Emphatic polarity particles in Spanish and Catalan

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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.
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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[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   [Spanish]
         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   [Catalan]
         the Peter has studied enough
         'Peter has studied sufficiently'

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[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 *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)
      Sp. *bien* (< BENE)   Cat. *ja* (< IAM)   Cat. *poc* (< PAUCU)
      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 PolP[2] 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'

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[2] See Martins (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 <u>no</u> 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* <u>no</u> 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* <u>sí</u>   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 <u>no</u> 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 already has found   job
      'Julia has already found a job'

(16) 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'

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. <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 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.[3] 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.[4] 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*   <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

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[3] Concerning this question, see Hernanz (2006), Martins (2006, 2013), Hernanz and Rigau (2007), Batllori and Hernanz (2008), and Poletto and Zanuttini (2013).

[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_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_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* <u>no</u> 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   trobaríem […] fins una vintena de bones escopetes, però…
           indeed CL_ACC would-find up-to a twenty of good guns,   but…
           (*Punyalada*: 250)
           'We could indeed find up to twenty good guns, but…'
      b.   *Prou* me   entench <u>prou</u>   (CTILC: J. Robrenyo, *El padre Carnot en Guimerà*: 13)
           indeed CL_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):

EMPHATIC SCALAR QUANTIFICATION, WITHOUT VP ELLIPSIS

(26) a.   ¡Tu *pla*   ets un janfosca! (*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
           (CTILC: J. M. de Sagarra, *El café de la Marina*: 32)
           'the stallholder even climbs harder! Fishermen are really brave!'

EMPHATIC SCALAR QUANTIFICATION, WITH VP ELLIPSIS

(27) a.   ¡Tu *pla*!
      b.   La marxanta *pla*

EMPHATIC NEGATION

(28) a.   No m'ho   crec.   En Pere *pla* ha anat al   cine   aquesta nit!
           not CL_DAT+CL_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   aixó. –Sí,   Josafat, fores tu   i
    – I   NOT have   been the that CL_{DAT}-have done this. – Yes, Josafat, were you and
    fores molt crudel. (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'

<small>EMPHATIC AFFIRMATION</small>

(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 *sí*. 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,
              I indeed-even-more finish the day   indeed tired,
              que tinc   dues feines (= Jo *sí 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 *sí que* ('indeed'), in (30a) it does not mean *sí 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*   <u>no</u>   menja
              The John even-more not   eat
              '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* <u>no</u> 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 [pokə].   *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 counterpressupositional emphatic polarity particle (see Rigau, 2004), whereas in the cities of Girona and Figueres it has lost the pressupositional value and can be used out of the blue.[5] It always occurs in preverbal position (with postverbal subjects) and in Girona it is generally used under the form of *[pokə] = poca,*[6] see Rossich (1996).

(33)   a. ¿On   és en Pere? – *Poc* ho   sé!
             where is the Peter? – <u>not</u> CL_{ACC} know
             'Where is Peter? – I do not know'
       b. Avui   *poc* hi aniré   a la biblioteca
             today <u>not</u> 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? – <u>not</u>   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 <u>mai</u> a Barcelona
             <u>not</u> 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
             <u>not</u> 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
             <u>not</u> 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   EPPA
             <u>not</u> have seen the Mary this   summer
             'I have not seen Mary this summer.'
       b. He   vist *poc* la Maria aquest estiu   QUANTITATIVE VALUE
             have seen little the Mary this   summer
             'I have not seen Mary much this summer.
       c. *Poc* <u>no</u> he   vist la Maria aquest estiu
             <u>not</u> not have seen the Mary this   summer
       d. *Poc* <u>sí</u> he   vist la Maria aquest estiu
             <u>not</u> yes have seen the Mary this   summer

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[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 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'.

[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   well
          '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*[7] or *poc* (37d), see also Rigau (2004).

(37) a. En Joan *pla* dirà   <u>res</u>
          the John NOT will say nothing
          'John WON'T say anything'
      b. A la biblioteca *pla* hi   ha <u>mai</u> <u>ningú</u>
          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   is rich
          'John is {not/<u>not</u>/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. *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 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. *La soprano ha *ben* arribat tard
      b. *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. La soprano s'ha   *ben* enfadat   = (38a)
           the soprano CL-has really got-angry
           'The soprano has really got angry'
      b. *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. T'ho   donaré *pas*   (*DCVB*, sv. *pas*)
           to-you-it will-give <u>not</u>
           'I won't give it to you'
      b. El pare hi   és *pas*   (*DCVB*, sv. *pas*)
           the father CL$_{LOC}$ is <u>not</u>
           'Dad is not here'

---

[8] See Hernanz (2006, 2010) for further discussion.

    c.   La Maria <u>no</u> l'ha   vist *pas*   en Joan
         the Mary <u>not</u> him-have seen <u>not-at-all</u> the John
         'Mary hasn't seen John at all'

    d.   <u>No</u> l'he   *pas*   vist en Joan   (*DCVB*, sv. *pas*)
         <u>not</u> him-have <u>not-at-all</u> seen the John
         '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
           not(-at-all) will-come the Rosa

        b.   *Pas   ha vingut la Rosa
           not(-at-all) has come the Rosa

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

Table 1
EPPA in Spanish and Catalan.

Language	Emphatic polarity particles			
	High EPPA		Low EPPA	
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
Spanish	*sí* *bien* *ya*			
Catalan	*sí* *bé* *ja* *prou* *pla*	*poc* *pla*	*ben*	*pas*

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 hierarchal 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   (Vinet, 2000:137)
         I   am indeed arrived on time
         'I did arrive on time indeed'

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

        c.   Je voudrais *bien*   vous   inviter
         I   would-like indeed CL_{ACC} to-invite
         'I would like to invite you indeed'

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

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

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

---

[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 *pas*, Italian *mica*, etc., which appear either preceding or following a past participle, see Cinque (1999:47). Compare (46)–(47) with (44c,d) and (48):

(48) a. Non hanno *mica* mangiato (Cinque, 1999:47)
          they haven't not   eaten
      b. Non hanno mangiato *mica* (Cinque, 1999:47)
          they haven't eaten   not
      c. Non ho   *mica*   detto   questo
          'I have not said this'

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 *ben*), which differ in their semantic interpretation, as the contrast in (43) is intended to show. As argued in Hernanz (2010), although Catalan *bé*, Spanish *bien*, and their Romance equivalents share a relevant property, namely, their emphatic positive import,[10] their interpretation is different. More precisely, Catalan *bé*, like Spanish *bien*, 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.

Table 2 offers a general view of low EPPA in Catalan, French[11] and Italian.

Table 2
Low EPPA in Catalan, French and Italian.

Language	Low emphatic polarity particles	
	Affirmative	Negative
Catalan	*ben*	*pas*
Italian	*bene*	*mica*
French	*bien*	–

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.

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:

(49) CERVEZA bebe Pepito (y   no vino tinto)
      BEER   drinks Pepito (and not wine red)
      'Pepito drinks BEER'

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):

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[10] See Vinet (1996, 2000), and Belletti (1990), among others.

[11] Notice that in Table 2 French lacks the equivalent negative particle *pas*. This element underwent a grammaticalization process that resulted in the genesis of the current negative marker *pas*. For more information, see Roberts (2007).

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

(51)   Presupposition: Hoy Pol_x ha llovido
                        'Today Pol_x 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):

(52) $[_{CP} \ldots[_{PolP} [_{Pol'} [Pol^o [_{IP} \ldots]]]]]$

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):

(54) $[_{ForceP} \ldots. [_{FocusP}$ PolP$\ldots [t_{PolP} [_{FinP}\ldots]]]]$

In agreement with the facts discussed so far, we claim that *sí, 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):

(55) $[_{ForceP}\ldots. [_{FocusP} \{sí_i, bien_i, ya_i, bé_i, ja_i, prou_i, pla_i, poc_i\}$ Focus $[_{PolP} t_i [_{FinP}\ldots]]]]$

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.[12] Consider the contrasts in (56) and (57):

---

[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:

(i)   a.   <u>La soprano</u> **sí** /**bien** ha cantado
    b.   <u>La soprano</u> **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.

(56)   a.   *Sí /bien* ha cantado <u>la soprano</u>   = (12)
       b.   **Sí / bien* <u>la soprano</u> ha cantado

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

Interestingly enough, the pattern illustrated in (56)–(57) does not extend to the paradigm of epistemic adverbs, which also serve to reinforce the speaker's assertion.[13] Notice that adverbs like *ciertamente* (''certainly''), *indubtablement* (''unquestionably'') do not trigger subject-verb inversion:

(58)   a.   *Ciertamente*, <u>Julia</u> está muy enfadada
            Certainly   Julia   is   very upset
       b.   *Indubtablement*, <u>la soprano</u> ha cantat
            Undoubtedly   the soprano has sung

The grammaticality of the examples in (58) clearly suggests that, even though epistemic adverbs may be taken as semantically related to EPPA, they do not behave alike on syntactic grounds.

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.   [$_{TOP}$ <u>Las lentejas</u>] *sí / bien* se   las   come Pepito
                          the lentils   indeed CL CL$_{ACC}$ eats   Pepito
            'Lentils, Pepito eats them indeed'
       b.   **Sí / bien* <u>las lentejas</u> se   las come Pepito

(60)   a.   [$_{TOP}$ <u>A la biblioteca</u>] *poca* hi   aniré
                        to the library   not   CL$_{LOC}$ will go
            'I will <u>not</u> go to the library'
       b.   **Poca* <u>a la biblioteca</u> hi   aniré

(61)   a.   [$_{TOP}$ <u>Aquesta circumstància</u>] *prou* l'havia   notada [. . .] l'Arbós   (*Punyalada*: 250)
                       This   circumstance   indeed it-had   noticed   the-Arbós
            'Arbós had indeed become aware of this event'
       b.   **Prou* <u>aquesta circumstància</u> 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)   TOPIC – WH
       *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)   **Bien /*sí* <u>la</u> soprano ha   cantado = (56b)
       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_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

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

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

(65) Qué ópera (*bien / *sí*)   ha cantado la soprano?
      what opera (indeed / yes) has sung   the soprano?

(66) Cuándo (*ya)   podría Pepe haberte   llamado?
      when   (already) should Pepe have+CL_ACC called?

(67) Quines coses (*bé / *prou*) deia en Pere!
      what things   (indeed)   said the Peter

As argued in Hernanz (2006, 2010), and Batllori and Hernanz (2008), the incompatibility described above between *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 *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 (*FocusP*), as in (68):

(68) $[_{ForceP} \ldots [_{FocusP}$ *wh$_j$ /{*sí$_i$,bien$_i$, ya$_i$, bé$_i$, ja$_i$, prou$_i$, pla$_i$, poc$_i$*}$[_{PolP}$ t$_i$ $[_{FinP} \ldots$ t$_j]]]]$

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 *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 *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 *ben* (section 2.3.1) and *pas* (section 2.3.2), like their French (*bien*) and Italian counterparts (*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 *v*P field:

(69) $[_{ForceP} \ldots [_{FocusP}$ high EPPA$_i$ $[_{PolP}$ t$_i$ $[_{FinP} \ldots [_{FP}$ low EPPA $[_{vP} \ldots]]]]]]$

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 *ben*   s'ha   enfadat
              the soprano really   CL+has got angry
       b. *La Rosa *pas*   vindrà
              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 [. . .] <u>pensando</u>   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'aldarulls   <u>crec</u>   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   <u>conegué</u> Esaú 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 Canaàn (CTILC: Frederic Clascar, *El Gènesi*: 116)   [Catalan]
            the daughters of Canaan
            'Esaú 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 <u>lamenta</u> que en Pere *poca* prengui pastilles   [Catalan]
            the Mary regrets that the Peter <u>not</u> take_SUBJ pills
       b.   *Los médicos han <u>decidido</u> / <u>ordenado</u> que el paciente *bien* tomara pastillas
            the doctors have decided / ordered that the patient indeed take_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 <u>que</u> *sí* ha cantado la   soprano es muy bonita   [Spanish]
            the aria that yes has sung   the soprano is very beautiful
       b.   *La casa <u>que</u> *bé*   ens   hem comprat és molt cara   [Catalan]
            the house that indeed (we) CL_DAT have bought is very expensive

(74)   a.   Esta aria, <u>que</u> *sí*   podría ser de Puccini, es muy bonita   [Spanish]
            this aria, that yes could be by Puccini, is very beautiful
            '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, <u>que</u> *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   passatge 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]
        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'

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.   <u>Si</u> *(*bien)* canta la Caballé, el teatro se llenará   [Spanish]
        If indeed sings the Caballé, the theatre CL will-be-full
     b.   <u>Quan</u> la Maria (*prou) té   temps, llegeix novel·les llargues   [Catalan]
        When the Mary indeed has time,   reads novels   long
     c.   <u>Encara que</u> 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 *sí* is the only EPPA attested in causal, (76a), purpose, (76b), and temporal adverbial clauses (76c):

(76) a.   Me voy [...] muy contento <u>porque</u> *sí* creo que ha aumentado la cooperación
        I   leave very happy   because yes think tha thas 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 <u>para</u> <u>que</u> *sí*   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, <u>cuando</u> *sí*   me
        these big   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 *sí* 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, <u>perquè</u> *prou* hi haurà   temps per fer-ho   [Catalan]
        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, <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'   [Spanish]

c. Si no calculo   mal,   nos quedan aún por oírle   como   unas cuatro
   If not calculate badly, to-us are-left still to   hear-him as-much-as some four
   palabras, <u>aunque</u>   *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)   [Spanish]
   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.[15] 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,[16] 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 *PolP* 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 <u>no</u> ha cantado la soprano = (10)   [Spanish]
         well not has sung   the soprano
      b. *Bien <u>sí</u> 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* <u>no</u> ha llovido
         today yes that not has rained
         'Today it hasn't rained indeed'

---

[15] 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.

[16] 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* <u>no</u> te molesta cuando dicen que
what CL_{DAT} happens? Well that not CL_{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 (*sí, 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 *sí que*:

(80) 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)

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 *PolP*, 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 Hernanz (2007):

(81) [_{CP} [_{PolP1} *bien*, *bé*, *sí* [[*que*] ... [_{PolP2} [_{IP} ...]]]]]

Under the analysis sketched in (81) it would be expected that *bien, bé* and *sí*, 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* <u>no</u> ha cantat la soprano
not that not has sung the soprano
'No, the soprano has NOT sung'

Like *sí 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:

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

Along the lines of Hernanz'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):

(84) 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, (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) $[_{ForceP}$ high EPPA $[_{Force'}$ $[_{Force°}$ *que*] ... $[_{FocusP}$ ... $[_{PolP}$ $[_{FinP}$ ...]]]]]

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 <u>María</u> es vegetariana   [Spanish]
          Yes that Mary is   vegetarian
      b. Bé   que <u>en Joan</u> ho ha dit   [Catalan]
          indeed that the John it   has said

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

(87) $[_{ForceP}$ Sí $[_{Force'}$ $[_{Force°}$ *que*] ... $[_{FocusP}$ ... $[_{PolP}$ 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 <u>que</u> 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 contexts[18] 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?   DIRECT SPEECH QUESTION
              John,   will-come
              'John, will you come?'
      JUAN: –Sí, *sí* vendré.   DIRECT SPEECH ANSWER
              yes, yes (I)-will-come
              'Yes, I will come indeed'
      ANA: –Juan ha dicho <u>que</u> *sí* *que* vendrá   ORAL REPORTED SPEECH
              John   has told   that yes that (he)-will-come
              'John told me that he WILL come.'

(90) ANNA: – Joan, vindràs?
      JOAN: –No, no vindré
              not, not (I)-will-come
              'No, I won't come.'
      ANNA: En Joan diu   <u>que</u> *no que* no vindrà
              the John says that not that not will-come
              'John says that no that he won't come'

---

[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 [$_{ForceP1}$ <u>que</u> ... [$_{ForceP2}$ 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*.

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Acknowledgements

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