

# Quantifier preposing in French and Italian as a root phenomenon: a syntactic or a pragmatic approach?

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## 1. Introduction

Emonds (1970, 1976):

- clefting is a structure preserving transformation
- topicalization and left dislocation are root transformations, i.e. main clause phenomena.

Hooper & Thompson (1973): embedded clauses can be root-like (assertions).

This paper: quantifier preposing in French and Italian are also root phenomena:

- (1) *Rares sont les artistes que le succès ne change pas.*  
“There are only few artists whom their success does not alter.”
- (2) *Molti sono gli autori che hanno discusso questo argomento.*  
“There are many authors who have discussed this subject.”

Non sentence initial focalization in French and Italian is not a root phenomenon.

Why should there be such a difference? (Heycock 2006: emphasis is not restricted to assertions)

Root phenomena:

- Syntactic accounts: e.g., Emonds (1970, 1976), Haegeman (2002, 2003a, 2003b), Haegeman (2007), Haegeman & Ürögdi (2011).
- Pragmatic-semantic accounts: e.g., Hooper & Thompson (1973), De Cat (2010), Lahousse (2010).
- Mixed account: Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010)

Proposal: account of the difference in terms of information structure within a cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997).

## 2. Root phenomena

Emonds (1970, 1976): structure preserving transformations and root transformations.

### (3) **Root transformation** (Emonds 1976)

A transformation that moves, copies or inserts a node C into a position in which C is immediately dominated by a root S in derived structure is a “root transformation”.

Emonds (2007): five groups of root transformational operations involve leftward movement:

A. *Leftward movement to pre-subject position with no verb inversion:*  
Topicalization in English; VP-preposing; exclamative WH-fronting; directional PP preposing.

(4) These steps I used to sweep with a broom.

(5) John intends to make a table, and make one he will.

(6) What beautiful skirts that girl wears !

(7) Here he comes!

(8) Into the pool May jumped.

B. *Leftward movement to pre-subject position with obligatory finite verb fronting:*

English direct question formation and preposed negative constituents;  
German topicalization.

(9) How would we escape?

(10) Under no circumstances may they leave the area.

(11) *Mich hat er geschlagen.*  
“He has beaten me.”

C. *Finite verb inversions:*

German “Verb Second”; English auxiliary inversion (“I to C movement”);  
V inversion for quotes and directional adverbs and PPs:

(12) *Gestern* ist er nach Hause gekommen.  
“Yesterday he came home.”

(13) Will they support us?

(14) May you always be as thoughtful as she was!

(15) Mary won’t buy this dress, will she?

(16) Bill is silly, exclaimed Sue.

- (17) Up trotted the dog!  
 (18) Down the street rolled the baby carriage!

D. *Leftward movement (or expletives) with clause-final subjects:*  
 Preposing of AP over *be* and of locative PPs; *there*-insertion with clause-final subjects.

- (19) More important has been the establishment of legal services.  
 (20) Among the guests were (sat) John and his family.  
 (21) There remain some problems in this regard.

E. *Left dislocated phrases with commas:*  
 Left dislocation; sentential complement preposing, yielding clause-final predicates:

- (22) These clams, I buy them right at the shore.  
 (23) Bill was late, it seems to me.

These transformations only apply in root sentences:

- (24) \*Have I shown you the broom (that) these steps I used to sweep with?  
 (25) \*John intends to make a table, and his wife thinks that make one he will.  
 (26) \*If under no conditions may they leave the area, how can they pay their debt?  
 (27) \*Bill wanted to know whether Mary had come, hadn't she?  
 (28) \*I was surprised when up trotted the dog.  
 (29) \*Bill wonders why more important has been the establishment of legal services.  
 (30) \*The fact that these clams, I buy them right at the shore means that they are sure to be fresh.

Some of the transformations listed under A-E sound acceptable when embedded, at least to some speakers:

- (31) ?I have worked hard so that never have I had to borrow money.  
 (32) ?I've noticed that upstairs is (lies) all the wine you bought in Europe.  
 (33) ?We convinced the authorities that more important would be the establishment of legal services.

Hooper & Thompson (1973): Root Transformations can only apply in these sentences if they are asserted, but not if they are presupposed:

- (i) Class A verbs (non factive): asserted complement  
say, report, exclaim, assert, claim, vow, be true, be certain, be sure, be obvious
- (34) Sally plans for Gary to marry her, and he vows that marry her he will.  
 (35) I explained that never in my life had I seen such a crowd.  
 (36) Carol said that most embarrassing of all was falling of the stage.
- (37) \*That never in his life has he had to borrow money is true.  
 (38) \*That over the entrance should hang the gargoyle was written in the plans.  
 (39) \*That this building, it would be demolished was decided.
- (ii) Class B verbs (non factive): assertions  
suppose, believe, think, expect, guess, imagine, it seems, it happens, it appears
- (40) I imagine that among the guests was the Shah of Iran.  
 (41) It appears that this book he has read thoroughly.
- (iii) Class C verbs (non factive): neither asserted nor presupposed  
be (un)likely, be (im)possible, be (im)probable, doubt, deny
- (42) \*It's likely that seldom did he drive that car.  
 (43) \*It was impossible that each part he had examined carefully.
- (iv) Class D verbs (factive): presuppositions  
resent, regret, be sorry, be surprised, bother, be odd, be strange, be interesting
- (44) \*He was surprised that never in my life had I seen a hippopotamus.  
 (45) \*It's strange that this book, it has all the recipes in it.
- (v) Class E verbs (semifactive): assertion  
realize, learn, find out, discover, know, see, recognize
- (46) I found out that never before had he had to borrow money.  
 (47) The public does not realize that even more corrupt is the Republican Party.

Questions, reduced clauses (infinitives, gerunds, and subjunctive clauses) are not asserted; noun complements are neither asserted nor presupposed:

- (48) \*Did up the street walk the dog?

- (49) \*I disapprove of such books your reading.  
 (50) \*The senator proposed that the troops, they be withdrawn immediately.  
 (51) \*The claim that on the wall hangs a portrait of Mao is still unsubstantiated.

Restrictive relative clauses depending on definite head nouns are presupposed; non restrictive relative clauses are asserted:

- (52) \*The car that only rarely did I drive is in excellent condition.  
 (53) This car, which only rarely did I drive, is in excellent condition.

((Non)-restrictive) asserted and presupposed adverbial clauses:

- (54) Herbert will certainly be at this party, because his mother, I talked to her this morning. (asserted nonrestrictive adverbial clause)  
 (55) Mildred drives a Mercedes, because her son, he owns a stock in Xerox. (asserted restrictive adverbial clause)  
 (56) \*Sam is going out for dinner, not because his wife, she can't cook, but because he want to discuss Q-magic with Stella. (presupposed restrictive adverbial clause)  
 (57) She loves her husband, (al)though Sarah, she told me he's unfaithful. (asserted adverbial clause)  
 (58) \*Mildred loves her husband (even) though seldom does he bring her flowers. (presupposed adverbial clause)

Adverbial clauses introduced by *when*, *before*, and *after* are always presupposed:

- (59) \*We were all much happier when upstairs lived the Browns. (presupposed)  
 (60) \*Helen and Jack had dinner before into the kitchen trooped the children.

### 3. Quantifier preposing and clefting in French and Italian

#### 3.1 Quantifier preposing in root(-like) sentences in French

- (61) *Rares sont probablement les dirigeants des groupes qui souscriront aux conclusions de l'analyse théorique.*  
 "There are probably few leaders of the groups who will subscribe to the conclusions of the theoretical analysis."

- (62) *Je dirais plutôt que rares sont les jours où les trains sont à l'heure.*  
 “I would rather say that trains arrive seldom on time.”
- (63) *Il semble que rares sont les mots susceptibles de cerner la nature de son jeu.*  
 “It seems that there are almost no words with which the nature of his acting can be described.”
- (64) *J'ai cru remarquer, d'ailleurs, que rares sont les personnes qui ...*  
 “By the way, I think I have noticed that those who ... are rare.”
- (65) *une actualité chaude que rares sont celles à pouvoir couvrir efficacement*  
 “a world full of events that only few editors are able to report on adequately”
- (66) *Secteur immense, à peine défriché, puisque très rares sont les constructeurs de machines qui reconnaissent les exigences du facteur humain.*  
 “An enormous sector, hardly exploited, because the machine constructors who recognize the requirements of the human factor .”
- (67) *Plus qu'on ne croit, du reste, parce que rares sont ceux qui osent se révéler tardivement.*  
 “More than what is thought, by the way, because those who dare to come out late.”
- (68) *Si très rares ont été les jours de ma vie où j'ai été sans lire (...), pas rares sont ceux où je n'ai fait que cela.*  
 “Even if the days of my life on which I have not read are rare, even more rare are the days on which I have done nothing else than reading.”
- (69) *(...) ce long chemin (...) tellement peu commode que bien rares sont ceux qui s'y sont risqués ...*  
 “(...) this long road (...) so uncomfortable that those who have dared enter it are very rare.”

Apparent counterexample :

- (70) *Ils [les vidangeurs] assuraient l'hygiène des immeubles où rares étaient les installations ... hygiéniques. Presque partout il y avait des bailles abritées par des appentis au fond des cours.*  
 “They [the garbage collector] took care of the hygiene of the buildings where the hygienic installations were rare. Almost everywhere there were holes covered by tents in the back of the yards”

### 3.2 Quantifier preposing in root(-like) sentences in Italian

Quantifier preposing in root(-like) sentences in Italian:

- (71) *Penso – aggiunge – che molti siano i motivi per avere fiducia ed essere ottimisti.*  
 “I think – he adds – that there are many reasons to trust and to be optimistic.”
- (72) *perché molti sono i dischi di grande valore che sono stati pubblicati anche in Europa recentemente*  
 “because there are many valuable cds that, recently, have also been published in Europe”
- (73) *anche se molti sono i pettegolezzi che iniziano a circolare*  
 “even if a lot of gossip starts to go round”
- (74) *Bologna e Sampdoria offrono un primo tempo combattuto, in cui poche sono le concessioni allo spettacolo.*  
 “Bologna and Sampdoria play a difficult first half, which does not offer much to the spectators.”

Apparent counterexamples:

- (75) *Colpiscono, tra i fondatori, i cognomi di politologi e politici di destra e di sinistra. Colpisce che numerosi siano i “dipietristi” e i “pattisti” di Mario Segni.*  
 “The names of left wing and right wing political commentators and politicians among the founders is striking. It is striking that there are many followers of Di Pietro and Mario Segni.”
- (76) *Il crimine pare molto più diffuso di quanto ammettano le gerarchie [...]. Soprattutto, poi, se poche sono le denunce delle vittime e zero la possibilità di entrare negli archivi del silenzio.*  
 “The crime seems to be much more common that what the hierarchies make us believe. Especially, also, if there are only few denunciations by the victims and if there are no possibilities to break the silence.”
- (77) *nel momento dell'amarezza, quando molte sono le tentazioni e spesso tutte legittime*  
 “in time of sorrow, when there are many temptations, which are always all legitimate

- (78) *Questo è il motivo per cui pochi sono i coraggiosi che decidono di raccontare tale capitolo della storia.*  
“This is the reason why there are only few brave persons who decide to tell part of the story.”

### 3.3 Clefts

Emonds (1976): clefting is a structure preserving transformation.

French clefts can occur in all types of sentences:

- (79) *Il n'est pas impossible, maintenant, que ce soit lui qui tienne le plus à moi.*  
“It is not impossible that, now, it is he that loves me most.”
- (80) *C'était mieux que ce soit lui qui demande.*  
“It was better that it was he who asked.”
- (81) *C'est pour que ce soit lui qui s'occupe de toi.*  
“The goal is that he takes care of you.”
- (82) *... ne meurt que si c'est lui qui le décide.*  
“... only dies if it is he that decides to do so.”

The same holds for clefts in Italian:

- (83) *Voglio che sia lui a parlarmi.*  
“I want that it is he that speaks to me.”
- (84) *l'orchestra strabiliante che è stato lui a plasmare*  
‘the extraordinary orchestra that he has modeled’

“Clefted” quantificational adjectives in Italian:

- (85) *Sono molte le persone che perdono il lavoro.*  
“Many people lose their job.”

“Clefted” quantificational adjectives in asserted and in non-asserted sentences:

- (86) *Sembra che siano molti i fan a scegliere questa opzione.*  
“It seems that many fans choose this option.”
- (87) *Mi auguro che siano molti i cittadini che condividono il suo punto di vista.*  
“I am happy that there are many citizens that share his opinion.”

(88) *Mi dispiace che siano pochi i preti progressisti ed umani.*  
“I am sorry that there are only few progressive and human priests.”

(89) *Siccome sono molti i cittadini che si impegnano a rispettare le regole, ...*  
“Since there are many citizens who try to respect the rules, ...”

#### 4. Root phenomena, truncation, and intervention effects

Haegeman (2002, 2003a,b): peripheral vs. central adverbial clauses:

Central adverbial clauses are syntactically and prosodically integrated.

Peripheral adverbial clauses are directly anchored to speech time and to speaker.

They can host markers of epistemic qualification:

(90) The ferry will be fairly cheap, while the plane will probably/might be too expensive.

(91) \*??John works best while his children are probably/may be asleep.

Haegeman (2002, 2003a,b): cartographic approach:

Direct relation between illocutionary force and the availability of topicalisation and focalization:

(92) a.	Root clause:		Top	Foc	Force	Fin
b.	Central adverbial clause:	Sub				Fin
c.	Peripheral adverbial clause:	Sub	Top	Foc	Force	Fin

Argument fronting only in peripheral adverbial clauses:

(93) His face not many admired, while his character still fewer felt they could praise.

(94) I think we have more or less solved the problem for donkeys here, because those we haven't got, we know about.

(95) \*While his paper I was revising last week I suddenly thought of another analysis.

Haegeman (2007): Problem with truncation analysis:

Adjunct fronting is available in central adverbial clauses:

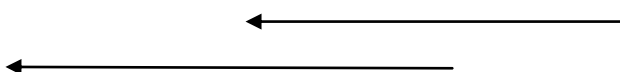
(96) If on Monday the share price is still at the current level , ...

(97) ... until one day the car was stolen.

Haegeman's (2007, 2010), Haegeman & Ürögdi's (2011) proposal :

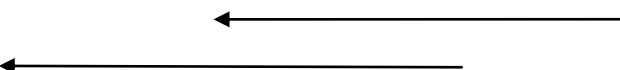
In central adverbial clauses the (temporal) or (conditional) operator moves to the left, creating an intervention effect :

(98) \* $[_{CP} \text{ when}_i [_{TopP} \text{ this song}_j [_{FinP} [_{IP} I [_{TP} t_i [_{VP} \text{ heard } t_j ]]]]]]$



(99) We threw a party  $[_{PP} \text{ after } [_{CP} \text{ OP}_i [_{IP} \text{ John } [_{TP} t_i [_{VP} \text{ departed } ]]]]]]$

(100) \* $[_{CP} \text{ OP}_i \text{ if } [_{TopP} \text{ this song}_j [_{FinP} [_{IP} I [_{MP} t_i [_{VP} \text{ heard } t_j ]]]]]]$



No operator movement in peripheral adverbial clauses:

(101)  $[_{CP} \text{ OP}_{+FORCE} \text{ while } [_{FinP} [_{IP} I [_{TP} [_{VP} \text{ heard his question } ]]]]]]$

## 5. Root phenomena and Information Structure

### 5.1 Lahousse (2010): Information structure in peripheral adverbial clauses with Stylistic Inversion

Lahousse (2010): two groups of adverbial clauses:

Group 1: Causal clauses (*parce que* “because”, *puisque* “since”), concessive clauses (*bien que* “whereas”).

Group 2 : Temporal clauses (*quand* “when”, *pendant que* “while”), comparative clauses (*comme* “in the same way as”), purpose clauses (*pour que*, *afin que* “for + inf.”), clauses with *sans que* “without ... -ing”.

Epistemic modality adverbs acceptable in group 1, but not in group 2 clauses:

(102) *Puisque Jean est probablement contaminé, on le transporte à l'hôpital.*  
 “Since John has probably been infected, he’s been taken to hospital.”

(103) *Bien que l'activité se soit probablement ralentie, la fermeté de la consommation permettra à l'économie de progresser.*  
 “Although activity has probably slowed down, stable consumer demand will enable the economy to make headway.”

- (104) \**Pierre est parti quand Marie a probablement téléphoné.*  
Peter left when Mary probably phoned
- (105) \**L'ordre est donné pour que les travaux soient peut-être entrepris.*  
the order is given for the work to perhaps been undertaken
- (106) \**L'économie s'est effondrée sans que l'activité se soit peut-être ralentie.*  
the economy has collapsed without the activity having perhaps slowed down

In type 1 sentences Stylistic Inversion (VS) in French necessarily co-occurs with a spatio-temporal topic or an indication of the focal interpretation of the subject:

- (107) *Un nom predestiné, parce que là renaîtrait le phénix.*  
“A name that was fated, because there would be the phoenix be born”
- (108) ... *parce qu'est apparue, de façon discrète ou criante, une différence.*  
“... because a difference has appeared, subtly or glaringly”
- (109) ???*Je dois partir puisque sont arrivés les enfants.*  
“I have to leave since the children arrived”

In type 2 sentences, VS is fully acceptable in the absence of any additional factor:

- (110) *Je dois partir quand arrivent les enfants.*  
“I will leave when the children arrive”
- (111) *Il pleurait comme le font les enfants.*  
“He wept as children do”
- (112) *Il fait tout pour que viennent ses enfants.*  
“He does everything for his children to come”
- (113) *Il va partir sans que soient arrivés ses enfants.*  
“He will leave without being arrived the children.”

A clause type where epistemic adverbs can be used is a clause whose truth is asserted by the speaker. The truth of a sentence is determined by evaluating the truth of a predicate with respect to (one of) the contextual determined topics in the sentence.

Preverbal subject = topic:

- (114) *Je dois partir puisque les enfants sont arrivés.*  
“I have to leave since the children have arrived.”

Spatio-temporal adverb or PP = topic

## 5.2 De Cat (2010): French dislocation only in root(-like) clauses

De Cat (2010): Assertoric root(-like) clauses are inherently qualified epistemically. Epistemic qualification is inextricably linked with information structure, the level at which the truth of propositions is evaluated with respect to the topic. Embedded clauses that do not allow Main Clause Phenomena are obligatorilythetic, i.e. all-focus. Only root(-like) clauses can have a topic-focus articulation:

(115) \**J'ai envie de les chicons<sub>i</sub>, en<sub>i</sub> manger tous les jours.*

I-have desire to the witloof PART. eat all the days

(116) *Les chicons<sub>i</sub>, j'ai envie d'en<sub>i</sub> manger tous les jours.*

the witloof I-have desire to PART. eat all the days

"I want to eat witloof every day."

Arguments for a non-syntactic account of root-phenomena (De Cat 2010):

- Gradiency:

(117) a. John says that he'll win it, and I think that win it he will. (Green 1976: 35a)

b. \*John says that he'll win it, but I don't think that win it he will. (Green 1976: 35b)

(118) a. I regret that never before has such a proposal been, made. (Green 1976: 40)

b. \*He regrets that never before has such a proposal been made. (Green 1976: 20)

(119) a. It seemed that into the garden ran a golden-haired girl. (Green 1976: 20)

b. \*It seemed that into the garden ran the cat with the red collar. (Green 1976: 40)

(120) He was washing the dishes when in came the dog. (Green 1976: 62b)

(121) a. \*When in came the dog he was washing the dishes.

b. When was he washing the dishes? \*When in came the dog.

c. What happened? (He was washing the dishes when) in came the dog.

(122) ... places where, upon mentioning the name of an habitue friend, might be obtained strange whiskey and fresh gin in many of their ramifications. (Dorothy Parker, in Green 1996)

- Stand-alone non-finite clauses and complex fragments (dislocation adjoined):

(123) *Les manger crus, les chicons? Avec plaisir.*  
 them to-eat:-fin raw the chicory with pleasure  
 (lit: To eat chicory raw? With pleasure.)

- (124) a. *Toujours, moi.*  
 always me  
 “Me, (I am) always (hungry).” (recovered from context)
- b. *Deux pattes, le canard?*  
 two legs the duck  
 “The duck (has) two legs?” (recovered from context)

De Cat (2010: an interface account of root-like status is the most economical (following the principle of Occam's Razor): the root property of syntactic entities is determined in the information structure component on interpretive grounds, and it doesn't need to be embodied in a dedicated functional projection at the periphery of the clause. This is argued to best capture the gradient nature of MCP, which tends to elude strictly syntactic analyses.

## 6. A mixed account. Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010): Italian dislocation is not necessarily a root phenomenon

De Cat (2010): Only root(-like) clauses can have a topic-focus articulation → French dislocation only occurs in root(-like) clauses.

Haegeman (2007): Romance dislocation can occur in non-root clauses, viz. in central adverbial clauses, but argument fronting in English cannot:

- (125) a. [*Quand cette chanson je l'ai entendue*]  
 when this song I it have heard  
*j'ai pensé à mon premier amour.* (French)  
 I have thought at my first love  
 ‘When I heard this song, I remembered my first love.’
- b. \*[While *this paper* I was revising last week], I suddenly thought of another analysis.

This is a problem for De Cat's Information Structure account and for Haegeman's (2002, 2003) truncation analysis:

(126) Central adverbial clauses:            Sub                                    Fin

Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010): dislocation is not excluded in non-root-sentences:

- (127) *l'unica persona che a Gianni, non gli ha mai fatto un favore* (Cinque 1990)  
 the only person that to Gianni not to-him has ever done a favor
- (128) *Se gli esami finali non li superi, non otterrai il diploma*  
 if the final exams not them-pass.2.SG, not obtain.FUT.2.SG the degree
- (129) *E' strano che questo problema gli student non l'abbiano potuto risolvere*  
 it's strange that this problem the students not it-have.3PL can.PART solve

A-topics (aboutness topics, conversation shift) are restricted to root sentences.

- (130) [<sub>A-top</sub> *un gran turismo*] [*due mattine fa han dovuto farlo rientrare*  
 a tourist bus two days ago (they) had to make-it go back  
*dal giro di città*]  
 from the city tour

G-topics (given, i.e. familiar, topics) have a free distribution. They also occur in non-root sentences.

- (131) A: *Il riso è già pronto.*  
 "Rice is ready"
- B: *Vabbé: se il riso l'hai già cotto, apparecchia la tavola*  
 Well: if the rice you have already cooked-it, dress the table

C-topics (contrastive topics) are restricted to clauses expressing propositions and hence are excluded from central adverbial clauses, which express events.

- (132) ?\* *Se il riso lo cuoci e le verdure le prepari,*  
 if the rice you cook and the vegetables you prepare,  
*riusciremo ad andare a tavola entro un'ora.*  
 we can have lunch in an hour

Topic Hierarchy (Frascarelli & Hinterhölz 2007):

- (133) [<sub>ShiftP</sub> A-Topic [<sub>ContrP</sub> C-Topic [<sub>FocP</sub> [<sub>FamP\*</sub> G-Topic [<sub>FinP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub>  
 L\*+H H\* L\*

## 7. Focalization and root phenomena

### 7.1 Focalization: a root phenomenon?

Haegeman (2007): focalization in Italian is ungrammatical in central adverbial clauses, just like topicalization in English:

- (134) \**Se IL MIO LIBRO riesci a leggere, supererai l'esame.*  
if the my book manage.2SG to read pass.FUT.2SG the exam
- (135) \**While his paper I was revising last week suddenly I thought of another analysis.*
- (136) \**If these exams you don't pass, you won't get the degree.*

Quantifier preposing in French and Italian involves focalization (Sleeman 2010a, b) and is a root phenomenon:

- (137) *Rares sont ceux à avoir pu l'observer en liberté.*  
rare are those to have been-able to it-observe in liberty  
“Those who have been able to see it living under natural conditions are rare.”
- (138) *Nombreux sont ceux à avoir voulu tenter l'expérience.*  
numerous are those to have wanted try the experiment  
“Those who have wanted to try the experiment are numerous.”
- (139) *Molte sono le persone a farne uso in Italia.*  
many are the persons to make-of it use in Italy  
“Many people in Italy use it.”
- (140) *Poche sono le persone a conoscere la storia di questa città.*  
few are the persons to know the story of this city  
“There are few persons who know the story of this city.”

Clefting also involves focalization (Sleeman 2010a, b), but is not a root phenomenon:

- (141) *C'est Jean qui l'a dit.*  
It is John who has told it.”
- (141) *Sono molti quelli che ci credono.*  
“There are many people who believe it.”



Emphatic focalization, just like emphatic topicalization (i.e. A-topics, conversation shift topics), is licensed in sentences with illocutionary force (cf. Bianchi & Frascarelli for dislocation); other types of focalization (cf. C-topics and G-topics) also occur in non-root clauses:

- (148) a. Root(-like) clauses: (Sub) Top<sub>(E)</sub> Foc<sub>(E)</sub> Force Fin  
 b. Non-root clauses: Sub (Top) (Foc) Fin

Emphatic topic and emphatic focus do not have to co-occur: emphatic focus does not have to be sentence-initial:

- (149) Ce livre<sub>G-topic</sub>, rares<sub>Emphatic focus</sub> sont les personnes qui l'ont lu.  
 "This book, only few people have read it."

Hooper & Thompson (1973): the failure of root transformations to occur in non-asserted clauses is due to the pragmatic incompatibility of emphasis with non-assertion.

Heycock (2005): "[Hooper & Thompson's claim] has not been pursued in subsequent literature. There is counterevidence to this claim in their own article. They point out that emphasis can be achieved by other means including clefting (It's this book that you should read), and they further point out that clefting is a 'structure preserving transformation', so that Emonds' (1970) proposal would predict, correctly, that it can occur quite generally in embedded contexts."

Claim of this paper: only preposed focus is emphatic focus, clefting is not. Emphatic focus is licensed by illocutionary force.

## 8. Conclusion

In this paper I have shown that fronted quantificational adjectives in French and Italian are root phenomena. For clefted constituents in French and Italian I have shown that they are not root phenomena. Quantifier preposing and clefting both involve focalization. Clefting shows that an information structure articulation per se is not excluded in non-root sentences. In order to account for the different behavior of focalized constituents, I have proposed that quantifier preposing involves emphatic focalization, which is only possible in sentences with illocutionary force.

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