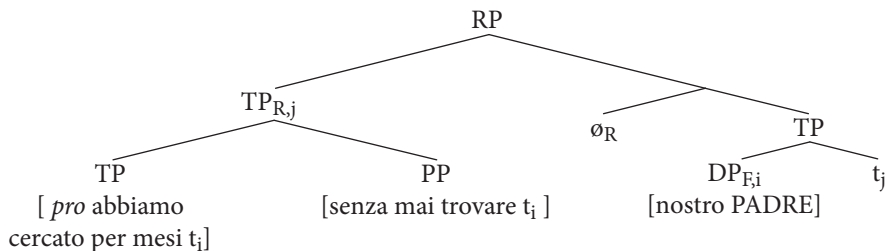
In the (a) sentences, the focalized subject precedes the auxiliary and thus constitutes an evacuated focus followed by a right-dislocated TP. As such, the focused object adjoins TP and c-commands both variables after the focus evacuation step, enabling the licensing of the parasitic gap. The main derivational steps for (136)(a) are shown in (138).

- (138) a. Focus evacuation

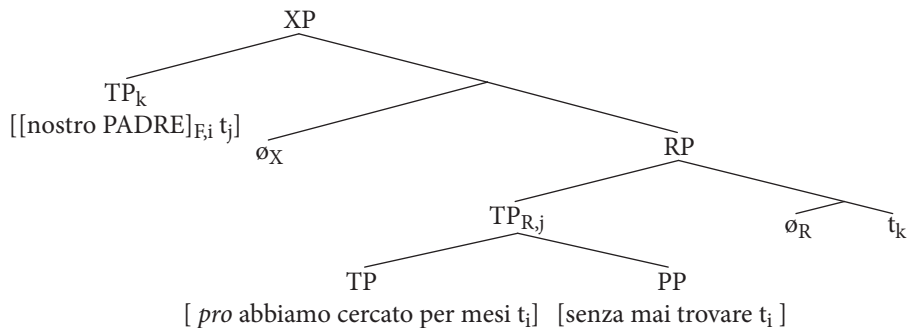


<sup>17</sup> The licensing of parasitic gaps by clause-initial focus is reported absent in Catalan (Villalba 2000: 255), suggesting the presence of crosslinguistic differences in the analysis of focalization across these two languages.

b. Right dislocation of TP<sub>R</sub>



c. Movement of remnant TP<sub>k</sub>



In the ungrammatical (b) sentences of (136) and (137), the focused object occurs post-verbally and is focalized in situ. Therefore, it is too low to c-command and license the variable of the parasitic clause. As explained in Section 3.2, this structural distinction is unavailable in strict cartographic analyses that assume the focused object to be identical for both sentences, making it impossible to account for the observed alternation.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Even the weaker hypothesis that focus raises to a high fixed focus projection covertly is problematic. Engdahl (1983) showed that simple parasitic gap constructions cannot be licensed under covert movement, as shown by her example in (i). Nissenbaum (2000: 12) showed that under appropriate conditions requiring multiple interrogatives the licensing of parasitic gaps by covert movement becomes possible in English, see (ii). This observation, however, does not hold with Italian in-situ focalization, see (iii). Overall, covert movement does not appear to license parasitic gaps in Italian and is thus not a solution for the alternation discussed in the main text.

- (i) \* Who filed which paper<sub>1</sub> without reading <sub>-1</sub>.
- (ii) ? Which senator did you persuade <sub>-1</sub> to borrow which car<sub>2</sub> after getting an opponent of <sub>-1</sub> to get a bomb in <sub>-2</sub>?
- (iii) \* Quale senatore hai persuaso <sub>-1</sub> a prendere la JEEP<sub>F,2</sub>, senza prima chiamare un oppositore <sub>-1</sub> per mettere una bomba <sub>-2</sub>?  
Which senator (you) have persuaded to take the jeep, without before to-call an opponent to put a bomb

5.3.7 *A brief note on Müller's principle of unambiguous domination*

Müller (1996) showed that in German and English remnant movement satisfies a principle of unambiguous domination that prevents a constituent that has undergone a movement of a specific type (scrambling, topicalization, wh-extraction) from being extracted from a constituent undergoing the same type of movement. As Müller points out elsewhere, it is possible to state this principle as in (139), which states that two constituents A and B cannot undergo the same type of movement when one is contained in the other (for further discussion including the relation with the Minimal Link Condition and the Phase Impenetrability Condition see Müller 1998, 2004, 2011).

## (139) Unambiguous Domination:

In a structure ... [A ... B ...] ..., A and B may not undergo the same type of movement.

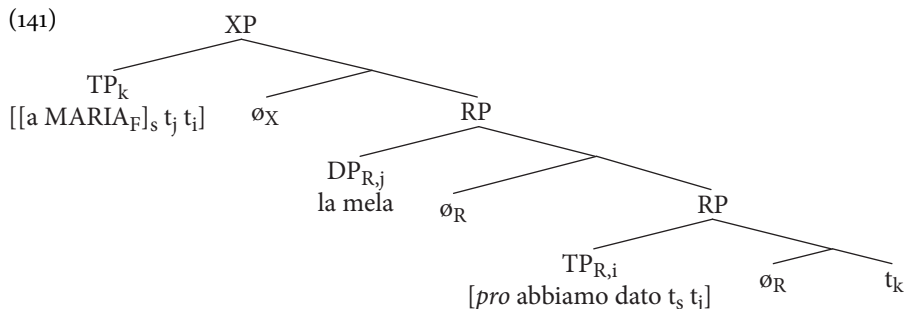
Under specific circumstances, the structures associated with focus evacuation appear to violate unambiguous domination (thanks to Neeleman and van der Wal for pointing this out). This is for example the case with the post-focal phrases described in Section 5.3.4 of which (140) is an example. As the corresponding structure (141) shows, the object *la mela* and the TP *abbiamo dato* undergo the same type of movement—namely right dislocation—even though the object is generated in the TP. (The complete derivation is provided in footnote 13.)

(140) A MARIA<sub>F</sub>, la mela<sub>R</sub>, [abbiamo dato]<sub>R</sub>.

To Mary, the apple, (we) have given

'We gave the apple to MARY.'

## (141)



In the rest of this section I will show that (i) the violation of unambiguous domination is a general property of Italian right dislocation that occurs even when focus evacuation is absent; (ii) that such violation occurs independently from the way right dislocation is represented; (iii) that the same violation also occurs under an analysis à la Rizzi (1997, 2004) not involving right dislocation. In other words, Italian right dislocation appears to be a genuine exception to Müller's principle and the issue

raised by this observation is fully general, affecting all current analyses of right dislocation and/or left-peripheral foci, not just the analysis of focalization and right dislocation proposed in this book.

Consider sentence (142), which lacks contrastive focalization and focus evacuation. The object and the following VP are both right-dislocated, since they are preceded by the intonation break and optional pause typically preceding right-dislocated phrases. The object is also clitic-doubled by the clitic *li*, and thus cannot have just scrambled leftwards (Italian disallows for clitic doubling within a clause). The VP follows the right-dislocated object, therefore it, too, must be right-dislocated. The sentence violates unambiguous domination because the object and the VP undergo the same type of movement—namely right dislocation—even though the object is generated within the VP.<sup>19</sup>

- (142) Context: Non potevi lasciar-li a casa, i bambini?  
 (You) not could leave-them at home, the children  
 ‘Couldn’t you leave the children at home?’
- a. (Se avessi potuto), li AVREI, i bambini<sub>R</sub>, [lasciati a casa]<sub>R</sub>, (ma non potevo).  
 (If (I) had been-able), (I) them had, the children, left at home, (but (I) not could).  
 ‘(Had it been possible), I would have left them at home, the children, (but it wasn’t).’

The violation of unambiguous domination occurs whatever representation is assigned to right dislocation. Under the remnant movement analysis adopted here,

<sup>19</sup> Two additional examples are provided here. The first, in (i), involves right dislocation of the intermediate CP and the final object; note how both are clitic-doubled. This sentence violates unambiguous domination for the same reasons considered in the main text provided that it is not possible for the object to right dislocate within the right-dislocated CP, as schematically shown in (ii). If such embedded dislocation is permitted, the dislocated object is part of the CP, and since the CP would also count as the object’s chain domain, unambiguous domination would be satisfied within CP.

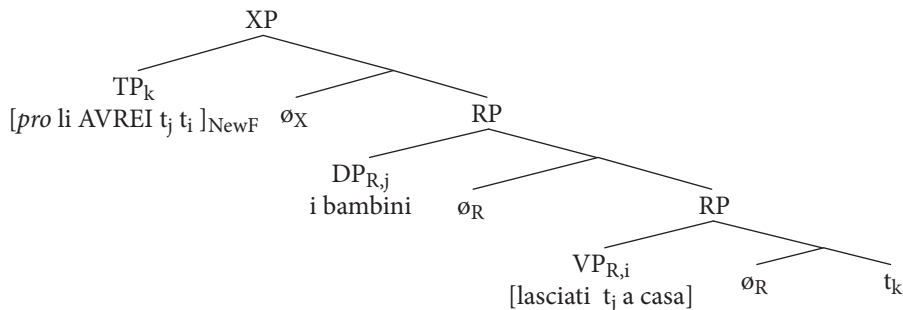
- (i) [L’ho già DETTO t<sub>k</sub> ]<sub>NewF</sub> [che l’abbiamo portata t<sub>i</sub> ]<sub>R,k</sub>, [la torta]<sub>R,i</sub>.  
 (I) it already said, that (we) it have brought, the cake  
 ‘I already said that we have brought it, the cake.’
- (ii) [l’ho già DETTO t<sub>k</sub> ]<sub>NewF</sub> [CP che [TP [l’abbiamo portata t<sub>i</sub> ] [la torta]<sub>R,i</sub>]]<sub>R,k</sub>

The second example is provided in (ii). Contrary to appearances, it consists of a single clause where the modal verb *vorrei* acts as the auxiliary (Cinque 2004). The object *gli amici* and the final VP *vederli più spesso* are both right-dislocated. They are preceded by the intonation break and optional pause preceding right-dislocated phrases and the object is clitic-doubled by the clitic *li* on the verb.

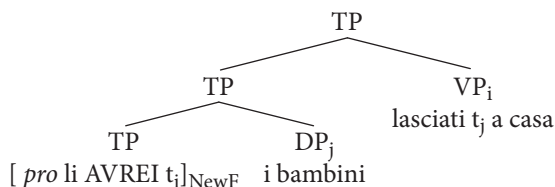
- (iii) Context: Non li vedi mai, i tuoi amici?  
 (You) not them see ever, the your friends  
 ‘Don’t you ever see your friends?’
- a. VORREI<sub>NewF</sub>, gli amici<sub>R</sub>, [vederli più spesso]<sub>R</sub>, (ma non ho mai tempo).  
 (I) would-like, the friends, to-see-them more often, (but (I) not have never time)  
 ‘I would like to see them more often, my friends, but I never find the time.’

the trace of the right-dislocated object lies within the lower but equally right-dislocated VP, see (143). The same is true under the alternative right TP-adjunction analysis discussed in Appendix B, see (144). Since unambiguous domination holds for both bound and unbound traces (Müller 1996), the different hierarchical order of the right-dislocated constituents across the two representations is irrelevant.

## (143) Adopted remnant movement analysis



## (144) Right adjunction analysis



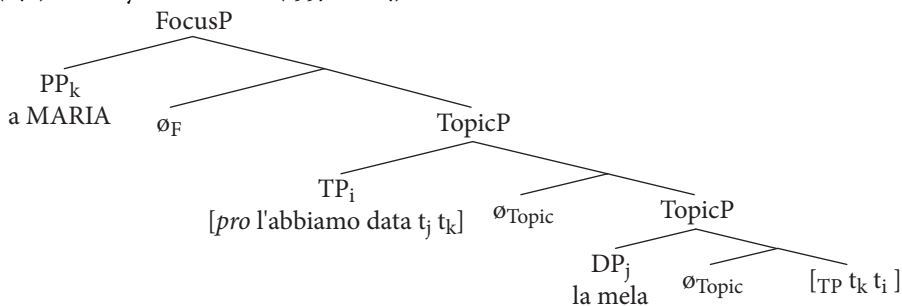
Unambiguous domination is also violated under analyses of left-peripheral foci à la Rizzi (1997, 2004). Consider for example (145). The final object is right-dislocated, as attested by the presence of clitic doubling. Following Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007), assume that this object occupies the specifier of a post focus topic projection above TP. But then the TP, too, must occur in a similar projection, since it precedes the object and follows the initial focus (not to mention the identical prosodic contour introducing the TP and the object and signalling their shared right-dislocated status). The resulting structure, in (146), violates unambiguous domination, since the trace of the object lies in a constituent, TP, which underwent the same type of movement (note that the focused PP must first exit the TP, yielding the additional  $t_k$  trace in the lowest TP).

(145) A MARIA<sub>F</sub>, l'abbiamo data, la mela.

To Mary, (we) it have given, the apple

'We gave the apple to MARY.'

(146) Analysis à la Rizzi (1997, 2004)



In conclusion, Italian right dislocation appears to be immune to unambiguous domination. While more research is needed in this area, this section also showed that the issue raised by this observation is independent from the specific representation of right dislocation and analysis of left-peripheral focalization proposed in this book.

### 5.3.8 Summary

The previous sections provided several independent arguments for analysing left-peripheral foci as focus evacuation based on the range of possible positions taken by evacuated foci and the right-dislocated status of post-focus constituents.

Under focus evacuation, the leftward movement of focused constituents is not an independent operation to be understood on its own terms and independently from any other operation affecting the clause. Rather, it follows from the interaction of two independently available operations, namely focalization in situ and right dislocation. Both can and do co-occur in the same clause. When right dislocation targets a phrase containing a focalized constituent, a conflict is unleashed, since these operations cannot both take place because focused phrases cannot be right-dislocated. The result is the evacuation of focus from the dislocating phrase.

Focus evacuation differs from a strict cartographic alternative where all foci move to a fixed high focus projection in two fundamental ways. First, it views focus fronting as the exception rather than the rule, since it only occurs when the focalized constituent lies inside a phrase targeted by right dislocation. In all other cases, the vast majority, contrastive foci occur in situ. This enables focus evacuation to account for more sentences more accurately. Second, it views Rizzi's left-peripheral focus data as a specific instance of focus evacuation that occurs when right dislocation targets TP. As we saw in Section 5.3.2, additional instances of focus evacuation involving smaller right-dislocated phrases are possible too.

Overall, the focus evacuation analysis successfully reduces any instance of leftward focus movement to the interaction of focalization and right dislocation. This provides a unified analysis of Italian contrastive focalization that spans over both



moved and unmoved foci, correctly predicting the actual position of focus in each case as well as the syntactic status of the constituents following it.

#### 5.4 On the co-occurrence of focus and wh-phrases

The study of wh-extraction lends further support to the focus evacuation analysis. Under focus evacuation, the position of focused constituents is unrelated to the position of wh-phrases. Therefore, since Italian shows no relativized minimality effect between the two, wh-phrases and foci are predicted to co-occur within the same clause. As this section will show, this prediction is amply borne out in both main clauses and subordinate clauses. This result is particularly significant because it refutes a crucial piece of evidence claimed in support for the existence of a higher focus projection in Rizzi (1997, 2001) and since then almost unanimously maintained as valid in all the literature that followed: namely, the alleged impossibility for wh-phrases and foci to co-occur in main clauses.

Building on Samek-Lodovici (2006), but adding new data concerning main clauses, this section will show that the distribution of wh-phrases relative to contrastive foci is governed by the position of the wh-chain relative to the right-dislocated constituents following a focus. As summarized in table (147), there are only three possible ways in which a wh-chain and a right-dislocated constituent can overlap in a sentence involving focalization: (i) the wh-chain lies entirely outside any right-dislocated phrase; (ii) the wh-chain originates in a right-dislocated phrase but is not entirely included in it (i.e. the wh-phrase is extracted from it); (iii) the entire wh-chain lies within the right-dislocated phrase, which in these cases is usually a clause. Wh-extraction will be shown to co-occur with focalization in all three cases except those involving extraction from a clitic-doubled phrase.

(147)

| Sentence structure                                                                                                                                                                     | Co-occurrence with focus is grammatical |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1. The entire wh-chain lies outside right-dislocated phrases                                                                                                                           | ✓                                       |
| 2. Wh-chain originates inside a right-dislocated phrase but ends outside it and right dislocation...<br>a. ... does not involve clitic doubling<br>b. ... does involve clitic doubling | ✓<br>no                                 |
| 3. The entire wh-chain is contained in a right-dislocated phrase                                                                                                                       | ✓                                       |

This observed distribution is consistent with the proposed analysis of focalization: nothing blocks wh-extraction except for clitic-doubled right-dislocated phrases, since they form strong islands to extraction as discussed in Section 4.4.4 (see also Cardinaletti 2002; Samek-Lodovici 2006). The observed co-occurrences of wh-phrases and contrastive foci

are instead unaccounted for if *wh*-phrases and focalized constituents are assumed to share the specifier of a high fixed focus projection whether at surface or at LF, since obviously they could not occur in the same clause. In the following, I consider each case in turn focusing on main clauses and only briefly discuss subordinate clauses—already examined in Samek-Lodovici (2006)—at the end of the section.

#### 5.4.1 *Wh*-chain outside right-dislocated phrases

The simplest way to examine this case is to consider sentences lacking right dislocation altogether.<sup>20</sup> The corresponding sentences necessarily involve focalization in situ, since focus evacuation is triggered—and hence always followed—by right dislocation. We can, however, distinguish the following two subcases depending on whether the *wh*-operator is generated above the focused constituent or below it.

- (148) a. *wh*-op ...  $t_{wh}$   $ZP_F$   
 b. *wh*-op ...  $ZP_F$   $t_{wh}$

*Wh*-extraction is grammatical, and in fact very natural, in either case, showing that contrastive focalization is not subject to relativized minimality effects. The following sentences respectively involve extraction of a *wh*-subject generated above a focused object, extraction of a *wh*-object across a higher focused subject, and extraction of a temporal *wh*-adverbial across a focused subject. For space reasons, context sentences are placed in parentheses.

- (149) (Tutti conoscevano la vittima). Ma chi conosceva l'ASSASSINO<sub>F</sub>?  
 (All knew the victim). But who knew the murderer  
 '(Everybody knew the victim). But who knew the murderer?'
- (150) (So cosa hai regalato TU<sub>F</sub>, a Maria). Ma cosa le ha regalato tua MADRE<sub>F</sub>?  
 ((I) know what have given you to Mary). But what to-her has given your mother  
 '(I know what YOU gave to Mary). But what did your MOTHER give her?'
- (151) (Ho capito che Maria ha parlato ieri). Ma quando ha parlato DAVIDE<sub>F</sub>?  
 ((I) have understood that Mary has spoken yesterday). But when has spoken David  
 '(I understood that Mary spoke yesterday). But when did DAVID speak?'

*Wh*-phrases can also be extracted from within a marginalized phrase across a higher focus.

<sup>20</sup> The first case also includes the complex but here uninformative case where right dislocation applies to an item generated within the *wh*-phrase itself, as in (i). The resulting sentence is grammatical because right dislocation can occur before *wh*-extraction thus ensuring that both movements do not occur from an unselected specifier. An example is provided in (ii).

- (i) [<sub>wh</sub> ...  $t_i$  ...]  $ZP_{Focus}$   $WP_{i,R}$   
 (ii) Voglio sapere quale fotografia le hai mostrato IERI<sub>F</sub>, a tua madre<sub>R</sub>, [di Gianni e Maria]<sub>R</sub>.  
 (I) want to-know which picture (you) to-her have shown yesterday, to your mother, of John and Mary  
 'I want to know which picture of John and Mary you showed to your mother YESTERDAY.'

- (152) Context: Hanno insinuato che Maria avrebbe rubato dei libri.  
(They) have insinuated that Mary would-have stolen some books  
'They insinuated that Mary might have stolen some books.'
- Ma quali libri hanno DIMOSTRATO<sub>F</sub> [che Maria ha rubato]<sub>M</sub>?  
But which books (they) have proved that Mary has stolen  
'But which books did they PROVE that Mary stole?'
- (153) Context: Alcuni studenti dicono che forse Maria ha preso un buon voto.  
Some students say that perhaps Mary has received a good mark  
'Some students say that perhaps Mary received a good mark.'
- Ma quale voto sappiamo [con certezza ASSOLUTA]<sub>F</sub> [che Maria ha preso]<sub>M</sub>?  
But what mark (we) know with certainty absolute that Mary has got  
'But what mark do we know with absolute CERTAINTY that Mary got?'
- (154) Context: Oggi hanno annunciato un diverso vincitore del premio Nobel per la pace.  
Today (they) have announced a different winner of-the prize Nobel for the peace  
'Today they announced a different winner of the peace Nobel prize.'
- Ma a chi avevano detto IERI<sub>F</sub>, [che lo avrebbero dato]<sub>M</sub>?  
But to whom (they) had said yesterday, that (they) it would give  
'But whom did they say YESTERDAY that they would give it to?'

Under the focus evacuation analysis, the successful co-occurrence of wh-operators and foci in-situ in all the preceding examples is expected. Foci and wh-phrases do not share the same position at any stage of the derivation, therefore wh-operators may successfully raise to their final position. The opposite holds of analyses maintaining that wh-operators and contrastive foci share the same position, whether at surface or LF, since they incorrectly predict all the above sentences to be ungrammatical.

#### 5.4.2 *Wh-chain across a right-dislocated phrase*

As discussed in Section 4.4.4, wh-operators cannot be extracted from right-dislocated constituents when clitic doubling is present but they may be marginally extracted when clitic doubling is absent. The extraction of wh-phrases from within a right-dislocated clause and across a focused constituent is predicted to show the same pattern. It should be impossible when clitic doubling is present and marginally available when clitic doubling is absent.

Consider first the case where focalization occurs in situ. The following three examples vary in the type of wh-operator and constituent being focused. In each example, sentence (a) illustrates the case where clitic doubling blocks wh-extraction while sentence (b) concerns the case lacking clitic doubling and allowing for

*wh*-extraction. In all (b) sentences, the right-dislocated clause follows a clitic-doubled right-dislocated indirect object; this is necessary to ensure that the non-clitic doubled clause is right-dislocated rather than marginalized in situ.

- (155) Context: Hanno raccontato a Marco che Maria ha rubato dei libri.  
 (They) have said to Mark that Mary has stolen some books  
 ‘They said to Mark that Mary stole some books.’
- a. \* Ma quali libri  $lo_i$  hanno DIMOSTRATO<sub>F</sub>, [che Maria ha rubato]<sub>R,i</sub>?  
 But which books (they) it have proved, that Mary has stolen  
 But which books did they PROVE that Mary stole?’
- b. ? Ma quali libri  $gli_i$  hanno DIMOSTRATO<sub>F</sub>, [a Marco]<sub>R,i</sub>, [che Maria ha rubato]<sub>R</sub>?  
 But which books (they) to-him proved, to Mark, that Mary has stolen  
 But which books did they PROVE to Mark that Mary has stolen?’
- (156) Context: Alcuni studenti hanno detto a Marco che Maria ha preso un buon voto.  
 Some students have said to Mark that Mary has got a good mark  
 ‘Some students said to Mark that Mary received a good mark.’
- a. \* Ma quale voto  $lo_i$  hanno detto [con certezza ASSOLUTA]<sub>F</sub>, [che Maria ha preso]<sub>R,i</sub>?  
 But what mark (they) it have said with certainty absolute, that Mary has got  
 But what mark did they say with absolute CERTAINTY that Mary received?’
- b. ? Ma quale voto  $gli_i$  hanno detto [con certezza ASSOLUTA]<sub>F</sub>, [a Marco]<sub>R,i</sub>, [che Maria ha preso]<sub>R</sub>?  
 But what mark (they) to-him have said with certainty absolute, to Mark, that Mary has got  
 ‘But what mark did they say with absolute CERTAINTY to Mark that Mary received?’
- (157) Context: Oggi hanno annunciato a Pino un diverso vincitore del premio Nobel per la pace.  
 Today (they) have announced to Pino a different winner of-the prize Nobel for the peace  
 ‘Today they announced to Pino, a different winner for the peace Nobel prize.’
- a. \* Ma a chi  $l_i$ ’avevano detto IERI<sub>F</sub>, [che lo avrebbero dato]<sub>R,i</sub>?  
 But to whom (they) it had said yesterday, that (they) it would give  
 ‘But whom did they say YESTERDAY that they would give it to?’

- b. Ma a chi gli<sub>i</sub> avevano detto IERI<sub>F</sub>, [a Pino]<sub>R,i</sub> [che lo avrebbero dato]<sub>R</sub>?  
 But to whom (they) to-him had said yesterday, to Pino, that (they) it would give.  
 ‘But whom did they say YESTERDAY to Pino that they would give it to?’

Wh-extraction from a right-dislocated phrase is also possible with evacuated left-peripheral foci, i.e. the cases excluded in Rizzi (1997). In the following examples, wh-extraction occurs from the right-dislocated TP immediately following left-peripheral foci, as schematized in (158). As discussed in Section 4.4.4, wh-extraction from tensed right-dislocated TPs like this one is marginal even when contrastive focalization is absent, therefore the marginal status of the following examples is to be expected and unrelated to the presence of left-peripheral foci. All sentences also inevitably lack clitic doubling because the clitic-hosting head T is part of the dislocated constituent.

(158) Wh-op ZP<sub>F,k</sub> [TP ... t<sub>k</sub> ... t<sub>wh</sub> ...]<sub>R</sub>

- (159) Context: So già che a qualcuno l’azienda ha pagato i viaggi di lavoro.  
 (I) already know that to someone the company has paid the trips of work  
 ‘I already know that the company paid the job-related trips to some people.’

Ma a chi perfino le VACANZE<sub>F</sub>, [ha pagato]<sub>R</sub>?  
 But to whom even the holidays, (it) has paid  
 ‘But whom did it pay even the HOLIDAYS to?’

- (160) Context: Alcuni studenti dicono che forse Maria ha preso un buon voto.  
 Some students say that perhaps Mary has received a good mark  
 ‘Some students say that perhaps Mary received a good mark.’

Ma quale voto [con certezza ASSOLUTA]<sub>F</sub> [sappiamo che Maria ha preso]<sub>R</sub>?  
 But what mark with certainty absolute (we) know that Mary has got  
 ‘But what mark do we know with absolute CERTAINTY that Mary got?’

- (161) Context: Oggi hanno annunciato un diverso vincitore del premio Nobel per la pace.  
 Today (they) have announced a different winner of-the prize Nobel for the peace  
 ‘Today they announced a different winner of the peace Nobel prize.’

Ma a chi IERI<sub>F</sub>, [avevano annunciato che lo avrebbero dato]<sub>R</sub>?  
 But to whom yesterday (they) had announced that (they) it would give  
 ‘But whom did they say YESTERDAY that they would give it to?’

These assessments do not match those reported for the same patterns in Rizzi (1997: 291) which reports sentence (162) as ungrammatical. Rizzi provides this sentence without a discourse context. The lack of a context makes the interpretation of the post-focus clause as right-dislocated problematic, because discourse-givenness is a key prerequisite for licensing right dislocation. Consequently, speakers are forced to approach (162) as if it lacked right dislocation and under this forced interpretation (162) is indeed ungrammatical. And we know why: under focus evacuation you can't have a left-peripheral focus without the following TP being right-dislocated; when the TP is not right-dislocated, focus should occur *in situ*.

- (162) \* *Che cosa a GIANNI hai detto (non a Piero)?*  
 What to JOHN (you) have said (not to Piero)  
 'What did you say to JOHN (not to Piero)?'

When the same sentence is uttered with respect to an appropriate context and with an appropriate intonation, it is grammatical. See the examples (163) and (164), involving a context as well as a more contentful TP, so that it can be more naturally re-proposed to the hearer's attention in right-dislocated form.

- (163) Context: *So che avevate promesso molte belle cose a Maria prima di partire.*  
 I know that (you) had promised many beautiful things to Mary  
 before of to-leave.  
 'I know that you had promised Mary many beautiful things before  
 leaving.'

*Ma cosa a GIANNI<sub>F</sub>, [avevate promesso subito prima della partenza]<sub>R</sub>?*  
 But what to John (you) had promised right before of-the departure  
 'But what had you promised to JOHN right before your departure?'

- (164) Context: *So che avete ritenuto di dover tener nascoste a Maria molte cose.*  
 I know that (you) have decided of to-have to-keep hidden to Mary  
 many things.  
 'I know that you decided that you had to hide many things from  
 Mary.'

*Ma cosa a MARCO<sub>F</sub>, [pensate di dover tener nascosto]<sub>R</sub>?*  
 But what to Mark (you) think of to-have to-keep hidden  
 'But what do you think you need to hide from MARK?'

In conclusion, even the second class of *wh*-extraction structures patterns as predicted by focus evacuation, being marginally possible across *in situ* and evacuated foci when clitic doubling is absent and blocked when clitic doubling is present. In contrast, if contrastive focus and *wh*-operators shared the same position, all preceding sentences ought to be ungrammatical.

5.4.3 *Wh-chain contained in a right-dislocated phrase*

The third and last possible configuration occurs when the entire wh-chain is contained within a right-dislocated constituent, as shown in (165). In this case, there is no extraction of the wh-operator from the dislocated clause and nothing prevents these structures from being grammatical. The following grammatical examples, involving focalization in situ confirm this prediction.

(165) ... ZP<sub>F</sub> [YP ... wh ... t<sub>wh</sub> ..]<sub>R</sub>

(166) **Lo** sapremo soltanto DOMANI<sub>F</sub>, [quale partito ha vinto le elezioni]<sub>R</sub>.  
 (Non oggi)  
 (We) it will-know only tomorrow, which party has won the elections.  
 (Not today)  
 ‘We will only know TOMORROW which party has won the elections.  
 (Not today)’

(167) **Ce lo** ha chiesto MARCO<sub>F</sub>, [quando intendiamo sposarci]<sub>R</sub>. (Non Gianni)  
 To-us it has asked Mark, when (we) intend to-marry. (Not John)  
 ‘MARK asked us when we intend to marry. (Not John)’

Right-dislocated interrogatives of this kind may also follow evacuated foci found in clause-initial position. Like any other right-dislocated phrase, the interrogative clause must be discourse-given and therefore these sentences must be assessed relative to a discourse context that satisfies this requirement. The dislocated interrogative must also receive the typical intonation of right-dislocated phrases in declarative clauses, rather than the intonation of questions, since due to their right-dislocated status these interrogatives act more like a reminder of a previous question than a newly posed question. When these conditions are satisfied, the corresponding structures are grammatical, as shown by the following examples.

(168) Context: Chiederemo quali fondi hanno tenuto nascosti alla polizia.  
 (We) will-ask which funds (they) have kept hidden from-the police.  
 ‘We will ask which funds they kept hidden from the police.’

Si. Soprattutto al FISCO<sub>F</sub>, [cosa hanno tenuto nascosto]<sub>R</sub>.

Yes. Above-all, to-the Internal Revenue Service, what (they) have kept hidden  
 ‘Yes. Above all, what they kept hidden from the IRS.’<sup>21</sup>

(169) Context: Che pasticcio quest’anno! Ogni giorno annunciano un vincitore diverso. Vuoi sapere chi hanno annunciato ieri come vincitore del premio Nobel?

<sup>21</sup> This is the government department for the collection of taxes. I used the name used in the USA. The British name is HMRC (Her Majesty’s Revenue and Customs).

What mess this year. Every day (they) announce a winner different.  
(You) want to-know who (they) have announced yesterday as  
winner-of-the prize Nobel?

‘What a mess this year. Every day they announce a different winner.  
Do you want to know who they announced as winner of the Nobel  
prize yesterday?’

No. OGGI<sub>F</sub>, [chi hanno annunciato come vincitore del premio Nobel]<sub>R</sub>.

No. Today, who (they) have announced as winner of-the prize Nobel

‘No. Who they announced as Nobel prize winner TODAY.’

- (170) Context: L’inchiesta deve rivelare a chi sono stati pagati i viaggi di lavoro.  
The inquiry must reveal to whom are been paid the trips of work  
‘The inquiry must reveal who was paid for job-related travel.’

No. Le VACANZE<sub>F</sub>, [a chi sono state pagate]<sub>R</sub>.

No. The holidays, to whom (they) have paid

‘No. Who was paid for their HOLIDAYS.’

Like the data in the previous section, the assessment provided for these patterns do not match the one provided in Rizzi (1997: 291). Once again, however, it is important to observe that Rizzi’s original sentence, repeated in its original form in (171), is presented without a discourse context, making it difficult for speakers to approach the post-focal interrogative clauses as right-dislocated. The initial focus in (171) is also not followed by the comma representing the intonational break and brief optional pause typically preceding right dislocated constituents, and this, too, discourages the right-dislocation reading required for grammaticality. Furthermore, (171) ends with a question mark, thus strongly suggesting the raising interrogative intonation of standard questions. But this intonation is incompatible with right-dislocated status, making a right-dislocated reading of the post-focal interrogative completely impossible. Under these circumstances, (171) is inevitably perceived by a native speaker of Italian as a sentence where right dislocation is absent and yet focus has raised above CP nevertheless, as schematically shown in (172). Such a structure is indeed ungrammatical and predicted to be so even under focus evacuation, since focus may move only when right dislocation is present.

- (171) \* A GIANNI<sub>F</sub> che cosa hai detto (non a Piero)?  
To John that what (you) have said (not to Piero)  
‘What did you say to JOHN (not to Piero)?’

- (172) ZP<sub>F,i</sub> wh [TP ... t<sub>wh</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ]

Even Rizzi’s original example becomes grammatical when presented under a suitable context, with a comma after the initial focus, and when assigned an exclamative



intonation; see (173) where the subject has been changed to a plural or else no suitable context is possible. You should imagine two people speaking with A asking the first question—this is the context—and B using Rizzi's sentence to correct the initial question. The context and the exclamative intonation license an interpretation where the interrogative clause is discourse-given. This, in turn, enables its right dislocation, which triggers focus evacuation and thus makes the sentence grammatical.<sup>22</sup>

- (173) A. Cosa hanno detto a Piero?  
 What (they) have said to Piero  
 'What did they say to Piero?'  
 B. No. A GIANNI<sub>F</sub>, [che cosa hanno detto]<sub>R</sub> (non a Piero)!  
 No. To John, that what (they) have said (not to Piero)  
 'No. What did they say to JOHN (not to Piero)!'

In conclusion, contrastive foci and *wh*-operators can co-occur in the same main sentence. This holds of *in-situ* and left-peripheral foci alike, as expected under focus evacuation. Obviously, the prerequisite for focus evacuation and *wh*-extraction must be satisfied: the right-dislocated interrogative clause must be licensed by a suitable context and intonation and, where relevant, the interaction of *wh*-extraction with clitic doubling must be taken into account.

#### 5.4.4 Subordinate interrogative clauses

The observations made so far for main clauses are also valid for subordinate clauses. A few examples follow. Sentence (174) shows co-occurrence of *wh*-operator with postverbal foci, while (175) shows clause-initial foci preceded and followed by a *wh*-phrase respectively.

<sup>22</sup> A similar point applies to sentence (i), which is listed as ungrammatical in Abels (2012) based on the judgement of a native speaker informant. This sentence, too, becomes grammatical when an appropriate intonation and context are provided, as is the case in (ii), where the added comma after the focus and the final exclamation mark suggest a more suitable intonation, and (iii), where an adequate context ensures the discourse-giveness of the right-dislocated clause.

- (i) \* QUESTO<sub>F</sub> mi domando a chi hanno detto.  
 This (I) to-me ask to whom (they) have said  
 'I wonder whom they said THIS to.'
- (ii) A: Ti domandi a chi hanno detto questo?  
 (You) to-you ask to whom (they) have said this?  
 B: No. QUESTO<sub>F</sub>, mi domando a chi hanno detto! (Non quello.)  
 No. This (I) to-me ask to whom (they) have said. (Not that)  
 'No. I wonder whom they said THIS to! (Not that).'
- (iii) So che hanno già detto di tutto a tutti, ma QUESTO<sub>F</sub>, soprattutto, mi domando a chi hanno detto.  
 (I) know that (they) have already said of all to all, but THIS, above-all, (I) to-me ask to whom (they) have said  
 'I know that they have already said all kind of things to everybody, but THIS, above all, I wonder whom they said to.'

- (174) Voglio sapere chi conosceva l'ASSASSINO<sub>F</sub>, non la vittima.  
 (I) want to-know who knew the murderer, not the victim  
 'I want to know who knew the MURDERER, not the victim.'
- (175) Context: So già che a qualcuno hanno pagato i viaggi di lavoro.  
 (I) already know that to someone (they) have paid the trips of work  
 'I already know that they paid the job-related travel to some people.'
- a. Ma non so ancora a chi le VACANZE<sub>F</sub>, [hanno pagato]<sub>R</sub>!  
 But (I) not know yet to whom the holidays, (they) have paid  
 'But I do not yet know whom did they pay the HOLIDAYS to!'
- b. Ma non so ancora le VACANZE<sub>F</sub>, [a chi hanno pagato]<sub>R</sub>!  
 But (I) not know yet the holidays, to whom (they) have paid  
 'But I do not yet know whom did they pay the HOLIDAYS to!'

Indeed, the co-occurrence of foci and *wh*-phrases in subordinate clauses is also acknowledged in Rizzi (1997: 330, 2001). For example, Rizzi (1997: 330, footnote 18) mentions (176) as marginally grammatical, and personally I find this sentence fully acceptable provided it is uttered with an exclamative intonation.

- (176) Mi domando a GIANNI<sub>F</sub>, che cosa abbiano detto (non a Piero)!  
 (I) to-me wonder to John that what (they) have said (not to Piero)  
 'I wonder what they said to JOHN (not to Piero)'

Rizzi (2001) accounts for these sentences by proposing that the left-periphery of subordinate clauses differs from that of main clauses in that focus and *wh*-operators target distinct projections. There are two problems with this analysis, though. First, no reason is provided, nor does one come to mind, for why the distinct focus- and *wh*-projections available in subordinate clauses should not be available in main clauses. Unless a reason is identified, the stipulation that such projections are present in subordinate clauses but absent in main clauses lacks in explanatory power, since it offers just a description of the observed data.

Second, Rizzi's (2001) analysis appears to assume that in subordinate clauses left-peripheral foci precede *wh*-operators, but this is incorrect. As (176) showed, left-peripheral foci may also follow *wh*-operators. Two additional examples are provided here.

- (177) Context: Ogni giorno i giornali scrivono che il premio Nobel verrà dato ad un leader diverso.  
 Every day the newspapers write that the Nobel prize will-be given to a leader different  
 'Every day the newspapers write that the Nobel prize will be given to a different leader.'

Indovina a chi OGGI<sub>F</sub>, [hanno scritto che verrà dato il premio Nobel]<sub>R</sub>.  
 Guess to whom today (they) have written that will-be given the prize Nobel  
 ‘Guess whom they wrote TODAY that the Nobel prize will be given to.’

- (178) Context: Gli studenti dicono che Maria ha preso un buon voto.  
 The students say that Mary has got a good mark  
 ‘The students say that Mary received a good mark.’

Ma io voglio sapere quale voto IL PROFESSORE<sub>F</sub>, [ha detto che Maria ha preso]<sub>R</sub>.  
 But I want to-know what mark the professor has said, that Mary has got  
 ‘But I want to know what mark the PROFESSOR said that Mary received.’

Under focus evacuation, the attested parallelism between main and subordinate clauses is instead expected. Since right dislocation applies to main and subordinate clauses alike, focus evacuation applies to both types of clauses too, with identical outcomes relative to its interaction with *wh*-phrases.

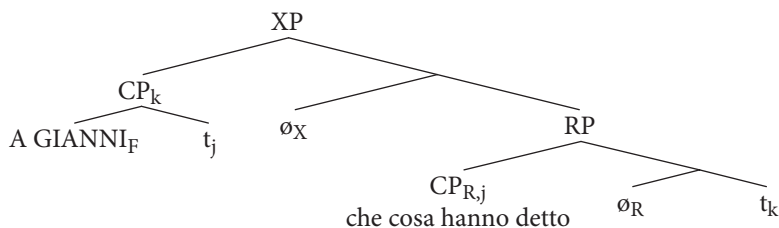
#### 5.4.5 *An aside on the position of right dislocation*

The availability of right-dislocated interrogative clauses shows that the final position of right-dislocated phrases is, to a limited extent, dependent on what constituent is dislocated. As discussed in Chapter 4, right-dislocated phrases occur outside the extended projection of *V* (or *N* in nominals, see Samek-Lodovici 2010). In most cases, including the focus evacuation cases discussed in Section 5.3, the extended projection at issue coincides with *TP*. When the dislocated constituent includes an entire *wh*-chain or a major part of it, as is the case with the sentences discussed in Sections 5.4.2 and 5.4.3, the dislocated phrase is necessarily larger than *TP*, and consequently right dislocation, too, occurs higher than *TP*. For example, consider again sentence (173), repeated in (179) without its licensing context.

- (179) A GIANNI<sub>F</sub>, [che cosa hanno detto]<sub>R</sub>!  
 To John that what (they) have said  
 ‘What did they say to JOHN!’

The right-dislocated constituent includes the *wh*-operator *che cosa* and must therefore be larger than *TP*; for convenience I will consider it a *CP*, but a more precise label taking into account the internal structure of *CP*—except for *FocusP*—would be equally fine. Since the entire *CP* containing the main clause is right dislocated, the *RP* projection hosting the dislocated *CP* in its specifier must itself occur above *CP*. The final structure is provided in (180). It is determined by the following derivational steps: (i) the *wh*-operator moves to *specCP*; (ii) the focused indirect object left-adjoins to *CP* as part of focus evacuation; (iii) the *CP* is right dislocated to the specifier of *RP*; (iv) the entire *CP* remnant including the adjoined focus moves to *specXP*.

(180) A GIANNI<sub>F</sub>, [che cosa hanno detto]<sub>R</sub>!



This analysis tells us that the position of right dislocation is not structurally fixed. As shown in Chapter 4, it must occur outside TP. But whether it occurs right above TP, as in most cases considered in this book, or right above CP as in the case just discussed depends on the size of the dislocated constituent. The correct generalization is that right dislocation occurs above TP but as low as the specific content of the sentence and of the dislocated phrases allows.

More research is needed on this aspect of right dislocation, examining how high in the structure it can be pushed and why TP provides a lower bound. But the above discussion shows that even the distribution of right dislocation cannot be accounted for through a strict cartographic analysis. Rather, its distribution resembles that of evacuated foci in that it occurs as low as structurally possible (once the basic condition that it be located outside TP is satisfied), but it can be pushed higher when that is necessary for the satisfaction of specific constraints, such as the requirement that wh-operators be raised to specCP.

#### 5.4.6 Summary

In Italian, the simultaneous presence of wh-extraction and contrastive focalization in the same clause does not give rise to relativized minimality effects. Wh-extraction is always possible except when originating in a clitic-doubled right-dislocated phrase. This distribution is expected under the focus evacuation analysis, but surprising under any analyses requiring foci and wh-operators to share the same position, whether at surface or LF.

Wh-operators may precede or follow focused constituents in both main and subordinate clauses. When they follow focus, the corresponding interrogative is discourse-given and right-dislocated, i.e. simply repeated for the benefit of the hearer. In these cases, the associated intonation is affected accordingly and it is incompatible with the raising intonation of interrogative clauses.

## 5.5 Conclusions

Together, focalization in situ and focus evacuation provide a unified account for the entire distribution of contrastive focus, explaining all possible linear orders displayed

by focused, marginalized, and right-dislocated constituents in Italian clauses and the distinct syntactic properties associated with each constituent under each order.

The different positions taken by evacuated and in-situ foci also explain the attested asymmetries affecting the syntax of negative phrases, parasitic gaps, and wh-extraction with respect to these two sets of focalization cases, all following from the availability of post-focal marginalized constituents after in-situ foci and their absence in the relevant cases involving evacuated foci.

In so far as the analysis advocated here is correct, it forces us to reconsider the many analyses of the information structure of Italian revolving around the existence of a dedicated focus projection above TP, since the conclusions that have been drawn on the basis of that assumption can no longer be maintained as valid.

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# The role of prosody

## 6.1 Introduction

The properties of Italian contrastive focalization uncovered in the previous chapters raise the question of why they are as they are. We now know that contrastive foci generally occur in situ, but not why they do so. We know that discourse-given constituents generated lower than focus can raise above it (an operation henceforth labeled ‘left-shift’), but not why they can do so, nor why the same movement is unavailable if focus is absent or the lower constituent is itself focused. We know that evacuated foci do not occur in situ, but not why such apparent exceptions to in-situ focalization are possible rather than ungrammatical.

This chapter addresses these questions. Building on Zubizarreta (1998), Costa (1998), Szendrői (2001, 2002, 2003), and Samek-Lodovici (2005) amongst others, I will claim that prosody is the fundamental driver of these phenomena, not feature-driven movement. Specifically, I will claim that contrastive foci occur in situ because this is the best available position for the associated stress, i.e. the position amongst the possible ones that best complies with the constraints governing the location of prosodic prominence, which in Italian require main stress to occur as close as possible to the clause right edge.

The same prosodic constraints will be shown to trigger the left-shift of lower unfocused constituents above higher foci. This operation is possible because it, too, improves the alignment of main stress with the clause right edge. When the moving constituent is focused, and hence stressed, left-shift is no longer possible because it no longer improves stress alignment. Similarly, when the higher constituent is unfocused, and hence unstressed, left-shifting lower constituents cannot improve stress alignment and it is thus unavailable.

Later in the chapter, the same prosodic constraints will be shown to also account for more complex patterns of left-shift that I believe are examined here for the first time. The proposed analysis was inspired by Cinque’s (1999) discussion of left-shift within the adverbial hierarchy, where a lower unfocused phrase may only left-shift above a higher focus if it pied-pipes the material to its right. Cinque’s observation will be shown to generalize well beyond adverbs and to follow from the same constraints

that account for the simplest instances of left-shift. Specifically, I will show that the internal structure of post-focus constituents affects their prosodic representation, which in turn determines which of their internal sub-constituents can left-shift because this improves stress right-alignment, and which cannot because it brings no stress-alignment improvement. Besides providing further support for the overall model presented in this chapter, the presented analysis reveals finer grained effects of the interaction of syntax and prosody than currently known.

Finally, I will examine right dislocation and the associated focus evacuation operation responsible for creating left-peripheral foci. I will propose a few simple constraints concerning the position and prosody of right dislocation and show how their interaction with the other prosodic constraints proposed in this chapter accounts for focus evacuation as well as the wrapping of right-dislocated items in separate intonational phrases observed in Frascarelli (2000) and Bocci and Avesani (2011). Focus evacuation will be shown to be triggered by the need to keep focus stressed and right-dislocated phrases stress-free. In other words, contrastive foci move out of right-dislocating constituents because otherwise they could not receive main stress. When the right-dislocating constituent is a TP, this process yields the left-peripheral data examined in Rizzi (1997, 2004) and many works since then. But as argued in detail in Chapter 4, Rizzi's data—and the position of focus within them—have no special status, since contrastive foci can be evacuated, and hence occur left-peripherally in linear terms, also with respect to smaller, sub-clausal constituents such as VP and PP. The property shared across all these instances of focalization and genuinely characterizing them is the right-dislocated status of the post-focus constituent and the fact that focus has been evacuated from that constituent.

A formal characterization of the prosody–syntax interactions just described requires an optimality theoretic analysis where the notion of minimal violation of stress alignment can be precisely defined (Prince and Smolensky 1993, 2004; McCarthy and Prince 1993). The proposed optimality analysis will extend the model of crosslinguistic focalization adopted in Samek-Lodovici (2005) to the operations and properties described above. As a result, in-situ focalization, left-shift, focus evacuation, and specific prosodic properties of marginalization and right dislocation need not be formalized as stipulated grammatical properties of Italian (whether parametric or not). Rather, they inevitably follow from the interaction of very simple and independently motivated constraints concerning only the position of stress and the position of discourse-given constituents. In this respect, the analysis supports the claim of Horvath (2010) that movement driven by information structure notions cannot be feature based.

The proposed analysis also strengthens the central claim of an increasing set of studies that prosody and its optimality-theoretic interaction with syntax is key to an accurate understanding of focalization paradigms, a view that questions the

traditional T-model where syntax precedes and feeds prosody and phonology.<sup>1</sup> See amongst others Costa (1998)<sup>2</sup>, Harford and Demuth (1999), Szendrői (2001, 2002), Büring (2001, 2002, 2006), Büring and Gutiérrez-Bravo (2002), Gutiérrez-Bravo (2002), Keller and Alexopoulou (2001), Schmid and Vogel (2004), Dehé (2004, 2005), Samek-Lodovici (2005, to appear), Downing (2006), Féry (2006, 2013), Zerbian (2006), Zimmermann (2006), Hamlaoui (2008, 2011), Bouma and de Hoop (2008), Li (2009), Lovstrand (2009), Anttila et al. (2010), Teeple (2007, 2008, 2011), Cheng and Downing (2009, 2012), Hoot (2012), Göbbel (2012, to appear), Šimík et al. (2013). See also the review of optimality-theoretic approaches to focalization in Samek-Lodovici (to appear).

I start in Section 6.2 quickly introducing the basic tenets of optimality theory and the representation of prosodic stress here assumed. Section 6.3 addresses focalization in situ and the optional alternation between marginalization and left-shift. Section 6.4 examines the issue of optional movement affecting left-shift and provides two possible solutions, one based on flexible generation (replacing movement), and one modelling optionality through tied constraints. Section 6.5 extends the analysis in Section 6.3 to additional syntactic patterns. Section 6.6 further extends the analysis of left-shift to the pied-piping constructions in Cinque (1999) briefly described above. Section 6.7 extends the analysis to right dislocation and focus evacuation.

## 6.2 General assumptions

The structures considered in this chapter will be assessed for their syntactic and prosodic wellformedness. Prosodic structure, it is argued, is organized in hierarchical layers as per Nespor and Vogel (1986) and Selkirk (1984, 1986, 1995). Words are grouped in phonological phrases (*pp*), which are grouped into intonational phrases (*ip*), which are grouped into an utterance phrase (*up*). I will assume that *ips* match syntactic clauses (i.e. TPs and CPs) and *ups* entire sentences, and I will only discuss in detail, in Section 6.6.2, the less intuitive constraints matching *pps* with maximal lexical projections (Selkirk 1984, 1986, 1995; Truckenbrodt 1995, 1999).

Following the considerable phonological literature on stress (e.g. Halle and Vergnaud 1987; Hayes 1995; Truckenbrodt 1995), sentential stress is analysed as a

<sup>1</sup> While the works mentioned here are cast in optimality theoretic terms, I have always thought that Minimalism, with its stated goal of an interface driven syntax, should in principle welcome any attempt to understand syntactic movement in terms of prosodic requirements, since this provides an excellent example of interface driven movement. For more reflections on the not necessarily mutually exclusive relation between Minimalism and Optimality Theory, see Samek-Lodovici (2013a, 2013b).

<sup>2</sup> Costa (1998) repeatedly observes how the position of new-information foci and scrambled discourse-given objects in European Portuguese could be analysed as emerging from the pressure of prosodic constraints. The provided optimality analysis, however, does not involve any prosodic constraints, thus remaining a syntactic analysis.



prosodic phenomenon rather than a syntactic one, thus departing from any syntactic analysis of stress based on an independent and separate nuclear stress rule however defined (e.g. Cinque 1993; Zubizarreta 1998; Nava and Zubizarreta 2010; Kahnemuyipour 2004. For further discussion of the inadequacies of syntactic approaches to stress, see Samek-Lodovici 2005: 741 and Costa 2010).

Main stress is held to emerge naturally from the local prominence contours of prosodic phrases. As (1) shows, each prosodic phrase contains an item—called its prosodic head—associated with a local peak in prosodic prominence, here represented as ‘x’. Higher prosodic constituents select their head amongst the heads of the prosodic constituents they dominate. The head of the utterance phrase corresponds to sentential main stress, cumulating prosodic prominence across all prosodic layers. In the example here the item carrying main stress is *granchi* ‘crabs’.

$$\begin{array}{r} ( \quad \quad \quad x \quad )_{up} \\ ( \quad \quad \quad x \quad )_{ip} \\ ( \quad x) ( \quad \quad \quad x \quad )_{pp} \end{array}$$

- (1) Marilù pescherà granchi.  
 Marilù will-fish crabs  
 ‘Marilù will fish crabs.’

As mentioned, the analysis is cast in optimality theoretic terms (Prince and Smolensky 1993, 2004). In this framework, grammars are defined as a set of ranked universal constraints, with different grammars corresponding to distinct rankings of the same constraints. Constraints may conflict with each other, in which case higher ranked constraints take precedence over lower ranked ones.

Linguistic structures are generated freely and compete with each other. A structure is grammatical in a specific language when it meets the demands of the corresponding constraint ranking optimally, i.e. better than any competitor (or more precisely, not worse than any other competitor, so that competitors performing identically on all constraints are equally grammatical). Specifically, a structure  $S_1$  meets the demands of ranking  $R$  better than a competitor  $S_2$  if and only if the highest ranked constraint on which  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  differ is one that favours  $S_1$  over  $S_2$ , i.e. one that  $S_2$  violates more times than  $S_1$ .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Does this mean that Optimality Theory is unworkable because it involves an infinite number of structures and even more competitions? No. The definitions provided ensure that for *any* set of constraints, *any* ranking of those constraints, and *any* set of competing structures assessed against such rankings, the set of grammatical structures is well defined. The search for the actual optimal structure for a specific constraint ranking and a specific set of competitors can however profit from general searching algorithms that work in finite time and create just a subset of the competitors (namely, those that are optimal for the other rankings of the same constraints). This has been repeatedly proven true within the literature on computational OT; see for example Riggle (2004) who provides an algorithm that efficiently calculates the optimal structures for any ranking and any set of constraints that can be translated into finite state automata. See also Tesar (1995), and Samek-Lodovici and Prince (1999, 2002).

In the following, I will assume that syntactic and prosodic structures are freely generated and combined. My discussion will only concern Italian, leaving any cross-linguistic implications beyond those already examined in Samek-Lodovici (2005) open for further research.

### 6.3 Prosody shaping the distribution of Italian focus

Leaving right dislocation temporarily aside, consider again the distribution of Italian contrastive focalization summarized in the table in (2) from Chapter 2. Each box shows two alternative patterns involving two post-verbal constituents, marking them for grammatical or ungrammatical status. The underlying base generated order is <Adv<sub>1</sub>, Adv<sub>2</sub>, S, V, O, CP> but be aware that Italian moves finite verbs to T and past-participles to a higher aspectual projection, so that all considered patterns start with a verb. The subscript 'M' identifies marginalized constituents, i.e. in-situ unstressed discourse-given phrases. 'F' marks contrastive focus. The column headers mention the property shared by all patterns in that column as well as the chapter and sections in this book where the related data are presented.

(2) The distribution of contrastive focus when right dislocation is absent

|                            | Higher-generated phrase is focused (Sec. 3.4, Ch. 3)                          | Lower-generated phrase is focused (Sec. 3.3 and 3.5, Ch. 3)                     | Movement across marginalized phrases (Sec. 2.3, Ch. 2)                                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Subject and object         | V S <sub>F</sub> O <sub>M</sub><br>V O S <sub>F</sub>                         | V S O <sub>F</sub><br>* V O <sub>F</sub> S <sub>M</sub>                         | V <sub>F</sub> S <sub>M</sub> O <sub>M</sub><br>* V <sub>F</sub> O <sub>M</sub> S <sub>M</sub>             |
| Subject and infinitival CP | V S <sub>F</sub> CP <sub>M</sub><br>V CP S <sub>F</sub>                       | V S CP <sub>F</sub><br>* V CP <sub>F</sub> S <sub>M</sub>                       | V <sub>F</sub> S <sub>M</sub> CP <sub>M</sub><br>* V <sub>F</sub> CP <sub>M</sub> S <sub>M</sub>           |
| Object and infinitival CP  | V O <sub>F</sub> CP <sub>M</sub><br>V CP O <sub>F</sub>                       | V O CP <sub>F</sub><br>* V CP <sub>F</sub> O <sub>M</sub>                       | V <sub>F</sub> O <sub>M</sub> CP <sub>M</sub><br>* V <sub>F</sub> CP <sub>M</sub> O <sub>M</sub>           |
| Lower adverbs              | V Adv <sub>1F</sub> Adv <sub>2M</sub><br>V Adv <sub>2</sub> Adv <sub>1F</sub> | V Adv <sub>1</sub> Adv <sub>2F</sub><br>* V Adv <sub>2F</sub> Adv <sub>1M</sub> | V <sub>F</sub> Adv <sub>1M</sub> Adv <sub>2M</sub><br>* V <sub>F</sub> Adv <sub>2M</sub> Adv <sub>1M</sub> |

The patterns in (2) are summarized in more abstract form in (3) where A and B represent two postverbal constituents with A generated above B. Cast in this fashion, these patterns of grammaticality offer two remarkable observations. First, as (3)(d) shows, lower constituents may not raise when focused, consistently with the claim that focalization occurs in situ established in Chapters 2 and 4 (but with the important exceptions of evacuated foci and focused verbs caused by the optimality nature of constraint interaction, as discussed later on). Second, left-shift, in (3)(b), cannot be understood as an operation triggered by a property or feature inherent to the moved constituent. If this were the case, the same movement should be possible in (3)(f) where left-shift affects the same unfocused constituent B moved in (3)(b). Instead, it is the focused vs. unfocused

status of the higher constituent A that determines whether movement of B is possible or not (see also van der Wal's 2009 discussion of altruistic movement in Makhuva).

- (3)
- |    |                 |                  |                |                |
|----|-----------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|
| a. | V               |                  | A <sub>F</sub> | B <sub>M</sub> |
| b. | V               | B <sub>i</sub>   | A <sub>F</sub> | t <sub>i</sub> |
| c. | V               |                  | A              | B <sub>F</sub> |
| d. | *V              | B <sub>F,i</sub> | A <sub>M</sub> | t <sub>i</sub> |
| e. | V <sub>F</sub>  |                  | A <sub>M</sub> | B <sub>M</sub> |
| f. | *V <sub>F</sub> | B <sub>M,i</sub> | A <sub>M</sub> | t <sub>i</sub> |

Both observations receive a unified principled explanation once we view the entire paradigm as emerging from the need to align focus with the clause right edge, as required by the constraints governing Italian prosodic prominence. Intuitively, focalization occurs *in situ* because this places the associated stress in the rightmost possible position available to the focused item. Any movement leftwards increases the distance between stress and the clause right edge, thus increasingly violating the constraints on prosodic prominence.

Similarly, raising lower unfocused constituents above higher focused ones improves stress alignment because the moved constituent no longer intervenes between the stress on the focused item and the clause right edge, thus decreasing the violations of the prosodic prominence constraints. But this is only true when an unstressed unfocused constituent moves above a stressed focused one. In all other cases—when both constituents are focused, both unfocused, or the lower one is focused and the higher one unfocused—stress alignment is not improved and hence movement is not allowed.

The rest of this section presents the analysis formally, showing how the patterns in (3) emerge from the independent prosodic constraints requiring stressed foci and rightmost stress.

### 6.3.1 Constraints

The focalization patterns in (3) follow from the following constraints.

The constraint *Stay* penalizes movement and is violated once by each movement trace (Grimshaw 1997). *Stay* could also be defined in terms of copy theory (Chomsky 1995) by assuming one violation per copy (for a more sophisticated analysis where *Stay* is decomposed into simpler constraints that derive at once economy of movement and economy of structure, see Grimshaw 2001, 2002, 2006).

- (4) *Stay*—No traces.

The constraint *Stress-Focus*, or 'SF', requires focused constituents to be prosodically prominent.<sup>4</sup> The focus domain mentioned in the definition contains the focus and

<sup>4</sup> Proposing a constraint like SF that requires focus to be prosodically prominent is not the same as asserting the generalization that focus is universally maximally prominent (and consequently Downing

the related background information (Truckenbrodt 1995: 165). In the data considered here the focus domain will coincide with the clause and therefore SF simply requires that the focused constituent carry main stress. SF is also appealed to under slightly different definitions in Truckenbrodt (1995: 11), Zubizarreta (1998: 21), Schwarzschild (1999: 170), Selkirk (1995: 563), and Samek-Lodovici (2005).

- (5) **Stress-Focus (SF)**—For any focused phrase  $XP_F$  and for any  $YP$  in the focus domain of  $XP_F$ ,  $XP_F$  is prosodically more prominent than  $YP$ .

The constraint Head-of-intonational-phrase (Hd-ip), from Truckenbrodt (1995), requires main stress to occur rightmost in its intonational phrase. Italian TPs are contained into an intonational phrase *ip* whose boundaries coincide with the TP's boundaries (Nespor and Vogel 1986: 189; Frascarelli 2000). Main stress identifies the *ip*'s prosodic peak or head (Truckenbrodt 1995; Selkirk 1995). The constraint Hd-ip demands that the *ip*'s head—i.e. main stress—be placed rightmost in *ip*. When main stress falls on focus, in observance to the SF constraint just introduced, the effect is to require focus to occur rightmost in its TP (but see Féry 2013 for a different approach where focus alignment with the *ip*-boundary is encoded directly and not mediated by stress).<sup>5</sup> The definition of Hd-ip closely follows the theory of prosodic alignment (McCarthy and Prince 1993), requiring the right boundary of *ip* to be aligned with the right boundary of the *ip*'s head, i.e. with main stress.

- (6) **Head-of-intonational-phrase (Hd-ip)**—Align (*ip*, R, Head(*ip*), R). Align the right boundary of every intonational phrase with its head.

Finally, the constraint Marginalization (Marg) requires discourse-given phrases to remain in situ, thus describing the position of marginalized phrases but not stipulating their unstressed status, which will be derived.

- (7) **Marginalization (Marg)**—Phrases marked as discourse-given remain in situ.

As the contrast in (3)(a)–(b) shows, unfocused constituents following a higher focus may either marginalize in situ or left-shift above the focus. To account for this optional alternation, I will assume that speakers can acknowledge or ignore the discourse-given status of a constituent. Constituents whose discourse-given status is acknowledged will

and Pompino-Marschall 2013 are incorrect in attributing to me this latter view based on the presence of StressFocus in Samek-Lodovici 2005). Under the assumed OT perspective, different constraint rankings could leave SF dominated by constraints forcing its violation. For a discussion of languages of this kind see Downing (2006, 2008, 2012), Zerbian (2006), Zerbian et al. (2010), Downing and Pompino-Marschall (2013), and the literature discussed there.

<sup>5</sup> As far as I can see, adopting Féry's analysis would affect the formal details of the analysis but not the main claim that focalization in-situ, focus evacuation, left-shift, and the other properties discussed here follow from the optimality-theoretic interaction of syntactic and prosodic constraints. Prosody would play its role through the claimed direct relevance of prosodic phrasing for focus alignment.

be marked with the ‘M’ subscript, while constituents with non-acknowledged discourse-given status will be left unmarked: they are treated as unfocused but not as discourse-given. Therefore, the Marg constraint applies non-vacuously only to M-marked constituents and it is this property that will cause the alternation between marginalization and left-shift. The reasons for this analytic choice are examined in Section 6.4.1, as they are more easily considered after the analysis has been provided.

The focalization patterns in (3) and all additional patterns examined in this chapter will be shown to follow from the ranking in (8), which identifies the grammar of Italian as far as these constraints are concerned. In other words, focalization in situ, focus evacuation, left-shift are all useful descriptions of attested operations but the operations themselves are not part of the formal model of the grammar of Italian. They are just epiphenomena emerging from the simple constraints described above when they interact as dictated by the ranking in (8).

(8) {SF, Marg} >> Hd-ip >> Stay

The following sections only examine stress alignment within the intonational phrase encompassing the clause. Phonological phrases and the related constraints are intentionally omitted at this stage to avoid cluttering the analysis with unnecessary complexity. The interested readers can check that phonological phrasing is indeed irrelevant for the claims made here in Appendix C, where the tableaux considered in this section are all proposed again with the addition of phonological phrasing and the associated constraints. Crucially, all ranking conditions in (8) remain valid and necessary.

In all tableaux to follow round brackets represent the boundaries of the intonational phrase encompassing the clause, while its head—expressing main stress—is represented as ‘x’. Constraint violations are marked as ‘\*’. Stay violations caused by finite verbs raising to T are omitted because identically repeated across all candidates. The optimal structure is identified by the symbol ‘ $\curvearrowright$ ’.

### 6.3.2 *Marginalization and raising of lower unfocused phrases*

We may now examine how the above constraints determine the patterns in (3), accounting for the data summarized in table (2). I will continue to identify the higher-generated constituent as ‘A’ and the lower-generated one as ‘B’. When one of them is focused, the four cases in (9) obtain depending on whether the constituent left unfocused is acknowledged as discourse-given and hence M-marked, or not. In optimality terms, each case corresponds to a distinct input, i.e. a distinct competition potentially leading to a distinct optimal syntactic realization.

(9) Inputs:

|      |   |                |                |
|------|---|----------------|----------------|
| i.   | V | A <sub>F</sub> | B <sub>M</sub> |
| ii.  | V | A <sub>F</sub> | B              |
| iii. | V | A <sub>M</sub> | B <sub>F</sub> |
| iv.  | V | A              | B <sub>F</sub> |

The first input gives rise to the grammatical pattern (3)(a), repeated in (10), where a higher focus is followed by lower marginalized constituents.

(10) V A<sub>F</sub> B<sub>M</sub>

The different syntactic–prosodic realizations that compete as potential optimal realizations of this input are listed in the tableau in (11). The marginalization of B in post-focal position, in (a), wins the competition because it best complies with the proposed constraints by ensuring that focus gets stressed at the minimal possible cost. Specifically, (a) satisfies the higher ranked constraint SF at the cost of Hd-ip, which is violated once because the prosodic head ‘x’ is not aligned with the *ip*’s right boundary (the missed slot is shown as an underscore ‘\_’). Any alternative that does satisfy Hd-ip must violate a higher-ranked constraint, thus proving suboptimal. Placing stress on B, as in (b), leaves focus unstressed, violating SF. Raising B above A, as in (c), violates Marg.

The analysis shows that marginalization need not be conceived as an independent operation of grammar mandating the in-situ destressing of discourse-given constituents. The destressed status of marginalized phrases already follows from the interaction of Hd-ip, Marg, and SF just described, even though none of these constraints mentions destressing in their definition.

(11) Marginalization of lower discourse-given constituents

| Input: V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>M</sub>                                     | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| $\mathcal{F}$ a. ( x _ ) <sub>ip</sub><br>V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>M</sub>  |    |      | *     |      |
| b. ( x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>M</sub>                  | *  |      |       |      |
| c. ( x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>V B <sub>M,i</sub> A <sub>F</sub> t <sub>i</sub> |    | *    |       | *    |

The second input in (9) gives rise to the left-shift pattern (3)(b), repeated in (12), where lower unfocused constituents raise above a higher focus.

(12) V B<sub>i</sub> A<sub>F</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

The movement of B improves the right-alignment of stress. The corresponding structure, in (13)(c), violates Stay, but it does not violate Marg because B in this input is not M-marked. Any alternative structure performing better on Stay inevitably violates a higher constraint and is thus suboptimal. Marginalization in situ, in (a), violates Hd-ip because stress is not right-aligned. Placing stress on B, as in (b), violates SF.

Intuitively, structure (c) constitutes an instance of Zubizarreta’s (1998) *p*-movement, since the lower object moves to let focus occur in the canonical position for stress, i.e. clause-rightmost (cf. Neeleman and Reinhart 1998; Costa 1998; Szendrői 2001;

Samek-Lodovici 2005). Even the term ‘*p*-movement’, however, must only be interpreted as a helpful descriptor, not as the name of an actual operation encoded in the grammar, since the observed movement emerges from the interaction of constraints that do not explicitly target the movement of unfocused phrases in their definitions.

(13) Left-shift of lower unfocused constituents

| Input: V A <sub>F</sub> B                                                  | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| a. ( x _ )ip<br>V A <sub>F</sub> B                                         |    |      | *     |      |
| b. ( _ x )ip<br>V A <sub>F</sub> B                                         | *  |      |       |      |
| $\mathcal{F}$ c. ( x )ip<br>V B <sub>i</sub> A <sub>F</sub> t <sub>i</sub> |    |      |       | *    |

The third input in (9), namely ‘V A<sub>M</sub> B<sub>F</sub>’, focalizes the lower constituent B, giving rise to the pattern in (3)(c) and the observed ungrammaticality of pattern (3)(d), both repeated in (14).

- (14) a. V A B<sub>F</sub>  
b. \*V B<sub>F,i</sub> A<sub>M</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

The optimal structure, in (15)(a), leaves both constituents in situ while placing stress on the lower focused constituent. This satisfies all constraints because focus is stressed, stress is rightmost, there is no movement, and the discourse-given constituent A is in situ as required by Marg.

Raising B while stressing the unfocused A, as in (b), is not optimal because it leaves focus unstressed, violating SF. More interestingly, raising B before A while leaving A destressed in situ as in (c), which corresponds to the ungrammatical pattern (14)(b), is also suboptimal, since it causes unnecessary violations of Stay and Hd-ip. The suboptimal status of (c) explains why focused constituents cannot move leftwards: all other factors being equal, foci cannot raise because it costs Stay violations and worsens stress alignment.

(15) No raising of lower foci (with A M-marked)

| Input: V A <sub>M</sub> B <sub>F</sub>                           | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| $\mathcal{F}$ a. ( x )ip<br>V A <sub>M</sub> B <sub>F</sub>      |    |      |       |      |
| b. ( _ x )ip<br>V B <sub>F,i</sub> A <sub>M</sub> t <sub>i</sub> | *  |      |       | *    |
| c. ( x _ )ip<br>V B <sub>F,i</sub> A <sub>M</sub> t <sub>i</sub> |    |      | *     | *    |

The competition for the final input in (9), namely ‘V A B<sub>F</sub>’, again selects structure (a) as optimal. As tableau (16) shows, the competing candidates and constraint violations are identical to those discussed for the previous tableau and yield an identical outcome. This parallelism is expected because the only change from the previous input concerns the removal of M-marking from A. The only constraint sensitive to the presence or absence of M-marking is Marg, but Marg is satisfied across all competing candidates in both tableaux because A never moves. Since the constraint violations are identical, so is the selected optimal structure.

(16) No raising of lower foci (with no M-marking)

| Input: V A B <sub>F</sub>                                                | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| ☞ a. ( V A x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>B <sub>F</sub>                           |    |      |       |      |
| b. ( V <u>   </u> x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>B <sub>F,i</sub> A t <sub>i</sub> | *  |      |       | *    |
| c. ( V x <u>   </u> ) <sub>ip</sub><br>B <sub>F,i</sub> A t <sub>i</sub> |    |      | *     | *    |

Overall, the interaction of the proposed constraints under the ranking proposed in (8) ensures that raising a lower constituent B is optimal only when it improves the right alignment of focus in its *ip*, as this also improves the alignment of the associated stress.

### 6.3.3 Lack of movement when constituents share the same discourse status

The proposed constraints also account for why movement is prevented when A and B are constituents sharing the same discourse status, i.e. when they are both unfocused, as in patterns (3)(e)–(f) repeated in (17), but also when they are both focused or both part of a larger focus as in (18) and (19). These last two patterns constitute new predictions of the analysis and the corresponding data will be presented later.

In all these cases B is realized in situ and movement is ungrammatical. Once again, the key factor is stress alignment. Raising B above A in (17)–(19) has no effect on stress alignment. Since the additional violation of Stay caused by B’s movement has no benefit, the corresponding structure is suboptimal, explaining why movement is ungrammatical across all these cases.

(17) a. V<sub>F</sub> A B  
b. \*V<sub>F</sub> B<sub>i</sub> A t<sub>i</sub>

(18) a. V<sub>F</sub> A<sub>F</sub> B<sub>F</sub>  
b. \*V<sub>F</sub> B<sub>F,i</sub> A<sub>F</sub> t<sub>i</sub>



- (19) a. [V            A   B]<sub>F/NewF</sub>  
 b. \*[V   B<sub>i</sub>   A   t<sub>i</sub>]<sub>F/NewF</sub>

Pattern (17) is examined in tableau (20). The input involves a focused verb while A and B are unfocused constituents, whether M-marked or not (the round parentheses represent optional M-marking). All structures violate Hd-ip twice because A and B intervene between the stress on the focused verb and the *ip*'s right edge. Structure (a), lacking movement, satisfies all other constraints, including Stay. Structure (b), with B moved, violates Stay and, when B is M-marked, Marg as well. Since moving B does not benefit any other constraint, structure (b) is suboptimal relative to (a), accounting for the ungrammaticality of movement when A and B are both unfocused.

- (20) No movement when A and B are both unfocused

| Input: V <sub>F</sub> A <sub>(M)</sub> B <sub>(M)</sub>                                                                                | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| $\left( \begin{array}{ccc} x & - & - \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>a. V <sub>F</sub> A <sub>(M)</sub> B <sub>(M)</sub>                  |    |      | **    |      |
| $\left( \begin{array}{ccc} x & - & - \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>b. V <sub>F</sub> B <sub>(M),i</sub> A <sub>(M)</sub> t <sub>i</sub> |    | (*)  | **    | *    |

Movement is also predicted to be impossible when A and B are both foci, since in this case, too, it does not improve stress alignment. As (21) shows, whichever order A and B take, one of the two will occur non-rightmost and violate SF whenever stress falls rightmost. Structure (a), however, lacks movement and therefore satisfies Stay, whereas (b) violates it. This leaves (a) optimal and (b) suboptimal, accounting for the absence of movement in this case.

- (21) No movement when A and B are both focused.

| Input: V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>F</sub>                                                                                 | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| $\left( \begin{array}{ccc} & x & \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>a. [V   A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>F</sub> ]                  | *  |      |       |      |
| $\left( \begin{array}{ccc} & x & \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>b. [V   B <sub>F,i</sub> A <sub>F</sub> t <sub>i</sub> ] | *  |      |       | *    |

Note that the analysis is not contingent on whether multiple foci can express sentence-level stress, yielding multi-stressed clauses. As tableau (22) shows, allowing for multi-headed *ips* and having both foci stressed at *ip*-level does not affect the outcome. Both structures satisfy SF but add a violation of Hd-ip for the stress not aligned with the *ip*'s right edge. Movement still penalizes (b) relative to the base-generated order in (a).

(22) No movement when A and B are both focused and stressed.

| Input: V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>F</sub>                                          | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| ☞ a. ( x x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>[V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>F</sub> ]                |    |      | *     |      |
| b. ( x x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>[V B <sub>F,i</sub> A <sub>F</sub> t <sub>j</sub> ] |    |      | *     | *    |

Movement is also predicted to be absent when A and B are part of a larger focused phrase. As in the two previous cases, the order of A and B does not affect stress alignment, since SF and Hd-ip can both be satisfied by placing stress on whichever amongst A and B occurs rightmost. As (23) shows, however, raising B, in (b), is suboptimal because it adds a Stay violation that is not offset by incurring fewer violations on higher constraints. Note that the result holds for contrastive and presentational focalization alike (here respectively marked as ‘F’ and ‘NewF’).

(23) No movement when A and B are part of a larger focus

| Input: [V A B] <sub>F/NewF</sub>                                                 | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| ☞ a. ( x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>[V A B] <sub>F/NewF</sub>                            |    |      |       |      |
| b. ( x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>[V B <sub>i</sub> A t <sub>j</sub> ] <sub>F/NewF</sub> |    |      |       | *    |

The predicted absence of movement when A and B are both focused or part of a larger focus examined in the last three tableaux is empirically borne out. The data in (24) and (25) illustrate the case involving two distinct postverbal foci. As each (b) sentence shows, the lower generated focus cannot raise above the higher one. For a proper assessment, native speakers should always read the initial context sentence and ensure that the main stress falls on the rightmost focused item (in capitals), in accord with the constraints governing Italian stress.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> As the following example shows, similar data hold for new information foci.

- (i) Alla fine chi di loro ha portato i fiori a quale ragazza?  
‘Eventually, who amongst them brought flowers to which girl?’
- a. Ha portato i fiori Marco<sub>F</sub> a MARIA<sub>F</sub>.  
Has brought the flowers Mark to Mary  
‘MARK brought the flowers to MARY.’
- b. \* Ha portato i fiori a Maria<sub>F</sub> MARCO<sub>F</sub>.  
Has brought the flowers to Mary Mark

- (24) Context: Allora, se ho capito bene... Gianni ha mangiato i biscotti, giusto?  
 'So, if I properly understood you... John ate the biscuits, right?'  
 a. No. Ha mangiato Marco<sub>F</sub> la TORTA<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. Has eaten Mark the cake  
 'No. MARK ate the CAKE.'  
 b. ?? No. Ha mangiato la torta<sub>F</sub> MARCO<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. Has eaten the cake Mark
- (25) Context: Allora, se ho capito bene... hai convinto Gianni a licenziarmi, giusto?  
 'So, if I properly understood you... you convinced John to fire me, right?'  
 a. No. Ho convinto Marco<sub>F</sub> ad ASSUMERTI<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. (I) have convinced Mark to hire-you  
 'No. I convinced MARK to HIRE you.'  
 b. \* No. Ho convinto ad assumerti<sub>F</sub> MARCO<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. (I) have convinced to hire-you Mark

The case where A and B are contained in a larger focused phrase is illustrated in (26) and (27). The first example involves a contrastively focused VP, the second a presentationally focused one. Since subjects do not remain in situ when contained in a larger focus, their base-generated position is here identified by the stranded quantifier, assumed to occur in specVP. As predicted, it is not possible to raise the lower complement above the stranded subject quantifier. (Similar patterns involving other post-focal constituents are provided in footnote.<sup>7</sup>)

<sup>7</sup> The examples here respectively involve stranded subject quantifiers and objects, nominal and sentential objects, and, finally, two distinct lower adverbs.

- (i) Context: Voi avete imbottigliato il vino.  
 'You have bottled the wine.'  
 a. No. Noi abbiamo solo [<sub>VP</sub> controllato tutti il sapore]<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. We have only checked all the taste  
 'No. We all only checked its taste.'  
 b. \*No. Noi abbiamo solo [<sub>VP</sub> controllato il sapore tutti]<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. We have only checked the taste all
- (ii) Context: Sorridi perchè hai finalmente licenziato Gianni.  
 'You smile because you have finally fired John.'  
 a. No. Sorrido perchè ho finalmente [<sub>VP</sub> convinto Marco ad assumerti]<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. (I) smile because (I) have finally convinced Mark to hire-you  
 'No. I smile because I finally convinced Mark to hire you.'  
 b. \*No. Sorrido perchè ho finalmente [<sub>VP</sub> convinto ad assumerti Marco]<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. (I) smile because (I) have finally convinced to hire-you Mark
- (iii) Context: Gianni ascolta sempre tutto con grande attenzione.  
 'John always listens to everything very attentively.'  
 a. Al contrario. [<sub>TP</sub> Gianni capisce solitamente male tutti]<sub>F</sub>.  
 On the contrary. John understands usually badly everybody  
 'On the contrary. John usually misunderstands everybody.'

- (26) Context: Voi siete rimasti a casa.  
 ‘You stayed at home.’
- a. No. Noi siamo [<sub>VP</sub> andati tutti al MARE]<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. We are gone all to-the sea  
 ‘No. We all went to the seaside.’
- b. \* No. Noi siamo [<sub>VP</sub> andati al mare TUTTI]<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. We are gone to-the sea all
- (27) Context: Perché così contento?  
 ‘Why so happy?’
- a. [I ragazzi hanno salutato tutti la maestra]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 The boys have greeted all the teacher  
 ‘All the boys greeted the teacher.’
- b. \* [I ragazzi hanno salutato la maestra tutti]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 The boys have greeted the teacher all

#### 6.3.4 Interaction with other constraints

Replacing actual constituents with the abstract phrases A and B enabled us to identify the fundamental generalization expressed by the patterns in table (2) and determine the constraints responsible for it. Specific constituents, however, may be subject to additional constraints that conflict with the constraints examined so far. Here,

- b. \*Al contrario. [<sub>TP</sub> Gianni capisce male solitamente tutti]<sub>F</sub>.  
 On the contrary. John understands badly usually everybody

The analysis also accounts for why in (iv) the order ‘V O IO’ in A1 allows for an interpretation where *solo* ‘only’ focalizes the entire VP whereas the order ‘V IO O’ in A2 does not (see Section 1.2 for discussion). As (v) shows, the structure corresponding to this interpretation for sentence A2 involves movement of IO above O while both participate to a larger focus. This structure is ungrammatical for the reasons just examined in the main text. The corresponding tableau is provided in (vi).

- (iv) Q: Perché Gianni è arrabbiato con Marco?  
 ‘Why is John angry with Mark?’
- A1. Non lo so. Marco ha dato solo dei fiori a MARIA.  
 (I) not it know. Mark has given only some flowers to Mary  
 ‘I have no idea. Mark only gave some flowers to Mary.’
- A2. \*Non lo so. Marco ha dato solo a Maria dei FIORI.  
 (I) not it know. Mark has given only to Mary some flowers  
 ‘I have no idea. Mark gave some flowers only to Mary.’
- (v) [ S aux [ V [only [ t<sub>s</sub> t<sub>v</sub> IO<sub>i</sub> O t<sub>i</sub>]<sub>NewF</sub> ] ] ]
- (vi) Lack of movement when A and B are both part of a larger focus

| Input: [ <sub>VP</sub> ... a Maria dei fiori] <sub>NewF</sub>             | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| ( <sub>x</sub> ) <sub>ip</sub>                                            |    |      |       |      |
| ⊗ a. [... a Maria dei FIORI] <sub>NewF</sub>                              |    |      |       |      |
| ( <sub>x</sub> ) <sub>ip</sub>                                            |    |      |       | *    |
| b. [... [dei fiori] <sub>i</sub> a MARIA t <sub>i</sub> ] <sub>NewF</sub> |    |      |       |      |

I briefly discuss the case of subjects and verbs. Subjects focus in situ despite the constraint EPP requiring them to occur preverbally in specTP. Focused finite verbs raise to T instead of focusing in situ. Rather than refuting the analysis, these exceptions support the optimality nature of constraint interaction, with constraint ranking determining which constraint is satisfied and which violated whenever two independently established constraints happen to conflict with respect to the realization of specific constituents.

As shown in Grimshaw and Samek-Lodovici (1995, 1998), the subjects of presentationally focused TPs move to specTP due to the ranking EPP >> Stay, where EPP is the constraint in (28) demanding the syntactic realization of specTP (Grimshaw 1997; Chomsky 1981). A subject in situ, as in structure (b) in tableau (29), satisfies Stay but violates the higher ranked EPP, and is thus an ungrammatical option in this context.

(28) EPP—Realize specTP.

(29) Preverbal subjects in presentationally focused clauses

| Input: [S V] <sub>NewF</sub>                                                                                    | SF | Hd-ip | EPP | Stay |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-------|-----|------|
| ☞ a. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ S_i \quad V \quad [VP \quad t_i \quad t_v] \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>NewF |    |       |     | *    |
| b. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ V \quad [VP \quad S \quad t_v] \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>NewF               |    |       | *   |      |

Subjects, however, are contrastively focalized in situ (see Section 2.4). As explained at length in Samek-Lodovici (2005), this reflects the higher rank of Hd-ip relative to EPP. Moving a focused subject to specTP, as in (a), violates Hd-ip because it worsens stress alignment, since the verb V is added to the material intervening between the stressed subject and the *ip*'s right edge. This structure is suboptimal relative to (b), where the subject occurs in situ and only violates the lower ranked EPP.

(30) Contrastively focused subjects

| Input: V S <sub>F</sub>                                                                               | SF | Hd-ip | EPP | Stay |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-------|-----|------|
| a. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ S_{F,i} \quad \bar{V} \quad [VP \quad t_i] \end{array} \right)_{ip}$ |    | *     |     | *    |
| ☞ b. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ V \quad [VP \quad S_F] \end{array} \right)_{ip}$                   |    |       | *   |      |

The ranking of EPP relative to Hd-ip and Stay will be relevant to the discussion of optionality in Section 6.4.1, but otherwise the EPP constraint can be safely ignored whenever neither A nor B are subjects, since in this case EPP is equally satisfied by all competing structures of every tableaux examined so far on the assumption that the corresponding subject has moved to specTP. EPP can also be safely ignored when

either A or B is a focused subject and the other constituent is unfocused, since in this case movement of the subject to specTP will be blocked by the ranking Hd-ip>>EPP in the manner just described in this section. Finally, EPP can also be ignored when either A or B is a marginalized subject, provided we assume that Marg outranks EPP, forcing marginalized subjects to remain in situ.

As independently noted in Costa (2010), focused verbs provide another interesting apparent exception illustrating how the optimality analysis offers a principled account for attested systematic deviations from an otherwise valid generalization. At first the distribution of focused verbs appears problematic for any analysis, since they neither focalize in situ nor move to a left-peripheral position above TP. Rather, they move to T, like their unfocused counterparts. For example, in (31) on its way to T the verb moves above a temporal adverb but still follows the initial subject.

- (31) Gianni BEVE<sub>F</sub> sempre<sub>M</sub>.  
John drinks always  
'John always DRINKS.'

Verbs move to T whether focused or unfocused; their movement is unrelated to focalization. The fact that verbs move even when focalized simply shows that the constraints responsible for V-to-T movement outrank the constraint favouring focalization in situ, namely Hd-ip.

Following Dehé (2005), let us assume that V-to-T movement is mandated by the constraint Obligatory Heads (ObHd) in (32) requiring projections to have structurally realized heads (Grimshaw 1997). The raising verb supplies the required head. The ranking ObHd>>Hd-ip then ensures that Italian verbs move to T even when focalized. This is shown in (33). The focused verb raised to T in (a) violates Hd-ip because the associated stress is no longer rightmost but it is nevertheless optimal because it satisfies the higher ranked ObHd, which the unmoved verb in (b) violates. (For alternative OT analyses of V-to-T movement see Grimshaw 1997: 382; Vikner 2001a, 2001b; Zepter 2003.)

- (32) **Obligatory Heads (ObHd)**—A projection has a head.

- (33) Focused verbs

| Input: V <sub>F</sub> Adv <sub>M</sub>                                                                               | SF | Marg | ObHd | Hd-ip | Stay |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|------|-------|------|
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ \_ \\ \end{array} \right)_{ip}$ a. V <sub>F,i</sub> [Adv <sub>M</sub> t <sub>i</sub> ] |    |      |      | *     | *    |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} \_ \\ x \\ \end{array} \right)_{ip}$ b. $\emptyset_T$ [Adv <sub>M</sub> V <sub>F</sub> ]    |    |      | *    |       |      |

The position of focused verbs shows that it is actually impossible to describe the distribution of all contrastively focused items through a single absolute property such as in-situ focalization, even if the latter covers the great majority of contrastive foci when right dislocation is absent. The correct generalization is more complex: focalization occurs as far right in the clause as *possible*, where ‘possible’ is determined by what constraints apply non-trivially to the specific constituent being focused and their ranking relative to Hd-ip.

- (34) **The distribution of contrastive focus when right dislocation is absent—**  
 Contrastive foci occur as far right in the clause as possible, depending on which constraints apply to the focused constituent and their ranking relative to the constraint governing stress Hd-ip.

This complexity is naturally captured by optimality theoretic interactions but cannot be captured through inviolable principles. In the case at hand, no principle can account at once for focused verbs and focused subjects, as they neither share the same position when focused nor allow for such positions to be both characterized by a single simple property such as ‘focalization in situ’.

This complexity is also exactly what is expected under the proposed analysis. The constraints SF, Marg, Hd-ip, and Stay apply to all foci with the general effect of favouring stress right-alignment, and hence focus right-alignment, across the array of constituents listed in table (2). Specific constituent classes, such as finite verbs, are sensitive to additional constraints that affect their position under focalization due to their higher ranking relative to Hd-ip. In these cases, the observed focused pattern diverges from the more fundamental one detected across the other constituent classes.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Focused verbs also fail to display leftward movement of lower unfocused constituents. Focused past participles, for example, do not allow for the raising of lower constituents to their left.

- (i) Context: Ma allora ... non hai mangiato nulla?  
 ‘But then ... you did not eat anything?’
- a. No, non ho BEVUTO<sub>F</sub> nulla.  
 No, (I) not have drunk anything  
 ‘No, I did not DRINK anything.’
- b. \* No, non ho nulla BEVUTO<sub>F</sub>.  
 No, (I) not have anything drunk

The absence of movement in this case is part of a more general historical shift from the grammar of Old Italian, where the scrambling of lower constituents to a pre-participial position was possible, to Modern Italian, where the same operation is disallowed, see Egerland (1996), who relates the loss of scrambling to the concomitant loss of past-participle agreement.

A full analysis of this historical shift in optimality terms goes beyond the purposes of this study. I here temporarily assume that a general constraint NoScrambling (NoScr) blocks movement of lower constituents into the pre-participial position. As shown in the table in (ii) when NoScr dominates Hd-ip, movement of the lower unfocused constituent A above the focused participle V is blocked. (The auxiliary is a functional category and therefore it does not prosodically project into the *ip* in accord with the Lexical

## 6.3.5 Summary

The previous sections showed how the wealth of data discussed in previous chapters and summarized in table (2) follows from the interaction of simple constraints encoding independently established fundamental requirements such as that focus be stressed, that stress be *ip*-rightmost, that movement is costly, and that discourse-given constituents be left unmoved.

These constraints are ultimately responsible for in-situ focalization, in-situ marginalization, and focus-induced left-shift of lower unfocused constituents. These terms correctly and conveniently describe the data at hand, but they refer to epiphenomenal operations that are entirely determined by the interaction of the proposed constraints.<sup>9</sup>

Consequently, analytical statements mentioning one or more of these operations as being available in one language and absent in another should be considered as purely descriptive, since the operations themselves are not primitives that are present in one grammar and absent in another. Rather, their presence or absence informs us about the presence and absence of the ranking relations responsible for the emergence of the patterns described by these operations.

Likewise, there is no need—and in the case of left-shift it is not possible—to model movement or its absence in terms of the presence or absence of specific formal features. Movement is present if the corresponding structure is optimal and absent otherwise. The often heard question ‘what triggers/licenses movement?’ should thus be answered as ‘movement is triggered/licensed by the optimal status of the corresponding structure relative to the ranked constraints’. Technically, however, such a question is not appropriate: within optimality analyses structures with movement freely compete against structures lacking it and therefore movement per se needs no licensing or triggering.

Category Condition in Truckenbrodt 1999: 226 and the similar Principle of Categorial Invisibility of Function Words in Selkirk 1984: 334).

(ii) Lack of movement to preverbal position with focused verb

| Input: $V_F A$                                                                                    | SF | Marg | NoScr | Hd- <i>ip</i> | Stay |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|---------------|------|
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} (x \quad -)_{ip} \\ a. \text{aux } V_F A \end{array} \right)_{ip}$       |    |      |       | *             |      |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} ( \quad x )_{ip} \\ b. \text{aux } A_i V_F t_i \end{array} \right)_{ip}$ |    |      | *     |               | *    |

<sup>9</sup> In this respect, the proposed analysis complies with Féry’s (2007) argument against formally linking information structure categories to invariant grammatical correlates, since no generalization describing the position of focus is encoded in the grammar as a focus-related property. Rather, the entire distribution emerges from the interaction of constraints that govern properties that are not specific to contrastive focalization.



## 6.4 Two interesting issues

The analysis presented so far relies on two important assumptions. First, that the free alternation between marginalization and movement of lower post-focal constituents follows from the optional acknowledgement of discourse-given status by the speaker, here represented through optional M-marking. Second, that the observed word order alternations are caused by movement rather than just reflecting the presence of distinct base-generated orders not involving movement. This section examines the reasons supporting these two assumptions and the potential problems affecting the conceivable alternatives.

### 6.4.1 Optionality

The analysis proposed in Section 6.3 captures the alternation between marginalization and movement of post-focus constituents—repeated in (35)—by assuming that speakers can decide to ignore the discourse-given status of unfocused constituents, here B. This makes it possible to use M-marking to distinguish the inputs where unfocused constituents are discourse-given and eventually marginalized as in (35)(a) from those where they are only unfocused and eventually left-shifted above focus as in (35)(b) (and as explained in Section 6.3.2).

- (35) a. V A<sub>F</sub> B<sub>M</sub>  
b. V B<sub>i</sub> A<sub>F</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

From a theoretical point of view, this analysis fits Baković's (2010) claim that optionality occurs when semantically non-distinct inputs are mapped into distinct structures by grammars where faithfulness constraints outrank markedness ones. In the analysis proposed here, the constraint Marg acts as a faithfulness constraint requiring M-marked constituents to stay in situ (i.e. faithful to their base-generated position). Marg outranks the markedness constraint Hd-ip requiring stress to occur rightmost in *ip*. The alternation in (35) emerges because inputs involving M-marked constituents are subject to Marg and remain in situ, whereas the non M-marked unfocused constituents satisfy Marg vacuously, letting the lower ranked Hd-ip force their movement above the higher focus.

Support for the proposed analysis, and hence also for Baković's claim, comes from the impossibility of pursuing the same account in terms of tied constraints. At first, a tied-constraint approach appears possible and invitingly neat. For example, if Hd-ip and Stay were tied constraints, as represented by the dotted line in the tableau in (36), the free alternation between marginalization and movement in (35) would follow straightforwardly, with no need to introduce the Marg constraint and M-marking. As the tableau shows, ranking SF above Hd-ip and Stay is sufficient to block the structure in (b) leaving the focused A unstressed, while the marginalization and

movement structures in (a) and (c) would correctly both be optimal because the violation of the tied Hd-ip and Stay count as equivalent.

(36) Marginalization of lower discourse-given constituents

| Input: V A <sub>F</sub> B                                                 | SF | Hd-ip | Stay |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-------|------|
| ☞ a. $(\begin{matrix} & x & \\ & A_F & B \end{matrix})_{ip}$              |    | *     |      |
| b. $(\begin{matrix} & & x \\ & A_F & B \end{matrix})_{ip}$                | *  |       |      |
| ☞ c. $(\begin{matrix} & & x \\ & B_i & A_F \\ & & t_i \end{matrix})_{ip}$ |    |       | *    |

The assumed constraint tie, however, is empirically untenable. As we saw in Section 6.3.4, ranking Hd-ip above EPP is necessary to account for clause-final focused subjects (Samek-Lodovici 2005). The same section also showed that the preverbal position of Italian subjects in presentationally focused clauses requires ranking EPP above Stay (Grimshaw and Samek-Lodovici 1995, 1998). By transitivity, Hd-ip must therefore outrank Stay, showing that these two constraints cannot be tied.

In other words, besides countering Baković's claim, the hypothesis that Hd-ip and Stay are tied constraints is inconsistent with the analysis of preverbal and postverbal subjects in Grimshaw and Samek-Lodovici (1995, 1998) and Samek-Lodovici (2005).

#### 6.4.2 Movement vs. flexible base-generation

The analysis in Section 6.3 assumes a fixed base-generated structure, and consequently a fixed base-generated constituent order. It follows that for any two constituents A and B where A is generated above B, the order 'BA' involves movement of B above A. This in turn led to the analysis of pattern (37)(a) as involving focalization in situ of A and marginalization in situ of B and pattern (37)(b) as involving movement of B.

- (37) a. V A<sub>F</sub> B  
 b. V B<sub>i</sub> A<sub>F</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

Base-generation, however, could also be conceived as flexible, with each constituent potentially generated in different locations according to what constraints need to be satisfied (Neeleman and Weerman 2001; Ackema and Neeleman 2002; Nespors and Guasti 2002; Abels and Neeleman 2006; Grimshaw p.c.). Under this hypothesis, the patterns in (37) would be reinterpreted as in (38), with A generated in two distinct positions relative to B and no movement involved.

- (38) a. V A<sub>F</sub> B  
 b. V B A<sub>F</sub>

Pursuing a flexible generation analysis in full goes beyond the goals of this work, but I would like to discuss here some of the consequences that such a shift would determine. As Chapter 2 showed, post-focal constituents with identical discourse status, whether because all marginalized or part of a larger presentational focus, follow a fixed order. Subjects precede objects and lower adverbs are ordered according to Cinque's hierarchy. Let's call this order the 'canonical order'.

Under flexible base-generation, the canonical order would be just one of the possible competing orders and therefore it would have to be selected by apposite grammar constraints as the best order for all those discourse contexts where it holds (i.e. when all constituents are all discourse-given or all part of a larger focus).

Crucially, the constraints introduced in Section 6.3 would play no role in selecting the canonical order. Stay would be irrelevant, as nothing moves. Under its current definition, Marg would also be irrelevant, since it would be always satisfied because base-generated unfocused constituents are unmoved independently from their position relative to a higher focus. SF would be satisfied whenever focus is stressed, whatever order focus is in. Hd-ip would not discern the canonical order from any other order placing stress in a similar position relative to the *ip*'s right edge; for example, 'AB' and 'BA' with stress on the last constituent would be deemed identical.

Therefore, there would have to be some additional constraints that select the canonical order as optimal where necessary. For the sake of this argument, we can conceive these constraints as a single complex constraint called CanOrd that is violated by any order that diverges from the canonical one (on the functional equivalence between constraint hierarchies and constraints see Samek-Lodovici and Prince 1999: 38).

The issue is how such an analysis could account for the optional movement of discourse-given constituents above a higher focus. In the analysis presented in Section 6.3 this alternation was governed through the constraint Marg requiring only M-marked constituents to remain in situ. For example, Marg ensured that an unfocused object remained in situ when M-marked, yielding pattern (39)(a), while allowing it to move when not M-marked, yielding pattern (39)(b).

- (39) a. S<sub>F</sub> O<sub>M</sub>  
 b. O<sub>i</sub> S<sub>F</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

The analysis crucially rested on Marg's ability to sanction movement. Under flexible generation this would have to be revised. For concreteness, consider the case where the object is not M-marked and moves. As (40) shows, the constraints SF and Hd-ip together with CanOrd would correctly predict movement of the object above the focused subject provided Hd-ip dominates CanOrd. Candidate (a), without movement, violates Hd-ip because the object intervenes between the focused subject and the clause right edge. Candidate (b), with the desired non-canonical order 'OS<sub>F</sub>',

violates CanOrd but satisfies the higher ranked Hd-ip and is thus optimal because the object no longer prevents stress from occurring rightmost.

(40) Object raising triggered by focused subjects

| Input: V S <sub>F</sub> O                        | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | CanOrd |
|--------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|--------|
| a. ( x - ) <sub>ip</sub><br>V S <sub>F</sub> O   |    |      | *     |        |
| ☞ b. ( - x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>V O S <sub>F</sub> |    |      |       | *      |

The problem arises when we examine the case with the M-marked object, which ought to remain to the right of the subject. As (41) shows, Marg is vacuously satisfied by both competing orders, since none involves movement. The other constraints, too, incur the same violations as in the previous tableau. As a result, the order 'OS<sub>F</sub>' is incorrectly selected optimal in this case as well.

(41) Failed marginalization of M-marked objects

| Input: V S <sub>F</sub> O <sub>M</sub>                        | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | CanOrd |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|--------|
| a. ( x - ) <sub>ip</sub><br>V S <sub>F</sub> O <sub>M</sub>   |    |      | *     |        |
| ☞ b. ( - x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>V O <sub>M</sub> S <sub>F</sub> |    |      |       | *      |

Obviously Marg must be revised, but the immediately conceivable revisions turn out to fail. For example, a revised RevMarg constraint requiring M-marked items to follow focus (or alternatively to right align with the *ip*'s right edge) would work for the competition just considered, but it would also incorrectly force lower foci to occur above higher unfocused M-marked constituents (where 'lower' and 'higher' refer to the canonical order). For example, the focused object in order (42)(b) would be selected optimal because RevMarg would penalize the M-marked subject in (a) for preceding the focused object, incorrectly making rightmost focalization of the object ungrammatical and left-shift of a focused object grammatical.

(42) Raised foci

| Input: V S <sub>M</sub> O <sub>F</sub>                        | SF | RevMarg | Hd-ip | CanOrd |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|----|---------|-------|--------|
| a. ( - x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>V S <sub>M</sub> O <sub>F</sub>   |    | *       |       |        |
| ☞ b. ( x - ) <sub>ip</sub><br>V O <sub>F</sub> S <sub>M</sub> |    |         | *     | *      |

The original Marg constraint of Section 6.3 is actually a specialized version of Stay that only affects M-marked constituents. As mentioned, under flexible generation

Stay cannot be maintained because movement no longer exists. The role played by Stay is instead taken on by CanOrd, since both Stay and CanOrd favour the same linear order (see for example tableau (40), where Stay is replaced by CanOrd). An appropriate revised version of Marg would thus require a second CanOrd constraint that only applies to M-marked constituents. This is not impossible, but renders the analysis more descriptive, with the observed linear patterns explicitly mentioned by the distinct variants of CanOrd. The pursuit of such an analysis with its potential advantages and disadvantages is left to further research. What this discussion showed is that the shift from movement to flexible generation is more complex and less obviously advantageous than it might at first appear to be.

## 6.5 Additional syntactic patterns determined by prosodic constraints

The analysis in Section 6.3 predicts additional focalization patterns that are discussed and tested in this section. I start with a simple point about clauses focused in their entirety. Section 6.5.2 examines instances of left-shift relative to constituents containing focus (as opposed to foci themselves). Section 6.5.3 examines instances of left-shift within phrases other than VP. The latter two sections consider structures involving stranded quantifiers, thus also contributing to the study of their distribution.

### 6.5.1 Focused clauses

Focalization of an entire root clause, whether presentational as in (43)(A) or contrastive as in (43)(B), is problematic for any analysis à la Rizzi (1997) and Belletti (2004) mandating fixed focused projections, as it would paradoxically require that the entire clause be located in a position internal to the clause itself.

(43) Context: {A and B, the parents of Marco, hear the home front door slamming}

A: [Marco è andato via]<sub>NewF</sub>!

Mark is gone away

'Mark left!'

B: No. [È sbattuta la porta]<sub>F</sub>!

No. Is slammed the door

'No. The door slammed!'

The analysis advocated here avoids this paradox. Whether presentationally or contrastively focused, a focused root clause satisfies all constraints with no need for any internal movement but for those required for independent reasons. This is illustrated in (44) through the competition of two structures: structure (a) showing the SVO order and structure (b) showing left-shift of the object above V. Structure (a) is optimal because it satisfies all constraints once we ignore the independently motivated violations of Stay caused by subject and verb movement. Any additional movement, such as the raised object of (b), adds unnecessary Stay violations and it is thus ungrammatical.

## (44) Focused clauses

| Input: [aux S V O] <sub>F/NewF</sub>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>a. [ S aux V O ] <sub>F/NewF</sub>                             |    |      |       |      |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>b. [ S aux O <sub>i</sub> V t <sub>i</sub> ] <sub>F/NewF</sub> |    |      |       | *    |

## 6.5.2 Left-shift above unfocused constituents that contain a focus

As we saw in Section 6.3, Hd-ip may force unfocused phrases to raise above a higher focus to improve stress alignment. Since alignment is a linear relation, left-shift of the lower phrase is also predicted to occur when focus concerns just part of the higher constituent. For example, an unfocused object or indirect object is predicted to move above a higher quantified subject whether focus affects the entire subject DP, as in (45)(a), or just a stranded quantifier within it, as in (45)(b).

- (45) a. V O<sub>i</sub>/IO<sub>i</sub> DP<sub>F</sub> t<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. DP<sub>j</sub> V O<sub>i</sub>/IO<sub>i</sub> [Q<sub>F</sub> t<sub>j</sub>] t<sub>i</sub>.

As the following data show, this prediction is borne out. The (b) sentences illustrate the predicted movement. The (a) sentences are provided for completeness and show the always available marginalization alternative where the lower constituent is left in situ.

- (46) Context: Solo alcuni di voi hanno bevuto vino.

‘Only some of you drank wine.’

- a. No. Noi abbiamo bevuto TUTTI<sub>F</sub> vino<sub>M</sub>.  
 No. We have drunk all wine  
 ‘No. We ALL drank wine.’  
 b. No. Noi abbiamo bevuto vino TUTTI<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. We have drunk wine all

- (47) Context: Solo alcuni di voi sono andati al mare.

‘Only some of you went to the seaside.’

- a. No. Noi siamo andati TUTTI<sub>F</sub> al mare<sub>M</sub>.  
 No. We are gone all to-the sea  
 ‘No. We ALL went to the seaside.’  
 b. No. Noi siamo andati al mare TUTTI<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. We are gone to-the sea all

Note the contrast between the movement in (47)(b) and the structurally and prosodically identical but ungrammatical (26)(b), repeated in (48)(b), where movement is unavailable because the entire VP is focused and movement cannot affect stress alignment.

(48) Context: Voi siete rimasti a casa.

'You stayed at home.'

- a. No. Noi siamo [<sub>VP</sub> andati tutti al MARE]<sub>F</sub>.  
No. We are gone all to-the sea  
'No. We all went to the seaside.'
- b. \* No. Noi siamo [<sub>VP</sub> andati al mare TUTTI]<sub>F</sub>.  
No. We are are gone to-the sea all

Tableaux (49) and (50) respectively illustrate how sentences (46)(a) and (46)(b) are selected as optimal. The same tableaux also account for the sentences in (47) once the object 'O' is replaced by the indirect object 'IO'.

In tableau (49), the object is M-marked and marginalized in situ to satisfy the higher ranked SF and Marg constraints. The same high-ranked constraints are instead violated by the alternative structures in (b) and (c) respectively stressing the object and raising it.

(49) When M-marked, the lower object is destressed in situ

| Input: Q <sub>F</sub> O <sub>M</sub>                                                                             | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| ☞ a. ... ( x $\bar{\quad}$ ) <sub>ip</sub><br>[Q <sub>F</sub> t <sub>j</sub> ] O <sub>M</sub>                    |    |      | *     |      |
| b. ... ( $\bar{\quad}$ x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>[Q <sub>F</sub> t <sub>j</sub> ] O <sub>M</sub>                      | *  |      |       |      |
| c. ... ( $\bar{\quad}$ x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>... O <sub>M,i</sub> [Q <sub>F</sub> t <sub>j</sub> ] t <sub>i</sub> |    | *    |       | *    |

In tableau (50), the object is not M-marked and therefore it moves above the focused quantifier to satisfy SF and Hd-ip as shown in (c). These same constraints are violated by the alternatives in (a) and (b) leaving the object unmoved and varying the position of stress.

(50) When not M-marked, the object left-shifts

| Input: Q <sub>F</sub> O                                                                                          | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| a. ... ( x $\bar{\quad}$ ) <sub>ip</sub><br>[Q <sub>F</sub> t <sub>j</sub> ] O                                   |    |      | *     |      |
| b. ... ( $\bar{\quad}$ x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>[Q <sub>F</sub> t <sub>j</sub> ] O                                   | *  |      |       |      |
| ☞ c. ... ( $\bar{\quad}$ x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>... O <sub>i</sub> [Q <sub>F</sub> t <sub>j</sub> ] t <sub>i</sub> |    |      |       | *    |

Optional left-shift of lower unfocused phrases above constituents containing a focus is also expected to occur with data not involving stranded quantifiers because the

analysis remains the same. This is confirmed by the following examples respectively involving focalization of a DP and NP within a larger postverbal subject as schematically shown in (51). As expected, both cases allow for marginalization as well as left-shift of the lower unfocused object with no effect on interpretation.

(51) V O<sub>i</sub> [DP...DP<sub>F</sub>/NP<sub>F</sub>...] t<sub>i</sub>.

(52) Context: Gli amici di Marta non hanno insultato nessuno.  
'Marta's friends did not insult anybody.'

- a. No. Non hanno insultato [gli amici di MARCO<sub>F</sub>] nessuno<sub>M</sub>.  
No. Not have insulted the friends of Mark anybody  
'No. MARK's friends did not insult anybody.'
- b. No. Non hanno insultato nessuno [gli amici di MARCO<sub>F</sub>].  
No. Not have insulted anybody the friends of Mark

(53) Context: Il fratello di Marta non ha insultato nessuno.  
'Marta's brother did not insult anybody.'

- a. No. Non ha insultato [la SORELLA<sub>F</sub> di Marta] nessuno<sub>M</sub>.  
No. Not has insulted the sister of Marta anybody  
'No. Marta's SISTER did not insult anybody.'
- b. No. Non ha insultato nessuno [la SORELLA<sub>F</sub> di Marta].  
No. Not has insulted anybody the sister of Marta

### 6.5.3 Left-shift outside VP

The patterns in table (2) concerned constituents within VP (or more precisely, the aspectual projection hosting the verbal past-participle). The analysis in Section 6.3, however, is fully general. We therefore expect the same alternation between marginalization and left-shift to be present in constituents other than VP whenever stress alignment is at stake and no other independent factors are at play.

This is indeed the case. Consider for example an extended nominal projection formed by a quantifier and its DP complement. When the quantifier is focused and the DP unfocused, the DP can either be marginalized in situ or move above the quantifier as shown in (54). The corresponding examples are in (55)(a) and (55)(b).

(54) ...V DP<sub>i</sub> [DP Q<sub>F</sub> t<sub>i</sub>]

(55) Context: Hanno mangiato solo alcuni ragazzi.  
'Only some boys ate.'

- a. No. Hanno mangiato TUTTI<sub>F</sub> i ragazzi<sub>M</sub>.  
No. Have eaten all the boys  
'No. ALL the boys ate.'



- b. No. Hanno mangiato i ragazzi TUTTI<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. have eaten the boys all  
 ‘No. ALL the boys ate.’

When focalization affects the DP while leaving the quantifier unfocused, the attested structures change accordingly. The DP is focused in situ, following the quantifier, and it can no longer raise above it, since this adversely affects stress alignment.

- (56) Context: Hanno mangiato tutte le ragazze.  
 ‘All the girls ate.’

- a. No. Hanno mangiato tutti i RAGAZZI<sub>F</sub>.  
 No. Have eaten all the boys  
 ‘No. All the BOYS ate.’
- b. \*No. Hanno mangiato i RAGAZZI<sub>F</sub> tutti<sub>M</sub>.  
 No. have eaten the boys all

The ungrammaticality of (56)(b) also shows that the quantifier *tutti* ‘all’ cannot be right-dislocated, or else the sentence would be grammatical. The unavailability of right dislocation for *tutti* is confirmed by the following data. The quantifier is possible when stranded in specVP, as in (57)(a), but not when right-dislocated in (57)(b), where it follows a clitic-doubled right-dislocated object.

- (57) Context: Hanno tutti venduto il vino a Maria.  
 ‘They all sold the wine to Mary.’

- a. No. L’hanno venduto tutti a GIANNI<sub>F</sub>, il vino.  
 No. (They) it have all sold to John, the wine  
 ‘No. They all sold it to JOHN, the wine.’
- b. ?? No. L’hanno venduto a GIANNI<sub>F</sub>, il vino, tutti.  
 No. (They) it have sold to John, the wine, all

The patterns in (55) and (56) follow from the interaction of the proposed constraints. Starting with (55): when the unfocused DP is M-marked, it remains in situ to satisfy Marg and SF as in (58)(a). The alternatives violate these two higher-ranked constraints.

- (58) When M-marked, the unfocused DP is destressed in situ

| Input: [QP Q <sub>F</sub> DP <sub>M</sub> ]                                                | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| $\text{☞}$ (      x      _ ) <sub>ip</sub><br>a. ... Q <sub>F</sub> DP <sub>M</sub>        |    |      | *     |      |
| (              x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>b. ... Q <sub>F</sub> DP <sub>M</sub>                  | *  |      |       |      |
| (              x ) <sub>ip</sub><br>c. ... DP <sub>M,i</sub> Q <sub>F</sub> t <sub>i</sub> |    | *    |       | *    |

When the complement DP is not M-marked, it moves above the focused quantifier to improve stress alignment and satisfy SF and Hd-ip as in (59)(c). In fact, these two tableaux are just specific instances of the abstract cases described in tableaux (11) and (13) of Section 6.3.

(59) When not M-marked, the unfocused DP left-shifts

| Input: [ <sub>QP</sub> Q <sub>F</sub> DP]                                       | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| a. ... ( <sub>x</sub> <sub>Q<sub>F</sub></sub> <sub>DP</sub> ) <sub>ip</sub>    |    |      | *     |      |
| b. ... ( <sub>Q<sub>F</sub></sub> <sub>x</sub> <sub>DP</sub> ) <sub>ip</sub>    | *  |      |       |      |
| ☞ c. ... ( <sub>DP<sub>i</sub></sub> <sub>x</sub> <sub>DP</sub> ) <sub>ip</sub> |    |      |       | *    |

Similarly, when focalization affects the quantified DP, as in the sentences in (56), the DP focalizes in situ as in (a) because this satisfies all constraints. Whether the quantifier is M-marked or not, raising the object above it as in (b) and (c) either fails SF because the focused DP is left unstressed, or fails Hd-ip because stress alignment has worsened. Both alternatives are thus suboptimal. This competition, too, constitutes a specific instance of the general case presented in tableaux (15) and (16) of Section 6.3.

(60) The focused quantified DP cannot left-shift above the preceding quantifier

| Input: [ <sub>QP</sub> Q <sub>(M)</sub> DP <sub>F</sub> ]                                                                   | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| ☞ a. ... ( <sub>Q<sub>(M)</sub></sub> <sub>x</sub> <sub>DP<sub>F</sub></sub> ) <sub>ip</sub>                                |    |      |       |      |
| b. ... ( <sub>DP<sub>F<i>i</i></sub></sub> <sub>x</sub> <sub>Q<sub>(M)</sub></sub> <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ) <sub>ip</sub> | *  |      |       | *    |
| c. ... ( <sub>DP<sub>F<i>i</i></sub></sub> <sub>x</sub> <sub>Q<sub>(M)</sub></sub> <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ) <sub>ip</sub> |    |      | *     | *    |

Overall, the analysis of quantifier stranding confirms the role played by prosody in shaping the distribution of focus and unfocused constituents in accord with the model proposed in Section 6.3.

## 6.6 Prosodic phrasing shaping the distribution of left-shift

The prosody–syntax interaction modelled in Section 6.3 also accounts for an interesting set of data first highlighted in Cinque (1999) and described and expanded

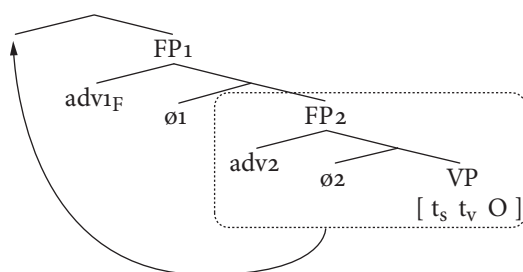
below. The underlying pattern proves more general than originally envisaged, but also more complex in its analysis. It is also particularly revealing of how prosodic phrasing affects syntactic movement while being itself constrained by syntactic structure.

Cinque (1999) observed that lower adverbs may only raise above an immediately higher adverb if the latter is heavily accented, a strong cue to its focalized status. He also noticed that the lower adverb cannot move on its own; it must pied-pipe the entire phrase hosting it and any complement there contained. Amongst other evidence, he provides the examples in (61). Given the base-generated order in (61)(a), the lower adverb *sempre* cannot move above the adverbs *mica più* on its own as in (61)(b). It must pied-pipe the object as in (61)(c). The moved items are shown in italics.

- (61) a. Da allora non accetta mica più sempre i nostri INVITI.  
 Since then (he) not accepts neg any-more always our invitations  
 ‘Since then, he no longer always accepts our invitations.’  
 b. \* Da allora non accetta *sempre* mica più i nostri INVITI.  
 c. Da allora non accetta *sempre i nostri inviti* mica PIÙ.

In more abstract terms, given the structure in (62), where adverbs occur as specifiers of the related functional projections as per Cinque (1999), *adv*<sub>2</sub> may move above a higher focused *adv*<sub>1</sub> only by pied-piping the entire functional projection FP<sub>2</sub> hosting it. Moving *adv*<sub>2</sub> on its own is not possible (Cinque 1999: 13–14, 20: 24, see also Cinque 1993, and Reinhart 1995).

- (62) Left-shift above *adv*<sub>1F</sub> with obligatory pied-piping of FP<sub>2</sub>



Cinque's observation raises several issues. Why does this movement only occur in the presence of focalization? Why does it force pied-piping of the entire constituent immediately following focus? Note how assigning a set of carefully selected features and then letting feature-checking govern which constituent moves and where it moves to would not address these issues. We would still need to explain why the triggering features are only available when focalization is present and why they are only available for the entire constituent following focus rather than each individual adverb.

As this section will show, the analysis presented in Section 6.3 successfully addresses both issues. As we already know from Sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.3, post-focal constituents may left-shift above focus to improve the alignment of the associated stress. The movement described by Cinque constitutes yet another instance of this operation. It does not occur when the higher adverb is unfocused because in this case movement incurs Stay violations without improving stress alignment, making lack of movement the optimal option.

The following subsections will show that the analysis in Section 6.3 also predicts under which circumstances left-shift can and cannot affect a phrase contained by the constituent immediately following focus, thus accounting for the above mentioned impossibility of raising post-focal adverbs without pied-piping noted in Cinque (1999) as well as for other movement instances not considered there.

The analysis, however, requires a deeper understanding of the syntactic and prosodic structures at play. Phonological phrases, which are demonstrably irrelevant for the general claims made in Section 6.3 (see Appendix C), become a crucial factor. Subtle differences in the structures of post-focal constraints translate into differences in their phonological phrasing, which in turn govern which movements improve stress alignment and may thus occur, and which do not and are therefore excluded. As a result, even this complex paradigm will be shown to follow from the interaction of prosody and syntax described in Section 6.3.

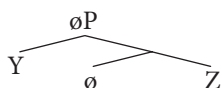
#### 6.6.1 *The relation between structure and movement*

When we examine which post-focal constituents can left-shift above a higher focus an interesting asymmetry emerges determined by the internal structure of the constituent immediately following focus.

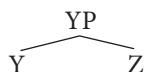
Assume that focus is followed by an unfocused constituent containing two lexical items Y and Z. There are two possible structural configurations for Y and Z. First, Y may constitute the specifier of the unfocused constituent, with Z occurring as the complement of the null head that heads the entire constituent. See structure (63), henceforth called *the specifier structure* and linearly represented as ‘ $[_{oP} Y \emptyset Z]$ ’. This is also the structure instantiated by adverbs, for which I assume Cinque’s representation. The proposed analysis however is consistent with any approach that treats adverbs as specifiers.

Second, Y may constitute the lexical head of the entire unfocused constituent, with Z occurring as its complement. The corresponding structure is provided in (64) and will henceforth be called *the head structure* and represented as ‘ $[Y Z]$ ’. Note that the unfocused constituent might in principle also be an extended projection of Y in the sense of Grimshaw (2000), in which case Y could be preceded by functional heads such as determiners and prepositions. These heads are ignored, as they are irrelevant to the analysis because they are prosodically inert (Truckenbrodt 1999: 226; Selkirk 1984: 334).

- (63) Specifier structure (
- $[_{\text{OP}} Y \emptyset Z]$
- )



- (64) Head structure (
- $[Y Z]$
- )



This structural difference determines which constituents can left-shift above  $XP_F$  in each case. As we will see, under specifier structures both the entire phrase  $[Y \emptyset Z]$  and  $Z$  can left-shift, while  $Y$  cannot. Under head structures, instead, the entire phrase  $[Y Z]$  can left-shift but neither  $Y$  nor  $Z$  can. The paradigm just described is stated in generalization (65).

- (65)
- Structure-dependent left-shift**

Let  $XP_F$  be a contrastively focused phrase followed by an unfocused phrase  $B$ .

- a. If  $B$  has the structure  $[Y \emptyset Z]$ , with  $Y$  the specifier of  $B$ , then both  $B$  and  $Z$  may raise above  $XP_F$ .
- b. If  $B$  has the structure  $[Y Z]$ , with  $Y$  the lexical (extended) head of  $B$ , then  $B$  alone may raise above  $XP_F$ .

The first half of the generalization is illustrated by the sentences in (67), slightly adapting and adding to those in Cinque (1999). The constituent *sempre i nostri inviti* following the focused adverb  $PI\ddot{U}$  has the specifier structure in (66) where  $Y$  coincides with the adverb *sempre* and  $Z$  with the VP containing the overt object *i nostri inviti*. In accord with the first half of generalization (65), constituents of this kind give rise to three grammatical alternatives. First, the entire constituent can be marginalized in situ, as in (67)(a) where *sempre i nostri inviti* remains in situ. Second, the entire constituent can move above focus, as in (67)(b). Finally, the complement  $Z$ , here the VP, can raise on its own as in (67)(c), leaving the adverb *sempre* stranded behind the focused adverb  $PI\ddot{U}$ . As observed by Cinque, the lower adverb *sempre* cannot raise on its own, see (67)(d).

- (66)
- $[_{\text{OP}} \textit{sempre} \emptyset [_{\text{VP}} t_s t_v [\textit{i nostri inviti}]]]$
- .

- (67) a. Da allora Maria non accetta mica  $PI\ddot{U}_F$  [*sempre i nostri inviti*] $_M$ .  
 Since then Mary not accepts neg any-longer always the our invitations  
 ‘Since then, Mary does no longer always accept our INVITATIONS.’
- b. Da allora Maria non accetta [*sempre i nostri inviti*] mica  $PI\ddot{U}_F$ .
- c. Da allora Maria non accetta [*i nostri inviti*] mica  $PI\ddot{U}_F$  *sempre* $_M$ .
- d. \*Da allora Maria non accetta [*sempre*] mica  $PI\ddot{U}_F$  [*i nostri inviti*] $_M$ .

The sentences in (68) and (69) show that the exact same paradigm also occurs when the object is replaced by a prepositional argument, showing that the movement of Z is not induced by case assignment.

- (68) a. Da allora Maria non spera mica PIÛ<sub>F</sub> [sempre nei nostri inviti]<sub>M</sub>.  
 Since then Mary not hopes neg any-longer always in-the our invitations  
 ‘Since then, Mary no longer always hopes for our INVITATIONS.’
- b. Da allora Maria non spera [sempre nei nostri inviti] mica PIÛ<sub>F</sub>.  
 c. Da allora Maria non spera [nei nostri inviti] mica PIÛ<sub>F</sub> sempre<sub>M</sub>  
 d. \*Da allora Maria non spera [sempre] mica PIÛ<sub>F</sub> [nei nostri inviti]<sub>M</sub>.
- (69) a. Da allora Maria non pensa mica PIÛ<sub>F</sub> [sempre ai nostri inviti]<sub>M</sub>.  
 Since then Mary not thinks neg any-longer always to-the our invitations  
 ‘Since then, Mary no longer always thinks about our INVITATIONS.’
- b. Da allora Maria non pensa [sempre ai nostri inviti] mica PIÛ<sub>F</sub>.  
 c. Da allora Maria non pensa [ai nostri inviti] mica PIÛ<sub>F</sub> sempre<sub>M</sub>  
 d. \*Da allora Maria non pensa [sempre] mica PIÛ<sub>F</sub> [ai nostri inviti]<sub>M</sub>.

The second half of generalization (65) is illustrated in (71) where the post-focal constituent has the head structure ‘[Y Z]’ with Y as its lexical extended head. For example, in sentence (71)(a), the postfocal constituent *l’arrivo di nessuno di noi* has the structure in (70), where Y is the noun *arrivo* heading the entire DP and Z is the complement *di nessuno di noi*.

As before, the entire post-focal phrase can remain in situ, as in (71)(a), or left-shift above focus as in (71)(b), while Y cannot move on its own, see (71)(d). Unlike the previous case involving specifier structures, however, the complement Z cannot move either, see (71)(c). Note that no known factor blocks Z’s movement, since wh-extraction of Z in (72) and (73) is grammatical.

The sentences in (74) provide an additional example where Y coincides with the verb *mangiare* and Z with the object *alcunchè*. A third example is also available in the footnote to this sentence.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> This aspect of generalization (65) is also illustrated by the following example, again adapting and adding to an example in Cinque (1999: 22). The constituent following focus is the extended PP lexically headed by the noun *figlio*. The entire post-focal PP can remain in situ or left-shift above the higher focus, but neither of the two DPs in it may do the same.

- (i) Context: Hanno dato un pugno al figlio di Maria?  
 ‘Did they give a punch to Mary’s son?’
- a. No. Hanno dato uno SCHIAFFO<sub>F</sub> [al figlio di Maria]<sub>M</sub>.  
 No. (They) gave a slap to-the son of Mary  
 ‘No. They gave Mary’s son a SLAP.’
- b. No. Hanno dato [al figlio di Maria] uno SCHIAFFO<sub>F</sub>.  
 c. \* No. Hanno dato [di Maria] [uno SCHIAFFO]<sub>F</sub> [al figlio]<sub>M</sub>  
 d. \* No. Hanno dato [al figlio] uno SCHIAFFO<sub>F</sub> [di Maria].

- (70) [DP il' [NP arrivo [PP di nessuno di noi]]]
- (71) Context: I carabinieri non hanno filmato l'arrivo di nessuno di noi.  
'The military police did not film the arrival of any of us.'
- No. Non ha filmato la POLIZIA<sub>F</sub> [l'arrivo di nessuno di noi]<sub>M</sub>.  
No. Not has filmed the police the arrival of any of us  
'No. The POLICE did not film the arrival of any of us.'
  - No. Non ha filmato [l'arrivo di nessuno di noi] la POLIZIA<sub>F</sub>.
  - \*No. Non ha filmato [di nessuno di noi] la POLIZIA<sub>F</sub> [l'arrivo]<sub>M</sub>.
  - \*No. Non ha filmato [l'arrivo] la POLIZIA<sub>F</sub> [di nessuno di noi]<sub>M</sub>.
- (72) Di chi di voi hanno filmato l'arrivo?  
Of who of you (they) have filmed the arrival  
'Who of you did they film the arrival of?'
- (73) Cosa hai convinto Marco a mangiare?  
What (you) have convinced Mark to eat  
'What did you convince Mark to eat?'
- (74) Context: Non hai convinto Marco a mangiare alcunchè.  
'You did not convince Mark to eat anything.'
- No. Non ho convinto MARIA<sub>F</sub> [a mangiare alcunchè]<sub>M</sub>.  
No. (I) not have convinced Mary to eat anything  
'No. I did not convince MARY to eat anything.'
  - No. Non ho convinto [a mangiare alcunchè] MARIA<sub>F</sub>.
  - \*No. Non ho convinto alcunchè MARIA<sub>F</sub> [a mangiare]<sub>M</sub>.
  - \*No. Non ho convinto [a mangiare] MARIA<sub>F</sub> alcunchè<sub>M</sub>.

As the next sections will show, which movement operations are available in each case is eventually determined by the different prosodic phrasing associated with specifier and head structures, which in turn determines which movements improve stress right-alignment and which do not.

### 6.6.2 *The different prosodic phrasing of specifier and head structures*

As mentioned in Section 6.3, lexical projections are mapped into phonological phrases (*pp*) which are grouped together into an intonational phrase *ip* which in the relatively simple sentences considered here—free of left- and right-dislocations—encompasses the entire clause (Selkirk 1984, 1986, 1995; Truckenbrodt 1995, 1999; on Italian Nespor and Vogel 1986; Ghini 1993; Frascarelli 2000; Samek-Lodovici 2005).

Specifier and head structures project different *pp*-phrasings. As will be explained in detail shortly, in specifier structures, the specifier *Y* and the complement *Z* are

necessarily parsed into two distinct *pps*, as in (75)(a). In head structures, instead, Y and Z share the same *pp* as in (75)(b) (complex Zs may require additional *pps*, in which case Y is phrased with just the initial part of Z. I do not consider these cases).

Each *pp* includes a local prosodic head, represented as ‘x’, normally occurring rightmost. The head of the intonational phrase, also represented as ‘x’ and here indicating the position of main stress, falls on one of the lower *pp*-heads. Intuitively, a local *pp*-peak is promoted to act as main stress for the entire clause.

(75) Prosodic phrasing of post-focal constituents.

$$\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \quad \quad -)_{ip} \\ (x) \quad (x) \quad (x)_{pp} \end{array}$$

a. Specifier structure:  $XP_F [ Y \ \emptyset \ Z ]$  (Y is a specifier)

$$\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \quad \quad -)_{ip} \\ (x) \quad (x)_{pp} \end{array}$$

b. Head structure:  $XP_F [ Y \ Z ]$  (Y is a head)

Since *pp*-heads supply potential slots for the *ip*-head, i.e. for main stress, their occurrence to the right of a stressed focus decreases the alignment of stress with the *ip*'s right edge. For example, in (75)(a) the two *pps* on Y and Z provide two potential stress slots represented as ‘\_’. Consequently, in this structure main stress on  $XP_F$  lies two slots away from the *ip*'s right edge, thus violating Hd-*ip* twice. In (75)(b), instead, Y and Z give rise to a single *pp* and hence to a single potential stress slot to the right of  $XP_F$ . Therefore, in this structure main stress lies just one slot away from the right *ip*-edge and Hd-*ip* is only violated once. It is this difference that will determine the different left-shift paradigms associated with these two structures, and crucially whether Z may or may not left-shift above the higher focus. This will be explained later in Section 6.6.3. The rest of this section explains how the distinct *pp*-phrasings in (75) are determined.

*6.6.2.1 The projection of pp-phrasing* The two different phrasings in (75) follow from Truckenbrodt's (1995) phrasing model, here described only with respect to the components relevant for the current discussion.

Besides the constraint SF and Hd-*ip* introduced in Section 6.3, Truckenbrodt's model involves the constraints StressXP, and Wrap, responsible for *pp*-phrasing. StressXP requires that every lexically headed phrase XP be stressed at *pp*-level, i.e. that one of the items contained in the XP be assigned the *pp*-head. Wrap instead requires that lexically headed XPs be entirely contained inside a single *pp*. Both constraints ignore functional words in accord with Truckenbrodt's Lexical Category Condition (1999: 226) and Selkirk's Principle of Categorial Invisibility of Function Words (1984: 337), both asserting the invisibility of function words to prosodic phrasing. The original constraint definitions are provided.



- (76) **StressXP**—Each lexically headed XP must contain a phrasal stress (where ‘phrasal stress’ refers to the head of a *pp*).

**Wrap**—Each lexically headed XP is contained inside a *pp*.

Under the ranking in (77), where StressXP dominates Wrap and Hd-ip, these constraints determine the two phrasings in (75) repeated again in (78).

- (77) StressXP >> {Wrap, Hd-ip}

- (78) Prosodic phrasing of post-focal constituents.

a. Specifier structure: 
$$\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \_ \quad \_)_{ip} \\ (x) \quad (x) \quad (x)_{pp} \\ XP_F [ Y \quad \emptyset \quad Z ] \end{array} \quad (\text{Y is a specifier})$$

b. Head structure: 
$$\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \_ \quad \_)_{ip} \\ (x) \quad (x)_{pp} \\ XP_F [ Y \quad Z ] \end{array} \quad (\text{Y is a head})$$

The case for specifier structures is illustrated in tableau (79), which lists all the possible alternative *pp*-phrasings of the post-focal phrase that are compatible with placing main stress on  $XP_F$  as required by the constraint SF. Using two *pps*, as in (a), satisfies StressXP because each projection is assigned a *pp*-head (see the two ‘x’ at *pp*-level) and violates the lower ranked Hd-ip twice because main stress at *ip*-level is two slots away from the right *ip*-edge (the two ‘\_’ at *ip*-level). All other alternative phrasings leave either Y or Z unstressed at *pp*-level, thus violating the higher-ranked constraint StressXP (the ‘\_’ at *pp*-level). This makes them all suboptimal relative to (a), which corresponds to (78)(a) and is selected as the optimal phrasing.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Samek-Lodovici (2005: 713) proposes the opposite ranking for Hd-ip and StressXP. He does so in order to account for the postverbal subject of (i) below. A simplified version of the original tableau is repeated in (ii); note how StressXP must dominate Hd-ip for (a) to be optimal and block (b) where the quantified subject raises to specTP.

- (i) Sono arrivati TRE<sub>F</sub> bambini.  
Are arrived three children  
‘THREE children arrived.’
- (ii) Original tableau T9 (adapted).

| Input: V [Q <sub>F</sub> NP]                                                                                                                                 | Hd-ip | StressXP | EPP | Stay | Wrap |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-----|------|------|
| $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \_ \quad \_)_{ip} \\ (x) \quad (x) \quad \_ )_{pp} \\ \text{a. aux [ V [ Q}_F \text{ NP] ]} \end{array}$                          |       | *        | *   |      |      |
| $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \_ \quad \_)_{ip} \\ (x)(x) \quad ( \_ \quad x )_{pp} \\ \text{b. [ Q}_F \text{ NP]}_i \text{ aux [ V t}_i \text{ ]} \end{array}$ | **    |          |     | *    | *    |

(79) *pp*-parsing for specifier structures

| Input: XP <sub>F</sub> [øP Y ø Z]                                                                                                 | SF | StressXP | Hd-ip | Wrap |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----------|-------|------|
| $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \_ \quad \_)_{ip} \\ (x) (x) (x)_{pp} \\ \text{a. ... XP}_F [Y \ \emptyset \ Z] \end{array}$           |    |          | **    | *    |
| $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \_ \quad \_)_{ip} \\ (x) (\_ \quad x)_{pp} \\ \text{b. ... XP}_F [Y \ \emptyset \ Z] \end{array}$      |    | *        | *     |      |
| $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \_ \quad \_)_{ip} \\ (x) (x \quad \_)_{pp} \\ \text{c. ... XP}_F [Y \ \emptyset \ Z] \end{array}$      |    | *        | *     |      |
| $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \_ \quad \_)_{ip} \\ (x \quad \_ \quad \_)_{pp} \\ \text{d. ... XP}_F [Y \ \emptyset \ Z] \end{array}$ |    | **       |       |      |

What ranking is chosen crucially depends on which prosodic structure is assigned to sentence (i). If focus is always followed by a *pp*-boundary, as claimed in Kenesei and Vogel (1995), the optimal structure would be expected to have the prosodic phrasing shown in (iii)(c), rather than the one in (a) used in the original analysis. As tableau (iii) shows, when StressXP outranks Hd-ip as proposed in this book, structure (c) beats both the original structure in (a) and the raising subject in (b). Since the ranking between StressXP and Hd-ip played no other role in the analysis of Samek-Lodovici (2005), the analysis proposed in this book remains consistent with Samek-Lodovici (2005), provided sentence (i) is prosodically phrased as in (iii)(c).

## (iii) Revised competition

| Input: V [Q <sub>F</sub> NP]                                                                                                           | StressXP | Hd-ip | EPP | Stay | Wrap |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------|-----|------|------|
| $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad x \quad \_)_{ip} \\ ( \quad x \quad \_)_{pp} \\ \text{a. aux [V [Q}_F \text{ NP]]} \end{array}$              | *        |       | *   |      |      |
| $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \_ \quad \_)_{ip} \\ (x)(x) \quad (x)_{pp} \\ \text{b. [Q}_F \text{ NP]}_i \text{ aux [V t}_i] \end{array}$ |          | **    |     | *    | *    |
| $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad x \quad \_)_{ip} \\ ( \quad x)(x)_{pp} \\ \text{c. aux [V [Q}_F \text{ NP]]} \end{array}$                    |          | *     | *   |      | *    |

Structure (iii)(c) is, however, at odds with Frascarelli (2000: 38), who argues that raddoppiamento sintattico and stress retraction are possible between V and Q and between Q and NP, consistently with the original structure in (iii)(a). However, I hesitate to adopt Frascarelli's structure, and the consequences that would follow from it, for the following reasons.

First, my own variety of regional Italian, which does not allow for raddoppiamento sintattico, does include stress retraction, so I should be able to replicate the stress retraction evidence, yet I am not. Stress retraction (a.k.a. Rhythm Rule, see Hayes 1989 and Gussenhoven 1991) occurs when a multisyllabic word  $w_1$  carrying word-level stress on its final syllable is followed by a word  $w_2$  carrying stress on its initial syllable. The arising stress clash is avoided by retracting the stress of  $w_1$  to a prior syllable. The sentences in (iv), from Frascarelli (2000), are designed to trigger stress retraction on the verb preceding the focused quantifier in (iv)a and on the focused quantifier itself on (iv)b. The syllable carrying word-level stress is here doubly underlined in the relevant words, while the word assigned sentential stress is shown in capitals. Like Frascarelli's experimental subjects, I experience stress retraction in (iv)a, shifting stress from the last

The optimal phrasing for head structures is examined in (80). Unlike the previous structure, where Y and Z were distinct, non-overlapping projections, here the respective projections overlap because Z is the complement of Y and is thus part of Y's projection. It thus becomes possible to satisfy StressXP by wrapping Y and Z into a single *pp* headed by Z, as in (b). StressXP is satisfied relative to Z because Z is directly marked by the *pp*-head. But StressXP is now satisfied also relative to Y's phrasal projection, because the *pp*-head on Z also counts as a *pp*-head on Y's

syllable of the verb to its initial one. But I do not detect any retraction in (iv)b, as expected if the focused quantifier is followed by a *pp*-boundary as per structure (iii)c.

- (iv) a. Mangerò TRÉ<sub>F</sub> panini per cena.  
(I) will eat three sandwiches for dinner  
'I will eat THREE sandwiches for dinner.'
- b. Sono rimasto TRENTATRÉ<sub>F</sub> giorni in America.  
(I) am left thirty-three days in America  
'I stayed THIRTY-THREE days in America.'

Further confirmation for (iii)c comes from the sentences in (v) and (vi) which provide minimal pairs that make it easier to spot the absence of stress retraction on contrastively focused quantifiers. The (a) sentences are uttered under sentence-wide presentational focus and do trigger stress retraction on the quantifier, which is consequently accented on its first syllable rather than its final one as would be the case when uttered in isolation. The (b) sentences contrastively focus the quantifier and show no stress retraction, as expected if the focused quantifier is followed by a *pp*-boundary.

- (v) a. [Vedrai ventitré CANI]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
(You) will-see twenty-three dogs  
'You will see twenty-three dogs.'
- b. Vedrai VENTITRÉ<sub>F</sub> cani.  
(We) will-see twenty-three dogs  
'You will see TWENTY-THREE dogs.'
- (vi) a. [Non vedrai nessun CANE]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
(You) not will-see any dog  
'You will not see any dog.'
- b. Non vedrai NESSUN<sub>F</sub> cane.  
(You) not will-see any dog  
'You will not see ANY dog.'

According to Frascarelli, focus and post-focal items are included in the same *pp* only when focus affects quantifiers. All other focused heads, e.g. verbs or nouns, are maintained to be followed by a *pp*-boundary, consistently with Kenesei and Vogel (Frascarelli 2000: 33–4). Frascarelli attributes this split to the head nature of verbs and nouns, which allows for the extraposition of their complements, which in turn is responsible for the creation of the *pp*-boundary following these focused heads. In contrast, quantifiers are analysed as 'pre-head' constituents where extraposition is blocked because the post-focal items are not maximal projections (Frascarelli 2000: 38). Linguists, however, have not yet reached a consensus on the analysis of numeral quantifiers such as 'tre' in sentence (i). Cardinal numerals are analysed as a head in Cardinaletti and Giusti (1991), and Zamparelli (1995: 253) discusses a set of diagnostics showing that cardinals are heads. See also Giusti (1991).

Clearly, more research is necessary in this area, including additional empirical testing of the kind presented in Frascarelli (2000) and also taking into account the distinction between marginalization and right dislocation highlighted in this book. Until then, I believe there is sufficient ground for assuming (iii)c as the prosodic structure for sentence (i) for speakers of Northern regional varieties of Italian.

projection, since Z is contained in it (Truckenbrodt 1995). StressXP is also satisfied in (a), where Y and Z project two distinct *pps*, but this candidate incurs additional violations of Hd-ip and Wrap and is thus suboptimal. All other candidates violate StressXP because they leave either Z or both Y and Z unheaded at *pp*-level and are therefore suboptimal too.

(80) *pp*-parsing for head structures

| Input: XP <sub>F</sub> [Y Z]                                                                                                                                          | SF | StressXP | Hd-ip | Wrap |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----------|-------|------|
| $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \bar{\quad} \quad \bar{\quad})_{ip} \\ (x) \quad (\bar{x}) \quad (\bar{x})_{pp} \\ \text{a. } \dots \text{XP}_F [ Y \quad Z ] \end{array}$ |    |          | **    | *    |
| $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \quad \bar{\quad})_{ip} \\ (x) \quad (\bar{\quad} \quad x)_{pp} \\ \text{b. } \dots \text{XP}_F [ Y \quad Z ] \end{array}$                 |    |          | *     |      |
| $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \quad \bar{\quad})_{ip} \\ (x) \quad (\bar{x} \quad \bar{\quad})_{pp} \\ \text{c. } \dots \text{XP}_F [ Y \quad Z ] \end{array}$           |    | *        | *     |      |
| $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \quad \bar{\quad})_{ip} \\ (x \quad \quad \bar{\quad})_{pp} \\ \text{d. } \dots \text{XP}_F [ \bar{Y} \quad \bar{Z} ] \end{array}$         |    | **       |       |      |

### 6.6.3 How prosodic phrasing constrains left-shift

The distinct prosodic phrasings assigned to specifier and head structures constrain the availability of left-shift when these structures occur post-focally. To see this, we have to first list all the possible inputs produced by the optional M-marking of individual constituents. The optimal structures selected under each individual input will then provide the paradigms described by generalization (65).

The inputs and the associated optimal structures are discussed in the next two sections starting with specifier structures and following with head structures. Since we already established the *pp*-phrasing of each structure, it is unnecessary to re-establish it again in the tableaux to follow. For this reason, and to avoid excessive cluttering, I will provide only the *ip*-phrasing of each competing structure and the potential stress-slots made available to the right of main stress by the underlying *pps*. I will, however, omit the *pp*-phrases themselves and the constraints StressXP and Wrap. As a result, the original prosodic phrasing for the specifier and head structures repeated in the second column of (81) will be represented as shown in the third column.

## (81) Prosodic phrasing of specifier and head structures

|                     | With <i>pp</i> -phrasing                                                                                                                                    | Without <i>pp</i> -phrasing                                                                                     |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Specifier structure | $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \bar{\quad} \quad \bar{\quad})_{ip} \\ (x) \quad (\bar{x}) \quad (\bar{x})_{pp} \\ XP_F [Y \quad \emptyset \quad Z] \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \bar{\quad} \quad \bar{\quad})_{ip} \\ XP_F [Y \quad \emptyset \quad Z] \end{array}$ |
| Head structure      | $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \bar{\quad} \quad \bar{\quad})_{ip} \\ (x) \quad (\bar{x})_{pp} \\ XP_F [Y \quad Z] \end{array}$                                 | $\begin{array}{c} (x \quad \bar{\quad} \quad \bar{\quad})_{ip} \\ XP_F [Y \quad Z] \end{array}$                 |

6.6.3.1 *Specifier structures* I assume that functional projections headed by an M-marked null head count as M-marked and also M-mark their specifier. This appears particularly plausible for Cinque's adverbial structures, where each adverb occurs as the specifier of a closely associated null-headed functional projection. Given this assumption, the logically possible inputs for specifier structures are those listed here, depending on whether Z, the entire post-focal constituent '[Y  $\emptyset$  Z]', or both are M-marked. (The relevant input is also shown in the top left corner of the tableaux to follow.)

- (82) i.  $XP_F [Y \quad \emptyset \quad Z]$   
 ii.  $XP_F [Y \quad \emptyset \quad Z_M]$   
 iii.  $XP_F [Y_M \quad \emptyset \quad Z]_M$   
 iv.  $XP_F [Y_M \quad \emptyset \quad Z_M]_M$

Collectively, these inputs give rise to the set of movements described by generalization (65) for specifier structures and repeated in (83): (a) represents left-shift of the entire post-focal constituent; (b) its marginalization in situ; (c) left-shift of the complement Z; and (d) the impossibility of left-shifting the specifier Y alone.

- (83) a.  $[Y \quad \emptyset \quad Z]_i \quad XP_F \quad t_i$   
 b.  $\quad \quad \quad XP_F [Y \quad \emptyset \quad Z]$   
 c.  $\quad \quad \quad Z_i \quad XP_F [Y \quad \emptyset \quad t_i]$   
 d. \*  $\quad \quad \quad Y_i \quad XP_F [t_i \quad \emptyset \quad Z]$

Let us now consider how the inputs in (82) determine the patterns in (83). Consider first input (82)(i) with no M-marking. The competing structures are listed in tableau (84). Moving the entire post-focal constituent, as in (84)(a), is optimal because it maximally improves stress alignment by removing the entire constituent intervening between main stress and the *ip*'s right edge, thus satisfying Hd-*ip*. This is achieved with a single movement, thus violating Stay minimally. All other alternatives are suboptimal. Moving Y and Z individually, as in (b), leaves stress perfectly right-aligned as in (a), but it costs two Stay violations against just one in (a). Moving only Y, or only Z, as in (c) and (d), does not improve stress alignment as much as in (a) because it leaves one intervening slot between main stress and the *ip*'s right edge, thus violating Hd-*ip* once. Finally, lack of movement in (e) leaves stress misaligned by two slots, thus violating Hd-*ip* twice.

## (84) Specifier structures: movement of the entire post-focal constituent

| Input: XP <sub>F</sub> [Y ø Z]                                                                 | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| ☞ a. $( \dots [Y \ \emptyset \ Z]_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ t_i \end{matrix} )_{ip}$       |    |      |       | *    |
| b. $( \dots Y_i \ Z_j \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [t_i \ \emptyset \ t_j] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$ |    |      |       | **   |
| c. $( \dots Y_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [t_i \ \emptyset \ \bar{Z}] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$   |    |      | *     | *    |
| d. $( \dots Z_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [\bar{Y} \ \emptyset \ t_i] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$   |    |      | *     | *    |
| e. $( \dots \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [\bar{Y} \ \emptyset \ \bar{Z}] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$   |    |      | **    |      |

Input (82)(ii), which M-marks Z, also selects structure (a) as optimal. As (85) shows, M-marking Z adds one Marg violation to structures (b) and (d) where Z moves on its own while all other violations remain the same. Crucially, no Marg violation is added to (a), as Z remains in situ within the moved constituent '[Y ø Z]'. Since no other constraint is affected and all violations described for the previous tableau are still present, structure (a) is selected optimal for this input as well.

## (85) Specifier structures: movement of the entire post-focal constituent

| Input: XP <sub>F</sub> [Y ø Z <sub>M</sub> ]                                                   | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| ☞ a. $( \dots [Y \ \emptyset \ Z]_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ t_i \end{matrix} )_{ip}$       |    |      |       | *    |
| b. $( \dots Y_i \ Z_j \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [t_i \ \emptyset \ t_j] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$ |    | *    |       | **   |
| c. $( \dots Y_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [t_i \ \emptyset \ \bar{Z}] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$   |    |      | *     | *    |
| d. $( \dots Z_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [\bar{Y} \ \emptyset \ t_i] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$   |    | *    | *     | *    |
| e. $( \dots \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [\bar{Y} \ \emptyset \ \bar{Z}] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$   |    |      | **    |      |

Input (82)(iii) M-marks the entire post-focal constituent and its specifier, giving rise to pattern (83)(c) where only Z left-shifts. The corresponding structure (86)(d) improves stress alignment because Z no longer intervenes between main stress and the clause right edge, resulting in one less Hd-ip violation. Furthermore, Marg is satisfied, as the raising Z is not M-marked. In contrast, raising the entire post-focal

constituent, as in (a), or raising Y, as in (b) and (c), violates the higher-ranked Marg constraint because these constituents are M-marked.

Moving nothing, as in (e), satisfies Stay and Marg but still underperforms (d) because it leaves main stress two slots away from the *ip*'s right edge, thus violating Hd-*ip* one more time than (d). These two slots correspond to the two distinct *pps* necessary to phrase Y and Z. As we will see in the next section, (e) will instead beat (d) in head structures because Y and Z are phrased into a single *pp*, explaining why Z-movement is only found with specifier structures.

(86) Specifier structures: movement of Z

| Input: $XP_F [Y_M \emptyset Z]_M$                                                          | SF | Marg | Hd- <i>ip</i> | Stay |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|---------------|------|
| a. $( \dots [Y \emptyset Z]_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ t_i \end{matrix} )_{ip}$         |    | *    |               | *    |
| b. $( \dots Y_i Z_j \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [t_i \emptyset t_j] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$   |    | *    |               | **   |
| c. $( \dots Y_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [t_i \emptyset \_ ] \end{matrix} Z )_{ip}$     |    | *    | *             | *    |
| d. $( \dots Z_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [ \bar{Y} \emptyset t_i ] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$ |    |      | *             | *    |
| e. $( \dots \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [ \bar{Y} \emptyset \_ ] \end{matrix} Z )_{ip}$    |    |      | **            |      |

Finally, input (82)(iv) M-marks everything and gives rise to (83)(b) with marginalization in situ for all constituents at issue, exhausting the grammatical options attested with specifier structures. Since all unfocused constituents are M-marked any structure raising any of them violates Marg. This leaves structure (e) lacking all movement optimal.

(87) Specifier structures: lack of movement

| Input: $XP_F [Y_M \emptyset Z_M]_M$                                                        | SF | Marg | Hd- <i>ip</i> | Stay |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|---------------|------|
| a. $( \dots [Y \emptyset Z]_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ t_i \end{matrix} )_{ip}$         |    | *    |               | *    |
| b. $( \dots Y_i Z_j \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [t_i \emptyset t_j] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$   |    | **   |               | **   |
| c. $( \dots Y_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [t_i \emptyset \_ ] \end{matrix} Z )_{ip}$     |    | *    | *             | *    |
| d. $( \dots Z_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [ \bar{Y} \emptyset t_i ] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$ |    | *    | *             | *    |
| e. $( \dots \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [ \bar{Y} \emptyset \_ ] \end{matrix} Z )_{ip}$    |    |      | **            |      |

For convenience, each input and the structure selected as optimal for that input are listed in table (88). The optimal structures are listed with the same letter identifier used in the previous tableaux. They are exactly those expected under generalization (65), allowing for movement of both Z and the entire postfocal constituent, but not Y.

(88) Specifier structures: inputs and their syntactic realization

| Inputs |                                  | Corresponding optimal structures                                                                       |
|--------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| i.     | $XP_F [Y \ \emptyset \ Z]$       | a. $( \dots [Y \ \emptyset \ Z]_i \quad \overset{x}{XP_F} \quad \underset{t_i}{\phantom{XP_F}} )_{ip}$ |
| ii.    | $XP_F [Y \ \emptyset \ Z_M]$     | a. $( \dots [Y \ \emptyset \ Z]_i \quad \overset{x}{XP_F} \quad \underset{t_i}{\phantom{XP_F}} )_{ip}$ |
| iii.   | $XP_F [Y_M \ \emptyset \ Z ]_M$  | d. $( \dots Z_i \quad \overset{x}{XP_F} \quad [ \bar{Y} \ \emptyset \ t_i ] )_{ip}$                    |
| iv.    | $XP_F [Y_M \ \emptyset \ Z_M]_M$ | e. $( \dots \quad \overset{x}{XP_F} \quad [ \bar{Y} \ \emptyset \ \bar{Z} ] )_{ip}$                    |

The analysis thus accounts for the movement options available to specifier structures in the presence of a higher focus, including Cinque's pied-piping data. Post-focal constituents move above focus only if this improves stress alignment. Interestingly, when more than one competing structure can improve stress alignment through movement of a constituent, only the structure improving it the most is grammatical, providing evidence for the optimality-theoretic approach adopted here.

6.6.3.2 *Head structures* The possible inputs determined by optional M-marking for head structures are provided here. As mentioned, when the head Y is M-marked the corresponding phrasal projection is M-marked as well.

- (89) i.  $XP_F [Y \quad Z]$   
 ii.  $XP_F [Y \quad Z_M]$   
 iii.  $XP_F [Y_M \quad Z ]_M$   
 iv.  $XP_F [Y_M \quad Z_M]_M$

Collectively, these inputs give rise to the patterns in (90), no longer allowing for the movement of Z observed with specifier structures.

- (90) a.  $[Y \ Z]_i \quad XP_F \quad t_i$   
 b.  $\phantom{[Y \ Z]_i} \quad XP_F \quad [Y \ Z]$   
 c. \*  $Z_i \quad XP_F \quad [Y \ t_i]$   
 d. \*  $Y_i \quad XP_F \quad [t_i \ Z]$

As in the specifier structure case, input (89)(i) with no M-marking selects as optimal structure (91)(a) which left-shifts the entire post-focal constituent '[Y Z]'.



As we already saw in the previous discussion, this structure improves stress alignment maximally while violating Stay minimally. All other alternatives either involve additional violations of Stay, or fail to improve stress alignment, thus violating the higher-ranked Hd-ip more than (a). Note, however, how the structure without movement in (e) violates Hd-ip only once, since the post-focal constituent is now wrapped into a single *pp*, thus leaving main stress just one slot away from the *ip*'s right edge.

## (91) Head structures: movement of the entire post-focal constituent

| Input: $XP_F [Y Z]$                                                          | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| ☞ a. $\dots [Y Z]_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ t_i \end{matrix} )_{ip}$     |    |      |       | *    |
| b. $\dots Y_i Z_j \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [t_i t_j] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$ |    |      |       | **   |
| c. $\dots Y_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [t_i \bar{Z}] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$ |    |      | *     | *    |
| d. $\dots Z_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [\bar{Y} t_i] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$ |    |      | *     | *    |
| e. $\dots \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [Y \bar{Z}] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$       |    |      | *     |      |

Again as in the corresponding specifier structure case, input (89)(ii) also selects (a) as optimal. Moving the M-marked Z adds Marg violations to structures (b) and (d). Since no other violation is altered, (a) is optimal for the reasons considered in the previous tableau.

## (92) Head structures: movement of the entire post-focal constituent

| Input: $XP_F [Y Z_M]$                                                        | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| ☞ a. $\dots [Y Z]_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ t_i \end{matrix} )_{ip}$     |    |      |       | *    |
| b. $\dots Y_i Z_j \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [t_i t_j] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$ |    | *    |       | **   |
| c. $\dots Y_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [t_i \bar{Z}] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$ |    |      | *     | *    |
| d. $\dots Z_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [\bar{Y} t_i] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$ |    | *    | *     | *    |
| e. $\dots \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [Y \bar{Z}] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$       |    |      | *     |      |

The difference between specifier and head structures becomes crucial on input (89)(iii), which in the head structure case selects as optimal the lack of movement in (e), not the moved Z in (d). Since head-structures parse the post-focal constituent '[Y Z]' in a single *pp*, there is only one potential stress slot intervening between main stress and the clause right edge. Therefore, (e) and (d) are equivalent as far as stress alignment is concerned, both violating Hd-ip once. But (e) satisfies Stay, whereas (d) violates it, and therefore it is (e) that is selected as optimal for this input, accounting for why Z cannot left-shift in head structures. The remaining three structures in (a)–(c) are also beaten by (e), since they involve movement, violating Stay, and move M-marked constituents, violating Marg.

## (93) Head structures: Z cannot move

| Input: $XP_F [Y_M Z]_M$                                                                                         | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| a. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ \dots [Y Z]_i \quad XP_F \quad t_i \end{array} \right)_{ip}$                   |    | *    |       | *    |
| b. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ \dots Y_i \quad Z_j \quad XP_F \quad [t_i \quad t_j] \end{array} \right)_{ip}$ |    | *    |       | **   |
| c. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ \dots Y_i \quad XP_F \quad [t_i \quad \_ ] \end{array} \right)_{ip}$           |    | *    | *     | *    |
| d. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ \dots Z_i \quad XP_F \quad [ \_ \quad t_i ] \end{array} \right)_{ip}$          |    |      | *     | *    |
| e. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ \dots \quad XP_F \quad [ Y \quad \_ ] \end{array} \right)_{ip}$                |    |      | *     |      |

The final input (89)(iv) also selects (e) as optimal, since all constituents are M-marked and violate the higher-ranked Marg when moved.

## (94) Head structures: lack of movement

| Input: $XP_F [Y_M Z_M]_M$                                                                                       | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| a. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ \dots [Y Z]_i \quad XP_F \quad t_i \end{array} \right)_{ip}$                   |    | *    |       | *    |
| b. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ \dots Y_i \quad Z_j \quad XP_F \quad [t_i \quad t_j] \end{array} \right)_{ip}$ |    | **   |       | **   |
| c. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ \dots Y_i \quad XP_F \quad [t_i \quad \_ ] \end{array} \right)_{ip}$           |    | *    | *     | *    |
| d. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ \dots Z_i \quad XP_F \quad [ \_ \quad t_i ] \end{array} \right)_{ip}$          |    | *    | *     | *    |
| e. $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ \dots \quad XP_F \quad [ Y \quad \_ ] \end{array} \right)_{ip}$                |    |      | *     |      |

The four head-structure inputs and the corresponding optimal realizations are provided in table (95). Once again, the realized structures are those expected under generalization (65), only allowing for movement of the entire postfocal constituent or no movement at all.

(95) Head structures: inputs and their syntactic realization

| Inputs |                      | Corresponding optimal structures |                                                                                             |
|--------|----------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| i.     | $XP_F [Y \ Z ]$      | a.                               | $( \dots [Y \ \emptyset \ Z]_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ t_i \end{matrix} )_{ip}$         |
| ii.    | $XP_F [Y \ Z_M]$     | a.                               | $( \dots [Y \ \emptyset \ Z]_i \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ t_i \end{matrix} )_{ip}$         |
| iii.   | $XP_F [Y_M \ Z ]_M$  | e.                               | $( \dots \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [ \bar{Y} \ \emptyset \ \bar{Z} ] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$ |
| iv.    | $XP_F [Y_M \ Z_M]_M$ | e.                               | $( \dots \begin{matrix} x \\ XP_F \\ [ \bar{Y} \ \emptyset \ \bar{Z} ] \end{matrix} )_{ip}$ |

In conclusion, generalization (65) follows from the interaction of the prosodic and syntactic constraints examined in Section 6.3. The different prosodic phrasings assigned to specifier and head structures determines a different degree of stress misalignment when they immediately follow a higher focus, which in turn affects which constituents can move to mitigate it. Only with specifier structures is stress misalignment sufficiently severe to trigger movement of the complement Z.

This state of affairs is not a foregone conclusion. Grammars could be organized differently and favour movements that do not improve stress alignment. Or, alternatively, they could favour stress alignment but ignore whether the movement operations that bring it about determine optimal or suboptimal structures relative to the constraints examined here. That this is not the case is noteworthy and again highlights the optimality-theoretic nature of the phenomenon under study.

#### 6.6.4 *Post-focal quantified DPs*

The analysis of post-focal constituents in the previous subsections finds an immediate application in the study of Italian post-focal quantified objects. As (96) shows, unfocused quantified objects may remain in situ as in (a) or move above a focused subject as in (b), but neither the quantified DP nor the quantifier in it may left-shift individually, see (c) and (d). The impossibility of moving the quantified DP in (c) is, at first, surprising, since the entire object can left-shift above the focused subject in (b), and quantifiers can be stranded when moving the quantified DP to a subject position across a focused verb as in (97).

(96) Context: Il preside ed i professori hanno incontrato tutti i ragazzi.  
 ‘The headmaster and the teachers have met all the boys.’

- a. No. Non ha incontrato NESSUNO<sub>F</sub> [tutti i ragazzi]<sub>M</sub>.  
 No. Not has met anybody all the boys  
 ‘No. NOBODY met all the boys.’
- b. No. Non ha incontrato tutti i ragazzi NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>.
- c. \*No. Non ha incontrato i ragazzi NESSUNO<sub>F</sub> tutti<sub>M</sub>.
- d. \*No. Non ha incontrato tutti NESSUNO<sub>F</sub> i ragazzi<sub>M</sub>.

(97) Context: I ragazzi hanno mangiato tutti.  
 ‘The boys have all eaten.’

- No. I ragazzi hanno BEVUTO<sub>F</sub> tutti<sub>M</sub>.
- No. The boys have drunk all
- ‘No. The boys have all DRUNK.’

Example (98) provides another instance of the same pattern. An entire quantified object can remain in situ as in (a) or left-shift above a focused adverb as in (b), but neither the quantified DP nor the quantifier can left-shift individually, see (c) and (d). Yet the same quantified DP may move across the same focused adverb when part of a subject, see (99). Why is the quantified DP unable to move even though its movement would improve stress alignment, the entire object can instantiate such movement, and the same DP can strand its quantifier behind when forming a subject?

(98) Context: Tu hai sempre incontrato tutti i ragazzi.  
 ‘You always met all the boys.’

- a. No. Non ho incontrato MAI<sub>F</sub> [tutti i ragazzi]<sub>M</sub>.  
 No. (I) not have met ever all the boys  
 ‘No. I NEVER met all the boys.’
- b. ?No. Non ho incontrato tutti i ragazzi MAI<sub>F</sub>.
- c. \*Non ho incontrato i ragazzi MAI<sub>F</sub> tutti<sub>M</sub>.
- d. \*Non ho incontrato tutti MAI<sub>F</sub> i ragazzi<sub>M</sub>.

(99) Context: I ragazzi hanno sempre cantato tutti.  
 ‘The boys have always all sung.’

- No. I ragazzi non hanno cantato MAI<sub>F</sub> tutti<sub>M</sub>.
- No. The boys not have ever sung all
- ‘No. The boys have NEVER all sung.’

The patterns in (96) and (98) match those of post-focal constituents with the head structure type, which as (100) shows is indeed the structure of quantified phrases.

## (100) [QP Q DP]

The patterns in (96) and (98) thus follow immediately from the analysis presented in section 6.6.3.2 when Y corresponds to the quantifier Q and Z to the quantified DP. Tableau (101) illustrates the competition between the structure left-shifting the DP, in (a), and the alternative leaving it in situ, in (b) (corresponding to the competition between (d) and (e) in tableau (93)). Crucially, both structures fare equally on Hd-ip because the entire post-focal constituent is wrapped into a single *pp*, meaning that the focused subject is one slot away from the *ip*'s right edge in both cases. Under these circumstances, leaving the DP in situ is the optimal choice, since raising the DP would only add a violation of Stay.

## (101) Unfocused quantified DPs cannot raise and strand the quantifier

| Input: S <sub>F</sub> [Q <sub>M</sub> DP] <sub>M</sub>                                                                                                                                      | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | Stay |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|------|
| (            x        -        ) <sub>ip</sub><br>(    x    ) (    x    ) (    x    ) <sub>pp</sub><br>a. ... DP <sub>i</sub> S <sub>F</sub> [ Q <sub>M</sub> t <sub>i</sub> ] <sub>M</sub> |    |      | *     | *    |
| (            x        -        ) <sub>ip</sub><br>(    x    ) (            x        ) <sub>pp</sub><br>b. ... S <sub>F</sub> [ Q <sub>M</sub> DP ] <sub>M</sub>                             |    |      | *     |      |

The same DP will nevertheless move whenever other constraints require it, provided they are adequately ranked. This is indeed the case in the quantifier-stranding sentences (97) and (99). The quantified DP is here part of a subject and as such it moves to satisfy the constraint EPP requiring a realized specTP. Once again, the structures with and without movement, in (a) and (b) in (102), share the same number of Hd-ip violations. But raising the DP is now favoured by EPP and since EPP outranks Stay (Section 6.3.4) quantifier stranding is here grammatical.

## (102) Subject DPs can raise and strand the quantifier

| Input: V <sub>F</sub> [QP Q <sub>M</sub> DP] <sub>M</sub>                                                                                                                                   | SF | Marg | Hd-ip | EPP | Stay |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|-------|-----|------|
| (            x        -        ) <sub>ip</sub><br>(    x    ) (            x        ) <sub>pp</sub><br>a. DP <sub>i</sub> aux V <sub>F</sub> [ Q <sub>M</sub> t <sub>i</sub> ] <sub>M</sub> |    |      | *     |     | *    |
| (    x    ) (            x        ) <sub>pp</sub><br>(            x        -        ) <sub>ip</sub><br>b. aux    V <sub>F</sub> [ Q <sub>M</sub> DP ] <sub>M</sub>                          |    |      | *     | *   |      |

In conclusion, the analysis of quantifier stranding confirms the role of prosody in shaping the distribution of focus in Italian. It is difficult to see how a purely syntactic analysis could block the DP from moving above focus and stranding the quantifier in (96)(c) while at the same time allowing for both movement above focus of the entire object in (96)(b) and quantifier stranding in (97).

## 6.7 Right dislocation and focus evacuation

As discussed in Section 6.3, right-dislocated constituents raise to the specifier of a higher RP projection followed by remnant movement of the entire TP to the specifier of a higher XP projection. Here, I consider sentences involving a single declarative clause, leaving aside right dislocation in multi-clausal sentences (Bocci 2013), briefly discussed in Section 3.3.7 of Chapter 3, and also the interesting cases of right dislocation in yes/no interrogatives in Crocco (2013). I expect the proposed analysis to successfully extend to the multi-clausal cases, since the properties of right dislocation remain invariant, but not to Crocco's cases, which involve main prominence on the right-dislocated item (e.g. 'Lo vuole, un caffè?', with stress on *caffé* and meaning 'Would you like a coffee?'). Since the prosody of right dislocation is radically affected, these cases inevitably require a different analysis. As Crocco points out, these sentences are grammaticalized constructions where right dislocation is actually assigned a different discourse function from the one it normally has in declaratives, confirming that Crocco's sentences should not be treated as involving standard right dislocation.

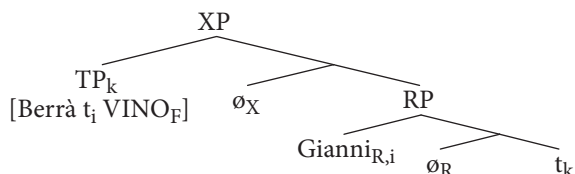
The monoclausal, declarative cases examined here, always wrap right-dislocated phrases in an *ip* of their own (Frascarelli 2000: 33–42; Bocci and Avesani 2011).<sup>12</sup> For example, sentence (103) with a right-dislocated subject following a focused object has the structure in (104) and the prosodic structure in (105). The dislocated subject is wrapped into an *ip* of its own that follows the *ip* corresponding to the original TP. The two *ips* form an utterance phrase (or 'up') encompassing

<sup>12</sup> As shown in Feldhausen (2008: 176–8), Catalan right-dislocated phrases are also necessarily preceded by a prosodic boundary, but the associated prosodic constituent may vary between an intonational phrase or a phonological phrase (more precisely, an 'intermediate phrase', which Feldhausen describes as sufficiently similar to *pps* in the introduction of his book). This difference between Catalan and Italian is likely to be a reflection of the clause-internal position taken by right-dislocated constituents in Catalan, which places them inside the *ip* encompassing the clause. If correct, this result would further support the analysis proposed in the following sections, where the presence of an *ip* boundary in Italian is a consequence of the clause-external position of right dislocation, not a property intrinsic to the specific discourse function expressed by right dislocation.

the entire utterance (Selkirk 1984, 1986, 1995, see also Truckenbrodt 1995; Samek-Lodovici 2005). The main stress of the sentence falls on the head of the *up*, i.e. on VINO.

- (103) Berrà VINO<sub>F</sub>, Gianni<sub>R</sub>.  
Will-drink wine, John  
'John will drink WINE.'

(104)



$$\begin{array}{c} \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ x \end{array} \right)_{ip} \quad \left( \begin{array}{c} - \\ x \end{array} \right)_{up} \end{array}$$

- (105) [XP [TP Berrà t<sub>i</sub> VINO<sub>F</sub>]<sub>k</sub> ø<sub>X</sub> [RP Gianni<sub>R,i</sub> ø<sub>R</sub> t<sub>k</sub> ]]

The constraints specifying the position and destressed nature of right dislocation and their interaction with the prosodic constraints described earlier in this chapter straightforwardly account for the separate *ip*-phrasing of right-dislocated constituents just mentioned and the process of focus evacuation discussed in Chapter 4. Most significantly, the analysis shows that focus evacuation, and the instances of left-peripheral focus it gives rise to, need not and ought not to be modelled in terms of attraction and checking of a [+focus] feature, because the unavailability of main stress within right-dislocated constituents is sufficient to force focus out of the right-dislocating phrase containing it (on the inadequacy of focus features see also Szendrői 2000, Chapter 3; Brunetti 2004, Chapter 3; Horvath 2010).

While similar in spirit, the proposed analysis will significantly differ from the corresponding analysis in Szendrői (2000, 2001). While I agree with Szendrői about the relevance of prosody for triggering focus movement, her key assumption that Italian right-dislocated constituents are prosodically extrametrical cannot be maintained because right-dislocated constituents have been repeatedly shown to project regular prosodic contours at the *ip* level, see Frascarelli (2000), Bocci (2008, 2013), Bocci and Avesani (2008, 2011), Samek-Lodovici (2005: 718). In the analysis proposed here, right dislocation cannot project main stress, but it is otherwise assigned prosodic prominence according to the same constraints governing prosodic prominence in any other phrase.

The right-dislocation constraints and the related assumptions are introduced in Section 6.7.1. Section 6.7.2 examines the right dislocation of constituents not containing a focus, while Section 6.7.3 considers the right dislocation of constituents containing a focus and the ensuing focus evacuation.

### 6.7.1 Constraints and assumptions

Discourse-given constituents can be either marginalized in situ or right-dislocated. The choice between these two operations will probably eventually follow from nuanced differences in the pragmatic import of these two operations. For the time being, I will assume that a feature ‘R’ marks the constituents targeted by right dislocation. Since only discourse-given constituents can be right-dislocated, and since discourse-given constituents are M-marked (Section 6.3), all R-marked phrases are also M-marked. R-marked constituents are thus subject to the Marg constraint requiring discourse-given phrases to remain in situ and violate it whenever they are right-dislocated. In the following, I will only show the R-marking, leaving the entailed M-marking implicit.

(106) Assumption—Right Dislocation targets R-marked constituents.

Modelling right dislocation requires the following four constraints. The constraint Hd-up, defined in (107), is a general independent constraint necessary to properly model the Italian stress system. It requires main stress to occur *up*-rightmost. It is violated once for every unoccupied stress slot available to the right of main stress at *up*-level. For example, sentence (108) violates Hd-up once due to the unused stress slot projected by the right-dislocated phrase.

(107) **Head-of-utterance-phrase (Hd-up)**—Align (up, R, Head(up), R). Align the right boundary of every *up* with its head.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} ( & x & - )_{up} \\ ( & x & )_{ip} & ( & x & )_{ip} \end{array}$$

(108) [<sub>XP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Berrà t<sub>i</sub> VINO<sub>F</sub>]<sub>k</sub> ø<sub>X</sub> [<sub>RP</sub> Gianni<sub>R,i</sub> ø<sub>R</sub> t<sub>k</sub> ]]

The constraint DstrRD, specific to right dislocation, requires R-marked phrases to not receive main stress, consistently with the unstressed nature of right-dislocated phrases.

(109) **Destress-RD (DstrRD)**—R-marked constituents are not prominent in *up*.

The last two constraints, DislGiv and RDisl, model the position of right dislocation. DislGiv requires R-marked phrases to occur in the specifier of the RP projection located outside TP as per the analysis of RD in Chapter 4. The



constraint is cast in alignment terms (McCarthy and Prince 1993). It requires R-marked constituents to align their right edge with the left edge of the head  $\emptyset_R$  in the RP projection.

The constraint RDisl requires R-marked phrases to occur rightmost in the utterance phrase *up* encompassing the entire sentence. This is the constraint responsible for dislocating R-marked phrases to the right periphery. It is violated once for every constituent occurring between the right edge of the dislocated constituent and the *up*'s right edge.

- (110) **DislocateGiven (DislGiv)**—Align ( $XP_R$ , R,  $\emptyset_R$ , L). Align the right boundary of every R-marked phrase  $XP_R$  with the left edge of  $\emptyset_R$ .
- (111) **Right Dislocate (RDisl)**—Align ( $XP_R$ , R, *up*, R). Align the right edge of every phrase  $XP_R$  with the right boundary of the utterance phrase *up*.

These constraints join those proposed earlier in this chapter. Their addition does not affect the analyses presented so far because they are satisfied by all competing candidates in all previous tableaux. This is easy to see for the three constraints DstrRD, DislGiv, and RDisl: since they explicitly target R-marked constituents, they are trivially satisfied whenever R-marking—that is right dislocation—is absent, as is the case with all competitions considered in all previous sections. The constraint Hd-up, too, is satisfied across all previous tableaux. Since the competing candidates always involved a single *ip*, they always provided a single stress slot for the head of the corresponding *up*, making stress misalignment at *up*-level impossible.

The tableaux in the next two sections will list all constraints introduced in this chapter except StressXP and Wrap, since these two constraints will be satisfied by all competing candidates. The corresponding *pp*-phrasing is also omitted to avoid excessive cluttering, and so is any Stay violation due to verb and subject raising and shared across all candidates.

### 6.7.2 *Right dislocation of constituents not containing a focus*

Let me first consider the cases where the R-marked constituent does not contain any focus, thus not triggering focus evacuation. An input involving a focused object and an R-marked subject would give rise to the sentence and prosody in (112), involving a right-dislocated subject. The corresponding structure is shown again in (113).

- (112)  $\left( \begin{array}{cc} & x \\ & x \end{array} \right)_{ip} \left( \begin{array}{cc} - & \\ x & \end{array} \right)_{up}$
- Berrà VINO<sub>F</sub>, Gianni<sub>R</sub>.  
Will-drink wine, John  
'John will drink WINE.'

(113)

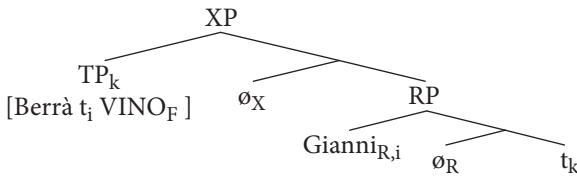


Tableau (114) illustrates how the proposed constraints derive this structure and prosody. The grammatical structure, with the prosody and structure just introduced, is provided in (a). Besides failing Stay, this structure violates Marg because the discourse-given subject is not in situ. It also violates Hd-up, because main stress is not rightmost in *up*. Yet (a) is optimal because all other candidates violate constraints ranked higher than those failed by (a). Let me consider them in turn.

Structure (b) is identical to (a) but it wraps the entire sentence into a single *ip*, against the findings of Frascarelli (2000) and Bocci and Avesani (2011). This prosodic parsing satisfies Hd-up, because the *up*-head is *up*-rightmost, but it violates Hd-ip, as the *ip*-head is not *ip*-rightmost due to the potential slot provided by the dislocated subject. The presence of separate *ips* for right-dislocated constituents thus follows from the higher rank of Hd-ip relative to Hd-up and need not be stipulated. Constraints forcing a prosodic boundary after the VP containing focus, as proposed in Feldhausen (2008: 186), are unnecessary.

Structure (c) dislocates the subject but does not move the remnant TP above the right-dislocated subject, thus leaving the subject clause-initial. As a consequence, main stress on the focused object is *up*-rightmost, as required by Hd-up, and Stay is violated one fewer time than in (a). However, (c) fails RDisl because the subject is not right-aligned in *up*. The ungrammaticality of (c) thus follows from the higher rank of RDisl relative to Hd-up in the grammar of Italian. This ranking is sufficient to trigger remnant movement of the TP to a position above the right-dislocated subject, namely specXP, with no need to stipulate the observed remnant movement as forced by an additional constraint pertaining to right dislocation.

Structure (d) places stress on the dislocated subject, thus successfully right-aligning stress in *up*. However, it fails the higher ranked DstrRD and SF and is thus non optimal.

Structure (e) leaves the subject in situ before the focused object, thus faring better than (a) on Stay, Marg, and even Hd-up, since main stress remains *up*-rightmost. But it fails the higher constraints RDisl and DislGiv responsible for right dislocation.

Structure (f) raises the subject to specTP, thus beating (a) on Hd-up, EPP, and Stay, but like the previous competitor it fails the higher constraints RDisl and DislGiv.

Finally, raising the focused object above the subject as in (g) satisfies RDisl, because the subject is now right-aligned with *up*, and it involves less movement than in (a). But it still violates the higher ranked constraint DislGiv and it also violates Hd-ip, since stress is no longer rightmost in the *ip* encompassing TP.

Since there is no other structure that performs better than (a) on the constraints that (a) fails that is not harmonically bounded by the already considered competitors, (a) is optimal and selected as the grammatical structure.

(114) Basic properties of right-dislocated phrases

| Input: V S <sub>R</sub> O <sub>F</sub>                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | SF | RDisl | Disl Giv | Dstr RD | Marg | Hd-ip | Hd-up | EPP | Stay |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-------|----------|---------|------|-------|-------|-----|------|
| RD<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ x \end{array} \right)_{ip} \left( \begin{array}{c} - \\ x \end{array} \right)_{ip}^{up}$<br>a. [ V t <sub>i</sub> O <sub>F</sub> ] <sub>k</sub> $\emptyset_X$ [ S <sub>R,i</sub> $\emptyset_R$ t <sub>k</sub> ]               |    |       |          |         | *    |       | *     | *   | **   |
| Single <i>ip</i><br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ x \end{array} \right)_{ip} \left( \begin{array}{c} - \\ - \end{array} \right)_{ip}^{up}$<br>b. [ V t <sub>i</sub> O <sub>F</sub> ] <sub>k</sub> $\emptyset_X$ [ S <sub>R,i</sub> $\emptyset_R$ t <sub>k</sub> ] |    |       |          |         | *    | *     |       | *   | **   |
| No remnant movement<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ x \end{array} \right)_{ip} \left( \begin{array}{c} - \\ - \end{array} \right)_{ip}^{up}$<br>c. [ S <sub>R,i</sub> $\emptyset_R$ [ V t <sub>i</sub> O <sub>F</sub> ] ]                                        |    | *     |          |         | *    |       |       | *   | *    |
| Stress on RD<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ x \end{array} \right)_{ip} \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ x \end{array} \right)_{ip}^{up}$<br>d. [ V t <sub>i</sub> O <sub>F</sub> ] <sub>k</sub> $\emptyset_X$ [ S <sub>R,i</sub> $\emptyset_R$ t <sub>k</sub> ]     | *  |       |          | *       | *    |       |       | *   | **   |
| No movement (no RD)<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ x \end{array} \right)_{ip} \left( \begin{array}{c} - \\ - \end{array} \right)_{ip}^{up}$<br>e. [ V S <sub>R</sub> O <sub>F</sub> ]                                                                           |    | *     | *        |         |      |       |       | *   |      |
| No RD and preverbal subject<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ x \end{array} \right)_{ip} \left( \begin{array}{c} - \\ - \end{array} \right)_{ip}^{up}$<br>f. [ S <sub>R,i</sub> V t <sub>i</sub> O <sub>F</sub> ]                                                  |    | *     | *        |         | *    |       |       |     | *    |
| No RD and raised focus<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ x \end{array} \right)_{ip} \left( \begin{array}{c} - \\ - \end{array} \right)_{ip}^{up}$<br>g. [ V O <sub>F,i</sub> S <sub>R</sub> t <sub>i</sub> ]                                                       |    |       | *        |         |      | *     |       | *   | *    |

6.7.3 Focus evacuation from right-dislocating constituents containing a focus

As shown in Chapter 5, when right dislocation targets a constituent containing focus, focus is evacuated by left-adjoining the targeted constituent. See example (115) where the focused object evacuates a right-dislocating TP. The focused object is followed by



that would be grammatical if focus evacuation were an independent operation unrelated to constraint ranking. It fares better than (a) on Marg and Stay, since it leaves the discourse-given R-marked (hence also M-marked) TP unmoved, but it violates DislGiv. Its ungrammatical status shows that DislGiv outranks Marg and Stay.

Not executing right dislocation, in (e), is suboptimal because it satisfies Marg, Hd-up, and Stay but it violates the higher ranked DislGiv and DstrRD constraints.

Finally, rightmost stress in (f), failing to stress focus and letting stress fall on the right-dislocated TP, satisfies Hd-up but fails the higher-ranked DstrRD and SF and is thus suboptimal.

Once again, since no other structure can beat (a) on some constraint while not being harmonically bounded by the considered competitors, (a) is optimal and hence grammatical.

### (117) Focus evacuation

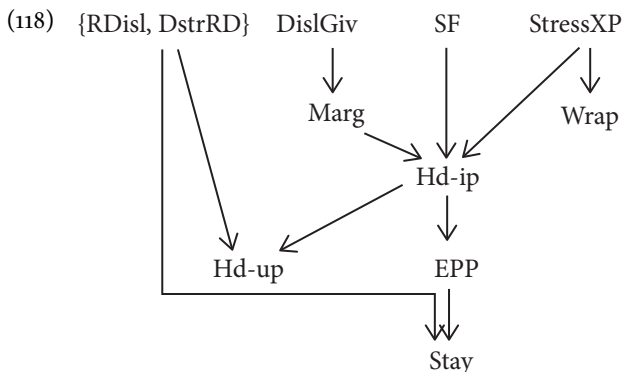
| Input: [TP S V OF] <sub>R</sub>                                                                                                                                                                                                        | SF | R<br>Disl | Disl<br>Giv | Dstr<br>RD | Marg | Hd-ip | Hd-up | EPP | Stay |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----------|-------------|------------|------|-------|-------|-----|------|
| RD<br>$\begin{matrix} (x & & -)_{up} \\ (x)_{ip} & & (x)_{ip} \end{matrix}$ a. [O <sub>F,i</sub> t <sub>j</sub> ] <sub>k</sub> ø <sub>X</sub> [[S V t <sub>i</sub> ] <sub>R,j</sub> ø <sub>R</sub> t <sub>k</sub> ]                    |    |           |             |            | *    |       | *     |     | ***  |
| Single ip<br>$\begin{matrix} (x & & )_{up} \\ (x & & )_{ip} \end{matrix}$ b. [O <sub>F,i</sub> t <sub>j</sub> ] <sub>k</sub> ø <sub>X</sub> [[S V t <sub>i</sub> ] <sub>R,j</sub> ø <sub>R</sub> t <sub>k</sub> ]                      |    |           |             |            | *    | *     |       |     | ***  |
| RD but no focus evacuation<br>$\begin{matrix} ( & x & )_{up} \\ ( & x & )_{ip} \end{matrix}$ c. [[S V O <sub>F</sub> ] <sub>R,j</sub> ø <sub>R</sub> t <sub>j</sub> ]                                                                  |    |           |             | *          | *    |       |       |     | *    |
| Focus evacuation, but no RD<br>$\begin{matrix} (x & & -)_{up} \\ (x) & & (x)_{ip} \end{matrix}$ d. [O <sub>F,i</sub> [TP S V t <sub>i</sub> ] <sub>R</sub> ]                                                                           |    |           | *           |            |      |       | *     |     | *    |
| No movement (no RD)<br>$\begin{matrix} ( & x & )_{up} \\ ( & x & )_{ip} \end{matrix}$ e. [S V O <sub>F</sub> ] <sub>R</sub>                                                                                                            |    |           | *           | *          |      |       |       |     |      |
| Rightmost stress on RD<br>$\begin{matrix} ( & & x)_{up} \\ (x)_{ip} & & (x)_{ip} \end{matrix}$ f. [O <sub>F,i</sub> t <sub>j</sub> ] <sub>k</sub> ø <sub>X</sub> [[S V t <sub>i</sub> ] <sub>R,j</sub> ø <sub>R</sub> t <sub>k</sub> ] | *  |           |             | *          | *    |       |       |     | ***  |

To wrap up, given our current understanding of right dislocation and of the relation between prosody and syntax, the position and unstressed status of right-dislocated phrases need to be encoded in the constraints RDisl, DislGiv, and DstrRD proposed in this last section. All other fundamental properties of right dislocation, such as the

evacuation of focus from right-dislocated constituents, the wrapping of right-dislocated constituents into separate *ips*, and even the presence of remnant movement of what is left of the original clause above the right-dislocated constituents, follow immediately from the interaction between these constraints and the constraints governing stress assignment and syntactic movement proposed earlier in this chapter.

## 6.8 Conclusions

This chapter showed how the distribution of Italian contrastive focus uncovered in the previous chapters emerges naturally from the constraints governing prosodic prominence and their interaction with simple independently established syntactic constraints. The chart in (118) shows all the constraints and ranking relations discussed in this chapter, demonstrating that they do not involve any contradictory rankings.<sup>14</sup>



<sup>14</sup> The only exception is Ob-hd, as its role as trigger of verb movement is under debate. The following list provides a set of ungrammatical structures whose suboptimal status requires—and hence supports—a corresponding elementary ranking condition in the chart (on elementary ranking conditions, see Prince 2002 and Brasoveanu and Prince 2009). As explained in the discussion of each tableau, all other suboptimal structures discussed in this chapter follow from the ranking relations so established.

- |                                   |                                                             |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| (i) Elementary Ranking Condition: | Suboptimal structure requiring it (indexed by tableau)      |
| SF >> Hd-ip                       | Structure (11)(b)                                           |
| EPP >> Stay                       | Structure (29)(b)                                           |
| Hd-ip >> EPP                      | Structure (30)(a)                                           |
| DislGiv >> {Marg, Stay}           | Structure (117)(d)                                          |
| Marg >> Hd-ip                     | Structure (49)(c), since we know that Hd-ip >> EPP >> Stay. |
| Hd-ip >> Hd-up                    | Structure (114)(b)                                          |
| RDisl >> {Hd-up, Stay}            | Structure (114)(c)                                          |
| DstrRD >> {Hd-up, Stay}           | Structure (117)(c)                                          |
| StressXP >> {Hd-ip, Wrap}         | Structure (79)(b)                                           |

With the possible exception of right dislocation, the constraints involved are very simple. They state that focus is stressed, that stress is rightmost, that movement is costly, that syntactic phrases are prosodically phrased and stressed.

These constraints determine a complex distribution that can easily appear to require rules in its own right, but which was instead shown to be entirely determined by constraint interaction. Focus occurs in situ, because this is the rightmost position available to the focused constituent and therefore also the rightmost possible position for the associated stress, i.e. the position violating Hd-ip the least. Similarly, post-focal constituents may move above higher foci because this improves stress alignment, but if the higher constituent is unfocused or the lower one is focused the same movement no longer improves stress alignment and becomes ungrammatical for the involved movement's cost. As inputs become more complex, subtler effects arise, including the asymmetries in the set of movement operations available to post-focal constituents (Section 6.6) or the wrapping of right-dislocated phrases in separate *ips* (Section 6.7).

The optimality-theoretic nature of constraint interaction also explains the apparent exceptions to otherwise valid generalizations. For example, focalization occurs in situ but focused verbs move to T. Under the approach pursued here, this is unsurprising, as this is indeed the predicted pattern if the constraints independently needed to account for V-to-T movement dominate the prosodic constraints favouring rightmost stress. Focused verbs are instead a challenge for any analysis requiring all foci to occur in the specifier of a specific focus projection, as it is unclear how finite verbal heads could raise to a phrasal position.

Similarly, focus evacuation constitutes an exception to in-situ focalization but only in descriptive terms. It actually follows from the high rank of the constraints governing right-dislocated phrases, which force focus to evacuate the dislocating constituent even if this movement worsens stress alignment. Therefore, far from being an unexplained exception fixed by ad hoc stipulations, the proposed analysis treats focus evacuation as an epiphenomenon of the proposed constraints. As such, it need not be encoded as a separate operation of human grammar nor be modelled through the introduction of a focus-evacuation feature. Even the remnant movement that accompanies right dislocation emerges from the constraints forcing right dislocation to occur clause rightmost and need not be stipulated nor be feature-driven.

By deriving complex generalizations from simple constraints, the optimality theoretic perspective limits the inherent complexity of grammar. The constraints refer to prosodic prominence, stress alignment, movement. None of them encodes complex propositions like 'focalization occurs in situ' or 'unfocused post-focal constituents raise above higher foci'. These complex statements describe the effects of grammar but have no correspondent in the grammar itself, which is only formed by the constraints and their ranking.

Finally, like any account cast in OT terms the analysis proposed here contributes to a model of human grammar where the import of UG is maximal, since all constraints are assumed to be universal, while language-specific provisos are formally constrained, since only the ranking of the constraints themselves is language-specific. Most of the constraints mentioned in this analysis are widely attested and not specific to Italian. Others, such as the constraints concerning marginalized and right-dislocated constituents, need to be further assessed and refined through future research on the interaction of discourse-givenness and focalization in other languages.





# Appendix A

---

## *Distribution and licensing of Italian N-words*

Every chapter in this book includes evidence concerning the licensing of Italian ‘n-words’, a term proposed by Zanuttini to distinguish negative items such as *nessuno* ‘nobody/anybody’, *nulla* and *niente* ‘nothing/anything’, *mai* ‘never/ever’, *neppure* ‘not even’ from negative polarity items, with which they do not completely overlap (Zanuttini 1991). To avoid repetitions, the main aspects of their distribution and licensing are presented in this appendix. A review of the analyses that have been proposed to account for these facts is provided in Penka (2011).

### 1 Main properties

The main generalization describing the licensing of Italian n-words is provided in (1) (Zanuttini 1991; Longobardi 1991; Acquaviva 1999).

- (1) a. Negative items c-commanded by T must be licensed by a suitable licenser in T or c-commanding T.
- b. Licensers must c-command licensees at surface. C-command under reconstruction is not sufficient.

The presentationally-focused sentences in (2) provide a first illustration of the above generalization. The postverbal negative subject, object, indirect object, adverb, and adjunct of these sentences are located in situ, hence lower than T. They are all licensed by the preceding sentential neg-marker *non* ‘not’, which can be considered as incorporated into T or located in a negative projection above T depending on which analysis is adopted (e.g. Belletti 1990; Laka 1990; Zanuttini 1991; Haegeman 1995). If the sentential neg-marker is removed, licensing is disrupted and all sentences are ungrammatical.

- (2) a. Subject: [Non ha parlato nessuno]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
          Not has spoken anybody  
          ‘Nobody spoke.’
- b. Object: [Non abbiamo visto nessuno]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
          (We) not have seen anybody  
          ‘We did not see anybody.’
- c. Ind. Obj.: [Non abbiamo dato denaro a nessuno]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
          (We) not have given money to anybody  
          ‘We did not give money to anybody.’

- d. Adverb: [Non abbiamo mai lavorato]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
(We) not have ever worked  
'We never worked.'
- e. Adjunct: [Non hanno lavorato neppure ieri]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
(They) not have worked not-even yesterday  
'They did not work yesterday either.'

Italian is a negative concord language, so the licensing neg-marker and the licensed items do not trigger a double negative interpretation. Furthermore, a single licenser may license multiple n-words, see (3).

- (3) [Non abbiamo mai dato nulla a nessuno]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
(We) not have ever given anything to anybody  
'We never gave anything to anybody.'

Right-dislocated phrases aside, n-words need no licensing when occurring preverbally above and c-commanding T. This is true of specTP negative subjects in presentationally focused sentences, see (4), and also of focused n-words fronted before and above TP as shown in (5) (main stress represented in capitals).

- (4) a. [Nessuno ha parlato]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
Nobody has spoken  
'Nobody spoke.'
- b. [Nulla ha catturato la mia attenzione]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
Nothing has captured the my attention  
'Nothing captured my attention.'
- (5) a. Subject: NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>, ha parlato.  
Nobody has spoken  
'NOBODY spoke.'
- b. Object: NULLA<sub>F</sub>, abbiamo visto.  
Nothing (we) have seen  
'We saw NOTHING.'
- c. Ind. Obj.: [A NESSUNO]<sub>F</sub>, abbiamo dato denaro.  
To NOBODY (we) have given money  
'We gave money to NOBODY.'
- d. Adverb: MAI<sub>F</sub>, abbiamo lavorato.  
Never (we) have worked  
'We NEVER worked.'
- e. Adjunct: [NEPPURE IERI]<sub>F</sub>, hanno lavorato.  
Not-even yesterday (they) have worked  
'They did not work yesterday EITHER.'

## 2 Licensing under c-command

Licensing requires c-command between licensor and licensee. For example, in (6)(a) the negative adverb and object in the matrix clause can only be licensed by the matrix neg-marker *non<sub>1</sub>*, and not by the neg-marker *non<sub>2</sub>* located inside the sentential subject. As (6)(b) shows, when *non<sub>1</sub>* is removed, the sentence is ungrammatical.

- (6) a. [[Non<sub>2</sub> dormire a sufficienza] non<sub>1</sub> ha mai aiutato nessuno]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 Not to-sleep at sufficiency, not has ever helped anybody  
 ‘Not sleeping enough has never helped anybody.’
- b. \*[[Non<sub>2</sub> dormire a sufficienza] ha mai aiutato nessuno]<sub>NewF</sub>.

Similarly, an n-word like *nessuno* can license a postverbal negative object under c-command when acting as the sentence subject as in (7)(a) but not when contained in a larger subject and thus not meeting the necessary c-command relation as in (7)(b).

- (7) a. [Nessuno ha aiutato nessuno]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 Nobody has helped anybody  
 ‘Nobody helped anybody.’
- b. \*[[L’amico di nessuno] ha aiutato nessuno]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 The friend of nobody has helped anybody

C-command must hold at surface (thanks to Ad Neeleman for raising this issue). For example, wh-extraction of the negative object in (8)(a) is ungrammatical even though the object would be c-commanded by the neg-marker under reconstruction as shown by the corresponding declarative (8)(b). Note that no other factor is blocking wh-extraction in (8)(a), since the same question is grammatical when the n-word is removed as in (8)(c). Nor is (8)(a) ungrammatical due to the presence of negation, as the correspondent sentence without negation is also ungrammatical, see (8)(d).

The sentences in (9) illustrate the same point relative to a negative indirect object. Licensing under reconstruction is unavailable in (9)(a) even though the same argument is licensed when occurring in situ as in (9)(b). Sentence (9)(c) shows that the original question is fine as soon as the n-word is replaced with a numeral, showing that n-word licensing is the only factor responsible for the ungrammaticality of (9)(a).

- (8) a. \* Nessun articolo di chi non hai letto?  
 No article of who (you) not have read
- b. [Non ho letto nessun articolo di Gianni]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 (I) not have read any article of John  
 ‘I did not read any of John’s articles.’
- c. L’articolo di chi non hai letto?  
 The article of who (you) not have read  
 ‘Whose article did you not read?’
- d. \* Nessun articolo di chi hai letto?  
 No article of who (you) have read

- (9) a. \* Con nessun collaboratore di chi, non avete parlato?  
With no collaborator of who (you) not have talked
- b. [Noi non abbiamo parlato con alcun/nessun collaboratore di Marco]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
We not have talked with any/any collaborator of Mark  
'We haven't talked to any collaborator of Mark.'
- c. Con due collaboratori di chi, non avete parlato?  
With two collaborator of who (you) not have talked  
'Whose two collaborators did you not talk to?'

The irrelevance of reconstruction for the licensing of n-words and negative phrases is also indirectly supported by the ungrammaticality of idiomatic NPIs focused left-peripherally. The indefinite objects in (10) may only be interpreted idiomatically as meaning 'anybody' when c-commanded by an NPI-licenser. If licensing under reconstruction were possible, the indefinite objects should be able to focus left-peripherally as in (11). Instead, they are ungrammatical under the intended interpretation, as they are no longer c-commanded by their licenser.

- (10) Non abbiamo trovato un cane / un'anima per questo lavoro.  
(We) not have found a dog / a soul for this work  
'We did not find anybody for this work.'
- (11) \* Un CANE / un'ANIMA, non abbiamo trovato per questo lavoro!  
A dog / a soul (we) not have found for this work

Finally, note the wide range of suitable licensers that are available when the necessary c-command relation is satisfied. As (12) shows, negative subjects, yes/no operators, and negative matrix verbs like *dubitare* 'doubt' may all license a postverbal negative object, showing that the licensing relation can stretch across an entire CP.

- (12) a. Subject: [Nessuno ha sentito nulla]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
Nobody has heard anything  
'Nobody heard anything.'
- b. Y/N op: Avete sentito nulla?  
(You) have heard anything  
'Did you hear anything?'
- c. Y/N op: [Mi hanno chiesto se avessi nulla da aggiungere alle loro conclusioni]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
(They) to-me asked if (I) had anything to add to-the their conclusions  
'They asked me if I had anything to add to their conclusions.'
- d. Matrix V: [Dubito che abbiano visto nulla]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
(I) doubt that (they) have seen anything  
'I doubt they saw anything.'

## Appendix B

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### *Evidence for leftward right dislocation*

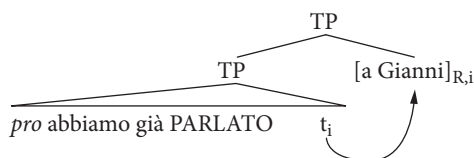
The properties of right dislocation uncovered in this book—namely its position above TP, the optional absence of clitic-doubling, its involving movement rather than base-generation—do not determine whether right-dislocated phrases move leftwards, in antisymmetric fashion, or rightwards. They can all be captured under both analyses and after extensive testing I can attest that the same also holds—but for the two exceptions discussed below—for all other results concerning the interaction of right dislocation and focalization.

The choice between a leftward and a rightward movement analysis is thus orthogonal to the phenomena examined in this book and does not affect its main claims about the analysis of Italian contrastive focalization and its interaction with right dislocation. For these reasons, it is difficult to determine which analysis most accurately represents right dislocation. To a large extent, the choice eventually rests on the empirical and theoretical success of the antisymmetric model, which is itself being debated (e.g. Kayne 1994 vs. Büring and Hartmann 1997). Yet, this book could not be written without making such a choice. This appendix examines the two empirical observations that in my view currently favour the leftward movement analysis of right dislocation proposed in this book over a rightward movement one (but see also Frascarelli 2000, 2004). They are presented in this appendix because they crucially refer to major observations and results of Chapter 5, and thus did not fit naturally in the chapter on right dislocation.

The two analyses at issue are provided below relative to sentence (1) where the final indirect object has been dislocated out of a presentationally focused TP. In the rightward movement analysis, the indirect object is right TP-adjoined as in (2). The leftward movement analysis instead requires the two movements in (3)(a)–(b). First the indirect object is dislocated leftwards to the specifier of a projection RP located above TP (or more precisely above the extended projection headed by the verb, which coincides with TP in most cases, but might sometimes include CP), then the remnant TP is moved to the specifier of a higher projection XP, yielding the observed word order.

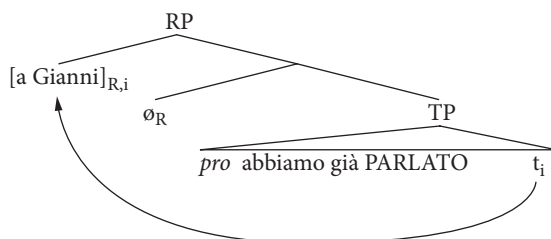
- (1) [Abbiamo già PARLATO]<sub>NEWFO</sub> a Gianni.  
(We) have already spoken, to John  
'We already SPOKE to John.'

(2) Rightward movement analysis:

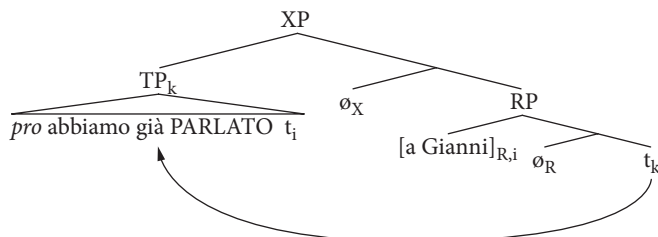


(3) Leftward movement analysis:

a. Right dislocation of the indirect object



b. Movement of the remnant TP



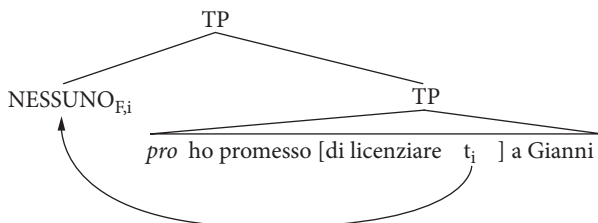
From an empirical point of view, there are two sets of data where the adopted antisymmetric analysis is superior to the right TP-adjunction one. The first set concerns rightward focus movement. Consider (4). Sentence (a) shows a contrastively focused negative object licensed by the preceding neg-marker *non* within the sentential complement. Sentence (b) shows that this focused object can be evacuated above the matrix TP, where due to its high position it no longer needs licensing (see Appendix A). When movement to an equally high position occurs rightwards, however, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical, see (c).

- (4) a. Ho promesso [di non licenziare NESSUNO<sub>F</sub>] a Gianni.  
 (I) have promised [of not to-fire anybody] to John  
 'I promised John not to fire ANYBODY.'  
 b. NESSUNO<sub>F,i</sub> ho promesso [di licenziare *t<sub>i</sub>*] a Gianni.  
 c. \* Ho promesso [di licenziare *t<sub>i</sub>*] a Gianni NESSUNO<sub>F,i</sub>.

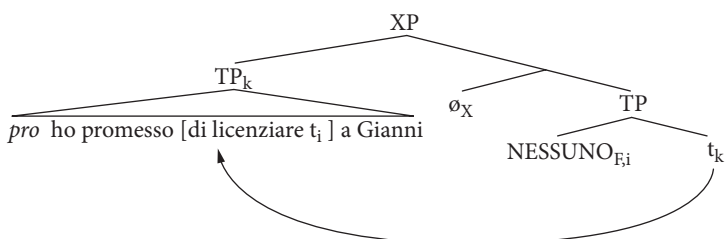
An antisymmetric approach successfully accounts for the ungrammaticality of (4)(c). Since rightward movement is unavailable, placing the focused object *NESSUNO* in final position

requires first fronting it with respect to the main TP and then remnant moving the main TP above it, as shown by the two operations in (5). But as explained in Chapter 5, focus fronting relative to a constituent X can only be triggered by the right dislocation of X, which places X to the right of the fronted focus. This is clearly not the case in (4)(c) where TP occurs to the left of the focused object. Since focus fronting is not licensed, this sentence is ungrammatical.

(5) a. Focus fronting

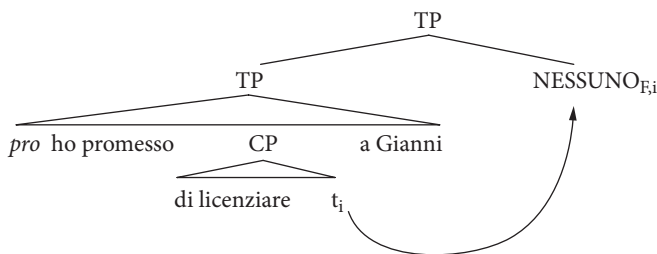


b. Remnant movement



Short of additional stipulations, sentence (4)(c) is instead incorrectly predicted to be grammatical under a rightward movement analysis. Since rightward movement is possible, the focused object could raise rightwards as in (6), incorrectly generating a grammatical structure for sentence (4)(c).

(6) Problematic structure generated by rightward movement



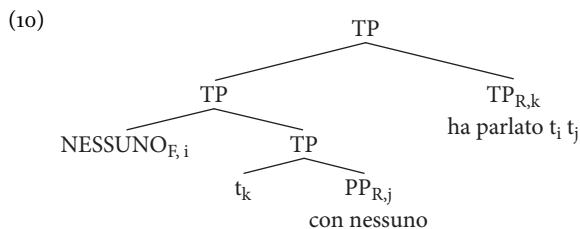
The leftward movement analysis also better accounts for the properties of right-dislocated phrases sandwiched between a fronted focus and a right-dislocated TP examined at length in Section 5.3.4 of Chapter 5, an example of which is the indirect object *a Marco* in sentence (7).



When these phrases are replaced with a negative constituent, as in (8), the corresponding sentences become ungrammatical because the negative constituent is unlicensed. Note that the negative constituent is duly licensed by a *c*-commanding negative subject when both occur within a presentationally focused clause like (9).

A rightward TP-adjunction analysis incorrectly predicts licensing to be possible in sentences like (8) by enabling a structure where the initial focused negative subject *c*-commands the negative constituent to its right. This structure is obtained by right dislocating the indirect object *con nessuno*, then fronting the focused subject *NESSUNO*, and finally right dislocating the entire TP. This yields the structure in (8) where *NESSUNO* *c*-commands *con nessuno*.

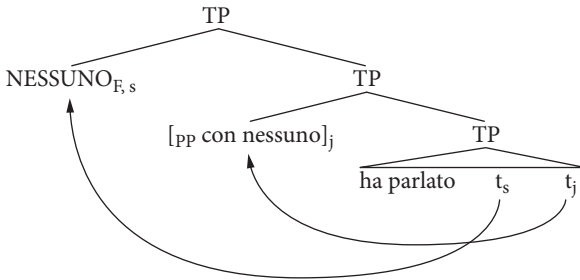
- (7) *NESSUNO*<sub>F</sub>, a Marco, ha parlato.  
 Nobody, to Mark, has spoken  
 ‘NOBODY spoke to Mark.’
- (8) \* *NESSUNO*<sub>F</sub>, con nessuno, ha parlato.  
 Nobody, with nobody, has spoken
- (9) [*Nessuno ha parlato con nessuno*]<sub>NewF</sub>.  
 Nobody has spoken with anybody  
 ‘Nobody spoke with anybody.’



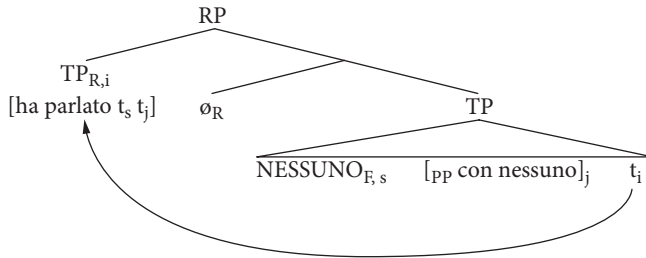
Licensing is instead correctly predicted to be impossible by the corresponding leftward movement analysis where the focused subject *NESSUNO* is contained within the remnant TP that raises to the specifier of the top XP projection and therefore can never *c*-command the right-dislocated items following to its right.

The corresponding structure is provided in (11)(d), with (11)(a)–(c) showing the prior derivational steps (see Chapters 4 and 5 for a detailed discussion of the movement operations involved). First the focused subject and the indirect object leftward TP-adjoin in order to enable the right dislocation of the TP as an independent constituent. Then, the TP *ha parlato* is right dislocated to the specifier of RP. Next, the PP *con nessuno* is right dislocated to the specifier of a higher RP, thus eventually preceding the right-dislocated TP. Finally, the entire TP containing the focused subject is moved to the specifier of the top projection XP.

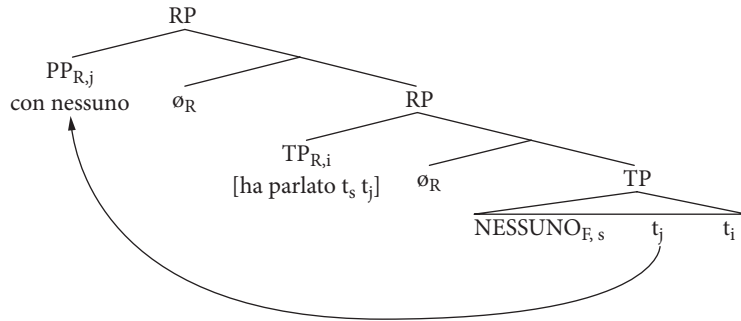
(11) a. Evacuation of focus and indirect object from dislocating TP



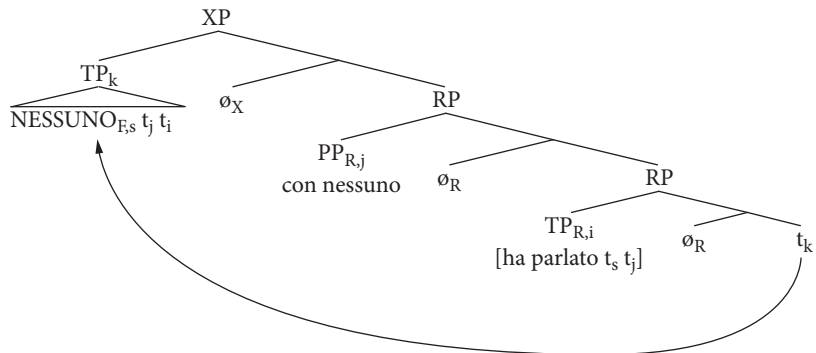
b. Right dislocation of TP



c. Right dislocation of PP



d. Remnant movement of TP containing focused subject



# Appendix C

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## *Irrelevance of pp-phrasing for the analysis of marginalization and left-shift*

This appendix shows how variation in phonological phrasing (*pp*-phrasing) does not affect the results established in Section 6.3 of Chapter 6 and can thus be omitted. Each tableau in Section 6.3 is provided again here with each structure listed there re-proposed here in four different versions according to the distinct *pp*-phrasings they could be assigned. For example, structure (1) below gives rise to the four variants in (2), each retaining main stress on  $A_F$ . The variants are named with the same letter identifying the original structure in the corresponding tableau of Section 6.3 plus the number of each variant.

(1) a.  $\begin{pmatrix} & x & - \\ V & A_F & B_M \end{pmatrix}_{ip}$

(2) Possible *pp*-variants:

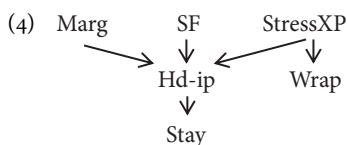
$\begin{pmatrix} & x & - \\ (x) & (x) & (x) \end{pmatrix}_{pp}$      $\begin{pmatrix} & x & - \\ V & A_F & B_M \end{pmatrix}_{ip}$      $\begin{pmatrix} & x & - \\ (x) & (x) & - \end{pmatrix}_{pp}$      $\begin{pmatrix} & x & - \\ V & A_F & B_M \end{pmatrix}_{ip}$   
a1. V A<sub>F</sub> B<sub>M</sub>    a2. V A<sub>F</sub> B<sub>M</sub>    a3. V A<sub>F</sub> B<sub>M</sub>    a4. V A<sub>F</sub> B<sub>M</sub>

The resulting structures are assessed relative to the constraints SF, Marg, Hd-ip, and Stay defined in Section 6.3, plus the constraints StressXP and Wrap governing *pp*-phrasing and defined in Section 6.6.2.1. Note that StressXP is violated when either A or B does not project a *pp*-head, as is the case for  $B_M$  in structure  $a_3$  and  $a_4$  in tableau (6) below, while Wrap is violated when using more than one *pp*, as in  $a_1$ ,  $a_2$ , and  $a_3$ . For completeness, I also consider the constraint Hd-pp requiring *pp*-heads to occur rightmost in their *pp* as stated in (3) (Hd-pp is subsumed by StressXP and makes no contributions to the analysis, hence its omission from Chapter 6). Unused *pp* and *ip* head-slots violating Hd-pp and Hd-ip are represented as ‘\_’. For example, Hd-ip is violated once in  $a_2$  due to the presence of a *pp*-head to the right of stress, but it is not violated in  $a_3$  where *ip*-stress falls on the rightmost available *pp*-head.

- (3) **Head-of-phonological-phrase (Hd-pp)**—Align (pp, R, Head(pp), R). Align the right boundary of every phonological phrase with its head.

Harmonically bounded structures, i.e. structures that are suboptimal under any ranking of the constraints because involving a superset of the violations incurred by some other competitor are marked with the symbol ‘ $\otimes$ ’ (Samek-Lodovici and Prince 1999). Optimal structures, showing the attested word order and main stress, are identified by the symbol ‘ $\otimes$ ’.

Each tableau is followed by one or more ranking relations preceded by the non harmonically-bounded suboptimal structures for which they are necessary. When put all together, these relations determine the ranking in (4), which selects all optimal structures across all tableaux. Ranking (4) includes the ranking in (5) proposed in Section 6.3 of Chapter 6 as one of its components, thus confirming its validity even when *pp*-phrasing is considered. Ranking (4) is also consistent with the final ranking provided in Section 6.8.



- (5) {SF, Marg} >> Hd-ip >> Stay

The first tableau concerns the marginalization of lower discourse-given constituents, corresponding to tableau (11) in Chapter 6. Structures *a*<sub>1</sub> and *a*<sub>2</sub> are both optimal with Marg keeping *B*<sub>M</sub> in situ even though stress on *A*<sub>F</sub> is not perfectly right-aligned.

## (6) Marginalization of lower discourse-given constituents (Tableau 10 of Chapter 6)

| Input: V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>M</sub>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | SF | Marg | StressXP | Wrap | Hd-ip | Hd-pp | Stay |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|----------|------|-------|-------|------|
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} - \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{pp}$<br>a1. V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>M</sub>                  |    |      |          | *    | *     |       |      |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} - \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{pp}$<br>a2. V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>M</sub>                  |    |      |          | *    | *     |       |      |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} - \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{pp}$<br>a3. V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>M</sub>                  |    |      | *        | *    |       | *     |      |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} - \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{pp}$<br>a4. V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>M</sub>                  |    |      | *        |      |       | *     |      |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{pp}$<br>b1. V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>M</sub>                  | *  |      |          | *    |       |       |      |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{pp}$<br>b2. V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>M</sub>                  | *  |      |          | *    |       |       |      |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{pp}$<br>b3. V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>M</sub>                  | *  |      | *        | *    |       |       |      |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{pp}$<br>b4. V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>M</sub>                  | *  |      | *        |      |       |       |      |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{pp}$<br>c1. V B <sub>M,i</sub> A <sub>F</sub> t <sub>i</sub> |    | *    |          | *    |       |       | *    |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{pp}$<br>c2. V B <sub>M,i</sub> A <sub>F</sub> t <sub>i</sub> |    | *    |          | *    |       |       | *    |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{pp}$<br>c3. V B <sub>M,i</sub> A <sub>F</sub> t <sub>i</sub> |    | *    | *        | *    |       |       | *    |
| $\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right) \left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{ip}$<br>$\left( \begin{array}{c} x \\ (x) \end{array} \right)_{pp}$<br>c4. V B <sub>M,i</sub> A <sub>F</sub> t <sub>i</sub> |    | *    | *        |      |       |       | *    |

(7) [b1, b2]: StressXP>>Hd-ip; [c1, c2]: Marg>>Hd-ip (since Hd-ip>>Stay in the next tableau).

The next tableau concerns unfocused constituents left-shifting above a higher focus, corresponding to tableau (13) in Chapter 6. Structures *c1* and *c2* are optimal, both maximizing stress right-alignment by raising *B* above *A<sub>F</sub>* and the associated stress.

(8) Left-shift of lower unfocused constituents (Tableau 12 of Chapter 6)

| Input: V A <sub>F</sub> B                                                                           | SF | Marg | StressXP | Wrap | Hd-ip | Hd-pp | Stay |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|----------|------|-------|-------|------|
| $\begin{matrix} ( & x & - )_{ip} \\ (x) (x) (x)_{pp} \\ \text{a1. } V & A_F & B \end{matrix}$       |    |      |          | *    | *     |       |      |
| $\begin{matrix} ( & x & - )_{ip} \\ ( & x & )_{pp} \\ \text{a2. } V & A_F & B \end{matrix}$         |    |      |          | *    | *     |       |      |
| $\begin{matrix} ( & x & )_{ip} \\ (x) (x - )_{pp} \\ \text{a3. } V & A_F & B \end{matrix}$          |    |      | *        | *    | *     |       |      |
| $\begin{matrix} ( & x & )_{ip} \\ ( & x & - )_{pp} \\ \text{a4. } V & A_F & B \end{matrix}$         |    |      | *        |      | *     |       |      |
| $\begin{matrix} ( & & x )_{ip} \\ (x) (x) (x)_{pp} \\ \text{b1. } V & A_F & B \end{matrix}$         | *  |      |          | *    |       |       |      |
| $\begin{matrix} ( & & x )_{ip} \\ ( & x & ) (x)_{pp} \\ \text{b2. } V & A_F & B \end{matrix}$       | *  |      |          | *    |       |       |      |
| $\begin{matrix} ( & & x )_{ip} \\ (x) ( & & x )_{pp} \\ \text{b3. } V & A_F & B \end{matrix}$       | *  |      | *        | *    |       |       |      |
| $\begin{matrix} ( & & x )_{ip} \\ ( & & x )_{pp} \\ \text{b4. } V & A_F & B \end{matrix}$           | *  |      | *        |      |       |       |      |
| $\begin{matrix} ( & & x )_{ip} \\ (x) (x) (x)_{pp} \\ \text{c1. } V & B_i & A_F t_i \end{matrix}$   |    |      |          | *    |       | *     |      |
| $\begin{matrix} ( & & x )_{ip} \\ ( & x & ) (x)_{pp} \\ \text{c2. } V & B_i & A_F t_i \end{matrix}$ |    |      |          | *    |       | *     |      |
| $\begin{matrix} ( & & x )_{ip} \\ (x) ( & x & )_{pp} \\ \text{c3. } V & B_i & A_F t_i \end{matrix}$ |    |      | *        | *    |       | *     |      |
| $\begin{matrix} ( & & x )_{ip} \\ ( & x & )_{pp} \\ \text{c4. } V & B_i & A_F t_i \end{matrix}$     |    |      | *        |      |       | *     |      |

(9) [a1, a2]: Hd-ip>>Stay; [c4]: StressXP>>Wrap

Tableau (11) shows that foci do not move, corresponding to tableau (15) in Chapter 6. Structures *a1* and *a2* are optimal, both leaving the focused  $B_F$  in situ.

(10) No raising of lower foci (Tableau 14 of Chapter 6)

| Input: V A <sub>M</sub> B <sub>F</sub>                                                                               | SF | Marg | StressXP | Wrap | Hd-ip | Hd-pp | Stay |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|----------|------|-------|-------|------|
| $\varnothing$<br>$\begin{pmatrix} & & x \\ (x) & (x) & (x) \\ a1. & V & A_M & B_F \end{pmatrix}$<br>ip<br>pp         |    |      |          | *    |       |       |      |
| $\varnothing$<br>$\begin{pmatrix} & & x \\ (x) & & (x) \\ a2. & V & A_M & B_F \end{pmatrix}$<br>ip<br>pp             |    |      |          | *    |       |       |      |
| $\times_e$<br>$\begin{pmatrix} & & x \\ (x) & ( & x) \\ a3. & V & A_M & B_F \end{pmatrix}$<br>ip<br>pp               |    |      | *        | *    |       |       |      |
| $\times_e$<br>$\begin{pmatrix} & & x \\ ( & & x) \\ a4. & V & A_M & B_F \end{pmatrix}$<br>ip<br>pp                   |    |      | *        |      |       |       |      |
| $\times_e$<br>$\begin{pmatrix} & & x \\ (x) & (x) & (x) \\ b1. & V & B_{Fi} & A_M & t_i \end{pmatrix}$<br>ip<br>pp   | *  |      |          | *    |       |       | *    |
| $\times_e$<br>$\begin{pmatrix} & & x \\ ( & & x) & (x) \\ b2. & V & B_{Fi} & A_M & t_i \end{pmatrix}$<br>ip<br>pp    | *  |      |          | *    |       |       | *    |
| $\times_e$<br>$\begin{pmatrix} & & x \\ (x) & ( & x) \\ b3. & V & B_{Fi} & A_M & t_i \end{pmatrix}$<br>ip<br>pp      | *  |      | *        | *    |       |       | *    |
| $\times_e$<br>$\begin{pmatrix} & & x \\ ( & & x) \\ b4. & V & B_{Fi} & A_M & t_i \end{pmatrix}$<br>ip<br>pp          | *  |      | *        |      |       |       | *    |
| $\times_e$<br>$\begin{pmatrix} & x & - \\ (x) & (x) & (x) \\ c1. & V & B_{Fi} & A_M & t_i \end{pmatrix}$<br>ip<br>pp |    |      |          | *    | *     |       | *    |
| $\times_e$<br>$\begin{pmatrix} & x & - \\ ( & x) & (x) \\ c2. & V & B_{Fi} & A_M & t_i \end{pmatrix}$<br>ip<br>pp    |    |      |          | *    | *     |       | *    |
| $\times_e$<br>$\begin{pmatrix} & x & - \\ (x) & (x & -) \\ c3. & V & B_{Fi} & A_M & t_i \end{pmatrix}$<br>ip<br>pp   |    |      | *        | *    |       | *     | *    |
| $\times_e$<br>$\begin{pmatrix} & x & - \\ ( & x & -) \\ c4. & V & B_{Fi} & A_M & t_i \end{pmatrix}$<br>ip<br>pp      |    |      | *        |      |       | *     | *    |

(11) [a4]: StressXP>>Wrap

The next tableau shows that unfocused constituents never raise above other unfocused phrases to the right of focus, corresponding to tableau (20) in Chapter 6. Structure *a1* is optimal despite the misaligned stress as movement does not improve stress alignment.

(12) No movement when A and B are both unfocused (Tableaux 19 of Chapter 6)

| Input: V <sub>F</sub> A <sub>(M)</sub> B <sub>(M)</sub>                                                                                                          | SF | Marg | StressXP | Wrap | Hd-ip | Hd-pp | Stay |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|----------|------|-------|-------|------|
| $\mathcal{E}$<br>( x    -    - ) <sub>ip</sub><br>( x ) ( x ) ( x ) <sub>pp</sub><br>a1. V <sub>F</sub> A <sub>(M)</sub> B <sub>(M)</sub>                        |    |      |          | *    | **    |       |      |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$<br>( x            - ) <sub>ip</sub><br>( x    - ) ( x ) <sub>pp</sub><br>a2. V <sub>F</sub> A <sub>(M)</sub> B <sub>(M)</sub>                    |    |      | *        | *    | *     | *     |      |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$<br>( x            - ) <sub>ip</sub><br>( x ) (        x ) <sub>pp</sub><br>a3. V <sub>F</sub> A <sub>(M)</sub> B <sub>(M)</sub>                  |    |      | *        | *    | *     |       |      |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$<br>( x            - ) <sub>ip</sub><br>( x    -    - ) <sub>pp</sub><br>a4. V <sub>F</sub> A <sub>(M)</sub> B <sub>(M)</sub>                     |    |      | **       |      |       | **    |      |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$<br>( x    -    - ) <sub>ip</sub><br>( x ) ( x ) ( x ) <sub>pp</sub><br>b1. V <sub>F</sub> B <sub>(M),i</sub> A <sub>(M)</sub> t <sub>i</sub>     |    | (*)  |          | *    | **    |       | *    |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$<br>( x            - ) <sub>ip</sub><br>( x    - ) ( x ) <sub>pp</sub><br>b2. V <sub>F</sub> B <sub>(M),i</sub> A <sub>(M)</sub> t <sub>i</sub>   |    | (*)  | *        | *    | *     | *     | *    |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$<br>( x            - ) <sub>ip</sub><br>( x ) (        x ) <sub>pp</sub><br>b3. V <sub>F</sub> B <sub>(M),i</sub> A <sub>(M)</sub> t <sub>i</sub> |    | (*)  | *        | *    | *     |       | *    |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$<br>( x            - ) <sub>ip</sub><br>( x    -    - ) <sub>pp</sub><br>b4. V <sub>F</sub> B <sub>(M),i</sub> A <sub>(M)</sub> t <sub>i</sub>    |    | (*)  | **       |      |       | **    | *    |

(13) [a3]: StressXP >>Hd-ip

The next tableau shows that focused constituents never raise above other focused phrases, corresponding to tableau (21) in Chapter 6. Structures *a1* and *a2* are optimal. All competing structures violate SF once as one of the two foci remains unstressed.



(14) No movement when A and B are both focused (Tableau 20 of Chapter 6)

| Input: V A <sub>F</sub> B <sub>F</sub>                                                                                                                                           | SF | Marg | StressXP | Wrap | Hd-ip | Hd-pp | Stay |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|----------|------|-------|-------|------|
| $\mathcal{E}$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( x ) ( x ) ( x )_{pp} \\ \text{a1. } V \quad A_F \quad B_F \end{array}$                                         | *  |      |          | *    |       |       |      |
| $\mathcal{E}$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( \quad \quad x ) ( x )_{pp} \\ \text{a2. } V \quad A_F \quad B_F \end{array}$                                   | *  |      |          | *    |       |       |      |
| $\mathcal{X}_{\mathcal{E}}$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( x ) ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{pp} \\ \text{a3. } V \quad A_F \quad B_F \end{array}$               | *  |      | *        | *    |       |       |      |
| $\mathcal{X}_{\mathcal{E}}$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{pp} \\ \text{a4. } V \quad A_F \quad B_F \end{array}$                     | *  |      | *        |      |       |       |      |
| $\mathcal{X}_{\mathcal{E}}$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( x ) ( x ) ( x )_{pp} \\ \text{b1. } V \quad B_{F,i} \quad A_F \quad t_i \end{array}$             | *  |      |          | *    |       |       | *    |
| $\mathcal{X}_{\mathcal{E}}$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( \quad \quad x ) ( x )_{pp} \\ \text{b2. } V \quad B_{F,i} \quad A_F \quad t_i \end{array}$       | *  |      |          | *    |       |       | *    |
| $\mathcal{X}_{\mathcal{E}}$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( x ) ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{pp} \\ \text{b3. } V \quad B_{F,i} \quad A_F \quad t_i \end{array}$ | *  |      | *        | *    |       |       | *    |
| $\mathcal{X}_{\mathcal{E}}$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{pp} \\ \text{b4. } V \quad B_{F,i} \quad A_F \quad t_i \end{array}$       | *  |      | *        |      |       |       | *    |

The next tableau shows that as far as the constraints examined here are concerned constituents within a larger focus do not raise above other phrases in it (other constraints, such as EPP, may still force movement of specific constituents). This tableau corresponds to tableau (23) in Chapter 6. Structures *a1* and *a2* leaving both foci in situ are optimal. All competing structures violate SF once as one of the two foci remains unstressed.

(15) No movement when A and B are part of a larger focus (Tableau 21 of Chapter 6)

| Input: [V A B] <sub>F/NewF</sub>                                                                                                                       | SF | Marg | StressXP | Wrap | Hd-ip | Hd-pp | Stay |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------|----------|------|-------|-------|------|
| $\mathcal{F}$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( x )( x ) ( x )_{pp} \\ \text{a1. [ V A B ]}_{F/NewF} \end{array}$                    |    |      |          | *    |       |       |      |
| $\mathcal{F}$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( \quad \quad \quad x ) ( x )_{pp} \\ \text{a2. [ V A B ]}_{F/NewF} \end{array}$       |    |      |          | *    |       |       |      |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( x ) ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{pp} \\ \text{a3. [ V A B ]}_{F/NewF} \end{array}$     |    |      | *        | *    |       |       |      |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{pp} \\ \text{a4. [ V A B ]}_{F/NewF} \end{array}$           |    |      | *        |      |       |       |      |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( x )( x ) ( x )_{pp} \\ \text{b1. [ V Bi A ti ]}_{F/NewF} \end{array}$              |    |      |          | *    |       |       | *    |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( \quad \quad \quad x ) ( x )_{pp} \\ \text{b2. [ V Bi A ti ]}_{F/NewF} \end{array}$ |    |      |          | *    |       |       | *    |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( x )( \quad \quad \quad x )_{pp} \\ \text{b3. [ V Bi A ti ]}_{F/NewF} \end{array}$  |    |      | *        | *    |       |       | *    |
| $\mathcal{X}_e$ $\begin{array}{c} ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{ip} \\ ( \quad \quad \quad x )_{pp} \\ \text{b4. [ V Bi A ti ]}_{F/NewF} \end{array}$       |    |      | *        |      |       |       | *    |

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