

CRITERIAL POSITIONS AND LEFT PERIPHERY IN ITALIAN: EVIDENCE FOR THE SYNTACTIC ENCODING OF CONTRASTIVE FOCUS*

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1. Introduction

The main goal of this paper is to investigate the relation between the Contrastive Focus prosody and its syntactic encoding in Italian. I will discuss two Italian constructions: Contrastively Focalized Left Dislocation (see Bocci 2004) and focalized subjects in preverbal position. Although these constructions could be apparently analyzed as a case of merely prosodic contrastive focalization, I will show that in both cases Contrastive Focus prosody and interpretation cannot be assigned independently of the left peripheral syntactic projection FocP, i.e. the projection in which the feature of Contrastive Focus is encoded (Rizzi 1997, 2004c). This conclusion leads to reject the idea that a prosodic focalization strategy regardless of the syntactic configurations is always available. Furthermore, the empirical data and the analyses will provide convergent evidence for the cartographic idea that the scope-discourse properties are encoded in distinct and dedicated functional projections (Cinque 2001, Rizzi 2004a, Belletti 2004b)

Regarding syntax, prosody and interpretation, Italian consistently distinguishes between the Focus-Presupposition articulation, on the one hand, and the Topic-Comment articulation, on the other (Benincà 1988, Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997). However, Benincà (1988) and Benincà & Poletto (2004) point out a singular construction (see (18c)), which I name Contrastively Focalized Left Dislocation (CLFD). Apparently, CLFD seems to be an exception to the sharp and systematic distinction between Focus and Topic in Italian, since it seems to pair the syntactic property characterizing Clitic Left Dislocated Topics (see Cinque 1990) with the prosody and interpretation of Contrastive Focus (see Benincà & Poletto 2004). If so, CLFD could be conceived of as a counterexample to the idea that different discourse-scope properties are encoded in distinct projections. However, I will show that the distribution of CLFD strictly depends on the local availability of the syntactic focus projection in the left periphery of the clause. The empirical data strongly suggest that the Contrastive Focus prosody and interpretation cannot be assigned without the mediation of the

* I wish to thank Luigi Rizzi, Adriana Belletti, Andrea Calabrese, Cinzia Avesani and Valentina Bianchi, for their valuable and insightful comments. Thanks are due to Željko Bošković, Ur Shlonsky, Sandra Miglietta, Vincenzo Moscati, Simona Matteini, Elisa Di Domenico, Mamoru Saito, Keiko Murasugi, Tomohiro Fujii and the audience at the Connecticut-Nanzan-Siena Joint Workshop on Linguistic Theory and Language Acquisition 2007. All errors are mine.

specific syntactic projection, in which the relevant features are encoded. Accordingly, CFLD does not constitute an exception to the Split CP model, but it provides convergent evidence for this model. Along these lines, I will propose an analysis of CFLD in terms of complex head formation fully compatible with the criterial approach (Rizzi 2004c).

The second issue that I will discuss concerns the subjects focalized in preverbal position. If a subject could be focalized *in situ* in the high IP-internal subject position (Cardinaletti 2004), then it would be focalized by means of a merely prosodic strategy in which the focus projection in the left periphery does not play any role. In this case, Italian would have two disjointed mechanisms to assign Contrastive Focus: a syntactic mechanism, in which the Contrastive Focus feature is encoded in the projection FocP in the left periphery and a purely prosodic mechanism independent of FocP. Through different arguments, I will show that a subject focalized in preverbal position cannot occupy the IP-internal position, but it is obligatory fronted to the focus projection in the left periphery with a quantificational movement, which takes place directly from a predicate-internal position and skips the high IP internal subject position, as expected under the Criterial framework and the Subject Criterion proposed by Rizzi & Shlonsky (2004).

The paper is organized as follows. In 2. I briefly discuss the properties of the left periphery of the clause in Italian and the criterial approach proposed by Rizzi (1997, 2004c). In 3.1-3.4 I discuss the properties of the CFLD construction and the theoretical problems it raises (Benincà & Poletto 2004, Bocci 2004). In 3.5 I show that the distribution of CFLD follows on from the distribution of FocP and, on the basis of this conclusion, in 3.6 I propose an analysis of CFLD in terms of complex head. In 3.7 I discuss a convergent piece of evidence in favor of this analysis and in 3.8 I briefly sum up the results of the investigation. In 4.1 I discuss the issues raised by the subjects focalized in preverbal position formulating two hypotheses. In 4.2 these hypotheses are reformulated by taking into consideration the Subject Criterion proposed by Rizzi (2004c). Furthermore, I discuss data from Rural Florentine (Brandi & Cordin 1981) in 4.3, the results of the “ne”-cliticization test in standard Italian in 4.4, WCO effects in 4.5, Principle C and reconstruction effects in 4.6. In 4.7 I briefly sum up the results of the discussion on focalized subject. Finally, in 5 I review the results of the investigation on CFLD and focalized subjects, speculating on its theoretical significance.

2. Background

2.1. Criterial Positions in the Left Periphery

Rizzi (1997) argues that CP is to be split into different layers consisting in distinct and ordered functional heads and their projections. In his model, the CP domain is closed upward by the head of Force and downward by the head of Finiteness. Force encodes the features responsible for the sentence type (question, declarative, imperative, ...), while Finiteness sums up the inflectional properties of the IP domain. Between these boundaries, Rizzi locates

a system of heads dedicated to express specific scope-discourse properties, i.e. the heads of Topic and Focus. The model proposed by Rizzi (1997) with particular reference to Italian is sketched in (1) (the * mark indicates recursive projections).

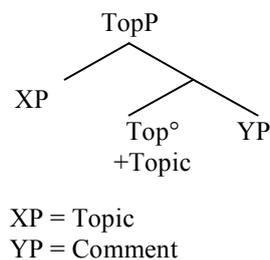
- (1) Force ... Top(ic)* ... Foc(us) Top(ic)* ... Fin(iteness) (from Rizzi 1997)

The scope-discourse features encoded in these dedicated positions are regulated by Criteria (Rizzi 1997 and 2004b). The Criteria are a special class of principles which require spec-head agreement with respect to the features of the relevant class (wh, top, foc... for questions, Topic, Focus...). A functional head endowed with a certain scope-discourse feature, acting as criterial probe, attracts a phrase bearing the same feature (criterial goal) into its specifier. The local spec-head agreement satisfies the pertinent Criterion. As a first approximation, the format of the Criteria is defined as in (2).

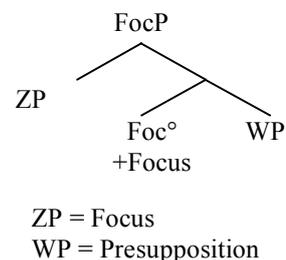
- (2) F Criterion
 XP_F and Z_F must be in a spec-head configuration, for $F=Q, Top, Foc$ and so on...
 – formulation from Rizzi (2004c), then redefined in Rizzi & Shlonsky (2004) –

In this way, an element hosted in the specifier of a Topic head is interpreted as Topic, whereas the complement of this head is interpreted as Comment (see (3)). Likewise, a phrase hosted in the specifier of the Focus head is interpreted as focalized, while its complement is interpreted as Presupposition (see (4)). In this view, an element is first merged in the position in which it is semantically selected. Then, it may be merged again in a position dedicated to express its scope-discourse properties. The first merge position and the criterial one reflect the duality of semantics as discussed by Chomsky (2001, 2005).

(3)



(4)



In this model, a phrase can never pick up discourse properties from an intermediate position in an A' chain. The “Criterial Freezing” principle proposed by Rizzi (2004c), blocks a phrase in the position where it satisfies a Criterion (see (5)).

- (5) Criterial Freezing (from Rizzi 2004c)
 A phrase meeting a Criterion is frozen in place.

As a result of the “Criterial Freezing” Principle, a phrase can be endowed with the discursive properties picked up only from one position. Nevertheless, the operation of head-

to-head movement can generate clusters of discursive properties by creating complex heads, which are assumed not to be syntactic primitives (Rizzi 2004b:7-8). In this way, a phrase can pick up distinct discursive properties without violating the Criterial Freezing restriction.

2.2. Topic and Focus in the Left Periphery of the Clause

In contrast to English, Italian sharply distinguishes between the Topic-Comment articulation, on the one hand, and the Focus-Presupposition one on the other. The two articulations consistently differ in interpretation, prosody and syntax.

Looking at the left peripheral focus properties in Italian, we can observe that this focus projection cannot merely express new information, but it is specialized to convey Contrastive Focus (CF). In the exchange in (6), Speaker B's utterance in (6b) is not an appropriate answer to Speaker A's genuine question. The new information phrase "Maria" cannot be moved to the left periphery, but must appear in postverbal position, as in (6c). Adopting Belletti's (2004b) analysis, we can assume that the new information phrase in (6c) is hosted in the low IP-internal Focus position reserved for new information focus.

- (6) a. -A: Chi hai incontrato?
Who did you meet?
- b. -B: #Maria ho incontrato. c. -B': Ho incontrato Maria.
Mary [I] met [I] met Mary.

As illustrated by the contrast between (6b) and (7b), a phrase can be moved to the left peripheral focus position only if it is characterized by Contrastive Focus interpretation.¹ In Italian, however, contrastively focalized phrases can also appear *in situ* as in (7c). Following a traditional view (Chomsky 1976, Rizzi 1997 and Krika 2006, among many others), I assume that a contrastively focalized phrase can covertly move to the specifier of FocP. Or, in terms of the Criterial approach, the Focus Criterion can be satisfied at LF.

- (7) a. -A: Mi hanno detto che hai incontrato Lucia Domenica. Come l'hai trovata?
[They] told me that you met Lucia Sunday. How did you find her?
- b. -B: VERONICA ho incontrato Domenica (, non Lucia)!²
VERONICA [I] met [on] Sunday (, not Lucy)!

¹ Accordingly, the featural content of the left peripheral Foc head – dedicated to express Contrastive Focus – and the one of the low IP-internal Focus projection must be kept distinct. Even though alternative approaches based on featural compositionality are plausible, I will assume for the sake of concreteness that Foc° is endowed with the feature [+Contrastive Focus].

² I use capital letters to indicate an element which bears the nuclear pitch accent L+H*. This pitch accent is systematically associated with the elements in Contrastive Focus. See further discussion.

- c. -B': Ho incontrato VERONICA Domenica (, non Lucia)
 [I] met VERONICA [on] Sunday(, not Lucia)!

In the exchange in (7), the Presupposition of Contrastive Focus is interpreted as an open sentence containing a variable bound by the Contrastively Focalized constituent. Speaker B asserts a proposition where the element in CF holds for the predicate phrase, namely the Presupposition. But at the same time, he denies that the same predicate phrase holds for a different and alternative element contextually identified (Calabrese 1992, Drubig 2003, Kiss 1998, Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998). Even if the negative tag representing the denied element is omitted, it is necessarily implicit.

When the Contrastive Focus projection in the left periphery is activated, a specific set of phonological properties – the “prosody of contrast focus” – consistently characterizes the whole Focus-Presupposition articulation (Bocci & Avesani 2005). The last lexically stressed syllable of the CFed phrase is associated with a L+H* nuclear pitch accent followed by a L-phrase accent.³ The Presupposition is completely deaccented since no postfocal pitch accent is admitted in “standard” Italian (Bocci & Avesani 2005 and references cited therein). The intonational contour of (7b) is sketched in (8) (see also (27)).



- (8) VERONICA ho incontrato Domenica!
 VERONICA [I] met [on] Sunday!

In Italian, and more generally in Romance, the Topic-Comment articulation is typically realized by the Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) construction (Benincà 1988, Cinque 1990, Cecchetto 2000, Benincà & Poletto 2004).⁴ Consider, for instance, (9).

- (9) a. -A: Ho ricevuto una lettera dalle sorelle di Gianni la settimana scorsa.
 I got a letter from Gianni's sisters last week.
- b. -B: Veronica, l'ho incontrata Domenica.
 Veronica, [I] her- met [on] Sunday.
 'As for Veronica, I met her on Sunday.'

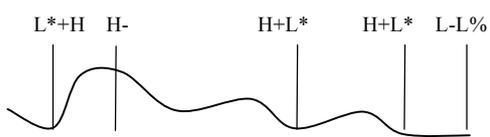
A clitic left dislocated Topic is old information selected from the common ground and made salient with respect to the predication expressed in the Comment. Looking at (9), for instance, we are led to assume that Veronica is one of Gianni's sisters by the fact that

³ Even when the Contrastive Focus phrase appears *in situ*, it is associated with the L+H* nuclear pitch accent (or the allotone H+H*). See Avesani & Vayra (2003).

⁴ CLLD is a construction distinct from Hanging Topic, independently available in Italian (Benincà 1988, Cinque 1990, Benincà & Poletto 2004).

Veronica is clitic left dislocated in Speaker B's reply. In this sense, Veronica would be an instance of Partial Topic (see Büring 1997).

Unlike Contrastive Focus, a clitic left dislocated Topic can be associated with different typologies of pitch accents, for instance L*+H or H+L*, and it can be delimited by a L or H boundary tone. Moreover, unlike Presupposition, Comment is never deaccented. In any case, it must carry a nuclear pitch accent (Bocci & Avesani 2005). Following Büring (1997:57), we can informally and provisionally adopt the idea that what is in Topic is not focalized (for a relevant exception, see the case of the CFLD construction analyzed in 3.). If we assume that a sentence must express focus (Büring 1997), focal information will be typically expressed within the Comment. Accordingly, a nuclear pitch accent associated with Focus occurs in Comment (Bocci 2005). A potential intonational contour of (9b) is sketched in (10).

- (10) 
 Veronica, l'ho incontrata Domenica.
 Veronica, [I] her- met [on] Sunday.

As for syntax, in Italian Contrastive Focus and Clitic Left Dislocation differ in a number of respects in Italian. In this section, I will mention just three differences among the several ones proposed mainly by Benincà (1988), Cinque (1990) Rizzi (1997) and Benincà & Poletto (2004). In the first place, a very clear difference is observable in case of fronted direct objects. A Clitic Left Dislocated Topic can involve a resumptive clitic within its Comment. If the topicalized constituent is a direct object, the clitic is obligatory. Note that if object clitic and past participle cooccur, the latter obligatorily agrees in gender and number with the former. The lack of clitic after the topicalized direct object in (11c) involves a straightforward degradation.

- (11) a. -A: Quando hai incontrato le sorelle di Gianni?
 When did you meet Gianni's sisters?
- b. -B: Veronica, l'ho incontrata Domenica.
 Veronica, [I] her- met [on] Sunday.
- c. -B':*Veronica, ho incontrato Domenica.
 Veronica, [I] Ø- met [on] Sunday.

In contrast, a direct object focalized in the left periphery cannot be resumed by a clitic, as illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. VERONICA ho incontrato Domenica (, non Lucia)!
 VERONICA [I] Ø- met [on] Sunday (, not Lucy)!

- b. *VERONICA l'ho incontrata Domenica (, non Lucia)!
 VERONICA [I] her- met [on] Sunday (, not Lucy)!

Comparing (11) and (12), we can observe that the clitic occurrence is incompatible with Contrastive Focus, while it is mandatory in case of Clitic Left Dislocation. The judgments about sentences like the ones in (11) and (12) are very sharp, in such a way that one can conclude that the clitic occurrence in case of fronted direct objects is the most distinctive syntactic clue to distinguish between Topic and Contrastive Focus.

In the second place, another important difference between Topic and Focus is the fact that the A' dependencies involved by Contrastive Focus are quantificational, whereas the ones involved by Clitic Left Dislocation are nonquantificational. As shown in the contrast between (13) and (14), the former are sensitive to WCO effects, while the latter are not.

- (13) ??GIANNI_i sua_i madre ha sempre apprezzato!
 GIANNI_i his_i mother always appreciated!
 O(bject) S(ubject) V(erb)

- (14) Giovanni_i, sua_i madre lo ha sempre apprezzato.
 Giovanni_i, his_i mother always him-appreciated.
 O S cl(itic)-V

Finally, it is worth reminding that many CLDed topics can easily cooccur in the same clause, while just one constituent can be contrastively focalized, as respectively illustrated in (15) and (16). By the way, many Topic projections can be activated along with the Focus layer, as shown in (17).

- (15) a. A Giovanni, Lucia l'ho presentata Domenica.
 To Giovanni, Lucia [I] to-him-her-introduced [on] Sunday

- b. Il libro credo che a Carlo sia sicuro che non glielo daranno mai.⁵
 The book, [I] think that to Carlo it is certain that [they] to him-it- will never give.
 'I think that it is certain that they will never give the book to Carlo.'

- (16) *A GIOVANNI VERONICA ho presentato Domenica.
 TO GIOVANNI VERONICA [I] introduced Sunday
 'I introduced VERONICA TO GIOVANNI on Sunday.'

- (17) Credo che Domenica QUESTO a Gianni i tuoi amici avrebbero dovuto spiegargli.
 ... FORCE TOP FOC TOP S V-clitic.
 I believe that Sunday THIS to Gianni your friends should have to-him explained.

⁵ Adapted from Cinque (1990:63).

3. Contrastively Focalized Left Dislocation

3.1. Contrastively Focalized Left Dislocation: An Unusual Case

As briefly discussed in the preceding section, Italian consistently distinguishes between Topic and Focus with respect to interpretation, prosody and syntax. However, despite this clear picture, there is a singular exception constituted by the construction which I name Contrastively Focalized Left Dislocation (CFLD) (see Benincà 1988, Benincà & Poletto 2004 and Bocci 2005). In a special echo-context (see below) a direct object fronted to the left periphery and characterized by interpretation and prosody of Contrastive Focus can unexpectedly be resumed by a clitic. The relevant example of CFLD is (18c) and it should be compared with (18b) which is a typical instance of Contrastive Focus. Note that in (18c) the past participle agrees with the object, as always observed when the object clitic and the past participle cooccur.

- (18) a. -A: Ha detto che il tappeto l'ha comprato l'anno scorso.
[S/he] said that the carpet [s/he] it-bought last year.
- b. -B: No, ti sbagli. Ha detto che LA POLTRONA ha comprato l'anno scorso (, non tappeto)!
No, you are wrong. [S/he] said that THE ARMCHAIR [s/he] bought last year (, not the carpet)!
- c. -B': No, ti sbagli. Ha detto che LA POLTRONA ha l'comprata l'anno scorso (, non tappeto)!
No, you are wrong. [S/he] said that THE ARMCHAIR [s/he] it- bought last year (, not the carpet)!

It is worth underlining that the instance of CFLD in (18c) does not sound as a metalinguistic contradiction, but as a genuine and natural case of Contrastive Focus. As I will briefly discuss in 2.3, CFLD and CF are characterized by the analogous interpretive and prosodic properties. As mentioned in the previous section, the occurrence of the resumptive clitic is obligatory in case of a topicalized direct object, while it results into a straightforward degradation in case of Contrastive Focus, as illustrated in (12). However, in the special cases of CFLD as (18), whose availability will be discussed in detail (see also Bocci 2005), a fronted direct object characterized by interpretation and prosody of Contrastive Focus can be felicitously followed by a resumptive clitic, which is the most distinctive syntactic property disambiguating between Focus and Topic, as observed in (11) and (12). Therefore, CFLD seems to mix the interpretive and prosodic properties of Contrastive Focus and the syntactic ones of CILDED topic. Apparently, the data in (18) could be viewed as an exception or even a counterexample to the assumption that the left periphery hosts distinct syntactic positions dedicated to the expression of specific discourse properties. In contrast, I will show that at a closer investigation CILD can be accounted for within the split-CP model. Moreover, the analysis of CILD that I propose, provides evidence in favor of the existence of distinct and

dedicated projections of Topic and Focus and in favor of the view that the syntactic projection of Focus is necessary to the assignment of the interpretative and prosodic properties of Contrastive Focus.

3.2. Contexts for CFLD

The availability of CFLD is very restricted. A fronted direct object characterized by Contrastive Focus interpretation and prosody can be resumed by a clitic only if three conditions are met, otherwise the clitic occurrence involves a severe degradation as in (12b). Firstly, an element must be clearly “given” both for speaker and hearer in order to appropriately occur as CFLD. Secondly, this construction is acceptable only if it is asserted as a reply to an utterance in which a clitic left dislocated object is used, and only if the contrast concerns the left dislocated element, as in (18). Only in echo contexts we can find Contrastive Focus and CFLD without distinction, as illustrated in the comparison between (18) and (19). It is worth emphasizing that in (19) “la poltrona” (the armchair) is mentioned by Speaker A, but it is not clitic left dislocated. This context, accordingly, is not able to license CFLD.

- (19) a. -A: L’anno prossimo compra il tappeto, ma non ha ancora presso una decisione per la poltrona.
Next year [s/he] will buy the carpet, while [s/he] has not taken a decision WRT the armchair yet
- b. -B: Ti sbagli! LA POLTRONA compra l’anno prossimo (, non il tappeto!)
You are wrong. THE ARMCHAIR [s/he] Ø will buys next year (, not the carpet!)
- c. -B’:*No, ti sbagli! LA POLTRONA la compra l’anno prossimo (non il tappeto!)
You are wrong! THE ARMCHAIR [s/he] it-buys next year (, not the carpet!)

As third constraint, only definite elements can properly occur in CFLD, while indefinites, even if specific (in the sense of Enç 1991), involve degradation (see Bocci 2004). CFLD is ungrammatical in (20c) where the direct object is specific indefinite, but grammatical in (20d) where the object is definite. By contrast, an element in Contrastive Focus can be an indefinite as in (20e) or even a bare quantifier (Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997). Finally, it is worth underlining that a specific indefinite element can be easily clitic left dislocated, as in (20b).

- (20) a. -B: È da un pezzo che nessuno non scarta un carico!
It has been a long time since anyone has discarded a trump!
- b. -A: Un asso, Gianni l’ha scartato all’inizio della seconda mano.
An ace, Gianni it-discarded at the beginning of the second hand.

- c. -B:*UNA FIGURA l'ha scartata all'inizio della seconda mano (, non un asso)!
A COAT-CARD [he] it-discarded at the beginning of the second hand
(, not an ace)!
- d. -B': LA DONNA DI PICCHE l'ha scartata all'inizio della seconda mano
(, non un asso)!
THE QUEEN OF SPADES [he] it-discarded at the beginning of the second ...!
- e. -B'': UNA FIGURA ha scartato all'inizio della seconda mano (, non un asso)!
A COAT-CARD [he] discarded at the beginning of the second hand
(, not an ace)!
- f. -B''': LA DONNA DI PICCHE ha scartato all'inizio della seconda mano
(, non un asso)!
THE QUEEN of SPADES [he] discarded at the beginning of the second hand ...!

3.3. CFLD, Contrastive Topic and Contrastive Focus in Italian

If we compare CFLD with Contrastive Focus and Contrastive Topic, we can conclude that, in spite of the clitic occurrence, CFLD cannot be assimilated to a case of Contrastive Topic (I refer the reader to Bocci 2004 for a detailed discussion). Indeed, CFLD is characterized by the same interpretative and prosodic properties as CF. Despite the common and misleading term “contrastive”, we have to distinguish two types of “contrast”, one proper to Contrastive Focus and CFLD, and the other associated with Contrastive Topic, whatever its theoretical status.⁶ As described in Büring (1999), the current notion of Contrastive Topic (CT) refers to a particular Topic used to “move the conversation away from an entity given in the previous discourse”, as exemplified in (21). In (21b) Speaker B does not answer the question asked by A, but another question, related to the former. It is worth pointing out, that Speaker B does not state anything about “la macchina” (the car), as shown by A’s reply in (21c). At most, Contrastive Topic can trigger an implicature.

- (21) a. -A: Sai se Gianni ha venduto la macchina ieri mattina?
Do you know if Gianni sold the car yesterday morning?
- b. -B: La moto l'ha venduta quattro giorni fa.
The motorbike [he] it-sold four days ago.
- c. -A: Sì, ma la macchina? L'ha venduta ieri mattina o no?
But what about the car? Did [he] it-sell yesterday morning or not?

The kind of “contrast” involved in CT is completely different from the one involved in

⁶ Recall that Büring (1997 and 1999) denies that Contrastive Topic is characterized by a specific semantic definition. On the contrary, he conceives of CT, as well as Partial Topic, as a convenient descriptive label “without any theoretical significance” (Büring 1997: 57).

CF and CFLD. Compare (21) and (22). In (22), Speaker B can reply to Speaker A uttering indifferently a sentence with CFLD ((22b-c)) or with CF ((22d-e)). Each sentence from b to e involves the same meaning: Speaker B (implicitly or explicitly) denies that the predicate phrase holds for “la macchina” (the car), as proposed by Speaker A. Note that the negative tag can follow CF as well as CFLD. As a matter of fact, this tag is necessarily entailed even if it does not occur overtly.

- (22) a. -A: La macchina Gianni l’ha venduta ieri mattina.
 The car Gianni it-sold yesterday morning.
- b. -B: LA MOTO l’ha venduta ieri mattina!
 THE MOTORBIKE [he] it- sold yesterday morning!
- c. -B’: LA MOTO l’ha venduta ieri mattina, non la macchina!
 THE MOTORBIKE [he] it- sold yesterday morning, not the car!
- d. -B’’: LA MOTO ha venduto ieri mattina!
 THE MOTORBIKE [he] sold yesterday morning!
- e. -B’’’: LA MOTO ha venduto ieri mattina, non la macchina!
 THE MOTORBIKE [he] sold yesterday morning, not the car!

To reinforce how CFLD and CF are interpretatively similar, consider (23). The interpretative properties of CF in (23c) and the ones of CFLD in (23b) clearly prevent us from regarding “Franca” as Gianni’s schoolmate. Since the negative tag “not his schoolmates” is necessarily entailed in (23b-c); a contradiction would emerge, if “Franca” were one of Gianni’s schoolmates. Indeed, the particle “solo” (only) is necessary in order to regard “Franca” as belonging to the set of Gianni’s schoolmates.

- (23) a. -A: Le sue compagne di scuola, Gianni le ha invitate per le cinque.
 His schoolmates, Gianni them-has invited by five o’clock
- b. -B: FRANCA l’ha invitata per le cinque!
 FRANCA [he] her-has invited by five o’clock!
- c. -B’: FRANCA ha invitato per le cinque!
 FRANCA [he] has invited by five o’clock!

Moreover, Contrastive Focus and CFLD can cooccur neither with another element in Contrastive Focus, as shown in (24), nor with a wh-element, as shown in (25). By contrast, many Contrastive Topics can cooccur without any degradation, as shown in (26).⁷

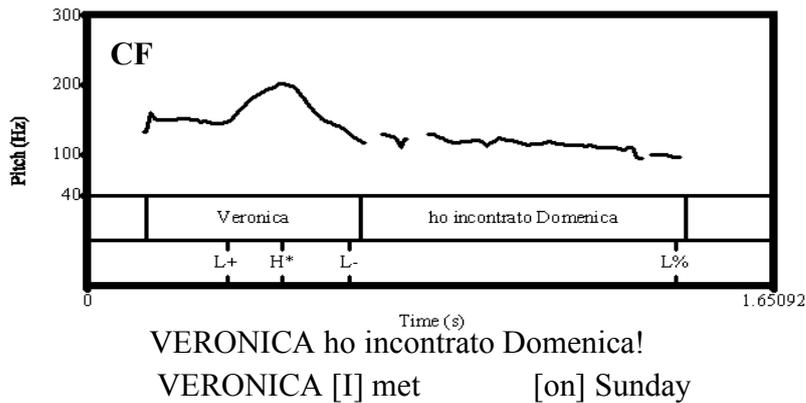
⁷ Note that Contrastive Topics can be indefinite, as shown in (ib), while CFLDed elements must be definite, as observed above.

- (24) a. -A: A Franco i compagni di golf Maria li ha presentati alla festa.
To Franco the golf mates Maria them-introduced at the party
- b. -B: *A LUCA I COLLEGHI Maria li ha presentati alla festa
(, non a Franco i compagni di classe)!!
TO LUCA THE COLLEAGUES Maria them- introduced at the party
(, not to Franco the classmates)!
- c. -B': *A LUCA I COLLEGHI Maria ha presentato alla festa
(, non a Franco i compagni di classe)!
TO LUCA THE COLLEAGUES Maria introduced at the party
(, not to Franco the classmates)!
- (25) a. -A: I Rossi, chi li ha invitati?
The Rossis, who them-has invited?
- b. -B: *I BIANCHI chi li ha invitati (, non i Rossi)?
THE BIANCHIS who them- has invited (, not the Rossis)?
- c. -B': *I BIANCHI chi ha invitato (, non i Rossi)?
THE BIANCHIS who has invited (, not the Rossis)?!
- (26) a. -A: Franco, a Maria, che le ha raccontato?
Franco, (to) Maria, what her-has told?
- b. -B: Luca, a Elena, le ha detto raccontato la versione di Gianni.
Luca, to Elena, her-has told Gianni's version.
'Luca has told Elena Gianni's version.'

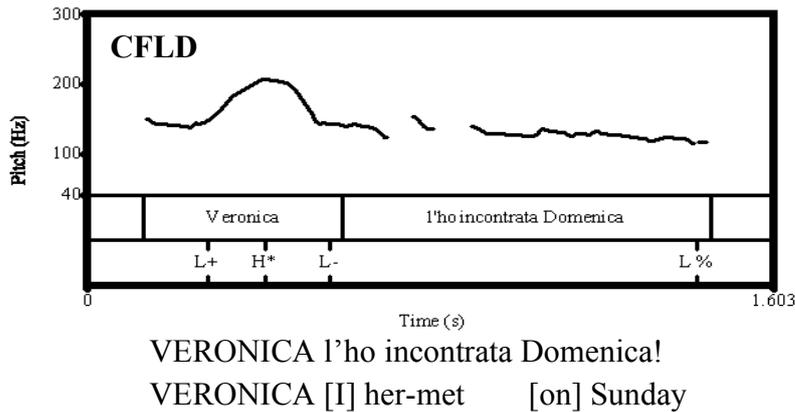
As observed with reference to the interpretative properties, CFLD and CF are characterized by the same prosodic properties, as intuitively pointed out by Benincà & Poletto (2004). Conversely, CILD contrasts with both CFLD and Contrastive Focus. Even when clitic left dislocation is used as Contrastive Topic, its Comment must be associated with a nuclear pitch accent marking focus (Bocci & Avesani 2005, Bocci 2004). In (27), (28) and (29) it is possible to compare the pitch contours of minimal examples, extracted from a pilot study.

-
- (i) a. -A: Ma almeno una celebrità, l'ha vista da vicino?
But at least a celebrity has [s/he] seen-him from close up?
- b. -B: Una guardia del corpo, l'ha fotografata.
A bodyguard, [s/he] has taken a photo of-him

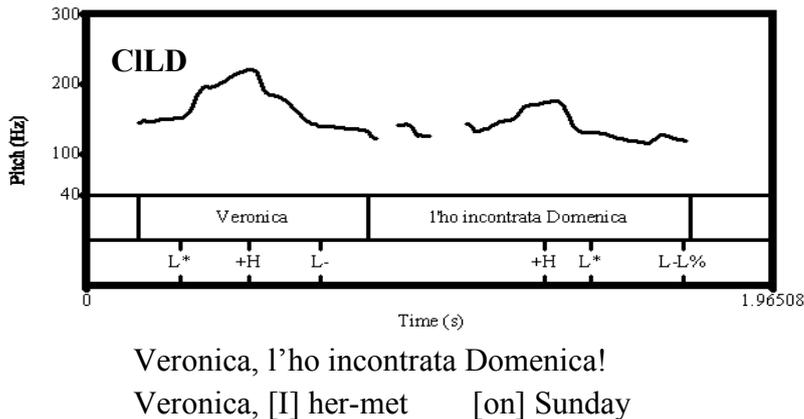
(27)



(28)



(29)



3.4. CFLDed Elements as Topics Prosodically Focalized *in situ*?

So far, I have described CFLD as a construction where a fronted direct object is characterized by prosody and interpretation of CF, but followed by the resumptive clitic, which is the distinctive syntactic signature of the CILDed topics. According to Benincà & Poletto (2004), CFLD can be analysed as a special case of CILDed Topic prosodically focalized *in situ*. On the basis of the resumptive clitic occurrence and of the discursive property of “givenness” or “topichood”, they argue that CFLD is a syntactic CILDed Topic, focalized by means of an autonomous prosodic strategy in which the syntactic Focus head

does not play a role. Note that the discourse properties of CILDED topics described in 3.1 and the ones of CF, although clearly distinct, are not *a priori* incompatible, since an element in Contrastive Focus can be either new or given.

In order to support the analysis in terms of focalization *in situ*, Benincà & Poletto (2004) argue that CFLD, as well as CILD topics, does not involve a quantificational chain, unlike CF which involves a genuine operator-variable dependency. Since they assume WCO sensitivity to be a reliable sign of the focus projection activation, they exclude FocP from being involved in CFLD on the basis of examples as (30b).

- (30) a. -A: Mario_i, i suoi_i genitori non lo vedono mai.⁸
 Mario_i, his_i parents do not him-see ever.
- b. -B: Sbagli! GIANNI_i i suoi_i genitori non lo vedono mai (, non Mario!)
 You are wrong! GIANNI_i his_i parents do not him- see ever (, not Mario!)
- c. -B':^{??} Sbagli! GIANNI_i i suoi_i genitori non vedono mai (, non Mario!)
 You are wrong! GIANNI_i his_i parents do not see ever (, not Mario!)

Even if it could be plausible to conclude that CFLD is insensitive to Weak Cross Over on the basis of the contrast between (25b) and (25c), this possibility must be considered with caution. The elements in CFLD are definite, given and intrinsically D-linked and, furthermore, a resumptive clitic occurs. As a consequence, the validity of the WCO test is weakened. Likewise, there are several difficulties in comparing CFLD with Contrastive focus regarding extraction across weak islands and parasitic gaps (Bocci 2004).

The analysis in terms of prosodic focalization *in situ* accounts for CFLD in a simply and elegant way. However, note that this analysis does not come “for free”, since it is not true that the Contrastive Focus prosody can be imposed on whatever element independently of the syntactic structure. The so called Right Dislocation (RD) topicalization is quite close to Clitic Left Dislocation, even though there are several subtle syntactic and interpretative differences (Cecchetto 2000, Benincà & Poletto 2004). Interestingly, a RDed Topic cannot be contrastively focalized, not even in echoic contexts, as illustrated by the sharp ungrammaticality of (31b) (Bocci 2004). Accordingly, even if we wanted to assume a prosodic focalization strategy, such a mechanism should be constrained by syntax or, at least, by the interpretative properties syntactically encoded.

- (31) a. -A: L'ha comprato ieri, il libro (, ma non ha preso ancora una decisione per la rivista).
 [S/he] it- bought yesterday, the book (, but [s/he] has not taken a decision about the magazine yet).

⁸ Adapted from Benincà & Poletto (2004).

- b. -B:* L'ha comprata ieri, LA RIVISTA (, non il libro)!
[S/he] it- bought yesterday, the magazine (, not the book)!

The analysis of CFLD in terms of free prosodic focalization has undesirable theoretical consequences, since, in this case, two different and unrelated mechanisms would assign the Contrastive Focus properties in Italian. In the first case, the Contrastive Focus properties would be assigned by means of syntactic encoding of features, whereas, in the second one, syntax would not play any role. In case of CFLD an element in criterial position, that is in the specifier of a Topic projection, would obtain discourse properties without the activation of the relevant projection in which those properties are syntactically encoded. As a result, this analysis weakens the idea of the cartographic approach that different discourse-scope properties are encoded in distinct functional positions (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999 & 2002, Benincà & Poletto 2004, Belletti 2004b). On the contrary, I will show that CFLD depends on the local availability of the Focus projection in the left periphery. As a consequence, CFLD cannot be adequately accounted for in terms of prosodic focalization, but it should be analyzed as involving the activation of the syntactic projection where the Contrastive Focus features are encoded.

3.5. Focus, Topic and CFLD in Reduced Left Peripheries

Haegeman (2004) argues that certain subordinate clauses are characterized by reduced left peripheries where the topics projections are preserved, but the focus projection FocP is structurally unavailable. As shown in the following paradigms adapted from Haegeman (2004), in the peripheries of subject clauses, if-clauses, and infinitival control clauses, CILDED Topics can appear without any degradation (independently of their use as Contrastive Topics), while focalization involves a degradation, even though sometimes the judgments are subtle.

- (32) a. Se l'esame scritto non lo supera, non otterrà il diploma.
If the written exam [s/he] does not it-pass, [s/he] will not get the diploma.
- b. ??Se LA PROVA ORALE non supera, non otterrà il diploma!
If THE ORAL EXAM [s/he] does not pass, [s/he] will not get the diploma!
- (33) a. Che Giovanni lo vogliano premiare, sembra incredibile.
That Giovanni [they] him-want to award, seems unbelievable.
- b. ???Che LUCA vogliano premiare, sembra incredibile!
That LUCA [they] want to award, seems unbelievable.
- (34) a. Gli sembra, il tappeto, di averlo venduto.
[It] to him-seems, the carpet, to have-it sold.
- b. ??Gli sembra LE SEDIE di aver venduto (, non il tappeto)!
[It] to him-seems THE CHAIRS to have sold (, not the carpet)!

Let us focus on the case of infinitival control clauses, which are the most interesting with respect to CFLD. Comparing (34b) with (35a-b), we can observe that the direct object of the infinitival clause can be contrastively focalized both in thematic position, i.e. *in situ*, and in the left periphery of the matrix clause, as illustrated by (35a-b). The only banned position for the focalized element is the one in the left periphery of the infinitival clause as in (34b). By contrast, CILDed Topics can felicitously occur in both embedded and matrix clauses, as shown respectively in (34a) and (36).

- (35) a. Gli sembra di aver venduto LE SEDIE (, non il tappeto)!
 [It] to him-seems to have sold THE CHAIRS (, not the carpet)!
- b. LE SEDIE gli sembra di aver venduto (, non il tappeto)!
 THE CHAIRS [it] to him-seems to have sold (, not the carpet)!
- (36) Il tappeto, gli sembra di averlo venduto.
 The carpet, [it] to him-seems to have sold.

If we analyze CFLD as a case of Clitic Left Dislocation prosodically focalized *in situ* without the focus projection activation, we have to expect that CFLD can occur without degradation in each case in which Clitic Left Dislocation is available. Nevertheless, as shown in (37)-(39), this prediction is not borne out, even if the requirements on echo context and definiteness are met.

- (37) a. -A: Se l'esame scritto non lo supera, non otterrà il diploma.
 If the written exam, [s/he] does not it-pass, [s/he] will not get the diploma.
- b. -B:^{??}Se LA PROVA ORALE non la supera, non otterrà il diploma!
 If the ORAL EXAM [s/he] does not it-pass, [s/he] will not get the diploma!
- (38) a. -A: Che Giovanni lo vogliano premiare, sembra incredibile.
 That Giovanni [they] him-want to award, seems unbelievable.
- b. -B:^{??}Che LUCA lo vogliano premiare, sembra incredibile!
 That LUCA [they] him-want to award, seems unbelievable!
- (39) a. -A: Gli sembra, il tappeto, di averlo venduto ieri.
 [It] to him-seems, the carpet, to have-it sold yesterday
- b. -B:^{??} Gli sembra LE SEDIE di averle venduto ieri (, non il tappeto)!
 [It] to him-seems THE CHAIRS to have-them sold yesterday (, not the carpet)!

Considering the paradigms (37), (38) and (39), we can observe that CFLD has the same distribution as CF. CFLD is not grammatical in reduced left peripheries exactly as CF, even if CILD is perfectly grammatical. Let us turn our attention again on the case of infinitival

control clauses. (34) and (39) show that neither Contrastive Focus nor CFLD can appear in the reduced left periphery of infinitival control clauses, while clitic left dislocation is completely grammatical. Anyway, when the object is fronted to the left periphery of matrix clause as in (40), both Contrastive Focus (in b) and CFLD (in c) are grammatical.

- (40) a. -A: Il tappeto, gli sembra di averlo venduto ieri.
 The carpet, it to him-seems to have-it sold yesterday.
- b. -B: LE SEDIE gli sembra di aver venduto (, non il tappeto)!
 THE CHAIRS [it] to him-seems to have sold yesterday (, not the carpet)!
- c. -B': LE SEDIE gli sembra di averle vendute (, non il tappeto)!
 CHAIRS [it] to him-seems to have-them sold yesterday (, not the carpet)!

Assuming the analysis of CFLD in terms of topics focalized *in situ* by means of a non-syntactic strategy, CFLD should be available in the same contexts as CILD. By contrast, the previous paradigms show that CFLD does not follow the distribution of CILD, but the one of CF. Moreover the examples in (40) with movement to the matrix clause show that it is not plausible to assume that a CILDed element cannot be focalized *in situ* in reduced left peripheries because of its own semantic properties. In contrast, the focus interpretation is unavailable in those specific positions because of the “deficiency” of these subordinates clauses which cannot encode focus, lacking a focus “anchoring” device independent of the matrix clause (Haegeman 2004). In conclusion, the distribution of CFLD indicates that availability of this construction is correlated with the local availability of the CF projection (Bocci 2004).

3.6. Analysis of CFLD: Head Movement from Top° to Foc°

The behaviour of CFLD in embedded left peripheries discussed in the previous section show that the Contrastive Focus interpretation/intonation is not freely available for phrases dislocated in the left periphery, but depends on the local availability of the syntactic focus projection. The empirical data suggest hence that there is not a purely prosodic focalization mechanism, but that the syntactic focus projection must be involved in an adequate analysis of CFLD. In other words, the syntactic focus projection where the Contrastive Focus features are encoded, is necessary in order to assign the Contrastive Focus prosody and interpretation. It is worth emphasizing that this conclusion is the most relevant point in the present discussion and it is independent of the analysis that I will propose.

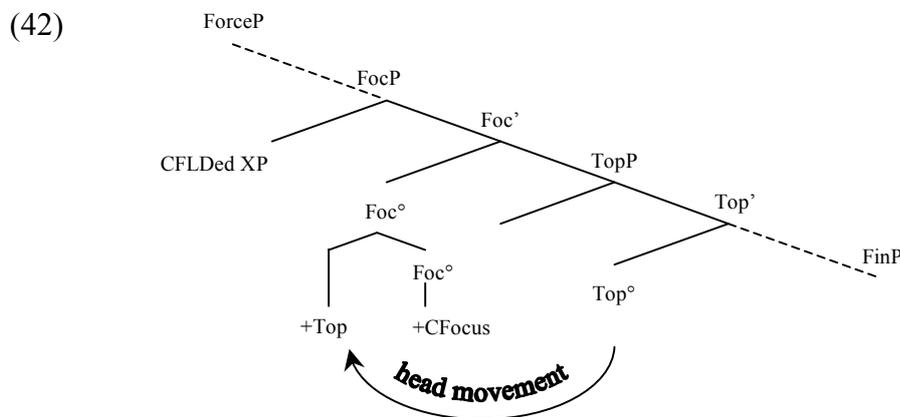
As first attempt, one could assume XP-movement from the specifier of the Topic projection located under the focus projection to the specifier of FocP. In this way, the quantificational variable would be so high to be able to c-command the subject in preverbal position and the lack of WCO effects pointed out by Benincà & Poletto (2004) would be expected. However, this account is unsatisfactory and problematic for several reasons. Among other things, the quantificational variable would be located in an A' position,

violating various definitions of variable (among others, Cinque 1990 and Lasnik & Stowell 1991). In addition, the specifier of Topic is a criterial position and therefore any movement from this position would induce a Criterial Freezing violation. Accordingly, under the Criterial approach adopted here, some sort of formal feature should be postulated in order to legitimate this movement. This kind of difficulties indicates that this approach is not adequate.

The account of CFLD which I propose is inspired by Rizzi's (2001b) analysis concerning the extraction of D-linked Wh elements across weak islands. Rizzi (2001b) argues that D-linked wh-phrases involve a feature [+Topic] and the activation of a Topic position in the left periphery, so that they can establish dependencies that survive across weak islands. Although the implementation of this idea provided in Rizzi (2001b) is not directly compatible with the Criterial framework assumed here, the core of this proposal can be reformulated in terms of a movement between Topic and Focus, as Rizzi himself suggests (Rizzi 2004c: fnn. 4 and 8). Likewise, I propose to account for CFLD in terms of a complex head endowed with both Topic and Contrastive Focus features, conceiving of CFLD as the D-linked version of Contrastive Focus.

In Rizzi's criterial approach, a phrase can pick up discourse properties from only one position because of Criterial Freezing. However the operation of head-to-head movement can generate clusters of discursive properties by creating complex heads, which are assumed not to be syntactic primitives (Rizzi 2004b). Given the structure of the left periphery in (1), repeated in (41) for convenience, I assume that in the adequate dialogical and pragmatic context previously described, the Topic head situated below FocP moves to the head of focus, as sketched in (42).

(41) Force ... Top(ic)*... Foc(us) Top(ic)* ... Fin(iteness)



Since Top° and Foc° are respectively endowed with the [+Topic] and [+C(ontrastive) Focus] features, the resulting complex head will be exceptionally characterized at the same time by the features [+Topic; +CFocus]. In this way, we can capture the interpretative properties characterizing the CFLDed elements, namely “givenness” and Contrastive Focus

interpretation. CFLDed elements move to the specifier of the complex head and, in that position, they establish the spec-head agreement picking up the relevant discursive properties from the complex head. The Criteria associated with the features in question are satisfied all at the same, so that no Criterial Freezing violation is involved.

Assuming a complex head that is endowed with the cluster of features [+Topic: +CFocus] and created through head movement, allow us to account simply for the distribution of CFLD. Because of the strongly local character of head movement, due to the Head Movement Constraint or to Relativized Minimality (Roberts 2001), the complex head can be created only if the Topic head and the focus one are adjacent. Consider again the distribution of CFLD and CF in case of infinitival control clauses.

- (43) a. ?? Gli sembra LE SEDIE di aver venduto (, non il tappeto)!
 [It] to him-seems THE CHAIRS to have sold yesterday (, not the carpet)!
- b. ?? Gli sembra LE SEDIE di averle vendute (, non il tappeto)!
 [It] to him-seems THE CHAIRS to have sold-them yesterday (, not the carpet)!
- (44) a. LE SEDIE gli sembra di aver venduto (, non il tappeto)!
 THE CHAIRS [it] to him-seems to have sold yesterday (, not the carpet)!
- b. LE SEDIE gli sembra di averle vendute (, non il tappeto)!
 CHAIRS [it] to him-seems to have sold-them yesterday (, not the carpet)!

When CFLD occurs in the left periphery of infinitival control clauses as in (43b), the complex head cannot be created, since there is no Focus head in that position and the matrix Focus head is too far. As a consequence, the CF prosody and interpretation cannot be picked up and the sentence is degraded. Even if we assume that a phrase can satisfy the Focus Criterion by means of covert movement, (43b) is ruled out. A phrase cannot reach covertly the Focus projection in the matrix periphery moving from the specifier of the TopP in the embedded clause, since the Criterial Freezing principle prevents a phrase from moving from criterial positions. By contrast, in matrix clauses as (44b), the head movement can felicitously take place creating the complex head [+Topic; +CFocus] since the Topic and Focus head are adjacent. In this way the phrase moved to the specifier of the complex head can pick up at once the discourse properties resulting from these features, satisfying the relevant Criteria without violating the Criterial Freezing Principle.⁹

⁹ Even if the analysis proposed here can account for the observed empirical data, its formulation strictly depends on the assumptions concerning the mock-up of the left periphery and on the conception of the functional heads and their features (see Bayer 2001). Accordingly a finer description of the left periphery could lead to a reformulation of the analysis. However, the most important conclusion in the present discussion is the fact that the syntactic focus projection is necessarily involved in the CFLD construction and this point is partially independent of the proposed analysis.

3.7. CFLD and Definiteness Requirement

A marginal point provides convergent support for the analysis of CFLD in terms of head movement. As described in 2.2, only definite elements can appear in CFLD. I will argue that this definiteness requirement is not a primitive property of CFLD, but that it comes directly from the proposed analysis.

On the basis of sentences like (45a-b), Benincà & Poletto (2004) propose to revise the structure of the left periphery sketched by Rizzi (1997) by eliminating the Topic projection(s) between Focus and Finiteness. According to their proposal, the left periphery would be structured in uniform fields and all the Topic projections would be located above FocP.

- (45) a. *A GIANNI, un libro di poesie lo hanno regalato (, non a Carlo)!
 TO GIANNI, a book of poems [they] it-have given (, not to Carlo)
- b. Un libro di poesie, A GIANNI lo hanno regalato (, non a Carlo)!
 A book of poems TO GIANNI [you] [they] it-have given (, not to Carlo)!

However, note that (46a) contrasts minimally with (45a). This contrast is quite sharp and appears to be systematic. Therefore, I conclude that a direct object can be CILDed in postfocal position only if it is definite (Bocci 2004). Note that this Definiteness requirement is a property characterizing the Topics in postfocal position. Indefinite specific topicalized direct objects are fully acceptable if the focus projection is not filled, as in (20b), or if they occur in prefocal position.

- (46) a. A GIANNI, il libro di poesie lo hanno regalato (, non a Carlo)!
 TO GIANNI, the book of poems [they] it-have given (, not to Carlo)
- b. Il libro di poesie, A GIANNI lo hanno regalato (, non a Carlo)!
 The book of poems TO GIANNI [they] it-have given (, not to Carlo)!

Since I have assumed that CFLD is obtained through head movement of the downstairs Top^o to Foc^o, it follows that the complex head inherits the properties of the downstairs Topic and, hence, the definiteness requirement. Comparing (20d) and (45a), we can see that the same observed restriction on postfocal topics applies to CFLD as well. Whatever the nature of this requirement, it concerns both CFLD and postfocal CILD. The analysis of CFLD in terms of head movement lets us capture this fact.

3.8. Final Remarks on CFLD

At first glance, CFLD appears to be an exception, or even a counterexample, to the sharp distinction between Topic and Focus in Italian. CFLD apparently combines the syntactic properties of CILDed topics and the Contrastive Focus prosody and interpretation. Consequently, it seems to weaken the cartographic idea that different discourse-scope properties are encoded in different functional projections (Rizzi 1997 and 2004c, Cinque

1999, Benincà & Poletto 2004, Belletti 2004a & b). If the CFLD elements were clitic left dislocated topics focalized *in situ* by means of a prosodic process independent of the focus head, then the focus projection would not be necessary to assign the relevant discourse-scope features. As a consequence, the Contrastive Focus properties could be assigned by means of two disjointed mechanisms: on the one hand, the spec-head agreement with the functional head where the focus features are encoded, and, on the other, a prosodic focalization independent of the syntactic configuration.

Nevertheless, the distribution of CFLD indicates straightforwardly that this construction depends on the local availability of the syntactic focus projection, and therefore, an analysis in terms of prosodic focalization *in situ* is not empirically adequate. The data I have discussed indicate, independently of the analysis of CFLD proposed here, that Contrastive Focus prosody and interpretation cannot be assigned without the mediation of the syntactic projection where the relevant features are encoded. In this view, CFLD does not constitute an exception to the Split CP model and the Criteria approach, but it finds a satisfactory account within this framework. According to the analysis that I propose, CFLD occupies the specifier of a complex head obtained through head-movement and endowed with the features [+Topic; +CFocus]. By assuming this analysis formulated within the criteria approach, it is possible to account for the interpretative properties of CFLD, the definiteness requirement and, above all, the syntactic contexts where it is available.

4. Contrastively Focalized Subjects in Preverbal Position

4.1. Can a Preverbal Subject be Focalized *in situ* within the IP Domain?

The analysis of focalized subjects in preverbal position leads to conclusions consistent with the results of the investigation of CFLD. In this part of the paper, I will argue that a subject cannot be contrastively focalized *in situ* in the high IP-internal subject position. By contrast, subjects focalized in preverbal position are necessarily fronted to the focus projection in the left periphery moving from a postverbal position and involving a quantificational dependency, as well as *wh*-interrogative subjects. These facts are completely expected under the criteria approach and, in particular, Rizzi's (2004c) Subject Criterion. The pieces of evidence which I will provide concern data on the verbal agreement in Rural Florentine discussed by Brandi & Cordin (1981), the results of the "ne"-cliticization diagnostic (Rizzi 1982) and the binding effects with respect to Principles B and C. In conclusion, subjects cannot be focalized by means of a purely prosodic strategy, but the Contrastive Focus prosody and interpretation can be assigned only by the mediation of the syntactic projection of FocP, as argued for the case of the CFLD construction.

The focus position in the left periphery has been argued for mainly on the basis of the focalization of direct objects and prepositional phrases. Nevertheless, subjects can be contrastively focalized on the left hand as well, independently of the argumental structure of the verb. As experimentally shown by Avesani & Bocci (2004), from a prosodic point of

view Contrastive Focus consistently involves the same properties for subjects and direct objects focalized in preverbal position. The question that becomes relevant at this point concerns the syntactic position occupied by the focalized subjects in preverbal position. Can be the prosodic and interpretative properties of Contrastive Focus assigned independently of the Focus projection in the left periphery? We can formulate two mutually exclusive hypotheses. If the Contrastive Focus interpretation and prosody can be assigned by means of a purely prosodic strategy independent of the syntactic configuration, a preverbal subject can be focalized standing in its IP-internal position without involving the syntactic projection of Focus in the left periphery. This claim will constitute the I Hypothesis.

(47) I Hypothesis

A subject can contrastively focalized *in situ* in the nonquantificational IP-internal subject position, that is the same one occupied by nonfocalized preverbal subjects.

By contrast, if we observe that a focalized subject in preverbal position is necessarily moved to the specifier of FocP, then we will be forced to reject the I Hypothesis and to assume the opposite one that states that the syntactic projection of FocP is necessary to express interpretation and prosody of Contrastive Focus.¹⁰

(48) II Hypothesis (provisional formulation)

A contrastively focalized subject in preverbal position is obligatorily moved to the specifier of FocP in the left periphery, namely in an A' position, involving a genuine operator variable dependency.

The II Hypothesis, however, can be decomposed in two more restrictive sub-hypotheses by taking the Subject Criterion proposed by Rizzi (2004c) into consideration. In this way, we will be able to test at the same time two aspects. On the one hand, if a subject can be focalized without the mediation of FocP and, on the other, if the predictions of the criterial approach are born out.

4.2. Subject Criterion and Focus Criterion

Within the GB framework, Rizzi (1982) argues that the well-known Subject/Object asymmetries must be ascribed to EPP and ECP, which prevent the subjects from being extracted from their preverbal position. According to Rizzi, the lack of these asymmetries in

¹⁰ Note that focalized subjects can undergo long distance focalization movement as in (i) or precede CILD topics and *wh*-elements in indirect interrogatives as in (ii). Therefore it is clear that subjects can move to the focus position in the left periphery (see Bocci 2005, but also Cinque 1990). But the point at issue concerns the obligatoriness of the movement to FocP.

- (i) LEO i superiori hanno deciso che debba presentare la relazione (, non Marco)!
LEO the bosses have established that has to illustrate the report (, not Marco)!
- (ii) Si domandano LEO dove sia andato (, non Marco)!
[They] wonder LEO where has gone (, not Marco)!

Null Subject Languages is due to the availability of the null pronoun *pro* which permits EPP and ECP to be satisfied, so that the lexical subject can be extracted from its postverbal position. Through several tests, as for example the ne-cliticization test, Rizzi shows that wh-movement extracts the subject from its postverbal position in Italian so that neither that-trace nor ECP/EPP violations are involved.

Following the core idea of Cardinaletti's (2004) proposal about subject positions, Rizzi (2004c) reformulates the previous analysis of Subject/Object asymmetries in the light of the Criteria approach. The (highest) subject projection within the IP domain is assumed to be a criterial projection which is responsible for the interpretative Subject-Predication articulation.¹¹ The Subject Criterion associated with the Subj head (and the relevant feature which characterizes this head) attracts the subject to the specifier of SubjP, in order to establish the required spec-head agreement. Since SubjP is a Criteria position, subjects moved to the specifier of SubjP are frozen and resist further movement. Languages, therefore, have to adopt different strategies to make subjects satisfy higher criteria than the Subject Criterion (Rizzi & Shlonsky 2004). In a Null Subject Language as Italian, where the expletive *pro* is available, *pro* can formally satisfy the Subject Criterion and the thematic subject is free to move from a predicate-internal position in order to satisfy, for instance, the Wh Criterion. At this point, one should ask which is the exact predicate-internal position from which subjects are extracted. Even if different analyses could be proposed, I will assume for the sake of concreteness that wh-subjects are extracted directly from the thematic position, skipping SubjP.¹²

Assuming the Subject Criterion, we must expect that if the subject has to reach the specifier of FocP in the left periphery to comply with the Focus Criterion, it can only move directly from a predicate-internal and noncriteria position since in this way the subject can skip SubjP and avoid the criteria freezing effect.¹³ The predictions of the Subject Criterion can be tested by restating the II Hypothesis in (48) in two alternative sub-hypothesis.

¹¹ Note that the Subject-Predication articulation is assumed to be distinct from the Topic-Comment one (Rizzi 2004c).

¹² The exact identification of the projection from which the subjects are extracted is an important question. The possible answers are related to the analysis of the low IP area and of the postverbal subject that one assumes (see Belletti 2004 and Cardinaletti 2002). The evidence presented here indicates that the extraction site of CFed subjects is not higher than the downstairs domain of IP and that it has the same properties as the extraction site of wh-subjects. As for binding phenomena, I will argue that the extraction site of fronted wh- or focalized subjects has properties similar to the ones of a subject occurring (overtly) in postverbal position. However, this does not necessarily mean that overt postverbal subject position and the extraction site of wh- and focalization movement are the same. For a brief discussion I refer the reader to Bocci (2004:39-40).

¹³ Remember that the Criteria Freezing effect applies at any level. As a consequence, even if we assume that the Focus Criterion can be fulfilled through covert movement, we conclude that subjects cannot reach FocP with covert movement from SubjP.

(49) II Hypothesis (final formulation)

A contrastively focalized subject in preverbal position is obligatorily moved to the specifier of FocP in the left periphery in order to comply with the Focus Criterion. This movement creates a quantificational dependency.

- sub-hypothesis A

Focus movement extracts the subject from SubjP. Since the quantificational movement takes place from the specifier of SubjP, the variable is located in a very high position within the IP domain.

- sub-hypothesis B

Focus movement extracts the subject directly from the thematic position, skipping SubjP, as expected assuming the Subject Criterion. Since the quantificational movement takes place from the thematic position, the variable is located in a very low postverbal position.

On the basis of different empirical data, I will argue that the I Hypothesis has to be rejected. This leads to the conclusion that Contrastive Focus prosody and interpretation cannot be assigned *in situ* by an interpretative-prosodic mechanism independent of syntax. By contrast, the evidence presented here fully supports the II Hypothesis, showing that the specific syntactic projection where the CF features are syntactically encoded is necessary to assign Contrastive Focus prosody and interpretation. Moreover, I will show that the sub-hypothesis B is correct and that the subject must move to FocP from a low postverbal position skipping FocP and leaving the variable in a very low position, as expected assuming the Subject Criterion.

4.3. Contrastive Focalization in Rural Florentine

Brandi & Cordin (1981) show that in Rural Florentine verb and subject clitic, which obligatory occurs in this dialect, must agree in number and gender with the lexical subject only if the lexical subject is preverbal. If the subject occurs in postverbal position, verb and clitic do not agree with the lexical subject, but they necessarily display the default morphology (3 person singular masculine), as shown in (50) (adapted from Brandi & Cordin 1981).

- | | | | |
|---------|--|----|--|
| (50) a. | Le su' sorelle le son venute.
His sisters they-have come _{fem} | b. | *Le su' sorelle gl'è venuto.
His sisters it-has come _{masc} |
| c. | Gl'è venuto le su' sorelle.
It-has come _{masc.} his sisters | d. | *Le son venute le su' sorelle.
They-have come _{fem.} his sisters |

Since preverbal and postverbal subjects are characterized by different types of agreement on the verb and the subject clitic, Brandi & Cordin (1981) argue convincingly that in main and indirected wh-interrogatives, the wh-subjects are not moved from (or located in) the preverbal subject position, but they are extracted from the postverbal subject position and fronted to the CP area, as illustrated in (51)-(52) (adapted from Brandi & Cordin 1981: (63a-

b) and (64a-b)). If the subject moved across the high IP domain as expected under the II-a Hypothesis, it would trigger the verbal and clitic agreement. But this is not the case.

- (51) a. Quante ragazze gl'è ito via?
How many girls it-has gone away?
- b. *Quante ragazze l'ènno ite via?
How many girls they-have gone away?
- (52) a. Quante ragazze tu pensi ch'e sia venuto?
How many girls do you think that it-has come
- b. *Quante ragazze tu pensi che le siano venute?
How many girls do you think that they-have_{III pl} come

As for Contrastive Focus, Brandi & Cordin (1981) provide the examples in (53) and (54). Since the subjects focalized in preverbal position are characterized by lack of verbal agreement and the occurrence of the default clitic as the postverbal subjects are, Brandi & Cordin conclude that focalization is analogous to *wh*-movement: the subject must be extracted from the postverbal position.

- (53) a. LA MARIA gl'è venuto, no la Carla!
Maria it-has come, not Carla!
- b. *LA MARIA l'è venuta, no la Carla!
Maria she-has come, not Carla!
- (54) a. LA MARIA gl'ha parlato alla riunione, no la Carla!
Maria it-has spoken at the meeting, not Carla!
- b. *LA MARIA l'ha parlato alla riunione, no la Carla.
Maria she-has spoken at the meeting, not Carla!

The most remarkable aspect of these data is the ungrammaticality of the sentences (53b) and (54b). If the subject could reach the left periphery moving through *SubjP*, it would trigger the verbal and clitic agreement. By contrast, the prosodic properties of Contrastive Focus are inconsistent with the agreement pattern which characterizes the preverbal (nonfocalized) subjects. Accordingly, these data are sufficient to discard the I Hypothesis and to conclude that the II-b Hypothesis is correct. The preverbal subject cannot receive the Contrastive Focus prosody standing in the high subject position in the IP domain. The focalized subjects in preverbal position are necessarily moved to the left periphery directly from the postverbal position skipping *SubjP*.

4.4. “Ne” Cliticization Test

The “ne” cliticization test in “standard” Italian leads to the same conclusions we have

drawn for Rural Florentine. Rizzi (1982) proposes the “ne”-cliticization as diagnostic criterion to locate the extraction site of wh-subjects in Italian. A subject of an unaccusative verb which is constituted by an indefinite quantifier and its lexical restriction can undergo two opposite processes of pronominalization exemplified in (55) (adapted from Rizzi 1982:150 (91)). When the subject occupies a postverbal position as in (55b), the lexical restriction can be pronominalized with the clitic “ne” (of it/of them), whereas the simple omission of the lexical restriction is ungrammatical. On the other hand, if the subject occupies the preverbal position, the lexical restriction can be omitted and the clitic “ne” cannot occur.

- (55) a. Alcune pietre sono cadute in mare
‘Some stones have fallen down into the sea’
- b. *(Ne) sono cadute alcune __.
Of them-have fallen down some
- c. Alcune __ (*ne) sono cadute in mare.
Some have fallen down.

Since the mechanism of the “ne” cliticization is preserved under wh-movement, Rizzi argues that the “ne”-cliticization constitutes a diagnostic test to decide the position of wh-extraction of the subject. The compulsoriness of the “ne” occurrence in (56) and (57) (from Rizzi 1982:151-152) leads to the conclusion that the wh-subjects must be extracted from the postverbal position.

- (56) Quante *(ne) sono cadute?
How many *(of them-)have fallen down?
- (57) Quante hai detto che *(ne) sono cadute?
How many have you said that *(of them-)have fallen down?

As for Contrastive Focus, Cinque (1990:69-71) points out that a contrastively focalized subject visibly fronted to the left periphery of a matrix clause behaves like a wh-subject in requiring necessarily the occurrence of “ne”, as illustrated by (58b) (from Cinque 1990:70 (33)).

- (58) a. -A: Sono arrivate dieci lettere.
Ten letters have arrived.
- b. -B: No, QUATTRO pare che *(ne) siano arrivate, non dieci!
No, FOUR [it] appears that *(of them-) have arrived, not ten!
- c. -B’: *No, QUATTRO sono arrivate, non dieci!
No, FOUR have arrived, not ten!
- d. -B’’: No, QUATTRO ne sono arrivate, non dieci!
No, FOUR of them- have arrived, not ten!

Crucially, the “ne” occurrence is mandatory also in sentences where the subject is not visibly fronted as shown by (58c) and (58d) (adapted from Bocci 2004) If the subject could receive the Contrastive Focus intonation *in situ* occupying the specifier of SubjP in the IP domain (I Hypothesis), the lexical restriction could be simply omitted as in the case of non-focalized preverbal subjects (see (55c)). By contrast, since “ne” must occur, we are lead to conclude that if a subject in preverbal position is endowed with the Contrastive Focus prosody, it is not hosted in the IP domain, but it is necessarily moved to the left periphery from the postverbal position skipping the IP-internal subject position. In this way, the “ne”-cliticization test substantiates the II-b Hypothesis.

4.5. Focalized Subjects are Sensitive to WCO

The evidence provided so far indicates that the focalized subjects in preverbal position do not behave as nonfocalized preverbal subjects, but as postverbal subjects. This fact supports the II Hypothesis, according to which the subjects focalized in preverbal position are not hosted within the IP domain, but extracted directly from the postverbal position and moved to the focus projection in the left periphery. Since the movement to FocP creates quantificational dependencies, as we have observed in the case of focalized direct objects (see (13)), the II-b Hypothesis predicts that a genuine operator-variable dependency is involved between the surface subject position and the postverbal one. In this section, I will show that the subjects focalized in preverbal position are sensitive to WCO effects and, hence, involve quantificational dependencies, unlike nonfocalized preverbal subjects.

Through several arguments, Cecchetto (2000, 2001) argues that a CILDed DO is compulsory reconstructed in an intermediate internal IP position within the IP domain which is different from the VP-internal thematic position. This reconstruction site (FP) is higher than the position occupied by a postverbal subject, but lower than the one occupied by a nonfocalized preverbal subject (whatever kind of subject: referential DP, *pro*, quantified expression). As a consequence, FP is c-commanded by a subject in preverbal position, i. e. in SubjP, but it c-commands a subject in postverbal position. As shown by (59) and (60), a pronoun contained in a CILDed object can be bound by preverbal subjects, but not by postverbal subjects. Furthermore, since the CILDed direct objects undergo necessarily the reconstruction process, an R-expression embedded in a CILDed direct object cannot be coindexed with a subject in preverbal position because of Principle C, as illustrated in (61). By contrast, Principle C is not violated in (62) where the same R-expression is coindexed with a subject pronoun in postverbal position, since the CILDed object is reconstructed in a position higher than the postverbal subject.

(59) La sua_i relazione, ogni segretaria_i l’ha consegnata Lunedì.
 Her_i report, every secretary_i it-has handed in [on] Monday.

(60)*La sua_i relazione, l’ha consegnata ogni segretaria_i.
 Her_i report, it-has handed in every secretary_i.

(61)^{??} L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i, lui_i la capisce veramente.
The first work of a writer_i, he_i it-understands really

(62) L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i, la capisce veramente lui_i.
The first work of a writer_i, it-understands really he_i

Keeping in mind the compulsory reconstruction of CILDed DOs argued for by Cecchetto (2000, 2001), consider now the sharp contrast between (59), repeated in (63) for convenience, and (64). In (64) the nonfocalized subject, occupying the SubjP in the high zone of the IP domain, appropriately c-commands the CILDed object reconstructed in FP. But if the preverbal subject is contrastively focalized as in (64), then the coindexation between the focalized subject and the pronoun within the CILD direct object gives rise to a degradation which I analyze as due to a WCO configuration.

(63) La sua_i relazione, ogni segretaria_i l'ha consegnata Lunedì.
Her_i report, every secretary_i it-has handed in [on] Monday

(64)^{??} La sua_i relazione, OGNI SEGRETARIA_i l'ha consegnata Lunedì!
Her_i report, EVERY SECRETARY_i it-has handed in [on] Monday!

By putting together Rizzi's (1982) analysis of subject extraction and the behaviour of CILD with respect to reconstruction, I conclude that in (64) the focalized subject cannot be hosted in SubjP, but it is necessarily extracted directly from a very low position across the reconstruction site of the CILDed direct object and moved to FocP, creating a quantificational dependency between the postverbal extraction site and FocP. As sketched in (65) and (66) (irrelevant details are omitted), the movement to FocP gives rise to the prototypical WCO configuration where the pronoun is c-commanded by the operator, but not by the variable.¹⁴ If a subject could receive the Contrastive Focus prosody in SubjP without involving an operator-variable dependency, the WCO effect would be avoided and (64) would be as acceptable as (63). Likewise, if the quantificational movement to FocP could take place from SubjP, as expected under the II-a Hypothesis, the variable would be located in SubjP, so that it would be high enough to c-command the pronoun and to avoid the WCO configuration. As

¹⁴ One could speculate that (64) is degraded because of some kind of pragmatic principle which prevents coindexation between a pronoun within a Topic and a focalized or wh subject. However, this hypothesis appears to be contradicted by the case of the Right Dislocated topics. As shown by (i) and (ii), a pronoun contained in within a Right Dislocated direct object can be properly c-commanded and bound by a focalized or wh- subject. This fact suggest that the degradation observed for CILD in (64) is due to the syntactic configuration created by the mechanism of focalization, rather than due to a pragmatic violation (see Bocci 2004:50-51).

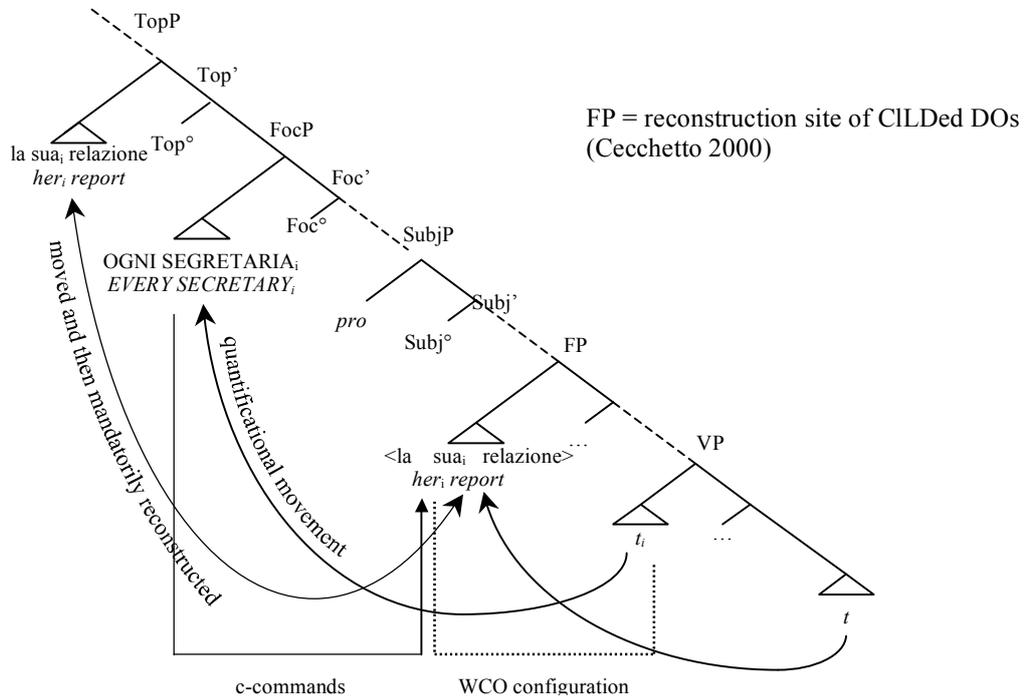
(i) OGNI SEGRETARIA_i l'ha consegnata, la sua_i relazione (, non ogni assistente)!
EVERY SECRETARY_i it-has handed in her_i report (, not every assistant)!

(ii) Chi_i l'ha consegnata, la sua_i relazione?
Who_i it-has handed in his_i report?

a consequence, the contrast between (63) and (64) leads to the conclusion that moving to FocP is necessary to obtain the prosody and interpretation of Contrastive Focus and that the quantificational movement must leave the variable in a very low position. In this way, the sensitivity to WCO characterizing the subjects focalized in preverbal positions supports the II-b Hypothesis.

(65) ~~La sua_i relazione~~, OGNI SEGRETARIA_i <[La sua_i relazione]> l'ha consegnata Lunedì!

(66)



If the analysis proposed for (66) is correct, the same WCO effect observed in the case of focalized subjects should be found also in interrogative clauses with *wh*-subjects. This prediction is borne out, as shown by (67) and (68). Once again, *wh*-movement and focalization show the same properties. When a subject has to reach a projection higher than SubjP to comply with some criterion, it moves directly from a low position skipping SubjP and the criterial freezing effect which that projection triggers.

(67)^{??} La sua_i relazione, chi_i l'ha consegnata Lunedì?
 His_i report, who_i it-has handed in [on] Monday

(68)^{??} La sua_i relazione, chi_i credi che l'abbia consegnata Lunedì?
 His_i report, who_i do [you] think that it-has handed in [on] Monday!

4.6. Focalized Subjects, Principle C and Reconstruction

Convergent evidence in favor of the II-b Hypothesis is provided by Principle C effects. As mentioned above, Cecchetto (2000) argues that the contrast between (61) and (62),

repeated in (69) and (70) for convenience, is due to a Principle C violation. Since the CILDED direct object is reconstructed in an intermediate position within the IP domain, it is c-commanded by preverbal but not by postverbal subjects. As a consequence, Principle C is violated in (70), because the preverbal subject is coindexed with a DP contained in the CILDED object reconstructed within the c-domain of the pronoun, as sketched in (71). Conversely, the coindexation with the subject in postverbal position in (70) does not give rise to a violation, since, in this case, the referential expression is reconstructed above the c-domain of the postverbal pronominal subject, as indicated in (72). Note that if the subject in SubjP in (69) could be reconstructed in a lower position, (69) would be grammatical as (70) is. Consequently (69) leads to the conclusion that a nonfocalized subject in preverbal position, i.e. a subject in SubjP, cannot be reconstructed in a lower position.

(69)^{??} L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i, lui_i la capisce veramente.
The first work of a writer_i, he_i it-understands really

(70) L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i, la capisce veramente lui_i.
The first work of a writer_i, it-understands really he_i

(71) ~~L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i~~, lui_i < l'opera prima di uno scrittore_i > la capisce veramente.
~~The first work of a writer_i~~, he_i < the first work of a writer_i > it-understands really

(72) ~~L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i~~, < l'opera prima di uno scrittore_i > la capisce veramente lui_i.
~~The first work of a writer_i~~, < the first work of a writer_i > it-understands really he_i

Cecchetto (2000), however, points out that the violation of Principle C (at least partially) disappears if the preverbal pronominal subject is contrastively focalized as in (73). Once again, a subject focalized in preverbal position behaves as postverbal subjects do. This observation suggests that a focalized preverbal subject is not hosted in SubjP, but it is moved to FocP from the postverbal subject position where it can be reconstructed, as sketched in (74). If this is the case, it is the possibility of reconstruction which enables the focalized preverbal subject to obviate Principle C in (73). In order to substantiate this idea, we have to verify if a focalized phrase in left periphery can undergo reconstruction.

(73) L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i, LUI_i la capisce veramente (, non il pubblico)!
The first work of a writer_i, HE_i it-understands really (, not the readers)!

(74) ~~L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i~~, LUI_i < l'opera prima di uno scrittore_i > la capisce veramente <LUI_i>
~~The first work of a writer_i~~, HE_i < the first work of a writer_i > it-understands really <HE_i>

It is generally assumed that a fronted wh-phrase can be reconstructed in its intermediate positions or at the base of chain with regard to binding phenomena. Analogously, it is usually

assumed that focus movement involves the same type of quantificational dependency which characterizes wh-movement. Therefore, it is natural to suppose that focus movement can undergo reconstruction as well as wh-movement can. The examples (75)-(79) support this conclusion, showing that a focalized phrase in the left periphery can be reconstructed in order to satisfy Principle A and B. In particular, (76) shows that the reconstruction process (at least marginally) can take place after successive cyclic movement, activating the intermediate copies.

- (75) I PROPRI_i GENITORI Lucia_i ha invitato!
 Herself_i's parents Lucia_i has invited!
- (76) I PROPRI_i GENITORI Lucia_i crede che la polizia abbia arrestato (, non i Rossi)!
 Herself_i's parents Lucia_i believes that the police has arrested (, not the Rossis)!
- (77) I PROPRI_i GENITORI la bibbia dice che ogni uomo_i deve onorare
 (, non i vicini di casa)!
 Oneself_i's parents the Bible says that every man_i must honor (, not the neighbors)!
- (78) IL LAVORO DEI SUOI_i GENITORI ogni uomo_i deve continuare!
 The occupation of his_i parents every man_i must continue!
- (79) IL LAVORO DEI SUOI_i GENITORI lo Zar dice ogni uomo_i deve continuare!
 The occupation of his_i parents the Tzar says that every man_i must continue!

Since focus movement, as well as wh-movement, can undergo reconstruction, the conjecture is validated. As shown by (69) and (73), a DP contained within a CILDED DO and a preverbal pronominal subject can be coindexed only if the subject is focalized. We can account for these facts assuming that the focalized subject is moved to FocP directly from its postverbal position, creating a quantificational dependency which can undergo reconstruction in postverbal position. In this way, a focalized preverbal subject can avoid violating Principle C. If the focalized subject moved to FocP through SubjP, it could not be reconstructed in a postverbal position, because SubP seems to prevent the reconstruction process, as shown by the fact that a nonfocalized preverbal subject in SubjP gives rise to Principle C violation, as in (69).¹⁵ In conclusion, the argument based on the Principle C effects shows that focalized subjects can be moved to FocP from the postverbal position skipping SubjP, as predicted by the Subject Criterion.

¹⁵ It is worth emphasizing that the argumentation based on the Principle C effects discussed in this section does not state anything about the availability of a mere prosodic focalization strategy *in situ*. However, the proposed analysis, if correct, shows that the focalized preverbal subjects can be moved to FocP from the postverbal position skipping SubjP. In this sense, this argument provides a convergent piece of evidence in favor of the II-b Hypothesis, but not sufficient to reject the I Hypothesis.

4.7. Final Remarks on Preverbal Subject Focalization

The evidence that we have discussed show that the subject cannot be focalized in its high IP-internal position, i. e. in the specifier of SubjP, and, therefore, the I Hypothesis must be rejected. In other words, a preverbal subject cannot be focalized *in situ* by means of a merely prosodic strategy in which syntax does not play any role. By contrast, the data from Rural Florentine, the results of the “ne”-cliticization test, and the WCO and Principle C effects with regard to CILDED direct objects substantiate the II-b Hypothesis.

In conclusion, a subject focalized in preverbal position is necessarily moved to the specifier of the focus projection in the left periphery, i. e. FocP, involving a quantificational dependency. The quantificational focus movement can take place only from the postverbal subject position, leaving the variable in this low, predicate-internal position. This conclusion substantiates the Subject Criterion proposed by Rizzi (2004c) and Rizzi & Shlonky (2004), according to which the preverbal position is responsible of the interpretative subject-predicate articulation and, hence, it is a criterial position. As a consequence, Criterial Freezing prevents any further (criterial) movement from SubjP. If the subject must comply with a higher Criterion, as in the case of Wh or Focus movement, then it is forced to move from a predicate-internal position.

5. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I have investigated two empirical problems, the case of Contrastively Focalized Left Dislocation and the status of the focalized subjects in preverbal position, confronting them with the Criterial approach and the Split CP hypothesis. The empirical data have led to the same conclusion for both cases. The Contrastive Focus interpretation and prosody cannot be assigned - *at least* to the elements in criterial positions (CILDED Topics and preverbal subjects) - independently of the syntactic projection where the Contrastive Focus feature is encoded. Accordingly, this conclusion is sufficient to discard the idea that in *any* case there is a prosodic focalization strategy which is regardless of the syntactic configuration and able to impose the Contrastive Focus interpretation.

In conclusion, the present investigation provides evidence in favor of the cartographic idea that different discourse properties are encoded in distinct and dedicated syntactic projections. At this point, it is worth speculating which is the theoretical significance of this conclusion. We can translate the cartographic approach in two different versions, a radical formulation and a weak formulation (see also Benincà & Poletto 2004). According to the radical formulation, not only syntax provides a system of dedicated criterial projections to express specific scope-discourse properties at the interfaces, but the scope-discourse properties can be assigned at the interfaces exclusively by means of the relevant syntactic configuration. In this case, the Contrastive Focus interpretation and prosody could be assigned exclusively by means of the syntactic projection FocP where the Contrastive Focus feature is encoded. Consequently, it is to be rejected the idea that there is a purely prosodic

strategy able to impose the prosody of Contrastive Focus. This tallies exactly with what I have concluded from the cases of CFLD and focalized subjects. However, it is possible to object that the cases of CFLD and of focalized subjects in preverbal positions cannot provide sufficient evidence in favor of this radical formulation, since these constructions involve *per se* criterial features, as the ones responsible for “topichood” and for the subject-predicate articulation.

As a matter of fact, it is possible to object that syntax provides a dedicated projection to signal the discourse-scope properties of Contrastive Focus at the interfaces, and, at the same time, that there is also a prosodic focalization strategy partially independent of syntax (Benincà & Poletto 2004). According to this second model, any element which occupies a criterial position is specified for some scope-discourse property which must be appropriately interpreted by the interfaces. So, the prosodic focalization strategy cannot apply to preverbal subjects in SubjP or to the elements in TopP, because the interfaces must interpret the properties syntactically encoded in those positions, i.e. the properties of “subject” of the predication and of “topic”. Conversely, when an element is not in a criterial position, as a direct object *in situ*, it is not specified with reference to discourse-scope properties in syntax and, hence, the prosodic strategy can apply without giving rise to a clash of properties. This second model cannot be rejected by means of the arguments based on the CFLD constructions and focalized subjects, because these constructions involve *per se* criterial features, as mentioned above. However, it is worth underlining that even this second model cannot be but cartographic, since it assumes that there are syntactic positions dedicated to express scope-discourse properties at the interfaces. As a matter of fact, even if a purely prosodic focalization strategy existed, it should be sensitive to and constrained by syntax, as shown by the conclusion drawn from the properties of CFLD and focalized subjects. So, we can refer to the second model as the weak formulation of the cartographic idea. For the time being, I leave open the discussion concerning the most adequate implementation of the cartographic approach, but I hope to address this issue in future work.

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