Emphatic polarity particles in Spanish and Catalan

Montserrat Batllori\textsuperscript{a,*}, M. Lluïsa Hernanz\textsuperscript{b}

\textsuperscript{a} Universitat de Girona, Departament de Filologia i comunicació, Plaça Ferrater i Mora 1, 17071 Girona, Spain
\textsuperscript{b} Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Departament de Filologia espanyola, Edifici B - Campus de la UAB - 08193 Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès), Barcelona, Spain

Received 16 January 2012; received in revised form 12 November 2012; accepted 14 November 2012
Available online 5 January 2013

Abstract

This paper explores the syntactic analysis of emphatic polarity particles (EPPA) in Spanish and Catalan and shows that these elements fall under a more complex paradigm than previously assumed. It is proposed that EPPA split into a high and a low pattern. We provide evidence in favour of the claim that EPPA are polar elements with an added emphatic value, and present a syntactic analysis where (i) High EPPA are merged with PolP and move to FocusP; (ii) High EPPA display WH-operator properties; (iii) The occurrence of high EPPA is constrained to root and embedded clauses that have a full-fledged left periphery, as predicted by the proposed analysis. Further understanding of EPPA syntactic hierarchy can be attained by assuming that the topmost projection of the CP domain, ForceP, is also involved in the distribution of EPPA.

Keywords: Polarity; Emphatic polarity particles; Focus; Left periphery

1. Introduction

In Spanish and Catalan, like in other languages, emphatic polarity can be rendered by a number of words that achieve this value as a result of a process of grammaticalization\textsuperscript{1} whereby a manner, temporal or quantitative adverb can turn into a polarity particle with a different meaning from its original one. Crucially, these adverbs acquire their emphatic import when they surface in preverbal position, as shown in the contrasts provided in (1) and (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’

\textsuperscript{1} For a more detailed account of the grammaticalization of these adverbs as emphatic polarity particles (including the historical process of grammaticalization of the affirmative marker \textit{sí} (‘yes’)), see Batllori and Hernanz (2008).

\textsuperscript{*} Corresponding author at: Universitat de Girona, Facultat de Lletres, Plaça Ferrater i Mora, 1, 17071 Girona, Spain. Tel.: +34 972418106; fax: +34 972418230; mobile: +34 606360449.
\textit{E-mail address:} montserrat.batllori@udg.edu (M. Batllori).

\textsuperscript{1} For a more detailed account of the grammaticalization of these adverbs as emphatic polarity particles (including the historical process of grammaticalization of the affirmative marker \textit{sí} (‘yes’)), see Batllori and Hernanz (2008).
b. *Prou ha estudiat en Pere*
   indeed has studied the Peter
   ‘Peter HAS studied’

The Spanish manner adverb *bien* (‘well’), in (1a), and the Catalan quantifier *prou* (‘enough’), in (2a), behave as markers of emphatic (positive) polarity when moved to a preverbal position, as shown in (1b) and (2b), respectively. The whole paradigm of EPPA in Catalan and Spanish is given in (3):

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

This paper aims at contributing to the general understanding of the syntax of emphasis and particularly to one of the syntactic mechanisms to strengthen an assertion, namely, the use of emphatic polarity particles (from now on EPPA). Our main proposal is that EPPA in Spanish and Catalan, as well as in other Romance languages, have acquired their status as the consequence of a focalization process.

We argue for the existence of two different kinds of polarity particles in Romance: high EPPA and low EPPA. Spanish and Catalan high EPPA are merged in PolP² and they undergo leftward movement from PolP to FocusP. In contrast, low EPPA are merged in a less prominent position above VP, and, contrary to high EPPA, do not induce operator-movement effects.

Theoretically, the analysis put forward in this paper follows the cartographic approach (Rizzi, 1997 and subsequent work by different authors). Crucial to the cartographic proposal is the claim that the C system should be decomposed into a more articulated sequence of functional projections. Within this framework, the CP field minimally consists of a specification of Force besides a specification of (non) finiteness for IP. Additionally, it may also include a Topic and a Focus field, expressing the topic-comment and focus-presupposition articulation respectively. Under this approach, the domain of the left periphery provides sufficient structural room to accommodate the functional projections involved in the analysis of EPPA.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 offers a descriptive account of Spanish and Catalan EPPA and compares them briefly to their counterparts in other Romance languages. It is also shown that there is a clear split between high and low EPPA. Section 3 firstly focuses on the syntactic analysis of high EPPA, pointing out the behaviour of these elements as WH-operators, and provides evidence to support this claim. Secondly, a short account of low EPPA is provided. Finally, the status of high EPPA as a Main Clause Phenomenon (MCP) is explored and it is shown that this is an expected consequence of the proposed analysis. In section 4, further phenomena related to emphatic polarity are addressed, in particular, the existence of two polarity layers. Section 5 is devoted to the concluding remarks.

2. **Emphatic polarity particles (EPPA)**

In this section we provide a descriptive account of EPPA in Spanish and Catalan, focusing in their different structural hierarchy (that is, high and low EPPA), as well as in their positive and negative value. Then we turn to French and Italian EPPA and show that they pattern as low EPPA.

2.1. **High EPPA in Spanish**

2.1.1. *sí*

Emphatic affirmative sentences in Spanish (4a), as opposed to their neutral counterparts (4b), usually consist of the positive word *sí* (‘yes’) followed by the tensed verb:

(4) a. **Hoy sí ha llovido**
   today yes has rained
   ‘Today it has rained indeed’

b. **Hoy ha llovido**
   ‘Today it has rained’

² See Martín (2013) for a similar account. Although her analysis follows Chomsky (1995 and subsequent work) and accordingly considers that the projections intervening in the expression of emphatic polarity are CP and ΣP (or PolP), she also puts forward that *sí* and *no* in Spanish and Catalan are directly merged in ΣP (or PolP).
As has been observed by several authors (see Laka, 1990; Hernanz, 2006, 2007; Batllori and Hernanz, 2008), (4a) is not simply a positive counterpart of (4b), 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, (4a) conveys a contrastive reading that an assertion such as (4b) 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 (5), which require new information as an answer:

(5) Speaker A -¿Qué ha sucedido?
   'What has happened?'

(6) a. Speaker B -Hoy (no) ha llovido
    today (not) has rained
    'Today it has (not) rained'
    b. Speaker B - #Hoy sí ha llovido = (4a)

In order to provide a more precise characterization of the contribution of sí to the semantic interpretation of a sentence, consider the paradigm in (7):

(7) a. Hoy no ha llovido
    b. Hoy ha llovido = (4b)
    c. Hoy sí ha llovido = (4a)

Despite the fact that the examples in (7b) and (7c) carry an affirmative value, only (7c) can be felicitously uttered as a response to (7a), since this sentence provides an overt negation to anchor the emphatic value of sí. That is, sí typically denies a previous overt negation, yielding a kind of ‘double’ negation, and, as a result, a stressed affirmation is obtained.

2.1.2. Bien

In parallel to 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 (8):

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

As the English glosses show, bien takes a manner reading in (8a). On the contrary, in (8b), where bien has moved to the left periphery, it is used to emphasize the positive value of the sentence. Accordingly, (8b) is interpreted as a confirmation that ‘the soprano has really / indeed sung’. As a result, it sharply contrasts with its neutral counterpart in (9):

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

Even though both (8b) and (9) express an assertion, in the former bien conveys an emphatic value, whereas the latter qualifies as an unmarked statement. Crucial evidence supporting this claim comes from the fact that bien is systematically precluded in negative sentences (see Hernanz, 2006):

(10) *Bien no ha cantado la soprano
    well not has sung the soprano

The ill-formedness of (10) clearly suggests that bien, having a positive import, is incompatible with negative polarity. Neither can it co-occur with the affirmative marker sí:

(11) *Bien sí ha cantado la soprano
    well yes has sung the soprano
Under the assumption that *bien*, like *sí*, stresses the positive polarity of a sentence, the question arises whether they are in free variation. Consider the minimal pair in (12):

(12)  
a. *Bien* ha cantado la soprano = (8b)  
b. *Sí* ha cantado la soprano  
   yes has sung the soprano
   ‘The soprano DID sing’

Despite the fact that both (12a) and (12b) are emphatic in nature, their interpretations 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 (12a) and (12b), notice that the latter example, as opposed to the former, qualifies as an appropriate response to the negative sentence in (13a), see also section 2.1.1:

(13)  
a. La soprano no ha cantado  
   the soprano not has sung
   ‘The soprano has not sung’

b. *Sí* ha cantado la soprano = (12b)  
c. # *Bien* ha cantado la soprano = (12a)

By contrast, (13c) is quite infelicitous when uttered as a reaction to (13a). As observed above, rather than contradicting an explicit negative statement, *bien* cancels an *implicit* negative expectation. Therefore, what rules out (13c) is that the state of affairs of ‘not singing’ is directly formulated in (13a). On the other hand, unlike (13b), (13c) does qualify as a suitable reaction to examples such as those in (14), 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):

(14)  
a. La soprano estaba indispuesta  
   ‘The soprano was sick’

b. La soprano no llegó a tiempo  
   ‘The soprano did not arrive on time’

2.1.3. *Ya*

As for the behaviour of the word *ya* (‘already’), besides its (basic) temporal-aspectual reading (15), this adverb may express an emphatic value, particularly when it co-appears with the modal auxiliary *poder* (‘can’) (16a), or with a verb inflected in potential mood (16b):

(15)  
Julia *ya* ha encontrado trabajo  
‘Julia has already found a job’

(16)  
a. *Ya* podría Pepe haberme llamado  
   already could Pepe have+CLACC called
   ‘But Pepe should have called me’

b. *Ya* me gustaría ayudarte!  
   *Ya* me would+CLACC +CLACC
   ‘I wish I could help you’

*Ya* in the examples in (16) adopts a somehow similar emphatic value to that of *bien* in (8b). Keeping aside the interpretive differences between both constructions, the relevant point for our study is the fact that (16), like (8b), cannot be negated. Compare (17a) with (17b):

(17)  
a. *No* me gustaría ayudarte  
   not CLDAT would+CLACC please to-help+CLACC
   ‘I would not like to help you’

b. *Ya* *no* me gustaría ayudarte!

It should be observed that the emphatic particle *ya* is by no means as productive as *bien* in Spanish.
2.2. High EPPA in Catalan

2.2.1. Affirmative EPPA

2.2.1.1. Sí. Emphatic affirmation in Catalan is obtained, as in Spanish, by the use of sí in preverbal position. The contrast in (18) parallels that in (4):

(18)  
  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 (19):

(19)  
  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 (18)–(19) and their counterparts in Spanish pattern alike, as they express an emphatic assertion. Yet, it is interesting to observe that Catalan emphatic polarity sentences with sí usually appear with the complementizer que. Compare (18a) and (19a) with (20a) and (20b), respectively:

(20)  
  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. We leave a detailed discussion of this issue for further research.

2.2.1.2. Bé. As stated above for Spanish bien, its Catalan equivalent bé (‘well’) displays a double behaviour. It can function as a manner modifier which normally occurs in postverbal position. Alternatively, it can also encode an emphatic value when it appears in preverbal position. The examples in (21) parallel those in (8):

(21)  
  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 (21b), just like that of bien in (8b), cannot be analyzed as a case of focalization of a manner adverb. Instead, bé in (21b) stresses the positive value of the sentence. Hence, sentences headed by bé cannot be negated (10), and exclude the presence of the positive marker sí (que) (11):

(22)  
  a. *Bé no* ha cantat la soprano  
      indeed not has sung the soprano  
  b. *Bé sí* que ha cantat la soprano  
      indeed yes that has sung the soprano

---


4 In this respect, consider the following example, where bien, which is focused, still conveys a manner reading:

(i) BÉ ha cantat la soprano (i no malament)  
    WELL has sung the soprano (and not badly)  
    ‘The soprano has sung WELL (not badly)’
2.2.1.3. *Ja*. As ya in Spanish (see section 2.1.3), Catalan *ja*, in addition to its (core) temporal value, serves to strengthen an assertion:

(23) a. *Ja vuy jo anar a axecar-la!* (Alcover Rond. ii, 279, in DCVB, s.v. *ja*)
   already want I to-go to lift+CL\textsubscript{ACC}
   ‘But I want to lift her!’

b. Be, home, be, *ja m’agrada que t’interessis per la meva well, guy, well, already CL\textsubscript{DAT}+pleases that CL-be-interested by the my
   pubilla (*Punyalada*: 159–160)
   elder-daughter
   ‘OK, guy, I really like that you get interested in my elder daughter’

As expected, when used as an emphatic polarity particle, *ja* precludes negation (24):

(24) *Ja no vuy jo anar a axecar-la!*

2.2.1.4. *Prou*. As noted above, in section 1, Catalan *prou*, which is homophonous with the quantitative adverb ‘enough’ (see the underlined item in 25b), serves to reinforce an assertion when it surfaces in preverbal position (Batllori and Hernanz, 2008). In the following examples *prou* adopts a reading which is very close to that of *bé*:

(25) a. *Prou les trobriam [...] fins una vintena de bones escopetes, però...*
   indeed CL\textsubscript{ACC} would-find up-to a twenty of good guns, but...
   (*Punyalada*: 250)
   ‘We could indeed find up to twenty good guns, but...’

   indeed CL\textsubscript{ACC} understand sufficiently
   ‘Indeed I understand myself sufficiently’

*Prou* is a quite productive affirmative polarity particle in Catalan, which has undergone a full process of grammaticalization towards the sphere of positive emphatic polarity. Consequently, it can freely appear in preverbal position regardless of the nature of the predicate.

2.2.1.5. *Affirmative pla*. As stated by Alcover and Moll, the use of this particle to reinforce affirmation is frequent in the Catalan spoken through the North Oriental Part of Catalonia.

To understand *pla* better, it should first be noticed that it can convey three different values (see Rigau, 2004, 2012): basically, (1) emphatic scalar quantification, in (26), which allows for VP ellipsis (27) and in some particular contexts expresses an affirmative value as well; (2) emphatic negation, in (28) and section 2.2.2.2 below; and (3) emphatic affirmation, in (29):

\textbf{Emphatic scalar quantification, without VP ellipsis}

(26) a. ¡*Tu pla* ets un janfosal! (*Punyalada*: 219)
   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!’

\textbf{Emphatic scalar quantification, with VP ellipsis}

(27) a. ¡*Tu pla!*

b. *La marxanta pla*

\textbf{Emphatic negation}

(28) a. *No m’ho crec*. En Pere *pla* ha anat al cine aquesta nit!
   not CL\textsubscript{DAT}+CL\textsubscript{ACC} believe. the Pere *not* has gone to-the cinema this night
   ‘I don’t believe it. Peter HASN’T gone to the cinema tonight’
b. – Jo pla he estat el que t’ha fet això. –Sí, Josafat, fores tu i
– I NOT have been the that CL=DAT-have done this. – Yes, Josafat, were you and
fores molt cruel. (CTILC: Prudenci Bertrana, Josefat: 59)
were very cruel
‘–I WASN’T the one who did you this. –Yes, Josafat, it was you who did it and you were really cruel’

EMPHATIC AFFIRMATION

(29) a. Bé saps que pla m’agrades. (Massó Croq. 33; DCVB, sv. pla)
   indeed know that indeed to-me-like-you
   ‘You know that I really like you indeed’
   
   b. Aquest casament pla es farà (DCVB, sv. pla)
   this marriage indeed CL will-take-place
   ‘This marriage will indeed take place’

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. However, when pla is an
emphatic affirmative polarity particle, it stresses the affirmative value of the sentence and it also adds a contrastive
meaning with a previous contextual negation (i.e., the sentences in (29) are a natural reaction to previously uttered
negative statements).

Whenever pla behaves as an emphatic scalar quantifier (26) and allows for VP ellipsis (27), it can also articulate an
affirmative value similar to si. See the differences between (30a) and (30b).

(30) a. A: – La Maria té molts llibres.
   The Mary has-got a-lot-of books
   ‘Mary has got a lot of books’
   
   B: – En Joan pla en té de llibres (=En Joan encara en té més de llibres)
   The John even-more CL has-got of books (= the John even CL has-got more of books)
   ‘John has even got more’
   
   b. A: – Acabo la jornada ben cansat
   finish the day indeed tired
   ‘I am very tired at the end of the day’
   
   B: – Jo pla acabo la jornada ben cansat,
   indeed-even-more finish the day indeed tired,
   que tinc dues feines (= Jo si que acabo la jornada ben cansat, perquè tinc dues feines)
   that have-got two jobs (= I yes that finish the day indeed tired, because (I)-have-got two jobs)
   ‘I AM TIRED, since I have two jobs’

While in (30b) pla is equivalent to si que (‘indeed’), in (30a) it does not mean si que but (encara) més (‘even more’) and it
does not have any emphatic polarity value. So that B in (30b) is interpreted as an affirmative emphatic positive statement.
The difference between the two uses of pla 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.

(31) a. A: – Últimament la Maria no menja gens
   Lately the Mary not eat nothing
   ‘Mary doesn’t eat lately’
   
   B: – En Joan pla no menja
   The John pla no menja
   ‘John even eats less’
   
   b. A: – No acabo la jornada gens cansat
   Not (I)-finish the day not-a-bit tired
   ‘I am not tired at all at the end of the day’
   
   B: *– Jo pla no l’acabo cansat
   – I indeed not CL-finish tired
   ‘Neither do I’
Whereas (31a, speaker B) expresses comparison by means of emphatic scalar quantification with the meaning of ‘less’ (i.e., ‘not more’ = ‘less’), pla in (31b, speaker B) is ungrammatical because the positive meaning of pla is incompatible with no. Moreover, pla in (31b) cannot co-occur with sí either, because they have a similar emphatic value, as illustrated in (32):

(32) B: *Jo pla sí que acabo la jornada cansat
I indeed-even-more yes that finish the day tired

2.2.2. Negative EPPA

2.2.2.1. Poc / poca [poka]. Poc (‘no’) is used in the northern region of Catalonia (in the dioceses of Girona and Elne). It must be noticed that poc displays interspeaker variability. In Pla de l’Estany poc is a counterpresspositional emphatic polarity particle (see Rigau, 2004), whereas in the cities of Girona and Figueres it has lost the pressuppositional value and can be used out of the blue. It always occurs in preverbal position (with postverbal subjects) and in Girona it is generally used under the form of [poka] = poca, see Rossich (1996).

(33) a. ¿On és en Pere? – Poc ho sé!
where is the Peter? – not CLACC know
‘Where is Peter? – I do not know’

b. Avui poc hi aniré a la biblioteca
today not CL will-go to the library
‘I won’t go to the library today’

c. És a casa, en Joan? – poca ha arribat!
Is at home, the John? – not has arrived!
‘Is John at home? – No, he hasn’t arrived yet’

Catalan poc can license negative polarity items in the same way as the negative marker no, as shown in (34):

(34) a. Poc hi he estat mai a Barcelona
not there have never been in Barcelona
‘I have never been in Barcelona.’

b. Poc he vist ningú 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 res avui
not has done nothing today
‘He hasn’t done anything today.’

As the contrast in meaning of (35a)–(35b) and the ungrammaticality of (35c)–(35d) illustrate, poc 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. Besides, it is incompatible with the negative marker no and also with other EPPA (like sí, for instance).

(35) a. Poc he vist la Maria aquest estiu
not have seen the Mary this summer
‘I have not seen Mary this summer.’

b. He vist poc la Maria aquest estiu
have seen little the Mary this summer
‘I have not seen Mary much this summer.

c. *Poc no he vist la Maria aquest estiu
not not have seen the Mary this summer

d. *Poc sí he vist la Maria aquest estiu
not yes have seen the Mary this summer

---

5 A speaker from Figueres who talked about 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 poc la veia. pocca veia res ‘that day everything was bent, even my son’s face. I was watching tv and could not see it, I could not see anything’.

6 Thus, we will either use poc or poca indistinctly in the examples.
2.2.2.2. Negative pla. Negative *pla* reinforces the negative value of the sentence. According to Alcover and Moll, it comes from an ironic use of affirmative *pla*.

(36) a. Sí, tu *pla* ho arreglaries bé (DCVB, sv. *pla*)
   yes, you **NOT** CL repair
   ‘No, you WOULDN’T repair it well!’

   b. Això *pla* es farà
      This **NOT** CL will-be-done
      ‘This WON’T be done’

The negative meaning of this *pla* can be syntactically tested because it licenses negative polarity items, (37a) and (37b), embedded clauses with a subjunctive verb, (37c), and also because negative *pla* clauses are equivalent to negative sentences with *no*’ or *poc* (37d), see also Rigau (2004).

(37) a. En Joan *pla* dirà res
    the John **NOT** will say nothing
    ‘John WON’T say anything’

   b. A la biblioteca *pla* hi ha mai ningú
      In the library **NOT** there is **never** nobody
      ‘For sure there is never anybody in the library.’

   c. Jo *pla* hauria dit que fes això aquesta noia
      I **NOT** had said that do this this girl
      ‘I would have NEVER said that this girl would have done this’

   d. En Joan {no/poca/*pla*} és ric
      the John not/ **NOT** rich
      ‘John is (not/ **NOT**) rich’

2.3. Low EPPA in Catalan

The preceding discussion shows that the Spanish and Catalan EPPA examined so far appear in a high position in the structural hierarchy, namely to the left of the finite verb. This distribution does not extend to Catalan emphatic particles *ben* and *pas*, which surface in a lower position. Accordingly, in this section we argue that emphatic polarity particles split into a ‘low’ and a ‘high’ pattern, the latter occupying a more prominent structural projection than the former.

2.3.1. Ben

Besides bé (see section 2.2.1.2), Catalan is characterized by having another emphatic positive particle, *ben*, which is closely related to the former. Nevertheless, the two elements do not pattern alike. Notice that Catalan *ben*, similarly to Italian *ben* and French *bien* (see section 2.4), occurs in a lower position than its counterpart bé, which in turn behaves like Spanish *bien*. Compare (38) with (39)–(40):

(38) a. La soprano s’ha *ben* enfadat
    the soprano CL-has really got-angry
    ‘The soprano has really got angry’

   b. Això t’ho pots *ben* creure
      this (you) CL+CL_{ACC} can really believe
      ‘You can really believe this’

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

(40) a. *La soprano se ha *bien* enfadado
   b. *Esto te lo puedes *bien* creer

---

7 But for the emphatic reading.
Secondly, Catalan bé, like Spanish bien, may freely appear in a sentence regardless of the nature of the predicate:

(41) a.  \( \text{Bé ha arribat tard la soprano} \)
    'The soprano arrived late indeed'

b.  \( \text{Bé ha cantat La Traviata la soprano} \)
    'The soprano has sung La Traviata indeed'

This behaviour does not extend to ben, as shown in (42). Reason for this comes from the fact that predicates allowing for ben often denote scalar properties, like enfadar-se (‘to get angry’), etc. By contrast, arribar (‘to arrive’), cantar (‘to sing’), etc., which are non-gradable predicates, are not compatible with ben. This explains the ungrammaticality of (42).\(^8\)

(42) a.  \( \text{*La soprano ha ben arribat tard} \)

b.  \( \text{*La soprano ha ben cantat La Traviata} \)

Finally, 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 (43):

(43) a.  \( \text{La soprano s’ha ben enfadat} \)
    = (38a)
    CL-has really got-angry
    ‘The soprano has really got angry’

b.  \( \text{Bé s’ha enfadat la soprano} \)
    indeed CL-has got-angry the soprano
    ‘Indeed, the soprano got angry’

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 (43) is reminiscent of a semantic asymmetry. More precisely, the example in (43b), in which bé surfaces in a high position, signals a high degree of speaker’s commitment to the whole content expressed in the proposition. In (43a), on the other hand, 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.

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 particles: a high and a low variety, which take 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.

2.3.2. No...pas / pas

Pas was an Old Catalan minimiser that has become an emphatic negative polarity particle 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, as in (44a) and (44b), see Gómez-Duran (2011). In Empordà, Pla de l’Estany and Gironès, it can be currently placed after and before the past participle in compound perfects, as in (44c) and (44d):

(44) a.  \( \text{T’ho donaré pas} \)
    to-you-it will-give not
    ‘I won’t give it to you’

b.  \( \text{El pare hi és pas} \)
    the father CL-LOC is not
    ‘Dad is not here’

---

\(^8\) See Hernanz (2006, 2010) for further discussion.
c. *La Maria no l’ha vist pas en Joan
   ‘Mary hasn’t seen John at all’
   (DCVB, sv. pas)

d. *No l’he pas vist en Joan
   ‘I haven’t seen John at all’

Despite having the same meaning as poc and negative pla, it patterns differently because it cannot precede the finite verb:

(45) a. *Pas vindrà la Rosa
   (46) a. Je suis bien arrivé à l’heure
      ‘I did arrive on time indeed’
   (Vinet, 2000:137)

b. *Pas ha vingut la Rosa
   b. J’ai bien appelé vingt fois
      ‘I have called twenty times indeed’
   (Robert, 1979)

c. *Pas ben parlato di lui
   c. Je voudrais bien vous inviter
      ‘I would like to invite you indeed’
   (Belletti, 1990:39)

(47) a. Gianni avrà ben risposto
   (48) a. Maria ha ben parlato di lui
      ‘Gianni will have indeed answered’
   (Belletti, 1990:39)

b. Maria ha ben parlato di lui
   ‘Maria has indeed spoken of him’
   (Belletti, 1990:39)

c. Maria parlava ben di lui
   ‘Maria spoke indeed of him’
   (Belletti, 1990:39)

To sum up, Table 1 sketches the general picture of Spanish and Catalan EPPA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Emphatic polarity particles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High EPPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Affirmative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>sí/bien/ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalan</td>
<td>sí/bé/ja/prou/pla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4. Other Romance languages: French and Italian

In this section we show that French and Italian emphatic particles parallel ben and pas in Catalan in that they occur in a low hierarchical position. The following examples illustrate this situation for French bien (46) and Italian ben (47), with a similar distribution to Catalan ben (38), see Hernanz (2006)⁹:

(46) a. Je suis bien arrivé à l’heure
      ‘I am indeed arrived on time’
   (Vinet, 2000:137)

b. J’ai bien appelé vingt fois
   ‘I have called twenty times indeed’
   (Robert, 1979)

c. Je voudrais bien vous inviter
   ‘I would like indeed to invite you’
   (Belletti, 1990:39)

(47) a. Gianni avrà ben risposto
      ‘Gianni will have indeed answered’
   (Belletti, 1990:39)

b. Maria ha ben parlato di lui
   ‘Maria has indeed spoken of him’
   (Belletti, 1990:39)

c. Maria parlava ben di lui
   ‘Maria spoke indeed of him’
   (Belletti, 1990:39)

---

⁹ Despite the similarities between (38) and (46)–(47), a closer look at the data reveals that the distribution of bien / ben in French, Italian and Catalan is far from homogeneous. Concerning Italian ben, see Cardinaletti (2011), who argues that it is merged in the highest layer of the IP domain. We will not address this issue here.
And the same is true for presuppositional negative Romance particles like Catalan \textit{pas}, Italian \textit{mica}, etc., which appear either preceding or following a past participle, see Cinque (1999:47). Compare (46)–(47) with (44c,d) and (48):

\begin{enumerate}
  \item a. Non hanno \textit{mica} mangiato \hspace{1cm} \textit{(Cinqu, 1999:47)}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item they haven't not eaten
    \end{itemize}
  \item b. Non hanno mangiato \textit{mica} \hspace{1cm} \textit{(Cinqu, 1999:47)}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item they haven't eaten not
    \end{itemize}
  \item c. Non ho \textit{mica} detto questo \hspace{1cm} \textit{I have not said this}
\end{enumerate}

On the basis of the preceding discussion, we conclude that Romance EPPA, as already mentioned, split into a ‘low’ and a ‘high’ pattern which also diverge on interpretive grounds. Strong evidence supporting this claim is provided by Catalan. Recall that this language has two distinct lexical items (bé and \textit{ben}), which differ in their semantic interpretation, as the contrast in (43) is intended to show. As argued in Hernanz (2010), although Catalan \textit{bé}, Spanish \textit{bien}, and their Romance equivalents share a relevant property, namely, their emphatic positive import,\footnote{See Vinet (1996, 2000), and Belletti (1990), among others.} their interpretation is different. More precisely, Catalan \textit{bé}, like Spanish \textit{bien}, encode a nearly concessive value that is lacking in \textit{ben} and its Romance counterparts, this suggesting a sharp connection in the interface between syntax and semantics.

\textbf{Table 2} offers a general view of low EPPA in Catalan, French\footnote{Notice that in Table 2 French lacks the equivalent negative particle \textit{pas}. This element underwent a grammaticalization process that resulted in the genesis of the current negative marker \textit{pas}. For more information, see Roberts (2007).} and Italian.

\begin{table}[h]
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
Language & Low emphatic polarity particles & \\
& Affirmative & Negative \\
\hline
Catalan & \textit{ben} & \textit{pas} \\
Italian & \textit{bene} & \textit{mica} \\
French & \textit{bien} & - \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Low EPPA in Catalan, French and Italian.}
\end{table}

\section{3. A syntactic analysis of EPPA}

This section initially deals with the syntactic analysis of high EPPA and particularly with the properties that categorize them as WH-operators. Secondly, we turn to low EPPA and we put forward a tentative analysis for these elements. Finally, we pay attention to one of the consequences of our analysis, namely the restricted distribution of high EPPA to root clauses.

\subsection{3.1. High EPPA and focalization}

As discussed above, high EPPA 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 process of contrastive focalization:

\begin{enumerate}
  \item (49) \textbf{CERVEZA} bebe Pepito (y no vino tinto)
    \begin{itemize}
      \item \textbf{BEER} drinks Pepito (and not wine red)
    \end{itemize}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item ‘Pepito drinks BEER’
    \end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

Following Holmberg (2001:154), we claim that the phenomena related to contrastive focus in (49) and emphatic polarity can be submitted to a similar syntactic and semantic analysis. Semantically, 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 (50) with respect to (49) and in (51) with respect to (4a), see Batllori and Hernanz (2008):

\begin{enumerate}
  \item \textit{pas}
  \item \textit{mica}
\end{enumerate}
(50) Presupposition: Pepito bebe x
   'Pepito drinks x'
Assertion: x es cerveza, no vino tinto
   'x is beer, not red wine'

(51) Presupposition: Hoy Polx ha llorado
   'Today Polx has rained'
Assertion: x is affirmative, not negative

Syntactically, 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 (49), which has been moved from its basic object 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 the CP, which is made visible by 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 others), we assume that this projection, which c-commands IP, hosts polarity marks (either the negative adverb no or the phonetically null features of unmarked affirmation), as in (52):

\[ [CP \ldots [PolP [Pol\dbrack IP \ldots ]]] \]

The representation in (52) accounts for the cases of unmarked polarity. However, as stated above, emphatic polarity (just as contrastive focus) implies movement to the CP field. As observed in section 1, this domain can be split up into several projections, giving as a result the hierarchy in (53):

(53) Force > Topic > Focus > Fin ... (Rizzi, 1997)

Within the structural space depicted in (53), FocusP is the locus that accommodates the elements that display emphatic features. Therefore, this projection is the target of movement for emphatic polarity, which is sketched in (54), see Holmberg (2001):

\[ [ForceP \ldots [FocusP PolP ... [tPolP [FinP ... ]]]] \]

In agreement with the facts discussed so far, we claim that si, bien, bé, prou, pla, poc, etc. encode two features: [+ Polar] and [+ Emphasis]. Due to their polar nature, they are first-merged with PolP, from where they move to FocusP to check their emphatic feature. This would result in the representation in (55):

\[ [ForceP ... [FocusP \lbrace si, bien, ya, bé, ja, prou, pla, poc \rbrace Focus [PolP t, [FinP ... ]]]] \]

The analysis in (55) predicts a variety of grammatical effects which can be easily accounted for under the assumption that high EPPA, being focal in nature, behave like wh-operators. We will address these issues in the following subsections.

3.2. Subject-verb inversion

Going back to the examples discussed at the outset of this work, note that high EPPA such as bien, bé, prou, poc, etc., like wh-elements, trigger the inversion of the subject and the finite verb. Consider the contrasts in (56) and (57):

\[ \text{(56) a. La soprano si / bien ha cantado} \]
\[ \text{b. La soprano bé / prou / pla / poc ha cantat} \]

In Hernanz (2006, 2010) it is argued that, although they precede the V, the preverbal DPs in examples like (i) do not occupy a subject position, but rather a topic position. See these works for a deeper discussion on this issue.

\[ \text{[i] a. La soprano si / bien ha cantado} \]
\[ \text{b. La soprano bé / prou / pla / poc ha cantat} \]

\[ \text{[12] A potential problem for this claim arises in examples such as (i), which might suggest that movement of EPPA to FocP is optional rather than compulsory in emphatic polarity sentences:} \]
\[ \text{(i) a. La soprano si / bien ha cantado} \]
\[ \text{b. La soprano bé / prou / pla / poc ha cantat} \]
3.3. The order of topicalized elements with relation to high EPPA

Regarding the representation in (55), notice that this analysis predicts that topicalized elements in affirmative emphatic constructions should necessarily precede high EPPA, because Focus is structurally lower than Topic in the hierarchy of (53). The contrasts in (59)–(61) provide direct evidence for this:

(59) a. \[\text{Las lentejas si i bien se las come Pepito} \]
\[\text{the lentils indeed CL CL_{ACC} eats Pepito}\]
\[\text{Lentils, Pepito eats them indeed}\]

b. *\[\text{Si i bien las lentejas se las come Pepito}\]

(60) a. \[\text{A la biblioteca poca hi aniré} \]
\[\text{to the library not CL_{LOC} will go}\]
\[\text{I will not go to the library}\]

b. *\[\text{Poca a la biblioteca hi aniré}\]

(61) a. \[\text{Aquesta circumstància prou l’havia notada [...] l’Arbós (Punyalada: 250)}\]
\[\text{This circumstance indeed it had noticed the-Arbós}\]
\[\text{Arbós had indeed become aware of this event}\]

b. *\[\text{Prou aquesta circumstància l’havia notada [...] l’Arbós}\]

Consequently, the word order restrictions exemplified in (59)–(61) are reminiscent of a more general pattern involving the distribution of wh-operators and topics, as shown in (62) – see Rizzi (1997:291):

(62) \[\text{TOPIC = WH} \]
\[\text{*WH = TOPIC} \]

3.4. Additional parallelisms between high EPPA and Wh-elements

High EPPA must be adjacent to the left of the finite verb. Note that examples like (63)–(64), where the subject intervenes between the particle and the verb, are systematically ruled out:

(63) *\[\text{Bien l’i si la soprano ha cantado = (56b)}\]
\[\text{indeed the soprano has sung}\]

---

13 As observed by Palmer (1986:92), emphatic affirmation may be considered as “as a kind of ‘strong’ epistemic modality expressing complete confidence in, or knowledge of, what is being said”.

(64) a. *Ja jo vull anar a aixecar-la!  
    already I want to go to lift+CL\textsubscript{ACC}  

b. *Prou que en Pere ho deia  
   indeed that the Pere CL\textsubscript{ACC} said  

c. *Poc la Maria ho farà  
   not the Mary CL\textsubscript{ACC} will-do  

This clearly indicates that adjacency between high EPPA and V is required. As the same restriction holds for \textit{wh}-elements in both interrogative and exclamative sentences, it may be taken as evidence to postulate that these particles, like \textit{wh}-elements, trigger V-to-C movement.

A further piece of evidence suggesting that high EPPA behave as \textit{wh}-elements comes from the fact that they are banned from constructions submitted to \textit{wh}-movement, as shown by the following examples:

(65) Qué \textit{opera} (*\textit{bien} / si) ha cantado la soprano?  
what opera (indeed / yes) has sung the soprano?  

(66) Cuándo (*\textit{ya}) podría Pepe haberte llamado?  
when (already) should Pepe have+CL\textsubscript{ACC} called?  

(67) Quines cases (*\textit{bé} / \textit{prou}) deia en Pere!  
what things (indeed) said the Peter  

As argued in Hernanz (2006, 2010), and Battlori and Hernanz (2008), the incomparability described above between \textit{wh}-movement constructions and high EPPA is an expected result of the fact that the category which attracts interrogative and exclamative elements within the CP domain is \textit{FocusP} (see Rizzi, 1997). That is, the ungrammatical versions of (65)–(67) can be explained as the effect of a clash between two constituents that compete for the same structural position (\textit{FocusP}), as in (68):

(68) \[[\text{ForceP} \ldots [\text{FocusP} *\text{wh}] / [\text{si}, \text{bien}; \text{ya}, \text{bé}; \text{ja}, \text{prou}; \text{plà}, \text{poc}] [\text{PolP} \ t [\text{FinP} \ldots \ t]]]]  

In sum, in the preceding subsections we have examined a number of salient syntactic characteristics of sentences headed by high EPPA and have shown that they provide support for the analysis given in (55). In particular, we have argued that high EPPA share relevant properties with \textit{wh}-operators, namely, (i) they trigger subject inversion; (ii) they may co-occur with topicalized constituents in the fixed order TOP > EPPA; (iii) they must display left-adjacency to the verb; and (iv) they are incompatible with \textit{wh}-elements.

3.5. A short remark on low EPPA

Let us go back to the picture drawn in section 2, where clear empirical evidence is provided to support that not all the particles which serve to stress the polarity of a sentence fall under the same distributional pattern. That is, Catalan \textit{ben} (section 2.3.1) and \textit{pas} (section 2.3.2), like their French (\textit{bien}) and Italian counterparts (\textit{ben, mica}) (section 2.4), occur in a lower structural hierarchy than the rest of the particles examined. In view of this, we tentatively propose that low EPPA are located in a functional projection FP between FinP and VP, above the vP field:

(69) \[[\text{ForceP} \ldots [\text{FocusP} \ \text{high EPPA}_i [\text{PolP} \ t [\text{FinP} \ldots \ \text{FP} \ \text{low EPPA}_j [\text{VP} \ldots \ ]]]]]  

The representation in (69) is consistent with the distribution of low EPPA discussed in section 2.3, where it is shown that they cannot surface in preverbal position:

(70) a. *La soprano \textit{ben} s’ha enfadat  
the soprano really CL+has got angry  

b. *La Rosa \textit{pas} vendrà  
the Rosa not(-at-all) will-come  

Moreover, low EPPA, as illustrated above (see sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2), do not trigger subject-verb inversion – see (38a) and (44c) –, which clearly suggests that no explicit operator movement to the CP domain has taken place. Finally, it
is worth noting that these syntactic properties correlate, as we observed, with a semantic one, namely, their weaker assertive (positive/negative) import.\(^{14}\)

3.6. Further properties of EPPA: high EPPA and Main Clause Phenomena (MCP)

As has been observed in the literature, most of the emphatic polarity constructions qualify as MCP (see Danckaert and Haegeman, in press). That is, the constructions referred to have been argued to be restricted to main clauses as well as to a limited set of subordinate clauses which pattern like main clauses (i.e., root clauses). The preceding sections illustrated that Spanish and Catalan high EPPA are broadly attested in main clauses. This section examines the syntactic behaviour of these particles in embedded clauses and shows that their occurrence in non-root contexts brings about ungrammaticality.

3.6.1. Complement clauses

High EPPA are generally suitable with indicative complement clauses selected by declarative or epistemic verbs, for instance, as shown in (71):

(71) a. Otra persona [...] pensando que bien vale la Moncloa una sonrisa... another person [...] thinking that indeed is-worth the Moncloa a smile (J.J. Millás, Mala leche, El País, 3/2/05) [Spanish]

   ‘Thinking that being in power is worth a smile indeed, anyone else [...]’

b. En aquesta mena d’aldearulls crec que sí que calen més policies in this sort of-disturbances believe that yes that need more police (La Vanguardia, 24/6/11) [Catalan]

   ‘But in this kind of public disturbances I believe that more police is needed indeed’

c. massa conegué Esau que poc eren bones als ulls de son pare Isaac too-much knew Esau that not were good to-the eyes of his father Isaac les filles de Canaan (CTILC: Frederic Clascar, El Gènesi: 116) [Catalan]

   ‘Esau really knew that the daughters of Canaan weren’t considered good by his father Isaac’

In contrast, they are precluded in subjunctive complement clauses selected by evaluative, directive or volitive verbs, as in (72):

(72) a. *La Maria lamenta que en Pere poc prengui pastilles the Mary regrets that the Peter not take\textsubscript{SUBJ} pills [Catalan]

b. *Los médicos han decidido / ordenado que el paciente bien tomara pastillas the doctors have decided / ordered that the patient indeed take\textsubscript{SUBJ} pills [Spanish]

3.6.2. Relative clauses

In general terms, the distribution of high EPPA in relative clauses is sensitive to the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive ones. More precisely, they are usually excluded from the former, whereas they are compatible with the latter. The relevant contrasts are given in (73)–(74):

(73) a. *El aria que sí ha cantado la soprano es muy bonita the aria that yes has sung the soprano is very beautiful [Spanish]

b. *La casa que bé ens hem comprat és molt cara the house that indeed (we) CL\textsubscript{DAT} have bought is very expensive [Catalan]

(74) a. Esta aria, que sí podria ser de Puccini, es muy bonita this aria, that yes could be by Puccini, is very beautiful [Spanish]

   ‘This aria, that could indeed be by Puccini, is very beautiful’

\(^{14}\) In our belief, these facts can be taken as evidence that low EPPA share relevant properties with mild focus, which has been argued to merge on the left edge of vP (see Gallego, 2007). We do not pursue this issue here.
b. Estas inversiones, que bien son generadoras de empleo, son buenas  [Spanish]
   'These investments, that indeed are originator of employment, are good'
   'These investments, which create employment indeed, are good'

c. El pasatge de la Virreina, [que pla és un dels llocs barcelonins]
   The passage of the Virreina, that indeed is one of-the places in-Barcelona
   més adorables], bull d’animació. (Coromines. s.v. pla: 580)  [Catalan]
   'The passage of la Virreina, which is really one of the most beautiful places in Barcelona, is bustling with life'

3.6.3. Adverbial clauses

   The syntactic behaviour of high EPPA with respect to adverbial clauses exhibits an asymmetry that is reminiscent of
   the well-motivated assumption (see Haegeman, 2002, 2003:21) that this type of clauses fall into two patterns regarding
   their internal structure: central (or non-peripheral) and peripheral adverbial clauses. Particularly, the occurrence of these
   particles in non-peripheral adverbial clauses is precluded, as illustrated in (75):

   (75)  a. Si (*bien) canta la Caballé, el teatro se llenará  [Spanish]
   If indeed sings the Caballé, the theatre CL will-be-full
   b. Quan la Maria (*prou) té temps, llegeix novel·les llargues  [Catalan]
      When the Mary indeed has time, reads novels long
   c. Encara que la Maria (*bé) té temps, llegeix contes curts en lloc de novel·les
      Although the Mary indeed has time, reads stories short instead of novels  [Catalan]

   However, a closer examination of the data shows that si is the only EPPA attested in causal, (76a), purpose, (76b), and
   temporal adverbial clauses (76c):

   (76)  a. Me voy [...] muy contento porque si creo que ha aumentado la cooperación
   I leave very happy because yes think that has increased the cooperation
   'I leave feeling very happy because I think that cooperation has increased indeed'
   (CREA, El Nacional, 19/01/1997)  [Spanish]
   b. Vienen con el ánimo de que no haya nada nuevo, pero nosotros
   come with the mood of that not there-is nothing new, but we
   trabajamos aquí en Madrid para que si lo haya
   work here in Madrid for that yes it there-is
   (CREA, La Voz de Galicia, 30/10/1991)  [Spanish]
   'They do not want anything new to happen, but we are working here in Madrid so as to really cause it to happen'
   c. Esas grandes películas de Hollywood [...] no me atraen y, cuando si me
   these great films of Hollywood [...] not to-me attract and, when yes to-me
   gustan, hay otras ofertas que me importan más
   like, there are other offers that to-me interest more.
   (CREA, El País. El País de las Tentaciones, 18/10/2002)  [Spanish]
   'These great Hollywood films [...] I do not like them and, when I really like them, there are other offers
   that interest me more'

   Reason for this probably comes from the fact that conditions constraining the occurrence of si clauses in embedded
   contexts are somehow weakened due to their echoic value (see section 4).

   As for peripheral adverbial clauses, we get a slightly different picture. High EPPA can be used in peripheral causal
   (77a) and concessive (77b, 77c) clauses, yielding grammatical results:

   (77)  a. No pateixis, perquè prou hi haurà temps per fer-ho
   not worry because indeed it will-have time to do-it
   'Don't worry, because there will be time to do it indeed'
   b. Julia parece italiana, mentre que 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'  [Spanish]
c. Si no calculo mal, nos quedan aún por oírle como unas cuatro palabras, aunque bien puede ser que hoy [...] ya las haya soltado words, even thought indeed can be that today [...] already them have said todas (M. Torres, El País, 21/05/1997) 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 he had already said all of them' 

To sum up: the data discussed so far clearly show that the distribution of high EPPA in embedded contexts is basically restricted to (i) complement clauses selected by epistemic verbs, (ii) non-restrictive relative clauses, and (iii) peripheral adverbial clauses. Under the hypothesis that emphatic polarity values imply movement of an affirmative or negative particle to FocusP (see section 3), these facts can be accounted for in a rather natural way. Consider first complement clauses. The well-formedness of the examples in (71) follows from the current assumption that indicative complement clauses seem to constitute independent assertions that project a fully articulated CP-structure, which thus provides structural room to accommodate EPPA. The same analysis extends, mutatis mutandis, to non-restrictive relative clauses (74), which have been traditionally viewed as equivalent to main clauses in many respects. Finally, the asymmetric distribution of high EPPA in adverbial clauses, rather than being problematic, is expected, as it is in agreement with the claim that these kinds of clauses, as observed above, do not fall into a homogeneous paradigm. Putting aside a detailed account of this issue, what is relevant for the purposes of this work is that high EPPA are basically restricted to peripheral adverbial clauses, which have been argued to behave much like main clauses.

In this section we have provided evidence that high EPPA constructions qualify as MCP in Spanish and Catalan. We suggest that the prohibition for these EPPA to appear in (i) subjunctive complement clauses (72), (ii) restrictive relative clauses (73), and (iii) non-peripheral adverbial clauses (75) can be easily explained by adopting a truncation account. According to the truncation analysis, the clauses alluded to would display an impoverished CP structure in which the top domain (including FocusP) does not project, so that high EPPA would not be able to check their emphatic features (see Hernanz, 2010).

4. Final remarks on the analysis of Spanish and Catalan EPPA

In the preceding discussion we claimed that high EPPA are polar elements with an added emphatic feature which must be checked by leftward movement from PoIP to FocusP. This analysis is consistent with the fact that polarity elements are banned from EPPA environments. We repeat here some relevant contrasts for ease of reference:

(78) a. *Bien no ha cantado la soprano = (10) [Spanish]
   well not has sung the soprano
b. *Bien sí ha cantado la soprano
   well yes has sung the soprano

In this section we will briefly address an issue which suggests that the whole paradigm of emphatic polarity in Spanish and Catalan is more complex than previously assumed. More precisely, we explore the possibility to have more than one polarity layer in a sentence. Consider, in this respect, the examples in (79):

(79) a. Hoy sí que no ha llorado
   today yes that not has rained
   ‘Today it hasn’t rained indeed’

As for adverbial subordination, we could also assume an alternative approach along the lines of Haegeman (2010a,b, and references therein) for (non-peripheral) conditional (and temporal) clauses. That is, under the assumption that temporal and conditional clauses are derived by leftward operator movement, the unavailability of high EPPA would be the result of an intervention effect, as these elements, targeting a high FocusP position, count as harmful interveners between the irrealis (or temporal) operator and the variable it binds. Nevertheless, if we consider that an intervention account could provide us with an explanation for the asymmetric distribution of high EPPA in adverbial clauses, we may have to claim that the movement derivation posed for temporal and conditional clauses should be extended to other kinds of (non-peripheral) adverbial clauses.

There has been some debate concerning the projections intervening in the left periphery of truncated clauses. In this respect, Munaro (2010:160), for instance, argues that ‘conditional clauses have a structurally deficient CP layer in that they lack both a node encoding informational structure and a node responsible for internal focalization of phrasal constituents’.
b. Qué te pasa? Bien que no te molesta cuando dicen que
what CL\textsubscript{DAT} happens? Well that not CL\textsubscript{DAT} bothers when (they)-say that
sos mi prometida (CorEsp)
(you)-are my betrothed
‘What’s the matter? It certainly doesn’t seem to bother you when they say you are my betrothed!’

In contrast with (78), the examples in (79) show that in Spanish some EPPA (si, bien) are compatible with no whenever the former occur to the left of the complementizer que (‘that’). And the same holds for Catalan, where the equivalents to the above examples are also grammatical. Moreover, in addition to the pattern illustrated in (79), Catalan even allows an EPPA as poc under the scope of si que:

(80) Excursiones? Ara si que poc us entenc.
excursions? Now yes that not CL\textsubscript{ACC} understand
(CITLC: Tomàs Massó i Torrents, Croquispirenencs: 132)

The above examples provide clear evidence to claim that the analysis proposed in (55) does not cover the broad field of emphatic polarity in Spanish and Catalan. In view of this, it seems plausible to pose an analysis along the lines of Cormack and Smith’s (1998), according to which two polarity positions are at work in the sentential structure: an internal position corresponding to the functional projection Po\textsubscript{IP}, and an external position in the CP domain, labeled Echo(ic) by these authors, that takes scope over the whole sentence. This is illustrated in (81) – see Hernandez (2007):

\begin{equation}
\text{[CP [PoIP1 bien, bé, si [[que] \ldots [PoIP2 [IP \ldots]]]]]}
\end{equation}

Under the analysis sketched in (81) it would be expected that bien, bé and si, when followed by que, are compatible with negation, since the latter would be hosted in a different functional projection than the former. Further evidence to support the representation in (81) comes from Catalan, where two positions for the negative marker no are attested:

(82) No que no ha cantat la soprano
not that not has sung the soprano
‘No, the soprano has NOT sung’

Like si que in Spanish (79a), 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 (82) 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’).

On the basis of the data mentioned above, it should be expected that the analysis in (81) could be extended to the whole paradigm of high EPPA in Catalan. The examples in (83) provide crucial support for this expectation:

\begin{enumerate}
\item a. Em demanes si vull venir? Prou que sí!
CL\textsubscript{DAT} ask whether (I)-want come? Indeed that yes
‘You ask me whether I want to come? Yes, indeed.’
\item b. Aquest casament pla que no es farà
this marriage indeed that not CL will-take-place
‘This marriage will indeed take place’
\end{enumerate}

Along the lines of Hernandez’s (2007) proposal, we suggest that emphatic affirmative or negative sentences where C is phonologically realized by que are obtained by merging the EPPA 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. Interestingly, 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 evidential adverbs (see Cinque, 1999), can also co-occur with que. Compare, in this respect, (84a) and (84b):

\begin{enumerate}
\item a. {Evidentemente / ciertamente / desde luego}, Julia está muy enfadada
‘(Obviously / certainly / of course), Julia is very angry’
\item b. {Evidentemente / ciertamente / desde luego} que Julia está muy enfadada
‘(obviously / certainly / of course) that Julia is very angry’
\end{enumerate}
Crucially for our purposes, (84a) and (84b) are by no means semantically equivalent.17 As has been observed by Etxepare (1997:98), “there is a subtle but nevertheless clear and substantial difference” between the two cases. More precisely, (84b), unlike (84a), 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 (84b) is associated with an echoic value.

Accordingly, we propose to reformulate (81) as (85):

(85) \[\text{[ForceP high EPPA [Force que] \ldots [FocusP \ldots [PolP [FinP \ldots]]]]}\]

The representation given in (85) captures the fact that EPPA, when merged with ForceP, rather than being focal, behave as modifiers of the truth operator hosted in this projection. Evidence supporting this claim is provided by the grammaticality of the examples in (86), where there is no subject-verb inversion:

(86) a. Sí que María es vegetariana
   Yes that Mary is vegetarian
   [Spanish]

b. Bé que en Joan ho ha dit
   indeed that the John it has said
   [Catalan]

Along these lines, (87) corresponds to the representation of a sentence like (79a), following the analysis posed in (85):

(87) \[\text{[ForceP Sí [Force que] \ldots [FocusP \ldots [PolP no [FinP ha llovido]]]]}\]

It could be argued that a potential problem for this analysis arises if we take into account that sí que sentences can occur in embedded contexts such as (88):

(88) Ana le ha dicho a Pedro que Juan sí que no vendrá
   Ana to-him has told to Peter that John yes that not will-come
   ‘Ana told Peter that John WON’T come indeed’

Notice, however, that these subordination configurations are only possible with assertive, epistemic and semifactive verbs, and display particular discursive properties: they usually occur in colloquial or oral reported speech contexts18 and they are not exclusive to polarity. Along the lines of González-Planas (2011), they can be treated as reported declaratives that entail a quotative or echoic semantic value, as is clearly illustrated by the examples (89)–(90):

(89) ANA: – Juan, ¿vendrás?
   John, will-come
   ‘John, will you come?’
   DIRECT SPEECH QUESTION

   JUAN: –Sí, sí vendré.
   yes, yes (I)-will-come
   ‘Yes, I will come indeed’
   DIRECT SPEECH ANSWER

   ANA: –Juan ha dicho que sí que vendrá
   John has told that yes that (he)-will-come
   ‘John told me that he WILL come.’
   ORAL REPORTED SPEECH

(90) ANA: – Joan, vendrás?
   John, will-come
   ‘John says that not that not will-come’
   DIRECT SPEECH QUESTION

   JOAN: –No, no vendré
   not, not (I)-will-come
   ‘No, I won’t come.’
   DIRECT SPEECH ANSWER

   ANA: En Joan diu que no que no vendrà
   the John says that not that not will-come
   ‘John says that not that he won’t come’
   ORAL REPORTED SPEECH

---

17 The situation illustrated in (84) extends, mutatis mutandis, to Romanian sentential adverbs, as discussed in Hill (2007).

18 As many authors have shown, this discursive strategy was frequent in Medieval Romance languages (see Poletto and Zanuttini, 2013), and nowadays it is still attested in colloquial and oral speech, see González-Planas (2011:2).
Interestingly, double COMP structures like those in (88)–(90) are restricted to complement clauses selected by assertive and semifactive verbs, whose left periphery have been argued to be more complex than the structure of subjunctive complement clauses (see González-Planas, 2011 and references therein). If this suggestion is on the right track, it seems plausible to propose, for the examples under scrutiny, a representation where SForce splits into two levels: a high level that serves to introduce the embedded sentence, and a low level that encodes its force (see Haegeman, 2003, 2006, among other authors). This is very schematically shown in (91):

(91) Ana le ha dicho [\text{ForceP1} \text{que} \ldots \text{ForceP2} \text{Juan sí que no vendrá}]

5. Conclusion

This paper focuses on Spanish and Catalan EPPA and shows that there is a split between high and low EPPA. It provides conclusive arguments in favour of regarding high EPPA as elements with WH-operator properties. Additionally, it offers a tentative analysis for low EPPA, which are claimed to be hosted on the left edge of vP. Finally, after examining the existence of some structures that are apparently problematic for the hypothesis discussed, it is claimed that high EPPA can coexist with other polarity particles and that, in particular, they do so when they behave as truth operators modifiers hosted in ForceP.

Sources


Acknowledgements

Research for this paper was funded by FFI2011-29440-C03-01, HUM2006-13295-C02-02 (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia/FEDER) and 2009SGR1079 (Generalitat de Catalunya) for M.L. Hernanz, and FFI2011-29440-C03-02 as well as FFI20087063247C02702/FILO (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia/FEDER) for M. Batllori. A preliminary version was presented at the Workshop on polarity emphasis: distribution and locus of licensing. We thank the editors of this volume (A. Breitbarth, K. De Clercq and L. Haegeman) and the participants in the Workshop, as well as the three anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions.

References


Vinet, M.T., 2000. La polarité POS/NÉG, -TU (PAS) et les questions OUI/NON. Revue québécoise de linguistique 28, 137–149.
