

LOW SENTENCE STRUCTURE IN (DP SUBJECT INVERSION IN) FRENCH

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. 'Genuine' types of inversion

1.1.1. Contexts & types

- **'Stylistic VS'** (Kayne 1972, Kayne and Pollock 1978/2001)
= **extraction-triggered VS** (Bonami, Godard and Marandin 1999)

(1) **Interrogative/wh- contexts**

- a. *Quand partira ton ami?*
lit. When will leave your friend?
'When will your friend leave?'
- b. *Je me demande quand partira ton ami.*
lit. I wonder when will leave your friend.
'I wonder when your friend will leave.'

(2) **Locative inversion**

- a. *Du château sortirait un groupe de soldats.*
from-the castle came-out a group of soldiers
- b. *Du château, Paul croyait que sortirait un groupe de soldats.*
from-the castle, Paul believed that would come out a group of soldiers.
'Paul believed that a group of soldiers would come out of the castle.'
(Bonami, Godard and Marandin 1999:38)

(3) **Focal ainsi 'thus, so, in this way' preposing**

- a. *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. Ainsi écrivait Alexandre. (...)*
lit. THUS wrote Alexandre,...
'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. That's how Alexander wrote, (...)'
(Pennac 1989, Frantext)
- b. *AINSI je vous dis qu'écrivait Alexandre.*
lit. IN THIS WAY I to-you say that wrote Alexandre.

- **"Unaccusative inversion" (Marandin 2001)**

- (4) *Le silence se fit. Alors sont entrés deux hommes.*
lit. [The silence was made.] Then have entered two men.
'Silence fell. Then, two men entered.'
(Marandin, 2001: 195)

- **No extracted element, verb ≠ unaccusative**

- (5) *Le pays fut tranquille pendant les premières semaines de l'année.*
lit. The country was calm during the first weeks of the year.
Puis l'envahirent les armées américaines.
lit. then it_{objCL} invaded the American armies
'The country was calm during the first weeks of the year. Then the American armies invaded it.'
(Lahousse 2011)

1.1.2. Common properties

- **Interpretation of the S in VS**

- o is not the aboutness-topic of the clause "what the sentence is about" (Reinhart 1981) (Lahousse 2011)
- o not necessarily contrastive/corrective interpretation
- o normally said to be narrow focus or part of wide focus (Tasmowski and Willems, 1987; Fournier, 1997; Fuchs, 1997 etc)
=> holds for (2), (4), (5)
- o BUT can also belong to the background
=> of a wh-element (1a) or a preposed focus (3)

- **Floating quantifiers do not float**

(6) **SV: quantifier float**

Les enfants sont tous arrivés
the children have all arrived

(7) **VS: no quantifier float**

- a. * *Quand ont tous fini les enfants?* (Déprez, 1990: 56)
when have all finished the children?
>< *Quand ont fini tous les enfants?*
when have finished all the children
- b. * *Alors sont tous arrivés les enfants,...*
then have all arrived the children, ...
>< *Alors sont arrivés tous les enfants.*
then have arrived all the children.
- c. * *Ainsi ont tous écrit les enfants*
thus have all written the children
>< *Ainsi ont écrit tous les enfants.*
Thus have written all the children.

- **Presence of sentence-initial element**

= trigger for inversion (Kayne & Pollock 1978)

But: Kayne & Pollock (2001): "no real trigger for VS"

- (8) a. * *Est venu Jean?*
has come John
- b. * *Ecrivait Alexandre.*
wrote Alexander

BUT:

(9) **Implicit locative**, i.e. covert stage topic (Erteshik-Shir 1997)

Elle sonne. Arrive une infirmière: "Ah ! Mais madame, ce n'est pas l'heure."
lit. She rings. Arrives a nurse: ...
'She rings. A nurse arrives: "Oh! But madam, it's not time yet."
(Dolto 1985, Frantext)

→ This talk: a unified analysis for (1)-(5)

1.2. Exhaustive focus VS

1.2.1. Types

- (10) a. **Focus particle *ne ... que / seul* 'only'**
Ne donneront de l'argent à ceux qui en ont besoin que les pauvres.
neg will-give money to those who need it only the poor.
'Only the poor will give money to those in need.'
(Gross 1975:93ft)
- b. **The postverbal subject is a definition / enumeration**
Rendront un devoir les élèves qui ont raté l'examen de chimie.
lit. Will hand in an assignment the pupils who have failed the chemistry exam.
(Marandin, 2003)
- Includes (but is not restricted to)
 - 'heavy NP subject inversion' (Bonami, Godard and Marandin 1999),
 - 'elaborative inversion' (Kampers-Manhe et al. 2003)
 - 'strong focalization SI' (Kayne and Pollock 2001).

1.2.2. Properties (>< VS in (1-5))

- **Interpretation of the S in VS**

Necessarily narrow focus + exhaustive interpretation

- **Floating quantifiers do float**

- (11) a. *Ont réussi tous ceux qui ont assez travaillé.*
lit. Have succeeded all those who have worked enough.
- b. *Ont tous réussi ceux qui ont assez travaillé.*
lit. Have all succeeded those who have worked enough.

- **No sentence-initial element is needed** (not even a covert stage topic)

→ Preposed (remnant-moved) verb phrase is in a topic-position in the left periphery + postverbal subject in a focus-position in the left periphery (Lahousse 2005/2006/2011)

1.3. Previous analyses

1.3.1. LOW analysis: subject in SpecVP

- **Mechanism**

(Déprez, 1988; Déprez, 1990; Valois and Dupuis, 1992; de Wind, 1995; Longobardi 2000) (see also Cardinaletti 2001, Belletti 2001/2004, Longobardi 2000 for similar analysis for Italian)

- (12) a. $[_{VP} \text{subject } [_{V^o} \text{verb}] [_{YP}]] = \text{base-generated positions}$
→ movement of the verb from V^o to I^o
b. $[_{IP} [_{I^o} \text{verb}] [_{VP} \text{subject } [_{V^o} t_{\text{verb}}] [_{YP}]]] = \text{VS word order}$

- **Classical evidence**

(13) **subject auxiliary *tous* participle**

Les enfants sont tous venus
Lit. The children have all come.

(14) * **auxiliary *tous* participle subject**

- a. * *Quand ont tous fini les enfants?* (Déprez, 1990: 56)
lit. When have all finished the children?
>< *Quand ont fini tous les enfants?*
lit. When have finished all the children?
- b. * *Alors sont tous arrivés les enfants,...*
lit. Then have all arrived the children, ...
>< *Alors sont arrivés tous les enfants.*
lit. Then have arrived all the children.
(Lahousse 2006)

→ The S In SV leaves its base-generation position

→ In two hypotheses for quantifier float:

- *tous* is 'stranded' in base-generation position (Shlonsky 1991, Koopman & Sportiche 1991, Sportiche 1996, Merchant 1996, McCloskey 2000)
- *tous* is in an adverbial position and binds trace (Doetjes 1992)
(see McCloskey 1997 on both hypotheses)

1.3.2. HIGH analysis: both S and IP (including trace of S) in left periphery of the clause (Kayne and Pollock 2001)

- **Mechanism (technical details omitted)**

- (15) a. $[_{IP} \text{subject } [_{I^o} \text{verb}]] = \text{SV order}$
→ movement of the subject to SpecFP
b. $[_{FP} \text{subject } [_{F^o}] [_{IP} t_{\text{subject}} [_{I^o} \text{verb}]]]$
→ movement of the whole TP (with trace of the subject) to SpecGP
c. $[_{GP} [_{IP} t_{\text{subject}} [_{I^o} \text{verb}]]] [_{G^o}] [_{FP} \text{subject } [_{F^o}] t_{IP}]]$

- **Floating quantifiers = problem**

(both under stranding and adverbial analysis)

- (16) *Les enfants sont tous venus* = SV order
→ movement of S and IP (with subject trace) to left periphery:
* $[_{GP} [_{IP} t_{\text{subject}} [_{I^o} \text{ sont tous venus}]]] [_{G^o}] [_{FP} \text{ les enfants } [_{F^o}] t_{IP}]]$

- **K&P 2001: left-peripheral position of the subject = position of left-dislocated element** (cf. infra)

1.4. Goal of this talk

- **Single analysis** for genuine cases of VS in (1-5), similar to what has been proposed for Italian (Longobardi 2000, Belletti 2001/2004)

- **Background :**

- o cartography (Rizzi 1997, Cardinaletti 2004, Belletti 2004, Haegeman 2012 and reference cited there)
- o whether this is a primitive or could ultimately be derived from other principles (Abels 2012; application in Lahousse, Laenzlinger, Soare 2014)

- **Presence of vP periphery, in the IP-internal area just above vP:**
 " a clause internal Focus position, surrounded by Topic positions, is identified in the lower part of the clause » (Belletti 2004)

(17) [IP ...Verb... [Topic ...]* [Focus ...] [Topic ...]* [vP ...]]
 (Belletti & Shlonsky 1995; Cecchetto 1999 ; Ndayiragije 1999; Jayaseelan 2001; Belletti 2004/2008/2009)

- **Descriptively:**

- clause-internal scrambling in German & Dutch
- clefts (focus clefts and anaphoric clefts) in English & Malayalam
- order of verbal complements
- Malayalam question word position contiguous to V
- remnant in English pseudo-gapping
- clause-final focus marker in English
- postverbal subject in Italian

- **Theoretically:**

- "CP and VP would be parallel in that VP has a CP-like periphery" (Belletti 2004)
- ~ vP and CP are strong phases (Chomsky 2000)

- **My proposal:** not a high, not a low, but a MODERATELY low analysis for VS

(18) [IP [I^o verb [SpecFoc postverbal subject] [vP t_{subject} t_{verb} ...]]]

(19) [IP [I^o verb [SpecTop postverbal subject] [vP t_{subject} t_{verb} ...]]]

- **Ultimate (desirable) consequence:**

- VS in French same syntactic analysis as VS in Italian
- Differences ~ (at least to some extent) presence/absence of null pro (and licensing of implicit locative)

1.5. Structure

- Postverbal S is not in Rizzi's (1997) left periphery & no remnant movement (section 2)
- Postverbal S is in a low, IP-internal position (section 3)
- Note on infinitives and participles preceding the S in VS (section 4)
- Distribution of VS & interpretation of postverbal S: it is in Belletti's IP-internal Topic or Focus position (section 5)

2. THE POSTVERBAL S IS NOT IN A HIGH LEFT-PERIPHERAL POSITION & NO REMNANT MOVEMENT OF IP

2.1. The postverbal S is not in Rizzi's (1997) left periphery

2.1.1. Not in a left-peripheral TOPIC position

- **Kayne and Pollock (2001): postverbal subject position ~ CILd position**

(20) **CILD**

- * *Quelqu'un, il mangera ce gâteau.*
lit. Someone, he will eat that cake.
- * *Un ami quelconque, il viendra la voir demain.*
lit. A/some friend or other, he will come to see her tomorrow.
(Kayne and Pollock, 2001: 119)

(21) **VS**

- * *Quel article critiquera quelqu'un?*
lit. What article will-criticize someone?
- * *Quel gâteau a mangé quelqu'un?*
lit. What cake has eaten someone?
- * *Je te dirai quand sera venu la voir un ami quelconque.*
I will tell you when will have come to see her a/some friend or other.
(Kayne and Pollock, 2001: 119)

- But: interrogative context (21a-b) & indirect question selected by *dire* 'to tell' (21c)

- **Indefinite postverbal S in other VS contexts**

(22) **Nonspecific indefinite postverbal S in non-wh contexts**

- L'air que fredonnait quelqu'un m'a soudain rappelé mon enfance.*
lit. The tune that was humming somebody reminded me of my youth.
'The tune that somebody was humming reminded me of my youth.'
(Kampers-Manhe et al., 2004:78)
- Je te le montrerai au moment où sera venu la voir un ami quelconque.*
lit. I will show it to you at the moment when will have come to see her
a/some friend or-other
'I will show it to you at the moment when a/some friend or other will have come to see her.'⁴
- les hommes ont appris à se lever quand s'avance une femme.* (Matzneff)
lit. the men have learnt to get up when advances a woman
'...the men learned to stand up whenever a woman came forward.'
- Alors arriva un homme.*
Lit. Then arrived a man.

→ Ban on nonspecific indefinite subjects in VS only holds in interrogative contexts (independent constraint in interrogatives)

→ Not an argument for position of the postverbal S in the same left-peripheral position as CILD elements

- **Confirmation: postverbal S ≠ in CILD position**

- (23) a. **VS**
... quand s'affrontaient différentes milices, il n'y avait plus de loi ni d'ordre.
lit. .. when clashed different militias, there not was no longer law nor order. (*Le Monde*)
'... whenever the various militias clashed with each other, there was no more law and order'
- b. **CILD**
* *Différentes milices, elles s'affrontaient...*
lit. Different militias, they clashed ...

2.1.2. Not in a left-peripheral FOCUS position

VS in (1)-(5): do not have the corrective/contrastive interpretation and intonation typically associated with left-peripheral foci (Kiss 1998, Belletti 2004 and many others).

2.2. No remnant movement of IP

- **Impossibility of floating tous** (cf. supra)

- **Extraction of quantitative en**

K&P (2001) ~ Pollock (1986): quantitative *en* must c-command original position

- (24) a. **en + postverbal object**
le jour où le juge en a condamné trois
lit. the day when the judge EN has condemned three
- b. **en + complement of impersonal verb**
le jour où il en est parti trois
lit. the day when there-expletive EN is gone three
- c. *** en + preverbal subject**
* *Trois en ont téléphoné.*
lit. Three EN have telephoned.
(Kayne and Pollock, 2001: 112)

- (25) *** en + postverbal subject**
* *le jour où en ont téléphoné trois*
lit. the day when EN have telephoned three

K&P: *en* does not c-command postverbal S => remnant movement

BUT:

- (26) **VS with ergative verb**
?* *le jour où en sont partis trois*
lit. the day when EN are gone three
(Kayne and Pollock, 2001: 112)

(27) **VS in relative clauses**

- a. *[dans l'expérience que je tente de décrire et de faire sentir sur plusieurs modes], il est certain qu' un tourment surgit là où en meurt un autre.*
lit. it is sure that a torment rises there where EN dies another one
'surely a new torment arise from the ashes of another'
(Camus)
- b. *il suppose l'existence d'une émission permanente à laquelle s'en superpose d'autres accidentelles, correspondant aux périodes d'activité de l'astre.*
lit. he supposes the existence of a permanent emission to which EN are superimposed other accidentals, which correspond to the activity periods of the star.
'it supposes that there is a constant emission, on which other accidental emissions, corresponding to the star's periods of activity, are superimposed.'
(Rothe)
(Lahousse 2006)

(28) **locative VS**

- a. *mais après la note qui devait être la dernière en vient une suivante,*
lit. but after the note which had to be the last one EN came another one
'but after the note, which should have been the last one, another one came.'
(Robbe-Grillet)
- b. *Il priait éperdument. A chaque prière en succédait une autre, plus ardente*
lit. He prayed passionately. To each prayer EN followed another one, more passionate.
'He prayed passionately. Each prayer was followed by another, more passionate, one.'
(Yourcenar)
(Lahousse 2006)

• **Postverbal S can be followed by complements**

=> indication that no remnant movement of IP took place (~ Belletti 2004 on Italian VS)

- (29) a. *Que dira Pierre à Michèle?*
lit. What will say Peter to Michèle?
- b. *le livre que conseille mon professeur aux étudiants*
lit. the book that recommends my professor to the students
- c. *Il y a cela à quoi vous pensez tous les deux quelquefois, quand passe un enfant sous la fenêtre,...* (Guehenno, Frantext)
lit. ... when passes a child under the window,...
'There is what you both think about sometimes when a child goes by under your window,...'

• **Belletti (2004): French >< Italian**

(30) Italian VS

- a. (?) *Sta parlando Maria a qualcuno*
is talking Maria to somebody
- b. (?) *Sta parlando Maria a Jean Jaques*
is talking Maria to Jean Jaques
(Belletti 2004)

(31) French VS: counter-indefiniteness effect on post-S PP

- a. *?*Qu'a avoué Pierre à quelqu'un?*
what has confessed Pierre to somebody
- b. *Qu'a avoué Pierre à Jean Jaques?*
what has confessed Pierre to Jean Jaques
(Belletti 2004; K&P (140)a,b, quoted from Cornulier (1974))

• **But: in interrogatives only**

- (32) a. (?) *Marie avait envie de lire le livre qu'avait donné Pierre à quelqu'un / un ami.*
lit. Mary wanted to read the book which had given Peter to somebody / a friend.
- b. (?) *Le livre qu'avait donné Pierre à quelqu'un, Marie avait envie de le lire.*
lit. The book that Peter gave to somebody, Mary wanted to read it.

→ S in VS not in a high left-peripheral position

→ no remnant movement of IP

3. THE SUBJECT IS IN A LOW IP-INTERNAL POSITION

3.1. The postverbal S did not move through the preverbal position

- (33) Decomposition of the preverbal subject field (Cardinaletti 2004:154)
SpecSubjP SpecEPPP SpecAgrSP*

- If S moved through SpecSubjP → checked subject-of-predicate feature just as a preverbal S
→ If S moved through SpecAgrP → checked phi-features just as preverbal S

3.1.1. The S in VS did not check the subject-of-predicate feature in SpecSubjP (Cardinaletti 2004)

General consensus that the postV subject

≠ subject of predication

≠ interpreted as “what the sentence is about”, Rizzi & Shlonsky (2005): “About DP, I’m reporting event XP”. (see Lahousse 2011 for references on French, Cardinaletti 2004 on Italian)

- (34) Q: *Que sais-tu à propos des grosses araignées?*
 ‘What do you know about big spiders?’
 A: # *En septembre apparaissent les grosses araignées.* (Simon, Frantext)
 lit. In September appear the big spiders.
- (35) Q: *Que sais-tu à propos d’Alexandre?*
 ‘What do you know about Alexandre?’
 A: # *Ainsi écrivait Alexandre.* (Pennac, Frantext)
 ‘IN THIS WAY wrote Alexander.’

3.1.2. The S did not check phi-features in SpecAgrSP

- The postverbal subject can only be 3rd person plural or singular

- (36) a. VS * *L’aventure que vivez Marie et toi fait scandale.*
 lit. The adventure that live_{2p} Mary and you_{2p} is scandalous.
 SV *L’aventure que Marie et toi vivez fait scandale.*
 lit. The adventure that Mary and you_{2p} live_{2p} is scandalous.
 ‘The business in which Mary and you are involved is scandalous.’
- b. VS * *Dans cette maison n’avez habité ni Jean ni toi.*
 lit. In this house lived_{2p} neither John nor you_{2p}.
 SV *Dans cette maison, ni Jean ni toi n’avez habité.*
 lit. In this house, neither John nor you_{2p} lived_{2p}.
 (see Kayne and Pollock 2001, p.c. Dominique Sportiche, for more examples)

- Natural account of these facts
 - If S stays in a low position
 - checks phi-features against those of AgrS via covert movement (Chomsky 1995) or long-distance Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001) (cf. Ledgeway 2010: 270)
 - and AgrSP is the place where number features are checked (whereas person-features are checked in SubjP), see Shlonsky (2000)

3.2. Postverbal S follows low adverbs

The postverbal S in VS follows low adverbs (Cinque 1999) [with neutral stress pattern] (just as in Italian: Belletti 2001/2004, Cardinaletti 2001)

Italian

- (37) a. ? *Capirà completamente Maria*
 will understand completely Maria
 b. * *Capirà Maria completamente*
 will understand Maria completely
 (Belletti 2004)
- (38) a. ? *Capirà bene Maria*
 will explain well Maria
 b. * *Capirà Maria bene*
 will understand Maria well
 (Belletti 2004)

French

- (39) a. *la tâche qu’ont complètement achevée les étudiants*
 lit. the task that have completely finished the students
 b. *la tâche qu’ont achevée complètement les étudiants*
 lit. the task that have finished completely the students
 c. * *la tâche qu’ont achevé les étudiants complètement.*
 lit. The task that have finished the students completely
- (40) a. *Le travail qu’ont bien fait les étudiants*
 lit. The work that have well done the students
 b. * *Le travail qu’ont fait les étudiants bien*
 lit. The work that have done the students well

3.3. Intermediary conclusion

- S in VS is NOT in a high left-peripheral position
- S in VS is in a low, IP-internal position
- NO remnant movement of IP => inflected verb moves to I°

(41) [_{SpecIP} [I° **verb** [_{SpecXP} **subject** ... [_{V°} t_{verb}]]]]

- Questions:
 - o What about material appearing between V and S in VS? (section 4)
 - o Which position for subject?
 - o How is EPP satisfied in (41)?

4. A NOTE ON VERBAL MATERIAL PRECEDING THE POSTVERBAL S

4.1. Observation

- (42) a. *Ainsi avait écrit Alexandre.*
 thus had written Alexander
 b. * *Ainsi avait Alexandre écrit.*
 thus had Alexandre written
- (43) a. *A ce moment pourront partir les enfants.*
 at that moment wil-can leave the kids
 b. * *A ce moment pourront les enfants partir.*
 at that moment will-can the kids leave.

→ S in VS must always follow verbal material (past participles, infinitives)
 = S cannot intervene between V and other verbal material

4.2. Observation 2: cross-linguistic constraint

- Subcase of a general principle (Leonetti 2014, Ordóñez 2007a/b)
 French, Italian, Catalan >< Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian

(examples from Leonetti 2014)

- Modal verb + infinitive

- (44) a. *Por fin puede Juan dormir.* Sp
 finally can.PRS.3SG Juan sleep.INF
 'Finally, Juan can sleep.'
 b. * *Finalment pot en Joan dormir.* Cat
 Finally can.PRS.3SG the Joan sleep.INF

- Raising verb + adjective

- (45) a. *No parecen los estudiantes muy felices.* Sp
 not look.PRS.3PL the students very happy
 'The students don't look very happy.'
 b. * *No semblen els estudiants molt felços.* Cat
 Not look.PRS.3PL the students very happy

- Inflected verb + nominal object (VSO vs. *VSO)

- (46) a. *Ha comprado María el periódico.* Sp
 have.PRS.3SG bought Maria the newspaper
 'María bought the newspaper.'
 b. *Partiu o Paulo a janela.* Port
 break.PST.3SG the Paulo the window
 'Paulo broke the window.'
 c. *Scrive Ion un articol.* (Soare 2009: 32) Rom
 write.PRS.3SG Ion an article
 'Ion is writing an article.'
- (47) a. * *Ha comprato María il giornale.* It
 have.PRS.3SG bought Maria the newspaper
 b. * *Ha comprat la Maria el diari.* Cat
 have.PRS.3SG bought the Maria the newspaper
 c. * *A acheté Marie le journal.* Fr
 have.PRS.3SG bought Marie the newspaper
 'Maria bought the newspaper.'

- (48) * *AINSI a écrit Alexandre ses livres.*
 thus has written Alexander his books
 [my example]

- Leonetti (2014): In French, Italian, Catalan "some constraint [that] prevents the subject from being sandwiched between the verb and a verbal complement"
- Extra S position (references in Belletti 2004 & Leonetti 2014)
 - Case (for *VSO in Italian, Belletti 2004): but participle/infinitive?
 - Different mapping of syntax & information structure in different groups of languages (Leonetti 2014)

4.3. Proposal

- Proposal: the participle/infinitive in (42-43) moves leftwards crossing the subject to satisfy this constraint (to one of Cinque's 1999 functional heads?)

- (49) [SpecIP [I° **verb** [YP [Y° **participle / infinitive** [SpecXP **subject** ... [V° t_{verb}]]]]]

4.4. Independent confirmation

- postverbal S canNOT raise to the left of low adverbs: (39c), (40b)
- (39) c. * *la tâche qu'ont achevé les étudiants complètement.*
lit. The task that have finished the students completely
- (40) b. * *Le travail qu'ont fait les étudiants bien*
lit. The work that have done the students well

>< participles and infinitives:

(50) **Modal V - bien 'well' - infinitive - object**

Trouver une citation ou un message (...) qui peut bien décrire vos émotions
to find a citation or a message (...) that can well describe your emotions
(<http://www.remerciementanniversaire.com/>)

(51) **Modal V - infinitive - bien 'well' - object**

on peut décrire bien la location [de la propriété]
one can describe well the location [of the property]
(<http://www.cashstore.fr/webside-holidays/avis-1648.aspx>)

(52) **Aux - bien 'well' - participle - object**

Niort a bien fait son travail.
Niort has well done its job
(<http://www.lanouvellerepublique.fr>)

(53) **Aux - participle - bien 'well' - object**

Si le garage a fait bien son job ...
If the garage has done well its job
(<http://www.japan-car.fr/forum/Sujet-HOMOLOGATION-SUPRA>)

Note: in (51) and (53), the adverb cannot be in Cinque's (1999) (post-complement) zone for low pre-VP adverbials which are focused or heavy: the adverb is in a pre-complement position.

- Ayoun (2000): experimental data showing that infinitives in French move to the left of low adverbs

4.5. Remaining questions

1. Which position does S occupy in (49)?

(49) [_{SpecIP} [_{I'} **verb** [_{VP} [_{Y'} **participle / infinitive** [_{SpecXP} **subject** ... [_{V'} **t_{verb}**]]]]]]

2. How is EPP satisfied?

- With respect to question 1: floating quantifiers again

(54) a. *L'homme à qui les linguistes ont tous parlé, c'est Jean.*
lit. The man to whom the linguists have all spoken, it is John.
b. * *L'homme à qui ont tous parlé les linguistes, c'est Jean*
lit. the man to whom have all spoken the linguists, it is John
(Hulk & Pollock 2001: 8)

- Traditional analysis for *tous*: *tous* 'stranded' in base-generation position (Shlonsky 1991, Koopman & Sportiche 1991, Sportiche 1996, Merchant 1996, McCloskey 2000)
=> postverbal S stays in base-generation position
- Adverbial analysis: *tous* in adverbial position + must bind a trace (Doetjes 1992)
=> postverbal S can leave base-generation position

(50) c. * [_{CP} à qui [_{I'} ont [_{AdvP} tous [parlé [_{SpecXP} les linguistes [_{SpecVP} t [_{V'} **t_{verb}**]]]]]]]]



- In what follows:
 - Interpretation of the postverbal subject and distribution of VS
=> S is in a low VP-peripheral Topic or Focus projection (cf. supra)
 - EPP

5. INTERPRETATION OF THE POSTVERBAL S & DISTRIBUTION OF VS IN MAIN CLAUSES

(on VS in embedded clauses, see Lahousse 2003/2010/2011, also Haegeman 2012)

5.1. Observation: 2 licensing contexts of VS (from an IS point of view)

From corpus research on VS introduced by PPs or adverbs, complements of the copula, etc. and large descriptive works on VS in French.

- **Licensing elements of VS belong to two classes only:**

I. A stage topic

Defined as: "A stage topic (sTOP_i) defines the spatio-temporal parameters of the utterance. (Erteschik-Shir 1999:124). "The term "stage" here (...) refer[s] to the Time/Place at which the event expressed by the sentence takes place." (Erteschik-Shir 1997:26-27)

- (55) *En septembre apparaissent les grosses araignées.*
 'In September come the fat spiders.'
 (Simon 1981)

II. A wh-element or a preposed focus

- (56) *Quand partira ton ami?*
 lit. When will leave your friend?
 'When will your friend leave?'
- (57) *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. Ainsi écrivait Alexandre (...).*
 lit. SO wrote Alexandre.
 'He wrote with a kind of distracted concentration, like when you doodle on a phone notepad: you listen less and less and it's the drawing which takes over. That's how Alexander wrote,...'
 (Pennac, Frantext)

→ Interpretation: he wrote in this way (and not in another way)

- **When no such element is present, VS is not allowed:**

Adverbs without spatio-temporal interpretation, and which cannot be contrastively focused :

- (58) * **Attitude adverbial VS**
- a. * *Bruyamment* sont entrés des enfants handicapés.
 lit. Noisily entered handicapped children.
- b. * *Joyeusement* sont apparus deux enfants.
 lit. Cheerfully appeared two children.
- * **Sentence adverbial VS**
- c. * *Cependant* est venue la fille que tu n'avais pas invitée.
 lit. However has come the girl that you did not invite.
 'However, the girl that you did not invite came.'
- * **Domain adverb VS**
- d. * *Légalement* peuvent être organisées des élections.
 lit. Legally can be organized elections.
 'Legally, elections can be organized.'
- * **Causal adverbial VS**
- e. * *A cause de la pollution* sont morts des poissons, des oiseaux et des milliers d'insectes.
 lit. Because of the pollution have died fish, birds and thousands of insects.

PPs which do not denote "Time/Place at which the event expressed by the sentence takes place" (Erteschik-Shir 1997:26-27):

- (59) a. * *Vers la ville* s'étend un marais nauséabond.
 lit. Towards the town stretches a putrid swamp.
- b. * *Hors du fleuve* sautèrent des poissons de lune.
 lit. Out of the river jumped sunfish.
- c. * *Dans le ravin* se jetaient les soldats acculés par l'ennemi.
 lit. Into the ravine jumped the soldiers cornered by the enemy.
- d. * *Dans la pièce* entra Jean.
 lit. Into the room entered John.
 (Marandin 1997, chapter IV)

5.2. Correlation

Two contexts ~ two types of alternations with other word order patterns

I. Spatio-temporal topic SV

- (60) *Le silence se fit. Alors, deux hommes sont entrés.*
lit. [The silence was made.] Then two men have entered.
'Silence fell. Then, two men entered.'

II. * Contrastive focus/wh-element SV

- (61) [same context as (3a) = (57)] ... * *AINSI Alexandre écrivait.*
- (62) a. *Quand sont venus Pierre et Paul?*
lit. When came Peter and Paul ?
b. * *Quand Pierre et Paul sont venus?*
lit. When Peter and Paul came ?

5.3. Two contexts: two IS-interpretations of the S in VS

Literature on information structure

I. Sentences introduced by stage topic = all-focus /thetic

Connection between all-focus (or thetic) sentence and the presence of a spatio-temporal topic (Erteshik-Shir 1997/1999, Kuroda 1992, Kaneko 2002, Pinto 1994/1997, Adger 1996, Lambrecht 1994, see also Cardinaletti 2004)

- S in VS is part of an all-focus clause introduced by the spatio-temporal topic.

II. Sentences introduced by wh-element / contrastive focus = focus-background

Both wh-elements and preposed foci impose a focus-background partition to the clause, in which everything that follows is interpreted as the background.

- S in VS is part of the background.

N.B.: Background cannot contain a focus (Lambrecht 1994, Erteshik-Shir 1997/1999, Rizzi 1997)

5.4. Confirmation: question-answer pairs

I. Spatio-temporal topic

- (63) a. Q: *Qu'est-ce qui se passe en septembre?*
'What happens in September?'
A: *En septembre apparaissent les grosses araignées.*
'In September appear the big spiders'
b. Q: *Quels animaux apparaissent en septembre?*
'Which animals appear in September?'
A: *En septembre apparaissent les grosses araignées.*
'In September appear the big spiders'

→ S is (narrow OR part of wide) new information focus

II. Contrastive focus-preposing

- (64) [in same context as (3a) = (57)]
Q : *Comment écrivait Alexandre?*
lit. How did Alexander write?
A: *AINSI écrivait Alexandre.*
lit. SO/IN THIS WAY wrote Alexander.

→ preposed *ainsi* = focus + *écrivait Alexandre* = background

- (65) Q: *Qui écrivait ainsi?*
lit. Who wrote in this way?
A: # *AINSI écrivait Alexandre.*
lit. SO/IN THIS WAY wrote Alexander.

→ postverbal S ≠ focus

5.5. Intermediary conclusion

- Postverbal subjects in French
 - are not in a high left peripheral, but in a low, IP-internal position
 - are interpreted as (part of the) focus OR background

- Two positions for postverbal subjects in French:

(66) **Contexts I**
[_{IP} [_{I°} verb [_{SpecFocP} postverbal subject] [_{SpecVP} t_{subject} [_{VP} t_{verb} ...]]]]]

(67) **Contexts II**
[_{IP} [_{I°} verb [_{SpecTopP} postverbal subject] [_{SpecVP} t_{subject} [_{VP} t_{verb} ...]]]]]

5.6. A note on EPP

- **EPP** (or “subject-of-predication feature”, Cardinaletti 2004; “Subject criterion”, Rizzi & Shlonsky 2006)
- **Hypothesis**
 - If the subject stays low
 - does not check EPP
 - If VS ok after preposed spatio-temporal topic / wh-element / focus
 - these elements satisfy (whichever formulation of) EPP?
- **Confirmation: impersonal passive constructions**

Kayne and Pollock (1978): same “triggering features”

- distribution of VS
- distribution of impersonal *il* in impersonal passive constructions

- (68) a. *Il est procédé au réexamen de cette question.*
lit. It is proceeded to the reexamination of this question.
- b. *Il sera mis fin au conflit.*
lit. It will be put end to the conflict.
- (69) ? *Je me demande quand ∅ sera mis fin au conflit.*
lit. I wonder when will be put end to the conflict.
'I wonder when an end will be put to the conflict.'
(Kayne and Pollock 1978:615)
- (70) a. * *∅ est procédé au réexamen de cette question.*
lit. It is proceeded to the reexamination of this question.
- b. * *∅ sera mis fin au conflit.*
lit. It will be put end to the conflict.

Expletive *il* in impersonal passive constructions can be omitted in the contexts VS in French occurs in:

- (71) **Contexts I: Stage topic => absence of *il***
- a. *Ce jour là ∅ sera mis fin à l'injuste monopole de Go Sport sur le site.*
lit. That day will be put end to the unfair monopoly of Go Sport on that site.
(<http://aspexplorer.livejournal.com/315692.html?thread=6225708>)
- b. *Alors, ∅ sera mis fin à un contentieux qui dure depuis une dizaine d'années.*
lit. at that moment will be put end to a litigation which lasts since about ten years.
(http://archives.lesoir.be/copropriete-le-conseil-de-gerance-contrrole-et-assiste-l_t-20051006-001H28.html)

- (72) **Contexts II: Preposed focus and wh-element => absence of *il***
- a. *Ainsi sera mis fin à de longues sagas comme le permis unique*
lit. in this way will-be put end to long sagas such as the unique permit
(<http://europe-liberte-securite-justice.org>)
- b. *Quand et Comment a été mis fin à ce tribunal religieux?*
lit. When and how has been put end to this religious court?
(<https://fr.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20070723144009AA4T2EK>)
- However it is that stage topics, wh-elements and preposed foci satisfy EPP (or similar constraint) in VS in French, the fact that they also license the absence of expletive *il* in impersonal passive constructions, shows that they do.

6. CONCLUSION

Data with respect to

- Position of postverbal subject with respect to complements
- Distribution of floating quantifiers
- Distribution of VS (in main clauses)
- Position of the postverbal S with respect to adverbs
- Interpretation of the postverbal subject

Lead to the conclusion that the postverbal S in French VS is not in a high left-peripheral position, but in a low IP-internal Topic or Focus position.

- (66) **Stage topic VS**
[_{IP} [_{I°} verb [_{SpecFocP} postverbal subject] [_{SpecVP} _t_{subject} [_{VP} _t_{verb} ...]]]]]
- (67) **Wh-element / Contrastive focus V S**
[_{IP} [_{I°} verb [_{SpecTopP} postverbal subject] [_{SpecVP} _t_{subject} [_{VP} _t_{verb} ...]]]]]

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