

How the Right-Periphery Shapes the Left-Periphery – Lessons from Italian

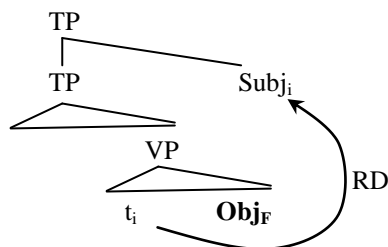
If you are interested in the topic and analysis provided here, please let me know and I'll send you the longer handout on which this handout is based.

- Claims (Samek-Lodovici 2005, 2006, 2013)
 - Italian contrastive focalization occurs in situ (contra Rizzi 1994, 2004 and most subsequent literature).
 - Leftward focus movement is an illusion created by the Right Dislocation (RD) of discourse-given phrases.

- The highly productive process of RD gives the illusion of leftward focus movement.

(1) V **Obj_F** Subj

(2) In-situ object followed by right-dislocated subject.



- Evidence - If RD is controlled for using negative phrases that resist right dislocation, focused objects cannot raise above VP-internal subjects, supporting focalization in situ (Samek-Lodovici 2013).

(3) A: Nessuno ha invitato i veneziani?
'Nobody invited the Venetians?'

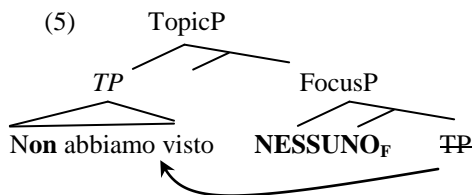
B1: No. **Non** ha invitato **nessuno** i MILANESI_F. <V S O_F> *In-situ focalization*
No. *Not has invited nobody the Milanese*
'No. Nobody invited the MILANESE.'

B2: * No. **Non** ha invitato i MILANESI_F **nessuno**. * <V O_F S t> *No focus raising*
No. *Not has invited the Milanese nobody*

- Evidence - Focused negative phrases in postverbal position require licensing, as expected under focalization in situ.

(4) **Non** abbiamo visto **NESSUNO_F**. ← *Licensing by 'non' obligatory.*
(We) *not have seen nobody*
'We saw nobody.'

Above data unaccounted for under left-peripheral analysis a la Rizzi (1997, 2004).



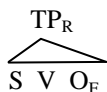
Problem 1 – Licensing is impossible, as negation does not c-command the negative object.

Problem 2 – Licensing should be unnecessary, as fronted negative objects need no licensing, see (6).

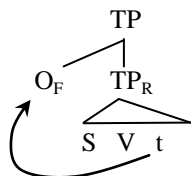
(6) **NESSUNO_F**, abbiamo visto.
Nobody (we) have seen
'We saw NOBODY.'

- When focus lies within a phrase targeted by RD, it evacuates it to enable its right dislocation. Focus moves to receive stress, as right-dislocated phrases cannot carry main stress because they are discourse-given.

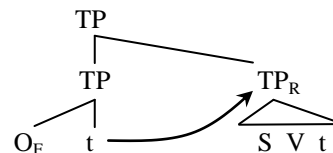
(7) Initial structure



(8) Focus evacuation



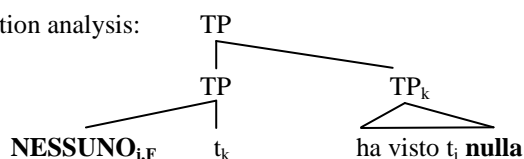
(9) Right Dislocation



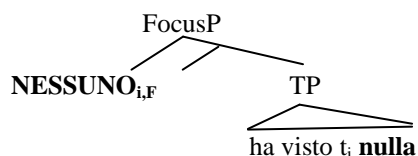
- Evidence – Focused negative subjects cannot license negative phrases within the right-dislocated TP following them, since they do not c-command it. Licensing is incorrectly predicted possible under Rizzi (1997, 2004). NB: Focalization does not interfere with licensing, see appendix 2.

(10) * **NESSUNO**_F, ha visto **nulla**.
Nobody has seen nothing

(11) Focus evacuation analysis:



(12) Left peripheral analysis:



- Evidence – The analysis accounts for Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's (2007) corpus study of the constituents surrounding left-peripheral foci. Post-focal phrases show the properties of right-dislocated items, as expected if they *are* right-dislocated.

- (13) Phrases *preceding* left-peripheral foci – They can express contrastive and aboutness topics. They follow a set order and cannot be iterated. Show the intonation of left-peripheral topics (L*-H and H* tonal contours).
- (14) Phrases *following* left-peripheral foci – They must be discourse-given. They do not follow a set order and can be iterated. Show the intonation of right-dislocated items (L* contour).

- Evidence – Object DPs following evacuated foci show the properties of right-dislocated phrases (Samek-Lodovici 2009, 2013; See appendix 1 for evidence).

(15) A **MARIA**_F, **i fiori**, abbiamo dato.
To Mary the flowers (we) have given
 'We have given the flowers to MARY.'

(16) Properties of post-focus object DPs

Properties	Post-Focus object DPs	RD	Hanging Topics (HTs)
Epithet licensing	No	No	✓
Contrastivity	No	No	✓
Sensitivity to strong islands	✓	✓	No
Deletion of preceding preposition	No	No	✓
Object clitic doubling is mandatory	No	No	✓
Bare NPs are possible	No	No	✓

- Evidence – The analysis explains the variation in acceptability displayed by left-peripheral foci across different contexts (Bianchi 2012, Bianchi and Bocci 2012). Focus evacuation in the answer B is only triggered by A1 because A2 does not entail the post-focus TP, thus not licensing its right-dislocation. Since RD is unlicensed, focus evacuation cannot occur.

(17) A1: L'altra sera a teatro, Maria **si era messa** uno straccetto di H&M.
The other evening at theatre, Mary refl was put-on a piece-of-cloth of H&M
 'Last night at the theatre, Mary wore a cheap dress from H&M.'

B: Un ARMANI_F, **si era messa**, non uno straccetto di H&M.
An Armani (dress) (she) refl was put-on, not a piece-of-cloth of H&M
 'She wore an ARMANI dress, not a cheap dress from H&M.'

(18) A2: # Maria era molto elegante, l'altra sera a teatro.
Mary was very elegant, the other evening at theatre
 'Last night at the theatre, Mary was very elegant.'

B: Un ARMANI_F, si era messa, non uno straccetto di H&M.
An Armani (dress) (she) refl was put-on, not a piece-of-cloth of H&M
 'She wore an ARMANI dress, not a cheap dress from H&M.'

- Evidence – RD applies across categories, predicting that evacuated foci will be found before different categories. Rizzi's left-peripheral foci constitute the subcase determined by the right dislocation of TPs.

(19) a. Siamo andati via [da MILANO_F], (non da Firenze). No RD
(We) are gone away from Milan, (not from Florence)
 'We went away from MILAN, (not Florence).'

b. Siamo andati [da MILANO_F], [via]_R. PP_R
(We) are gone from Milan, away

c. Siamo [da MILANO_F], [andati via]_R. VP_R
(We) are from Milan, gone away

d. [Da MILANO_F], [siamo andati via]_R. TP_R
From Milan, (we) are gone away

- Conclusions

Italian CF occurs in situ. The only exception occurs when RD targets a constituent containing focus, in which case focus evacuates the dislocating constituent.

There are no fixed focus projections. Higher-generated constituents situated to the right of focus are right dislocated and should not be interpreted as evidence for focus movement.

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- **APPENDIX 1** – Evidence for the right-dislocated properties of post-focus discourse-given fronted DPs.

Epithet licensing – Allowed by HTs but not by right dislocated phrases. Post-focus DPs pattern with RD.

- (20) a. **Gianni**_{HT}, mi tocca presentare **quel criminale** A MIA MOGLIE_F! (object epithet)
John, (it) to-me happens-to-have to-introduce that rascal to my WIFE
 'As for John, unfortunately I have to introduce that rascal to my WIFE!'
- b. **Gianni**_{HT}, temiamo che **quell'idiota** possa fare UN'ALTRA FESSERIA_F! (subject epithet)
John, (we) fear that that idiot might do AN OTHER FOOLISH ACTION
 'As for John, we fear that idiot might do something FOOLISH again!'
- (21) a. * Mi tocca presentare **quel criminale** A MIA MOGLIE_F, **Gianni**_R. (object epithet)
(It) to-me happens-to-have to-introduce that rascal to my wife, John
 'Unfortunately I have to introduce that rascal to my WIFE, John.'
- b. * Temiamo che **quell'idiota** possa fare UN'ALTRA FESSERIA_F, **Gianni**_R. (subject epithet)
(We) fear that that idiot might do an other foolish-action, John
 'We fear that idiot might do something FOOLISH again, John!'
- (22) a. * A MIA MOGLIE_F, **Gianni**, mi tocca presentare **quel criminale**! (object epithet)
To my WIFE, John, (it) to-me happens-to-have to-introduce that rascal
 'As for John, unfortunately I have to introduce that rascal to my WIFE!'
- b. * UN'ALTRA FESSERIA_F, **Gianni**, temiamo che **quell'idiota** possa fare! (subject epithet)
AN OTHER FOOLISH ACTION, John, (we) fear that that idiot might do
 'As for John, we fear that idiot might do something FOOLISH again!'

Contrastive list reading – Allowed by HTs (Büring 1997, 2007) but not by right dislocated phrases (Benincá & Poletto, 2004). Post-focus DPs pattern with RD.

- (23) **Gianni**_{HT}, lo abbiamo invitato NOI_F; mentre **Andrea**_{HT}, lo hanno invitato LORO_F.
John, him have invited we; whereas Andrew, him have invited they
 'John, WE invited him; whereas Andrew, THEY invited him.'
- (24) * **Lo** abbiamo invitato NOI, **Gianni**_R; mentre **lo** hanno invitato LORO, **Andrea**_R.
Him have invited we, John; whereas him have invited they, Andrew
 'John, WE invited him; whereas Andrew, THEY invited him.'
- (25) Q: Did you invite John and Mary to the party?
- A: * NOI_F, **Gianni**, (lo) abbiamo invitato; mentre LORO_F, **Andrea**, (lo) hanno invitato.
We, John, him have invited; whereas they, Andrew, him have invited
 'John, WE invited him; whereas Andrew, THEY invited him.'

Sensitivity to strong islands – Absent with HTs (Cinque 1990, Zeller 2006 for Zulu, Vermeulen 2007 for Japanese). Present with RD. Post-focus DPs pattern with RD.

- (26) a. **I soldi**_{HT}, crediamo che [ricever-**li** subito] aiuterebbe MARCO_F. (subject island)
The money, (we) believe that to-receive-them immediately would-help Mark
 ‘As for the money, we believe that receiving it now would help MARK.’
- b. **Il progetto**_{HT}, abbiamo presentato [una persona che **lo** conosce bene] a MARIA_F. (complex NP island)
The project, (we) have introduced a person who it knows well to MARY
 ‘As for the project, we introduced a person who knows it well to MARY.’
- (27) a. *Crediamo che [ricever-**li** subito] aiuterebbe MARCO_F, **i soldi**_R. (subject island)
(We) believe that to-receive-them immediately would-help MARK, the money
- b. *Abbiamo presentato [una persona che **lo** conosce bene] a MARIA_F, **il progetto**_R. (complex NP island)
(We) have introduced a person who it knows well, to Mary, the project
- (28) a. *MARCO_F, **i soldi**, crediamo che [ricevere / ricever-**li** subito] aiuterebbe. (subject island)
MARK_F, the money, (we) believe that to-receive / to-receive-them immediately would-help
 ‘We believe that receiving it now would help MARK, the money.’
- b. *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.’

Preposition dropping – Allowed by HTs but not by RD. Post-focus DPs pattern with RD.

- (29) [Le abbiamo parlato IERI]_F, *(a) **Maria**_R. *Preposition obligatory with RD*
 (we) to-her have spoken yesterday, to Mary
 ‘As for Mary, we spoke to her yesterday.’
- (30) **Maria**_{HT}, le abbiamo parlato IERI_F. *Preposition optional with HTs*
 Mary, (we) (to-her) have spoken yesterday.
 ‘We spoke YESTERDAY to Mary.’
- (31) IERI_F, *(a) **Maria**, (le) abbiamo parlato. *Preposition obligatory with Post-focus DPs*
 yesterday, Mary, (we) (to-her) have spoken
 ‘We spoke YESTERDAY to Mary.’
- (32) **Maria**, IERI_F, le abbiamo parlato. *Preposition optional with Pre-focus DPs*
 Mary, yesterday, (we) (to-her) have spoken
 ‘We spoke YESTERDAY to Mary.’

Obligatory clitic doubling – Necessary with HTs but not with RD. Post-focus DPs pattern with RD.

- (33) **La lettera**_{HT}, *(la) scriveremo DOMANI_F. *Clitic obligatory with HTs*
 the letter, (we) (it) will-write tomorrow
 ‘As for the letter, we will write it TOMORROW.’
- (34) Gli-(e-la) scriveremo DOMANI_F, a Gianni_R, **la lettera**_R. *Clitic optional with RD*
 (we) to-him-(prt-it) will-write tomorrow, to John, the letter
 ‘We will write the letter to John TOMORROW.’
- (35) A: Scriveranno la lettera dopodomani.
 (They) will-write the letter after-tomorrow
 ‘They will write the letter the day after tomorrow.’
- B1: No. DOMANI_F, **la lettera**, (la) scriveranno. *Clitic optional with Post-focus DPs*
 No. Tomorrow, the letter, (they) will-write
 ‘No. They will write the letter TOMORROW.’

- B2: No. **La lettera**, DOMANI_F, *(la) scriveranno. *Clitic obligatory with Pre-focus DPs*
 No. The letter, tomorrow, (they) (it) will-write
 ‘No. The letter, they will write it TOMORROW.’

Bare NPs – Possible with HTs topics but not with RD. Post-focus DPs pattern with RD.

- (36) **Fragole**_{HT}, ne hai date poche a Marco. *Bare NPs possible with HTs*
 Strawberries, (you) of-them have given few to Mark
 ‘As for strawberries, you gave few of them to Mark.’
- (37) a. * Gli-e-ne hai dato/e POCHE_F, a Marco_R, **fragole**_R *No Bare NPs with RD*
 (you) to-him-prt-of-them have given,Msg/Fpl few, to Mark, strawberries
 ‘You gave FEW strawberries to Mark.’
- b. * Gli hai dato/e POCHE_F, a Marco_R, **fragole**_R
 (you) to-him have given.Msg/Fpl few, to Mark, strawberries
- (38) * A MARCO_F, **fragole**, (ne) hai dato/e poche. *No bare NPs with Post-focus DPs*
 to Mark, strawberries, (you) (of-them) have given.Msg/Fpl few
- (39) **Fragole**, A MARCO_F, ne hai date poche. *Bare NPs possible with Pre-focus DPs*
 Strawberries, to Mark, (you) of-them have given.Fpl few
 ‘As for strawberries, you gave few of them to MARK.’
- (40) Gli-e-ne hai date POCHE_F, a Marco_R, **di fragole**_R *Preposition ‘di’ necessary with RD*
 (you) to-him-prt-of-them have given.Fpl few, to Mark, strawberries
 ‘You gave FEW strawberries to Mark.’
- (41) A MARCO_F, **di fragole**, ne hai date poche. *Preposition ‘di’ necessary with Post-focus DPs*
 to Mark, strawberries, (you) of-them have givenFpl few
 ‘You gave few strawberries to MARK.’

• **APPENDIX 2** – Focalization does not interfere with the licensing of post-verbal negative phrases.

- (42) A: Avete visto i cavalli?
Have (you) seen the horses?
 ‘Did you see the horses?’
- B: No. **Non** abbiamo visto **NULLA**_F.
No. (We) not have seen nothing
 ‘No. We did not see ANYTHING.’
- (43) A: Gianni non ha dato il vino a nessuno.
John not has given the wine to nobody
 ‘John did not give the wine not anybody.’
- B: No. Gianni **non** ha dato **il PANE**_F a **nessuno**_M.
No. John not has given the bread to nobody
 ‘John did not give the BREAD not anybody.’