Focalization in-situ vs Focus Projection
Focused topics, focused questions, focused heads, and other challenges

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Abstract – This paper examines aspects of the distribution of contrastive focalization in Italian that are not captured by any analysis maintaining that contrastive foci must raise to a fixed left-peripheral FocP focus projection. From an empirical perspective, it shows that contrastive focalization also successfully applies to constituent classes inherently unable to move to FocP and seldom discussed in the focalization literature such as hanging topics (particularly interesting because requiring clitic doubling even when focused), interrogative clauses, and verbal heads. The paper also examines instances of multiple foci, nested foci, or involving co-occurring focus and wh-phrases that are incompatible with the assumed uniqueness of FocP. Based on these data, the paper argues that FocP should be dispensed with and that focalization in situ, coupled with the right dislocation analysis of focus fronting, provides a better model for the full distribution of contrastive focalization in Italian.

Key terms - contrastive focus, corrective focus, left-periphery, hanging topics, familiar topics, CLLD, left-peripheral focus, fronting, interrogative clauses, questions

1 Introduction

Understanding "what the right structural maps are for the different zones of the syntactic tree" (Rizzi 2018) is a fundamental goal of syntactic research. This paper concerns a specific aspect of syntactic trees: the 'FocP' focus projection proposed in Rizzi (1997) for left-peripheral foci.

From a semantic perspective, focalization does not need FocP. Rooth's alternative semantics model successfully calculates the focus value of focused constituents even if they remain in-situ and never raise to FocP, not even covertly (Rooth 1992, Wagner 2020: section 3.16).The issue thus is whether there is sufficient syntactic evidence for positing FocP, or whether focalization should be modelled as occurring in-situ by default, with focus fronting present only when forced by independent factors unrelated to focalization.

This paper argues that a rigorous cartographic mapping of the left-periphery must exclude FocP and that whenever possible focalization does indeed occur in-situ. It supports this claim by examining several constituent classes that successfully acquire a contrastive focus interpretation even though they are structurally unable to move to FocP. If focalization occurs in-situ, with no need for overt or covert movement to FocP, their existence is expected. If, instead, covert/overt movement to FocP is a focalization requirement (Rizzi 2017:335-336, 2018:150-152), then these constituent classes are incorrectly predicted to be unable to focalize.

The paper thus adds new evidence to several problematic aspects of FocP already identified elsewhere (e.g. Abels 2012, 2017, Berghoff 2017, Botha and Oosthuizen 2009, Craenenbroeck 2009, Cheng-Downing 2012, Costa 2009, Kempchinsky 2013, Neeleman and Van de Koot 2008, Neeleman et al 2009, Neeleman and Szendröi 2004, Samek-Lodovici 2015, 2016, Szendröi 2001, 2017, Titov 2013, Wagner 2009). Nevertheless, its position relative to cartography remains neutral.

From an empirical perspective, the cartographic projections above FocP or within TP are not affected by the arguments provided here. From a theoretical perspective, the paper does show that the distribution of focus cannot be recruited as evidence for the claim that the left-periphery is organized in such a way as to offer "transparent and uniform hierarchical configurations that are interpreted by simple interpretive routines in the interface systems" (Rizzi & Cinque 2016), but it has no implications for the evidence supporting other cartographic projections. My hope is that even researchers strongly persuaded of the merits of FocP will engage with the interesting challenging data examined here.

The next section introduces all major assumptions. Section 3 examines constituents structurally unable to move to FocP because too high, too large, or inappropriately syntactically typed, including focused hanging topics, focused interrogative clauses, and focused verbal heads. Section 4 considers constituents structurally unable to move to FocP because its specifier is occupied, including multiple foci, nested foci, and clauses with co-occuring wh-phrases and foci. Section 5 examines fronted foci, showing how assuming the existence of FocP makes significant incorrect predictions even with respect to this class of foci and providing an alternative analysis.

2 Assumptions

This paper concerns contrastive focalization in Italian. Following Neeleman and Vermeulen (2012), contrastive focalization is assumed to involve the denial of at least one of the alternative propositions evoked by focalization.

This definition covers both exhaustive and non-exhaustive instances of corrective focalization. Exhaustive focalization denies all alternative propositions (Kiss 1998). For example, if someone says 'John drinks wine', I may reply 'John drinks WATER$_F$' focalizing 'water' to communicate that water is the only drink John drinks (the subscript 'F' marks focus, main stress is in capitals). Alternatively, I might choose a non-exhaustive interpretation and say 'John drinks WATER$_F$. He also drinks LEMONADE$_F$. And COKE$_F$. But not wine.', in which case the proposition 'John drinks wine' is the only one being negated. Focus is contrastive in both cases.

Throughout the paper, the term 'contrastive focus', and often just 'focus', refers to corrective focalization under the definition just described. The interpretation of 'contrastive' thus diverges from Bianchi and Bocci's (2012) and Bianchi's (2013) interpretation where it refers to a distinct class of allegedly non-frontable foci (but see Samek-Lodovici 2019). Since even Bianchi and Bocci maintain that corrective foci front, this terminological divergence does not affect the discussion and results of this paper.

I will also favour the term 'fronted foci' over 'left-peripheral foci' because the latter is too closely associated with the FocP analysis and the proposed comparison with in-situ focalization requires a more neutral standpoint. Furthermore, the term 'fronted foci' conveniently refers only to foci that have moved to the left-periphery, whereas the term 'left-peripheral foci' also includes foci generated in the left-periphery such as the focused hanging topics discussed in the next session.

The term 'FocP' refers to the left-peripheral focus projection of Rizzi (1997). Today, we understand that 'FocP' is a misnomer, since Rooth's definition of focalization is necessary both for the contrastive foci claimed to target FocP and the non-contrastive foci claimed to target lower focus projections (Belletti 2004). More precise characterizations of the features relevant to focus

fronting are beginning to emerge (e.g. Bianchi et al. 2015, 2016, Neeleman and Vermelen 2012). Since these distinctions are not relevant to the arguments in this paper, I will keep referring to Rizzi's projection as 'FocP'.

Within the cartographic tradition, there is some variation in the analysis of FocP. Most analyses maintain that descriptively in-situ contrastive foci must covertly move to FocP, but Bianchi (2019) maintains that movement to FocP occurs even in these cases but with the constituent copy in specFocP left unuttered. Similarly, most analyses allow for only one left-peripheral focus projection, but Beninca and Poletto (2004) allow for more than one, albeit for different focus types. In this paper, FocP has the properties proposed in Rizzi (1997) and assumed in much subsequent literature. Namely, FocP is unique. It is dominated by ForceP and the projections for hanging and CLLD topics, and it dominates FinP. Most importantly, (i) being located in the specifier of FocP is necessary to be interpreted as contrastively focused at the interface; (ii) wh-phrases compete with contrastive foci for the specifier of FocP; and (iii) in-situ contrastive foci must move to specFocP to be identified as focused (Rizzi 2017, 2018). Whether movement to specFocP occurs at LF or earlier on as per Bianchi (2019) need not be decided as the discussion will be orthogonal to this factor.

This paper shows that these assumptions lead to several incorrect predictions. When considered in its entirety, the distribution of contrastive focus is better accounted for by the hypothesis that the default position for focalization is in-situ, with no movement to FocP. In the following, I will call this analysis the 'focus in-situ' hypothesis.

3 Focalization cases structurally unable to occur in FocP

Under the focus in-situ hypothesis, focalization may apply to any syntactic item, no matter its position, size, or phrasal vs head status. Under the FocP hypothesis, the set of focusable items is more restricted because it necessarily excludes any item unable to move to specFocP for whatever reason.

The empirical data discussed in this section support focalization in-situ. Hanging topics generated above FocP, root interrogative clauses containing FocP, and post-auxiliary verbal heads unable to move to FocP should all be unfocusable because they cannot reach specFocP. Instead, they all allow for contrastive focalization, consistently with focalization in-situ. These cases are particularly problematic for the FocP hypothesis because it is hard to imagine what additional assumptions could make them consistent with the key requirement that all foci move to specFocP.
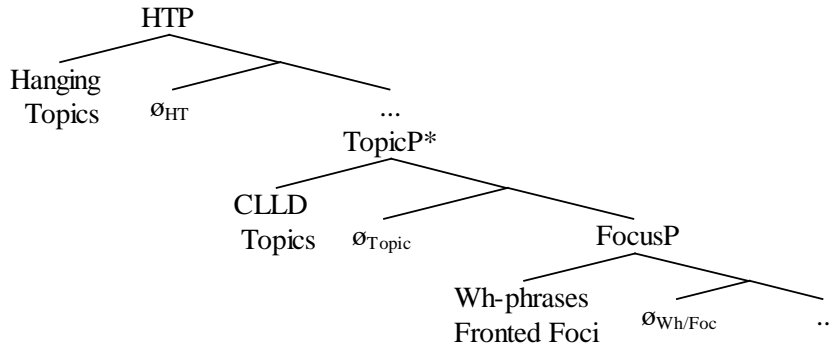
3.1 Focused hanging topics

Hanging topics (HTs) precede fronted foci across several languages. Under cartographic analyses, they are generated in a dedicated projection above FocP as in (1) (Benincà 2001, Benincà & Poletto 2004, Giorgi 2015). HTs are thus too high to move to FocP. Therefore, contrastively focused HTs are predicted impossible under the FocP hypothesis. By contrast, they remain possible under focalization in-situ.[1]

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[1] I discuss HTs because their base-generation status eliminates any movement-related consideration. An anonymous reviewer, however, rightly points out that the argument developed in this section also applies to CLLD topics. They,

(1) HTs are generated above FocP.

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                    HTP
           _____|_____
          |                 |
      Hanging              _____
       Topics    Ø_HT     ...
                          |
                       TopicP*
                    _____|_____
                   |            |
                 CLLD          _____
                Topics  Ø_Topic     FocusP
                                  ____|____
                                 |         |
                             Wh-phrases   _____
                            Fronted Foci  Ø_Wh/Foc   ...
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The examples below show that HTs can indeed be contrastively focused, consistently with focalization in-situ.

One of their striking properties is the systematic presence of clitic-doubling. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time that a class of constituents is systematically shown to focalize while still requiring clitic-doubling (see also the few cases in Benincà 2001:7 and Wagner 2009:72-73). This surprising property shows that the assumption that focalization disallows clitic resumption needs revising and that the presence/absence of clitic-doubling might be unrelated to the quantificational nature of focus as proposed in Rizzi (1997).[2] I leave these questions to further research, since they are not relevant to the argument developed in this paper. What matters here is that HTs do contrastively focus despite their high position.

Each example below is a dialogue. Sentence A sets the context. Sentence B begins with a contrastively focused HT. Emphatic stress on the HT is shown in capitals, default nuclear stress in small caps. Clitic-doubling is obligatory throughout, with clitics glossed as 'cl'. Omitting the clitic is severely ungrammatical, see B' in (2).

(2) A: Tu   non parli   abbastanza con   tuo   FIGLIO.
       You   not speak   enough   with your son
       'You do not speak enough with your son.'

    B: MioMARITO_HT,F, non ci   parlo   abbastanza! NON mio figlio.
       My husband,   (I)not cl speak   enough!   Not my son

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too, precede left-peripheral foci but are sometime claimed to involve movement (e.g. López 2009). Even in such case, however, criterial freezing (Rizzi 2014:22) would block focused CLLD-topics from moving from FocP to the higher CLLD-TopicP projection. It could be objected that focused CLLD topics might remain in FocP, thus satisfying criterial freezing. This, however, would violate the cartographic tenet that phrases must eventually be located in the projection with the corresponding discourse-function. If focused CLLD topics remain in FocP, then the projection for CLLD topics would no longer act as a gateway for the CLLD-topic interpretation at the interface because some CLLD topics would be located elsewhere. Their CLLD-topic criterial feature would also be left unchecked. More importantly, whatever solution one might find to these issues, it would still not extend to the base-generated HTs. This is what makes the argument developed in this section particularly robust.

[2] That HTs require clitic-doubling even when focused is expected if HTs are extra-clausal or almost extra-clausal as in Shaer & Frey (2004), Shaer (2009), and Giorgi (2018), where the clitic is the correlate of the extra-clausal topic and it is obligatorily present for theta marking and Case assignment considerations. Adopting these analyses does not affect the argument developed in this section, since extra-clausal HTs remain unable to move to FocP for focalization purposes.

'I do not speak enough with my HUSBAND. Not my son.'

B': * Mio MARITO$_{HT,F}$, non parlo abbastanza! NON mio figlio.

(3) A: A Marco$_{CLLD}$, gli esaminatori glihanno chiestodi TUTTO.
    To Mark,   the examiners cl have   asked of everything
    'Mark, the examiners asked him all kind of questions.'

B: FRANCO$_{HT,F}$, <u>gli</u> hanno chiesto di tutto! Marco$_{HT}$, gli hanno chiesto cose FACILI.
  Frank, (they) cl have   asked   of all! Mark, (they) cl have asked things easy.
  'They asked all kind of questions to FRANK! Mark, they asked him EASY questions.'

(4) A: Vediamo… Milano$_{HT}$, ci hai   vissuto per tre   ANNI…   Giusto?
    (We) see… Milan, (you) cl have lived for   three years...   Right?
    'Let's see… Milan, you lived there for three years...'

B: ROMA$_F$, ci ho   vissuto per tre anni!   NON Milano.
  ROME, (I) cl have lived   for   three years! Not Milan
  'I lived for three years in ROME! Not Milan'

The above foci are indisputably HTs. To begin with, they display the prototypical properties of HTs: they require clitic-doubling, they involve nominal phrases, and they drop the preposition normally associated with the corresponding argument ('con' in (2), 'a' in (3) and (4)). Second, they lack the typical properties of fronted foci a la Rizzi (1997), namely the absence of clitic-doubling and the inability to drop prepositions. Finally, they also lack the properties of CLLD topics, where clitic-doubling is optional, and prepositions cannot be dropped.

3.1.1 The position of focused hanging topics

These focused HTs also satisfy all the positional tests developed for unfocused HTs and showing that the latter are generated higher than FocP and CLLD topics (Cinque 1990; Benincà 2001; Beninca & Poletto 2004; Shaer & Frey 2004; Alexiadou 2006; López 2016; Westbury 2016). Since focused HTs behave like unfocused HTs across all tests, they must share the same position, and hence they cannot be assumed to be located in FocP.

    The first test exploits the observation that unfocused HTs precede unfocused CLLD topics, which, in turn, precede Rizzi's fronted foci. It is this strict order that supports the structural layout in (1) above. The order HT>>CLLD is illustrated in (5) for unfocused HTs, and in (6) for focused HTs. To trigger the necessary contrastive interpretation, read (6) as a reply to (5).

(5) a. Gianni$_{HT,i}$, [di soldi]$_{CLLD,k}$, gli$_i$-e-ne$_k$ hai dati POCHI.
    John,   of money, (you) cl=prt=cl have givenlittle
    'John, you did not give him much money.'

   b. * [Di soldi]$_{CLLD,k}$, Gianni$_{HT,i}$, gli$_i$-e-ne$_k$ hai dati POCHI.

(6) a. MARCO_{HT,F,i}, [di soldi]_{CLLD,k}, gli_i-e-ne_k ho dati pochi. NON Gianni.
Mark, of money, (I) cl=prt=cl have given little. Not John.
'I did not give much money to MARK. Not John'

b. * [Di soldi]_{CLLD,k}, MARCO_{HT,i}, gli_i-e-ne_k ho dati pochi.

Unfocused HTs also precede wh-phrases (7). Focused HTs precede wh-phrases as well, see (8) which should be uttered as a reply to (7) and hence assigning to the post-focal interrogative clause the typical intonation of discourse-given phrases.

Incidentally, note how the focused HT in (8) co-occurs with a wh-phrase and, therefore, it could not occur in specFocP, since that position is occupied by the wh-phrase. Sentences like (8) are thus predicted impossible under the FocP hypothesis. They are instead unproblematic under focalization in-situ where focus remains able to apply to HTs even when wh-phrases are present. Further cases involving focus/wh-phrase co-occurrences are discussed in section 4.1 and 5.4.

(7) a. Gianni_{HT}, cosa_{WH} gli avete DETTO?
John, what (you)cl have told
'John, what did you tell thim?'

b. * Cosa_{WH}, Gianni_{HT}, gli avete DETTO?

(8) a. Anzi, MARCO_{HT,F}, cosa_{wh} gli avete detto. NON Gianni.
Rather, MARK, what (you) cl have told. Not John.
'Or rather, what did you tell MARK? Not John.'

b. * Anzi, cosa_{WH}, MARCO_{HT,F}, gli avete detto.

An interesting and, to the best of my knowledge, yet undescribed property of HTs is that they can be focused but they cannot be replaced by wh-phrases. See (9)-(11) built by replacing the focused HTs in examples (2)-(4) above with their wh-counterparts and giving rise to questions whose wh-phrases are not introduced by the necessary prepositions. When interpreted as genuine, non-echo, questions, these sentences are ungrammatical independently from the presence/absence of clitic-doubling.

(9)   * Chi non (ci) parli ABBASTANZA?
whom (you) not (cl) speak enough
Intended meaning: 'Who you do not speak enough with?'

(10)   * Chi (gli) hanno chiesto di TUTTO?
Who (they)(cl) have asked of all
Intended meaning: 'Who they asked all kind of questions to?'

(11)   * Quale città (ci) hai vissuto per tre ANNI?
which city (you) (cl) has lived for three years?
Intended meaning: 'which city did you live in for three years?'

Under in-situ focalization, these data follow straightforwardly. HTs and wh-phrases are governed by different positional constraints. Wh-phrases must occur in what could be called the WhP projection (i.e. FocP stripped of any focus function), whereas HTs are generated in a higher projection. These requirements cannot be simultaneously satisfied, making interrogative HTs impossible. Focalization, instead, occurs in-situ, and, therefore, it can successfully apply to hanging topics while they sit in their projections, explaining why focused HTs remain possible.

The analysis is further strengthened by the observation that (9)-(11) become more acceptable under an echo interpretation. For example, (9) constitutes a grammatical echo question when uttered in reply to the sentence "Marco$_{HT}$, non ci$_{CL}$ parlo ABBASTANZA" (*Mark, I don't talk enough to him*). This is possible because echo wh-phrases may occur in-situ and thus may also occur in the position of HTs. Since they are no longer required to occur in WhP, the issue affecting non-echo wh-phrases is absent, making the above sentences grammatical under this interpretation.

Note how the above arguments keep some cartographic assumptions while shedding others. HTs and wh-phrases are still required to occur in their dedicated projections. But the requirement that contrastive focalization requires movement to FocP is abandoned.

3.1.2. Other properties of focused hanging topics

The structural similarity of focused and unfocused HTs extends to their island insensitivity and lack of reconstruction effects, further supporting the claim that focused HTs are genuine HTs and, therefore, located too high to focalize in FocP.

Island sensitivity tests for the presence of movement. Moved phrases, such as CLLD topics, wh-phrases, and fronted foci cannot extract from a complex NP-island, see (12)-(14).

(12) * [Con mio figlio]$_{CLLD}$, conosco l'insegnante che non (ci) parla MAI.
          With my son,   (I) know   the-teacher that not (cl) speaks ever

(13) * Con chi$_{WH}$,   conosci l'insegnante che non (ci) parla MAI?
          With whom, (you) know   the-teacher that not (cl) speaks ever

(14) * [Con mio FIGLIO$_F$], conosco l'insegnante che non (ci) parla mai.   NON con mia figlia.
          With my son,   (I) know   the-teacher that not (cl) speaks ever. Not with my daughter

Unfocused HTs, instead, are island insensitive because they are base-generated rather than moved, see (15). Crucially, focused HTs behave like unfocused HTs, see (16) when uttered as a reply to (15). It follows that focalization applies to HTs directly in their position, with no movement to, or through, FocP.

(15) [Mia figlia]$_{HT}$, conosco l'insegnante che non ci parla MAI.
         My daughter, (I) know   the-teacher that not cl speaks ever
         'My daughter, I know the teacher who never speaks with her.'

(16) [Mio FIGLIO$_F$]$_{HT}$, conosco l'insegnante che non ci parla mai. NON mia figlia.
My son,   (I) know   the-teacher that not cl speaks ever. Not my daughter.
'My SON, I know the teacher who never speak with him. Not my daughter.'

The presence of movement is also testable through reconstruction effects. These are present with CLLD topics, wh-phrases, and fronted foci, but not with unfocused and focused HTs confirming their unmoved status.

Here, I consider two effects. The first concerns pronominal subjects. They cannot co-refer with an R-expression in a CLLD topic, wh-phrase, or fronted focus, because they c-command the lower copy of these phrases, thus violating condition C. See (17)-(19), which are ungrammatical with or without clitic-doubling of the fronted constituent. The same sentences are grammatical when coreference is absent, showing that the size and content of the moved constituent is not an issue (clitic-doubling remains optional in (17), and marginally acceptable in (18)-(19)).

(17) * [Agli amici di Gianni$_i$]$_{CLLD,k}$, lui$_i$ (ci) può parlare   t$_k$ per ORE.
to-the friends of John,   he (cl) can to-speak   for hours

(18) * [A   quale$_{WH}$ amico di Gianni$_i$]$_k$, lui$_i$ (ci) può parlare t$_k$ per ORE?
to-the which   friend of John,   he (cl) can to-speak   for hours

(19) * [Al   FIGLIO$_F$ di Gianni$_i$]$_k$, lui$_i$ (ci) può parlare t$_k$ per ore. NON alla   figlia.
to-the son   of John,   he (cl) can to-speak for hours. Not to-the daughter

Focused and unfocused HTs, instead, always allow for coreference, showing that they lack a lower copy and hence have not moved. See (20)-(21), where (21) is uttered as a reply to (20).

(20) [La figlia   di Gianni$_i$]$_{HT}$, lui$_i$ ci può parlare per ORE.
the daughter of John,   he cl can to-speak for hours
'John's daughter, he can speak with them for hours.'

(21) [Il FIGLIO$_F$ di Gianni$_i$]$_{HT}$, lui$_I$ ci può parlare per ore.   NON la figlia.
the son of John,   he cl can to-speak for hours. Not the daughter
'John's SON, he can speak with him for hours. Not his daughter.'

The second test concerns quantifier binding. Possessive pronouns inside CLLD topics, wh-phrases, and fronted foci can be bound by a quantifying subject c-commanding their lower copy, see (22)-(24). Focused and unfocused HTs, instead, disallow a bound interpretation because they lack a lower copy. See (25) and (26), with (26) replying to (25).

(22) [Al   suo$_i$ maestro]$_{CLLD,k}$, [ogni alunno]$_i$ (gli) ha portato un FIORE t$_k$.
To-the his teacher,   each pupil   (cl) has brought a flower
'Each pupil brought a flower to his teacher.'

(23) [A quale dei suo[i] maestri][k], [ogni alunno][i] ha portato un FIORE t[k]?
  To which of-the his teacher, each pupil has brought a flower
  'To which teacher of his/hers did each pupil bring a flower?'

(24) [Alla sua[i] MAESTRA[F]][k],[ogni alunno][i] ha portato un fiore t[k]. NON al maestro.
  To-the his teacher.[Fem] each pupil has brought a flower. Not to-the teacher[Masc]
  'Each pupil brought a flower to his FEMALE teacher. Not the male one.'

(25) * [il suo[i] maestro][HT],[ogni alunno][i] gli ha portato un FIORE.
  The his teacher, each pupil cl has brought a flower
  'Each pupil brought a flower to his (male) teacher.'

(26) * [la sua[i] MAESTRA[F]][HT], [ogni alunno][i] le ha portato un fiore. NON il (suo) maestro.
  The his teacher[Fem], each pupil cl has brought a flower. Not the (his) teacher[Masc]
  'Each pupil brought a flower to his FEMALE teacher. Not to his male one.'

3.1.3 Summary

HTs are generated too high to focalize in FocP, yet they can be contrastively focused. They focus in their base-generated position consistently with the in-situ focalization hypothesis.

   The above analysis followed mainstream cartographic assumptions about the position of HTs. Other analyses, however, treat HTs as extra clausal, whether as an orphan constituent not integrated with the following clause (Shaer & Frey 2004, Shaer 2009, Haegemann 1991), or as a phrase blocking syntactic manipulation (Giorgi 2018). The argument provided here remains valid even under these analyses. They all analyse HTs as outside clausal boundaries and, therefore, inherently unable to move to FocP. By contrast, even under these analyses, focused HTs remain compatible with focalization in-situ, provided that focalization is allowed to apply to extra-clausal items.

3.2 Focused interrogative clauses

Under the FocP hypothesis, in root clauses, any constituent large enough to contain FocP, such as questions, is unable to focalize, since that would force these constituents to move to a position inside themselves. By contrast, focalization in-situ should remain possible.

   That questions can be contrastively focused, consistently with focalization in-situ and challenging the FocP hypothesis, is shown by the examples below, chosen from several similar ones found across internet blogs. The initial sentence "the right question is…" leaves no doubt that these bloggers are contrasting the proposed question against a set of contextually salient alternative questions. The proposed question is also clearly meant to replace all evoked alternatives rather than just be added to them, showing that these are instances of corrective (and hence contrastive) focalization.[3]

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[3] As far as I am aware, the semantic denotation of focused questions has not yet been examined in the focalization literature. The ordinary denotation of a question is the set of propositions corresponding to its potential answers (Hamblin 1973, but see Beck's 2006 claim that questions have a focus value but lack an ordinary value). Their focus value would thus involve sets of sets of propositions. I leave a full characterization to further research but note that

(27) La domanda giusta è: cosa serve all'Italia?   (Galazzo 2018)
The question right is: what serves to-the=Italy?
'The right question is: what does Italy need?'

(28) La domanda giusta è: "come posso aiutare i miei clienti target ad ottenere
The question right is: how (I) can to-help the my clients target to to-obtain
quello che realmente vogliono?"   (Prevato 2018: slide 14)
what that (they) really want?
'The right question is: how can I help my target clients to get what they really want?'

Root questions can be focused too. This is particularly clear in the exchange below involving alternating utterances across two speakers (Il Cavaliere etc., 2020). The blog concerns cinematographic citations. Therefore, the example might be a translation from English. Nevertheless, it sounds perfectly natural to a native ear. The final question is contrastively focused against a set of evoked inferior alternatives. Under the FocP hypothesis, the entire question would have to move to specFocP, even though FocP itself is contained in the question's structure (and hosting a yes/no operator).

(29) "Non avevo risposte perché mi facevo le domande sbagliate". "Tu devi farti la domanda giusta.". "E qual'è?" "Tutto quello che hai fatto ti ha reso la vita migliore?"
' "I did not have answers because I asked myself the wrong questions". "You must ask yourself the right question". "Which is which?" "All that you have done, did it improve your life?" '

Examples involving corrective focus can also be easily constructed. For example, during legal cross examinations many questions are inadmissible because inconsistent with the conduct of a fair trial. Inadmissible questions include those presupposing facts that have not yet been admitted as evidence. A lawyer cross-examining a witness might therefore quickly replace a first inadmissible question by contrastively focusing a second one; see (30) where (a) and (b) are uttered by the same speaker.

(30) a. Chi ha portato la cocaina in ITALIA?
Who has brought the cocaine to Italy?
'Who brought the cocaine to Italy?'

b. Anzi, [per quale ragione l'imputato è arrivato a Roma il 3 luglio 2019]$_F$?
Rather, for which reason the=defendant is arrived in Rome the 3 July 2019?
'Or rather, for what reason the defendant came to Rome on the 3rd of July 2019?

Similarly, a lecturer assigning an essay on a specific research question may decide to replace a first question by contrastively focalizing a second one considered superior. As before, (a) and (b) are uttered by the same speaker in quick succession.

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instances of focalization contrasting alternative sets of propositions have already been proposed for contrastive topics in Büring (1997) and Rooth (2016).

(31) a. Quale potenze straniere hanno interferito nelle   elezioni   ITALIANE?
          Which powers foreign   have   interfered in-the elections Italian
          'Which foreign powers interfered with the Italian elections?'

      b. Anzi. [Cosa ha   fatto l'Italia   per difender-si   dalle   interferenze RUSSE?]$_F$
          Rather. What have done the=Italy to to-defend-self from-the interferences Russian?
          'Or rather. What did Italy do to defend itself from Russian interferences?'

In both examples, the second question corrects and replaces the first one, which is cancelled and no longer needs answering. These cancellations constitute the typical effect of corrective focus. Both questions are focused in their entirety, as signalled by the absence of any shared background across them.

The issue is where the questions in (30) and (31) get focalized. Under the FocP hypothesis, they would have to move to the specifier of FocP, which is doubly impossible because FocP is contained in the structures for these questions and the specifier of FocP is already occupied by the wh-phrase 'per quale ragione' in (30) and 'cosa' in (31).

Under focalization in-situ, instead, these questions are focalized as any other constituent: their root node is assigned a focus feature with no movement involved. For example, the top phrasal node of question (b) in (31) could be WhP, or an equivalent phrasal node, with the wh-phrase 'cosa' in its specifier. Such phrasal node would also be marked as focused through the necessary focus feature, with no need to move anywhere.

3.3 Focused verbal heads

Any syntactic analysis of contrastive focus must also account for focused verbal heads like 'CHIAMATO' in (32) below. Under Rooth (1992), focalization applies to the verb alone. The focus value of (32)(b) thus contains only contextually salient propositions of the form 'Mark X-ed Mary' with X a transitive predicate, as in 'Mark met Mary', 'Mark wrote to Mary', etc.

(32) A: Marco ha   incontrato MARIA.
          Mark   has met   Mary.
          'Mark met Mary.'

      B: No. Marco ha   CHIAMATO$_F$ Maria. Non l'HA   incontrata.
          No. Mark   has called Mary.   (He) not   cl=has met.
          'No. Mark CALLED Mary. He did not meet her.'

Under in-situ focalization, these cases are straightforward. The verb is focused in V and then it moves where required, like any other verb. For example, in (32) the verbal root 'CHIAM-' (call) focuses in V and then moves to the head of the aspectual projection headed by the past-participle suffix '-ato'. More refined analyses splitting '-ato' in its morphological components – the thematic vowel '-a', past-participle suffix '-t', and default agreement suffix '-o' – would follow the same logic, with the focused verbal head moving through the relevant projections as its unfocused counterpart.

The FocP analysis, instead, runs into several difficulties because it was originally developed for phrases and it does not adapt well to heads. This is immediately visible when considering the requirement that focus move to the specifier of FocP, a phrasal position unavailable to heads. At first, this problem might appear easily solved by assuming that focused heads move to the head of FocP. But as the structure for (32)(b) in (33) shows, the auxiliary 'ha' in T blocks upward head-movement.

(33)   [$_{FocP}$ Ø$_{Foc}$ [$_{TP}$ Marco ha$_T$ [$_{AspectP}$ [CHIAM$_F$-ATO$_{Aspect}$]$_{Aspect}$ [$_{VP}$ <Marco> <chiam$_F$> Maria]]].

We might consider, instead, whether the entire aspectual phrase might move to specFocP. This phrase, however, also contains the object 'Mary'. If the specifier of FocP identifies what is focused, as required by the claim that FocP exists to facilitate interfacing with sound and meaning, then the entire aspectual phrase 'CHIAMATO Maria' (called Mary) would count as focused. Under Rooth (1992), this determines the wrong focus value for (32)(b), which would now include propositions replacing the entire predicate rather than just the verb, thus including propositions like 'Mark ran' or 'Mark ate chicken' that are not part of the focus value of (32)(b).

We could decide to cancel the assumption that the entire phrase in specFocP is focused and mark the verb as focused through a non-percolating focus feature, thus allowing the entire AspectP to move to FocusP while restricting focus to the verb alone. This might work, but it eliminates the main reason for positing FocP. FocP is supposed to facilitate the interface with other language modules by identifying what phrase is focused. If the phrase in specFocP no longer coincides with what is focused, and focus identification instead requires a focus feature or other device unrelated to FocP, then FocP has no focalization function, since the same focus feature or device may also apply in-situ.

3.4 Summary

This section showed that focused hanging topics, focused root interrogative clauses, and focused verbal heads cannot be accounted for under the FocP hypothesis, highlighting its structural inability to address the full distribution of contrastive focalization. Hanging topics are too high and root interrogative clauses too large to move to FocP, while verbal heads are prevented from moving to FocP's head by intervening heads and cannot move to FocP's specifier because they are non-phrasal. All three constituent classes are instead consistent with focalization in-situ, which thus emerges as a better match for the observable distribution of contrastive focus.

4 Foci in sentences with a filled specFocP

Under the FocP hypothesis, specFocP hosts at most one phrase. Therefore, whenever specFocP is already occupied by a focus or a wh-phrase, focalization elsewhere in the clause is predicted impossible. It follows that contrastive foci co-occurring with wh-phrases, multiple foci, and foci nested inside other foci ought to be impossible. Their grammatical status, discussed in this section, supports focalization in-situ which unlike FocP places no constraints on the position and multiplicity of focalization instances.

4.1 In-situ foci co-occurring with wh-phrases

It is easy to create perfectly natural questions containing in-situ contrastive foci, see the final question in the examples below. Their grammaticality is expected if focus occurs in-situ but unexpected if focus must raise to specFocP since specFocP is filled by the wh-phrase.

(34)   Tutti conoscevano la VITTIMA. Ma   chi$_{wh}$ conosceva l'ASSASSINO$_F$?
       All   knew   the victim. But who knew   the-murderer?
       'Everybody knew the victim. But who knew the MURDERER?'

(35)   So   cosa$_{wh}$ pensi TU$_F$, del   vostro rapporto. Ma cosa$_{wh}$ ne pensa tua   MOGLIE$_F$?
       (I) know what   think you, of-the your   relation. But what   cl thinks your wife?
       'I know what YOU think of your relation. But what does your WIFE think of it?'

(36)   Va   bene, Anna parla OGGI. Ma quando$_{wh}$ parla PINO$_F$?
       Goes well, Ann   speaks today. But when   speaks Pino?
       'Ok, Ann speaks today. But when will PINO speak?'

Another example where focus is undoubtedly contrastive is provided in (37), where A is a doctor visiting a child with a tummy-ache and B the child's father. In question A1, the doctor asks when the child ate an egg, as eggs can cause tummy-aches. The father, while going through his recollections, answers a different question, namely when the child ate pasta. Therefore, the doctor asks his initial question again, but this time with contrastive focus on the object. The intonation of A2 lacks the typical terminal rise of questions (D'imperio 2002), hence the absence of a question mark. Yet, A2 is a genuine question, as confirmed by the fact that the most natural continuation of the dialogue would be for B to answer A2.

That focus in A2 is contrastive – of the corrective type – is confirmed by the optional availability of negation at the start of the question. The focus value for A2 contains all questions of the type 'When did the child eat X', with X ranging over the foods the child might have eaten. This allows the doctor to imply that the implicit question 'When did the child eat the pasta?' answered in B must be rejected and replaced with A2. By contrast, A1, lacking contrastive focalization, does not evoke any alternative questions.

(37) A1: Quando$_{wh}$ ha   mangiato L'UOVO, il   bambino?
         When   has eaten   the-egg, the   child
         'When did the child eat the egg?'

     B: La pasta   l'ha   mangiata ALL'UNA.
         The pasta, (he) cl=has eaten   at-the-one
         'He ate the pasta at one o' clock.'

     A2: (No). Quando$_{wh}$ ha mangiato l'UOVO. (Non la   pasta).
         (No). When (he) has eaten   the-egg   (Not the pasta)
         '(No). When did he eat the EGG. (Not the pasta.)'

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Similar examples can be created at will, provided the A2 questions always lack a final rise; see (38) and (39) which parallel (37). As before, under the FocP hypothesis, the A2 questions should be ungrammatical because specFocP is occupied by a wh-phrase, whereas their grammaticality is expected under focalization in-situ.

(38)   A1:   Chi   hai visto a MILANO?
              Who (you) have seen in Milan
              'Who did you meet in Milan?'

         B: A Roma   ho   visto MARCO.
              In Rome (I) have seen Mark
              'In Rome, I met Mark.'

         A2:   (No). Chi$_{wh}$ hai   visto a MILANO$_F$. (Non a Roma).
              (No). Who (you) have seen in Milan   (Not in Rome)
              '(No). Who did you meet in MILAN. (Not Rome.)'

(39)   A1: Dove   li hai   COMPRATI, questi bicchieri?
             Where (you) cl have bought,   these   glasses
             'Where did you buy these glasses?'

        B: Quelli   li ho   comprati a MILANO.
             Those (I) cl have bought   in Milan
             'Those, I bought them in Milan.'

        A2: (No). Dove$_{wh}$ hai comprato QUESTI$_F$. (Non quelli).
            (No). Where (you) have bought   these   (Not those)
            '(No). Where did you buy THESE. (Not those.)'

Before concluding, let me return to the removal of question marks in all A2 questions. Question marks strongly suggest the presence of the terminal rise typically associated with non-discourse-given questions like A1. Under that intonation, A2 questions in the above examples become ungrammatical. The grammatical intonation is closer to that of declarative sentences, even though from a pragmatic/semantic perspective they remain questions. The replacement of question marks with periods is meant to help readers avoid the terminal rise intonation.

I return to this issue in section 5.4, where I discuss questions involving wh-phrases and fronted foci in Bocci et al's (2018) experiment. For now, we may conclude that under the appropriate contexts contrastive focalization in-situ remains possible even when focus identification via specFocP is unavailable, supporting the in-situ focalization hypothesis. By contrast, the FocP hypothesis incorrectly predicts all above examples to be ungrammatical.

4.2 Multiple foci

Most FocP analyses consider FocP unique, thus excluding the possibility of multiple contrastive

foci inside a single clause.

Multiple foci are certainly possible with overt focus operators (Krifka 1991, Beck & Vasishth 2009, Wagner 2009, 2020). For example, imagine two teachers caring for a group of small children. They want each child to have multiple playmates. At the end of one session, one teacher utters (40) with main stress on 'Marco' and secondary stress on 'Marta', meaning that Mark is the only child who played with only one other child, namely Marta. This is not an instance of second occurrence focus because all constituents are new.

(40) Solo MARCO$_F$ ha giocato solo con MARTA$_F$.
     Only Mark   has played only with Marta
     'Only MARK played only with Marta.'

Under the right circumstances, it is possible to contrastively focus the subject using stress alone. For example, consider again the context just described. At the end of the session, one teacher, clearly satisfied with himself, remarks that the session went well because all children played with two or more playmates. The other teacher, more attentive, corrects the first teacher's assessment by uttering (41).

(41) MARCO$_F$ ha giocato solo con MARTA$_F$.
     Mark   has played only with Marta
     'MARK played only with Marta.'

The issue is how focalization by overt focus operators, here on 'Marta', is analysed under the FocP hypothesis (see Wagner 2009). If these foci need to move to specFocP, then the above sentences are incorrectly predicted to be ungrammatical because specFocP cannot host both foci. If movement to FocP is unnecessary, then both sentences remain possible, but at the cost of allowing for focalization outside FocP. This option can be restricted to constituents in the scope of overt focus operators, but it still weakens the claim that movement to FocP is key to the interface with pragmatics/semantics as far as contrastive focalization is concerned. If constituents in the scope of 'only' can be focused in-situ and interpreted contrastively when the semantic import of 'only' is processed, there is no reason why the same could not hold for focused phrases lacking overt focus operators, such as the focused object in (42).

(42) Ho   giocato con MARTA$_F$. (Non Pietro.)
     (I) have played with Marta.   (Not Peter.)
     'I played with MARTA. Not PIETRO.'

The grammaticality of multiple contrastive foci refutes the claim that clauses allow for at most one focus – an assumption encoded in the uniqueness of FocP – and also the claim that interface mapping requires all contrastive foci to pass through specFocP for their interpretation.

4.3 Nested foci

Neeleman and Szendrői (2004) argue that the FocP hypothesis cannot handle sentences involving

nested foci like (43) (slightly adapted). The mother's answer contains two contrastive foci nested within one another: 'Superman' contrasts with 'decent book', and the VP 'reading Superman' contrasts with 'doing his homework'. The entire sentence is also non-contrastively focused.

Another example involving two nested contrastive foci is provided in (44). 'Nutella' contrasts with 'carote' (carrots), and 'mangiando la Nutella' (eating Nutella) contrasts with 'fatto i compiti' (doing his homework).

(43) Father: What happened?

    Mother: You know how I think our children should read decent books.
              Well, when I came home, rather than doing his homework, Johnny was [reading
              SUPERMAN$_F$]$_F$.

(44) A: Gianni ha fatto i   compiti   e   mangiato le carote come ha   detto il   DOTTORE?
       John   has made the homework and eaten   the carrots as   has said the doctor?
       'Did John do his homework and ate the carrots as the doctor recommended?'

     B: È   lì   che [mangia NUTELLA$_F$]$_F$! (Altro che le CAROTE! O   fare i   COMPITI!)
      (He) is there that eats   Nutella.   (Other that the carrots! Or to-do the works!)
      'He is there eating NUTELLA. (Not eating the carrots! Or doing his homework.)'

Neeleman and Szendrői (2004: 154-156) examine the contradiction that ensues from maintaining that focused phrases are identified through the percolation of focus features. Here, I add the more general point that the existence of nested foci is incompatible with requiring contrastive foci to move to specFocP in order to be identified as focused at the interface with pragmatics/semantics. In the above examples, it is not possible for both foci to independently move to the same specifier position. Moving only the focused VP while leaving the nested focused DP unmoved is not a solution. Whatever mechanism would be proposed to ensure that the nested DP is also identified as focused despite being inside a phrase in specFocP rather than in specFocP itself could be immediately invoked for other foci located elsewhere, making movement to specFocP unnecessary.

These problems are absent under focalization in-situ. As described in Wagner (2020), provided that Rooth's squiggle operator '~'[4] intervenes between the DP and the VP foci, the relevant set of alternatives for each focus is successfully identified. The necessary configuration is shown in (45), with the squiggle operators carrying indices only to facilitate discussion. Squiggle-2 focuses 'Nutella', seeking salient alternatives of the type 'eating X', with 'eating carrots' qualifying as one such alternative. Squiggle-1 seeks salient propositions of the type 'Y(John)', with Y a predicate, and finds 'John has done his homework' as one such alternative.

(45) ~$_1$ [John is [~$_2$ [eating Nutella$_F$]$_F$].

Nested foci thus provide a third focus configuration expected under focalization in-situ and

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[4] Rooth's (2016:26-28) squiggle operator '~' applies to a focused syntactic phrase φ and an index k pointing to a focus antecedent. It requires that the semantic denotation of the antecedent pointed by k be an element of $[[\varphi]]^f$ distinct from the ordinary semantic value $[[\varphi]]^o$, or a subset of the focus value $[[\varphi]]^f$ containing the ordinary semantic value $[[\varphi]]^o$ and at least one other alternative; see Rooth (1992) and Wagner (2020).

intractable under the FocP hypothesis.

4.4 Summary

This section examined a second aspect of the distribution of contrastive focus consistent with focalization in-situ and unaccounted for by the FocP hypothesis. Whenever a focus co-occurs with another focus, as with multiple and nested foci, or with a wh-phrase, the assumption that all focused phrases obligatorily move to specFocP cannot be satisfied, predicting all these cases impossible. Instead, they are grammatical, as predicted by focalization in-situ.

5 Fronted foci

Fronted foci constitute the best evidence we have for FocP. Yet, closer inspection reveals that FocP makes incorrect predictions even about them. Space limits only allow me to consider three properties and to compare the FocP analysis only against the right dislocation analysis in Samek-Lodovici (2015) where these properties are accounted for without resorting to FocP, hence consistently with focalization in-situ for non-fronted foci.

Other analyses of fronted foci not positing FocP also exist. For example, Abels (2012) shows that Rizzi's relativized minimality already accounts for the order of fronted foci relative to other left-peripheral phrases, while Neeleman and van de Koot (2008, 2010) and Neeleman et al (2009) view focus fronting as marking the domain of contrast. Like Samek-Lodovici's, these analyses show that key properties of the FocP analysis also follow from alternative assumptions. Since they do not concern the properties discussed in this section, I will not examine them any further.

Section 5.1 and 5.2 respectively examine the problematic properties of left-peripheral familiar topics and fronted negative phrases. Section 5.3 describes their solution under a right dislocation analysis of focus fronting. Finally, secont 5.4 examines interrogatives phrases co-occurring with fronted foci, again considering their consequences for the FocP and right dislocation analyses.

5.1 The unexpected distribution of familiar topics

FocP is maintained to be dominated by hanging and CLLD topic projections and to dominate the projections for left-peripheral familiar topics (Benincà 2001, Benincà and Poletto 2004, Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007, Rizzi and Cinque 2016, Rizzi and Bocci 2017).

The resulting hierarchy, leaving Int and Mod aside, is provided below. Crucially, it predicts that familiar topics should be able to occur independently from the presence of fronted foci in FocP. As this section will show, this is not the case.

(46) [Force [HangingTopic   [CLLD-Topic*   [Foc [FamiliarTopic* [Fin [TP …

To prove this point, we need to be able to distinguish HTs and CLLD topics from left-peripheral

familiar topics even when fronted foci are absent.[5] Clitic-doubling provides the necessary tool because it is obligatory with object HTs and CLLD topics but optional with left-peripheral familiar topics. This is shown in (47) where the three topic classes can be identified by their position relative to the fronted focus 'a MARIA'. Sentence A sets the context. Reply B1 shows that clitic-doubling can be absent with familiar topics. Reply B2 shows that it is instead obligatory with hanging and CLLD object topics (the initial object is ambiguous across a HT and CLLD analysis). Commas represent the optional pause following left-peripheral foci and topics.

(47) A. Dobbiamo mandare il   progetto ad ANNA.
       (we) must to-send   the project to Ann
       'We must send the project to Ann.'

   B1:   A MARIA$_F$, il   progetto$_{Familiar}$, dovete mandare. NON ad Anna.
         ToMary,   the   project, (you)   must to-send. Not to Ann.
         'You must send the project to MARY. Not Ann.'

   B2.   Il progetto$_{HT/CLLD}$, a MARIA$_F$,   *(lo) dovete   mandare. NON ad Anna.
         The project,   to Mary, (you) cl must   to-send. Not to Ann.
         'As for the project, you must send it to MARY. Not Ann'

As mentioned, the hierarchy in (46) predicts that familiar topics should be able to occur independently from the presence of focus fronting. Reply B1 should thus remain grammatical even when focus remains in-situ. As (48) shows, this is not the case. B1, the only reply unambiguously involving a familiar topic, is severely ungrammatical. Familiar topics outside focus fronting constructions are impossible.

(48) A. Dobbiamo mandare il   progetto ad ANNA.
       (We) must to-send   the project to Ann
       'We must send the project to Ann.'

   B1: * Il   progetto$_{Familiar}$, dovete   mandare A MARIA$_F$.   NON ad Anna.
          The project, (you)   must   to-send   to Mary.   Not   toAnn.
          'You must send the project to MARY. Not Ann.'

   B2: Il progetto$_{HT/CLLD}$, lo dovete mandare A MARIA$_F$. NON ad Anna.
        The project, (you) cl must   to-send to Mary.   Not to Ann.
        'As for the project, you must send it to MARY. Not Ann'

Furthermore, in reply B2, where clitic-doubling is present, the initial object shows the typical B-accent intonation and contrastive interpretation associated with contrastive hanging and CLLD

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[5] Nothing simultaneously distinguishes HTs, CLLD, and familiar topics from each other when fronted foci are absent. Indirect-object HTs differ from indirect-object CLLD and familiar topics because the associated preposition drops with the former but not the latter. Clitic-doubling distinguishes object HTs and CLLD topics from object familiar topics because it is obligatory only with the former. Finally, clitic-doubling distinguishes indirect-object HTs from indirect-object CLLD and familiar topics because it remains obligatory with HTs but optional with the latter.

topics (Büring 2003) known to be absent from familiar topics (Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007), confirming that the object in B2 is not a familiar topic.

Familiar topics remain impossible even when contrastive focalization is completely absent, see (49). Question A, provided with and without clitic-doubling, ensures that the object 'il libro' is discourse-given, as is necessary for licensing its later occurrence as a familiar topic. Yet, having the object in B1 as a clitic-less unambiguous familiar topic is severely ungrammatical (stress falls on the verb; stress on 'libro' incorrectly focuses the object). The initial object can only occur as a hanging or CLLD topic with the associated clitic-doubling, B-accent intonation, and contrastive interpretation; see B2.

(49) A. Hai   LETTO, il libro? / L'hai   LETTO, il libro?
        (You) have read,   the book? (You) cl=have read,   the book?
        'Did you read the book?'

    B1: * Il   libro_{Familiar},   ho   LETTO.
          The   book,   (I) have read.
          'I read the book.'

    B2:   Il   libro_{HT/CLLD}, l' ho   LETTO.
          The   book,   (I) cl have read.
          'I read the book.'

Examples like these can be created at will. They show that left-peripheral familiar topics only occur in the presence of fronted foci as stated in the generalization below.

(50) Generalization – Italian left-peripheral familiar topics are always preceded by a fronted focus.

Generalization (50) is completely unexpected. Under the FocP analysis, the dependency of familiar topics on focus fronting should not exist.

5.2 Unexpected c-command failures

The FocP analysis also predicts that fronted foci c-command TP. The syntax of Italian fronted negative subjects shows that this is not the case.

Italian neg-concord requires that postverbal negative words be licensed by a negative marker in T or a negative subject in specTP (Zanuttini 1991, Longobardi 1992, Acquaviva 1999). Also, licensing cannot occur via reconstruction (Samek-Lodovici 2015: 299).

With this information in hand, consider licensing by a negative subject. It is possible when the entire sentence is new-information focus, see (51), but it is ungrammatical when the subject is contrastively focused, see (52). The sentence becomes grammatical again when licensing is repaired by either removing the licensee, in (53), or by adding a licenser – the neg-marker 'non' – in (54), resulting in a double-negative interpretation.

(51) [Nessuno ha mangiato NULLA]NewInfoFocus.
      Nobody has eaten   anything
      'Nobody ate anything.'

(52) * NESSUNOF, ha mangiato nulla.
        Nobody,   has eaten   anything

(53) NESSUNOF, ha   mangiato pane.
     Nobody,   has eaten   bread
     'NOBODY ate bread.'

(54) NESSUNOF, non ha mangiato nulla.
     Nobody,   not has eaten   anything
     'NOBODY has eaten nothing.' (i.e. everybody ate something)

Under the FocP hypothesis, the ungrammaticality of (52) is unexpected. The negative subject in specFocP c-commands the negative object and should thus license it. Finding plausible explanations for (52) is difficult. For example, assuming that focus interferes with licensing is untenable because licensing remains successful with a focused licensee in (55), and across focus in (56) (read A aloud before assessing the reply in B). Licensing from an A'-position is also unproblematic: the postverbal negative subjects in (57) and in (58) are respectively licensed by a covert yes/no interrogative operator and by the complementizer 'se' (if) in IntP, a projection dominating FocP (Rizzi and Cinque, 2016).

(55) Nessuno ha mangiato NULLAF.
     Nobody   has eaten   anything
     'Nobody ate ANYTHING.'

(56) A: [Non   hai mangiato NULLA]NewInfoFocus.
         (You) not have eaten   anything
         'You did not eat anything.'

     B: Non ho BEVUTOF nulla.   Mangiare, ho   mangiato TUTTO.
        not have drunk   anything. To-eat, (I) have eaten   everything
        'I did not DRINK anything. As for eating, I ate everything.'

(57) Ha chiamato NESSUNO?
     Has called   anybody
     'Did anybody call?'

(58) [Gianni mi ha chiesto se ha chiamato NESSUNO]NewInfoFocus.
      John   cl has asked if has called   anybody
      'John asked me if anybody called'

Summing up, the FocP hypothesis incorrectly predicts fronted negative foci to license postverbal negative phrases and there is no clear solution to this problem.

5.3 Focus fronting as a consequence of right dislocation

Generalization (50) and the licensing failure in (52) are accounted for under the right dislocation analysis of focus fronting in Samek-Lodovici (2006, 2015).

Under this analysis, focus fronting is always a side-effect of right dislocation (henceforth 'RD'). In Italian, RD is an extremely productive process across all syntactic categories. When the TP clause containing a focus is discourse-given, it, too, might be targeted by RD. In such case, focus must be extracted because it requires main stress while right-dislocated phrases disallow main stress. Extracting the focus ensures that these prosodic requirements are satisfied. For the extensive evidence supporting this analysis see Samek-Lodovici (2015).

The RD and FocP analyses thus provide different perspectives on the distribution of contrastive foci. Under the RD analysis, focalization in-situ is the default and fronted foci only occur when RD targets the TP originally containing them. When TP is not dislocated, focus remains in situ. Under the FocP analysis, in-situ and fronted foci share the same structure. Focus always moves to specFocP, whether overtly or covertly.

5.3.1. Fronted negative foci

Italian right-dislocated phrases occur outside TP. Simplifying somewhat, we may assume they right-adjoin to TP (for a more precise analysis, see Samek-Lodovici 2015:75ff). When the TP containing the focus is right-dislocated, the extracted focus left-adjoins to TP prior to the TP's dislocation. Consequently, fronted foci do not c-command the dislocated TP; (60) provides the position of the fronted object in (59).

(59) GIANNI$_F$, ho   incontrato.
      John,   (I) have met
      'JOHN, I met.'

(60) [$_{TP}$ [$_{TP}$ GIANNI$_{F,i}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_k$]] [$_{TP}$ ho incontrato t$_i$]$_k$]

Precisely this lack of c-command determines the ungrammaticality of (52) repeated in (61) (Samek-Lodovici 2015:176ff, 191ff). The focused subject 'NESSUNO' is necessarily fronted, because if it were focalized in-situ it would occur postverbally in specVP. Since fronting is triggered by TP right dislocation, the structure of (61) parallels (60), with the fronted subject 'NESSUNO' not c-commanding the dislocated TP, see (62). The absence of c-command prevents the licensing of the negative object 'nulla', determining the ungrammaticality of (61).

(61)   * NESSUNO$_F$, ha mangiato nulla.
         Nobody,   has eaten   anything

(62) [$_{TP}$ [$_{TP}$ NESSUNO$_{F,i}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_k$]] [$_{TP}$ ha mangiato t$_i$ nulla]$_k$]

The analysis also explains the grammaticality and double-negative interpretation of (54). As

(63) shows, adding the neg-marker 'non' in the dislocated TP provides a c-commanding licenser for the negative object, thus restoring neg-concord and grammaticality. Furthermore, since the fronted subject does not c-command the negative items in the dislocated TP, neg-concord remains unavailable, causing the observed double-negative interpretation.

(63) $[_{TP}$ $[_{TP}$ NESSUNO$_{F,i}$ $[_{TP}$ t_k $]]$ $[_{TP}$ non ha mangiato t_i nulla$]_k$ $]$

The licensing properties of fronted negative foci are thus accounted for under the RD analysis of focus fronting, with no need for a FocP projection and consistently with focalization in-situ within non-dislocated TPs.

5.3.2. Familiar topics

The RD analysis also accounts for the dependency of familiar topics on focus fronting described in generalization (50).

Italian RD can apply to multiple constituents, which then may occur in any order at the right edge of the clause. When RD applies to a TP and a phrase XP in that TP, they, too, will occur in any order. If TP contained a focus, the fronted focus will precede all dislocated items, yielding the two orders <Focus, XP, TP> and <Focus, TP, XP> (Samek-Lodovici 2015:176ff). See for example the two orders of the XP 'il progetto' and the dislocated TP following the fronted focus in replies B1 and B2 in (64). Sentence A provides the context for the replies.

(64)   A.   Dobbiamo mandare il   progetto ad ANNA.
            (we) must to-send   the project to Ann
            'We must send the project to Ann.'

       B1: A MARIA$_F$, [il   progetto]$_{Familiar}$, [$_{TP}$ (lo) dovete mandare]. NON ad Anna.
            ToMary,   the project,   (you) cl must to-send.   Not to Ann.
            'You must send the project to MARY. Not Ann.'

       B2: A MARIA$_F$, [$_{TP}$ (lo) dovete mandare], [il progetto]$_{Familiar}$. NON ad Anna.

These XP phrases are the familiar topics described in the cartographic literature. They are also nothing more than right-dislocated constituents. Indeed, the properties of XP phrases located between a fronted focus and a TP – i.e. of XPs in the prototypical position of left-peripheral familiar topics and that would be analysed as left-peripheral familiar topics in the cartographic literature – perfectly match those of right-dislocated constituents with respect to discourse-givenness, free ordering, island sensitivity, non-uniqueness, non-contrastivity, lack of epithet resumption, inability to drop associated prepositions, and lack of bare NPs (Samek-Lodovici 2015: 201ff; see also Brunetti 2009, and Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007).

Their right-dislocated status also explains their odd distribution. When TP is right-dislocated, the XP phrases alias familiar topics may precede TP. These are the cases where foci are necessarily fronted determining the <Focus, familiar topic, TP> order. When TP is not right-dislocated, and focus occurs in-aitu, the XP phrases alias familiar topics necessarily follow TP like any other right

dislocated phrase. This explains why familiar topics cannot precede TP when focus remains in-situ as in sentence (48)B1 repeated below.

(65) A. Dobbiamo mandare il progetto ad ANNA.
      (We) must to-send the project to Ann
      'We must send the project to Ann.'

    B1: * Il progetto$_{Familiar}$, dovete mandare A MARIA$_F$. NON ad Anna.
        The project, (you) must to-send to Mary. Not to Ann.
        'You must send the project to MARY. Not Ann.'

Familiar topics thus are only found with fronted foci because they are right-dislocated items and as such they may only precede right-dislocated TPs. Since right-dislocated TPs also trigger focus fronting, the distributions of fronted foci and left-peripheral familiar topics overlap, explaining generalization (50) (For more details see Samek-Lodovici, 2015:197ff).

In conclusion, even the distribution of familiar topics can be accounted for consistently with focalization in-situ (in undislocated TPs) and avoiding the problematic predictions inherent to FocP.

5.4 Fronted foci co-occurring with wh-phrases

Contrary to what is standardly assumed, given an appropriate prosodic contour fronted foci may co-occur with wh-phrases. This fact, too, is predicted impossible under the FocP hypothesis where fronted foci and wh-phrases compete for specFocP. It is instead expected under the RD analysis of focus fronting.

To fully understand the distribution of contrastive foci in root questions, we need to distinguish three classes.

Class I contains run-of-the-mill non discourse-given questions involving the typical terminal intonational rise found in Central and Northern Italian varieties (D'Imperio 2002), here represented by the final question mark. These questions may contain in-situ foci (see section 4.1) but never fronted foci, as shown by Rizzi's (1997) famous example below.

(66) * A GIANNI$_F$ che cosa hai detto (non a Piero)?
    To John that what (you) have told (not to Piero)
    'To JOHN what did you tell (not to Piero)?'

Class II contains discourse-given questions that have not been right-dislocated They involve rightmost stress and lack a final intonational rise. They, too, allow for in-situ foci and disallow fronted foci. See for example A2 in (37) above (section 4.1).

Class III contains discourse-given right-dislocated questions. An example is provided in B in dialogue (67). The right-dislocated status of the subordinate question 'dove andrà' is proven by the presence of clitic-doubling and by its intonation, which lacks main stress and follows the intonational break and optional pause typically preceding right-dislocated phrases.

(67) A: Dove ANDRÀ, Gianni?
Where will-go, John?
'Where will John go?'

B: Non lo SAPPIAMO, dove andrà.
(We) not cl know, where (he) will-go.
'We do not know where he will go.'

As in declarative clauses, a focus generated inside a Class III question targeted by RD will extract in order to remain able to attract stress. In root questions, this places fronted foci right before the wh-phrase, see A2 in dialogue (68) where B misunderstands A1, prompting the repetition of the question in A2. When A2 is uttered, the question 'cosa avete regalato' is discourse-given. Its right-dislocated status in A2 is signalled by the absence of main stress and the preceding intonational break and optional pause typically associated with RD. It also completely lacks the terminal rise associated with Class I questions, a fact here represented through the final exclamation mark. Similar examples are easily construed, see Samek-Lodovici (2015:224ff, 2016).

(68) A1: Cosa avete regalato a GIANNA?
What (you) have given to Joan?
'What did you give to Joan?'

B: A Gianni, abbiamo regalato un LIBRO.
To John, (we) have given a book.
'John, we gave him a book.'

A2: (No.) A GIANNA$_F$, cosa avete regalato! (NON a Gianni.)
(No.) To Joan, what (you) have given! (Not to John.)
'(No). What did you give to JOAN! (Not John.)'

Even Rizzi's original Class I example becomes grammatical once we consider its Class III counterpart by making the same question discourse-given via an appropriate context and uttering it with the required right-dislocated intonation, see A2 in (69).

(69) A1: Cosa hai detto a GIANNI?
What (you) have told to John?
'What did you tell John?'

B: A Gianna, ho raccontato TUTTO.
To Joan, (I) have told everything.
'Joan, I told her everything.'

A2: (No.) A GIANNI$_F$, cosa hai detto! (NON a Gianna.)
(No.) To John, what (you) have told! (Not to Joan.)
'(No). What did you tell JOHN! (Not Joan.)'

The distribution of contrastive foci across the three classes is summarised in (70).

(70) Root questions	Class I (discourse new)	Class II (discourse-given, non right-dislocated)	Class III (discourse-given and right-dislocated)
Terminal rise	✓	✗	✗
Preceded by intonational break and optional pause	✗	✗	✓
Focus in-situ	✓	✓	✗
Focus fronting	✗	✗	✓

As we have seen, this distribution follows straightforwardly from focalization in situ and the potential presence of RD. Since focus fronting is triggered by RD, it only occurs with Class III questions. Since the other two classes lack RD, they also lack focus fronting. Conversely, focalization in-situ is possible in Class I and II, where RD is absent, but not Class III, where RD forces fronting.

The intonational properties of the three classes also follow. The terminal rise is only possible with non discourse-given questions in Class I, but Class II may still express main stress. The absence of stress, and the intonational break and potential pause preceding right-dislocated phrases, instead, only occur with the right-dislocated questions of Class III.

By contrast, under the FocP hypothesis, the absence of fronted foci in Classes I and II follows from the impossibility of simultaneously hosting wh-phrases and foci in specFocP. This hypothesis, however, cannot account for the fronted foci of Class III questions and even the in-situ foci in Classes I and II, which should be ungrammatical for the exact same reason.

5.4.1   Problems with the experimental evidence in Bocci et al (2018)

With this knowledge in hand, we can also better interpret the experimental results in Bocci et al (2018) concerning the grammaticality of fronted foci in root and embedded questions.

The experiment tested 44 participants, recruited via Facebook. They provided acceptability judgements on the last sentence of a set of written dialogues accessed online. The written stimuli for fronted foci in discourse-given root questions had the format in (71), copied unaltered from Bocci et al's example (7). The assessed sentence was A's last question beginning with "A Paola".

(71) A: Anche tu eri presente alla riunione di ieri sull'organizzazione del prossimo semestre.
Mi potresti chiarire un dubbio?
'You were also at yesterday's meeting concerning the organization for next semester.
Could you clear up a doubt I have?'
Chi hanno assegnato a Paola?
'Who did they assign to Paola?'
B: A Marcella, hanno assegnato Emilio.
'To Marcella, they assigned Emilio'.
A: Ti ho chiesto un'altra cosa!
'I asked you something else!'
A Paola chi hanno assegnato, non a Marcella?
to Paola who Aux.3.PL assigned not to Marcella
'Who did they assign to Paola, not to Marcella?'

Like the dialogues in (68) and (69), A repeats her question following B's misunderstanding of its first instantiation. Given this context, A's sentence is grammatical only under the intonation of Class III questions. Main stress must fall on 'Paola', and the following question must lack a terminal rise and be preceded by an initial intonational break and an optional pause. The stimuli's format, however, discouraged the required intonation in several ways.

To begin with, these were written stimuli, leaving participants guessing what intonation was required.

Second, main stress was not typographically marked. Bocci et al (2018) explains that this was deliberate because the participants might not understand the stress-marking conventions. The absence of intonational cues, however, made it less likely that participants assigned main stress on 'Paola' as required. Note that by the time this sentence is read 'Paola' is discourse-given and discourse-given constituents, when unfocused, resist stress. The participants might thus have assessed the stimuli under a misleading intonation.

Third, A's last question in (71) was presented with a question mark. As mentioned in section 4.1, question marks strongly evoke the final intonational rise of Class I questions, effectively steering the participants away from the intonation they should assess. Instead of considering the Class III intonation allowing for focus fronting, the participants most probably assessed the sentence under the Class I intonation that disallows it.

In conclusion, while Bocci et al's (2018) attempt to empirically test focus fronting in right-dislocated questions is welcome, the proposed stimuli were excessively open to misunderstanding of the intonation that had to be assigned. Future experiments should provide a more accurate illustration of the intonation being tested.

6   Conclusions

This paper showed that the actual distribution of Italian contrastive focus is wider than predicted by the FocP hypothesis. It includes focused hanging topics, placed too high for FocP, focused interrogative clauses, too large for FocP, and focused verbal heads, unable to move to FocP.
It also includes multiple foci, nested foci, and foci co-occurring with wh-phrases, all of which are predicted impossible under FocP. Even fronted foci show properties that challenge significant FocP hypothesis' predictions.

The paper also showed that all examined focalization instances are accounted for if focalization, by default, occurs and remains in-situ. Even fronted foci and their properties are more effectively analysed under analyses consistent with in-situ focalization such as the right dislocation analysis of Samek-Lodovici (2006, 2015).

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