

CONTRASTIVE FOCALIZATION ON TOPICS AND PREVERBAL SUBJECTS IN ITALIAN: SYNTAX FREE PROSODIC FOCALIZATION OR SYNTACTIC MOVEMENT TO FOC P?

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1§ Introduction

In this paper, I will confront the split CP model (Rizzi 1997 and subsequent work) and the criterial framework proposed by Rizzi (2004c) with two empirical problems. Firstly, I will consider a peculiar Italian construction (see (1)b), previously described and analysed by Benincà (1988:137-139 and 2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004), which seems to mix up the interpretative and prosodic properties of contrastive focus and the syntactic ones of CILDED topics (Benincà 1988, Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997). In (1)b, the fronted direct object (henceforth DO) is characterized by contrastive focus prosody and interpretation and it is resumed by a clitic.

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

At first glance this construction could be conceived of as an exception to the split CP model of the left periphery and to some assumptions underlying the cartographic approach the cartographic approach (Rizzi 2004b, Benincà and Poletto 2004, Belletti 2004c). Nevertheless, a closer investigation, based on the analysis of the subordinate clauses proposed by Haegeman (2004), suggests that the availability of this construction is related to the activation of the focus projection in the left periphery. In this paper I will first propose an analysis coherent with the split CP model and a restrictive formulation of the cartographic approach (Benincà and Poletto 2004).

In the second part of this paper, I consider the issue of contrastive focalization (henceforth CF) on preverbal subject in Italian, in order to investigate whether a phrase within the IP domain could be contrastively focalized independently of the dedicated syntactic projection. I argue that a subject cannot felicitously receive the interpretation and prosody of contrast standing in the preverbal IP-internal position, which I assume following Cardinaletti (2004). On the contrary, a contrastively focalized preverbal subject has to be necessarily extracted from a low postverbal position and moved to the specifier of FocP in the CP domain. This conclusion is

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consistent with the Criterial framework and the Subject Criterion proposed by Rizzi (2004c).

The data provided here and the analysis proposed for both issues, indicate that the contrastive focus prosody and interpretation cannot be available independently of the syntactic configuration. Instead, the focus functional projection appears to be necessary to assign contrastive focus features.

2§ Background

Ever since Rizzi (1997), many recent studies on the structure of the left periphery of the clause (Cinque 2001, Poletto 2000, Rizzi 2004a, Belletti 2004b) have proposed different syntactic configurations dedicated to the expression of some scope-discourse properties relevant to external interfaces, both interpretative and phonological. According to the cartographic approach assumed in these works, syntax provides a very articulated system of functional heads and projections, where the scope-discourse properties are encoded. The cartographic framework thus involves an enrichment of the inventory of functional heads, but, at the same time, it guarantees the local simplicity of the syntactic structures: a phrase endowed with a certain scope-discourse feature is attracted by the functional head endowed with the same feature, so that they can establish a spec-head agreement (Rizzi 2004b).

Following this cartographic approach, different interpretations and prosodic patterns are expressions of different configurations (Belletti 2004a:17). Benincà and Poletto (2004: 52) provide an explicit and restrictive implementation of this idea. In their work, they assume with reference to the left periphery a “one-to-one relation between position and function”, namely between pragmatic interpretation and syntactic position. This assumption, nevertheless, is weakened by Benincà and Poletto’s analysis of the peculiar Italian construction illustrated in (1), which implies the existence of one-to-many relations between discourse properties and syntactic positions. Following the guidelines proposed by Benincà and Poletto (2004), I will focus on the construction at issue in the first part of this paper and I will propose an alternative analysis of the apparent counterexample in (1) fully compatible with their theoretical assumption and, more generally, with the cartographic approach.

The assumption in Benincà and Poletto (2004) that there is a one-to-one relation between pragmatic interpretation and syntactic position, is also partially implied by the framework advanced by Rizzi (2004c). This framework is based on the Criteria, a family of principles concerning scope-discourse features and requiring “Spec-head agreement with respect to features of relevant class” (Rizzi 2004c:4). Looking at the left periphery, Rizzi (1996) argues that a phrase bearing a Wh-feature is forced to move from its first merge position to the specifier of the relevant functional head located in the Comp domain. Analogously, the Topic Criterion and the Focus Criterion allow the clausal articulation respectively in Topic-comment and Focus-presupposition (Rizzi 1997, 2004b, 2004c). Whereas the first merge of an element

satisfies, for instance, the interpretative properties of Theta role assignment for arguments, the Criteria assure that an element reaches the position dedicated to express the appropriate discourse properties, establishing the necessary spec-head agreement with the relevant functional head. In this way, the Criteria create A' chains that allow an element to receive both argument interpretative properties from its argument position and the discourse properties from the criterial position where the Criterion is satisfied.

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. As a result, a phrase can be endowed with the discursive properties picked up from just one position, so that for every criterial projection there is just one discursive interpretation. In this model, 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.

3§ Contrastively Focalized Left Dislocation: an unusual case

Benincà and Poletto (2004) discuss a peculiar construction, pointed out by Giulio Lepschy and previously argued for in Benincà (1988:137-139) and (2001:57-60), which appears to mix up the syntactic properties of CILDED Topics and the interpretative and prosodic properties characterizing contrastive focus. At first glance, this construction seems to contradict the idea that the left periphery of the clause hosts distinct syntactic positions dedicated to express specific discursive properties or, at least, it seems to be a marginal exception. In this section, I introduce the main characteristics of this construction and the analysis advanced for it by Benincà and Poletto (2004). Subsequently, I will examine some restrictions operative on the construction under exam, showing that the split CP model (Rizzi 1997) is fully consistent with the empirical generalizations. On the basis of the data discussed here, this construction offers further support to the idea that the meaning and the prosody of contrastive focus are not available independently of the movement (covert or overt) to the syntactic projection of FocP (Rizzi 1997 and Belletti 2004a).¹

Benincà (1988 and 2001) argues that in a special echo-context (see below) a direct object fronted to the left periphery and characterized by interpretation and

¹ Note that I will occasionally use the expression "prosody of contrast" which is somewhat misleading. I conceive the prosody of contrastive focus as a set of properties which characterizes the whole Focus-presupposition articulation, as described in the main text. It is worth pointing out that the same remark holds for the interpretative properties as well.

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prosody of contrastive focus can unexpectedly be resumed by a clitic, as illustrated in (2)b (the clitic is marked in boldface type for convenience). Note that the past participle agrees with the object if the resumptive clitic and a past participle cooccur.

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

For convenience, I will refer to the construction where a direct object with contrastive focus interpretation and prosody is resumed by the clitic, as Contrastively Focalized (clitic) Left Dislocation (CFLD). Even if there is a lack of experimental evidence, I agree with Benincà (1988, 2001) and Benincà e Poletto (2004) in considering the intonational contour of (2)b as similar to the one of the sentence with CF in (2)c. Moreover, this contour results very different from the contour of the sentence with CILD in (2)a (see below in the text). Following the analysis of Siena variety of Italian proposed by Bocci (2004) and Bocci and Avesani (*forthcoming*), I assume that the intonational properties of a sentence with contrastive focus on the left periphery can be analysed as a fall-rise bitonal nuclear pitch accent, presumably L+H*, associated with the (last stressed syllable of the) focalized phrase, and a low and flat intonational contour on the whole presupposition of Focus (in the sense of Rizzi 1997), i.e. L-L% (see (9)). I will use capital letters to indicate the prosody proper to both CFLD and Contrastive Focus in the left periphery. By comparing the sentence with CFLD in (2)a and the sentence in (2)c, which is characterized by a paradigmatical instance of CF, no interpretative difference between them emerges (see below).

As Benincà (1988:138) points out, an element must be actually “given” both for speaker and hearer to appropriately occur as CFLD. Otherwise, CFLD results into a flagrant degradation. However, this requirement is not sufficient to describe the suitable contexts for CFLD because this construction is acceptable only if it is asserted as a reply to an utterance in which a clitic left dislocated direct object is used and if the contrast concerns the CILDed element, as in (2). In fact, in an echo-context like (2), we find CFLD (see (2)b) as well as a CF construction (see (2)c). However a severe degradation is involved if CFLD occurs in a sentence which does not reply to an utterance with CILDed object (see (3)b); in such contexts only CF is

acceptable (see (3)c).² It is worth underlining that "la poltrona" (the armchair) – the CFLD element in the sentence (3)b – is already identified in the discourse domain, but CFLD is ungrammatical. On the contrary "la poltrona" can become a CILDed Topic, as shown in (3)d.

- (3) a. –A: L'anno prossimo compra il tappeto, mentre non ha ancora preso una decisione per la poltrona.
'Next year [s/he] will buy the carpet, while [s/he] has not taken a decision for the armchair yet.'
- b. –B: *No, ti sbagli. LA POLTRONA **la** compra l'anno prossimo (, non il tappeto)!
- c. –B': No, ti sbagli. LA POLTRONA compra l'anno prossimo (, non il tappeto)!
'No, you are wrong. [S/he] has said that THE ARMCHAIR [s/he] {it-/Ø} will buy next year (, not the carpet)!'
- d. –B'': La poltrona, credo che finirà per comprarla alla fiera.
'The armchair, I think that [s/he] will end up by buying-it at the fair.'

Benincà (1988 and 2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004), account for CFLD 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, which, in the suitable echo-context, receives the prosody and interpretation proper to contrastive focus, staying in [Spec;TopP] and without moving to [Spec;FocP]. To provide support for their proposal, Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004) show that CFLD, as well as the CILDed Topics, are insensitive to WCO, unlike CF, which involves a quantificational operator-variable dependency. As shown in (4), a pronoun within a subject DP can be coindexed with a CFLDed element (see (4)-B), but not with an element in CF (see (4)c). Since they assume WCO sensitivity to be a signature of the focus projection activation, they exclude FocP from being involved in CFLD.

² According to my judgments and the ones of my informants, CFLD occurs preferably in the same position where the CILDed object of the context sentence appears. For example, if the context sentence displays the CILDed DO in the periphery of the complement clause, like in i.a, CFLD sounds more natural in the periphery of the complement clause than in the periphery of the main clause (see i.b and i.c). The same generalization holds for the symmetrical case.

- i. a. –A Ha detto che il divano l'ha venduto ieri.
[S/he] said that the sofa [s/he] it-sold yesterday.
- b. –B Ha detto che LA POLTRONA l'ha venduta ieri (, non il divano)!
- '[S/he] said that THE AIRMCHAIR [s/he] it-sold yesterday (, not the sofa)'
- c. –B' ^(?)LA POLTRONA ha detto che l'ha venduta ieri (, non il divano)
'THE AIRMCHAIR [s/he] said that [s/he] it-sold yesterday (, not the sofa)'

Note that the expression "in echo context" does not have to be taken literally, given that, for example, a subject can be omitted in the CFLD construction, even if it overtly occurs in the context sentence, as shown in (8)d.

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- (4) a. –A: Mario_i, i suoi_i genitori non lo vedono mai.
'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!).³
c. –B': *Sbagli, GIANNI_i i suoi_i genitori non vedono mai (, non Mario!).
'You are wrong! GIANNI_i his_i parents do not {it-/Ø} see ever (, not Mario!)'

It is worth pointing out that the analysis of Benincà (1988 and 2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004), according to which CFLD is a syntactic CILDED topic contrastively focalized *in situ*, is not trivial because in Italian the contrastive focus meaning and intonation cannot be freely available (see Belletti 2004a). Right Dislocated Topics (RDs), for example, can never be contrastively focalized, not even in echo-context.⁴ As shown in (5)b, a contrastively focalized RD is totally ungrammatical.⁵

- (5) a. –A: L'ha comprato ieri, il libro (, ma non ha preso ancora una decisione per la rivista).
'[S/he] it-has bought yesterday the book (, but [s/he] has not taken a decision for the magazine).'
b. –B: *L'ha comprata ieri, LA RIVISTA (, non il libro!)
'[S/he] it-has bought yesterday, THE MAGAZINE (, not the book)'

³ This example has been selected and adapted from Benincà and Poletto (2004: n. 10 A-B). I chose a plural subject in order to avoid the ambiguity between subject and object.

⁴ Like RD, Hanging Topic can never be contrasted, as pointed out by Lidia Lonzi (p.c.). See also Lonzi (*forthcoming*).

- i. a. –A (Quanto a) Mario, gli hanno promesso la promozione entro Gennaio.
(As for) Mario, [they] to him-have promised the promotion by January.
b. –B *(QUANTO A) GIORGIO, gli hanno promesso la promozione entro Gennaio!
(As for) GIORGIO, [they] to him-have promised the promotion by January.

A contrastive focus interpretation seems to be unavailable in Aux-to-Com constructions (Rizzi 1982) as well. Aux-to-Comps are gerundival clauses in Italian, modulo a formal stylistic level of Italian, and they are characterized by the fact that the subject, endowed with nominative case, occurs between the aspectual auxiliary and the past participle, as in ii. and iii. As shown in ii.b and in iii.b, if the subject bears a contrastive intonation, the sentence appears to be a metalinguistic correction and sounds quite unnatural, although the stylistic character of Aux-to-Comp makes the judgment not a straightforward one.

- ii. a. –A Avendo Mario accettato di aiutarci, potremo risolvere il problema.
'Having Mario agreed to help-us, [we] could solve the problem.'
b. –B ^{??}Avendo LUCA accettato di aiutarci, potremo risolvere il problema!
'Having LUCA agreed to help-us, [we] could solve the problem'
- iii. a. –A Essendo Maria partita, non abbiamo altri impegni.
'Having Maria left, [we] do not have other engagements'
b. –B ^{??}Essendo LUCIA partita, non abbiamo altri impegni.
'Having LUCIA left, [we] do not have other engagements'

⁵ It is important to note that "the magazine" is already identified in the discourse domain. For this observation and a brief discussion on RD and contrast (see fn. 19 and fn. 23).

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(6) a. –A: Il libro, l'ha comprato ieri (, ma non ha preso ancora una decisione per la rivista).
'The book, [s/he] it-bought yesterday (, but [s/he] has not taken a decision for the magazine).'

b. –B: LA RIVISTA l'ha comprata ieri (, non il libro)!
'THE MAGAZINE [s/he] it-bought yesterday (, not the book)!'

As we have already seen, CFLD is grammatical only in echo-context. If contrastive meaning and intonation were freely available for any element, CILDED Topics could always be contrasted, not only in echo-contexts (see (3)b). Furthermore, CFLD has to comply with a definiteness requirement. An indefinite element cannot appropriately appear as CFLD, and in particular when it is a specific indefinite in the sense of Enç (1991), as shown in (7) and (8) (see also Benincà 1988).⁶

(7) a. –B: Un libro di poesie l'abbiamo regalato a Carlo.
'A book of poems [we] it-have given to Carlo.'

⁶ Benincà (1988:138), employing a slightly different terminology from the one used by Enç (1991), argues that the CFLD constructions are unacceptable exclusively with specific indefinite elements (see ii.b), whereas she judges them grammatical when they are definites or generic indefinites (see i.b). Although the examples provided by Benincà (1988:138 (86)-(87)), which are quoted in i.a-b and in ii., are quite clear, they seem to be exceptions. As a matter of fact, by comparing i.b with i.c. and the examples in iii., a severe degradation with generic indefinite phrases is observable. Compare CFLD in iii.b with iii.c which is an example with CF. Unlike CFLD, CF is perfectly grammatical. I therefore conclude that the example in i.b is an exception and that there is a definiteness requirement as far as CFLDs are concerned.

i. a. –A: Un libro, lo scrivi in una settimana.

'A book, [you] it-write in a week.'

b. –B: UN ARTICOLO lo scrivo in una settimana.

'A PAPER, [I] it-write in a week.'

c. –B': ^{??}UNA LISTA DELLA SPESA la scrivo in una settimana.

A LIST OF EXPENDITURE, [I] it-write in a week.'

ii. a. –A: Un libro, l'ha scritto in una settimana.

'A BOOK, [s/he] it-has written in a week.'

b. –B: ^{??}UN ARTICOLO l'ha scritto in una settimana

'A PAPER, [s/he] it-has written in a week.'

iii. a. –A: Un cane lo potrebbero adottare.

'A dog they it-could adopt.'

b. –B: ^{??}UN GATTO lo potrebbero adottare.

'A CAT they it-could adopt.'

c. –B': UN GATTO potrebbero adottare.

'A CAT they could adopt.'

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- b. –A: *UNA CRAVATTA l'abbiamo regalata a Carlo (, non un libro di poesie)!
'A TIE [we] it-have given to Carlo.'
- (8) 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-has 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-has 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-has discarded at the beginning of the second hand (, not an ace)!'
- e. –B''': UNA FIGURA ha scartato all'inizio della seconda mano (, non un asso)!
'A COAT-CARD [he] has 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] has discarded at the beginning of the second hand (, not an ace)!'

Whereas a specific indefinite element can be clitic left dislocated as in (8)a or contrastively focalized as in (8)e, a specific indefinite is quite unacceptable as CFLD, as illustrated in (8)c. On the contrary, a definite element can appear in CFLD, as felicitously as in a CF construction (see (8)d and (8)f). In conclusion, CFLD has to satisfy more restrictions than the usual CILDed Topics.

So far, we have mentioned two constraints on the availability of CFLD: the sharp requirement on the echo-context, and the definiteness requirement. If these were the only restrictions for CFLD, the analysis of Benincà and Poletto (2004) would still make the correct empirical predictions, because the constraints on the contrastive focalisation *in situ* of CILDed Topic could be somehow amenable to its pragmatic-interpretative properties. On the contrary, as I will try to argue, CFLD is ungrammatical in those cases where CILDed Topics are acceptable and where the syntactic Focus projection is unavailable for independent reasons, as in the left periphery of infinitival control clauses (Haegeman 2004). Therefore, if CFLD depends on the local availability of FocP, it cannot be adequately accounted for in terms of prosodic focalisation *in situ*, but it should be analysed as involving the FocP activation, which is the functional projection dedicated to express the properties of contrastive focus.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that if the contrastive focus interpretation for a CILDed Topic were available independently of FocP, it would be possible to conclude that there is a one-to-many relation between discourse properties and syntactic positions. According to this analysis, therefore, CFLD constitutes an exception to the Benincà and Poletto's theoretical assumption of a one-to-one

relation between syntactic configuration and interpretative properties. On the contrary, the analysis of CFCL proposed here, according to which the CF projection plays a crucial role in CFLD, is not only compatible with the strong formulation of the cartographic idea proposed by Benincà and Poletto (2004), but it also constitutes an independent piece of evidence in favor of their assumption.

4§ CFLD is not Contrastive Topic

Before discussing the syntactic contexts where CFLD is allowed, I will briefly consider the notion of “contrast” involved in CFLDed constructions compared with the contrastively focalized ones. At the same time, I will emphasize the difference between the so-called Contrastive Topic on the one hand, and CFLD and CF on the other, in spite of the common and misleading term “contrastive”.⁷ On the basis of interpretative and syntactic differences, I will show that we have to distinguish two types of “contrast”, one proper to CF and CFLD, and the other associated with Contrastive Topic. CF and CFLD have to be conceived of as a particular kind of focus, as shown by the fact that they have to be unique and cannot cooccur with another focus or a main Wh element. On the contrary, the comment of CT typically hosts a new information focus (Büring 1997, Arregi 2003).⁸

As previously mentioned, I assume that sentences with CF and sentences with CT are marked by different prosodic properties, as one can notice intuitively. A CF cannot be followed by another focus (Calabrese 1982:13-15, Belletti 2004a) and its presupposition (in the sense of Rizzi 1997) is intonationally de-accented, i.e. characterized by a flat and low contour without any pitch accent, as roughly sketched in (9) (from Bocci 2004 and Bocci and Avesani *forthcoming*). On the contrary, CT is typically followed by a new information focus (Büring 1997 and Arregi 2003). On the basis of experimental evidence, Bocci and Avesani conclude that the comment of CT is endowed with (at least) the pitch accent H+L*, which characterizes new information focus in Italian (Avesani and Vayra 2003). For the sake of argument, the relevant intonation contour of the Topic-Presupposition articulation is sketched in (10). Since CFLD, as well as CF, cannot be followed by a new information focus, as I argue below, it is plausible to suppose that CFLD, as well as CF, is never followed by a focal pitch accent, unlike CT.

⁷ Büring (1997:179 n. 7) argues that the term “contrastive” is misleading and underlines that contrastive topic and contrastive focus should not be confused.

⁸ According to Arregi (2003:35) “all sentences with a contrastive topic also contain some other constituent which is focalized.” Büring (1997) assumes that every sentence contains a focus as well. However, what is sufficient and necessary here, is the observation that a sentence with CILD can host a new information focus.

(1998), this characterization of contrastive focus lets us capture the sense of the following examples (see (13)-(14)), even if it is both theoretically inadequate and, perhaps, empirically too restrictive to account for the meaning of Italian contrastive focus.

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 (11).¹⁰ Speaker B (in (11)b) does not answer the question made by A, but B answers another question, related to the former. It is worth pointing out that B does not state anything about “la macchina” (the car), as shown by A’s reply in (11)c. At most, the CT in (11)b. can trigger an implicature.

- (11) 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]_{CT} 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?
‘Yes, but what about the car? Did [he] it-sell yesterday morning or not?’

In the dialogue below, Contrastive Topic is not uttered by Speaker B to answer a question as was the case in (11), but to reply to the statement in (12)a or in (12)b. Nevertheless, the meaning of the contrastive topic in (12)c is analogous to the one in (11)b. Using the CT in (12)c, B states nothing about “la macchina” (the car) and about the proposition asserted by A in (12)a or in (12)b, as shown by A’s reply in (12)d.

- (12) a. –A: Gianni ha venduto la macchina ieri mattina.
‘Gianni sold the car yesterday morning’
b. –A’: La macchina, Gianni l’ha ha venduta ieri mattina.
‘The car, Gianni it-sold yesterday morning’
c. –B: (Beh,) [la moto]_{CT} l’ha venduta quattro giorni fa.
‘(Well,) the motorbike Gianni it-sold yesterday morning’
d. –A: Allora non gli rimane altro che prendere il tram!
‘All he can do is catching the bus!’

CFCL is not Contrastive Topic, because these constructions convey dissimilar interpretative properties and undergo different requirements. On the contrary, the

For some refinement on the meaning of “different and alternative set” see fn. 12.

¹⁰ 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). In the model proposed by Büring (1997 and 1999) Contrastive Topics and Partial Topics are included in the same definition. However, the RD construction in Italian would be problematic for this idea, because RD seems to be specialized for peculiar uses (see fn. 19). Whatever the ultimate theoretical status of CT, what is important to our purposes here is to show that CFLD is different from CT.

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meaning of CFLD can be actually conceived of as equivalent to the contrastive focus one. In the dialogue in (13), Speaker B can reply to Speaker A uttering indifferently a sentence with CFLD ((13)b-c) or a sentence with CF ((13)d-e). (13)b-e seem to involve the same meaning: Speakers B (overtly or covertly) denies that the predicate phrase holds for “la macchina” (the car), as proposed by A.

(13) 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!

c. –B’: LA MOTO l’ha venduta ieri mattina, non la macchina!

d. –B’’: LA MOTO ha venduto ieri mattina!

e. –B’’’: LA MOTO ha venduto ieri mattina, non la macchina!

‘THE MOTORBIKE [he] {it-/Ø} sold yesterday morning {Ø/not the car}!’

f. –A: Avrò capito male. Ha fatto bene a vendere la moto invece della macchina.

Le strade sono troppo pericolose per andare in moto.

‘I think I misunderstood. It was good for him to sell the motorbike instead of the car. The streets are too dangerous for motorbikes.’

In this dialogue, a negative tag containing the set for which the predicate phrase does not hold, can follow a CF as well as a CFLD (see (13)e-f): this tag seems to be implicit even if it does not overtly occur. In fact, from each sentence in (13)b-e Speaker A can adequately conclude (13)f, showing that A assumes that (13)a is wrong. It is clear that (13)f is the opposite of (12)d. In other words, the CT in (12)–c does not state anything about “the car”, whereas the sentences with CFLD or CF deny (13)a, even if the negative tag is omitted, as shown in (13)b and d.

To reinforce how CFLD and CF are interpretatively similar, consider the following dialogue.

(14) 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!

c. –B’: FRANCA ha invitato per le cinque!

‘FRANCA_{DO} [he] {her-/Ø} has invited by five o’clock’

The meaning of CF uttered in (14)c and the meaning of CFLD uttered in (14)b clearly prevent us from regarding “Franca” as Gianni’s schoolmate.¹¹ In fact, as in (13), both CFLD and CF deny the proposition asserted in (14)a and assert that

¹¹ In (14)b, only the prosodic properties force us to interpret the DO as CFLD and not as topic. If we delete the contrastive (focus) intonation from (14)b, we obtain a CILDed Topic, that can be interpreted either as Partial Topic, regarding “Franca” as Gianni’s schoolmate, or as a contrastive Topic, assuming that “Franca” is not Gianni’s schoolmate. For Partial Topic, see Büring (1997 and 1999).

“Franca” is invited, so that a contradiction would emerge if “Franca” were schoolmate of Gianni.¹²

It is worth pointing out that CFLD has to respect the same uniqueness requirement identified for CF (Benincà 1988, Rizzi 1997). In fact, CFLD, similarly to CF, cannot cooccur with another element contrastively focalized¹³ (see (15)b), nor

¹² It is possible to turn over the argumentation by exchanging the sets as in i. In i.b-c “Franca” cannot be interpreted as Gianni’s schoolmate because this interpretation would involve a contradiction. To obtain these banned interpretations in i. and in (14), a focus particle and a quantifier have to occur necessarily, for instance “only” and “every”.

i. a. –A: Franca, Gianni l’ha invitata per le cinque.

‘Franca_{DO}, Gianni_{SUBJ} her-has invited by five o’clock’

b. –B: LE SUE COMPAGNE DI SCUOLA **le** ha invitate per le cinque!

c. –B: LE SUE COMPAGNE DI SCUOLA ha invitato per le cinque!

‘HIS SCHOOLMATES_{DO} [s/he] {them-/Ø} has invited by five o’clock’

This property of CF, common to CFLD, can be more clearly observed in the following examples. The sentences uttered by B in ii. or iii., lacking a focus particle and/or quantifier, are inappropriate as a reply to A.

ii. a. –A: I compagni di classe_{DO}, Gianni_{SUBJ} li ha invitati per le cinque.

‘The classmates, Gianni them-has invited by five o’clock’

c. –B: #I COMPAGNI DI BANCO **li** ha invitato per le cinque!

b. –B’: #I COMPAGNI DI BANCO ha invitato per le cinque!

‘THE SCHOOL-DESK MATES, [s/he] {them-/Ø} has invited by five o’clock’

iii. a. –A: I compagni di banco, Gianni l’ha invitati per le cinque.

‘The the school-desk mates, Gianni them-has invited by five o’clock’

c. –B: #I COMPAGNI DI CLASSE **li** ha invitato per le cinque!

b. –B’: #I COMPAGNI DI CLASSE ha invitato per le cinque!

‘The classmates, [s/he] {them-/Ø} has invited by five o’clock’

All these examples suggest that, if no quantifier or focus particle is involved, the set for which the predicate phrase holds, and the alternative set for which it does not hold, must have a null intersection.

¹³ CFLD cannot cooccur with a contrastively focalized element, independently of the CF position within the sentence, as shown in i.

i. a. –A: I suoi compagni di classe, Maria li ha presentati a Franco alla festa.

‘Her schoolmates, Maria them-introduced to Franco at the party’

b. –B: *I SUOI COLLEGHI Maria li ha presentati A LUCA (, non i suoi compagni di classe a Franco)!

‘HER COLLEGUES, Maria them-introduced TO LUCA at the party (, not her classmates toFranco)’

c. –B’: * A LUCA I SUOI COLLEGHI Maria li ha presentati (, non i suoi compagni di classe a Franco)!

‘TO LUCA HER COLLEGUES Maria them-introduced at the party (, not to Franco her classmates)!’

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with a Wh element (see (16)b and (17)b) in main question (see (15) and (16)). On the contrary, multiple CTs can easily cooccur, as shown in (18)b.¹⁴

- (15) 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).
c. –B: *A LUCA I COLLEGHI Maria ha presentato alla festa (, non a Franco i compagni di classe).
'THE COLLEAGUES Maria to Franco {them-/Ø} introduced at the party (not to Franco the classmates)'
- (16) a. –A: I Rossi chi li ha invitati?
The Rossis who them-has invited?
b. –B: *I BIANCHI chi l'ha invitati (, non i Rossi)?
c. –B: *I BIANCHI chi ha invitato (, non i Rossi)?
'THE BIANCHIS who {them-/Ø} has invited (, not the Rossis)'
- (17) a. –A: Quando ha scoperto che Mario l'avevano invitato?
'When has [s/he] discovered that Mario [they] him-had invited?'
b. –B: *Quando ha scoperto che GIOVANNI l'avevano invitato (, non Mario)?
c. –B: *Quando ha scoperto che GIOVANNI avevano invitato (, non Mario)?
'When has [s/he] discovered that GIOVANNI [they] {him-/Ø} had invited?'
- (18) a. –A: Franco, a Maria, che le ha raccontato?
'Franco_{SUBJ}, (to) Maria, what her-has told?'
b. –B: Luca, a Elena, le ha detto raccontato la versione di Gianni.
'Luca_{SUBJ}, (to) Elena, her-has told Gianni's version'

Moreover, as previously mentioned, a Contrastive Topic can be followed by a new information focus (underscored in these example for clarity) as shown in the dialogue in (19)b adapted from Büring (1999). On the contrary, however, it is well known that CF cannot cooccur with a new information focus in the same clause (Calabrese 1982:13-15; Rizzi 1997; Belletti 2004a:40-41). If CFLD and CF share the same "contrastive meaning", CFLD will be inconsistent with a new information focus as well as CF. This prediction is actually borne out, as shown in (20).

- (19) a. –A: Marco, a chi l'hanno presentato?
'M., to whom him-have [they] introduced'="To whom have [they] introduced M.?"
b. –A': Marco, l'hanno presentato a Lucia.
'Marco, [they] him-have introduced to Lucia'

¹⁴ We can also observe that the List Interpretation constructions – a special kind of Topic in the left periphery which have been discussed and analysed by Benincà and Poletto (2004:67-70) and which are similar to Contrastive Topics – apparently do not undergo the uniqueness requirement, as shown in the following examples.

- i. a. A Carla la frutta la regaliamo, a Gianni la verdura la vendiamo.
b. A Carla la frutta la regaliamo e a Gianni la verdura la vendiamo.
c. A Carla la frutta la regaliamo invece a Gianni la verdura la vendiamo.
'To C. the fruit [we] it-give for free, {Ø/and/while} to G. the vegetables [we] them-sell'

- c. –B: Giovanni, l’hanno presentato a Maria.
‘Giovanni, [they] him-have introduced to Maria’
- (20) a. –A: Marco, a chi l’hanno presentato?
‘Marco, to whom him-have [they] introduced’
- b. –A’: Marco, l’hanno presentato a Lucia.
‘Marco, [they] him-have introduced to Lucia’
- b. –B: * GIOVANNI l’hanno presentato a Maria (, non Marco)!
- c. –B’: *GIOVANNI hanno presentato a Maria (, non Marco)!
‘GIOVANNI, [they] {him-Ø} have introduced to Maria (, not Marco)’

Then, if we consider the definiteness requirement which CFLD must satisfy, it is possible to observe that it does not hold for CT, as shown in the following examples.

- (21) a. –B: Un libro di poesie a chi l’abbiamo regalato per natale?
‘A book of poems to whom it-did [we] give for Christmas’
- b. –A: [Una cravatta]_{CT} l’abbiamo regalata a Carlo.
‘A tie [we] it-gave to Carlo’

Finally, it is important to note that the informal characterization we gave to the contrastive focus is not incompatible *a priori* with the meaning of CILDed Topics. This idea is as implicitly assumed also by Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004). On the contrary, CFLD seems to be a D-linked counter-part of CF: the characteristics of contrastive focus do not seem to be in themselves in contradiction with the characteristic of “givenness” proper to CILDed Topics.

In this section, we have observed that the meaning of CFCL is analogous to the one of CF and that both CFLD and CF have to comply with the uniqueness requirement. In the next section, I will argue that CFLD and CF display not only interpretative affinities, but also syntactic ones.

5§ Focus and CILD in subordinate clauses

Haegeman (2004) argues that Italian contrastive focus cannot occur in the left periphery of certain subordinate clauses. More precisely, she points out that subject clauses, if-clauses and infinitival control clauses cannot host a contrastive focus in their left peripheries, whereas CILDed Topics, independently of their use as Contrastive Topic, can occur in these same contexts without any degradation. According to Haegeman (2004), a reduced left periphery where topic projections are preserved and the focus projection is unavailable, is selected in these clauses. In this paper, I will not discuss the device that selects the left periphery structure of subordinate clauses, which is argued for by Haegeman (2004). Instead, for the sake of brevity, I will adopt her generalization.

Even if sometimes the judgments are subtle, we can observe in the examples (22)-(24), adapted from Haegeman (2004), that a CILDed Topic in the left periphery of an if-clause is perfectly acceptable, while a contrastive focus involves a

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degradation ((22)b, (23)b, (24)b).¹⁵ This contrast between CILDed Topic and CF holds for if-clauses regardless of the verbal mood and the order with respect to the main clause (see (22)-(24)).

- (22) 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!'
- (23) a. Se l'esame scritto non lo superasse, non otterrebbe il diploma.
'If the written exam, [s/he] did not it-pass, [s/he] would not get the diploma'
b. ^{???}Se LA PROVA ORALE non superasse, non otterrebbe il diploma!
'If THE ORAL EXAM, [s/he] did not pass, [s/he] would not get the diploma!'
- (24) a. Non otterrebbe il diploma, se l'esame scritto non la superasse.
'[S/he] would not get the diploma, if the written exam, [s/he] did not it-pass'
b. ^{???}Non otterrebbe il diploma, se LA PROVA ORALE non superasse!
'[S/he] would not get the diploma, if THE ORAL EXAM, [s/he] did not pass'

(25)-(26) concern the availability of CILDed Topics and CFs in subject clauses.

In these contexts as well, the occurrence of contrastive focus leads degradation, unlike CILDed Topics, which are fully acceptable.

- (25) a. Che Giovanni lo vogliono premiare, sembra incredibile.
'That Giovanni [they] him-want to award, seems unbelievable'
b. ^{???}Che LUCA vogliono premiare, sembra incredibile!
'That LUCA [they] want to award, seems unbelievable'
- (26) a. Che l'armadio l'abbiamo comprato alla fiera, è improbabile.
'That the closet [they] it-have bought at the fair, is unlikely'
b. ^{???}Che LE SEDIE abbiamo comprato alla fiera, è improbabile!
'That THE CHAIRS [they] have bought at the fair, is unlikely'

Finally, if contrastive focus occurs in the left periphery of infinitival control clauses, a straightforward degradation will emerge, as exemplified in (27)b and

¹⁵ Other kinds of adverbial sentences exhibit the same properties observed in if-clauses. For example, temporal clauses, which Haegeman (2004) conceives of as belonging to the same subclass of adverbial clauses as if-clauses, admit the occurrence of CILDed Topics, but disallow the occurrence of fronted phrases that are contrastively focalized. This is illustrated in i-ii.

- i. a. Quando Lucia l'abbiamo chiamata, il telefono era occupato.
'When Lucia [we] her-phoned, the line was busy'
b. ^{??}Quando LUCIA abbiamo chiamato, il telefono era occupato.
'When LUCIA [we] phoned, the line was busy'
- ii. a. Il telefono era occupato, quando Lucia l'abbiamo chiamata.
'The line was busy When Lucia [we] her-phoned'
b. ^{???}Il telefono era occupato, quando LUCIA abbiamo chiamato.
'The line was busy, when LUCIA [we] her-phoned'

(28)b.¹⁶ We can point out that the DO of the infinitival control clause can be contrastively focalized both in postverbal position and in the left periphery of the main clause, as shown in the fully acceptable examples in c. and d. The only banned position for the contrasted element is the one within the left periphery of the infinitival control clause. On the contrary, CILDED Topic can freely occur within CP area of these subordinate clauses, as shown in (27)a and (28)a.

- (27) a. Luca dice, l'esame di economia, di averlo fatto male.
'Luca says, the Economy exam, to have-it done faultily'
b. Luca dice L'ESAME DI DIRITTO di aver fatto male (, non quello di economia)!
'Luca says THE LAW EXAM to have done faultily (, not the Economy one)'
c. Luca dice di aver fatto male L'ESAME DI DIRITTO (, non quello di economia)!
'Luca says to have done faultily THE LAW EXAM (, not the Economy one)'
d. L'ESAME DI DIRITTO Luca dice di aver fatto male (, non quello di economia)!
'THE LAW EXAM Luca says to have done faultily (, not the Economy one)'
- (28) a. Gli sembra, l'armadio, di averlo venduto.
'[It] to him-seems, the closet, to have-it sold'
b. Gli sembra LE SEDIE di aver venduto (, non l'armadio)!
'[It] to him-seems THE CHAIRS to have sold (, not the closet)'
c. Gli sembra di aver venduto LE SEDIE (, non l'armadio)!
'[It] to him-seems to have sold THE CHAIRS (, not the closet)'
d. LE SEDIE gli sembra di aver venduto (, non l'armadio)
'THE CHAIRS [it] to him-seems to have sold (, not the closet)'

It is worth pointing out that CILDED topics in the reduced left periphery of these subordinate clauses behave exactly the same as in the left periphery of main clauses: they can be used as Contrastive Topic,¹⁷ they do not need an overt contextual antecedent, they can be indefinite, and multiple topics can cooccur. These phenomena are illustrated in (29)-(33)

¹⁶ Different verbs in the main clause seem to involve different degrees of degradation. If, for instance, an infinitival control clause is selected by the verb "pensare" (to think), just a mild degradation is observable. These differences remain unaccounted for (see Haegeman 2004 fn. 24).

¹⁷ List Interpretation topics, as well as usual CTs, are available in these subordinate clauses, as shown in i. and ii. Nevertheless, according to my judgments, in these subordinate contexts List Interpretation topics seem to require coordination with a conjunction particle (see iii.a and iv.a), whereas no conjunction particle is needed in main clauses (see f. n. 14 and Benincà and Poletto 2004:67-70). This difference remains unaccounted for (also see fn. 19).

- i. a. Pensiamo la frutta di regalarla, la verdura di venderla.
b. Pensiamo la frutta di regalarla e la verdura di venderla.
'[We] think the fruit to give-it for free {Ø/and} the vegetables to sell-them'
- ii. a. *Se la frutta la regala, la verdura la vende, non riuscirà a guadagnare nulla.
b. Se la frutta la regala e la verdura la vende, non riuscirà a guadagnare nulla.
'If the fruit [s/he] gives-it for free {Ø/and} the legumes [s/he] sells-them, [s/he] will earn little'

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- (29) a. Se l'esame scritto, non lo supera, quali tasse dovrà pagare per l'iscrizione?
'If, the written exam, [s/he] does not it-pass, which tuition fees will [s/he] have to pay for the matriculation?'
b. Se l'esame orale, non lo supera, dovrà pagare nuovamente l'intera retta.
'If the oral exam, [s/he] does not it-pass, [s/he] will have to pay once more all the charge'
- (30) a. -A: Che Giovanna l'abbiano invitata, è stata una fortuna per te?
'That Giovanna [they] her-have invited, has been a good thing for you?'
b. -B: Che Luca, l'abbiano invitato, è stato senz'altro un bene/una disgrazia.
'That Luca [they] her-have invited, has been definitely a fortune/misfortune'
- (31) a. -A: Ha detto, l'esame di economia, di averlo fatto bene?
'Did [s/he] said, the economy exam, to have-it done well?'
b. -B: Ha detto, l'esame di diritto, di averlo fatto bene/male. Questo è tutto quel che so.
'[S/he] said, the law exam, to have-it done well. This is all I know'
- (32) a. Mi sembra, una cravatta, di avergliela già regalata per il compleanno.
'[It] to me-seems a tie, to have-to him-it already given for his birthday'
b. Che una cravatta, gliel'abbiano regalata per il compleanno, mi pare strano.
'That a tie, to him-it [they] already gave for his birthday, to me-seems strange'
- (33) a. -A: Hai spedito le mie lettere?¹⁸
'Have [you] sent the my letters?'
b. -B: Mi sembra, a Gianni, le tue lettere, di averglielie già spedite (, ma devo ancora spedire quelle per Maria).
'[It] to me-seems, to Gianni, your letters, to have-to him-them already sent (, but I have still to send those for Maria)'
b. -B': Che a Gianni, le tue lettere, glielie abbia già spedite è improbabile (, però sono sicuro di avere spedito quelle per Maria).
'That to Gianni, your letters, I have-to him-them already sent, is unlikely (but I am sure to have sent those for Maria)'

6§ Syntactic contexts for CFLD

We have seen in (22)-(28) that in the CP area of certain subordinate clauses the focus projection is not available, while topics can freely occur. By creating suitable contexts, we can investigate the behaviour of CFLD in such subordinate clauses. If we conceive of CFLD constructions as topics prosodically focalized *in situ* without FocP projection activation, we expect that CFLD is able to occur without degradation in each case where the topic construction is available. Moreover, we expect that the requirements on the dialogical context and on definiteness are met. However, this prediction is not born out, as illustrated in (34)-(40) (adapted from (22)-(28)).

In the paradigms (34)-(40), Speaker A utters a sentence (in a.) with a clitic left dislocated object in the left periphery of a subordinate clause and Speaker B replies with a sentence (in b.) with a CFLD construction which satisfies both the echo-

¹⁸ The sentences in (33) are adapted from Cardinaletti (2002:(44)-(45)).

context requirement and the definiteness one. Let us compare the sentences in (34)-(38) with the analogous examples with CF in (22)-(26). Evaluating these paradigms, special care should be taken in using the characteristic intonation of contrast, because this is the only element discriminating CFLD from CILD, which is available anyway, as previously discussed.

- (34) 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'
- (35) a. –A: Se l'esame scritto non lo superasse, non otterrebbe il diploma.
 'If the written exam, [s/he] did not it-pass, [s/he] would not get the diploma'
 b. –B: ^{??/?} Se LA PROVA ORALE non la superasse, non otterrebbe il diploma!
 'If THE ORAL EXAM, [s/he] did not it-pass, [s/he] would not get the diploma'
- (36) a. –A: Non otterrebbe il diploma, se l'esame scritto non lo superasse.
 '[S/he] would not get the diploma, if the written exam [s/he] did not it-pass'
 b. –B: ^{??} Non otterrebbe il diploma, se LA PROVA ORALE non la superasse!
 '[S/he] would not get the diploma, if THE ORAL EXAM [s/he] did not it-pass'
- (37) 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'
- (38) a. –A: Che l'armadio l'abbiano comprato alla fiera, è improbabile.
 'That the closet [they] it-have bought at the fair, is unlikely'
 b. –B: ^{??/?} Che LE SEDIE le abbiano comprato alla fiera, è improbabile!
 'That THE CHAIRS [they] them-have bought at the fair, is unlikely'

Finally, let us consider CFLD in the infinitival control clauses in (39)-(40) and compare them with the occurrence of CF in left periphery of the infinitival control clauses in (27)-(28).

- (39) a. –A: Luca dice, l'esame di economia, di averlo fatto male
 'Luca says, the Economy exam, to have-it done faultily'
 b. –B: ^{*/??} Luca dice L'ESAME DI DIRITTO di averlo fatto male (, non quello di economia)!
 'Luca says THE LAW EXAM to have-it done faultily (, not the Economy one)'
- (40) a. –A: Gli sembra, l'armadio, di averlo venduto.
 '[It] to him-seems, the closet, to have-it sold'
 b. –B: [?] Gli sembra LE SEDIE di averle vendute (, non l'armadio)!
 '[It] to him-seems THE CHAIRS to have-them sold (, not the closet)'

Considering the paradigms in (34)-(40) and (22)-(28), we observe that CFCL is not available in if-clauses, in subject clauses and in infinitival control clauses, while CILD is perfectly grammatical. In fact, it is impossible to assume that CILD cannot be focalized *in situ* in these contexts because of its own semantic properties. Instead we assume that the contrastive focus interpretation is unavailable because of the “reduced” left periphery of these subordinate clauses which cannot encode focus, lacking a device of “anchoring” of focus independent of the matrix clause

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(Haegeman 2004). On the basis of the data in (22)-(28) and (34)-(40), I conclude that CFLD is available only in those syntactic contexts where the focus projection is locally available. Moreover, as illustrated in (41)-(42), locality is a necessary requirement.

- (41) a. –A: Gli sembra, l’armadio, di averlo venduto ieri.
 ‘[It] to him-seems, the closet, to have-it sold yesterday’
 b. –B: *Gli sembra LE SEDIE di aver venduto ieri (, non l’armadio)!
 ‘[It] to him-seems, THE CHAIRS, to have sold yesterday (, not the closet)!’
 c. –B’: *Gli sembra LE SEDIE di averle vendute ieri (, non l’armadio)!
 ‘[It] to him-seems, THE CHAIRS, to have-them sold yesterday (, not the closet)!’
- (42) a. –A: L’armadio, gli sembra di averlo venduto ieri.
 ‘The closet, it to him-seems to have-it sold yesterday’
 b. –B: LE SEDIE gli sembra di aver venduto (, non l’armadio)!
 ‘THE CHAIRS [it] to him-seems to have sold yesterday (, not the closet)!’
 c. –B’: LE SEDIE gli sembra di averle vendute (, non l’armadio)!
 ‘THE CHAIR [it] to him-seems to have-them sold yesterday (, not the closet)!’

CFLD is banned in the left periphery of an infinitival control clause and, in the same way, CF is not available in that local syntactic context (see (41)). Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the direct object of the infinitival control clause in (42)c can acceptably appear as CFLD in the left periphery of the main clause, where CF is available (42)b. Thus, there is a complete parallelism between grammaticality of CFLD and availability of FocP.

Since a right dislocated element can never be contrastively focalized, as we have already pointed out, we cannot impute this fact to syntactic constraints, because we cannot exclude that interpretive reasons are at work.¹⁹ On the contrary, the

¹⁹ Benincà (1988:148 (130)) shows convincingly that RD and CILD are characterized by different interpretative properties, providing examples like in i.. She argues that whereas CILD can recover an element from the common ground and make it prominent without any requirement on the immediate linguistic context, the element in RD has to be immediately available in the context, unless RD occurs in an out-of-the-blue sentence. If this is the case, the speaker, uttering an out-of-the-blue RD, has a special system of presuppositions (see also Benincà and Poletto 2004).

- i. a. Il vino lo porto io, la torta la porti tu.
 ‘The wine it-take I, the cake it-take you’ = “I take the wine, you take the pie”
 b. *Lo porto io il vino, la porti tu la torta.
 ‘It-take I the wine, it-take you the cake’ = “I take the wine, you take the pie”

behaviour of CFLD in subordinate clauses suggests that this construction is strictly correlated to the availability of FocP and that an explanation of this fact cannot be found in the intrinsic semantic properties of CILD.

7§ Analysis of CFLD

As discussed above, Benincà and Poletto (2004) analyze CFLD in terms of topic prosodically focalized *in situ* without activation of the contrastive focus projection. Nevertheless the paradigms in (34)-(40) and (41)-(42) show a clear correlation between the admissibility of the CFLD construction and the local availability of FocP. Therefore, the empirical data suggest that FocP has to be involved in an adequate analysis of CFLD, in order to capture the generalization which emerges from the behaviour of CFLD in the reduced left peripheries of the subordinate

By creating questions/answers pairs, we can then test the possibility of using RD as Contrastive Topic, in ii., and as Partial Topic, in iii. As RD cannot be used as List Interpretation (Benincà 1988 and Benincà and Poletto 2004), we observe also that RD, unlike CILD, is not entirely appropriate as Contrastive or Partial Topic even if the element in RD is actually available in the context. This observation is not surprising because List Interpretation is presumably a particular kind of Contrastive Topic (see Benincà and Poletto 2004). In contrast, if we realize RD from the articulation of question/answer, the inappropriateness previously observed disappears, as shown in iv. This case seems to be close to the out-of-the-blue use of RD. Finally, it is straightforward that RD can never be contrastively focalized, independently of the availability in the context of the RDed element (see (5)). See fn. 23 for a briefly discussion.

- ii. a.-A: Marco è finalmente arrivato. C'è anche quell'antipatica di sua sorella. Sai chi la ha invitata?
'Marco came, finally. There is also his unpleasant sister... Do you know who has invited her?'
b.-B: Marco, l'ha invitato Gianni.
'Marco, Gianni him-has invited' = "Gianni has invited Marco"
c.-B': [#]L'ha invitato Gianni, Marco.
'Gianni him-has invited, Marco' = "Gianni has invited Marco"
- iii. a.-A: I tuoi amici/Marco e Gianni chi li ha invitati?
'Your friends/Marco and Gianni who them-has invited?'
b.-B: Gianni l'ha invitato Maria.
'Gianni, Maria him-has invited' = "Maria has invited Gianni"
c.-B': [#]L'ha invitato Maria, Gianni.
'Maria him-has invited, Gianni' = "Maria has invited Gianni"
- iv. a.-A: Anche i tuoi amici/Marco e Gianni sono qui stasera.
'Even your friends/Marco and Gianni are here tonight'
b.-B: Gianni l'ha invitato Maria.
'Gianni, Maria him-has invited' = "Maria has invited Gianni"
c.-B': ^(#)L'ha invitato Maria, Gianni.
'Maria him-has invited, Gianni' = "Maria has invited Gianni"

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sentences at issue. As shown in the examples (34)-(42), the contrastive interpretation/intonation is not freely available for the phrases dislocated in the left periphery; it depends on the availability of a local focus projection. If this is the case, CFCL does not constitute an exception to the restrictive assumption of a one-to-one relation between syntactic configuration and interpretative properties proposed by Benincà and Poletto. I will argue that CFCL can be conceived of as an independent piece of evidence in favor of the view that the syntactic projection of Focus is necessary to the assignment of the interpretative properties of contrastive focus, as required by the assumption proposed by Benincà and Poletto (2004).

Given that a CILD could not be contrastively focalized *in situ* on the basis of examples like (34)-(42), an adequate analysis for CFLD should account for this phenomenon and for the availability of contrastive focalisation *in situ* in other contexts (see (43)=(28)c).

(43) Gli sembra di aver venduto LE SEDIE (, non l'armadio)!

Various approaches can account for this problem in infinitival control clauses (see Belletti 2004a, Rizzi 1997).²⁰ In this paper I will adopt a less restrictive version of the analysis of the postverbal focus projection in Belletti (2004a). Following Belletti (2004a), I assume that in Italian there are two distinct focus positions: the first one in the left periphery and the second one in the low IP area. Unlike the focus projection in the left periphery, which is reserved for contrastive focus (Rizzi 1997 and Belletti 2004a), I assume (*contra* Belletti 2004a) that the low IP-internal focus can host both contrastive and new information focus. Since the low focus position is preserved in the subordinate clauses with a reduced left periphery, it is plausible that this position is responsible for the cases of contrastive focalization in postverbal position (see also Frascarelli 2000).²¹ Even though this account is less restrictive and

²⁰ For example, we can assume that a nonfrozen phrase can covertly (or overtly, according to Belletti 2004a) move to FocP in the left periphery of the matrix clause. An account of this flavor, however, involves some complications with respect to the cases of postverbal contrastive focalization in if-clauses since these subordinate clauses constitute strong islands, disallowing extraction.

²¹ The following question-answer pairs suggest that the low focus is available in subordinate clauses characterized by a reduced left periphery. The phrase carrying the new information focus is underlined for clarity.

- i. a. –A: Chi è che ti sembra strano che abbia telefonato?
‘Who is that it to you-seems strange that phoned?’
b. –B: Che abbia telefonato Gianni, mi sembra strano.
‘That Gianni phoned, to me-seems strange’
- ii. a. –A: Chi è che se vi telefona, vi farà scoprire la verità?
‘Who is that if [s/he] calls, to you-will make discover the truth?’
b. –B: Se telefona Gianni, scopriremo la verità!
‘If Gianni calls, [we] will discover the truth’

less elegant than the original analysis by Belletti, it can be easily extended to the cases of postverbal contrastive focalization within *if*-clauses and sentential subjects.

Given the observation that CFLD is related to FocP and seemingly insensitive to WCO (see (4) and Benincà and Poletto 2004), one could propose XP movement from the specifier of the topic position located under focus to the specifier of FocP.²² In this way, the WCO configuration would be avoided because the variable, being in a high position, would c-command a pronoun contained within the preverbal subject (see (4b)). Nevertheless, this kind of explanation is unsatisfactory and extremely problematic. Among the several difficulties involved by this movement, we can point out that the quantificational variable of this chain would occupy an A' position, contradicting various definitions of "variable" (Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1990, Lasnik and Stowell 1991). Moreover, since the specifier of the topic phrase, as well as the specifier of Focus projection, is a criterial position, every further movement from [Spec;Topic] should be prevented by the Criterial Freezing effect, so that some formal feature (in the sense of Rizzi 2004c) should be postulated. These difficulties lead us to discard this approach.

Before presenting my proposal regarding CFLD, I will briefly go back to some arguments developed in Rizzi (2001b) and (2001c) concerning the proprieties of the *Wh*-phrases, with respect to extraction across weak islands. In these works, Rizzi proposes that D-linked *Wh*-phrases involve a feature [+Top] 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 advanced in Rizzi (2004c), the core of this proposal can be reformulated in terms of a head movement between topic and focus, as Rizzi himself suggests (Rizzi 2004c: f.n. 4 and 8).

Following this suggestion, I propose to account for CFLD in terms of formation of a complex head endowed with both topic and contrastive focus features. According to this proposal, an adequate dialogical and pragmatic context, as previously described, allows head movement between the topic head and the focus head, resulting in the formation of a complex head [Top +Contrast] in the left periphery. In this way, we can capture both the main interpretative characteristics of CFLD, namely givenness and the contrastive focus meaning, conceiving it as a D-linked contrastive focus. Given the fine structure of the left periphery proposed by Rizzi (1997, 2001a) (see (44)) and by assuming the heads of Topic and Focus to be

²² This mechanism is actually the same one that Rizzi (2001c: f.n. 8) proposes as a possible explanation for the D-linked *Wh*-phrases. Alternatively, he proposes to account for the properties of the D-linked *Wh*-phrases in terms of a (covert and partial) XP movement from [Spec;Focus] to [Spec;Topic]. I refer for this analysis to Rizzi (2001c). See below in the main text.

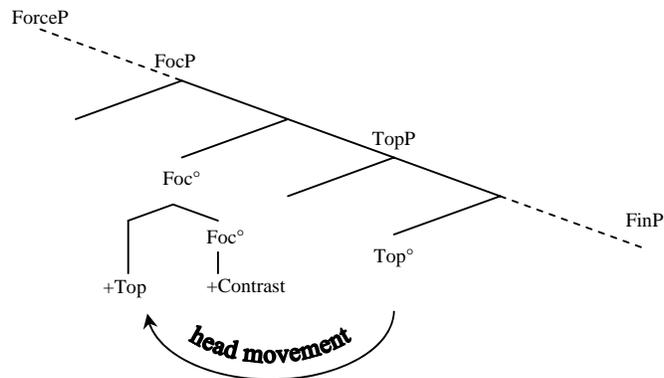
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respectively endowed with the discourse/criterial features of +Top and +Contrast (Rizzi 2004d), we can hypothesize two different alternative head movements which create the relevant cluster of features: movement of the Top° situated below FocP to Foc° and movement of Foc° to the Top° immediately above FocP (see (44)).

(44) Force ... Topic* ... Focus ... Topic* ... Fin(iteness) from Rizzi (1997)

I will adopt the former possibility, exemplified in (45), because it seems to be preferable for an empirical reason which I will discuss in 8§, but I will not exclude the second solution (see fn. 31).

(45)



The complex head, obtained through a head movement from Topic to Focus, as sketched in (45), is exceptionally endowed with the features +Top +Contrast, which are the discourse properties of topic and contrastive focus. The CFLDed element occupies the specifier of the complex head, establishing the Spec-head agreement required to receive the interpretation resulting from the features at issue. In this way, CFLD picks up at the same time its discursive properties from the complex head. Since the Criteria associated to the features in question are satisfied all at the same time, no intermediate position are involved to assign interpretative properties. In this way Criterial Freezing does not intervene and no formal (uninterpretable) feature must be postulated (in the sense of Rizzi 2004c).

Assuming a complex head endowed with the cluster of features [+Top; +Contrast] and created through head movement, we are able to account both for the

cases where CFLD is available and for the ones where it is ungrammatical.²³ Because of the strongly local character of head movement, due to Head Movement Constraint or to Relativized Minimality (Roberts 2001), the topic head and the focus one must be adjacent. With this in mind, consider the example in (41)b-c (42)b-c, repeated here as (46)a-b and (47)a-b for convenience.

- (46) a. *Gli sembra LE SEDIE di aver venduto ieri (, non l'armadio)! (CF in sub. clause)
b. *Gli sembra LE SEDIE di averle vendute ieri (, non l'armadio)! (CFLD in sub. cl.)
(47) a. LE SEDIE gli sembra di aver venduto (, non l'armadio)! (CF in main cl.)
b. LE SEDIE gli sembra di averle vendute (, non l'armadio)! (CFLD in main cl.)

When CFLD occurs in the left periphery of an infinitival control clause, the head of topic cannot move to Foc° because focus is unavailable in the periphery of the infinitival control clause, as illustrated in (46)a, and the focus projection in the main clause is too far. CFLD is therefore ungrammatical, as illustrated in (46)b. Even if we assumed that the Contrastive Focus Criterion could be satisfied at LF (Rizzi 1997), (46)b would be ruled out because a CILDed phrase is blocked by Criterial Freezing in the specifier of TopP. That is, where the Topic Criterion is satisfied.

On the contrary, as shown in (47)a, CFLD is grammatical if it occurs in the left periphery of the main clause, where Focus and Topic are available and adjacent. In the left periphery of the main clause, head movement can felicitously take place from topic to focus creating the complex head +Top +Contrast and thus a CFLDed phrase, occupying its specifier, can pick up the discourse properties resulting from these features.

8§ CFLD and definiteness requirement

As we have seen, CFLD must involve a definite phrase to be acceptable. In this section, I argue that this requirement is not a primitive property of CFLD, but it comes directly from the analysis proposed to account for it. That is, it comes directly from the characteristics of the topic above FocP.

Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004) propose to revise the structure of the left periphery sketched by Rizzi (1997) (see (44)). According to their analysis, there is no topic projection between the Focus projection and the FinItness projection. They argue that the elements dislocated in the left periphery below CF are informational foci, parasitic on the contrastive focus activation. According to Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004), these elements dislocated below focus cannot be resumed by a clitic and cannot trigger agreement on past participle.

²³ As previously mentioned, RD, which is characterised by interpretative properties different from the ones characterizing CILD (see fn. 19), can never be contrasted. Therefore it is not possible to exclude that the inconsistency between contrastive interpretation/intonation and RD is due to some kind of interpretative inconsistency, instead of the mechanism attributing the contrastive meaning.

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Moreover, they involve a quantificational dependency and, therefore, they cannot be conceived as CILDed topics.

It is worth pointing out that the existence of postfocal CILDed Topics is orthogonal to the issue of the availability of constructions that are parasitic on the contrastive focus activation. Although Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004) may be correct with regard to the existence of constructions parasitic on CF (see Hinterhoelzl and Pili 2003, but also Bocci 2004), I assume that genuine CILDed elements can actually occur below contrastive focus, exhibiting all the usual characteristics of CILDed Topics; they must, however, be definite.²⁴ To support their analysis, Benincà and Poletto provide the following paradigm, where a topic in postfocal position involves a straightforward degradation (see (49)). On the contrary, the same element can appropriately occur as topic if in isolation (see (48)) or if preceding CF (see (50)).

(48) Un libro di poesie, lo regalerete a Gianni.

'A book of poems, [you] it-will give to Gianni'

²⁴ For a detailed analysis of the characteristics of CILDed elements in post-focal position I refer the reader to Bocci (2004). For the purposes of this paper, I will limit my discussion to some remarks. Above all, the topics in postfocal position are not only resumed by clitic, but also trigger past participle agreement as well as the prefocal ones, as illustrated in (55)c. Because of independent reasons, it is quite problematic to investigate the type of the dependency involved by a DO dislocated in postfocal position on the basis of the WCO effects (for detail see Hinterhoelzl and Pili 2003 and Bocci 2004). If an animate subject follows a postfocal DO as in i., the sentence is quite degraded, independently of the index of the pronoun. If the subject is inanimate the sentence is significantly more acceptable as shown in ii. and it is fully acceptable if the subject is omitted, as in iii. By creating a sentence with a plural subject as in iv. and in v., we can observe that the index of the pronoun does not have impact on the admissibility of the sentence (see Bocci 2004:81).

i. [?]A MARIA Giorgio_i sua_i/mia_j madre lo presenterà!

'TO MARIA Giorgio_{DO} his mother_{SUBJ} him-will introduced'

ii. [?]A MARIA il libro Giorgio l'ha regalato per natale!

'TO MARIA the book_{DO} Giorgio_{SUBJ} it-gave for Christmas'

iii. A MARIA il libro l'ha regalato per natale!

'TO MARIA the book_{DO} [s/he] it-gave for Christmas'

iv. [?]A SCHERMA Luca_i i Signori Rossi l'hanno iscritto, non a nuoto!

'IN A FENCING SCHOOL Luca the Rossis him-have enrolled, not in a swimming school!'

v. [?]A SCHERMA Luca_i i suoi_i genitori l'hanno iscritto, non a nuoto!

'IN A FENCING SCHOOL L. his parents him-have enrolled, not in a swimming school!'

Finally, we can point out that an indirect object topicalized in postfocal position is insensitive to weak crossover effects, as shown in the following examples from Bocci (2004).

vi. UNA MOTO a Luca_i suo_i padre gli ha comprato, non la macchina!

'A motorbike to Luca his father to him-has bought, not the car'

vii. LA CASA a Gianni_i suo_i padre gli ha lasciato, non la ditta!

'THE HOUSE to Gianni his father to him-has leaved, not the company'

Contrastive focalization on topics and preverbal subjects in Italian

(49) *A GIANNI, un libro di poesie lo regalerete (, non a Carlo).
'TO GIANNI, a book of poems [you] it-will give (, not to Carlo)'

(50) Un libro di poesie, A GIANNI lo regalerete (, non a Carlo).
'A book of poems TO GIANNI [you] it-will give (, not to Carlo)'

Compare then the examples in (49)-(50) provided by Benincà and Poletto (2004) with the examples in (52)-(53). If the CILDed element is definite, it can occur both in pre and post focal position without any degradation (see 53 and 52).

(51) Il libro di poesie, lo regalerete a Gianni.
'The book of poems, [you] it-will give to Gianni'

(52) A GIANNI, il libro di poesie lo regalerete (, non a Carlo).
'TO GIANNI, the book of poems [you] it-will give (, not to Carlo)'

(53) Il libro di poesie, A GIANNI lo regalerete (, non a Carlo).
'The book of poems TO GIANNI [you] it-will give (, not to Carlo)'

The contrast between (49) and (52) is fairly sharp and can be easily reproduced in other sentences, as for example in (54)b-c and in (55)b-c.²⁵

(54) a. -A: Sai che Carla vuole cambiare un/il divano?
'Did you hear that Carla wants to replace a/the sofa?'
b. -B': *^{??}FRANCESCA un divano lo vuole cambiare (, non Carla)!
c. -B'': FRANCESCA il divano lo vuole cambiare (, non Carla)!
'FRANCESCA {a/the} sofa wants to replace (, not Carla)!'
d. -B''': Un divano FRANCESCA lo vuole cambiare (, non Carla)!
e. -B''': Il divano FRANCESCA lo vuole cambiare (, non Carla)!
'{A/the} sofa FRANCESCA wants to replace (, not Carla)!'

(55) a. -A: Luca ha scartato una figura/la donna di picche all'inizio della seconda mano.
'L. has discarded a coat-card/the queen of spades at the beginning of the second hand'
b. -B *GIANNI una figura l'ha scartata all'inizio della seconda mano!
c. -B': GIANNI la donna di picche l'ha scartata all'inizio della seconda mano!
'GIANNI {a coat-card/the queen of spades} it-has discarded at the beginning of the second hand'
d. -B'': Una figura GIANNI l'ha scartata all'inizio della seconda mano!
e. -B''': La donna di picche GIANNI l'ha scartata all'inizio della seconda mano!
'{A coat-card/the queen of spades} GIANNI it-has discarded at the beginning of the second hand'

On the basis of these examples (48)-(54), we conclude that the CILDed Topics can occur below FocP, stating a new generalization on their admissibility: when contrastive focus occurs, only definite direct objects can be clitic left dislocated in

²⁵ Some Italian speakers, nevertheless, tend to disallow even definite CILDed Topics in postfocal position. This fact is presumably related to the variability of Italian varieties (see Benincà and Poletto 2004:f.n. 11).

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postfocal position.²⁶ Thus the activation of CF involves a differentiation between the CILDed Topic positions, otherwise indistinguishable.²⁷ Whereas a CILD preceding CF does not seem to undergo different requirements from the ones of the CILDed Topics occurring in contexts where CF is not activated, a CILD which follows CF must obey the definiteness requirement shown in the previous paradigms.

Since we have assumed that CFLD is obtained through a head movement of the downstairs Top° to Foc°, it follows that the complex head inherits the characteristics

²⁶ Even if the judgments are quite subtle, the definiteness requirement does not seem to hold for the prepositional phrases clearly as DO (see i.-ii.). For more detailed discussion, see Bocci (2004).

- i. a. ?LA TARGA ad uno studente gli hanno assegnato (, non il premio in denaro)!
- b. LA TARGA allo studente gli hanno assegnato (, non il premio in denaro)!
- ‘THE PLAQUE to {a/the} student [they] have given (, not the cash prize)!’
- ii. a. ?LUCA a uno studente gli ha consegnato il premio (, non Marco)!
- b. LUCA allo studente gli ha consegnato il premio (, non Marco)!
- ‘LUCA to {a/the} student has given the prize (, not Marco)!’

²⁷ In the analysis proposed in Rizzi (1997), Force and Fin are separate only if the Topic-Focus field is activated; otherwise they are realized as a syncretic head. In other words, it is the activation of the Topic-Focus field which forces to split Force and Fin. Thus Rizzi (1997) assume an economy principle “Avoid structure” which constraints the structure building process. In line with this view, it is plausible to assume that it is the activation of Focus that compels to distinguish between different topics, so that when Focus is not realized, no difference can be found between CILD positions. Therefore, in the left periphery of subordinate clauses where Focus is not available, the field topic cannot be split and, thus, no differentiation can be found.

On the contrary, Haegeman (2004) argues that in the reduced left periphery of subordinate clauses, only the topic immediately above Fin is accessible, whereas the high topic preceding focus is unavailable as well as Focus, assuming implicitly that there is a distinction between CILD positions, independently of the activation of focus. Thus, if the definiteness requirement is a requirement proper to the low CILD, as we have observed, Haegeman’s approach predicts that only definite direct objects are able to be clitic left dislocated in reduced left peripheries. Nevertheless this prediction is not born out: as previously argued for, no difference between the CILD behaviour between main and reduced peripheries is detectable (see (29)-(33) and i.).

- i. Mi sembra, un asso di picche, di averlo scartato all’inizio della mano.

‘[It] to me-seems, an ace of spades, to have-it discarded at the beginning of the hand’

Therefore, we can conclude that in the reduced left peripheries, where focus is unavailable, there is not a differentiation between CILD positions and no requirement definiteness can be found. If we want to assume that the difference between high (contrastive) and low (noncontrastive) CILDed topics is a structural distinction, as argued for by Benincà and Poletto (2004), it would be possible to reformulate the previous conclusion, stating that it is the low topic area which is forced to split if Focus is activated (see also fn. 28).

of the downstairs Topic and, thus, the requirement on definiteness.²⁸ If we compare (55)b-c and (8), we observe that the same restriction that holds for postfocal topics, applies to CFLD as well. Whatever the nature of this requirement, it concerns both postfocal CILD and CFLD. The analysis of CFLD in terms of head-movement from postfocal topic to focus lets us capture this fact.

9§ Residual problems and some speculations

Even if the analysis of CFLD in terms of complex-head adequately accounts for the empirical data, several questions remain to be answered. First, it is not clear what kind of A'-dependency is at work in CFLD: quantificational or non quantificational? On the one hand, we can suppose that the contrastive focus features involved in CFLD implicate a quantificational nature for the dependency of the CFLD element, but, on the other hand, the occurrence of the clitic and the past participle agreement seem to indicate that the dependency at work in CFLD is the same as in CILDed Topics, which I assume for concreteness to involve a null constant (Rizzi 1997 and Grewendorf 2002, but also Cinque 1990 and Cecchetto 2000). Thus, although the question is appropriate, it is very difficult to address, because too many elements complicate the issue at hand. In fact, since the CFLDed element is a definite and strongly D(iscourse)-linked direct object, there are several difficulties in evaluating the results of the diagnostics usually applied to discriminate between quantificational and non quantificational A'-dependencies.²⁹

As mentioned above, Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004) argue that CFLD is insensitive to WCO (see (4)) and therefore it does not involve genuine quantification. Even though this conclusion is plausible, WCO sensitivity effects

²⁸ I assume that in CFLD Focus is activated and the topic field is forced to spit, involving the definiteness requirement.

²⁹ The definiteness requirement, which CFLD must comply with, keeps us from testing the behaviour of CFLD with bare quantificational elements, whose impossibility in CILD is related by Rizzi (1986 and 1997) and Cinque (1990), to the nonquantificational nature of the CILD dependencies. So, since only definites can be CFLDed, a decision on the kind of dependency cannot be based on the fact that bare quantificational elements cannot appear in CFLD, as shown in i.

i. a.-A: Giovanni, l'hanno incontrato alla fiera del mobile.

'Giovanni [they] him-have met at the furniture-fair'

b.-B: *NESSUNO l'hanno incontrato alla fiera del mobile!

c.-B: NESSUNO hanno incontrato alla fiera del mobile!

'NOONE [they] {him-/Ø} have met at the furniture-fair'

With respect to Parasitic Gaps (PGs), CFLD appears to be unable to license them, suggesting a nonquantificational dependency in CFCL. Nevertheless, the judgments appear to be fairly variable and therefore I tend to conclude that the licensing of parasitic gaps cannot be regarded as a test that discriminates between the possible analyses. Finally, see fn. 30 for some remarks on CFCL and extraction from weak islands.

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should be considered with some caution because the CFLDed elements are definite and D-linked and a resumptive clitic occurs. Despite this caution, I will follow the analysis of Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004) and assume that CFLD involves the same kind of A' dependency characterizing the CILD Topicalization, (Rizzi 1997, Grewendorf 2000, but also Cecchetto 2000).³⁰

Another problem that remains unsolved concerns head movement in CFLD. If the heads in the left periphery can move (Rizzi 2004b:7-8, 2004c: fn. 8), how can we exclude the symmetrical analysis with respect to the one proposed here? The definiteness requirement seems to empirically support the analysis which we have advanced, involving a movement from the head of the downstairs topic to Foc°. Nevertheless, given my assumptions, it is not clear how to treat the alternative movement.³¹

Moreover, this problem is related to the peculiar conception of features (and of the functional heads they are associated with) which one adopts (Starke 2001, Bayer 2001, Rizzi 2004d). For instance, it is possible to assume that the feature characterizing focus [+F] and the feature characterizing the main Wh-element [+Q] are encoded in two distinct and adjacent heads and that head movement creates the complex head [+Q;+F] in main Wh question, as discussed in Rizzi (2004c: fn. 8). Assuming by hypothesis a compositional conception of the discourse-scope features, it is possible to speculate that Contrast and Focus could be distinguished as well. If this is the case, a finer description of the structures of the left periphery could lead to a reformulation of the analysis of CFLD.

³⁰ There are several difficulties in comparing CFLD with CF with respect to the effects of extraction and Relativized Minimality. The only generalization that I can provide on extraction, states that CFLD, when available, can be extracted across Wh islands more easily than CF (see i.). This fact could be related to the nonquantificational status of the CFLD dependency, but it is worth emphasizing that CFLD is intrinsically D-linked. Moreover, the difference of acceptability does not straightforwardly provide insight to the nature of the dependency.

i. a. -A: L'antipasto, si domandano chi l'abbia portato.

'The hors-d'oeuvre, they wonder who it-has brought'

b. -B: LA TORTA si domandano chi l'abbia portata!

c. -B: ^(?)LA TORTA si domandano chi abbia portato!

'THE CAKE, they wonder who {it-/Ø} has brought'

³¹ Perhaps, in these cases of head-movement, the featural characteristics of the moved head defines the nature of the dependency involved by the phrase in the specifier of complex head, so that we could expect a quantificational dependency if Focus° moved to Top°. This is actually what we would find if we assumed the approach to D-linked Wh-phrases suggested by Rizzi (2004c, f.n.8 in particular) according to which a D-linked Wh-phrase occupies the specifier of a complex head obtained by moving the head endowed with the +Q feature to the one endowed with +Top.

10§ Conclusive remarks on CFLD

Summing up what we have discussed, we can recall that CFLD has to satisfy more restrictive requirements than CILD: it requires definiteness and echo-contexts (see also Benincà 1988). Even if a CFLDed element has to be “given” and seems to be characterized by the same dependency of CILD, its interpretative properties are clearly distinct from the ones characterizing Contrastive Topic, and, on the contrary, they are analogous to the Contrastive Focus meaning. *Prima facie* CFLD appears to be an exception to the restrictive formulation of the cartographic approach proposed by Benincà and Poletto in terms of a one-to-one relation between syntactic position and discourse-scope properties. If CFLD were a CILDed topic which received the contrastive focus meaning and prosody independently of FocP, which is the syntactic projection where the contrastive focus features are encoded (Rizzi 1997 and 2004b), then FocP would not be necessary to assign the relevant features. Consequentially, the discourse-scope properties could be assigned by means of two disjointed mechanisms: on the one hand, the syntactic configuration and the spec-head agreement with the focus functional head, and, on the other, a sort of prosodic focalization independent of the syntactic configuration.

Nevertheless, the contexts of availability of CFLD indicate straightforwardly that it depends on the local availability of the focus projection and therefore an analysis in terms of focalization *in situ* not involving FocP is not empirically adequate. The data provided (here and in Haegeman 2004) show, independently of the analysis proposed here, that the contrastive focalization is not allowed without the activation of the FocP projection. We can therefore conclude that the interpretation and the prosody of contrastive focus are available only through the mediation of the syntactic projection where the relevant features are encoded. This conclusion constitutes as independent support for the “cartographic” assumption as formulated by Benincà and Poletto (2004).

In conclusion, CFLD does not constitute an exception to the split CP model (Rizzi 1997 and subsequent work) and to the cartographic approach. On the contrary this framework actually provides an adequate account for this construction. According to the analysis that I have proposed, CFLD occupies the specifier of a complex head obtained through head-movement and endowed with the features [+Contrast; +Top]. In this way, it is possible to account for its interpretative properties, the definiteness requirement and, above all, the syntactic contexts where it is available.

11§ The problem of the contrastively focalized Subject in preverbal position

The focus position in the left periphery has been argued for mainly on the basis of focalization of DO or PP. Nevertheless, a preverbal subject can be contrastively focalized on the left hand as well, regardless of the argumental structure of the verb.

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As argued for in Bocci (2004), a sentence with a contrastively focalized subject in preverbal position is characterized by the same prosodic properties of a focalized DO fronted to the left periphery. If we consider a verb that allows both intransitive and transitive structure, we get an ambiguous sentence like (56)c: if it is introduced by (56)a, “Giovanni” is DO, if it is introduced by (56)b, “Giovanni” is the subject.

(56) a. –A: Lo sai che Luca ha presentato Franco a Lucia?

‘Did you hear that Luca has introduced Francesco to Lucia?’

b. –A’: Hai saputo che Luca ha presentato la serata finale del festival?

‘Did you hear that Luca has presented the final evening of the music festival?’

c. –B: GIANNI ha presentato

‘GIANNI_{DO} [he] has introduced’/‘GIANNI_{Subj} has presented [the final evening]’

‘Franco has introduced G. to Lucia’/ ‘GIANNI has presented the final evening’

If the contrastive focalization involves the same prosodic properties for the preverbal subject and for DO, what can we state about the syntactic structure? If the preverbal subject could be focalized standing in the IP-internal preverbal subject position, where the (nonfocalized) preverbal subject is located according to Cardinaletti (2004) and Rizzi (2004c), two disjointed mechanisms would be responsible for the prosody and the interpretation of contrastive focus: in the first one, the syntactic projection of Focus would be activated, while in the second one a “free prosodic focalization” would be at work, regardless of the syntactic projection of focus. On the other hand, if a contrastively focalized preverbal subject does not occupy its preverbal IP-internal subject position, but it occupies the specifier of FocP in the left periphery, as proposed by Belletti (2004a:29), then the focalized element in (56) will be hosted in the left periphery both if it is a subject or a direct object. This account is fully consistent with the “cartographic approach” which proposes that the discursive-scope properties are encoded in dedicated syntactic projections and assigned through spec-head agreement.

The aim of the this second part of the paper is to investigate if the prosody and interpretation of contrastive focus are available independently of syntactic configurations, namely from the activation of FocP. If the interpretation and prosody of contrastive focus can be assigned independently of the syntactic configuration, then a preverbal subject can be focalized standing in its IP internal position without

involving the syntactic Focus projection. This claim will constitute Hypothesis I.³² If we observe that a preverbal subject has to be necessarily moved to FocP in the left periphery, we will be forced to reject Hypothesis I and to assume the alternative hypothesis according to which the syntactic projection of Focus is needed to express the interpretation/prosody of contrast.³³

Hypothesis I: the contrastively focalized subject can occupy the usual (nonquantificational) preverbal subject position within the IP area and it is contrastively focalized *in situ* only by PF.

Hypothesis II (provisional): the contrastively focalized preverbal subject has to be moved to the specifier of FocP in the left periphery, namely in an A'-position, involving a genuine operator-variable dependency, as well as a focalized DO fronted to the left periphery.

In order to test if the subject can be moved to CF in the left periphery, we can look at the sentences below, where the focalized subject is followed by an element dislocated to the left periphery:

(57) GIANNI hanno stabilito che debba presentare la relazione, non Marco!

'GIANNI [they] have established that has to illustrate the report, not Marco!'

(58) a. –A: Lo sai che Luca ha presentato la relazione?

'Did you hear that Luca has illustrated the report?'

b. –B: GIANNI la relazione l'ha presentata (, non Luca)!

'GIANNI the report it-has illustrated (, not LUCA)!'

(59) Si domandano GIANNI dove sia andato, non Paolo!

'[They] wonder GIANNI where has gone, not Paolo!'

These examples constitute a necessary, but not sufficient piece of evidence that discriminates between the two hypotheses, because they do not clarify the role of the syntax when the movement to the periphery is not visible: the issue is not if the preverbal subject can be moved to the left periphery, but if a contrastively focalized

³² The formulation of Hypothesis I and the logic of the reasoning are based on the assumption that there is a preverbal subject position within the IP area, as recently confirmed by Cardinaletti (2004)'s work. If one assumed that in Italian the preverbal subject is always left dislocated in the left periphery, it would be possible to demonstrate that Hypothesis II is right, without being able to reject the claim that contrastive focus is assigned through a purely prosodic device. Such is the case because it would not be possible to exclude the fact that there is incompatibility between contrastive prosody/interpretation and the left dislocated position occupied by the preverbal subject in this model. However, the existence of the IP-internal preverbal subject position has been argued for by Cardinaletti (2004) through an independent analysis, so that no circularity is involved by the formulation of the hypotheses.

³³ In order to define the hypotheses, I have not taken into consideration the possibility of head movement from the IP internal preverbal subject position to the head of Focus in the left periphery. Unlike CFLD, the formation of a complex head through head-movement appears implausible in this case given the strongly local character of head-movement (Roberts 2004).

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subject in preverbal position is forced to occupy the specifier of FocP in the left periphery.

If the focalization of the preverbal subject could be an exclusively phonological process, it would not have any syntactic consequence. I will argue that on the contrary, Hypothesis II (reformulated below) is correct and that Hypothesis I is not. I show that the contrastively focalized preverbal subject is (necessarily) moved to the left periphery from a postverbal position and that it involves a quantificational dependency, being sensitive to WCO, as well as Wh-interrogative subjects. The pieces of evidence which I will provide concern data on verbal agreement in Florentine with Wh-subjects and contrastive focalized subjects discussed by Brandi and Cordin (1981) (see 13§), the results of the “ne”-cliticization diagnostic (Rizzi 1982) (see 14§), the availability of preverbal focalized subject in clauses characterized by reduced left peripheries (Haegeman 2004) (see 15§), and the effects of binding with respect to Principles B and C (see 16§ and 17§).

12§ The Subject Criterion

If we assume that a subject focalized in preverbal position has been moved to the specifier of FocP, namely Hypothesis II, then the movement in question should take place from the postverbal subject position instead of the preverbal one, as proposed by Rizzi (1982 and 2004) for the Wh-subject. Rizzi (1982) argues using the traditional jargon that EPP and ECP prevent a subject from moving from its preverbal position, as shown by the well-known Subject/Object asymmetries. According to Rizzi, the lack of these asymmetries in Null Subject Languages is due to the availability of *pro* which permits EPP and ECP to be satisfied, allowing the subject to move from its postverbal position. Through several tests, as the ones based on the ne-cliticization diagnostic and the others concerning some Northern Italian Dialects advanced by Brandi and Cordin (1981), Rizzi shows that the Wh-movement extracts the subject from its postverbal position in Italian, without involving that-trace effects and ECP/EPP violations.

Recently, Rizzi (2004) has reformulated the analysis of subject/object asymmetries according to the Criterial framework and following the core idea of the work by Cardinaletti (2004) about subject positions. Rizzi (2004) argued that the (highest) subject position within the IP area is a criterial position, named Subj for concreteness.³⁴ A Subject Criterion attracts the subject to the specifier of SubjP, a high IP internal position, in order to establish the spec-head agreement responsible

³⁴ In this paper, I will not take into consideration the different subject positions argued in Cardinaletti (2004) and assumed in Rizzi (2004). For our argumentation, it is sufficient to show that the position where CILDed phrases are reconstructed for binding is lower than Subj, but higher than the position of the subject extraction via Wh-movement, as argued for by Cecchetto (1996a, 2000, 2001).

for the interpretative Subject-Predication articulation. If the expletive *pro* is available to satisfy the Subject Criterion, as in Null Subject Language, then the thematic subject can move from another noncriterial position. However, if *pro* is unavailable, then the Subject Criterion forces the thematic subject to reach to the specifier of Subj, where it is frozen, so that any further movement is prevented. In this way, by integrating the analysis in an independent theoretical structure, the Subject-Object asymmetries are predicted.

According to this line of reasoning, if the subject has to reach the specifier of FocP in the left periphery in order to satisfy the Focus Criterion, it can only move directly from a low and (presumably) noncriterial position, avoiding the criterial freezing effect in the specifier of SubjP. Even if one assumes that the Focus Criterion could be fulfilled through covert movement, the argumentation holds anyway, because Criterial Freezing applies to SubjP at any level and therefore the possibility to move covertly from the preverbal subject position to FocP is excluded as well. Therefore there are only two mutually exclusive possibilities: the preverbal subject is focalized *in situ*, standing in the IP internal position, or it is overtly moved to the left periphery from a noncriterial position. This conclusion leads us to reformulate Hypothesis II.

Hypothesis II (reformulated): a contrastively focalized preverbal subject has to reach overtly the specifier of FocP in the left periphery, namely in an A'-position, moving from a postverbal position, where it leaves its Wh-trace, and involving a genuine operator-variable dependency, as well as a focalized DO in the left periphery.

The reformulation of Hypothesis II raises the question about the exact identification of the projection from which the focalized preverbal subject is extracted. The possible answers to this question are related to the analysis of the low IP area and the postverbal subject that one assumes (Belletti 1999 and 2004a, Cardinaletti 2001 and 2002). Following the analysis by Belletti (1999 and 2004a), one can speculate that the focalized preverbal subject is extracted from the IP-internal Focus position. Even if this explanation appears quite attractive, since it suggests a true compositionality of the discourse properties, it needs to assume the existence of some formal (uninterpretable) feature that allows the subject to move across the low postverbal focus position without triggering Criterial Freezing. Alternatively, one could assume that the subject is extracted directly from the specifier of VP so that no formal feature has to be postulated (see Cardinaletti 2001 and 2002). The pieces which I will provide to support Hypothesis II indicate that the site of the subject extraction is not higher than the downstairs domain of IP, but do not provide any more detailed cue. Therefore, I will not take a position about this point, leaving the question open for further research. Nevertheless it is worth emphasizing that the evidence provided here indicate that the contrastively focalized preverbal subject behaves exactly as a Wh-subject or a focalized postverbal subject.

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Therefore I conclude that both contrastive focalization and Wh-movement share the same site of subject extraction.

13§ Contrastive Focalization in rural Florentine

Brandi and Cordin (1981) argue that in rural Florentine the postverbal subject involves the occurrence of the default subject clitic and the lack of the agreement on the verb, unlike preverbal subject, as shown in the following examples adapted from Brandi and Cordin (1981:(15)).³⁵

- (60) a. *Gl'è venuto le su' sorelle.*
'It-has_{III sg} come his sisters'
b. **Le son venute le su' sorelle.*
They-have_{III pl} come his sisters'
c. *Le su' sorelle le son venute.*
'Her sisters they-have_{III pl} come'
d. **Le su' sorelle gl'è venuto.*
'Her sisters it-has_{III sg} come'

Since the preverbal position of the subject and the postverbal one are characterized by different types of clitic and verbal agreement with the subject, Brandi and Cordin (1981) argue convincingly that in Wh-interrogatives and restrictive relative clauses the subject is moved to the left periphery from the postverbal position, see (61)-(62) (adapted from Brandi and Cordin 1981: (63)a-b and (64)a-b).

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

Brandi and Cordin (1981) consider contrastive focalization on preverbal subjects and provide the following examples. Since the focalization on the preverbal subject is characterized by the lack of verbal agreement and the occurrence of the default clitic, Brandi and Cordin (1981) argue that focalization is analogous to Wh-movement: the subject is extracted from the postverbal position.

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

³⁵ Brandi and Cordin (1981) use the term "topicalizzazione" (topicalization) to indicate what we have called "contrastive focalization". However, the terminological change is completely transparent, as confirmed by the occurrence of the negative tag "non X" in the original examples of Brandi and Cordin (1981). Unlike Brandi and Cordin (1981), I have marked the focalized phrase with capital letters in the examples (63)-(64) for convenience.

- b. *LA MARIA l'ha parlato alla riunione, no la Carla.
'LA MARIA she-has spoken at the meeting, not the Carla'

The most remarkable piece of evidence provided by these paradigms is the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (63)b and (64)b: the prosodic properties of contrastive focalization are inconsistent with the characteristics of the preverbal subject. These data bring us to discard Hypothesis I and conclude that Hypothesis II is correct: the preverbal subject cannot receive the contrastive prosody standing in the high subject position in the IP domain. Instead, it is compulsory extracted from the postverbal position.

14§ "Ne"-cliticization

Rizzi (1982) proposes the "ne"-cliticization diagnostic criterion to locate the position of extraction of Wh-subjects in Italian. A subject of an unaccusative verb constituted by an indefinite quantifier and its lexical restriction can undergo two opposite processes of pronominalization. When the subject occupies a postverbal position, the lexical restriction can be pronominalized with the clitic "ne" (of it/of them), whereas the simple omission of the lexical restriction is ungrammatical (see (65)b adapted by Rizzi 1982:149 (90)). On the contrary, if the subject occupies the preverbal position, the lexical restriction can be omitted and the clitic "ne" cannot occur (see (65)c adapted from Rizzi 1982:150 (91)).

- (65) 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 as shown by Rizzi, the "ne"-cliticization constitutes a diagnostic test to decide the position of Wh-extraction of the subject. Therefore the compulsoriness of "ne" in the following examples from Rizzi (1982:151-152), leads to the conclusion that the subject in (66) and (67) is Wh-extracted from the postverbal position.

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

As pointed out in Cinque (1990:69-71),³⁶ a contrastively focalized subject dislocated in the left periphery behaves like a Wh-moved subject, requiring

³⁶ Cinque (1990) uses the term "topicalization" to refer to what I call "contrastive focalization".

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compulsorily the occurrence of “ne”, as shown in the following examples from Cinque (1990:70 (33)).

- (68) a. –A: Sono arrivate dieci lettere.
‘The 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.’

However, the same reasoning applied to the sentences in (57)-(59), holds for the example discussed in Cinque (1990) as well: (68)b shows that a subject can be moved to FocP in the left periphery and that this movement starts compulsorily from a postverbal position as well as Wh-movement. But in order to test if the preverbal subject can receive the contrastive intonation *in situ*, namely within the IP domain, we have to consider sentences like (69) and (71), where the focalized subject is not visibly fronted to the left periphery. By comparing (69)-(70), we observe once again that the Focalization movement behaves analogously to the Wh-movement.

- (69) a. –A: Due studenti sono già venuti.
‘Two students have already come’
b. –B: No, sbagli! QUATTRO STUDENTI sono venuti!
‘No, you are wrong! FOUR STUDENTS have come!’
c. –B’: *QUATTRO sono venuti!
‘FOUR have come’
d. –B’’: QUATTRO ne sono venuti!
‘FOUR of them-have come’
(70) *(Ne) sono venuti quattro.
‘*(Of them-) have come four’
(71) a. –A: Tre pietre sono cadute.
‘Three stones have fallen’
b. –B: CINQUE *(ne) sono cadute
‘FIVE *(of them-) have come’
(72) Quanti *(ne) sono venuti?
‘How many *(of them-) have come?’
(73) Quattro *(ne) sono venuti.
‘Four (of them-) have come’

If the preverbal subject could receive the prosodic contrastive properties standing *in situ*, then the lexical restriction would be able to be omitted and the “ne” occurrence could not be grammatical, as it happens with the nonfocalized subject in (73). However, since the clitic “ne” must be present in (69) and (71), we conclude that if a subject in preverbal position is endowed with the prosody of contrastive focus, it must be extracted from the postverbal position in order to move to the specifier of FocP in the left periphery.

15§ Focalized Subject in subordinate clauses

Haegeman (2004) argues that the contrastive focus projection is structurally unavailable in the left periphery of certain subordinate clauses as sentential subjects,

if-clauses and infinitival control clauses. Following this analysis, it is possible to test if a preverbal subject can be focalized standing in the IP domain and independently of FocP. Consider the following paradigms and compare the examples of focalized DOs moved to the left periphery and those of focalized preverbal subjects. Once again, a special care should be taken in using the appropriate intonation of contrast.

- (74) a. ^{??}Che QUESTO PROBLEMA non abbiano risolto, mi sembra improbabile.
'That THIS PROBLEM [they] have not solved, to me-seems unlikely.'
b. ^{??}Che I PROFESSORI non l'abbiano risolto, mi sembra improbabile.³⁷
'That THE PROFESSORS it-have not solved, to me-seems unlikely'
- (75) a. ^{?(?)}Che IL TAPPETO Giorgio voglia cambiare, mi sembra improbabile.
'That THE CARPET Giorgio wants to replace, to me-seems unlikely'
b. ^{?(?)}Che GIORGIO voglia cambiare il tappeto, mi sembra improbabile.
'That GIORGIO wants to replace the carpet, to me-seems unlikely'
- (76) a. ^{??(*)}Se QUESTO ESERCIZIO Giorgio non finisce, il professore si arrabbierà.
'If THIS EXERCISE Giorgio does not finish, the professor will get angry'
b. ^{??}Se GIORGIO non finisce questo esercizio, il professore si arrabbierà.
'If GIORGIO does not finish this exercise, the professor will get angry'
- (77) a. ^{??}Il professore si arrabbierà, se QUESTO ESERCIZIO Giorgio non finisce.
'The professor will get angry, if THIS EXERCISE Giorgio does not finish'
b. ^{??}Il professore si arrabbierà, se GIORGIO non finisce quest'esercizio.
'The professor will get angry, if GIORGIO does not finish this exercise'
- (78) a. ^{??(*)}Se LUCA invitiamo, la situazione si risolverà.
'If LUCA [we] invite, the situation will become clear'
b. ^{??}Se LUCA mi invita, la situazione si risolverà.
'If LUCA me-invites, the situation will become clear'
- (79) a. ^{??(*)}La situazione si risolverà, se LUCA invitiamo
'The situation will become clear, if LUCA [we] invite'
b. ^{??}La situazione si risolverà, se LUCA ci invita.
'The situation will become clear, if LUCA us-invites'

Even if the judgments are not completely straightforward, they indicate that the contrastive focalization on a DO and on a preverbal subject implies an analogous degree of degradation. On the contrary, in these subordinate clauses characterized by a reduced left periphery lacking FocP, the contrastive focalization is allowed for the elements in postverbal position. Let us compare contrastive focalization on the preverbal subjects with both focalized subjects in postverbal position and with focalized postverbal objects.³⁸ Whereas the preverbal subjects disallow focalization, the subjects occurring on the right of the verb can be felicitously focalized, as well as DOs.

³⁷ The example (74)a is adapted from Haegeman (2004:(42))

³⁸ These examples have been constructed in order to avoid the orthogonal question concerning "emargination" (Antinucci and Cinque 1977) and to magnify the problem of the availability of contrastive focalization. In the examples with focalized subjects in (80)-(82), the DO, when required, is expressed by a clitic.

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- (80) a. ^{??}Che GIANNI mi inviti, mi sembra strano!
‘That GIANNI me-invites, to me-seems strange’
b. Che mi inviti GIANNI, mi sembra strano!
‘That me-invites GIANNI, to me-seems strange’
c. Che Gianni inviti LUCIA, mi sembra strano!
‘That Gianni invites LUCIA, to me-seems strange’
- (81) a. ^{??}Se GIANNI mi invita, la situazione si chiarirà!
‘If GIANNI me-invites, the situation will be cleared up!’
b. Se mi invita GIANNI, la situazione si chiarirà!
‘If me-invites GIANNI, the situation will be cleared up!’
c. Se Gianni invita LUCIA, la situazione si chiarirà!
‘If Gianni invites LUCIA, the situation will be cleared up!’
- (82) a. ^{?(c)} La situazione si chiarirà, se GIANNI mi invita!
‘The situation will be cleared up, if GIANNI me-invites!’
b. La situazione si chiarirà, se mi invita GIANNI!
‘The situation will be cleared up, if me-invites GIANNI!’
c. La situazione si chiarirà, se Gianni invita LUCIA!
‘The situation will be cleared up, if Gianni invites LUCIA!’

Compare then the contrastive focalization on preverbal and postverbal subject with an unaccusative verb.

- (83) a. ^{??}Che GIANNI sia venuto, mi sembra strano!
b. Che sia venuto GIANNI mi sembra strano!
‘That {GIANNI} has come {GIANNI}, to me-seems strange!’
- (84) a. ^{??}Se GIANNI viene, la situazione si chiarirà!
b. Se viene GIANNI, la situazione si chiarirà!
‘If {GIANNI} comes {GIANNI}, the situation will be cleared up!’
- (85) a. ^{?(c)} La situazione si chiarirà, se GIANNI viene!
b. La situazione si chiarirà, se viene GIANNI!
The situation will be cleared up, if {GIANNI} comes {GIANNI}!

The previous examples show that only phrases in postverbal position can be felicitously focalized. This observation contradicts Hypothesis I: since the availability of focalization on the preverbal subject depends on the FocP projection, we are able to reject the claim that there is a “free phonological focalization” independent of the syntactic encoding of the focus.

If free “prosodic focalization” is not available for preverbal subjects, this kind of device will be unavailable for postverbal phrases as well. Consequentially, it remains to be seen how we can account for the focalization in postverbal position within subordinate clauses whose left periphery does not contain a focus projection and does not allow preverbal focalization. As previously discussed, it is plausible to assume that the low IP-internal focus projection is responsible for both contrastive and new information focalization in postverbal position. With this assumption, it is possible to account at once for the ungrammaticality of focalized subjects in

preverbal position and the availability of the contrastive focalization on postverbal phrases.

16§ Focalized preverbal Subject and WCO

It is well known that a focalized phrase moved to the left periphery creates a quantificational dependency and therefore it is sensitive to WCO effects, as well as Wh-movement in general. If the focalized phrase is the subject of the clause, we are forced to adopt a slightly more complex diagnostic test in order to detect WCO effects. In this paragraph, I will show that the analysis of the binding reconstruction of CILD developed by Cecchetto (1996, 2000, 2001) lead us to conclude that the focalized subject in preverbal position, unlike the nonfocalized preverbal subject, involves a genuine quantificational dependency between its surface position and the postverbal position. Such is the case because it is sensitive to the WCO configuration with the pronoun contained in a CILD reconstructed in the IP domain.

Through several pieces of evidence, Cecchetto (1996, 2000, 2001) argues that a CILDed DO is compulsory reconstructed in an internal IP position higher than the one occupied by a postverbal subject (whatever it might be), but lower than the one occupied by a nonfocalized preverbal subject (whatever kind of subject: referential DP, pro, quantified expression). This property of CILDed DOs is exemplified by the sentences (86)-(87) from Cecchetto (1996:236 (64)-(65)),³⁹ which show that a pronoun contained within a CILDed DO can be bound by the preverbal subject, but not by the postverbal one.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the examples (88)-(90) (from Cecchetto 2000:(7)-(9)) indicate that a DP contained within a CILDed DO cannot be coindexed with a preverbal pronominal subject, whereas the analogous coindexation with a postverbal pronominal subject is allowed. According to Cecchetto (2000), Principle C is violated in (88)-(89), but not in (90), because the CILDed DO must be reconstructed in a intermediate IP-internal position located within the c-command domain of the preverbal subject, but higher than the postverbal subject position.⁴¹

(86) Il suo_i paper, Carlo_i/pro_i/ogni ragazzo_i/un ragazzo_i/nessuno_i l'ha discusso ieri.

'His paper, Charles/(he)/every boy/a boy/nobody it-has discussed yesterday'

(87) *Il suo_i paper, l'ha discusso ieri ogni ragazzo_i.

'His paper, it-has discussed yesterday every boy'

(88) ??L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i, lui_i la scrive sempre volentieri.

'The first work of a writer, he it-writes always with pleasure'

³⁹ The sentences (86)-(87) have been originally proposed by Zubizarreta (1998) for Spanish.

⁴⁰ As argued for by Cecchetto (1996a and 1996b, 2000) following Zubizarreta (1998), even if we assume that in clauses with postverbal subject *pro* is present for filling the preverbal subject position, we are forced to assume that only the lexical postverbal position is relevant for binding phenomena. For a detailed discussion I refer the reader to Cecchetto (1996a and 2000:fn. 6).

⁴¹ For a detailed discussion of this analysis, I refer the reader to Cecchetto (1996a and 2000).

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- (89) *L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i, pro_i la scrive sempre volentieri.
'The first work of a writer, [s/he] it-writes always with pleasure'
(90) L'opera prima di uno scrittore_i, la scrive sempre lui_i.
'The first work of a writer, it-writes always he'

In the light of the compulsory reconstruction of CILD argued for by Cecchetto (1996, 2000), consider the sentences in (91)-(94). In (91) and (93) a nonfocalized subject, occupying its high IP-internal position, appropriately c-commands and binds the object reconstructed in a lower site. But if a preverbal subject is focalized, as in (92) and (94), thus the coindexation between it and a pronoun contained within a CILDed DO gives rise to a straightforward degradation, which I analyse as due to a WCO configuration.

- (91) La sua moto, Gianni l'ha venduta ieri.
'His motorbike, Gianni it-has sold yesterday'
(92) ??La sua_i moto, GIANNI_i l'ha venduta ieri (, non Carlo)!
'His motorbike, GIANNI it-has sold yesterday (, not Carlo)!'
(93) La sua_i relazione, ogni segretaria_i l'ha presentata lunedì.
'His report, every secretary it-has consigned Monday'
(94) ??La sua_i relazione, OGNI SEGRETARIA_i l'ha presentata lunedì (, non ogni assistente)!

His report, EVERY SECRETARY it-has consigned Monday (, not every assistant).

By putting together Rizzi's (1982) analysis of the extraction of Wh-subject and the behaviour of CILD with respect to reconstruction, I conclude that in (92) and (94) the focalized subject has to be necessarily extracted from a very low position across the reconstruction site of the object and moved to its A' landing site, namely FocP in the left periphery.⁴² The compulsory movement to FocP creates the

⁴² Crucially I assume that the quantificational trace left behind by the movement to the left periphery of a focalized or wh subject is located downstairs, at least lower than the reconstruction site of a CILDed DO, but high enough to correctly c-command and bind a RDed or direct object *in situ*, so that no WCO effect is implied in these cases, as shown in i. and in (101)-(106).

i. Chi_i/GIANNI_i ha consegnato la sua_i relazione?/!
'Who/GIANNI has consigned his relation?/!'

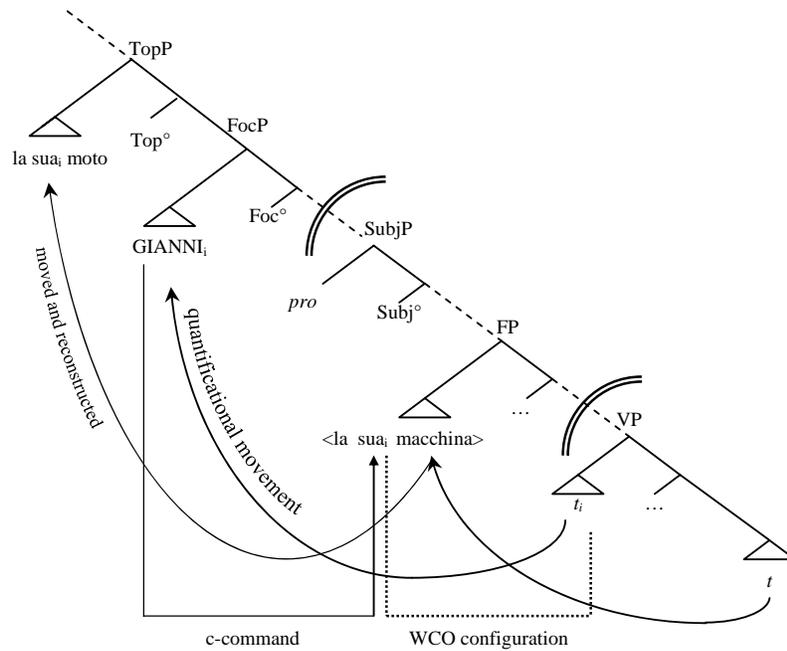
Consequentially, either the site of the subject extraction is lower than the verb but higher than the position occupied by DO, or DO can be reconstructed in its VP-internal position, even if it has been moved to some position (such as ArgOP) higher than the postverbal subject one. Consider that these possibilities are not implausible because Cardinaletti (2001: 122) points out that a (contrastively focalized) postverbal subject can bind an emarginated DO. Moreover Belletti argues that a subject in the sequence VOS can felicitously bind the direct object (Belletti:(47)). These properties, which Cecchetto (2000) does not take into consideration, are not directly compatible with his approach to reconstruction in Italian because he assumes the movement of DO to AgrOP and that reconstruction is always banned for A-moved phrases. Nevertheless, what is really needed by Cecchetto's analysis is the assumption that the preverbal subject can never be reconstructed in VP, as shown by the effects of Principle C. However, no assumption concerning (nonCILDed) DO is actually needed. See also fn. 43.

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prototypical WCO configuration where the pronoun is c-commanded by the operator but not by the variable (see (95)-(96)). If the preverbal subject could be focalized standing in the IP domain without involving an operator-variable chain, then the WCO effect would be avoided.

(95) *La sua_i moto, GIANNI_i <la sua_i moto> l'ha venduta t_i*

(96)



According to this line of reasoning, the same behaviour with respect to the CILD reconstruction should be found in interrogatives with Wh-subject, as well as in clauses with focalized preverbal subject. This prediction is born out, as shown in (97)-(100): once again Wh-movement and focalization exhibit the same properties.

(97) *??La sua moto_i, chi_i l'ha venduta ieri?*

'His motorbike, who it-has sold yesterday?'

(98) *??La sua relazione_i, chi_i l'ha consegnata lunedì?*

'His report, who it-has consigned Monday?'

(99) *??La sua moto_i, chi_i credi che l'abbia venduta ieri?*

'His motorbike, who do you believe that it-has sold yesterday?'

(100) *??La sua relazione_i, chi_i credi che l'abbia consegnata lunedì?*

'His report, who do you believe that it-has consigned Monday?'

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It is worth recalling that a nonfocalized preverbal subject can bind a pronoun within a CILDed phrase independently of its referential status (see (86)). Therefore, what we observe in these cases, is not mere coreferentiality, but genuine binding. If this is the case, contrastive focalization, as well as Wh-extraction, actually involves WCO degradation because the mechanism prevented by focalization is binding and the c-command configuration, and not mere coreferentiality. In order to try to test if there is some kind of pragmatic principle which prevents co-indexation between a pronoun within a topic and a focalized or Wh-subject, let us consider the case of RDed topics.⁴³

⁴³ Not surprisingly a contrastively focalized postverbal subject can bind a pronoun contained in a RDed phrase:

- i. L'ha venduta GIANNI_i la sua_i moto (, non Carlo)!
'It-has sold GIANNI his motorbike (, not Carlo)'
- ii. L'ha consegnata UNO STUDENTE_i la sua_i relazione (, non un professore)!
'It-has consigned A STUDENT his report (, not a professor)'
- iii. Non l'ha consegnata NESSUNO_i la sua_i relazione (, altro che tutti)!
'Has consigned NOBODY his report (, not everyone)'

Nevertheless, following Calabrese (1992:100-102), Cardinaletti (2002:39) argues that a postverbal subject, carrying new information (or contrastive) focus, seems to be unable to c-command and to bind a *pro* subject if the latter is contained within a complement clause anticipated by a clitic pronoun. Consider iv. and v. adapted as examples from Cardinaletti (2002: (26)-(27)).

- iv. (Lo) ha detto Mario/MARIO_i che *pro*_i avrebbe fatto queste cose
'(It-) has said Mario/MARIO, that [he] would-have done these things'
- v. Non (*lo) ha detto nessuno/NESSUNO_i che *pro*_i avrebbe fatto queste cose.
'Not (*it-) has said nobody/NOBODY, that [he] would-have done these things'

An asymmetry emerges by comparing iii. and v. According to Cardinaletti (2002:39), the clitic in v is ungrammatical because mere coreferentiality is unavailable and the postverbal nonreferential subject cannot bind *pro* which is not in its c-domain. This is unlike iv, where coreferentiality between the referential subject and *pro* is possible. However, the ungrammaticality observed in v. disappears by substituting "nessuno" (nobody) with another quantificational subject, as in vi. Furthermore, vii. illustrates that a postverbal subject in a matrix clause violates Principle C if it is coindexed with a definite description subject in the complement clause. These facts suggest that a different analysis is needed to account for v.

- vi. L'ha detto uno studente/UNO STUDENTE_i che *pro*_i avrebbe fatto queste cose.
'it-has said a student/ A STUDENT that [he] would do these things'
- vii. a. *L'ha detto Rossini_i che il pesarese_i avrebbe scritto la Cenerentola in due settimane.
'It-said Rossini that the composer from Pesaro would have written Cinderella in two weeks'
- b. L'ha detto l'impresario di Rossini_i che il pesarese_i avrebbe scritto la Cenerentola in due settimane.
'It-said the impresario of Rossini that the composer from Pesaro would have written Cinderella in two weeks'

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- (101) GIANNI_i l'ha venduta, la sua_i moto (, non Carlo)!
 'GIANNI it-has sold, his motorbike (, not Carlo)!'

(102) OGNI SEGRETARIA_i l'ha consegnata, la sua_i relazione (, non ogni assistente)!
 'EVERY SECRETARY it-has consigned, his report (, not every assistant)!'

(103) Chi_i (cavolo) l'ha venduta la sua_i moto?
 'Who (the hell) it-has sold his motorbike?'

(104) Chi_i (cavolo) l'ha consegnata la sua_i relazione?
 'Who (the hell) it-has consigned his report?'

(105) Chi_i (cavolo) credi che l'abbia venduta la sua_i moto?
 'Who (the hell) do you believe that it-has sold his motorbike?'

(106) Chi_i (cavolo) credi che l'abbia consegnata la sua_i relazione?
 'Who (the hell) do you believe that it-has consigned his report?'

As shown in (101)-(106), a pronoun contained within a RDed direct object can be appropriately c-commanded and bound by a focalized subject or a Wh-subject.⁴⁴

Summarizing the previous remarks, I conclude that a (focalized) postverbal subject, independently of its referential status, is able to c-command and to bind a pronoun contained in a RDed DO and, analogously, I assume that a postverbal subject c-commands a subject contained within a complement clause anticipated by the accusative clitic (see vi. vii.). If this is the case, the quantificational trace of a focalized or Wh subject moved to the left periphery is able to c-command both a DO *in situ* and a RDed DO. Therefore, no WCO effect is expected under our analysis and therefore the grammaticality of the examples (101)-(104) is fully compatible with the present account. See also fn. 42.

⁴⁴ The different binding properties of CILD and RD, observed with respect to a Wh-subject, a postverbal subject and a contrastively focalized preverbal subject (see (97)-(100) vs. (101)-(106), iii and fn. 43), are empirically problematic for the approaches to Right Dislocation in terms of “double-topicalization” (Cardinaletti 2002, Frascarelli 2004). Cardinaletti (2002), for instance, proposes that a RDed phrase is moved to a topic position in the left periphery and that the entire clause is then moved to the specifier of a higher projection, presumably another Topic projection. Following this account, the sentence with RD in i. is analysed as shown in ii (Cardinaletti 2002: (2) and (42)).

i. L'ho già comprato, il giornale.

'[I] it-have already bought, the newspaper'

ii. [_{TopicP}[_{IP} *pro* l'ha già comprato t_k] Top° [_{TopicP} [_{DP} il giornale]_k Top° [_{IP} t_j]]]

The binding asymmetries between CILD and RD, observed in (97)-(106), fn. 43 and iii., are problematic under a “double topicalization model” because it is implausible that the further movement of the clause, which distinguishes CILD from RD, could recreate the conditions for binding which is prevented for CILD (see iii.). On the contrary, the different behaviour of CILD and RD can be readily accounted for by assuming that RD involves a topic projection in the low area of IP, as proposed by Cecchetto (1999) and Belletti (2001, 2004a).

iii. a. ^{??}La sua_i relazione, non l'ha consegnata nessuno_i.

'His report, has not consigned anyone'

b. Non l'ha consegnata nessuno_i, la sua_i relazione.

'Has not consigned anyone, his report'

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This fact suggests that the degradation found for CILD in (91)-(100) is due to a syntactic configuration created by the mechanism of focalization.

Since the coreferential reading with a nonfocalized subject is obtained through genuine binding, I conclude that the degradation involved in (91)-(100) is actually due to a WCO configuration between the pronoun (necessarily) reconstructed in an intermediate position and the quantificational movement of the subject across it: this is the only syntactic analysis able to explain the degradation observed. Finally, it is worth emphasizing that the occurrence of WCO degradation does not imply that the focalized subject can be moved to FocP, but implies that the subject must be moved to the left periphery, leaving a quantificational variable in a low postverbal position. In other words, if the previous analysis is correct, WCO effect caused by the focalization on preverbal subjects constitutes a sufficient piece of evidence to reject Hypothesis I and to adopt Hypothesis II.

17§ Focalized preverbal Subject and Principle C

Hypothesis II is supported also by Principle C effects. Let us consider the following examples.⁴⁵ As mentioned earlier, a pronominal subject in preverbal position cannot be coindexed with a DP contained within a CILDed direct object, as shown in (107). However, the coreferential reading is available with a pronoun subject in postverbal position, as illustrated in (108).

(107) ⁷⁹L'opera prima di [uno scrittore]_i lui_i la scrive sempre (volentieri).

'The first work of a writer he it-writes always with pleasure'

(108) L'opera prima di [uno scrittore]_i la scrive sempre lui_i

'The first work of a writer it-writes always he'

(109) ⁷⁷Il commercialista di [Lucia]_i, lei_i l'ha denunciato.

'Lucia's business consultant_{DO}, she_{SUBJ} has informed against'

(110) Il commercialista di [Lucia]_i, l'ha denunciato lei_i

'Lucia's business consultant_{DO}, has informed against she_{SUBJ}'

According to Cecchetto (2000), the contrast between the previous examples is due to Principle C effect. Since the CILDed DO is compulsorily reconstructed in an intermediate position within the IP area, it is c-commanded by a preverbal subject, but not by a postverbal subject. So in (107) and (109), Principle C is violated because the DP within the reconstructed DO is co-indexed with the preverbal subject c-commanding it. On the contrary in (108) and (110), the DP within the reconstructed DO can be coindexed with the postverbal subject without violating Principle C, because the referential expression is not c-commanded.

⁴⁵ The examples in (107) and in (108) are quoted from Cecchetto (2000:(9)-(8)).

Nevertheless Cecchetto (2000) points out that the violation of Principle C (at least partially) disappears if the pronominal subject is contrastively focalized as in (111) and (113).⁴⁶

- (111) L'opera prima di [uno scrittore]_i, (solo) LUI_i la capisce veramente (, non il pubblico)!
'The first work of a writer (only) HE it-understands really (, not the readers)!'
- (112) L'opera prima di [uno scrittore]_i, la capisce veramente (solo) LUI_i (, non il pubblico)!
'The first work of a writer it-understands really (only) HE (, not the readers)!'
- (113) Il commercialista di [Lucia]_i, LEI_i l'ha denunciato (, non Carlo)!
'Lucia's business consultant_{DO}, SHE_{SUBJ} has informed against (, not Carlo)!'
- (114) Il commercialista di [Lucia]_i l'ha denunciato LEI_i (, non Carlo)!
'Lucia's business consultant_{DO}, has informed against SHE_{SUBJ} (, not Carlo)!'

Cecchetto (2000) points out that a focalized preverbal subject behaves like a postverbal subject. This observation suggests that a focalized preverbal subject does not occupy the preverbal position within the IP domain, but it is moved to FocP starting from the postverbal position, where it can be reconstructed. If this is the case, the possibility of reconstruction of the focalized subject in a lower position than the (reconstructed) DO, enables the preverbal focalized subject to obviate the violation of Principle C, observed in (111)-(113). Thus we have to test if a focalized phrase in the left periphery can be reconstructed.

Since it is usually assumed that a moved Wh-phrase can be reconstructed in its intermediate positions or at the base of the chain and since it is generally assumed that focalization implies the same quantificational movement proper to Wh-movement, it is natural to suppose that focalization allows reconstruction as well as Wh-movement. This is confirmed by the examples (115)-(120), which illustrate that a focalized phrase in the left periphery can be reconstructed in order to satisfy Principles A and B. The examples (116)-(118) and (120) illustrate that the reconstruction process (at least marginally) can take place even after cyclic movement, activating the trace either in intermediate or in base position.

- (115) I PROPRI_k GENITORI Lucia_k ha invitato!
'SELF'S PARENTS Lucia has invited!'
- (116) I PROPRI_{i/k} GENITORI Carlo_i crede che Lucia_k abbia invitato!
'SELF'S PARENTS Carlo believes that Lucia has invited!'
- (117) IL SARTO DELLA PROPRIA_i MOGLIE Carlo_i crede che Giulia abbia sedotto, non il lattaio!
'THE TAILOR OF SELF'S WIFE Carlo believes that Giulia has seduced, non the milkman!'
- (118) IL SARTO DELLA PROPRIA_i MOGLIE Giulia crede che Carlo_i abbia picchiato, non il lattaio!
'THE TAILOR OF SELF'S WIFE Giulia believes that Carlo has given a thrashing, non the milkman!'

⁴⁶ The example (111) is quoted from Cecchetto (2000:(10)). In (111) I have inserted a negative tag in order to make prominent the relevant reading.

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(119) IL LAVORO DEI SUOI_i GENITORI ogni uomo_i deve continuare!

‘THE WORK OF SELF’S PARENTS everyone must continue’

(120) IL LAVORO DEI SUOI GENITORI_i lo Zar dice che ogni uomo_i deve continuare!

‘THE WORK OF SELF’S PARENTS the Tsar says that everyone must continue!’

Since focalization, as well as Wh-movement in general, allows reconstruction, Cecchetto’s (2000) idea is validated. In the sentences (111) and (113), a DP contained within a CILDED DO and a preverbal pronominal subject can be coindexed only if the subject is focalized. What allows us to account for these sentences is the assumption that the focalized subject is moved to FocP from its postverbal position through a quantificational movement which allows reconstruction: in this way, a focalized preverbal subject can avoid violating Principle C, unlike a nonfocalized preverbal subject whose movement from its VP internal position to the high IP-internal position never allows reconstruction. The effects of Principle C, therefore, provide a further piece of evidence in favor of Hypothesis II.⁴⁷

18§ Conclusive remarks on preverbal subject focalization

The evidence provided indicates that Hypothesis I has to be rejected and the Hypothesis II is correct. Therefore, if the previous analyses are on the right track, the preverbal subject cannot be contrastively focalized standing in its IP-internal position (Cardinaletti 2004) but it must be obligatorily moved to the specifier of FocP in the left periphery (Belletti 2004a), creating a quantificational dependency with its postverbal position, as well as Wh-subjects in questions (Rizzi 1982).

This conclusion suggests that the discursive-scope property of contrastive focus can be assigned exclusively through the syntactic configuration, as expected under a restrictive formulation of the cartographic approach (Benincà and Poletto 2004). Moreover, this conclusion is fully consistent with the Subject Criterion proposed by Rizzi (2004c), according to which the highest subject position within the IP domain is a criterial position, dedicated to express the Subject-Predicated articulation. Since the high IP-internal subject position prevents every extraction because of Criterial Freezing (Rizzi 2004c), the focalized subject can be moved only from a non-criterial postverbal position.

⁴⁷ The argumentation based on Principle C states nothing about the availability of a mere prosodic device of focalization *in situ*. Indeed, the analysis proposed, if correct, demonstrates that in the examples in question a focalized preverbal subject cannot be in the high IP-internal position nor can it be extracted from this position to the specifier of FocP. Instead, the subject is actually moved to the left periphery from a postverbal position. Thus, Principle C effects constitute a piece of evidence necessary to Hypothesis II but not sufficient to reject the Hypothesis I, unlike the argumentation based on Principle B.

19§ Final remarks

This paper has explored two different empirical problems, confronting them with the cartographic approach and the split CP model. I argued that even the most problematic facts can be accounted for within this framework. The data and the observations on CFCL and the contrastively focalized preverbal subject have led to the same conclusion: the contrastive focus meaning and prosody cannot be assigned independently of the relevant syntactic configuration.

This conclusion, consequently, provides evidence in favor of a restrictive formulation of the cartographic assumptions. The cartographic research has identified and located several distinct positions provided by syntax for signalling different interpretations to external systems. The argumentations we have discussed, bringing this view to extremes, suggest that the contrastive focus properties can become visible at the external systems only by means of the syntactic configuration where they are encoded.

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