

A case of focal adverb preposing in French¹

Karen Lahousse

KU Leuven (Belgium)

Karen.lahousse@arts.kuleuven.be

Draft – comments welcome!

This article is about a specific case of focal adverb preposing in (written) French, i.e. preposing of the adverb *ainsi* ‘in this way’, which is necessarily followed by subject inversion, resulting in the word order [focal *ainsi* – V – S]. This construction appears in a very specific discourse context and, just as other cross-linguistic types of focus preposing, is the result of the movement of this adverb to a focus projection in the left periphery. I show that this correctly predicts the construction to be a main clause phenomenon and provide a syntactic analysis in terms of Relativized Minimality.

1. Introduction

¹ Thanks to Paul Cappeau, Cécile De Cat, Gaétan de Saint Moulin, Franck Floricic, Lena Karssenbergh, David Martens, Benjamin Massot, Christian Molinier, Adeline Patard and Frédéric Sabio for discussion on data and arguments, and to Piet Mertens for examples with *ainsi* from his *Le Monde* corpus. All errors are mine.

In linguistic literature a lot of attention has been given to so-called main clause phenomena or root transformations (Emonds 1970, 2004; Hooper and Thompson 1973; Green 1976; Maki et al. 1999; Haegeman 2003a/2003b/2006a/2006b/2010/2012; Emonds 2004; De Cat 2012; Heycock 2006; Aelbrecht et al. 2012). Examples include instances of argument fronting (also called topicalisation) (1a), VP preposing (1b), negative constituent preposing (1c), directional adverb preposing (also called locative inversion) (1d) and predicate fronting (1e):

- (1) a. *This book you should read.*
- b. *Mary plans for John to marry her, and marry her he will.*
- c. *Never in my life have I seen such a crowd.*
- d. *Up the street trotted the dog.*
- e. *More significant would be the development of a semantic theory.*

(Heycock 2006: 10-11)

These phenomena do not only share the specific discourse interpretation of the fronted element, but also share some syntactic properties: they create unbounded dependencies, are sensitive to strong islands, and although they occur in root-like embedded clauses (2a-b), they do not occur in complements clauses of factive verbs (2c) and central adverbial clauses (2d).

- (2) a. *John thinks **that** this book Mary read.*
- b. *It is amazing how this view could have spread about someone who changed the image of causes like Aids and landmines, and in doing so showed a possible new role for the royals. It is particularly ironic **since** so much of what Diana did for her fellow humans she did with no concern for publicity whatsoever. (Guardian, G2, 31.8.4 page 9 col 2; Haegeman 2006a)*
- c. * *John regrets **that** this book Mary read. (Maki et al. 1999: 3)*
- d. * ***While** this book Mary was writing this time last year, her children were staying with her mother. (Haegeman 2006a)*

It has been noted that similar fronting constructions also exist in French: PP fronting (3) (see Authier and Haegeman 2014a/2014b; Kerleroux and Marandin 2001; Delais-Roussarie et al. 2004); NP fronting (4) (see Sabio 1995/2006, Abeillé et al. 2008/2009, Zribi-Hertz 1984) and fronting of infinitival complement clauses (Authier 2011) (5).

- (3) *Marie a réuni les élèves.*

Marie has gathered the students

Aux filles, elle a donné des exercices d'algèbre [e].

to-the girls she has given some exercises of-algebra

Aux garçons, elle a dicté un problème de géométrie [e].

to-the boys she has dictated a problem of geometry

'Marie gathered the students. To the girls, she gave algebra exercises. To the boys, she dictated a geometry problem.'

(Delais-Roussarie et al. 2004: 512)

(4) – *Tu as beaucoup fumé?*

'Did you smoke a lot?'

– Deux cigarettes j'ai fumé.

'Two cigarettes, I smoke.'

(Sabio 2006: 175)

(5) Fumer sur la terrasse, je veux bien.

to-smoke on the terrace I want well

'I'm willing to smoke on the terrace.'

(Haegeman and Authier 2014a)

In this article I discuss one specific case of adverb preposing, i.e. preposing of focal *ainsi* 'in this way' (6), which occurs in written French²:

² In the examples, I indicate the focal nature of preposed *ainsi* 'in this way' by full caps. It goes without saying that, since the examples are from written French, full caps do not

(6) *Il [Alexandre] écrivait avec une sorte de distraction concentrée, comme on crayonne sur le bloc du téléphone: on écoute de moins en moins et c'est le dessin qui s'impose.*

‘He [Alexander] wrote with a kind of concentrated distraction, like when you doodle on a phone notepad: you listen less and less and it’s the drawing which takes over.’

... *AINSI* *écrivait* *Alexandre, ...*

... *IN THAT WAY* wrote *Alexandre,*

‘That’s how Alexander wrote, (...)’

... *se réfugiant dans les pleins et les déliés de cette écriture sage, de ce crayonnement appliqué.*

‘taking refuge in the loops and lines of sober penmanship, of assiduous doodling.’

(Pennac 1989, Frantext)³

In what follows I will first present the discourse interpretation of this construction and the contexts it appears in (section 2) and I will then discuss

represent focal stress. I provide a translation of the context, and a gloss and a translation of the sentence with initial *ainsi*. Since the discourse context of the sentence with *ainsi* is important, I provide a large context for each example.

³ Whenever possible, I use attested examples, either from the internet, from the newspaper *Le Monde* corpus compiled by Piet Mertens (KU Leuven; see Karssenbergh 2013 and Karssenbergh & Lahousse 2014) or from *Frantext*. Frantext is a large online collection of French texts assembled by the *Institut National de la Langue Française* (www.frantext.fr). It represents about 3,500 literary and technical works from the 14th to 20th centuries, containing over a billion characters. Since this paper is on present-day French, I restrict attention to texts published since 1950.

the word order patterns after preposed *ainsi* (section 3). Then it will be shown that the sentence-initial position of *ainsi* is the result of movement (section 4) to a left-peripheral focus position (section 5) and I will show that this predicts why preposing of focal *ainsi*, just as instances of focus preposing in other languages, is a main clause phenomenon (section 6).

2. Discourse interpretation

Preposing of the adverb *ainsi* ‘in this way’ is followed by verb-subject word order, as in (6) and the attested examples (7-9):

- (7) *Sentant venir sa mort prochaine, le mage Tambour Billette organise le legs de ses pouvoirs, de son bourdon, de son fonds de commerce. Nous sommes sur le Disque-monde. La succession s’y opère de huitième fils en huitième fils. Logique.*

‘Feeling his death is imminent, the wizard Tambour Billette organizes the legacy of his powers, of his pilgrim’s staff, of his commercial resources. We are in Diskworld. Here, the eighth son succeeds the eighth son. Logical.’

... *AINSI* *procède* *le mage*.

... IN THAT WAY proceeds the wizard.

‘It is in this way that the wizard proceeds.’

(<https://itunes.apple.com/be/book/la-huitieme-fille/>)

- (8) *Les trottoirs étaient encombrés d'une clientèle huppée qui se promenait sans hâte d'une boutique de luxe à une autre, José doublait adroitement les costumes trois pièces et les manteaux de vison, sans regarder derrière lui les visages de ces passants endimanchés. C'était dans ces rues qu'il avait le plus de chance de croiser la star qu'il n'avait pas rencontré dans les studios de cinéma, peut-être verrait-il un jour Philippe Noiret et d'autres acteurs français ou même américains dont il connaissait bien le visage, allant acheter leur caviar, leurs stylos en or ou leurs montres suisses...*

'The sidewalks were full of fancy clients who strolled from one luxurious boutique to the next without hurrying, José skillfully doubled the suits and the mink coats without looking behind him at the faces of the Sunday passers-by. It was in those streets that he was most likely to run into the star he had not met in the cinema studios, maybe one day he would see Philippe Noiret and other French actors or even American ones whose faces he knew well, buying their caviar, their golden pens or their Swiss watches...'

... AINSI travaillait son esprit journalistique au fil des rues élyséennes.

... in this way worked his mind journalistic through the streets
of-the-Elysée-palace

‘It is in this way that his journalistic mind worked in the streets
around the Elysée palace.’

(<http://www.geocities.ws/juliettesilva/sch9.html>)

- (9) *Schneider recrutait surtout dans les milieux des assurances et de la banque, car c'était son métier. Il conclut en annonçant qu'il envisageait de modifier un peu la structure de son secteur, car le fonctionnement des groupes ne le satisfaisait pas. Son rapport ainsi achevé, il écarta le dernier feuillet. Net, efficace et presque froid.*

‘Schneider recruited mostly in the insurance and banking business, because it was his profession. He concluded by announcing that he planned on modifying a bit the structure of his sector, since he was unsatisfied with the way the groups functioned. His report thus finished, he put aside the last sheet of paper. Neatly, efficiently and almost coldly.’

... AINSI travaillait Chrysippe, c'est-à-dire Schneider.

... IN THAT WAY worked Chrysippe, that.is.to.say Schneider

‘That’s the way in which Chrysippe worked, that is to say,
Schneider.’

(http://www.numilog.fr/package/extraits_pdf/e219127.pdf)

While preposed *ainsi* can be selected by the verb, as in (7), where it is the complement of the verb *procéder* ‘to proceed’, this is not necessarily the case, since it can also be combined with intransitive verbs such as *écrire* ‘to write’ (6) and *travailler* ‘to work’ (8-9).

Like most (perhaps all) preposed constituents, preposed *ainsi* ‘in this way’ has a specific discourse interpretation⁴. By virtue of its anaphoric nature, it refers to given information. However, in spite of this, it still functions as the new information focus: in their specific discourse context, the sentences (6), (7), (8) and (9), with preposed *ainsi* ‘in this way’, function as the answer to the questions in (10), rather than those in (11). Whereas the former ask to specify the manner in which the event takes place, the latter are typical tests to determine whether an entity can count as an aboutness-topic (Reinhart 1981).

(10) a. *Comment écrivait Alexandre?*

‘How did Alexander write?’

b. *Comment procède le mage?*

‘How does the wizard proceed?’

⁴ Preposing of focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ shares the following properties with resumptive preposing (RP) in Italian (Cinque 1990, Benincà 2001, Cardinaletti 2010): (i) both constructions involve preposing of an anaphoric element; (ii) are restricted to root-like contexts (cf. section 6 below); (iii) do not allow preverbal subject DPs and (iv) belong to the formal/literary register. Preposing of focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ however differs from RP in that the preposed anaphoric element is not interpreted as a topic, but as a focus. Moreover, unlike RP, which seems to be a topic-comment structure (Cardinaletti 2010), preposing of focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ does not require a heavy postverbal subject.

- c. *Comment travaillait l'esprit journalistique de José?*
'How worked José's journalistic mind?'
 - d. *Comment travaillait Chrysippe, c'est-à-dire Schneider?*
'How did Schneider work?'
- (11) a. *Que sais-tu à propos d'Alexandre?*
'What do you know about Alexander?'
- b. *Que sais-tu à propos du mage?*
'What do you know about the wizard?'
 - c. *Que sais-tu à propos de l'esprit journalistique de José?*
'What do you know about José's journalistic mind?'
 - d. *Que sais-tu à propos de Chrysippe, c'est-à-dire Schneider?*
'What do you know about Chrysippe, that is to say Schneider?'

It is indeed well-known that the new information focus of a proposition is not necessarily a *new referent in the discourse*⁵, but is information that is *asserted with respect to the presupposed part of the clause*: new information focus is a pragmatic *relation* between the asserted and the presupposed part of the clause (Lambrecht 1994). The new information focus is that part of a

⁵ The newness vs. givenness of a referent, which concerns the referential or cognitive status of the denotata of constituents, is related to the referential or mental dimension of information structure (Lambrecht 1994).

sentence which answers an (implicit) question in the preceding context: the question represents the presupposed material, and the element in the answer that specifies the value of the interrogative phrase is the focus.

The sentences in (6), (7), (8) and (9) are however no regular instances of new information focus, since in these examples the whole propositional content, i.e. the fact that Alexandre wrote in that specific way (6), the magus proceeds in that specific way (7), the fact that José's journalistic brain works in that specific way (8), that Schneider works in that specific way (9), is given in the preceding context. Hence, although the manner of the events in these examples is referred to by a focal constituent, the specific way in which the actions of writing, working and proceeding take place is already described in the context. The sentences with preposed *ainsi* 'in this way' thus summarize the whole preceding context, and their function is to re-assert or to emphasize that the person in question works/writes/proceeds in that way. Hence, *ainsi* is focal in these examples, but it is not a contrastive focus: the way in which the persons under question write, proceed and work, is not contrasted with or chosen out of a restricted set of other ways with which they could have proceeded, written or worked (see Belletti 2004 on these two types of focus). Rather, the sentence with preposed *ainsi* 'in this way' serves as a conclusion to the preceding description of the way in which the persons under question proceeded/wrote/worked.

In this, the construction with preposed focal *ainsi* is very similar to some instances of focal DP preposing in French, in which the whole propositional content is also given in the preceding context:

- (12) *Mon père il va m'acheter un petit mouton // un petit mouton il va m'acheter*

‘My father he is going to buy me a small sheep // a small sheep, he is going to buy for me.’

(Corpaix, Sabio 2006: 180)

- (13) *Tu l'as pas vu une seule fois aux informations // pas une fois tu l'as vu*

‘You didn’t see it once on TV, not once did you see it.’

(Abeillé et al. 2009)

About these sentences, Abeillé et al. (2009) argue that they appear

as the second sentence of a pair, the first of which already gives the whole content of the second. We can see the second sentence as a pure repetition, at least informatively, thus an all ground sentence. But we can also think of it as being a confirmation or reassertion, in which case it would be here like an all focus sentence.

3. Word order after sentence-initial *ainsi*

In the examples above, sentence-initial focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ is followed by inversion of the nominal subject. The surface string [*ainsi* – nominal S – V] is not ungrammatical, but in that case the adverb does no longer mean ‘in this way’, but functions as a sentence adverb which can introduce a consequence, an illustration or a precision of the preceding context (Karssenbergh 2013; Karssenbergh & Lahousse 2014) and can have a range of meanings similar to ‘so, thus, by consequence, hence, for instance’ (6’-9’).

(6’) [Same context as (6)]

Ainsi, Alexandre écrivait.

‘Hence, Alexander wrote.’

(7’) [Same context as (7)]

Ainsi, le mage procède⁶.

‘Hence, the wizard proceeds.’

(8’) [Same context as (8)]

⁶ Some speakers might feel that this example is less natural than the others. This is explained by the fact that the verb *procéder* ‘to proceed’ selects a complement, be it a manner complement *procéder d’une certaine façon* ‘to proceed in a certain way’ or a complement expressing the purpose, e.g. *procéder à la préparation de sa succession* ‘to proceed to the preparation of one’s succession’. Hence, if *ainsi* does no longer denote the manner, as is the case in (7’), native speakers may find that a complement is lacking.

Ainsi, son esprit journalistique travaillait au fil des rues élyséennes.

‘Hence, his journalistic mind worked in the streets around the Elysée palace.’

(9’) [Same context as (9)]

Ainsi Chrysippe, c’est-à-dire Schneider, travaillait.

‘Hence, Chrysippe, that is to say Schneider, worked.’

All authors studying *ainsi* agree indeed that *ainsi* can not only function as a manner adverb ‘in this way’, but also as a sentence adverb and that, when *ainsi* functions as a sentence adverb, it can be followed by SV word order, by complex or pronominal inversion, but not by nominal inversion (Blanche-Benveniste 2006, Flament-Boistrancourt 1999, Guimier 1997, Hybertie 1996, Jonare 1976, Lahousse 2011, Le Bidois 1952, Molinier 2013, Karssenberg & Lahousse 2014).

Hence, in simple sentences (see section 4 on complex sentences), preposed manner adverb *ainsi* ‘in that way’ (6-9) must be adjacent to the verb: the nominal subject cannot intervene between *ainsi* and the verb. Besides nominal inversion, focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ can also be followed by pronominal inversion⁷, at least if the referent of the nominal subject is accessible enough to be realized as a pronoun. Hence, in similar discourse

⁷ This has also been remarked by Togeby (1982-1985: 151).

contexts as the examples (6-9), preposed focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ can also be followed by pronominal inversion:

(6'') [Same context as (6)]

... *AINSI* *écrivait-il.*

... IN THIS WAY wrote-he

(7'') [Same context as (7)]

... *AINSI* *procède-t-il.*

... IN THIS WAY proceeds-he

‘It is in this way that he proceeds.’

(9'') [Same context as (9)]

... *AINSI* *travaillait-il.*

... IN THIS WAY wrote he

‘It is in this way that the wrote.’

In (14-15) I give attested examples of pronominal inversion after *ainsi* ‘in this way’:

(14) *Riche, heureux, adulé à son tour, jouissant de toutes les voluptés, gourmand, débauché, AINSI vivait-il à Venise, honoré de tous et ayant Le Titien pour ami intime.*

‘Rich, happy, idolized as well, enjoying all types of voluptuousness, gourmand, licentious, that’s the way he lived in Venice, honored by all and with Le Titien as intimate friend.’
(Richepin, Molinier 2013: 123)

- (15) *Oui, nous avons écrit cela. De Dreyfus : « C’était l’ennemi juif trahissant la France ». De Zola défendant l’innocent : « Etripez-le ! » Des juifs : « Contre le Christ qui les a maudits, et dont ils demeurent les ennemis farouches, ils voudraient pouvoir soulever toutes choses : leur haine va jusqu’au délire ».*

‘Yes, we wrote that. About Dreyfus: “He was the Jewish enemy who betrayed France”. About Zola who defended him: “Gut him!” About the Jews: “Against Christ who cursed them and whose ferocious enemies they remain, they want to incite everyone: their hatred turns into a frenzy”.’

... *AINSI* *écrivait-on, il y a cent ans*

... *IN THIS WAY* wrote one, a hundred years ago

dans La Croix.

in La Croix

‘That’s the way they wrote a hundred years ago in La Croix.’

(*Le Monde*)

The fact that nominal inversion alternates with pronominal inversion after preposed focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ is interesting, because in general these types of inversion alternate in only two sets of contexts: in sentences introduced by *aussi* ‘also’⁸ and in interrogative contexts⁹:

⁸ According to Jonare (1976:168), pronominal and complex inversion are the most frequent forms of inversion after *aussi* ‘also’, but she did find examples of nominal inversion after *aussi*. According to me, this observation is in line with the following examples, where *ainsi* is not focal, but rather topical, and where *ainsi* also does not simply mean ‘in this way’, but rather ‘in this way ... too’ or ‘in this way ... also’ (Lahousse 2011) :

- (i) *Il resta un moment sans bouger, espérant que la nuit durerait toujours.*
‘He stayed without moving for a while, hoping the night would never end.’
Ainsi doivent espérer les condamnés à mort.
so must hope the men condemned to death
‘In this way must also hope men condemned to death.’
(Carrere 1995, Frantext)
- (ii) *Sous la Restauration, beaucoup d’orateurs préparaient leur discours à l’avance en faisant de véritables ouvrages qui étaient imprimés sous forme de petits factums.*
‘During the Bourbon Restoration, many orators prepared their speeches beforehand, writing actual works that were printed as small pamphlets.’
Ainsi travaillait Royer-Collard.
so worked Royer-Collard
‘So worked Royer-Collard too.’
(Molinier 2013: 122)

In these examples, preposed *ainsi* indicates that a new entity (the postverbal subject) is compared with a given entity with respect to the way in which a backgrounded (i.e. given in the preceding context) event takes place; these sentences mean something like ‘X does that in a specific way and Y too does that in the same way’. Hence, *ainsi* in these examples does not simply mean ‘in this way’, but ‘also ... in this way’ or ‘in this way ... too’. This function of preposed *ainsi* is also clear in contexts such as (iii), in which the clause preceding *ainsi* is introduced by the conformity-expressing conjunction *comme* ‘(in the same way) as’; [*comme* X, *ainsi* Y] is a typical construction in French to compare two situations or entities X and Y.

- (iii) *Comme* l’ombre qui glisse sur la prairie quand les nuages s’entrouvrent, *comme* s’en vont certaines névralgies, certaines migraines, dégageant la peau, l’esprit,
‘Like the shadow which slips across the fields when the clouds part slightly, like some neuralgias or migraines which leave, releasing skin and mind...’
... *ainsi* avait glissé sur elle le voile de l’au-delà...
... in the same way had slipped over her death’s veil...
‘... so had death’s veil slipped over her...’
(Bianciotti 1985, Frantext)

This case of inversion after *ainsi* shares some (if not all) properties with *so*-inversion in English (Haegeman 2000, Wood 2008): *ainsi* in these examples also has an additive meaning, and the postverbal subject must be a new information focus. I leave a comparative analysis between both structures for further research.

⁹ Note that complex inversion is also possible in interrogative contexts (i). For an interesting account of the different types of inversion in French questions, see Le Goffic (1997).

(16) a. *Quand viendra Jean?*

when will-come John

‘When will John come?’

b. *Quand viendra-t-il?*

when will-come-t-he

‘When will he come?’

This seems to show that, just as inversion in interrogative contexts in French, inversion after preposed focal *ainsi* is a residual V2-phenomenon in French (Rizzi 1997, Haegeman 1996)¹⁰.

4. Sentence-initial focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ has undergone movement

The sentence-initial position of focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ is the result of movement¹¹. This is shown by the fact that there can be a long distance

-
- (i) *Quand Jean viendra-t-il?*
when John will-come-t-he
‘When will John come?’

¹⁰ In this, preposing of focal *ainsi* contrasts with DP/TP/PP preposing in French, which does not trigger inversion (3, 4, 5, 12, 13). It has indeed been shown that, both cross-linguistically and in one language, different types of preposing behave differently with respect to the position of the subject. For instance, negative preposing and *so*-preposing in English trigger SAI, in contrast with other types of argument preposing. See also Jiménez-Fernández (2013) on microvariation in Spanish focus-fronting.

¹¹ Long distance movement of *ainsi* patterns with Resumptive Preposing (Cinque 1990:66 and Cardinaletti 2010:14):

- (i) *Allo stesso modo ha detto [che si è comportato il figlio di Maria].*

between *ainsi* and the verb it modifies, i.e. preposing of *ainsi* creates unbounded dependencies (17), and this long-distance relationship is sensitive to strong islands, such as relative clauses and embedded interrogatives (18):

- (17) a. [same context as (6)]

AINSI je vous dis [qu'écrivait Alexandre].

IN THIS WAY I to-you say that wrote Alexander

- a'. [same context as (6)]

AINSI je vous dis [qu'Alexandre écrivait].

IN THIS WAY I to-you say that Alexander wrote

- b. [same context as (7)]

AINSI je vous dis [que procède le mage].

IN THIS WAY I to-you say that proceeds the wizard

- b'. [same context as (7)]

AINSI je vous dis [que le mage procède].

IN THIS WAY I to-you say that the wizard proceeds

- (18) a. * *AINSI, il n'y en a pas beaucoup [qui écrivent].*

IN THIS WAY there are not a lot who write

- b. * *AINSI, il n'y a pas un seul mage [qui procède].*

in the same manner [he] has said that has behaved the son of Maria

IN THIS WAY there is not a single wizard who

proceeds

- c. * *AINSI, je ne connais personne [qui écrit].*

IN THIS WAY I don't know anybody who writes

- d. * *AINSI, je ne connais aucun mage [qui procède].*

IN THIS WAY I don't know any wizard who

proceeds

- e. * *AINSI je me demande [quand Alexandre écrivait].*

IN THIS WAY I myself ask when Alexander writes

The examples (17a') and (17b') show in addition that when *ainsi* occupies the sentence-initial position of the main clause, it can license nominal inversion in the embedded clause¹²: this is an illustration to the fact that stylistic inversion can be the result of successive cyclic movement (Kayne 1972, Kayne and Pollock 1978), which also occurs in instances of wh-triggered inversion:

(19) *Avec qui croit-elle qu'a soupé Marie?*

¹² The same holds for *ainsi* in the focus of a cleft: in (i), irrespectively of the word order in the embedded clause, i.e. with (ia) or without (ib) nominal inversion, *ainsi* refers to the way in which the democrats behave.

- (i) a. *C'est ainsi que se comportent les démocrates*
 it is in this way that REFL behave the democrats
 (Molinier 2013)
- b. *C'est ainsi que les démocrates se comportent.*
 it is in this way that the democrats REFL behave

with whom does she think that has dined Marie

‘Who does she think that Marie had dined with?’

(Kayne and Pollock 1978:599)

The examples in (17) show that the adjacency constraint between *ainsi* ‘in this way’ and the verb only holds when *ainsi* and the verb are in the same clause: as I already mentioned above, *ainsi* loses its manner interpretation when the subject of the verb it modifies intervenes between *ainsi* and the verb, as in (20), where *ainsi* cannot refer to the manner of working, but can only be interpreted as a sentence adverb similar to *donc* ‘thus, hence’.

(20) *Ainsi, Pierre travaillait.*

‘Hence, Peter worked.’

(Molinier 2013)

The data above show that, just as other types of preposed focal constituents (Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997, Authier & Haegeman 2013a/2013b), preposed focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ can be analysed as involving an operator binding a variable trace.

As expected, in root clauses, [focal *ainsi* – V – S] is incompatible with *wh*-movement of a constituent (21). This is not due to a semantic incompatibility between *wh*-inversion and focal *ainsi*, as the examples (22) show.

- (21) a. * *Quand AINSI écrivait Alexandre?*
 when IN THIS WAY wrote Alexander
- b. * *Où AINSI travaillait son esprit journalistique?*
 where IN THIS WAY worked his mind journalistic
- (22) a. *Quand Alexandre écrivait-il AINSI?*
 when Alexandre wrote-he IN THIS WAY
 ‘When did Alexander write IN THIS WAY?’
- b. *Où son esprit journalistique travaillait-il AINSI?*
 where his mind journalistic worked-it IN THIS WAY
 ‘Where did his journalist mind work IN THIS WAY?’

Hence, in the construction under discussion, there is an adjacency requirement between preposed *ainsi* ‘in this way’ and the verb, at least when both of them appear in the same clause¹³. It seems to be this adjacency requirement that explains why *ainsi* ‘in this way’ can be followed by nominal and pronominal inversion, but not by SV word order, because in these cases the nominal subject is between *ainsi* and the verb.

¹³ Note that in this, preposing of focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ patterns with focus movement in many languages (see , among others, Rizzi 1997, Uribe-Etxebarria 1991, Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal 2009, Belletti 2004, Bocci 2007/2013, Cruschina 2010/2012, Camacho-Taboada & Jiménez-Fernandez 2014, Jiménez-Fernandez 2010/2013, Zubizarreta 1998, Bianchi 2013, Torregrossa 2010, Floricic 2009). This adjacency requirement in main clauses has been analyzed as movement of T to C (Foc in cartographic analyses) after V being displaced to T (Rizzi 1997, Barbosa 2001).

5. The position of preposed focal *ainsi*

Having established that the sentence-initial position of focal *ainsi* is the result of movement, the next step is to determine to which position focal *ainsi* has moved. I argue that *ainsi* moves to a position in the left periphery (section 5.1.), and does not occupy SpecTP (section 5.2.).

5.1. Preposed focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ is in the left periphery

The fact that preposed *ainsi* is incompatible with preposed *wh*-constituents (21), is a first indication of the fact that these elements occupy the same position (Rizzi 1997, 2001)¹⁴. Another argument is the fact that *ainsi* can be extracted out of the focus of a cleft, as in the attested examples (23-24), where “_” indicates the empty focus of the cleft¹⁵:

- (23) *Bon sang mais comment elle fait ?! Si elle a une réserve illimitée d’énergie je vais pas pouvoir m’en sortir...*

¹⁴ Note however that, if the map of the left periphery is the result of intervention effects (Abels 2012), the fact that *wh*-elements and preposed focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ are incompatible would also be a consequence of the fact that they have the same feature specification and, hence, cannot cross each other.

¹⁵ Not all native speakers accept this structure in which focal *ainsi* has extracted out of the focus of a cleft. This also holds for focus preposing out of the focus of a cleft in English, see Haegeman et al. (2014: 16).

‘Dammit but how does she do it? If she has an illimited stock of energy I will not be able to escape...’

... *AINSI* était ce __ que commentait Kumiko

... IN THIS WAY was it that commented Kumiko

sur ce qu’elle avait vu.

on that what she had seen

‘It was in this way that Kumiko commented on what she had seen.’

(<http://dragonball-evolution.forumactif.com/t736-tenkaichi-budokai-ii-kumiko-vs-kasumi>)

(24) *En orbite autour de Fanelia Le Fantôme, L'Ombre d'Escaflowne,*

‘In orbit around Fanelia the Ghost, The Shadow of Escaflowne...’

... *AINSI* était-ce __ que les ennemis d'Adalta l'appelaient.

... IN THIS WAY was-it that the enemies of Adalta her called

‘SO it was that the enemies of Adalta overtly called her’

(<http://forum.origins-return.fr/index.php?/topic/254588-adalta-skulls-vs-n113k-st/>)

In (23), *ainsi* refers to the way in which Kumiko commented on what she had seen, and in (24) *ainsi* refers to how the planet Adalta is called by its

ennemies. Hence, in these cases, *ainsi* clearly has a manner interpretation, and does not function as a sentence adverb. Similar examples in which the focus of a cleft has been *wh*- or focus-moved to the left periphery, are shown by Haegeman et al. (2013/2014) and Reeve (2011/2012), among others:

- (25) a. *What was it ___ that you saw?*
 b. %¹⁶ *The dog it was ___ that died.*
 (Haegeman et al. 2014: 12)
 c. *JOHN it was that Mary saw.*
 (Reeve 2011:169)

In French, *wh*-movement of the focus of a cleft is also possible, both in main (26-27) and in embedded interrogatives (28):

- (26) *Mais où était-ce ___ qu'il allait chercher des trucs comme ça, ce Pascal Quignard?*
 but where was-it that he went searching ART things like that, this
 Pascal Quignard
 'But where was it that the went looking for thinks like that, this
 Pascal Quignard?

¹⁶ Haegeman et al. (2014) use the sign “%” to indicate constructions which are attested but not accepted by all native speakers.

(Fabre 2010, Rue Daguerre, google books)

(27) *Qui c'est __ qui m'a fantomisée?*

who it is that me has phantomised

‘Who is it that phantomised me?’

(http://forum.aufeminin.com/forum/matern2/__f456745_matern2-Qui-c-est-qui-m-a-fantomisee-twisted-twisted-twisted.html)

(28) Vous voulez dire que l'UAT (final User Application Test, test d'une application avant sa mise en service) foireuse, c'est de ma faute, ...

‘You mean that the useless UAT (final User Application Test, testing of an application before its putting into service) is my fault...’

alors que vous savez bien qui c'est __ qui l'a plantée.

whereas that you know well who it-is that her has messed-up

‘... whereas you know well who it is that messed her up.’

(<http://www.minorites.org/index.php/2-la-revue/1226-debt-fiction-6-suite-et-fin.html>)

If the left-peripheral focus position (FocP following Rizzi 1997) hosts preposed foci and the clefted element in a cleft sentence, as is commonly

assumed by authors arguing in favor of the high analysis of clefts¹⁷, and if the left periphery contains only one focal position, as is generally accepted (Rizzi 1997), then the grammaticality of examples in which a clefted element has undergone further *wh*-movement or focus-movement, is unexpected. These data, besides many other arguments put forward by Haegeman, Meinunger and Vercauteren (2013/2014), show that clefted elements cannot be in a left-peripheral focus position, unlike *wh*-moved and fronted constituents in focus preposing, in spite of their interpretive similarities. The authors indeed suggest that fronted constituents in focus preposing occupy a focus position in the left periphery, whereas the focus of a cleft occupies a lower position.

This is fully compatible with Belletti's (2011/2012/2013a/2013b) 'low' analysis for clefts. In her view, a cleft like (29) is derived as follows.

(29) *È Gianni che ha parlato.*

It is John that has spoken

¹⁷ Several authors argue that clefted elements occupy a high left-peripheral focus position (Meinunger 1996, Frascaralli & Ramaglia 2009/2013, Sleeman 2011, Kiss 1998), i.e. a focus position in the left periphery of the copula. In these accounts, *c'est* and *it is* then occupy a topic position to the left of the left-peripheral focus position. It is of course hard to conceive how *c'est/it is* can be interpreted as a topic. Moreover, independently of this objection on discourse-interpretive grounds (see Lahousse et al. 2014), Haegeman, Meinunger & Vercauteren (2014) provide an extensive series of syntactic arguments against the hypothesis that the clefted element is in a left-peripheral focus position.

In line with proposals made by Ruwet 1975, Heggie 1988, Kayne 1994, Clech-Darbon et al. 1999, Reeve 2010), Belletti argues that the copula selects as its sentential complement a CP. This CP is reduced in the sense that it lacks all projections above the FocP layer in Rizzi's 1997 map of the left periphery (see Belletti 2012 for arguments).

$$(30) \quad [_{vP} \textit{be} [_{CP/FocPcorr/contr} [_{FinP} \textit{che} [_{TP} \textit{Gianni ha parlato}]]]]$$

If *Gianni* is interpreted as a narrow contrastive focus, it moves to the left-peripheral focus position in the CP complement of the copula (31a). It is indeed well-known that left-peripheral foci typically have a contrastive interpretation (see Kiss 1998, Lahousse 2006, Cruschina 2010/2012 for references). If *Gianni* is interpreted as a new information focus, it moves out of CP to the low focus position in the vP periphery of the copula (31b) (Belletti 2004/2009).

(31) a. NarConF cleft

$$[_{vP} \textit{be} [_{CP/FocPcorr/contr} \textit{Gianni} [_{FinP} \textit{che} [_{TP} \textit{t}_{Gianni} \textit{ha parlato}]]]]$$

b. NewInfoF cleft

$$[_{FocP/NewInfo} \textit{Gianni} [_{vP} \textit{be} [_{CP} [_{FinP} \textit{che} [_{TP} \textit{t}_{Gianni} \textit{ha parlato}]]]]]]$$

(adapted from Belletti 2013a/2013b, some details omitted)

This step is followed by the obligatory extraposition of the CP/FinP complement (42)¹⁸ and by the raising of the inflected verb (see Belletti 2013a/2013b for details). In any case, in both interpretations of the cleft, the focus of the cleft stays in a low, IP-internal position.

The preceding data thus show that preposed focal *ainsi*, just as preposed foci in other languages, occupies a left-peripheral focus position.

5.2. Preposed focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ is not in SpecTP

Camacho-Taboada & Jiménez-Fernandez (2014) argue that fronted foci in Spanish occupy SpecTP. Could focal *ainsi* also be argued to target not the left periphery but SpecTP? The fact that focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ cannot co-occur with a preverbal subject, as shown above, could indeed be taken as a sign that they occupy the same position. Let’s however assume that clitic subjects in French are merged in SpecTP and that focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ occupies the same position when it is followed by both nominal and pronominal inversion. Under these hypotheses, if preposed focal *ainsi* ‘in this way’ occupied SpecTP, then cases in which focal *ainsi* is followed by pronominal inversion (6”, 7”, 9”, 14, 15) would incorrectly be predicted to

¹⁸ According to Rizzi (2010), this extraposition can be easily restated in antisymmetric terms.

be ungrammatical, because both the postverbal clitic and *ainsi* would compete for the same position. The fact that these examples are grammatical, thus shows that preposed focal *ainsi* is not in SpecTP.

Moreover, Camacho-Taboada & Jiménez-Fernandez (2014) propose that the preposed constituent in Spanish is in SpecTP in order to account for the fact that Spanish focus-preposing can occur in contexts where main clause phenomena such as negative preposing and argument fronting in English, cannot occur. The explanation is based on the fact that elements in SpecTP (an A-position) do not intervene between in the operator movement (which is A' movement) that is used by Haegeman & Urögdi (2010a/2010b) (see also Haegeman 2012) to derive these non-asserted contexts, which ban MCP. However, as I will show in the next section, preposing of focal *ainsi* is a main clause phenomenon, just as focus preposing in most other languages.

6. Focus-preposing of *ainsi* ‘in this way’ is a main clause phenomenon

6.1. The data

The following modifications of attested examples (32a, 33a, 34a) show¹⁹ that [focal *ainsi* – V – S] cannot occur in complement clauses of factive verbs (32) and in temporal embedded clauses (33-34). In this, the construction contrasts with [S – V – focal *ainsi*] word order (32b, 33b, 34b)²⁰.

(32) [Same context as (7)]

- a. ... * *Les filles regrettent toutefois qu'*
the girls regret however that
AINSI procède le mage.
IN-THIS-WAY proceeds the wizard
- b. ... *Les filles regrettent toutefois que*
the girls regret however that
le mage procède AINSI.
the wizard proceeds IN-THIS-WAY
'The girls however regret that it is in this way that the
wizard proceeds.'

(33) [Same context as (6)]

- a. ... * *Quand AINSI écrivait Alexandre,*

¹⁹ For completeness' sake, I have to add that, whereas all the French native speakers of French confirmed that the examples (32a, 33a, 34a) are ungrammatical, the two Belgian native speakers of French I consulted consider this construction to be very weird and unnatural, but not ungrammatical. I have no explanation for this.

²⁰ Note that it is also not the VS word order itself that prohibits the appearance of [focal *ainsi* – V – S] in embedded clauses, since nominal inversion in French is relatively frequent in these clauses (Lahousse 2010/2011).

when IN-THIS-WAY wrote Alexander

b. ... *Quand Alexandre écrivait AINSI,*

when Alexander wrote IN-THIS-WAY

il oubliait tout.

he forgot everything

(34) *Comment les gens peuvent-ils mourir dans la dignité alors qu'ils sont forcés de mourir dans les couloirs achalandés et bruyants de nos salles d'urgences, alors que négligés ils y meurent ou ils y sont même oubliés par le personnel de santé débordé?*

'How can people die in dignity when they are forced to die in the well-stocked and noisy corridors of our emergency rooms, when neglected, they die there or they are even forgotten by the medical staff which is unable to cope?'

(http://www.comitebioethique.qc.ca/web/document/roy_euthanasie.pdf)

a. * *Quand AINSI meurent les gens, ...*

when IN-THIS-WAY die the people

'When people die like this, ...'

b. *Quand les gens meurent AINSI, ...*

when the people die IN THIS WAY

'When people die IN THIS WAY, ...'

... comment les familles peuvent-elles vivre leur deuil

dignement?

‘... how can the families mourn in dignity ?’

In Frantext, I did not find any example of [focal *ainsi* – V – S] in a complement clause of a factive verb, or in a *quand*-clause or a *si*-clause (both central adverbial clauses). On the internet, however, I found the following two instances of [focal *ainsi* – V – S] in a *si*-clause (35) and a *quand*-clause (36):

- (35) [at the end of an on-line quiz on a forum, which is organized as an inter-community meeting (*rencontre inter-communautaire* (RiC)]

Eh bien si AINSI se termine cette première soirée de RiC

well if IN THIS WAY REFL ends this first evening of RiC

‘Well, if this first RiC evening ends IN THIS WAY...’

j'espère vous avoir fait passer une bonne soirée (...) !!!!

‘I hope that I made you have a good evening.’

(<http://www.jeuxvideo.com/forums/1-11372-4649463-30-0-1-0-rencontre-inter-communautaire-n-1.htm>)

- (36) *La musique ne consiste pas perpétuellement à transgresser, inventer, innover, expérimenter. Il est aussi une phase où il*

s'agit d'exploiter les découvertes, une face de la musique qui se compose par-delà le seul miroir de son propre acharnement à s'originaliser – où elle se mire jusqu'à la démesu[r]e, parfois l'excès.

‘Music doesn’t continuously transgress, invent, innovate, experiment. There is also a phase which is about exploiting discoveries, a face of music which consists beyond the only mirror of its own determination to originalize itself – where it [music] gazes at itself excessively.’

Quand ainsi se ravale la façade,...

when so REFL make-up the façade

‘When make-up is then put on, ...’

(<http://zeroegalpetitinterieur.tumblr.com/presluminaire>)

Remark however that the *si*-clause in (35) is not a genuine conditional clause, i.e. a clause that specifies the condition for the state of affairs in the main clause to be realized (and, hence, a central adverbial clause). Rather, it justifies the speech act, i.e. the fact that the one who started the quiz on the on-line forum, now ends it by writing his sentence. In other words, “the speaker is not expressing a condition for the realization of the event in the main clause, but is making accessible an assumption that provides the privileged background for the processing of the associated main clause” (Haegeman 2010: 615-616). By consequence, the *si*-clause in (35) is not a

central, but a peripheral conditional clause (see Haegeman 2003a, 2006a,b, 2010). In such clauses, argument fronting in English, which is also a main clause phenomenon, is also possible, as (37) shows:

(37) *If some precautions they have indeed taken, many other possible measures they have continued to neglect.* (Haegeman 2010: 616)

The *quand*-clause in (36), however, is a real temporal (central) adverbial clause. How can the occurrence of [focal *ainsi* – V – S] here be explained? And why is this example attested, whereas native speakers reject examples such as (32a), (33a) and (34a)?

It is important to note that example (36) differs in two respects from the cases I have been considering so far in this article. First, *ainsi* refers not only to the manner of the event, but, perhaps more dominantly, to the whole preceding spatio-temporal context, which is about a phase in the development of music (*une phase où il s'agit de* 'a phase in which all is about...'). In this context, *ainsi* corresponds more to *alors* 'then' than to 'in this way'²¹.

Second, the content of the clause except for *ainsi*, i.e. the fact that *la façade se ravale* 'make-up is put on' (a metaphor, since the context

²¹ This value of *ainsi* is already mentioned by Le Bidois (1952: 112): “‘it is often only a transition particle, corresponding to a *then* that would be deprived of any temporal value’”. (My translation, the original citation is: “il n’est souvent qu’une particule de transition, équivalent à un *alors* qui serait dépourvu de toute nuance temporelle”.)

mentions *une face de la musique* ‘a face of music’) is not given in the preceding context, in contrast with the instances of [focal *ainsi* – V – S] I am considering here. Hence, the event denoted by the verb and the postverbal subject is new with respect to the phase mentioned in the previous context and referred to by *ainsi*. By consequence, (36) is not an instance of an instance of [focal *ainsi* – V – S], but of locative inversion, which is possible in central adverbial clauses in French (see Lahousse 2010)²².

6.2. Syntactic analysis

The preceding section has shown that preposing of focal *ainsi* is a main clause phenomenon. The purpose of this section is to provide a syntactic analysis for this observation.

Let’s first consider the derivation of the [focal *ainsi* – V – S] word order. In line with standard assumptions, the pronominal subject is merged in SpecTP (see section 5.2. above) and the nominal subject in SpecvP²³. The inflected verb moves from v° to T° and *ainsi* is merged in the standard position of adverbs of manner such as *bien* ‘well’, i.e. in one of Cinque’s

²² In this, locative inversion in French contrasts with locative inversion English, which is a main clause phenomenon (see Culicover and Levine 2003, Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006, and references cited there).

²³ I do not dwell on the specific position of the postverbal nominal subject in [focal *ainsi* – V – S], but given its discourse interpretation (as part of the background, see section 2), it could be argued to be in a vP-peripheral Topic position, the existence of which has been independently argued for by Belletti (2004/2008/2009). See also Belletti (2001) and Lahousse (2014) for more details.

(1999) functional projections between the inflected verb and vP (38a). Then, as I have shown in section 4, focal *ainsi* moves to a focus projection in the left periphery, and this is followed (at least in main clauses), by the movement of the inflected verb to C (38b).

Since focal *ainsi* has been moved, it involves an operator binding a variable. In terms of featural Relativized Minimality (Starke 2001, Rizzi 2004, Bianchi 2004; Boeckx & Jeong 2004; Friedmann, Belletti & Rizzi 2009; Abels 2012; Haegeman 2012; Lahousse, Laenzlinger & Soare 2014), this amounts to saying that focal *ainsi* bears a feature Q^{24} , which is also represented in (38b).

According to Haegeman (2012), complements of factive verbs and central adverbial clauses, i.e. contexts which do not host main clause phenomena, also involve operator movement of an empty operator, from a TP-internal position to the left periphery. By consequence, if, in a next step of the derivation (38c), movement of an operator (involving a feature Q) from TP to the left periphery takes place across the moved focal *ainsi*, which also bears a feature Q, this movement will be blocked.

- (38) a. [SpecTP pronominal S [T° verb [SpecMannerP *ainsi* [Manner° [SpecvP nominal S [v° t_{verb}]]]]]]]

²⁴ I do not take the feature specification of preposed *ainsi* to be $Q+\delta$. Whereas *ainsi*, by virtue of its anaphoric nature, is linked to the previous discourse, it is in any case not d-linked in the same way as relative pronouns or interrogative elements such as *which book?*, which clearly belong to a set. In Pesetsky (1987) and Enç (1991), d-linking is defined in terms of set-membership. See also Rizzi (1990) and Starke (1990) on this issue.

- b. [SpecFocP *AINSI*_Q [Foc° verb [SpecTP pronominal S [T° t_{verb}
[SpecMannerP t_{ainsi} [Manner° [SpecvP nominal S [v° t_{verb}]]]]]]]]]
- c. * [CP *quand/si OP*_Q [SpecFocP *AINSI*_Q [Foc° verb [SpecTP
pronominal S [T° t_{verb} [SpecMannerP t_{ainsi} [Manner° [SpecvP nominal
S²⁵ [v° t_{verb}]]]]]]]]]

Hence, in line with featural Relativized Minimality, the fact that [focal *ainsi* – V – S] does not occur in non-root-like embedded clauses is the result of a blocking effect between the features of both the moved *ainsi* and the moved operator involved in non-root-like embedded clauses.

7. Conclusion

In this article I have shown that, in addition to DP/NP/PP preposing, (written) French displays a case of preposing of the focal adverb *ainsi* ‘in this way’, which triggers nominal and pronominal subject inversion. I have shown that this construction occurs in contexts where the whole propositional content is given, and the function of preposed *ainsi* seems to be to re-assert that the event took place in the specific way specified in the discourse context. Just as focus preposing in other languages, the sentence-

²⁵ I do not dwell on the specific position of the postverbal nominal subject, but given its discourse interpretation (part of the background, see section 2), it could be argued to be in a vP-peripheral Topic position, the existence of which has been independently argued for by Belletti (2004/2008/2009). See Lahousse (2014) for more details.

initial position of *ainsi* is the result of its movement to a focal position in the left periphery. I have argued that, given featural Relativized Minimality, this correctly predicts [focal *ainsi* – V – S] to be a main clause phenomenon.

References

- Abels, Klaus, 2012. “The Italian Left Periphery: A view from locality”.
Linguistic Inquiry 43.2, 229–254.
- Anne Abeillé, Danièle Godard, Frédéric Sabio. 2008, Two types of NP
preposing in French, actes HPSG conference, p 306–324 ([http://csli-
publications.stanford.edu/HPSG](http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG))
- Anne Abeillé, Danièle Godard, Frédéric Sabio. 2009. The dramatic
extraction construction in spoken French, *Bucharest working papers
in Linguistics* Vol. 11-1, p. 135-148
- Authier, Jean-Marc. 2011. A movement analysis of French modal ellipsis.
Probus 23:175-216.
- Authier, Jean-Marc and Liliane Haegeman. 2014a. French adverbial clauses
, Rescue by ellipsis and the truncation versus intervention debate.
Probus.
- Authier, Jean-Marc and Liliane Haegeman. 2014b. No such thing as
“parameterized structural deficiency in the left periphery”. In Joseph

- Emonds and Markéta Janebová (eds.) *Language Use and Linguistic Structure*, pp. 33-46. Olomouc: Palacký University Press.
- Aelbrecht, Lobke, Liliane Haegeman, Rachel Nye (eds.) 2012. *Main Clause Phenomena. New Horizons. Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today* 190. John Benjamins.
- Barbosa, Pilar. 2001. On inversion in wh-questions in Romance. In *Romance inversion*, eds. Aafke Hulk and Jean-Yves. Pollock, 2-59. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Belletti, Adriana, 2001. 'Inversion' as focalization. In: Hulk, Aafke., Pollock, Jean-Yves. (Eds.), *Inversion in Romance and the theory of Universal Grammar*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. pp. 60-90.
- Belletti, Adriana. 2004. Aspects of the Low IP Area. In Luigi Rizzi (ed.) *The Structure of CP and IP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, Volume 2. Oxford:Oxford University Press. 16-51.
- Belletti, Adriana, 2008. The CP of Clefts. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 33, 191-204.
- Belletti, Adriana, 2009. *Structures and Strategies*. Routledge, New York.
- Belletti, Adriana, 2011. Focus and the predicate of clefts. Paper presented at GIST3: Cartographic structures and beyond. Workshop at Ghent University.
- Belletti, Adriana, 2012. Focusing on Clefts. Paper presented at the Workshop Cleft Sentences in Romance and Germanic, Going Romance, Leuven, December 2012.

- Belletti, Adriana. 2013a. On Fin: Italian che, Japanese no, and the selective properties of the copula in clefts, in Miyamoto Y. et al. eds. *Deep Insights, Broad Perspectives. Essays in Honor of Mamoru Saito*, Kaitakusha Co., Ltd, Tokyo, p 42-55
- Belletti, Adriana. 2013b. The Focus map of clefts: Extraposition and Predication, to appear in U.Shlonsky ed. *Where do we go from here? Chapters in syntactic cartography*, Oxford University Press.
- Benincà, Paola. 2001. L'ordine degli elementi della frase e le costruzioni marcate. In *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*, L. Renzi, G. Salvi and A. Cardinaletti (eds), Nuova ed., Vol. 1, 129-208. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Bianchi, Valentina. 2004. Resumptive relatives and LF chains. In Luigi Rizzi 2004, 76-114.
- Bianchi, Valentina. 2013. On Focus movement in Italian. In Victoria Camacho-Taboada et al (eds.), *Information Structure and Agreement*, 194-215. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins.
- Blanche-Benveniste, Claire. (2006). Les clivées françaises de type : *C'est comme ça que, C'est pour ça que, c'est là que tout a commencé*. *Moderna Språk*, 100(2), 273–287.
- Bocci, Giuliano. 2007. Criterial positions and left periphery in Italian. Evidence for the syntactic encoding of contrastive focus. *Nanzan Linguistics*, Special Issue 3, Vol. 1, 35-70

- Bocci, Giuliano, 2013. *The Syntax–Prosody Interface: A cartographic perspective with evidence from Italian*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Boeckx, Cédric., Jeong, Y., 2004. The fine structure of intervention in syntax. In: Kwon, C. and Lee, W. (Eds.), *Issues in Current Linguistic Theory: A Festschrift for Hong Bae Lee*, Kyungchin, Seoul, pp. 83–116.
- Camacho-Taboada Victoria and Ángel L. Jiménez-Fernández. 2014. Focus Fronting and Root Phenomena in Spanish and English. In Joseph Emonds and Markéta Janebová (eds.) *Language Use and Linguistic Structure*, pp. 41-60. Olomouc: Palacký University Press.
- Cardinaletti, Anna. 2010. On a (wh-)moved topic in Italian, compared to Germanic. In *Advances in comparative Germanic syntax*, eds. Artemis Alexiadou, Jorge Hankamer, T.McFadden, J. Nüger and Florian Schaeffer, 3-40. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1990. *Types of A–bar dependencies*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads: a cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clech-Darbon, A., Rialland, A., Rebuschi. Georges, 1999. Are there Cleft Sentences in French? In: Tuller, Lauri, Rebuschi, Georges (Eds.), *The Grammar of focus*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, Philadelphia, pp. 83-118.

- Cruschina, Silvio. 2010. Syntactic extraposition and clitic resumption in Italian. *Lingua* 120:50-73.
- Cruschina, Silvio (2012). *Discourse-Related Features and Functional Projections*. Oxford Comparative Studies in Syntax. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Culicover, Peter W. and Robert D. Levine. 2001. Stylistic inversion in English: a reconsideration. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 19:283-310.
- De Cat, Cécile. 2012. Towards an interface definition of root phenomena. In: Aelbrecht, Lobke. Haegeman, Liliane., Nye, Rachel. (Eds.), *Main Clause Phenomena*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, pp.135-158.
- Delais-Roussarie, Elisabeth, Jenny Doetjes and Petra Sleeman. 2004. Dislocation. In *Handbook of French semantics*, ed. by Francis Corblin and Henriëtte de Swart, 505-530. Stanford: CSLI publication.
- Emonds, Joe., 1970. Root and structure-preserving transformations. PhD Dissertation. MIT.
- Emonds, Joe., 2004. Unspecified categories as the key to root constructions. In: Adger David., de Cat, Cécile, Tsoulas, Georges (Eds.), *Peripheries: syntactic edges and their effects*. Dordrecht, Kluwer, pp.75–121.
- Enç, M., 1991. The semantics of specificity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 1-25.

- Flament-Boistrancourt, Danièle (1999). Quelques aspects d'ainsi et aussi consécutifs à la lumière d'un point de vue de non-francophone. *Le Gré des Langues*, 15, 142–180.
- Floricio, Franck. 2009. *Negation and “focus clash” in Sardinian*. In L. Mereu (ed.), *Information Structure and its Interfaces*, 129-152. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
- Frascarelli, Mara, Ramaglia, Francesca, 2009. Pseudo cleft constructions at the interfaces. *Lingbuzz*. <http://ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/000841>
- Frascarelli, Mara & Francesca Ramaglia. (2013). “(Pseudo)clefts at the Syntax-Prosody-Discourse Interface.”. In *Cleft Structures*, ed. by Katharina Hartmann and Tonje Veenstra, 97-140. Amsterdam: Benjamins
- Friedmann, N., Belletti, Adriana, Rizzi, Luigi, 2009. Relativized relatives: Types of intervention in the acquisition of A-bar dependencies. *Lingua* 119, 67-88.
- Green, G.M., 1976. Main clause phenomena in subordinate clauses. *Language* 52, 382-97.
- Guimier, Claude (1997). La place du sujet clitique dans les énoncés avec adverbe initial. In Catherine Fuchs (Ed.), *La place du sujet en français contemporain* (pp. 43–96). Louvain-la-Neuve: Duculot.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 1996. Negative inversion, the NEG-criterion, and the structure of CP. *GenGenP* 4.2: 93-119.

- Haegeman, Liliane (2000): "*Inversion, non-adjacent inversion and adjuncts in CP*", Transactions of the Philological Society 98, 121-160.
- Haegeman, Liliane. (2003a). Conditional clauses: External and internal syntax. *Mind and Language* 18, 317-339.
- Haegeman, Liliane. (2003b). Notes on long adverbial fronting in English and the Left periphery. *LI* 34, 640-649.
- Haegeman, Liliane. (2006a). Argument Fronting in English, Romance CLLD and the Left Periphery. In Raffaella Zanuttini, Hector Campos, Elena Herburger, and Paul Portner (eds.) *Negation, Tense and Clausal Architecture: Cross-linguistic Investigations*. Georgetown University Press, 27-52.
- Haegeman, Liliane (2006b) Conditionals, factives and the left periphery. *Lingua* 116, 1651-1669.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 2010. The movement derivation of conditional clauses. *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 41 Issue 4, p595-621.
- Haegeman, Liliane, 2012. Adverbial clauses, Main Clause Phenomena, and Composition of the Left Periphery: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, vol 8. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Haegeman, Liliane., Meinunger, André, Vercauteren, Aleksandra, 2013. The architecture of it-clefts. *Journal of Linguistics*. 1-28.
- Haegeman, Liliane, Meinunger, André, Aleksandra Vercauteren. 2014. Against the matrix left peripheral analysis of English *it*-clefts. In Karen Lahousse and Stefania Marzo (eds). *Romance Languages and*

- Linguistic Theory 2012. Amsterdam/New York: John Benjamins.
- Haegeman, Liliane., Ürögdi, Barbara, 2010a. Referential CPs and DPs: an operator movement account. *Theoretical Linguistics* 36, 111-152.
- Haegeman, Liliane, Ürögdi, Barbara, 2010b. Operator movement, referentiality and intervention. *Theoretical Linguistics* 36, 233-246.
- Heggie, L. 1988. *The Syntax of Copular Structures*, PhD Dissertation. University of Southern California.
- Heycock, Caroline, 2006. Embedded root phenomena. In: Everaert, Martin, Riemsdijk, Henk van (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, vol II, pp. 174–209.
- Hooper, J.B., Thompson, Sandra. A., 1973. On the applicability of root transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4(4), 465-497.
- Hybertie, C. (1996). *La conséquence en français*. Paris: Ophrys.
- Jiménez-Fernández, Angel. 2010. Discourse-agreement features, phasal C and the edge: a minimalist approach. *Diacrítica – Language Sciences Series* 24(1), 25-49.
- Jiménez-Fernández, Angel. 2013. “Microvariation at the IS-syntax interface: the case of focus fronting”. Workshop on syntactic variation, Barcelona, June 26-28, 2013.
- Jonare, Brigitta. (1976). *L'inversion dans la principale non-interrogative en français contemporain*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
- Karssenbergh, Lena. 2013. L'adverbe ainsi en tête de phrase: une analyse de corpus. MA thesis KU Leuven (dir. Karen Lahousse).

- Karssenbergh, Lena & Lahousse, Karen. 2014. Ainsi en tête de phrase + inversion: une analyse de corpus. Actes du Congrès Mondial de la Linguistique française.
- Kayne, Richard. 1972. Subject inversion in French interrogatives. In J. Casagrande & B. Saciuk, eds. *Generative Studies in Romance Languages*. Newbury House: Rowley. 70-126.
- Kayne, Richard, 1994. The Antisymmetry of syntax. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Kayne, Richard & Pollock, Jean-Yves. 1978. Stylistic inversion, successive cyclicity, and move NP in French. *Linguistic Inquiry* 9: 595-621.
- Kerleroux, Françoise and Jean-Marie Marandin (2001). L'ordre des mots. In Cahier Jean-Claude Milner, ed. by Jean-Marie Marandin, 277-302. Paris: Verdier.
- Kiss, Katalin E., 1998. Identificational focus versus informational focus. *Language* 74, 245-273.
- Lahousse, Karen 2006. NP subject inversion in French: two types, two configurations. *Lingua* 116, 424-46.
- Lahousse, Karen, 2010. Information structure and epistemic modality in adverbial clauses in French. *Studies in Language* 34: 298-326.
- Lahousse, Karen, 2011. Quand passent les cigognes. Le sujet nominal postverbal en français moderne. PUV, Paris.
- Lahousse, Karen. 2014. Low sentence structure in (DP subject inversion in) French. Talk presented at GLOW, Brussels, 4 April 2014.

- Lahousse, Karen. Laenzlinger, Christopher. Soare, Gabriela. 2014. Contrast and intervention at the periphery. *Lingua*. 143. 56-85.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. Information structure and sentence form. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Le Bidois, R. (1952). *L'Inversion du sujet dans la prose contemporaine (1900-1950)*. Paris: Artrey.
- Le Goffic, P. 1997. Forme et place du sujet dans l'interrogation partielle. In Catherine Fuchs, ed. *La place du sujet en français contemporain*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Duculot. 15-42.
- Leonetti, Manuel and Victoria Escandell-Vidal. 2009. "Fronting and Verum Focus in Spanish." In *Focus and Background in Romance Languages*, ed. by Andreas Dufter and Daniel Jacob, 155-204. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Maki, H., Hideki, Kaiser, L., Ochi, M., 1999. Embedded Topicalization in English and Japanese. *Lingua* 109, 1-14.
- Meinunger, André, 1996. Speculations on the syntax of (pseudo-)clefts. Unpublished, Berlin, ZAS.
- Molinier, Christian. 2013. *Ainsi* : deux emplois complémentaires d'un adverbe type. In Jan Radimsky & Ignazio Mirto (Eds.), *Autour de l'adverbe* (pp. 120–128). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Pesetsky, David, 1987. Wh-in-situ: Movement and unselective binding. In: Reuland, Eric., Meulen, Alice ter. (Eds.), *The Representation of (in)definiteness*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

- Reeve. M., 2011. The syntactic structure of English Clefts. *Lingua* 121, 142-171.
- Reeve. M., 2012. *Clefts and their Relatives*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Reinhart, Tanya. 1981. Pragmatics and linguistics: an analysis of sentence topics. *Philosophica* 27: 53-94.
- Rizzi, Luigi 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In: Haegeman, Liliane. (Ed.), *Elements of grammar*. 289-330. Kluwer, Dordrecht, pp. 289-330.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2001. "On the Position of Interrogative in the Left Periphery of the Clause". In: *Current Studies in Italian Syntax. Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*. Ed. by Guglielmo Cinque and G. P. Salvi. Oxford: Elsevier North-Holland.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2004. Locality and left periphery. In Adriana Belletti (ed.) *Structures and Beyond. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, vol. 3, Oxford University Press. Oxford.
- Rizzi, Luigi (2010) "Some consequences of Criterial Freezing", in Peter Svenonius ed. *Functional Structure from Top to Toe*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rizzi, Luigi and Uriagereka. 2006. Satisfying the subject criterion by a nonsubject: English locative inversion and heavy NP shift. In *Phases of interpretation*, ed. by Mara Frascarelli, 341-362. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Rutherford, William E., 1970. *Some Observations Concerning Subordinate*

- Clauses in English. *Language* 46, 97-115.
- Ruwet, Nicolas. 1975. "Les phrases copulatives en français", *Recherches Linguistiques*, 3, 143-191.
- Sabio, Frédéric. 1995. Micro-syntaxe et macro-syntaxe: L'exemple des "compléments antéposés" en français. *Recherches sur le français parlé* 13:111-155. Publications de l'Université de Provence Aix-Marseille1.
- Sabio, Frédéric. 2006. L'antéposition des compléments en français contemporain: l'exemple des objets directs. *Linguisticae Investigationes* 29: 173–182.
- Sleeman, Petra. 2011. *Quantifier-focalization in French and Italian*. Handout presented at department of linguistics, KU Leuven. (21 March 2011)
- Starke, Michal, 2001. Move dissolves into Merge: a theory of locality. PhD Dissertation. Université de Genève.
- Togeby, Knud. 1982-1985. *Grammaire française*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Vorlag.
- Torregrossa, Jacopo, 2010. Towards a Taxonomy of Focus Types: The case of Information Foci and Contrastive Foci in Italian. In: Paperno, D. (Ed.), *UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics: Special Issue on Semantics and Mathematical Linguistics*, University of California, Los Angeles.

- Uribe-Etxebarria, Miriam. 1991. On the structural positions of the subject in Spanish, their nature and their consequences from quantification. In J. Lakarra and J. Ortiz de Urbina (eds.) *Syntactic Theory and Basque Syntax*. San Sebastián: ASJU, 447-493.
- Wood, Jim. 2008. *So*-inversion as polarity focus. In Michael Grosvald and Dianne Soares (eds.) *Proceedings of the 38th Western Conference on Linguistics*, 304-317. Fresno, CA: University of California.
- Zribi-Hertz, Anne. 1984. Prépositions orphelines et pronoms nuls. *Recherches linguistiques* 12:46-91.
- Zubizarreta, María Luisa. 1998. *Prosody, Focus, and Word Order*. Cambridge: MIT Press.