

Information Structure in Italian Clauses

1. Introduction

- Distribution of contrastive focus: descriptively, any position goes.

(1) **Obj_F** aux V **Obj_F** IO **Obj_F**

- The right-dislocation analysis (Vallduví 1992, Samek-Lodovici 2006).

Focus is clause-rightmost. (Antinucci & Cinque 1977, Calabrese 1982, 1992, Belletti & Shlonsky 1995, Zubizarreta 1998, Samek-Lodovici 1996, 2005). Stress in capitals.

(2) Ha cantato **MARCO_F** (non Paolo)
has sung MARK (not Paul)
MARK sang

Discourse-given phrases can be right-dislocated in clause-external position (marked as 'G' for 'Given'). (Vallduví 1992, Cecchetto 1999; Cardinaletti 2001, 2002, Samek-Lodovici 2006)

(3) a. What about Mark and the song?

b. [Marco **I**'ha CANTATA]_F , **la canzone**_G
Mark it has sung the song
Mark sang it, the song

(4) [Marco **lo** SAPEVA]_F , [**che Gianni era partito**]_G
Mark it knew that John was left
Mark KNEW it, that John had left

When focus and right-dislocation combine, focus becomes non-final (Vallduví 1992).

Focus remains rightmost in its clause, since right-dislocated phrases lie clause-externally (Samek-Lodovici 2006).

(5) L'ha cantata **MARCO_F** , **la canzone**_G (non Paolo)
it has sung Mark the song (not Paul)
MARK sang it, the song

(6) Lo sapeva **MARCO_F** , [**che Gianni era partito**]_G (non Paolo)
it knew Mark that John was left (not Paul)
MARK knew it, that John had left

- Unified analysis of contrastive focus: focus occurs rightmost in its clause, optionally followed by right-dislocation.

- A different analysis, choosing left-peripheral focus as the main structural focus location (Rizzi 1997, 2004).

(7) [Topic* [Focus [... [Topic* [... [TP [VP

- Which analysis is best?

Talk: compare the two analyses with respect to their predictions on the status of object DPs placed immediately focus.

(8) A **MARIA_F** , **i fiori** , abbiamo dato
To Mary the flowers (we) have given
We have given the flowers to **MARY**

Predictions of right-dislocation analysis: post-focus DPs share the properties of right-dislocated phrases.

Predictions of Rizzi (1997, 2004): post-focus DPs share the properties of left-peripheral topics.

2. Contrastive interpretation

- Left-peripheral topics show contrastive interpretation (Büring 1997, 2005).
Due to its contrastive topic, (9b) presupposes the super-question in (9c).
(9) a. Who did you give the flowers to?
b. **I fiori**, a MARIA_F, li abbiamo dati
the flowers, to Mary, (we) them_{clitic} have given
As for the flowers, to MARY, we gave them
c. Who did you give X to? (We gave the flowers to Mary; the plants to Mark; the toys to Bill)
- Contrastive interpretation is absent with right-dislocated DPs; (10b) does not presuppose the super question (10c).
(10) a. Who did you give the flowers to?
b. Li abbiamo dati a MARIA_F, **i fiori**_G
them_{ccitic} (we) have given to MARY, the flowers
We gave them to MARY, the flowers
c. * Who did you give X to?
- Like right-dislocated items, post-focus DPs lack a contrastive interpretation: (11b) does not presuppose (11c).
(11) a. Who did you give the flowers to?
b. A MARIA_F, **i fiori**, abbiamo dato
to Mary, the flowers, (we) have given
To MARY, we gave them, the flowers
c. * Who did you give X to?

3. Contrastive list-reading

- Left-peripheral topics allow for contrastive list reading (Büring 1997, 2005).
(12) Q: Did you invite John and Andrew to the party?
A: **Gianni**, MARCO_F, **lo** ha invitato; mentre **Andrea**, MARIA_F, **lo** ha invitato
John, MARC, him has invited; whereas Andrew, MARY, him has invited
John, MARC invited him; whereas Andrew, MARY invited him
- Right-dislocated phrases lack contrastive list reading (Benincá & Poletto, 2004).
(13) Q: Any news about John and Andrew? Are they coming to the party?
A: * **Lo** abbiamo invitato noi, **Gianni**_G; mentre **lo** hanno invitato i tuoi amici, **Andrea**_G
him have invited we, John; whereas him have invited the your friends, Andrew
John, we invited him; whereas Andrew, your friends invited him.
- Post-focus DPs pattern with right-dislocated phrases (Benincá & Poletto 2004), confirming their right-dislocated status.
(14) Q: Did you invite John and Mary to the party?
A: * MARCO_F, **Gianni**, (lo) ha invitato; mentre MARIA_F, **Andrea**, (lo) ha invitato
MARC, John, him has invited; whereas MARY, Andrew, him has invited
John, MARC invited him; whereas Andrew, MARY invited him

4. Sensitivity to strong islands

- Left-peripheral DP topics are insensitive to strong-islands (also Zeller 2005 for Zulu, Vermeulen 2007 for Japanese).

- (15) **L'invito**, a MARCO_F, crediamo che [ricever-**lo**] farebbe piacere (subject island)
the invitation, to MARK_F, (we) believe that to-receive it would please
 As for the invitation, we believe that receiving it would please MARK
- (16) **Il progetto**, a MARIA_F, abbiamo presentato [una persona che **lo** conosce bene] (complex NP island)
the project, to MARY_F, (we) have introduced a person who it knows well
 As for the project, we introduced a person who knows it well to MARY

- Right-dislocated phrases, instead, are sensitive to strong islands.

(17) Subject islands:

- a. Base: [Incontrare **mia figlia**] mi ha aiutato molto
To-meet my daughter me has helped much
 Meeting my daughter has helped me considerably.
- b. Subject internal RD: [incontrar-**la**, **mia figlia**_G] mi ha aiutato molto
To-meet-her, my daughter me has helped much
- c. Subject external RD: *[incontrar-**la**] mi ha aiutato molto, **mia figlia**_G
to-meet-her me has helped much, my daughter

(18) Complex-NP islands:

- a. Base: Ho presentato [una persona che può terminare **questo lavoro**] a Maria
(I) have introduced a person who can finish this work to Mary
 I introduced a person who can complete this work to Mary
- b. NP-internal RD: [?]Ho presentato [una persona che può terminar-**lo**, **questo lavoro**_G] a Maria
(I) have introduced a person who can finish-it, this work to Mary
- c. NP-external RD: *Ho presentato [una persona che può terminar-**lo**] a Maria, **questo lavoro**_G
(I) have introduced a person who can finish-it, to Mary, this work

- Post-focus DPs are also sensitive to strong islands, sharing once more the properties of right-dislocated phrases.

- (19) * a MARCO_F, **l'invito**, crediamo che [ricevere / ricever-**lo**] farebbe piacere (subject island)
to MARK_F, the invitation, (we) believe that to-receive / to-receive it would please
 As for the invitation, we believe that receiving it would please MARK
- (20) * A MARIA_F, **il progetto**, abbiamo presentato [una persona che (**lo**) conosce bene] (complex NP island)
to MARY_F, the project, (we) have introduced a person who it knows well
 As for the project, we introduced a person who knows it well to MARY

5. Epithet doubling

- Left-peripheral DP topics can be doubled by epithets.

- (21) **Gianni**, A MIA MOGLIE_F, mi tocca presentare **quel criminale**! (object epithet)
John, to my WIFE, to-me (it) happens-to-have to-introduce that criminal
 As for the John, unfortunately I have to introduce that rascal to my WIFE!
- (22) **Gianni**, UN'ALTRA FESSERIA_F, temiamo che **quell'idiota**_i possa fare! (subject epithet)
John, AN OTHER FOOLISH ACTION, (we) fear that that idiot might do
 As for the John, we fear that idiot might do something FOOLISH again!

- The same does not hold for right-dislocated phrases.
 - (23) * Mi tocca presentare **quel criminale_i** a mia moglie, **Gianni_{G,i}** ! (object epithet)
To-me (it) happens-to-have to-introduce that criminal to my wife, John
 Unfortunately I have to introduce that rascal to my wife, John.
 - (24) * Temiamo che **quell'idiota_i** possa fare un'altra fesseria, **Gianni_{G,i}** ! (subject epithet)
(we) fear that that idiot might do an other foolish-action, John
 We fear that idiot might do something foolish again, John!
- Post-focus DPs too disallow epithet doubling.
 - (25) * A MIA MOGLIE_F, **Gianni_i**, mi tocca presentare **quel criminale_i** ! (object epithet)
to my WIFE, John, to-me (it) happens-to-have to-introduce that criminal
 As for the John, unfortunately I have to introduce that rascal to my WIFE!
 - (26) * UN'ALTRA FESSERIA_F, **Gianni_i**, temiamo che **quell'idiota_i** possa fare! (subject epithet)
AN OTHER FOOLISH ACTION, John, (we) fear that that idiot might do
 As for the John, we fear that idiot might do something FOOLISH again!

6. Clitic-doubling

- Left-peripheral object topics are obligatorily clitic-doubled (Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997).
 - (27) Left-per. focus: **I fiori**, a MARIA_F, **li** abbiamo dati (obligatory clitic)
The flowers, to Mary, (we) them_{clitic} have given.
 As for the flowers, to MARY, we gave them
 - (28) No Left-per. focus: **I fiori**, **li** abbiamo dati a Maria (obligatory clitic)
The flowers, (we) them_{clitic} have given to Mary
 As for the flowers, we gave them to Mary

In (28) the topic lies in Rizzi's lower topic projection, predicting an obligatory clitic for post-focus DPs.
- But clitic-doubling is obligatorily absent with post-focus DPs, confirming that they are not left-peripheral topics. (Belletti 2004, Benincà 2001, Benincà and Poletto 2004, Samek-Lodovici 2006)
 - (29) With clitic: * A MARIA_F, **i fiori**, **li** abbiamo dati
To MARY, the flowers, (we) them have given
 We gave the flowers to MARY
 - (30) Without clitic: A MARIA_F, **i fiori**, abbiamo dato
To MARY, the flowers, (we) have given
 We gave the flowers to MARY

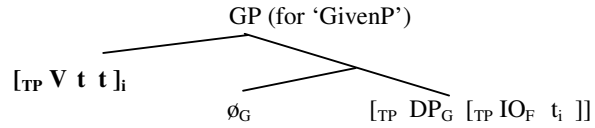
- The right-dislocation analysis offers a possible explanation.

Derivation based on antisymmetric analysis of right-dislocation attributed to Kayne in Cecchetto (1999). See Samek-Lodovici (2006) for detailed discussion of supporting evidence.

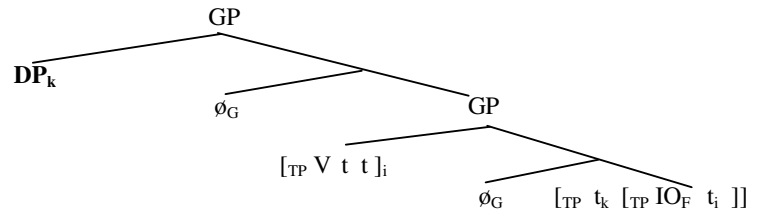
- (31) Clitic absence under <FOCUS DP TP > order.

1. Base: $[_{TP} V [_{VP} DP_G IO_F]]_G$
2. DP_G and IO_F fronting: $[_{TP} DP_G [_{TP} IO_F [_{TP} V t t]_G]]$
Focus fronting possibly
marking background status of TP as per Neeleman & van de Koot (to appear)
and Neeleman, van de Koot, Titov, Vermeulen (to appear).
DP fronting necessary to allow for independent dislocation of TP.

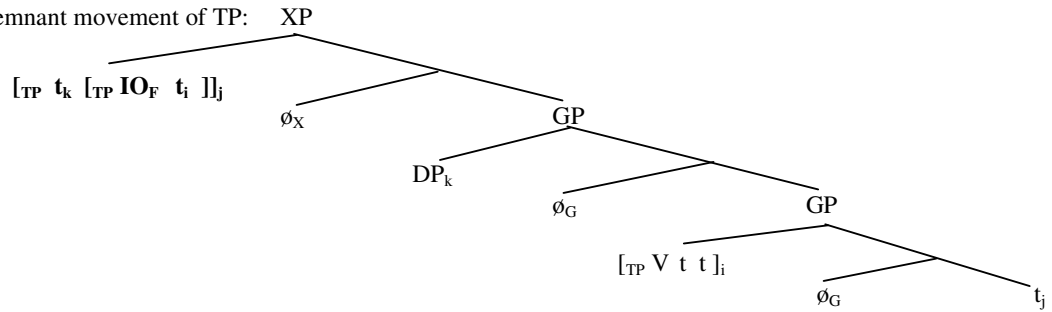
3. Dislocation of TP_G:



4. Dislocation of DP_G:
DP extracted from projection lacking clitic-hosting T°, hence clitic-doubling impossible.



5. Remnant movement of TP:



- The same analysis correctly predicts that clitics become possible again when the dislocated DP and TP switch order.

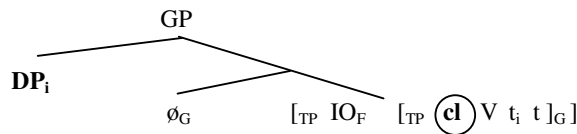
(32) A MARIA_F, (li) abbiamo dati, i fiori
To MARY, (we) them have given, the flowers
 We gave the flowers to MARY

- Potential clitic under <FOCUS TP DP> order.

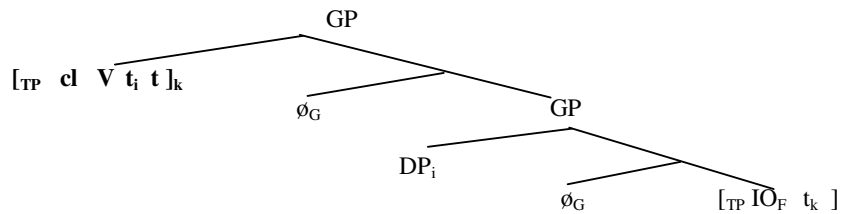
(33) 1. Base: [TP V [VP DP_G IO_F]]_G

2. IO_F fronting: [TP IO_F [TP V DP_G t]]_G

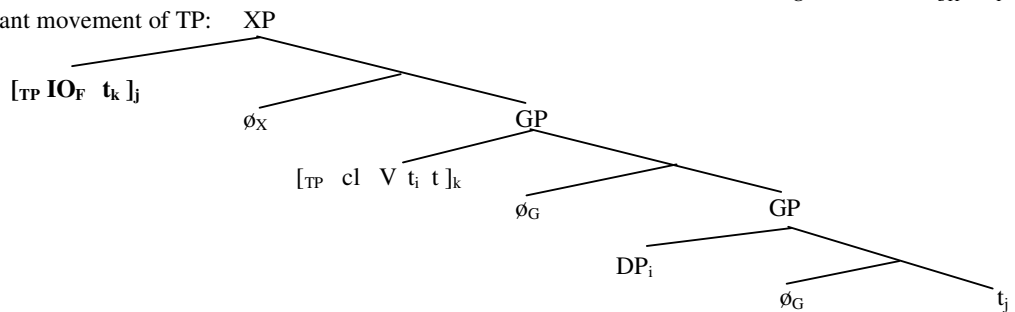
3. Dislocation of DP_G:
T° present, hence clitic possible



4. Dislocation of TP_G:



5. Remnant movement of TP:



7. Other analyses and issues

- Benincà and Poletto (2004): post-focus DPs clitic-less because they constitute additional foci.

Post-focus DPs share properties of right-dislocated phrases, not focus, e.g. absence of contrastive interpretation.

N-words can occur as focus, (34), but not as right-dislocated items, (35). If post-focus DPs were foci, they should allow for n-words. They do not, (36), confirming the right-dislocation analysis (Samek-Lodovici 2008).

(34) Q: What did you see?

A1: Non ho visto **NIENTE/NESSUNO**
(I) not have seen nothing/nobody
 I saw nothing/nobody

A2: **NIENTE/NESSUNO**, ho visto
Nothing/Nobody, I saw
 I saw nothing/nobody

(35) * Non lo ha visto GIANNI_F, **niente/nessuno**_G
Not it has seen John, nothing/nobody

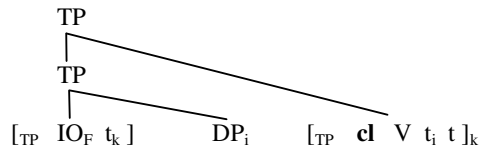
(36) * GIANNI_F, **niente/nessuno**, ha visto
John, nothing/nobody, has seen

- Right-dislocation via right-adjunction untenable. It wrongly predicts clitic-doubling for <Focus DP TP> order.

(37) 1. Dislocation of DP_G:



2. Dislocation of TP_G:



- Rizzi's object DP topics are ambiguous between CLLD Topics (Cinque 1990) and Hanging Topics (Benincà 2001). Does the evidence supplied in the previous sections remain valid under the CLLD / HT distinction?

Hanging Topics display all the topic properties considered in the above sections: contrastive interpretation, contrastive list-reading, insensitivity to strong islands, epithet doubling, and obligatory clitic-doubling. As shown, post-focus DPs show none of these properties, supporting their right-dislocated status.

CLLD topics –unlike HTs–are sensitive to strong islands and disallow epithet doubling (Cinque 1990), so the evidence in sections 4 and 5 is unusable because it does not distinguish them from right-dislocated phrases. Unlike right-dislocated phrases, however, CLLD topics allow for contrastive interpretation, contrastive list-reading, and never disallow clitic-doubling (requiring it for object CLLD topics). As sections 2, 3, and 6 showed, the same properties do not apply to post-focus DPs, confirming their right-dislocated status.

8. Conclusions

- The properties of post-focus DPs support an analysis of Italian information structure where focus –even left-peripheral focus– occurs last in its clause, followed by discourse-given phrases in clause-external position.

(38) [Topic* [... FOCUS]] [Discourse-given-phrases]*

- This analysis enables us to extend Zubizarreta's analysis of rightmost focus to non-final focus, providing a unified account of Italian focus where focus trails the position of stress even when non final in linear terms.

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