EMPHATIC POLARITY IN SPANISH AND CATALAN

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1. Emphatic polarity in Spanish and Catalan: a general overview

In accordance with the aim of this workshop, our paper focuses on a systematic description and the syntactic analysis of polarity emphasis phenomena in Spanish and Catalan.

1.1. Emphatic polarity markers. In Spanish and Catalan –like in other Romance languages– emphatic polarity can be rendered by a number of words that achieve this value as a result of a process of grammaticalization whereby a manner, temporal or quantitative adverb can turn into a polarity particle with a different meaning from its original one. This is illustrated by the contrasts in (1)-(2):

(1)   a. La soprano ha cantado bien
         The soprano has sung well
      b. **Bien** ha cantado la soprano
         indeed has sung the soprano
         'The soprano HAS sung'

(2)   a. En Pere ha estudiat prou
         the Peter has studied enough
         'Peter has studied sufficiently'
      b. En Pere **prou** que ha estudiat
         the Peter indeed that has studied
         'Peter HAS studied'

The Spanish manner adverb *bien* ("well") –see (1a)- and the Catalan quantifier *prou* ("enough") –see (2a)- have become markers of emphatic (positive) polarity when they surface in preverbal position as in (1b) and (2b), respectively. When expressing emphatic polarity, *bien*, *prou* and a variety of particles –see (3)- are focused and hence move from their basic position in *Pol(arity)P* to a hierarchically prominent position in the left periphery (*FocusP*).

(3) | **Manner > Polarity** | **Time > Polarity** | **Quantitative > Polarity** |
      |---|---|---|
      | Sp./ Cat. *sí* (< SIC) | Sp. *ya* (< IAM) | Cat. *prou* (< *PRODE) |
      | Sp. *bien* (< BENE) | Cat. *ja* (< IAM) | Cat. *poc* (< PAUCU) |
      | Cat. *bé, ben* (< BENE) | | Cat. *pas* (< PASSU) |
      | Cat. *pla* (< PLANE) | | |

1.2. Weak focus. In Spanish the focalization of different kinds of constituents falls under two different paradigms: contrastive focus and weak focus –see (4). Despite sharing common properties (subject-verb inversion, no ressumptive clitic, etc.), both types of focus can be clearly told apart on prosodic and semantic grounds (see Quer 2002, Gallego 2007, Leonetti & Escandell 2009, Batllori & Hernanz In press).

(4)   a. **Poco** se imaginaba María lo sucedido
         little CL imagined María the happened

'Mary could not imagine what had happened'

  b. ***Sus razones*** tendrá para actuar de este modo
   her reasons will have to act of this way
   'There must be an explanation for such behaviour'

Leonetti and Escandell (2009: 155) claim that this type of focalization, which they label *Verum Focus Fronting* (VFF), "triggers association of focus with sentence polarity". According to them, "in Spanish the most natural paraphrase of a VFF consists in a construction in which the propositional content is embedded under the affirmative particle *sí* 'yes' or under the adjectives *seguro* 'sure' or *cierto* 'true'". They illustrate their proposal with the following paraphrases:

(5) a. ***Algo*** has visto → {Sí / seguro} que has visto algo
   something have seen → {yes / sure} that have seen something
   'You have seen SOMETHING' → 'Yes / surely you have seen something'

  b. ***A alguien*** encontrarás → {Sí / seguro} que encontrarás a alguien
   to someone will-meet → {yes / sure} that will-meet to someone
   'You will meet someone' → 'It's sure that you will meet someone'

Leaving aside a more detailed analysis of Weak Focus Fronting (WFF)[1] in Spanish, Leonetti and Escandell's hypothesis offers an explanation that fits with a picture where WFF properties crucially rely on polarity.

1.3. Merging ***que***. Some emphatic polarity markers –*bien, sí, bé, prou, pla*– may be followed by the complementizer *que* ("that") both in Spanish and Catalan.[2] Consider, in this respect, the minimal pairs in (6) and (7):

(6) a. ***Bien*** ha cantado la soprano = (1b)
  b. ***Bien*** <u>que</u> ha cantado la soprano
   Indeed that has sung the soprano

(7) a. ***Sí*** ha cantado la soprano
   yes has sung the soprano
   "The soprano HAS sung"
  b. ***Sí*** <u>que</u> ha cantado la soprano
   yes that has sung the soprano

The examples in (6b) and (7b) may be considered, *prima facie*, as nearly equivalent, on interpretive grounds, to those in (6a) and (7a), in which the complementizer *que* is absent. However, they behave quite differently when their discursive properties are taken into consideration. As has been argued in Hernanz (2007), *bien que*, on a par with *sí que*, rather than merely stressing that the event denoted in the proposition did take place, serves to emphasize the truth value of the proposition. Put another way, *que* may be assigned a unified reading in both (6b) and (7b), namely, an echoic value, which is independently attested in a number of constructions where C displays a similar distribution.

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[1] Catalan shows a different behavior as regards to WFF, since the only elements submitted to this process are quantifiers. For further discussion, see Quer (2002) and Batllori & Hernanz (In press).

[2] It is worth bearing in mind that *que* is incompatible with polarity particles such as Catalan *ben, ja, pas*, or Spanish *ya*. A more detailed analysis of this phenomenon is beyond the scope of this paper.

Notice, in this connection, that the role played by *que* in the emphatic affirmative sentences under study exhibits appealing similarities with the value it encodes when it follows the so-called *of course*-type adverbs (i.e., *desde luego*, "of course", *la verdad*, "to tell the truth", etc.), which have been claimed to behave as truth operators (see Etxepare 1997:50). In fact, this class of elements, as well as some adverbs falling into the group of "sentential" adverbs defined as in Cinque (1999) –*ciertamente* ("certainly"), *obviamente* ("obviously"), *evidentemente* ("evidently"), etc.– may also co-occur with *que*:

(8)   a. {*Evidentemente / ciertamente / desde luego*}, Julia está muy enfadada
       '{Obviously / certainly / of course}, Julia is very angry'

      b. {*Evidentemente / ciertamente / desde luego*} <u>que</u> Julia está muy enfadada
       '{obviously / certainly / of course} that Julia is very angry'

Crucially for our purposes, (8a) and (8b) are by no means semantically equivalent.[3] As has been observed by Etxepare (1997:98), "there is a subtle but nevertheless clear and substantial difference" between the two cases. More precisely, (8b), unlike (8a), is an emphatic sentence that can only be used to stress an already-mentioned proposition [i.e. *Creo que Julia está muy enfadada* ("I think that Julia is very angry")]. This clearly suggests that the presence of *que* in (8b) is associated with an echoic value.

Accordingly, we pose that emphatic affirmative sentences where *C* is phonologically realized by *que* are obtained by merging *bien* / *sí* in the Spec position of *ForceP*. Thus, they take scope over the main assertion of the sentence, which gives rise to an interpretation where the truth value of the sentence is stressed.

1.4.Sentence-final emphatic polarity markers (no, sí, ya). As in some Italian dialects, the negative marker *no* ("no") may be duplicated in sentence final position both in Spanish and Catalan:

(9)   a. No ha cantado la soprano, ***no***
         not has sung the soprano, not
      b. No ha cantat la soprano, ***no***

And the same holds for *sí* ("yes") and *ya/ja* ("already"):[4]

(10) a. Sí (que) ha cantado la soprano, ***sí***
         yes (that) has sung the soprano, yes
      b. Ya podrías ayudarme, ***ya***
         YA (you) could help+CL$_{ACC}$ YA
         'You really could help me'

Interestingly enough, when *ya* conveys an aspectual value –see § 2.1.3.- this occurrence in final position is precluded:

(11) a. María ya ha encontrado trabajo
         Mary already has found job

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[3] The situation illustrated in (8) extends, *mutatis mutandis*, to Romanian sentential adverbs, as discussed in Hill (2007).

[4] It should be noted that this possibility is precluded in the case of *bien* and other emphatic polarity particles:

(i)   *Bien (que) ha cantado la soprano, ***bien***
         well (that) has sung the soprano, well

'Mary has already found a job'
b. *María ya ha encontrado trabajo, *ya*

2. Emphatic polarity particles in Spanish and Catalan: the data

2.1. Spanish

2.1.1. *Sí (que)*. Emphatic affirmative sentences in Spanish (12a), as opposed to their neutral counterparts (12b), usually consist of the positive word *sí* ("yes") followed by the tensed verb:

(12)   a. Hoy **sí** (que) ha llovido
            today yes (that) has rained
            'Today it has rained indeed'

       b. Hoy ha llovido
            'Today it has rained'

As has been observed by several authors (see Laka 1990, Hernanz 2006, 2007, Batllori & Hernanz 2008), (12a) is not simply a positive counterpart of (12b), but a case of emphatic affirmation, where the occurrence of the adverb *sí* serves to reinforce what is asserted in the sentence by pushing its value to the axis of positive polarity. Thus, from a discursive-semantic perspective, (12a) conveys a contrastive reading that an assertion such as (12b) lacks. This is particularly true if you consider that an emphatic affirmation, in contrast with an unmarked assertion, cannot be an appropriate answer to questions such as (13), which require new information as an answer:

(13)   ¿Qué ha sucedido?
            'What has happened?'

(14)   a. Hoy (no) ha llovido
            today (not) has rained
            'Today it has (not) rained'
       b. #Hoy **sí** (que) ha llovido   = (12a)

In order to provide a more precise characterization of the contribution of *sí* to the semantic interpretation of a sentence, consider the paradigm in (15):

(15)   a. Hoy <u>no</u> ha llovido
       b. #Hoy ha llovido   = (12b)
       c. Hoy **sí** (que) ha llovido   = (12a)

Despite the fact that the examples in (15b) and (15c) both carry an affirmative value, only (15c) can be felicitously uttered as a response to (15a), since this sentence provides an overt negation to anchor the emphatic value of *sí*. Put another way, *sí* typically denies a previous overt negation, yielding a kind of "double" negation, and, as a result, a stressed affirmation is obtained.

As already noted (see § 1.3.), the affirmative word *sí* may also occur left-adjacent to the complementizer *que* ("that") in a variety of contexts. Although the occurrence of *que* in Spanish emphatic affirmative sentences might be regarded, *prima facie*, as purely facultative, a closer look at the data reveals, nevertheless, that *sí que* is compatible with non-negative contexts. Some relevant examples are given in (16):

(16)   a."Carrefour le ofrece este fin de semana precios de vértigo... ¡Esto *sí que* es un aniversario!" [Oral speech]

Carrefour CL$_{DAT}$ offers this end of weak prices of vertigo... This yes that is an anniversary!

'This weekend Carrefour is offering incredibly low prices! Now, that's a *real* anniversary!'

b."¡La teoría de la conspiración… Ésa *sí que* era una conspiración!" [El Roto (cómic), 31/3/07]

the theory of conspiracy… That yes that was a conspiracy!

'The plot theory… Now, that was a *real* plot!'

The examples in (16) clearly show that no negative background is needed in order to license the *sí que* pattern. In fact, empirical evidence seems to indicate that this is the habitual case. Setting aside an in-depth study of the alternation between *sí* and *sí que* in Spanish, what is relevant for the purposes of this discussion is the fact that the asymmetry alluded to is what we would expect. That is, since *sí que* focuses on the truth value of the sentence, no negative environment having to do with the denoted event is required in order to license its contrastive value (see Hernanz 2007).

2.1.2. *Bien (que)*. In parallel with sentences with *sí*, Spanish also makes use of *bien* in a variety of constructions in which the meaning of this word has shifted from its literal reading as an adverb of manner (equivalent to English "well") to an assertive value (see Hernanz 2006, 2007, 2010) . The two kinds of *bien* are illustrated in (17):

(17) a. La soprano ha cantado bien
        'The soprano has sung well'

    b. **Bien** ha cantado la soprano
       indeed has sung the soprano
       'But the soprano HAS sung'

As the English glosses show, *bien* takes a manner reading in (17a). On the contrary, in (17b), where *bien* has moved to the left periphery, it is used to emphasize the positive value of the sentence. Accordingly, (17b) is interpreted as a confirmation that "the soprano has *really* / *indeed* sung". As a result, it sharply contrasts with its neutral counterpart in (18):

(18) La soprano ha cantado
       'The soprano has sung'

Both (17b) and (18) assert the same thing, namely that "the soprano has sung". However, the former is interpreted as an emphatic positive statement which, differently from the latter, is oriented to positive polarity. Crucial evidence supporting this claim comes from the fact that *bien* is systematically precluded in negative sentences (see Hernanz 2006):

(19) *__Bien__ <u>no</u> ha cantado la soprano
       well not has sung the soprano

The ill-formedness of (19) clearly suggests that *bien*, having a positive import, is incompatible with negative polarity. By the same token, it cannot either co-occur with the affirmative marker *sí*:

(20) *__Bien__ <u>sí</u> ha cantado la soprano
       well yes has sung the soprano

Under the assumption that *bien*, seemingly to *sí*, stresses the positive polarity of a sentence, the question arises as to whether both particles pattern alike. Consider, in this respect, the minimal pair in (21):

(21) a. ***Bien*** ha cantado la soprano   = (17b)
      b. ***Sí*** ha cantado la soprano
        yes has sung the soprano
        'The soprano DID sing'

Despite the fact that both (21a) and (21b) are emphatic in nature, their interpretations widely diverge. In Hernanz (2006, 2007), it is argued that the differences stem from their illocutionary force: *bien* encodes a presuppositional value that is lacking in *sí*. Thus, besides its emphatic positive meaning, *bien* adds a subjective implicature which cancels an **implicit** negative expectation. On the contrary, *sí* merely denies an **explicit** negative statement. Returning to the minimal pair in (21a) and (21b), notice that the latter example, as opposed to the former, qualifies as an appropriate response to the negative sentence in (22a) –see 2.1.1:

(22) a. La soprano <u>no</u> ha cantado
        the soprano not has sung
        'The soprano has not sung'
      b. ***Sí*** ha cantado la soprano   = (21b)
      c. # ***Bien*** ha cantado la soprano   = (21a)

By contrast, (22c) is quite infelicitous when uttered as a reaction to (22a). As observed above, rather than contradicting an explicit negative statement, *bien* cancels an implicit and hence not overtly formulated negative expectation. Therefore, what rules out (22c) is that the state of affairs of "not singing" is directly formulated in (22a). On the other hand, unlike (22b), (22c) does qualify as a suitable reaction to examples such as those in (23), which, rather than asserting that "the soprano has not sung", can be taken as an appropriate *pragmatic* background from which to make this inference (that is, if the soprano was sick, or the soprano was late, it is *expected* that the soprano would not sing):

(23)   a. La soprano estaba indispuesta
        'The soprano was sick'
     b. La soprano no llegó a tiempo
       'The soprano did not arrive on time'

As observed in §1.3, Spanish also displays sentences in which the emphatic affirmative word *bien* surfaces to the left of the complementizer *que* ("that"). This is illustrated in (6) and (24)-(25):

(24) **A**. ¿Por qué te has enfadado tanto?
       'Why did you get so angry?'
     B. ¿Y tú me lo preguntas? ¡Pues ***bien que*** lo sabes!
       and you CL$_{DAT}$ CL$_{ACC}$ ask? So indeed that (you) CL$_{ACC}$ know
       'Are you really asking me? You know very well why!'

(25) "Se llenó el coliseo blanco y ***bien que*** se notó" [CREA, *ABC Electrónico*, 26/05/1997]
      CL got full the stadium white, and indeed that CL was-noticed
      'The white stadium got crowded, and that was indeed obvious'

As argued in Hernanz (2006, 2007), sentences headed by *bien que* qualify as stronger assertions than those containing *bien*. More precisely, the function of *bien* when preposed to C is to focus on the truth of the whole assertion rather than just the event denoted in the proposition. Thus, *bien que* is used in (24) to express a strong degree of confidence on the part of the speaker about the truth of the proposition (that is, "You know why I got so angry"), even though from the question raised in the previous discourse precisely the opposite could be inferred, namely, that the hearer does NOT know why the speaker got so angry. Similarly, (25) reflects the speaker's emphatic claim that it was obvious that the stadium got crowded, despite the interlocutor's expectations.

On the basis of the data discussed so far, our claim is that when uttering a sentence with *bien que* the speaker implicitly evokes an assertion which is in some sense its negative counterpart, and reverses its polarity by reinforcing the truth value of the proposition containing it. According to this view, as mentioned above, it seems plausible to suggest that the use of *bien que* –seemingly to the use of *sí que*– is associated with a somehow echoic flavor that is mainly responsible for the semantic interpretation of the sentence. For reasons of space, we cannot develop this issue here.

2.1.3. *Ya*. Let us now briefly turn to the behavior of the word *ya* ("already"). This adverb, besides its (basic) temporal-aspectual reading (26), may express an emphatic value, particularly when it co-appears with the modal auxiliary *poder* ("can") (27a), or with a verb inflected in potential mood (27b):

(26) Julia ya ha encontrado trabajo
      Julia already has found job
      'Julia has already found a job'

(27) a. *Ya* podría Pepe haberme llamado
        already could Pepe have+CL$_{ACC}$ called
        'But Pepe should have called me'
     b. ¡*Ya* me gustaría ayudarte!
        Already CL$_{DAT}$ would please to help+CL$_{ACC}$
        'I wish I could help you'

The examples in (27) adopt an emphatic value somehow similar to that of (17b). Keeping aside the interpretive differences between both constructions, what is relevant for the purposes of this study is the fact that (27), like (17b), cannot be negated. Compare, in this respect, (28a) with (28b):

(28) a. <u>No</u> me gustaría ayudarte
        not CL$_{DAT}$ would please to help+CL$_{ACC}$
        'I would not like to help you'
     b. *¡*Ya* <u>no</u> me gustaría ayudarte!

It should be observed that emphatic particle *ya* is by no means as productive as *bien* in Spanish.

2.2. Catalan

2.2.1. *Sí (que)*. Emphatic affirmation in Catalan is obtained, as in Spanish, by the use of *sí* in preverbal position. The contrast in (29) parallels that in (12):

(29) a. Avui *sí que* ha plogut
        today yes that has rained
        'Today it has rained indeed'

b. Avui ha plogut
   today has rained
   'Today it has rained

And the same holds for (30):

(30) a. Això *sí que* és un regal
       this yes that is a present
       'This is really a present'
     b. Això és un regal
       'This is a present'

Constructions such as those in (29)-(30) and their counterparts in Spanish pattern alike both in syntactic and semantic grounds. Yet, it is interesting to observe that Catalan emphatic polarity sentences with *sí* usually appear with the complementizer *que*. Compare in this sense (29a) and (30a) with (31a) and (31b), respectively:

(31) a. *??Avui *sí* ha plogut
     b. *??Això *sí* és un regal

The analysis of this phenomenon, which has been paid little attention in grammars, requires more consideration than it can be given here. Concerning this, see Hernanz (2006), Martins (2006), Hernanz & Rigau (2007), and Batllori & Hernanz (2008).

2.2.2. *Bé (que)*, *ben*. As stated above for Spanish *bien*, its Catalan equivalent *bé* ("well") displays a double behavior. On the one hand, it functions as a manner modifier which normally occurs in postverbal position. Alternatively, it can also encode an emphatic value when appears in preverbal position. The examples in (32) parallel those in (17):

(32) a. La soprano ha cantat bé
       'The soprano has sung well'
     b. *Bé* ha cantat la soprano
       indeed has sung the soprano
       'The soprano has sung indeed'

The movement of *bé* to the left periphery in (32b) –just like that of *bien* in (17b)- cannot be analyzed as a case of focalization of a manner adverb. Instead, *bé* in (32b) stresses the positive value of the sentence; hence, sentences headed by *bé* cannot be negated – see (19) – and exclude the presence of the positive marker *sí (que)* –see (20):

(33) a. **Bé* <u>no</u> ha cantat la soprano
       indeed not has sung the soprano
     b. **Bé* <u>sí que</u> ha cantat la soprano
       indeed yes that has sung the soprano

Besides *bé*, Catalan is characterized by having another emphatic positive marker, *ben*, which is closely related to the former. Nevertheless, both elements do not pattern alike. Notice, first at all, that Catalan *ben*, similarly to Italian *ben* and French *bien*, occurs in a lower position than its counterpart *bé*, which in turn behaves like Spanish *bien*. Compare, in this regard, (34) with (35)-(36):

(34) a. La soprano s'ha *ben* enfadat
       the soprano CL has indeed got angry
       'The soprano has indeed got angry'
     b. Això t'ho pots *ben* creure
       this (you) CL+CL_{ACC} can indeed believe

'This you can indeed believe'
   c. En Joan m'ha ***ben*** enganyat
      the Joan CL$_{ACC}$ has indeed deceived
      'John has indeed deceived me'

(35) a. *La soprano s'ha ***bé*** enfadat
      b. *Això t'ho pots ***bé*** creure

(36) a. *La soprano se ha ***bien*** enfadado
      b. *Juan me ha ***bien*** engañado

Secondly, Catalan *bé*, like its counterpart *bien* in Spanish, may freely appear in a sentence regardless of the nature of the predicate:

(37) a. ***Bé*** ha arribat tard la soprano
      indeed has arrived late the soprano
      'The soprano arrived late indeed'
      b. ***Bé*** ha cantat *La Traviata* la soprano
      indeed has sung *La Traviata* the soprano
      'The soprano has sung *La Traviata* indeed'

This behavior does not extend to *ben*, as shown in (38):[5]

(38) a. *La soprano ha ***ben*** arribat tard
      b. *La soprano ha ***ben*** cantat *La Traviata*

Finally, although they may be both regarded as emphatic affirmative particles, *bé* and *ben* differ in their semantic interpretation. That is, *ben* lacks the strong assertive value encoded by both Catalan *bé* and Spanish *bien*. The relevant contrast is given in (39):

(39) a. La soprano s'ha ***ben*** enfadat (quan li ho han dit) = (34a)
      the soprano CL has really got angry when (they) CL$_{DAT}$ CL$_{ACC}$ have said
      'The soprano got really angry when they told her'
      b. ***Bé*** s'ha enfadat la soprano (quan li ho han dit)
      indeed CL has got angry the soprano when (they) CL$_{DAT}$ CL$_{ACC}$ have said
      'But the soprano really got angry when they told her'

Setting aside a closer examination of the paradigm of *ben/bé* in Catalan, what is relevant for the purposes of this work is that the contrast in (39) is reminiscent of a semantic asymmetry. More precisely, the example in (39b), in which *bé* surfaces in a high position, signals a high degree of speaker's commitment to the whole content expressed in the proposition. On the other hand, in (39a) the bulk of the emphatic assertion focuses on a single constituent (i.e., the past participle *enfadat*), which turns out to be interpreted as implying that the property it denotes is somehow salient or quantified in a high degree.

To summarize, several conclusions may be reached from the data examined so far. (see Hernanz 2006, 2010). First, Catalan *bé* and *ben* may be viewed as instantiating two classes of emphatic positive markers: a high and a low variety, which scope over the whole sentence or a single constituent, respectively. Second, the interpretive contrasts between both elements may be attributed to their different focal properties. Finally, a

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[5] Reason for this comes from the fact that predicates allowing for *ben* often denote scalar properties, like *enfadar-se* ("to get angry"), *enganyar* ("to deceive"), etc. By contrast, *arribar* ("to arrive"), *cantar* ("to sing"), etc., which are non-gradable predicates, are not compatible with *ben*. A closer examination of the data is beyond the scope of this paper. See Hernanz (2006), (2010) for further discussion.

clear parallelism may be drawn in Romance languages between the distribution of ***BIEN***, on the one hand, and its semantic interpretation, on the other (see § 2.3).

2.2.3. *Ja*. As *ya* in Spanish (see § 2.1.3.), Catalan *ja*, in addition to its (core) temporal value, serves to strengthen an assertion:

(40) a. ***Ja*** vuy jo anar a axecar-la!
      already want I to future.aux lift+CL$_{ACC}$
      'But I want to lift her!'
   b. –***Ja*** te'n recordaràs, Picolí malehit, de la jornada d'avuy […]
      already CL+CL$_{OBL}$ remember, Picolí damned, of the day of today
      'Damned Picolí, you will remember today indeed'
   c. Be, home, be, ***ja*** m'agrada que t'interessis per la meva pubilla
      well, guy, well, already CL$_{DAT}$ pleases that CL be-interested by the my elder-daughter
      'OK, guy, I really like that you get interested in my elder daughter'

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[(40a), Alcover *Rond*. ii, 279, in *DCVB*, s.v. *ja*]
[(40b), (40c), M. Vayreda, *La Punyalada*, Barcelona 1904: 19; 159-160]

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As expected, when used as an emphatic polarity particle, *ja* induces subject-verb inversion (40a), precludes negation (41a) and must be left adjoined to the verb (41b):

(41) a. ****Ja*** <u>no</u> te'n recordaràs de la jornada d'avui
   b. *M'agrada ***ja*** que t'interessis per la meva pubilla

2.2.4. *Prou (que)*. As noted above –see § 1.1–, Catalan *prou*, which is homophonous with the quantitative adverb "enough" (see the underlined item in 42c), serves to reinforce an assertion when it surfaces in preverbal position (Hernanz & Batllori 2008). In the following examples *prou* adopts a reading very close to that of *bé*:

(42) a. ***Prou*** li ho vaig explicar, i no em va entendre
      indeed CL$_{DAT}$ CL$_{ACC}$ perfect.aux tell, and not CL$_{ACC}$ perfect.aux understand
      'I did tell him/her indeed, and (s)he did not understand me'
   b. ***Prou*** les trobaríam, -repetia en Rafel,- fins una vintena de bones escopetes, però...-
      indeed CL$_{ACC}$ would find –was-repiting the Rafel- up-to a twenty of good guns, but...
      'We could indeed find up to twenty good guns –said Rafel-, but...'
   c. ¡Ah, Rosset! ***prou*** me entench <u>prou</u>. Ros· ¡Tira! yo hu crech que se enten! pero tambe lo entench yo
      eh Rosset! Indeed CL$_{ACC}$ understand sufficiently. Ros· Come on! I CL$_{ACC}$ believe that CL understandable! But also CL$_{ACC}$ understand I
      'Eh Rosset! Indeed I understand it sufficiently. Ros· Come on! I believe that it is understandable! But I also understand it

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[(42a), *DCVB*, s.v. *prou*]
[(42b), M. Vayreda, *La Punyalada*, Barcelona 1904: 250]
[(42c), *CTILC*; Josep Robrenyo, *El padre Carnot en Guimerà*: 13]

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Like *bé*, *prou* may be followed by the complementizer *que* ("that"):

(43) a. –Y ***prou*** <u>qu</u>'ho sabeu vos ont la vareu portar [...]
      and indeed that CL$_{ACC}$ know you where CL$_{ACC}$ did bring
      'You know where you brought her indeed'

   b. ***Prou*** <u>que</u> parles per enveja!

indeed that speak for envy
'You speak jealously indeed'

[(43a), M. Vayreda, *La Punyalada*, Barcelona 1904: 223]
[(43b), J. M. de Sagarra, *Comte*: 157, in *DCVB*, s.v. *prou*]

Prou is a quite productive polarity particle in Catalan, which has undergone a full process of grammaticalization towards the sphere of positive emphatic polarity. Consequently, it may freely appear in preverbal position regardless of the nature of the predicate. This behavior clearly diverges from its equivalent *bastante* in Spanish, which maintains a not inherently polar value when moved to the left periphery. That is, (43c) qualifies as a case of weak focus fronting rather than as an instance of emphatic polarity:

(43c)   *Bastante* sabes tú lo que yo he hecho por ti
        enough know you what I have done for you
        'You really know that I have done enough for you'

2.2.5. Affirmative *pla (que)*

As stated by Alcover-Moll, the use of this particle to reinforce affirmation is frequent in the Catalan spoken through the North Oriental Part of Catalonia, as well as in some other areas in which it is scarcely employed. The occurrence of *pla (que)* can convey different values (see also Rigau 2004, In press): basically, 1) emphatic scalar quantification[6], see (44), which allows for VP ellipsis and in some particular contexts conveys an affirmative value as well[7]; 2) emphatic negation, see (45) and § 2.2.7 below; and 3) emphatic affirmation[8], see (46).

(44)   a. ¡Tu *pla* ets un janfosca!
          you even-more are an idiot
          'You are even more of an idiot than he is'
       b. la marxanta *pla* grimpa fort!... Valents aquests pescaires!
          the stallholder even-more climbs hard ... brave these fishermen
          'the stallholder even climbs harder! Fishermen are really brave!

[(44a), M. Vayreda, *La Punyalada*, Barcelona 1904:219]
[(44b), *CTILC*; J. M. de Sagarra, *El café de la Marina*: 32]

(45)   a. No m'ho crec. En Pere *pla que* ha anat al cine aquesta nit!
          not CL_DAT+CL_ACC believe. the Pere <u>NOT</u> that has gone to-the cinema this night
          'I don't believe it. Peter HAS NOT gone to the cinema tonight'
       b. --Jo *pla* he estat el que t'ha fet aixó. --Sí, Josafat, fores tu i fores molt crudel.

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[6] Rigau's (2004) *pla1*.

[7] Rigau's (2004) *pla2*.

[8] It can coappear with *bé*, *ben* and also *prou* in sentences such as the following:

(i)   a. Se'n va guardar *pla bé*, de parlar-hi [Rigau (2004)]
         b. Els van *pla ben* atrapar, a aquell parell [Rigau (2004)]
         c. *Pla bé* que ho podem arreglar [*DCVB*]
         d. *Bé pla* que ho podem arreglar
         e. *Pla prou* que m'hi esperava [*CTILC*; Cayrol, Antoni (Jordi Pere Cerdà), *Contalles de Cerdanya*: 42]

We will leave this aspect for further research because it is beyond the scope of this paper.

--I NOT have been the that CL_{DAT} have done this. -- Yes, Josafat, were you and were very cruel

'--I HAVEN'T been the one who did you this. --Yes, Josafat, it was you who did it and you were really cruel'

<div align="right">[(45B), CTILC; Prudenci Bertrana, Josefat: 59]</div>

(46)a. *Bé* saps que ***pla*** m'agrades,
    indeed know that indeed to-me like-you
    'You know that I really like you indeed'

  b. Aquest casament ***pla*** es farà
    this marriage indeed CL will-take-place
    'This marriage will indeed take place'

<div align="right">[(46A), Massó Croq. 33; DCVB, sv. pla]
[(46b), DCVB, sv. pla]</div>

Rigau (2004) defines the adverb *pla* "truly" as an adverb of epistemic modality that expresses the degree of the speaker's confidence in the truthfulness of the information given by the sentence.[9] However, when *pla* is an emphatic polarity marker, it stresses the affirmative (or negative, in the case of negative *pla*) value of the sentence and it also adds a contrastive meaning with a contextual negation (or affirmation, with negative *pla*). For instance, the sentences in (46) above are a natural reaction to a previously uttered negative statement.

In those instances where *pla* behaves as an emphatic scalar quantifier and allows for VP ellipsis, it can also articulate an affirmative value similar to *sí (que),* which implies that it occupies a derived position in PolP. See the differences between (47a) and (47b).

(47) a.**A**: - La Maria té molts llibres.
    A: - The Mary has-got a-lot-of books

    B: - En Joan ***pla*** en té de llibres (=En Joan encara en té més de llibres)
    B: - The John even-more CL has-got of books (= the John even CL has-got more of books)

  b.**A**: - Acabo la jornada ben cansat
    A: - I-finish the day indeed tired

    B: - Jo ***pla***, que tinc dues feines (= Jo sí que acabo la jornada ben cansat, perquè tinc dues feines)
    B: - I indeed-even-more, that have-got two jobs (= I yes that finish the day indeed tired, because I-have-got two jobs)

Whereas *pla* in (47b) is equivalent to *sí que*, *pla* in (47a) does not mean *sí que* 'indeed' but *(encara) més* '(even) more'. So that (47b) is interpreted as an emphatic positive statement which conveys positive polarity. The difference between both uses of *pla*

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[9] Notice that Cicero already used PLANE as "truly". Thus, we consider that there are two different homofonous items: the adverb *pla*, on the one hand, and the emphatic polarity marker *pla*, on the other (bear in mind that *bien*, *bé*, *poc* and *prou*, in addition to being emphatic polarity markers, also have an adverbial counterpart). The value of the adverb ***pla*** 'truly' can be clearly illustrated in the following sentences: *Amb sis filles per maridar, un hom té* ***pla*** *de què pensar.* [*CTILC*; Cayrol, Antoni (Jordi Pere Cerdà), *Contalles de Cerdanya*: 85] 'with six daughters to marry, a man has truly something to think'.

turns out to be more evident because we can add an explicit negative marker (for instance, *no*) to the former, but not to the latter.[10]

(48) a.**A**: - Últimament la Maria no menja gens
  A: - Lately the Mary not eat nothing

  B: En Joan ***pla*** <u>no</u> menja
  B: - The John even-more not eat
  '**B**: - John even eats less'

  b. A l'hivern em costa dormir, però a l'estiu ***pla***, <u>no</u> dormo (cf. Rigau, In press)
  in winter CL$_{DAT}$ is-hard sleep, but in summer even-more not sleep
  'In winter I keep esaily awake, but in summer it is even worse, I don't sleep at all'

  c.**A**: - No acabo la jornada gens cansat
  A: - Not I-finish the day not-a-bit tired
  '**A**: - I am not tired at all at the end of the day'

  B: *- Jo ***pla*** <u>no</u> (l'acabo cansat), que no tinc feina
  B: - I indeed-even-more not (CL finish tired), that not have-got a-job (= I indeed-even-less ...)

  d.**B**: -Jo ***pla***, que no tinc feina
  '**B**: - Neither I am, indeed, because I don't have any job'

Whereas (48a, speaker B) and (48b) express comparison by means of emphatic scalar quantification with the meaning of 'less' (i.e., 'not more' = 'less'), *pla* in (48c, speaker B) brings about ungrammaticality because the positive meaning of *pla* is incompatible with negative polarity. Notice, however, that (48d) would be a right correlate to (48c, speaker A). Moreover, *pla* cannot either cooccur with *sí* in any of the preceding examples because its emphatic value clashes with that of other emphatic polarity markers, like *sí*, for example. This is clearly illustrated in (49) where *pla* is equivalent to *sí que*.

(49) a. **B**: - Jo ***pla***, que tinc dues feines (= Jo sí que acabo la jornada ben cansat, perquè tinc dues feines)
  B: - I indeed-even-more, that have-got two jobs (= I yes that finish the day indeed tired, because I-have-got two jobs)

  b.**B**: - Jo ***sí que*** acabo la jornada ben cansat, que tinc dues feines
  B: - I yes that finish the day indeed tired, because I-have-got two jobs (= I yes that finish the day indeed tired, because I-have-got two jobs)

2.2.6. *Poc (que) / poca [pokə]*

Poc "no (< little)" is frequently used in the northern region of Catalonia (precisely, in the diocese of Girona and Elne (Rosselló, Empordà, Gironès, la Selva and Berguedà, above all). It must be taken into account that the use of *poc* displays interspeaker variability. In Pla de l'Estany *poc* is a counterpressupositional emphatic polarity marker (see Rigau 2004 and In press)[11] whereas in the cities of Girona and Figueres it has lost

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[10] Rigau (In press) says that this kind of sentences are ungrammatical. However, I have asked other native speaker who normally use *pla* and they all have said that it is grammatical.

[11] A euphemistic way to express a sort of negation which is contradictory with a previously said statement, according to Alcover-Moll.

the pressupositional value and can be used out of the blue,[12] see (50e). It occurs in preverbal position (with postverbal subjects) and sometimes can be combined with *que poc (que)*. In Girona, however, it is generally used without *que* and can either be pronounced as *[pok]* or *[pokə]* (*poc*, *poca*) depending on the following word[13] (see Rossich 1996 for more information).

(50)   a. «¿On és el noi?—***Poc*** ho sé!» (o «***Poc*** que ho sé!»)
          where is the boy? — <u>not</u> CL_{ACC} know (or Not that CL know)
          'Where is the boy? —I do not know'
      b. ***Poc*** hi aniré a la biblioteca
          <u>not</u> CL will-go to the library
          'I won't go to the library'
      c. Es a casa, en Joan? —**poca** ha arribat!
          Is at home, the John? — <u>not</u> has arrived!
          'Is John at home? —No, he hasn't arrived yet!'
      d. «***Poc que*** ho vull, que surtis de casa!»
          <u>not</u> that it want, that go-out of home
          'I don't want that you go out'
      e. T<small>RINI</small> Per qué?... Qué hi vé a buscar aquí a n'aquesta casa? A<small>RCADI</small> Qué hi vinc
          a buscar?...***poc*** t'ho penses, peró ja ho sabrás
          T<small>RINI</small> Why? What CL_{LOC} comes to seek here to in this house? A<small>RCADI</small> What
          CL_{LOC} come to seek? ... <u>not</u> CL_{DAT}CL_{ACC} think, but already it will-know.
          'T<small>RINI</small> Why? What are you looking for in this house? A<small>RCADI</small> What am I looking
          for? I won't believe it, but you will already know.'

                                                                  [(50a), (50d), *DCVB*]
                                              [(50e), *CTILC*; Pere Cavallé, *Audaba i posta*: 66]

Catalan *poc* can license negative polarity items in the same way as the negative marker *no*, as shown in (51):

(51)   a. ***Poc*** hi he estat <u>mai</u> a Barcelona
          'not there have been never in Barcelona'
          "I have never been in Barcelona."
      b. ***Poc*** he vist <u>ningú</u> a la biblioteca de la facultat
          'not have seen nobody in the library of the faculty'
          "I haven't seen anybody in the faculty library."
      c. ***Poc*** ha fet <u>res</u> avui
          'not has done nothing today'
          "He hasn't done anything today."

As shown by the literal translations of the examples in (51), *poc* does not have any relation with the verb. It is not a verbal modifier, but rather an operator that reinforces the negative polarity of the statement. It is base generated in *PolP* and differs clearly from the quantitative adverb *poc*. Moreover, it is incompatible with the negative marker *no* and also with other emphatic polarity markers like *sí*, for instance. This is illustrated

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[12] For example, a speaker born in Figueres who explained to me the day she realized that she was becoming blind said: *Aquell dia ho veia tot tort, fins i tot la cara del meu fill. Mirava la tele i **poca** la veia, **poca** veia res* 'that day everything was bent, even my son's face. I was watching tv and could <u>not</u> see it, I could <u>not</u> see anything'.

[13] Thus, we will either use ***poc***, ***poca***, ***poc que***, ***[pok]*** or ***[pokə]*** indistinctly in the examples.

by the contrast in meaning of the (52a) and (52b), and the ungrammaticality of (52c) and (52d):

(52) a. ***Poc*** he vist la Maria aquest estiu   (52a) ≠ 52b)
          'Not have seen Mary this summer'
          "I have <u>not</u> seen Mary this summer."
      b. He vist ***poc*** la Maria aquest estiu
          'have seen little Mary this summer'
          "I have <u>not</u> seen Mary <u>much</u> this summer."
      c. ****Poc*** <u>no</u> he vist la Maria aquest estiu
          'Not not have seen Mary this summer'
      d. ****Poc*** <u>sí</u> he vist la Maria aquest estiu
          'Not yes have seen Mary this summer'

The negative emphatic value of *poc* can be correctly described by a representation like (53), where this element merges into *PolP* and encodes the emphatic polarity features, which trigger its movement to *FocusP* so as to check them:

(53)   [$_{CP}$ .... [$_{FocusP}$ **poc**$_i$ ... [$_{PolP}$ t$_i$ [$_{IP}$...]]]]

2.2.7. Negative *pla (que)*

Alcover-Moll comment on the fact that this meaning of *pla (que)* comes from an ironic use of afirmative *pla* and say that, as well as affirmative *pla* reinforces the affirmative value of the sentence, negative *pla* stresses its negative meaning.

(54) a. Sí, tu ***pla que*** ho arreglaries bé
          yes, you <u>NOT</u> that CL repair well
          'No, you WOULDN'T repair it well!'
      b. Jo ***pla*** ho voldria, que em fiquessin a la presó!
          I <u>NOT</u> CL would-like, that CL put in the prison
          'I WOULDN'T like it, to be taken to prison'
      c. ¿Sou lo rector de Tortellà?—Jo ***pla***
          Are the parish-priest of Tortellà? — I <u>NOT</u>
          'Are you the parish priest of Tortellà? — <u>NOT</u> at all.
      d. Això ***pla que*** es farà
          This <u>NOT</u> that CL will-be-done
          'This WON'T be done'

<div align="right">[(54a) - (54d), DCVB, sv. pla]</div>

The negative meaning of this *pla* can be syntactically tested because it licenses negative polarity items, (55a) and (55b), embedded clauses with a subjunctive verb, (55c), and also because, but for the emphatic reading, negative *pla* clauses are equivalent to the negative sentences with *no*, (55f), or even with *poc*, (55e) –see also Rigau 2004.

(55) a. En Pere ***pla que*** sap <u>res</u>
          the Peter <u>NOT</u> that knows nothing
          'Peter DOESN'T know nothing'
      b. A mart ***pla que*** hi ha anat <u>mai ningú</u>
          In Mart <u>NOT</u> that CL has been never nobody
          'For sure nobody has ever been to Mars.'
      c. Jo ***pla que*** em pensava <u>que fos</u> tan complicat aquest tema

I <u>NOT</u> that CL thought that be so complex this topic
'I would have NEVER thought that this would have been so complex a topic'
d. En Joan ***pla que*** és ric
   the John not that is rich
   'John is <u>NOT</u> rich'
e. En Joan ***poca*** és ric
   the John not is rich
   'John is <u>not</u> rich'
f. En Joan ***no*** és ric
   the John not is rich
   'John is not rich'

[(55), Rigau (2004]

2.2.8. *No...pas / pas*

Pas was an Old Catalan minimizer that has become an emphatic negative polarity marker and must occur under the scope of the negative marker *no*. In the varieties spoken in the northern and central areas of Catalonia and also in Tarragona, where it is rarely used, it has been attributed a counterpressupositional meaning. However, nowadays, most speakers consider that it does not convey any pressupositional value.

In the Roussillon (and, up to the end of the XXth century, also in Alt Empordà, Ripollès, Gironès and Garrotxa), it can be used as the only negative marker of the sentence, see (56a) and (56b).

In the areas of Empordà, Pla de l'Estany and Gironès, it can be currently placed after the past participle in compound perfects, as in (56c).

(56) a. T'ho donaré ***pas***
         to-you it will-give <u>not</u>
         'I won't give it to you'
      b. El pare hi és ***pas***
         the father CL$_{LOC}$ is <u>not</u>
         'Dad is not here'
      c. <u>No</u> l'he vist ***pas*** a en Joan
         <u>not</u> him have seen <u>not-at-all</u> to the John
         'I haven't seen John at all'
      d. <u>No</u> l'he ***pas*** vist a en Joan
         <u>not</u> him have <u>not-at-all</u> seen to the John
         'I haven't seen John at all'

[(56a) and (56b), *DCVB*, sv. *pas*]

Despite having the same meaning as *poc* and negative *pla (que)*, its syntactic behaviour patterns differently because it cannot precede the finite verb.

(57) a. *Pas vindrà la Maria
         not(-at-all) will-come the Mary
      b. *Pas ha vingut la Maria
         not(-at-all) has-come the Mary

2.3. Emphatic polarity particles in other Romance languages

The preceding discussion clearly shows that most of the Spanish and Catalan emphatic polarity particles appear in a high position in the structural hierarchy, namely to the left

of the finite verb. This pattern diverges from that of their approximate counterparts in Romance languages, which surface in a lower position. The following examples illustrate this situation in the case of French *bien* (58) and Italian *ben* (59), whose distribution parallels that of *ben* in Catalan (34)[14] –see Hernanz (2006):[15]

(58) a. Je suis **bien** arrivé à l'heure
         I am indeed arrived on time
         'I did indeed arrive on time'
      b. J'ai **bien** appelé vingt fois
         'I have indeed called twenty times'
      c. Je voudrais **bien** vous inviter
         I would like indeed CL$_{ACC}$ to invite
         'I would indeed like to invite you'

[(58a) from Vinet (2000:137)]
[(58b) from Robert (1979)]

(59) a. Gianni avrà **ben** risposto
         'Gianni will have indeed answered'
      b. Maria ha **ben** parlato di lui
         'Maria has indeed spoken of him'
      c. Maria parlava **ben** di lui
         Maria spoke indeed of him

[Belletti (1990: 39)]

And the same is true for presuppositional negative Romance markers like Catalan *pas*, Italian *mica*, etc., which appear either preceding or following a past participle (see Cinque 1999: 47). Compare, in this respect, (58)-(59) with (56c,d) and (60):

(60) a. Non hanno **mica** mangiato
         They haven't not eaten
      b. Non hanno mangiato **mica**
         They haven't eaten not
      c. Non ho **mica** detto questo
         I have not said this

[(60a), (60b) from Cinque (1999: 47)]

On the basis of preceding discussion, we conclude that emphatic polarity markers cannot be regarded as forming part of a homogeneous distributional paradigm in Romance languages. Moreover, what the data seem to indicate is that the elements under study split into a "low" and a "high" pattern, the latter occupying a more prominent structural position than the former. In view of this, it could be proposed that the syntactic differences between both varieties of particles in Romance languages do correlate with interpretive ones. Interestingly enough, empirical evidence from Catalan

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[14] Notice that Portuguese **bem**, which is also used to reinforce the assertive value of a sentence (see Martins xxx), seems to pattern as Catalan *bé* and Spanish *bien*, since it surfaces in a high position in the structural hierarchy:

(i)   a. Reservo os meus talentos para outros efeitos... e tu **bem** o sabes!
         I-keep my talent for other effects ... and you indeed it know
      b. Quando ela dera entrada no hospital **bem** me parecera uma cara conhecida
         when she was gone-into to-the hospital indeed to-me seemed a face known

[Martins xxx]

[15] Despite the similarities between (34) and (45)-(46), a closer look at the data reveals that the distribution of *bien / ben* in French, Italian and Catalan is far from homogeneous. We will not address this issue here.

provides strong support for claiming that this is the case. Recall that in this language Romance *BIEN* is attested by means of two distinct lexical items *bé* and *ben*, which differ in their semantic interpretation, as the contrast in (39) is intended to show. As argued in Hernanz (2010), although Spanish *bien*, Catalan *bé* and their Romance equivalents share a relevant property, namely their emphatic positive import –see Vinet (1996), (2000), and Belletti (1990) among other authors–, they differ in their semantic interpretation. More precisely, Spanish *bien* and Catalan *bé* encode a nearly concessive value that is lacking in *ben* and its Romance counterparts, this suggesting a sharp connection in the interface between syntax and semantics. For reasons of space, we cannot discuss this matter in detail here.

3. Toward a syntactic analysis of emphatic polarity

3.1. Emphatic polarity and focalization

As discussed above, emphatic polarity particles provide a sentence with a contrastive value that is clearly absent in its neutral counterpart. Hence it seems plausible to postulate a tight connection between emphatic polarity –either positive or negative- and the processes of focalization, the essential architecture of which is to emphasize a particular sentence constituent:

(61) a. PEPITO bebe cerveza (y no Julia)
      PEPITO drinks beer (and not Julia)
      '*Pepito* drinks beer'
    b. CERVEZA bebe Pepito (y no vino tinto)
      BEER drinks Pepito (and not red wine)
      'Pepito drinks *beer*'

Following Holmberg (2001:154), we claim that the phenomena related to contrastive focus in (61) and emphatic polarity can be submitted to a similar syntactic and semantic analysis. Concerning the semantic perspective, in both cases it could be argued that we have an operator that takes two arguments, a presupposition and an assertion. This is illustrated in (62) with respect to (61b) and in (63) with respect to (1a) –see Batllori & Hernanz (2008):

(62) **Presupposition**: Pepito bebe x
                      'Pepito drinks x'
     Assertion: x es cerveza, no vino tinto
                      'x is beer, not red wine'

(63) **Presupposition**: Hoy Pol$_x$ ha llovido
                      'Today Pol$_x$ has rained'
     Assertion: x is affirmative, not negative

From a syntactic point of view, the relevant characteristic in both processes is "explicit movement to the CP domain" (Holmberg 2001:154). This is clearly the case for the focused NP *cerveza* in (61b), which has been moved from its basic position to a prominent site in the left periphery of the sentence. As well-known, this process triggers in turn the movement of the verb to the head C of CP, which is made visible by means of subject-verb inversion.

Along with the proposals that subsume negation and affirmation into the same functional category *PolP* or ΣP (see Laka 1990, Zanuttini 1991, 1997, among other authors), we assume that this projection, which c-commands the sentence (*TP/IP*), hosts

polarity marks (either the negative adverb *no* or the phonetically null features of unmarked affirmation). This is illustrated in (64):

(64)   [$_{CP}$ ....[**$_{PolP}$** [$_{Pol'}$ [Pol° [$_{IP}$ ...]]]]]

The representation in (64) accounts for the cases of unmarked polarity. However, as has been stated above, emphatic polarity –similarly to what happens with contrastive focus– implies movement to the CP field. As well-known, this domain can be split up into several projections, which gives as a result the hierarchy illustrated in (65):

(65)   Force > Topic > Focus > Fin ...

<div align="right">[Rizzi (1997)]</div>

Within the structural space depicted in (65), *FocusP* is the *locus* that accommodates (among others) the elements that encode emphatic features (see Rizzi 1997). Therefore, this projection is the target of movement for emphatic polarity, which is sketched in (66) (see Holmberg 2001):

(66)   [$_{CP}$ .... [**$_{FocusP}$** PolP ... [t$_{PolP}$ [$_{IP}$ ...]]]]

According to what has been described above, the particles *sí, bien, bé, prou, pla, poc,* etc. may be regarded as polarity markers that would be licensed in *PolP*, from which they would move to *FocusP* so as to check the emphatic feature they encode. This would result in the representation given in (67):

(67)   [$_{CP}$ .... [$_{FocusP}$ {*sí$_i$* /*bien$_i$* /*ya$_i$* /*bé$_i$* /*ja$_i$* /*prou$_i$* /*pla$_i$* /*poc$_i$*} [$_{PolP}$ t$_i$ [$_{IP}$ ....]]]]

This analysis makes several interesting predictions in relation to i) the position of the subject in emphatic polarity constructions, ii) the distribution of topicalized elements with respect to the emphatic polarity particles, and iii) the status of the particles under study as *wh*-operators. We will address these issues successively in the following subsections.

3.1.1. Subject-verb inversion

Going back to the examples discussed in the preceding sections, at the outset of this work, note that high emphatic polarity particles such as *bien, bé, prou, poc,* etc., like *wh*-elements, trigger the inversion of the subject. Consider the contrasts in (68) and (69):

(68) a. ***Sí*** /***bien*** ha cantado <u>la soprano</u>   [= (21)]
      b. *****Sí*** / **bien** <u>la soprano</u> ha cantado

(69) a. ***Sí*** (*que*) / ***bé*** (*que*) / ***prou*** (*que*) / ***pla*** (*que*) // ***poc*** (*que*) ha cantat <u>la soprano</u>
      b. *****Sí*** (*que*) / ***bé*** (*que*) / ***prou*** (*que*) / ***pla*** (*que*) // ***poc*** (*que*) <u>la soprano</u> ha cantat

A potential problem for the claim that emphatic polarity sentences do not behave like declarative sentences with respect to subject word order is given in examples such as (70), which might indeed suggest that subject inversion is optional rather than compulsory in this kind of sentences:

(70) a. <u>La soprano</u> ***sí*** /***bien*** ha cantado
      b. <u>La soprano</u> ***sí*** (*que*) / ***bé*** (*que*) / ***prou*** (*que*) / ***pla*** (*que*) // ***poc*** (*que*) ha cantat

In Hernanz (2006), (2010) it is argued that, although they precede the V, the preverbal DPs in examples like (70) do not occupy a subject position, but rather a topic position. Strong evidence supporting this claim comes from quantified DPs. As is widely known, bare quantifiers (*all*, *nobody*, etc.), as well as non-specific quantified NPs, are banned from topic position. Accordingly, if the underlined DPs in (70) were in the canonical

subject position, one would expect that they could be replaced by a quantified DP. This expectation is not fulfilled, as shown in (71):

(71) a. Poca gente (*__bien__/*__sí__) ha cantado
         few people (indeed) has sung

      b. Tothom ({*__sí__ (*que*) / __bé__ (*que*) / __prou__ (*que*)…} ha cantat
         everybody (indeed) has sung

3.1.2. Topicalized elements *vs*. emphatic polarity particles

Turning back to the representation in (67), notice that this analysis predicts that topicalized elements in affirmative emphatic constructions should necessarily precede high emphatic polarity particles, because *Focus* is structurally lower than *Topic* in the structural hierarchy of (65). The contrasts in (72) and (73) provide direct evidence for this:

(72) a. [$_{TOP}$ Las lentejas] __sí__ / __bien__ se las come Pepito
         the lentils indeed CL CL$_{ACC}$ eats Pepito
         'Lentils, Pepito eats them indeed'

      b.*__Sí__ / __bien__ las lentejas se las come Pepito

(73) a. [$_{TOP}$ A la biblioteca] __poca__ hi aniré
         to the library not CL$_{OBL}$ will go
         'I will not go to the library'

      b.*__Poca__ a la biblioteca hi aniré

Other examples showing that topicalized elements may freely occur in front of emphatic polarity particles are given in (74):

(74) a. [$_{TOP}$ Aquesta circumstància] __prou__ l'havia notada […] l'Arbós"
         This circumstance indeed him had noticed the Arbós
         'Arbós had indeed become aware of this event'
      b. [$_{TOP}$ A ella] __bien__ que le ha gustado, pero lo niega"
         To her indeed that her have liked, but it denies
         'She has liked it indeed, but she denies it'

         [(74b), M. Vayreda, *La Punyalada*, Barcelona 1904: 250]
         [(74b), CREA, A. Barriguete Castellón, *Lo que el vino se llevó*. Diana (México D.F.), 1996: 67-68]

3.1.3. Emphatic polarity particles and *wh*-operators

As stated in (67), emphatic polarity particles target *FocusP* in order to check their emphatic value. The proposed analysis predicts a variety of grammatical effects which can be easily accounted for under the assumption that these particles, being focal in nature, behave like *wh*-operators.

To begin with, emphatic polarity particles must occur left-adjoined to the finite verb. Note, in this respect, that examples like (75)-(76), where the subject intervenes between the particle and the verb, are systematically ruled out:

(75) *__Bien__ /*__sí__ la soprano ha cantado
        indeed the soprano has sung

(76) a. *__Ja__ jo vull anar a axecar-la!
         already I want to go to lift+CL$_{ACC}$
      b. *__Prou__ que en Pere ho deia

indeed that the Pere CL_ACC said
   c. ***Poc** la Maria ho farà
      not the Mary CL_ACC will-do

The ill-formedness of the examples in (75)-(76) clearly suggests that adjacency between emphatic polarity particles and V is required. As is well-known, the same restriction holds for *wh*-elements in both interrogative and exclamative sentences, which may be taken as evidence to postulate that emphatic polarity particles, like *wh*-elements, trigger **V-to-C** movement.

A second piece of evidence suggesting that emphatic polarity particles behave as *wh*-elements comes from the fact that they are banned from constructions submitted to *wh*-movement. This is seen in the following contrasts:

(77)   a. ***Bien** / **sí*** ha cantado laTraviata la soprano
       indeed has sung la Traviata the soprano
       'The soprano HAS sung la Traviata'
     b. *Qué ópera ***bien** / **sí*** ha cantado la soprano?
       what opera HAS sung the soprano?

(78) a. ***Ya*** podría Pepe haberte llamado
      already could Pepe have+CL_ACC called
      'Pepe should have called you indeed'
    b. *Cuándo ***ya*** podría Pepe haberte llamado?
      when should Pepe have called you?

 (79) a. En Pere ***pla que** / **poc que*** sap res
      the Peter NOT that / not that knows nothing
      'Peter DOESN'T know nothing'
    b. *Qui ***pla que** / **poc que*** sap res?
      who DOESN'T know nothing?

(80) a. En Pere ***bé que** / **prou que*** ho deia
      the Peter indeed that CL_ACC said
      'Peter said it indeed'
    b. *Quines coses ***bé que** / **prou que*** deia en Pere!
      what things indeed said the Peter!

As argued in Hernanz (2006), (2010), and Batllori & Hernanz (2008), the incompatibility described above between *wh*-movement constructions and emphatic polarity particles is an expected result of the fact that the category which attracts interrogative and exclamative elements within the CP domain is *FocusP* (see Rizzi 1997). To be precise, the ungrammatical versions of (77)-(80) can be explained as the effect of a crash between two constituents that compete for the same structural position (*FocusP*). This illustrated in (81):

(81)   [_CP .... [_FocusP ***qué**_i* //{***sí**_i* /***bien**_i* /***ya**_i* /***bé**_i* /***ja**_i* /***prou**_i* /***pla**_i* /***poc**_i*}[_PolP t_i [_IP ....]]]]

Finally, the word order restrictions exemplified in (72)-(74) are reminiscent of a more general pattern involving the distribution of *wh*-operators and topics, as shown in (82) – see Rizzi (1997:291):

(82)   TOPIC – WH
     *WH – TOPIC

In sum, in the preceding subsections we have examined a number of salient syntactic characteristics of sentences headed by emphatic polarity particles and we have shown that they provide support for the analysis given in (67). In particular, we have argued that the particles under study share relevant properties with *wh*-operators, namely, i) they trigger subject inversion; ii) they may co-occur with topicalized constituents in the fixed order < TOP-particle> ; iii) they must appear left-adjoined to the verb; and iv) they are incompatible with *wh*-elements.

3.2. Emphatic polarity and related phenomena

The analysis proposed in (67) does not cover the broad field of emphatic polarity in Spanish and Catalan. In this section we will briefly refer to some closely related phenomena which suggest that the whole paradigm of emphatic polarity is more complex than previously assumed.

3.2.1. Are there low emphatic polarity particles?

On the basis of the picture drawn in section § 2, we can reach the conclusion that not all the emphatic polarity particles fall under the same distributional pattern. That is, Catalan *ben* (§ 2.2.2, § 2.3) and *pas* (§ 2.2.8, § 4.1.2) as their French and Italian counterparts, occur in a lower structural hierarchy than the rest of the particles examined, possibly in the vP field. Interestingly enough, this syntactic property correlates with a semantic one, namely, their weaker positive / negative import.

Given this scenario, the question arises whether "low" emphatic polarity particles are submitted to the same constraints with respect MCP than "high" ones. A preliminary exam of the data shows that the former display weaker intervention effects than the latter. Compare, in this regard, (83) with (84):

(83) La Maria lamenta / se n'alegra [que en Pere *no* hagi *pas* pres pastilles]
      the Mary regrets / is-happy that the Peter not have not-at-all taken pills
      'Mary is disappointed / is happy to know that Peter haven't taken pills at all'

(84) *La Maria lamenta / se n'alegra [que en Pere *poc* hagi pres pastilles]
      the Mary regrets / is-happy that the Peter <u>not</u> have taken pills
      'Mary is disappointed / is happy to know that Peter haven't taken pills'

More research is needed in order to substantiate this point.

3.2.2. Weak focus

As illustrated in § 1.2, Weak Focus Fronting (WFF) can be a strategy to reinforce the assertive value of a sentence. Hence, it would be expected that the properties of the sentences submitted to this syntactic process crucially remind those of sentences headed by emphatic polarity particles with respect to MCP. A first approach to the data seems suggests that this is the case. Compare in this respect (85) with (86):

(85) a. Dijo que *poco* se imaginaba María lo sucedido
         Said that little CL imagined María the happened
         'He said that Mary could not imagine what had happened'

      b. Creo que *sus razones* tendrá para actuar de este modo
         I believe that her reasons will have to act of this way
         'I believe that there must be an explanation for such behaviour'

(86) a. *Cuando *a alguien* encuentre en la Rambla, irá al cine
          when to somebody (she) meets in the Rambla, (she) will go to the cinema

b. *Si ***mucho*** me temiera que la crisis no ha tocado fondo, trabajaría este verano
   if much (I) was afraid that the crisis has not finished, (I) would work this summer

A more detailed characterisation of the intervention effects with WFF structures as well as of the position occupied by fronted elements in the left periphery should be carried out in future research.

3.2.3. Two polarity layers

As observed in section § 2, several emphatic polarity particles both in Catalan –*bé, sí, pla, prou*- and in Spanish –*bien, sí*- may surface to the left of the complementizer *que* ("that"). It has also been noted that the presence of *que* conveys and added strong assertive value (somehow echoic) to the sentence. On the basis of the contrasts between *bien / bien que* and *sí /sí que*, Hernanz (2007) argued, along the lines of Cormack & Smith's (1998) proposal, that two polarity positions are at work in the sentential structure: an internal position corresponding to the functional projection *PolP*, and an external position in the CP domain –a position that these authors labeled *Echo(ic)*- whose scope encompasses the whole sentence. This is illustrated in (87):

(87) [$_{CP}$ [$_{PolP1}$ ***bien*** / ***sí*** [[***que***] ... [$_{PolP2}$ [$_{IP}$ ...]]]]]

Under the analysis sketched in (83) it would be expected that *bien que* and *sí que* – contrary to *bien* and *sí*- were compatible with negation, since the latter would be hosted in a different functional projection than the former. The examples in (88) confirm this prediction:

(88)   a. Hoy ***sí que*** <u>no</u> ha llovido
          today yes that (it) has not rained
      b. Qué te pasa? ***Bien que*** <u>no</u> te molesta cuando dicen que sos mi prometida
          what CL$_{DAT}$ happens? Well that not CL$_{DAT}$ bothers when (they) say that (you) are my betrothed
          'What's the matter? It certainly doesn't seem to bother you when they say you are my betrothed!'

                                    [(88b), from the data base http:// www.corpusdelespanol.org]

And the same holds for Catalan, where the equivalents to the above examples are also grammatical. Besides, in addition to the pattern illustrated in (88), Catalan even allows an emphatic polarity marker as *poc* under the scope of *sí que*:

(89)   Excursions? Ara ***sí que*** <u>poc</u> us entenc.
       Excursions? Now yes that not CL$_{ACC}$ understand

                                    [*CTILC*; Tomàs Massó i Torrents, *Croquis pirenencs*: 132]

Further evidence to support the representation in (87) comes from Catalan, where two positions for the negative marker *no* are attested:[16]

(90)   ***No que*** <u>no</u> ha cantat la soprano
       not that not has sung the soprano

Like *sí que* in Spanish, the *no que* strategy in Catalan is used to focus on the polarity of the whole assertion. More precisely, preposed negation is not used in (90) to negate the denoted event of the soprano's singing. Instead, it serves to contradict a previous affirmative assertion (i.e., "The soprano has sung").

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[16] As discussed in Hernanz (2007: 128), this possibility is totally banned in Modern Spanish.

On the basis of the above data, one could speculate that the analysis in (87) might be extended to the whole paradigm of high emphatic polarity particles (compatible with *que*) in Catalan –an issue we cannot pursue here. However, examples such as those in (91) provide support for this conjecture:

(91)   a. Em demanes si vull venir? ***Prou que*** <u>sí</u>!
           CL_{DAT} ask whether (I) want come? Indeed that yes!
       b. Aquest casament ***pla*** que no es farà
           this marriage indeed that not CL will-take-place
           'This marriage will indeed take place'

<div align="right">[DCVB, s.v. prou]</div>

3.2.4. Emphatic polarity particles *vs*. sentential adverbs

As stated in this work, emphatic polarity particles are used to emphasize the assertive value of a sentence. This seems to suggest a close relationship to modality, in the sense that these particles qualify the speaker's attitude regarding the propositional content of the sentence. In fact, as has been noted by Palmer (1986: 92), emphatic affirmation may be treated "as a kind of 'strong' epistemic modality expressing complete confidence in, or knowledge of, what is being said." Likewise, Lyons (1977: 809) points out that "there is no epistemically stronger statement than a categorical assertion". Looked at from this point of view, sentences headed by emphatic polarity particles might easily be analyzed as containing a subtype of epistemic markers which indicate a higher level of commitment on the part of the speaker regarding what is asserted than their neutral counterparts. Given the semantic similarities between emphatic polarity particles and sentential adverbs, it would be tempting to integrate them into the same paradigm, and to propose a unified syntactic analysis to account for both types of elements.

Further support for this view comes from the fact that sentential adverbs, like emphatic polarity particles –see section § 4-, display root clause properties, as has been noticed by Danckaert & Haegeman (to appear). This is illustrated in (92):

(92)   a. ??*If *frankly* he's unable to cope, we'll have to replace him
         b. *If George *probably* comes, the party will be a disaster

<div align="right">[Danckaert & Haegeman (to appear)]</div>

A closer examination of the data reveals, though, that this assumption is not tenable, because emphatic polarity particles and sentential adverbs sharply differ in many respects (see Hernanz 2010). To set only one salient difference, notice that they do not pattern alike with regard to polarity markers. Therefore, epistemic adverbs such as *ciertamente* ("truly") *indudablemente* ("undoubtedly"), etc. may co-occur with both negative words and positive marker *sí*:

(93)   a. *Ciertamente*, la soprano <u>no</u> cantó
           'Certainly, the soprano did not sing'
       b. *Indudablemente*, el decano <u>nunca</u> habla
           'Undoubtedly, the dean never speaks'

(94)   a. *Probablemente*, la soprano <u>sí</u> cantó
           probably, the soprano yes sang
           'Probably, the soprano did sing'
        b. *Realmente*, <u>sí</u> estoy cansada
           really, yes (I) am tired
           'I really am tired'

4. Main clause phenomena (MCP) or unrestricted phenomena?

In this section we will provide you with a detailed description of the syntactic behaviour of the particles described above so as to find out whether their use as emphatic polarity markers is restricted to main clauses or it is unrestricted.

Thus, we will revise the data in order to detect intervention effects (i.e., the presence of operators) and to see their interaction with our proposal, according to which emphatic polarity values imply movement of an affirmative or negative particle (another operator) to the left peripheral FocusP. The movement account of adverbial clauses predicts that emphatic polarity markers should be banned from non-peripheral adverbial clauses and other similarly derived structures.

4.1. Polarity markers and root *vs.* non- root sentences (MCP)

4.1.1. Main clauses

As has been widely illustrated in the preceding sections of this paper (§ 2., above all), Spanish and Catalan emphatic polarity markers (EPM, from now on) are broadly attested in main clauses.

(95) a. I és cert que encara viu mon pare? Sos germans *poc* li pogueren respondre. Eren
       ells esglaiats de sa presencia.   And is true that still live my father? his
       brothers not him could answer. were they astonished of his presence.
       'And is it true that my father is still alive? His brothers couldn't answer. They
       were astonished to see him'
    b. Ells *pla* veieren damunt la ruta un cavaller fantasma. No el conegueren pas,
       però.
       they indeed saw over the path a knight ghost. not him knew not-at-all, though
       'They saw a ghost knight indeed. They did not know him at all, though'

<div align="right">

[(95a), *CTILC;* Frederic Clascar, *El Gènesi*: 194]
[(95b), *CTILC*; Aurora Bertrana, *Paradisos oceànics*: 87]

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4.1.2. Complement clauses

The examples in (96) show that EPM are generally suitable with complement clauses of declarative or epistemic verbs, for instance. In contrast, they are not possible in those of evaluative, directive or volitive verbs, exception being made for *pas*, as can be seen in (97).

(96) a. Cualquier otra persona, en su lugar, <u>pensando</u> [que *bien* vale la Moncloa una
       sonrisa], habría hecho la vida más agradable a sus contemporáneos
       Any other person, in his place, thinking that indeed is-worth the Moncloa a
       smile, would-have done the life more fine to his contemporaries
       'Thinking that being in power is worth a smile indeed, anyone else, in his
       position, would have made life easier for his contemporaries'
    b. Però en aquesta mena d'aldarulls <u>crec</u> [que *sí que* calen més policies]"
       but in this sort of disturbances believe that yes that need more police
       'But in this kind of public disturbances I believe that more police is needed
       indeed'
    c. massa <u>conegué</u> Esaú [que *poc* eren bones als ulls de son pare Isaac les filles de
       Canaàn]
       too-much knew Esau that not were good to-the eyes of his father Isaac the
       daughters of Canaan

'Esaú really knew that the daughters of Canaan weren't considered good by his father Isaac'

d. ***Bé*** <u>saps</u> [que ***pla*** m'agrades]
indeed know that indeed to-me like-you
'You know that I really like you indeed'

<div align="right">
[(96a), J.J. Millás, <i>Mala leche</i>, El País, 3/2/05]
[(96b), <i>La Vanguardia</i>, 24/6/11]
[(96c), CTILC; Frederic Clascar, <i>El Gènesi</i>: 116]
[(96d), <i>Massó Croq. 33; DCVB</i> sv. <i>pla</i>]
</div>

(97) a. La Maria lamenta / se n'alegra [que en Pere ***no*** hagi ***pas*** pres pastilles]
the Mary regrets / is-happy that the Peter not have not-at-all taken pills
'Mary is disappointed / is happy to know that Peter haven't taken pills at all'

b. Els metges han decidit / ordenat [que ells ***no*** prenguin ***pas*** pastilles]
the doctors have decided / ordered that they not take not-at-all pills
'Doctors have decided /ordered that they shouldn't take pills at all'

4.1.3. Relative clauses

Although non-restrictive relative clauses clearly display a divergent pattern from restrictive relatives concerning the acceptability of EPM, see (98), it is worth taking into account that some restrictive relatives also admit them, see (99)

(98) a.[…] paralizadas las inversiones en infraestructuras, [que ***sí que*** son generadoras de empleo]
brought-to-a-halt the infrastructure investments, that yes that are producer of employment
'The infrastructure investmenst, which create employment indeed, have been cut short'

b. I diu a Abraham: --Treu-me aquesta esclava i son fill, [que ***poc*** ha d'heretar], amb mon fill Isaac, el fill d'aquesta esclava.
And says to Abraham: --take CL this slave and her son, that <u>not</u> have to take over, with my son Isaac, the son of this slave
'And Abraham says: --expel this slave and her son, who mustn't be my heir, with my son Isaac, the son of this slave'

c.El passatge de la Virreina, [que ***pla*** és un dels llocs barcelonins més adorables], bull d'animació.
The passage of the Virreina, that indeed is one of-the places in-Barcelona more beautiful, boils of activity
'The passage of la Virreina, which is really one of the most beautiful places in Barcelona, is bustling with life'

<div align="right">
[(98a), CREA, <i>El País</i>, 14/9/97]
[(98b), CTILC; Frederic Clascar, <i>El Gènesi</i>: 79]
[(98c), Coromines. s.v. <i>pla</i>: 580]
</div>

(99) a. existe <u>una amplia franja de jóvenes</u> [que ***sí que*** estarían dispuestos a ser empresarios]
there-is a wide band of young-people that yes that would-be ready to become businessmen
'there are quite a lot of young people who would indeed be prepared to become businessmen'

b. Jo sé d'<u>algú</u> que ***pla*** et defensaría fins al darrer moment
I know of somebody who indeed to-you defend-would up to-the last moment

'I know of somebody who would defend you without end'

c. No es la que hem vigilat més <u>la forastera</u> que ***prou*** sabem quin cas fa dels escrits de part ensá del Ebro
not is the that have kept-watch-on more the foreigner that indeed know which case makes of-the writings of part next-to-here from-the Ebro
'The foreigner that we know indeed that does not pay attention to the news coming from the Ebro is not the one that we have kept watch on more'

<div align="right">

[(99a), *CREA, El Diario Vasco*, 04/05/1999]
[(99b), *CTILC*; Àdria Gual, *La pobre Berta*: 35]
[(99c), *CTILC*; J. Serra i Campdelacreu, *Lo canonge Ripoll, ses obres, y sa influencia...*: 3]

</div>

4.1.4. Adverbial clauses

On the whole, the use of EPM in non-peripheral adverbial clauses brings about ungrammaticality, see (100). After having examined what happens in conditional, causal, purpose, concessive and temporal clauses, we can state that *sí* and, more marginally, *sí que* are the only EPM attested and they are restricted to causal, (101a), purpose, (101b), and temporal adverbial clauses (101c).

(100) a. Si ***(*bien)*** canta la Caballé, el teatro se llenará
If indeed sings the Caballé, the theatre CL will-be-full

b. * Quan la Maria ***(*prou que)*** té temps, llegeix novel·les llargues
When the Mary indeed that have time, reads novels long

c. *Quan la Maria ***no*** té ***pas*** temps, llegeix contes curts enlloc de novel·les
When the Mary not have not-at-all time, reads stories short instead of novels

(101) a. yo metería al personaje de Ángel en otro sitio y profundizaría más con él [<u>porque</u> ***sí que*** me gusta ese tipo de hombre poético, cariñoso, sensible]
I would-put to-the role of Angel in another place and would-go-deeper more with him because yes that to-me likes this sort of man poetic, kind, sensitive
'I would put Angel's role in another part of the story and I would work it out a bit more, because I really like this sort of poetic, kind, and sensitive man'

b. Sobre las dificultades de la Conferencia de Paz opinó que 'los israelíes vienen con el ánimo de que <u>no</u> haya nada nuevo, pero nosotros trabajamos aquí en Madrid [<u>para que</u> ***sí*** lo haya']
about the difficulties of the Conference of Paz considered that the Israelians come with the mood of that not there is nothing new, but we work here in Madrid for that yes it there is
'Concerning the difficulties of Paz's Conference, (s)he considered that the Israelians do not want anything new to happen, but we are working here in Madrid so as to cause it to happen'

c. Normalmente no hago esas grandes películas de Hollywood. Porque <u>no</u> me atraen y, [<u>cuando</u> ***sí*** me gustan], hay otras ofertas que me importan más
normally not make these big films of Hollywood. Because not to-me attract and, when yes to-me like, there are other offerts that to-me interest more.
'I do not normally make these great Hollywood films. Because I do not like them and, when I really like them, there are other offerts that interest me more'

<div align="right">

[(101a), *CREA, La Ratonera. Revista asturiana de Teatro*, 05/2002]
[(101b), *CREA, La Voz de Galicia*, 30/10/1991]
[(101c), *CREA, El País. El País de las Tentaciones*, 18/10/2002]

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As for peripheral adverbial clauses, we get a slightly different picture. EPM can be used in peripheral (pseudo)conditional (*while*), causal and concessive clauses yielding grammatical results, as shown in (102).

(102) a. <u>Si</u> la Guilla *poc* ha de témer de part dels altres animals, en canvi, mólts d'aquests són víctimes de la Guilla
If the fox <u>not</u> have to be-afraid of part of-the other animals, in contrast, many of-them are victims of the fox
'While the fox doesn't have to be afraid of many other animals, most of these ones are victims of the fox'

b. Julia parece italiana, <u>mientras que</u> su marido *bien* podría ser nórdico
Julia looks Italian, while that her husband indeed could be Nordic
'Julia looks like an Italian, while her husband could be Nordic indeed'

c. Bien puedo hablar de su poder <u>porque</u> *bien que* lo gocé y padecí ...
indeed can talk about his power because indeed that it enjoyed and suffered...
'I can talk about his power indeed because I really enjoyed and endured it'

d. Cap sorpresa per a aquest, <u>perquè</u> *prou que* li n'havia parlat ja la Catarina
No surprise for to this, because indeed that him CL have talked already the Catarina
'It didn't surprise him, because Catarina had talked to him of his indeed'

e. Si no calculo mal, nos quedan aún por oírle como unas cuatro palabras, <u>aunque</u> *bien* puede ser que hoy, miércoles, ya las haya soltado todas
If not calculate bad, to-us are-left still to hear-him as-much-as some four words, even thought indeed can be that today, Wednesday, already them have said all
'If I am right, we will have to listen to about four words yet, even though it could indeed be the case that today, Wednesday, he hall already said all of them'

f. He anat a comprar el pa, <u>encara que</u> *poc* em tocava a mi avui
have gone to buy the bread, even though <u>not</u> CL was- responsible to me today
'I have gone to buy bread, even though I shouldn't have done it today'

[(102a), *CTILC*; Emili Tarré i Tarré, *La Guilla*: 13]
[(102b), *CREA*, J. Benet Goitia, *Saúl ante Samuel*. Cátedra (Madrid), 1994: 286]
[(102d), Oller *Febre*, ii, 84; *DCVB* sv. *prou*]
[(102e), M. Torres, El País, 21/05/1997]

4.2. The asymmetric syntactic behaviour of peripheral adverbial clauses w.r.t. polarity markers

The derivation of adverbial clauses (particularly, temporal and conditional adverbial clauses) as free relatives, with wh-movement of an operator to the left periphery (to ForceP), has been largely discussed (see Haegeman 2010a and 2010b, and reference therein). Haegeman 2007 gives evidence for the movement analysis of temporal clauses and predicts the incompatibility of temporal clauses with Main Clause Phenomena (MCP), which have been argued to depend on speaker assertion. It is shown that operator movement may cross circumstantial adjuncts but may not cross arguments, which has been called 'adjunct-argument asymmetry'. Conditional Clauses, in addition to having restrictions on modal expressions, also display adjunct argument asymmetry and do not allow for MCP so that they can also be derived as free relatives. According to Haegeman (2010: 604), the operator originates in Cinque (1999:88)'s MoodPirrealis. This implementation of the movement approach to conditional clauses leads to the prediction that such clauses will be incompatible with modal expressions located higher than MoodPirrealis (i.e., expression of speech act mood, evaluative mood, evidential mood, and epistemic modality). She assumes that high adverbs are operators merged in

their scope position that cannot undergo further movement and that the operator generated in MoodPirrealis shares relevant features with high modal expressions (speech act, evidential, evaluative or epistemic). That is, they belong to the same class of expressions. The operator, that is base generated in a position above Cinque's low modals (IrrealisP) and below high modals, won't have intervention effects with low deontic modals. There will be intervention effects, though, with high modals. At this point, Haegeman distinguishes between central conditional clauses and peripheral conditional clauses and states that peripheral conditionals, which are compatible with argument fronting and with high modal markers, are not derived by movement of a conditional operator. In these adverbial clauses there is an operator in the CP domain that is merged directly as the specifier of the head that hosts the connective (a functional projection –FP– associated with the speech act) and it does not move from within IP to CP. Intervention effects do not arise in such adverbial clauses. Thus, not all adverbial clauses are derived by operator movement. Haegeman (2010: 641) says that "rationale clauses, contrastive *while* clauses and *although* clauses belong to what [she has] labelled 'peripheral' adverbial clauses".
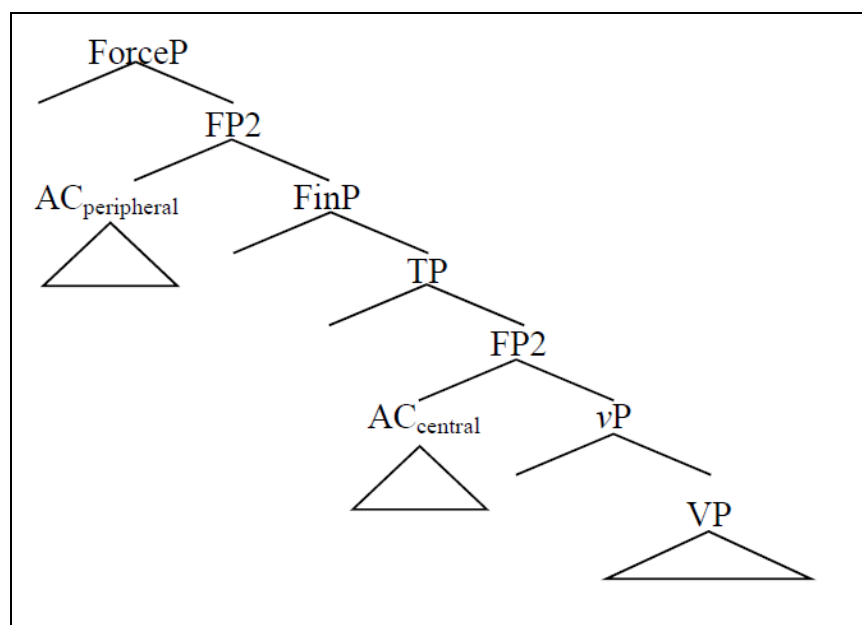

Table 1. Central versus Peripheral adverbial clauses. Danckaert (2011: 90).[17]

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[17] Danckaert (2011: 89)'s explanation of this table reads as follows: "The two types of ACs have a different external syntax (they are attached at different level to their superordinate clause), and this correlates in a systematic way with a different interpretation. Central ACs can be shown to be attached at a fairly low point to their superordinate clause (see Haegeman 1984a,b,c, 2003, where it is illustrated that they systematically fall inside the scope of matrix clause operators). They can be considered to modify the nuclear event (roughly the predicate and its arguments, say the *v*P phase). Peripheral ACs on the other hand can be said to be related to the speaker and the speech act. A simplified picture illustrating the different external syntax of peripheral and central ACs is given in (77), with FP1 as a cover term for a number of functional projections in the higher functional field, and FP2 standing for a similar series of projections in the lower functional field."
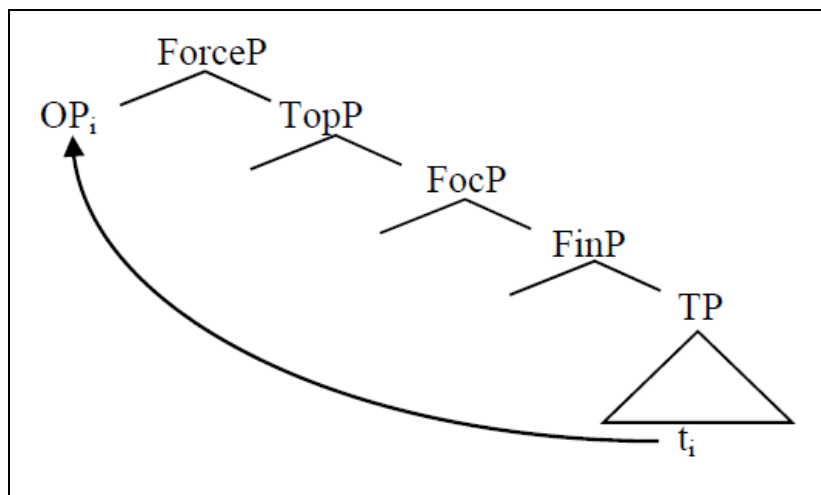
Table 2. Movement derivation for temporal and conditional adverbial clauses.
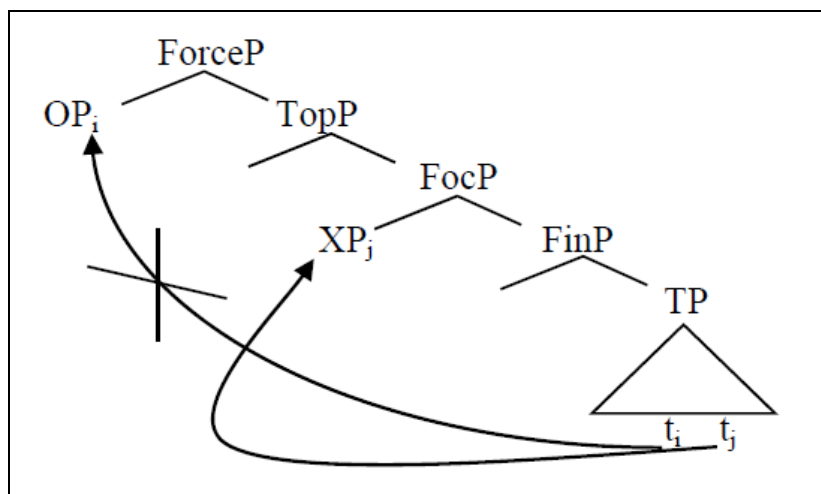**Danckaert (2011: 77)**

Table 3. Intervention effects. Danckaert (2011: 87)

In Danckaert (2011: 86)'s words, the "basic idea is that MCP somehow activate a projection in the left periphery of the clause (topics and foci, whether they are moved or base generated) in the high TP-area, with which the operator movement that derives the AC is incompatible."

Under this approach, our analysis of EPM predicts the contrasts examined in the preceding subsection, as they can be explained in terms of intervention effects.

4.3. Non-peripheral adverbial clauses: intervention effects

The intervention account can allow for an explanation of the incompatibility of MCP whenever adverbial clauses are derived by operator extraction. These phenomena should not either be possible in clausal complements of factive predicates, restrictive relatives, among other derived structures, or subjunctive clauses. According to Haegeman (2010a: 644), "it has been proposed that subjunctive clauses contain an operator in Spec CP (Kempchinsky, 1987). If this operator has been moved from a lower position, then the ungrammaticality is due to an intervention effect." In contrast, pheripheral adverbial clauses should allow for MCP.

Therefore, the intervention account could provide us with an explanation for main clause-embedded clause asymmetries. However, as stated in Danckaert and Haegeman

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(to appear: 20), we cannot "imply that all MCP that have been discussed in the literature are amenable to the intervention account."

5. Syntactically encoded or pragmatically encoded?

5.1. The pressupositional value of emphatic polarity markers

Bearing in mind the characteristics of EPM that have been commented on so far, we could pose that discourse effects associated to polarity emphasis can generally be captured syntactically in Spanish and Catalan. We can account for EPM phenomena in these languages with a purely syntactic approach within the cartographic framework. However, it must be pointed out that syntax does not seem to be sufficient to account for some semantic and pragmatic differences between EPM. For example, as already mentioned, *bien* encodes a presuppositional value that *sí* does not convey. Besides, rather than contradicting an explicit negative statement, *bien* cancels an implicit and hence not overtly formulated negative expectation (see § 2.1.2). Some EPM call for an appropiate *pragmatic* background (a previous assertion or negation, for instance), while others have lost this requirement (i.e., they have lost their pressupositional value).

5.2. Focalization: Answers to questions (Así es, etc.)

There has been a considerable debate concerning the discoursive properties of the different types of answers to questions. Batllori-Hernanz (2008, 2009) argue that, despite their divergent pragmatic characteristics, the different ways of answering direct questions in Spanish (*sí, bien, así es, eso es*, etc.) and Catalan (*sí, prou, això pla* 'no', etc.) can be given a unified syntactic explanation within the cartographic framework: they all involve EPM structures that focus on polarity. That is, these EPM have acquired their status as the consequence of a focalization process. Some of them have already undergone a grammaticalization process that resulted in their merging in PolP, whereas others still undergo leftward movement from their base-generated hierarchically low position to a prominent position in the left periphery of the sentence (FocusP). No matter what it takes to attain the focalized configuration, the relevant thing is that their semantic value can be syntactically captured by means of a unified explanation, as can be seen in (103) below:

(103) $[_{CP} \dots [_{FocusP} \textbf{\textit{si}}_i \dots [_{PolP} t_i [_{IP} \dots]]]]$
$[_{CP} \dots [_{FocusP} \textbf{\textit{prou}}_i \dots [_{PolP} t_i [_{IP} \dots]]]]$
$[_{CP} \dots [_{FocusP} \textbf{\textit{así}}_i [_{Focus} \textbf{\textit{es}}] \dots [_{PolP} t_i [_{IP} \dots t_i \dots]]]]$

6. Some remarks on grammaticalization and the Jespersen Cycle

Batllori-Hernanz (2008, 2009) examine the mechanisms involved in the creation of emphatic polarity markers from a previous process of focalization. Several adverbs (i.e., **sí, bien/bé, poc, pla and prou**) undergo a grammaticalization process and are either reanalyzed as emphatic positive or negative polarity markers. These elements follow the same grammaticalization path as the Classical Latin modal adverb SIC, which became the affirmative marker *sí* at the end of the Middle Ages, in both Spanish and Catalan.

This process is sketched out in (104). Over a certain period, this adverb functions as a modifier expressing manner. Little by little, its uses in affirmative periphrastic constructions with verbs of support and also in desiderative structures. Finally, it is grammaticalized as an affirmative marker:

(104) a. $[_{CP} \dots [_{FocusP} \dots [_{PolP} \dots [_{TP} \dots [_{VP} \text{fago } \textbf{así}]]]]]$
b. $[_{CP} \dots [_{FocusP} \dots [_{PolP} \dots [_{TP} \textbf{así/sí}_i [_{VP} \text{fago } t_i]]]]]$

c. [$_{CP}$ .... [$_{FocusP}$ **así/sí$_i$** ... [$_{PolP}$ t$_i$ [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ [$_{VP}$ fago t$_i$]]]]]

d. [$_{CP}$ .... [$_{FocusP}$ [$_{PolP}$ **sí** [$_{TP}$ [$_{VP}$]]]]]

In accordance with Roberts & Roussou (2003) and Roberts (2007), grammaticalization has a lexical trigger and can be described as an *upward reanalysis* within the structural hierarchy, which is, in fact, a modification of the value assigned to a particular parameter. Taking up again the evolution of the polarity markers under study, we believe that this evolution can be regarded as a *grammaticalization cycle*[18] that follows a definite grammaticalization path. According to Roberts & Roussou (2003: 209), these paths can be defined in terms of the functional hierarchy through which the grammaticalized items successively move so as to occupy hierarchically higher positions, where they will become generated because of reanalysis. It is thus reasonable to assume that the elements that share lexical characteristics, as well as the same hierarchical distribution, are grammaticalized in a similar way. Along with what has been explained above, the process of grammaticalization of *sí, bien/bé, poc, pla* and *prou* can be described in the same manner: it involves **loss of the movement** –either of the adverb or of the quantifier– **from the *VP* internal basic position to the *PolP* position**, and subsequent *merge* in *PolP*. Following Roberts & Roussou (2003), this grammaticalization process can be expressed as in (105):

(105) *sí, bien/bé, poc, pla* and *prou*

STRUCTURAL CHANGE:

[$_{CP}$ .... [$_{FocusP}$ **bien$_i$** ~ **bé$_i$** / **poc$_i$** / **pla$_i$** / **prou$_i$**... [$_{PolP}$ t$_i$ [$_{IP}$ ... t$_i$ ...]]]] >

> [$_{CP}$ .... [$_{FocusP}$ **bien$_i$** ~ **bé$_i$** / **poc$_i$** / **pla$_i$** / **prou$_i$**... [$_{PolP}$ t$_i$ [$_{IP}$...]]]]

PARAMETRIC CHANGE:

Pol*$_{Move}$ > Pol*$_{Merge}$

MOTIVATION:

Loss of {manner –*bien*, *bé* and *pla*– / quantitative –*poc* and *prou* –} meaning, reanalysis as {positive / negative} polarity markers.

The emphatic feature encoded by *sí*, *bien/bé*, *poc, pla* and *prou* triggers further movement to *FocusP* for them to check this particular feature. As it is a movement from *Pol* to *Focus*, it brings about the emphatic polarity reading.

Concerning the Jespersen Cycle, our paper shows that there are at less two elements that may have gone through a process of grammaticalization (depending on the Catalan dialect spoken): *pas* in the Catalan spoken in the Rousillon (see Roberts-Roussou 1999: 1029-1032 for a detailed account of the grammaticalization of French *pas*, which is like the one of *pas* in the Roussillon) and *poc* in the dialects of Girona anf Figueres. They can both be accounted as cases of Spec to Head grammaticalization (see van Gelderen 2004 and 2011)

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[18] According to Roberts (2007: 448), grammaticalization cycles are "cases where different lexical elements have become grammaticalized in a given function at successive periods, with one consistently in a less grammaticalized stage than the other".

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