

Final and non-final focus in Italian DPs

Vieri Samek-Lodovici

Italian Department – University College London

Abstract – This paper examines the distribution of focus in Italian DPs, revealing a strict parallelism with the distribution of focus in Italian clauses. As in clauses, focus is shown to occur rightmost in DPs, as claimed by Bernstein and as predicted by Zubizarreta’s prosody-driven analysis of rightmost focus at clause level. Furthermore, instances of non-final focus in the DP are shown to involve DP-final focus followed by the dislocation of post-focus constituents in DP-external position, closely paralleling analyses of non-final focus suggested by Vallduví, Cardinaletti, and Brunetti, and further developed by Samek-Lodovici. The paper also uncovers an interesting asymmetry linking the availability of non-final focus within DPs with multiple adjectives to the relative height of the base position of each adjective, showing that a similar asymmetry applies in clauses to adverbial non-final focus and providing a possible account in terms of Zubizarreta’s prosody driven analysis.

1. Introduction

The last fifteen years of linguistic research have seen an increasingly strong parallelism emerge between the syntactic properties of clausal and nominal structures (see among others Szabolcsi 1989, 1994, Siloni 1990, Cinque 1994, Ogawa 2001, Bernstein 2001a, 2001b). In this paper I consider whether the parallelism also extends to information structure and in particular to the syntax of focus in Italian. I will examine the effects of focus on the distribution of adjectives occurring at different levels of Cinque’s (1994) and Laenzlinger’s (2000/2005) adjectival hierarchy. The data I will consider concentrate on presentational focus (a.k.a. ‘new-information’ focus), but similar data hold for contrastive focus too.

In sections 2 and 3 I will present additional evidence supporting Bernstein’s (2001a) claim that Romance languages like Italian can express focus structurally in DP-final position, thus closely paralleling the availability of rightmost focus in the clause attested by many studies (e.g. Antinucci & Cinque 1977, Calabrese 1982, 1986, 1992, Saccon 1993, Belletti and Shlonsky 1995, Zubizarreta 1994, 1998, Samek-Lodovici 1996, 2005, Frascarelli 2000, Brunetti 2003).

In sections 4, I will examine instances of DP-internal non-final focus, showing that like clausal non-final focus they involve right-dislocation of post-focus constituents in a DP-external position

(cf. Vallduví 1992, Cardinaletti 2001, 2002, Samek-Lodovici 2006). I will also show that within DPs involving multiple adjectives the relative height of each adjective affects the availability of non-final focus, being possible with higher but not lower adjectives. Finally in section 5, I will show that the same asymmetry holds in clauses and consider a possible analysis and some related issues.

2. Rightmost focus in Italian DPs – Evidence from focused functional items

Rightmost focus in Romance DPs, Italian included, is argued for in Bernstein (2001a). Using mostly examples from Spanish, Bernstein observes that heads generated in the higher layers of a DP and normally expected to occur to the left of a noun turn up DP-finally when contrastively focused. The Italian data in Bernstein (2001a) are few and do not indicate the context responsible for the claimed focused interpretation, nevertheless they show that possessives, indefinite quantifiers, and demonstratives may appear in rightmost position when contrastively focused.

This evidence is reproduced again here through the slightly adapted examples below where contrast with the item in parenthesis clearly identifies the item in focus. Focused phrases are marked with the ‘F’ subscript while main stress is in capitals. Here I also represented the potential intonational prominence of the contrastive item in parentheses, as this helps to elicit the contrast between these examples and the examples discussed later in (2).

(1) a. Indef. quant.: Senza beneficio ALCUNO_F (non senza QUALCHE beneficio)

Without benefit any, not without some benefit
Without ANY benefit (not SOME benefit)

b. Indef. quant.: Vogliono parlare con uno studente QUALSIASI_F (non uno PARTICOLARE)

(They) want to-speak with a student any, not one particular
They wish to speak with ANY student (not a PARTICULAR student)

c. Demonstr.: Questo libro vecchio QUI_F (non LÌ)

This book old here, not there
THIS old book (not THAT one)

d. Possessives: Hanno letto una lettera MIA_F (non SUA)

(They) have read a letter my, not his
The read a letter of MINE (not of HIS)

Before taking the above examples as evidence for DP-final focus, we also need to ensure that focus is the factor responsible for the rightmost position of the relevant items, i.e. that the same items do not occur DP-finally when unfocused. Unfortunately when we apply this more stringent test, the above data turn out to be less informative than we might have desired. This is shown in the examples below where the items in parentheses now contrast with –and hence focus– the entire DP, rather than the possessive, indefinite quantifier, or demonstrative, alone.

- (2) a. Indef. quant: Senza [beneficio ALCUNO]_F (non senza SODDISFAZIONE)
Without benefit any, not without satisfaction
 Without any BENEFIT (not without SATISFACTION)
- b. Indef. quant.: Vogliono parlare con [uno studente QUALSIASI]_F (non un PROFESSORE)
(They) want to-speak with a student any, not a professor
 They wish to talk with a STUDENT (not a PROFESSOR)
- c. Demonstr.: [Questo libro vecchio QUI]_F (non la Divina COMMEDIA)
This book old here, not the Divine Comedy
 This old BOOK, (not the Divine Comedy).
- d. Possessives: ? Hanno letto [una lettera MIA]_F (non un articolo di GIORNALE)
(They) have read a letter my, not an article of newspaper
 They read a letter of MINE (not a newspaper article)

These data suggest that the final position of indefinite quantifiers, demonstratives, and possessives in (1) above is not necessarily caused by focus alone, leaving us in need of further, more definite evidence supporting rightmost focus in Italian DPs.

3. Rightmost focus in Italian DPs – Evidence from focused adjectives

Unambiguous evidence for DP-final focus in Italian comes from the distribution of focused adjectives. This is particularly clear-cut when using data that combine adjectives generated in the lower part of the DP –such as nationality, color, and shape adjectives generated right above the noun– with higher adjectives, such as adjectives expressing quality assessments.

When focus affects the entire DP, the order between these two classes of adjectives is relatively free. This is shown in (3) below for presentational focus. The initial question Q provides the focusing context, while the answers in A1 and A2, which have similar meanings, show the available free word order for different combination of lower and higher generated adjectives.

- (3) a. Nationality: Q: What did you buy?
- A1: [una splendida macchina FRANCESE]_F (nationality final)
a splendid car French
 A splendid French car
- A2: [una macchina francese SPLENDIDA]_F (quality final)
a car French splendid
- b. Color: Q: What did you buy?
- A1: [uno straordinario tappeto ROSSO]_F (color final)
an extraordinary carpet red
 An extraordinary red carpet
- A2: [un tappeto rosso STRAORDINARIO]_F (quality final)
a carpet red extraordinary
- c. Shape: Q: What did you buy?
- A1: [un fantastico tavolo OVALE]_F (shape final)
a fantastic table oval
 A fantastic oval table
- A2: [una tavolo ovale FANTASTICO]_F (quality final)
a table oval fantastic

Crucially, when the question focuses the lower adjectives alone, only answers A1, with the focused adjective in final position, remains grammatical, showing that focus can indeed force focused items in DP-final position.

- (4) a. Nationality: Q: Where is this splendid car from?
- A1: È una splendida macchina FRANCESE_F (nationality final)
(it) is a splendid car French
 It is a splendid FRENCH car
- A2: * È una macchina FRANCESE_F splendida
(it) is a car French splendid

- b. Color: Q: What is the color of this extraordinary carpet?
- A1: È uno straordinario tappeto ROSSO_F (color final)
(it) is an extraordinary carpet red
 It is an extraordinary RED carpet
- A2: * È un tappeto ROSSO_F straordinario
(it) is a carpet red extraordinary
- c. Shape: Q: What is the shape of this fantastic table?
- A1: È un fantastico tavolo OVALE_F (shape final)
(it) is a fantastic table oval
 It is a fantastic OVAL table
- A2: * È un tavolo OVALE_F fantastico
(it) is a table oval fantastic

The above data are very productive and similar examples can be easily produced by building the relevant question/answer pairs from DPs that combine together adjectives of different classes, such as ‘straordinario divano veneziano’ (*extraordinary couch Venetian*), ‘terribile tovaglia marrone’ (*terrible tablecloth brown*), ‘ottimo gelato siciliano’ (perfect ice-cream Sicilian).

Together these examples provide strong independent evidence that rightmost focus is not restricted to Italian clauses alone but rather affects DPs as well.¹

4. Non-final focus

Unlike the lower adjectives examined above, the higher positioned quality adjectives allow for both final and non-final focus. This is revealed by the same test used in the previous section, except that with these adjectives non-final focus in answer A2 remains grammatical.²

¹ As mentioned, similar data can be produced for contrastive focus, see the example below.

- (1) Q: Is this a splendid Italian car?
- A1: No. È una splendida macchina FRANCESE_F
no. (it) is a splendid car French
 No. It is a splendid FRENCH car
- A2: * No. È una macchina FRANCESE_F splendida
no. (it) is a car French splendid

- (5) a. Nationality: Q: How is the French car that you just bought?
- A1: È una macchina francese SPLENDIDA_F (quality final)
(it) is a car French splendid
 It is a SPLENDID French car
- A2: È una SPLENDIDA_F macchina francese (quality non-final)
(it) is a splendid car French
- b. Color: Q: How is the red carpet that you just bought?
- A1: È un tappeto rosso STRAORDINARIO_F (quality final)
(it) is a carpet red extraordinary
 It is an EXTRAORDINARY red carpet
- A2: È uno STRAORDINARIO_F tappeto rosso (quality non-final)
(it) is an extraordinary carpet red
- c. Shape: Q: How is this oval table that you just bought?
- A1: È un tavolo ovale FANTASTICO_F (quality final)
(it) is a table oval fantastic
 It is a FANTASTIC oval table
- A2: È un FANTASTICO_F tavolo ovale (quality non-final)
(it) is a fantastic table oval

The above data raise two issues. The first one, discussed in this section, concerns the simultaneous presence of final and non-final focus within the same language. Why are distinct focus patterns available in the same language, and to what degree do they challenge the goal of a unified analysis of focus? The second issue, discussed in section 5, concerns the asymmetry

² Once again, the same distribution also applies to contrastive focus, see the example below.

(2) Q: This French car is ugly.

A1: No. È una macchina francese SPLENDIDA_F (quality final)
no. (it) is a car French splendid
 No. It is a SPLENDID French car

A2: No. È una SPLENDIDA_F macchina francese (quality non-final)
no. (it) is a splendid car French

between lower and higher adjectives: why is non-final focus available with some adjective classes but not others?

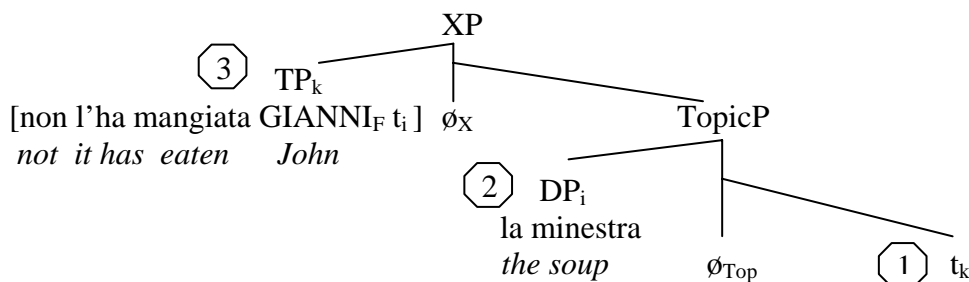
4.1 Right-dislocation of post-focus constituents

A unified analysis of final and non-final focus at clause level is proposed in Samek-Lodovici (2006), where the apparent non-finality of focus is shown to follow from the presence of discourse-given constituents dislocated into a clause-external position, thus linearly following focus but not altering its TP-final status³ (see also Valduvì 1992, 1994, Cardinaletti 2001, 2002, Brunetti 2003).

For example, under this analysis the focused subject in (6) is final in its TP, but it is followed by a discourse-given object right-dislocated in clause-external position. The corresponding structure, in (7), is based on an unpublished antisymmetric analysis attributed to Kayne in Cecchetto (1999). It is obtained starting with the entire clause in position [1], then raising the object ‘la minestra’ (the soup) to the specifier of the higher Topic projection in position [2], and finally moving the remnant TP to the specifier of the higher projection XP in position [3] (for further discussion see Samek-Lodovici 2006).

- (6) Q: Who did not eat the soup?
 A: Non l’ha mangiata GIANNI_F, la minestra
Not (it)-has eaten JOHN, the soup
 JOHN did not eat it, the soup.

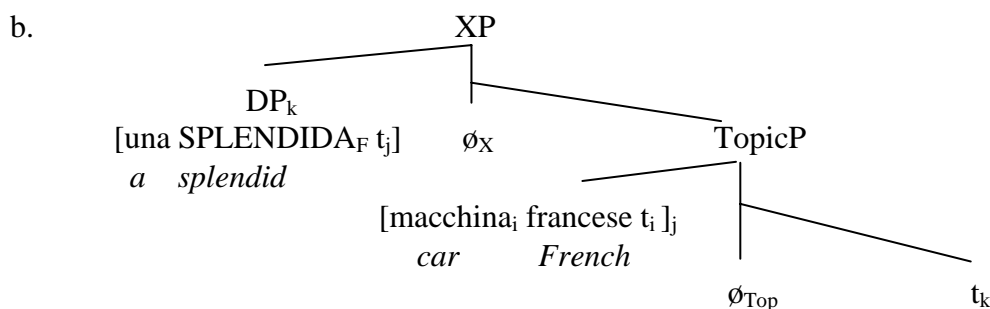
(7) Clause-final focus followed by a right-dislocated discourse-given object.



³ The remaining cases of non-final focus are due to the marginalization patterns examined by Cardinaletti (2001, 2002) where focus is followed by distressed constituents occurring in their base position. Unlike right-dislocated constituents, marginalized constituents follow a fixed order and are never clitic-doubled. A similar analysis, presented from a different perspective, is proposed in Szendrői (2001, 2002).

As will be shown in the rest of this section, the right-dislocation analysis also extends to the DP-related cases of non-final focus introduced above, thus addressing the first issue in the previous section.⁴ Under this analysis, a focused adjective in non-final position like the one repeated in (8) below has the right-dislocation structure in (8).

(8) a. È una SPLENDIDA_F macchina_i francese
(It) is a splendid car French



The corresponding derivation is provided in (9). First, the noun raises to the left of the merged nationality adjective yielding ‘macchina francese’ (car French); this movement is obligatory with lower adjectives of nationality, shape, and color but otherwise irrelevant to the analysis and therefore no longer examined here.⁵ Then, the higher quality adjective and the determiner are merged (9), followed by the dislocation of ‘macchina francese’ into specTopicP in (9), and the final movement of the remnant DP to specXP in (9).

- (9) a. francese [macchina]
 b. [macchina_i [francese t_i]]
 c. [DP una [SPLENDIDA_F [macchina_i [francese t_i]]]
 d. [TopP [macchina_i [francese t_i]] ø_{Top} [DP una [SPLENDIDA_F t_j]]]
 e. [XP [DP una [SPLENDIDA_F t_j]]_k ø_X [TopP [macchina_i [francese t_i]] ø_{Top} t_k]]

⁴ A marginalization analysis à la Cardinaletti is not possible because the noun obligatorily moves to the left of the lower adjectives and hence cannot be destressed in situ.

⁵ Whether this movement involves N- or NP-raising is under debate, see for example Cinque (2005, 2006) for arguments favoring NP-movement and Dehé and Samek-Lodovici (2007) for prosodic evidence supporting N-movement.

A distinctive and testable property of the structure in (8) is the absence of c-commanding relations between the constituents in the initial DP and those in the right-dislocated phrase. In the following I will consider three independent tests sensitive to the presence/absence of c-command relations and show that all three support the right-dislocation analysis just proposed.

4.2 Licensing of negative words and negative polarity items

In Italian, n-words such as ‘nessuno’ (nobody/anybody) occurring lower than T^o and negative polarity items (NPI) must be c-commanded by an appropriate licenser (Zanuttini 1991, 1997). This is illustrated by the sentences below, all involving sentence-wide presentational focus, where the NPI ‘alcun’ (anybody) and the n-word ‘nessun’ (any) are licensed by the c-commanding negative preposition ‘senza’ (without) that introduces the DP. Replacing ‘senza’ with a non-negative preposition, such as ‘con’ (with), makes all three sentences ungrammatical.

- (10) a. [Salveremo l’azienda **senza** il licenziamento immediato di **alcun/nessun** IMPIEGATO]_F
(we) will save the company without the dismissal immediate of any / no employee
 We will save the company without the immediate dismissal of any employee
- b. [Costruiremo l’autostrada **senza** l’abbattimento immotivato di **alcun/nessun** ALBERO]_F
(we) will build the highway without the felling unmotivated of any / no tree
 We will build the highway without the unmotivated felling of any tree
- c. [Procederemo **senza** lo sfruttamento intensivo di **alcuna/nessuna** MINIERA]_F
(we) will proceed without the exploitation intensive of any/no mine
 We will proceed without the intensive exploitation of any mine

Under the right-dislocation analysis, when the adjective is focused non-finally, the NPI and n-word following it are right-dislocated into a DP-external position, making the entire sentence ungrammatical. As the following examples show the prediction is borne out.

- (11) a. Q: Will you save the company without firing any employee?
 A: ??/* No, **senza** il licenziamento IMMEDIATO_F, di **alcun/nessun** impiegato.
No, without the dismissal immediate of any employee
 No, without the IMMEDIATE dismissal of any employee

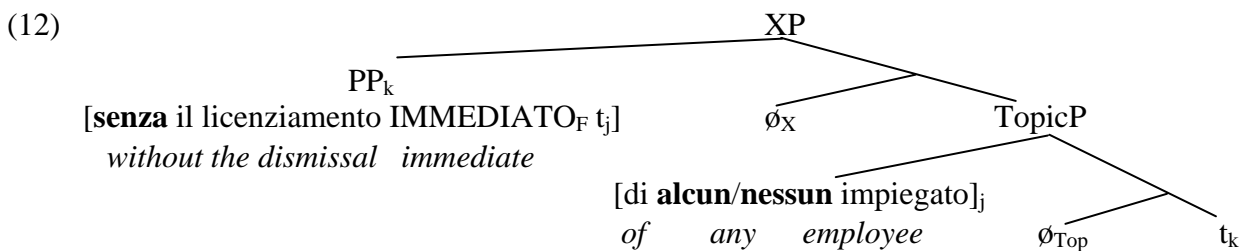
b. Q: Will you build the new highway without felling any tree?

A: ??/* No, **senza** l'abbattimento IMMOTIVATO_F, di **alcun/nessun** albero.
No, without the felling unmotivated of any tree
 No, without the UNMOTIVATED felling of any tree

c. Q: Will you collect more coal without exploiting any mine?

A: ??/* No, **senza** lo sfruttamento INTENSIVO_F, di **alcuna/nessuna** miniera.
No, without the exploitation intensive of any mine
 No, without the INTENSIVE exploitation of any mine

The above sentences are ungrammatical because as the structure below shows the right-dislocated n-word and NPI are no longer c-commanded by the preposition 'senza', leaving them unlicensed.



It is worth noticing that in Italian the c-command relation between licenser and licensee holds at surface and is not subject to reconstruction. This is illustrated in (13). As sentence (a) shows, an anaphora pied piped into specCP can be bound by a lower subject via reconstruction (i.e. via its lower copy). As (b) shows, however, a pied piped NPI or n-word may not be licensed by a lower neg-marker, even though the neg-marker licenses them prior to wh-movement as shown in (c).

(13) a. Quali fotografie di [se stesso]_i Gianni_i non ha visto?
Which pictures of himself John not has seen?
 Which pictures of himself John did not see?

b. *Quali fotografie di **alcun/nessun** ponte Gianni **non** ha visto?
Which pictures of any bridge John not has seen?
 Which pictures of any bride John did not see?

c. Gianni **non** ha visto le fotografie di **alcun/nessun** ponte
John not has seen the pictures of any bridge
 John did not see the pictures of any bridge

Some readers might be tempted to attribute the ungrammatical status of the sentences in (11) above to the fact that NPI and n-words are known to resist right-dislocation and wonder whether this property undermines the presented evidence. This potential objection, however, concedes the crucial point that post-focus items are indeed right-dislocated in (11), else the resistance of NPI and n-words to right-dislocation could not be invoked.

A more relevant issue is the cause of the above mentioned resistance. The proposed analysis identifies the cause: NPI and n-words resist right-dislocation because this operation places them outside their licensing domain. This in turn predicts that discourse-status per se is not a factor affecting the grammatical status of NPI and n-words, and that they can be grammatical even if discourse-given and even if discourse-given *and* right-dislocated, provided they are appropriately licensed. Both predictions are borne out. The first prediction is illustrated in (14) which is grammatical even though the NPI and n-word ‘alcuno’ and ‘nessuno’ licensed by the higher neg-marker are discourse-given. The second prediction is illustrated in (15), where the same items occur after focus and right-dislocated in clause-external position, yet remain grammatical because they remain licensed by the preposition ‘senza’.

(14) Q: Will you save the company without any dismissal?

A: No, **senza alcun / nessun** licenziamento IMMEDIATO_F
No, without any dismissal immediate
 No, without any IMMEDIATE dismissal

(15) Q: Who left without any equipment?

A: È partito GIANNI_F, **senza alcuna / nessuna** attrezzatura
Is left John, without any equipment
 JOHN left without any equipment

With these clarifications in hand we can consider the additional evidence supporting the right-dislocated status of post-focus constituents in Italian DPs.

4.3 Scope asymmetries

Negative expressions involving indefinites like ‘un singolo albero’ (a single tree) allow for two distinct interpretations corresponding to the two possible scopes between the indefinite and negation. When the indefinite is interpreted within the scope of negation, yielding the interpretation ‘ $\neg\exists x$ ’, its own interpretation is non-specific. For example, under this scope, sentence (16) expresses the fact that John saw no trees. When the indefinite lies outside the scope of negation, yielding ‘ $\exists x\neg$ ’, it is interpreted as specific. For example, (16) may also mean that John saw all trees except a specific one that he failed to see.

- (16) Gianni non ha visto un singolo albero
John not has seen a single tree
John did not see a single tree

We may use this ambiguity to test the structural relation within a DP and how they are affected by post-focus right-dislocation. When the entire DP is focused, as in the sentences in (17), the final indefinite in bold is ambiguous between a specific and a non-specific interpretation. The presence of a non-specific interpretation across all sentences shows that the indefinite lies in the scope of the negative preposition ‘senza’ (without) and is therefore also c-commanded by it.

- (17)
- a. [Costruiremo l’autostrada **senza** l’abbattimento immediato di **un singolo ALBERO**]_F
(we) will build the highway without the felling immediate of a single tree
We will build the highway without the immediate felling of any / a specific tree
- b. [Salveremo l’azienda **senza** il licenziamento immotivato di **un singolo IMPIEGATO**]_F
(we) will save the company without the dismissal unmotivated of a single employee
We will save the company without the unmotivated dismissal of any / a specific employee
- c. [Procederemo **senza** lo sfruttamento intensivo di **una singola MINIERA**]_F
(we) will proceed without the exploitation intensive of a single mine
We will proceed without the intensive exploitation of any / a specific mine

The non-specific interpretation disappears as soon as we focus the adjective preceding the indefinite. This is shown by the sentences in (18), which only allow for the specific interpretation of

the indefinite. Sentence A in (18), for example, implies that the new highway will be built by felling as many trees as necessary except for a single specific tree. What it cannot mean is that the highway will be built without felling any trees. The same holds for the other two answers in (18)b and (18)c.

(18) a. Q: Will you build the new highway without felling a single tree?

A: No, **senza** l'abbattimento IMMEDIATO_F, di **un singolo albero**.
No, without the felling immediate of a single tree
 No, without the IMMEDIATE felling of a single tree

b. Q: Will you save the company without firing a single employee?

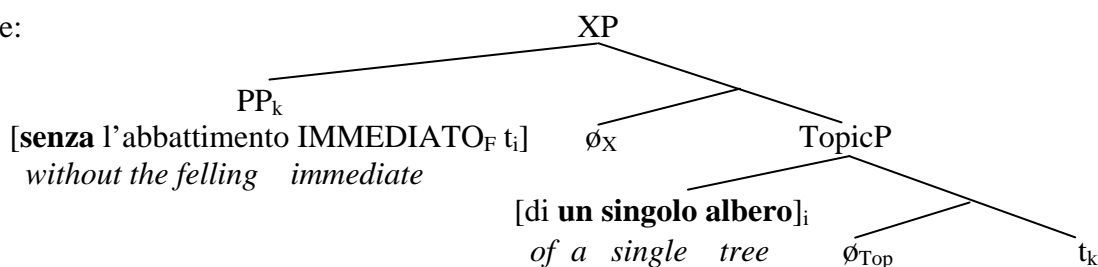
A: No, **senza** il licenziamento IMMOTIVATO_F, di **un singolo impiegato**.
No, without the dismissal unmotivated of a single employee
 No, without the UNMOTIVATED dismissal of a single employee

c. Q: Will you proceed without exploiting a single mine?

A: No, **senza** lo sfruttamento INCONTROLLATO_F, di **una singola miniera**.
No, without the exploitation uncontrolled of a single mine
 No, without the UNCONTROLLED exploitation of a single mine

The impossibility of a non-specific interpretation in the above sentences follows straightforwardly from the right-dislocated status of post-focus constituents. As shown in the structure below, the post-focus indefinites dislocated in specTopicP lie outside the c-command domain of the negative preposition 'senza' and hence also outside its scope, forcing a specific interpretation. The same does not hold of the sentences in (17) above, where the non-dislocated indefinites remain in the scope of 'senza'.

(19) Structure:



4.4 Adjunct/argument binding asymmetries

A final set of data supporting the right-dislocation analysis tests the binding relations holding between a pronoun preceding focus and an R-expression within the right-dislocated phrase.

The test exploits the argument/adjunct asymmetry discussed in Freidin (1986), Lebeaux (1988, 1990) and Chomsky (1995) and illustrated in (20). In (20)a the clause ‘that John was asleep’ is an argument of ‘claim’ and therefore part of the wh-phrase copy left behind in object position as shown in (20). As Chomsky points out, the pronoun binds the copy of the R-expression in its c-command domain, hence it violates condition C and the sentence is ungrammatical.

In (21), on the other hand, the clause ‘that John made’ is an adjunct of ‘claim’ and as such it can be generated after wh-movement. Since it is not part of the wh-phrase copy, condition C is not violated and the sentence is grammatical.

- (20) a. * Which claim [that John_i was asleep] was he_i willing to discuss?
b. Which claim [that John_i was asleep] was he_i willing to discuss [~~which claim [that John_i was asleep]]?~~

- (21) a. Which claim [that John_i made] was he_i willing to discuss?
b. Which claim [that John_i made] was he_i willing to discuss [~~which claim]~~?

The same analysis explains the diverging grammaticality assessments for sentences (22)A and (24)A below, both involving a pre-focus pronoun ‘sua’ (his) binding the R-expression ‘il ministro’ (the minister) within the right-dislocated complement of a focused noun.

(22)
Q: Did you hear the worrying announcement that the minister paid the press?

A: * Sì, ma anche la sua_i SPIEGAZIONE_F, dell’annuncio che il ministro_i ha pagato la stampa.
Yes, but also the his explanation of-the announcement that the minister has paid the press
Yes, but also his EXPLANATION of the announcement that the minister paid the press

(23)

Q: Did you hear the worrying announcement that the minister made to the press?

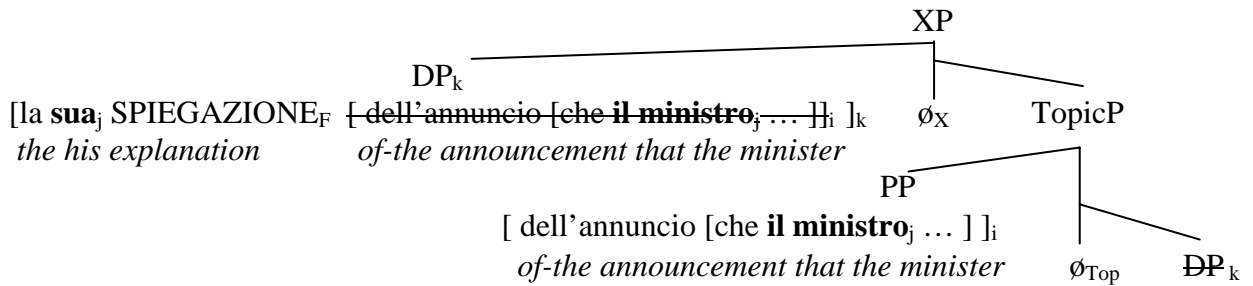
A: Sì, ma anche la sua_i SPIEGAZIONE_F, dell'annuncio che il ministro_i ha fatto alla stampa.

Yes, but also the his explanation of-the announcement that the minister has made to-the press

Yes, but also the minister's EXPLANATION of the announcement that he made to the press

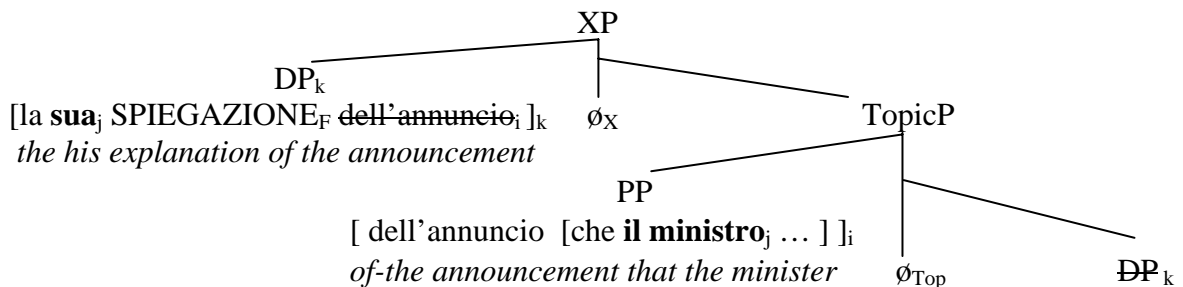
The answer in (22) is ungrammatical because the bound R-expression belongs to a clause that is an argument of the dislocated noun 'annuncio' (announcement) and therefore part of the copy of the entire complement of the focused noun, see structure (24). Since the pronoun c-commands the copy of the R-expression, condition C is violated and the sentence is ungrammatical.

(24)



In contrast, the answer in (23) is grammatical because the R-expression lies within an adjunct relative clause that is late-inserted after right-dislocation has taken place. As structure (25) shows, this leaves no copy of the R-expression behind, thus meeting condition C and yielding a grammatical sentence.

(25)



Crucially (23) can only be grammatical if the dislocated noun lies outside the c-commanding domain of the pronoun, or else condition C would be violated anyway. The grammaticality of (23)

- (27) a. È una SPLENDIDA_F macchina francese
(it) is a splendid car French
- b. *È una macchina FRANCESE_F splendida
(it) is a car French splendid

The above asymmetry appears related to the base position of the adjectives. This is the case with the examples in section 3 and 4 similar to (27) above, where quality adjectives, which are generated higher in the DP, may focus non-finally, whereas shape, color, and nationality adjectives, which are generated lower in the DP, may not. Further evidence for this generalization comes from the distribution of size adjectives which are generated between quality and nationality adjectives in the adjectival hierarchy ‘*Quality>Size>Shape>Color>Nationality>N*’ proposed in Cinque (1994) and Laenzlinger (2000/2005). They allow for non-final focus if co-occurring with a lower adjective, for example the nationality adjective in (28), but they also disallow non-final focus when they co-occur with higher adjectives, for example the quality adjective in (29). The context-setting question is shown on the right hand side.

- (28) a. È una GRANDE_F, macchina francese *(How large is the French car?)*
(it) is a big car French
- b. *È una macchina FRANCESE_F, grande *(Where is this big car from?)*
(it) is a car French big
- (29) a. È un FANTASTICO_F, tavolo grande *(How is this big table of yours?)*
(it) is a fantastic table big
- b. *È un tavolo GRANDE_F, fantastico *(How big is this fantastic table of yours?)*
(it) is a table big fantastic

The high relevance of the relative position of the adjective might be related to the effects it bears on the way in which rightmost focus can be obtained. As (30) shows, a relatively higher adjective ‘H-Adj’ may focus DP-finally only if the lower phrase containing the noun and the lower adjective –here dubbed ‘FP’– is removed, whether by raising a position preceding H-Adj or by right-dislocating into the DP-external *r* position examined in the previous section. Crucially moving FP

away is *necessary*, or else H-Adj cannot focus DP-finally. The same however does not hold with focused lower adjectives. As (30) shows, raising the noun above L-Adj is sufficient to place L-Adj in the desired DP-final position. Hence with lower adjectives removing FP is not a prerequisite to DP-final focus.

- (30) a. **H-Adj_F** [_{FP} N_i L-Adj t_i] (FP-removal necessary for DP-final focus)
 b. H-Adj [_{FP} N_i **L-Adj_F** t_i] (FP-removal unnecessary for DP-final focus)

If movement is costly, then a possible explanation for the observed asymmetry begins to emerge. In the case of higher adjectives, the cost will be paid because this is the only way to ensure that focus will match stress in DP-final position. In the case of lower adjectives, the match of focus and stress can be obtained without moving FP, providing a more economic option that in turn prevents the right-dislocation of H-Adj since this would require further costly movements.

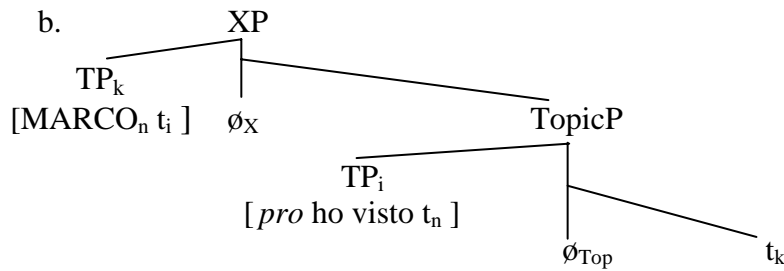
There are both promising and problematic aspects to this analysis. A first potentially problematic aspect concerns the broad focus cases examined in section 3 above and showing free ordering between the involved adjectives as exemplified in (31)A below. The derivation of (31)A requires raising FP higher than the quality adjective, yet this movement cannot be triggered by the need to match focus and stress because they already match, albeit trivially so. These cases appear to involve secondary focusing of the higher adjective, forcing it to match rightmost stress and by so doing also forcing the necessary FP-raising (on nested foci see Neeleman and Szendrői 2004 and Féry and Samek-Lodovici 2006).

- (31) Q: What did you buy?
 A: [una macchina francese **SPLENDIDA**]_F
a car French splendid
 A splendid French CAR

More worrisome is the observation that some instances of clause-initial focus require the same kind of movement that appears blocked in DPs. For example, in sentence (32)a the initial object is

followed by an entire TP that is dislocated in clause-external position as shown in structure (32)b from Samek-Lodovici (2006). Deriving this structure requires moving the object outside the dislocating TP, even though the focused object is already final in its clause.

- (32) a. MARCO_F, ho visto
Mary, (I) have seen
 I saw MARK_F



There is, however, an important difference between the above case and the adjective cases examined earlier. In (32) the raising constituent is a complete extended projection (in the sense of Grimshaw, 1991, 2005) and a theta-assigned argument of the verb. The same is not true of the adjectival cases, where the moving FP constitutes only part of an extended projection and as such can not be an argument either. Once these factors are controlled for, the asymmetric distribution of focus found in DP-internal adjectives is paralleled at clause-level. To show this, consider adverbs with distinct base positions, such as the higher frequency adverb ‘sempre’ (always) and the lower manner adverb ‘completamente’ (completely, thoroughly) in Cinque’s (1999) adverbial hierarchy. As expected, when the entire clause is focused, the higher adverb obligatorily precedes the lower one, see (33)a (the verb raises into a past-participle projection above the lower adverb). Yet, in perfect parallelism with the above adjectival cases, only the higher adverb can be focused in non-final position, see (33)b, while the lower adverb can not, see (33)c and the additional example is provided in (34).

- (33)
 a. [Gianni lo ha sempre pulito COMPLETAMENTE]_F
John it has always cleaned thoroughly
 John always thoroughly cleaned it

- b. Gianni lo ha SEMPRE, pulito completamente (How often did John thoroughly clean it?)
John it has always cleaned thoroughly
 John ALWAYS thoroughly cleaned it
- c. * Gianni lo ha pulito COMPLETAMENTE, sempre (How did John always clean it?)
John it has cleaned thoroughly always
 John always THOROUGHLY cleaned it
- (34) a. [Gianni ha spesso dormito PERFETTAMENTE]_F
John has often slept properly
 John often slept properly
- b. Gianni ha SPESSO_F, dormito perfettamente (How often did John sleep properly?)
John has often slept properly
 John OFTEN slept properly
- c. * Gianni ha dormito PERFETTAMENTE_F, spesso (How did John often sleep?)
John has often slept properly
 John often slept PROPERLY

The analysis proposed above thus appears to correctly apply across DPs and clauses, but only when restricted to cases involving movement of non-argumental sections of extended projections. An accurate study of how theta-marking and extended-projection integrity interact with movement availability and focus deserves a paper of its own, and I therefore leave these issues to future research.

6. Conclusions

The above study reveals a fine-grained parallelism in the expression of focus between Italian clauses and DPs. Extending Bernstein's (2001a) initial results, focus was shown to occur rightmost in DPs too, arguably because, as proposed by Zubizarreta, focus needs stress and stress, being a prosodic phenomenon insensitive to categorical distinctions, falls rightmost in both.

Like clauses, DPs were shown to also allow for (descriptive) non-final focus, and again like clauses, non-final focus was shown to involve focus in DP-final position followed by discourse-given phrases dislocated in DP-external position.

The availability of non-final focus was shown to be sensitive to the relative position of the focused items, with adjectives allowing or not allowing for non-final focus depending on whether a lower or higher adjective is also part of their DP. The same asymmetry was shown to carry over to clauses as well, with different adverbs allowing or not allowing for non-final focus according to their relative height with respect to other adverbs.

Finally, the asymmetry was shown to allow for an analysis in terms of movement economy, excluding non-final focus whenever it involves movement operations that are not conducive to a better match between focus and stress, or not allowing stress to occur at the right edge of a clause or DP. The analysis however appears restricted to non-argumental sections of extended projections, raising interesting issues about the role played by argument status and projection integrity in the derivation of non-final focus.

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8. References

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