THE EMERGENCE AND SYNTAX OF *SÍ QUE* IN CATALAN*

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ABSTRACT In this article I investigate the syntax of Modern Catalan *sí que*, a construction involving the adverb *sí* followed by the complementiser *que*. I show that (i) it is used to express strong speaker commitment together with positive polarity in the scope of nonveridical operators, and (ii) that it consists in a biclausal structure. The emergence of *sí que* is shown to be the result of three factors: (i) the grammaticalisation of the manner adverb *sí* into an epistemic and positive polarity adverb, (ii) the decline and loss of the homophonous consecutive adverbial subordinator *sí que*, and (iii) the emergence of a paradigm of constructions consisting of a modal adverb followed by a complement clause headed by *que*.

1 INTRODUCTION

This article explores the syntax of *sí que* in Modern Catalan. *Sí que*, formed by the positive particle *sí* and the complementiser *que* is used to emphatically assert something against a nonveridical background; that is, a background in which an alternative reading of the proposition contained in the *que* clause is overtly or covertly elicited. This is illustrated in (1):

(1) A: *Vindràs   al   cinema, oi?*
         come.2SG.FUT to;the cinema right

     B: Sí   que *vindré.*
         yes   that come.1SG.FUT

> A: You will come to the cinema, won't you?
>
> B: Yes, I WILL.

Other Romance languages display parallel constructions involving a lexical item that is also used as a positive answer particle followed by their equivalent of *que*: Italian *sì che*, Occitan *och que* (present in Gascon, Languedocien, and Provençal dialects according to literary data from BaTelÒc (Bras & Vergez-Couret 2016)), Spanish *sí que*, and Portuguese *sim que*. While the counterpart of Catalan *sí que* has been studied in Italian (Poletto & Zanuttini 2013), Spanish (Batllori & Hernanz 2013, Martins 2013, Kocher 2017, Villa-García & González Rodríguez 2020a,b), and Portuguese (Martins 2013), to my knowledge, this is the first study that thoroughly explores the syntax of *sí que* and its diachrony in Catalan.[1]

In this article, I apply the Cartographic Programme (Rizzi 1997, 2004), which proposes an articulated left periphery containing projections linked to information structure categories, delimited by two functional projections: Force, connected to clause typing, and Finiteness, connected to whether the clause is [+/-] finite.

(2)   [Frame [Force [Topic [Focus [Finiteness [...

This article is organised as follows. In Section 2, I describe the distribution of *sí que* in Modern Catalan. In Section 3, I review analyses of *sí que* in Spanish and Italian, and I contrast them against Catalan *sí que* as described in Section 2, showing that none of the analyses proposed for other Romance languages can describe Modern Catalan data. I then put forth an alternative analysis for Modern Catalan *sí que* and argue that it consists in a biclausal structure in which *sí* is located within the left periphery of an upper clause that contains a silent truth predicate while *que* heads a CP, complement of the truth predicate. This analysis is backed up by the diachrony of *sí que*, which is presented in Section 4. In Section 4, the three factors that contribute towards the emergence of *sí que* are explored: (i) the grammaticalisation process undergone by *sí*, from a manner adverb to an emphatic positive polarity adverb with epistemic semantics; (ii) the emergence of ADV(ERB) + QUE (henceforth ADV+C, following Kocher 2017) construction paradigm, which *sí* would join in the 16th century, yielding *sí que*; and (iii) the disappearance of the homophonous consecutive adverbial subordinator *sí que*. Finally, in Section 5, I offer a summary of the findings presented in the article.

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1 Batllori & Hernanz (2013) devote a subsection to it and Hernanz & Rigau (2006) comment on its differences with Spanish *sí que* without diving into its specific syntax.

2   The distribution of *sí que* in Modern Catalan

The distributional features of *sí que* that allow us to locate it in the left periphery are:

(3)   i. *Sí que* occurs within the scope of nonveridical operators.

    ii. *Sí que* cannot be split.

    iii. *Sí que* cannot be modified by degree adverbs.

    iv. *Sí que* cannot be negated or occur in antiveridical contexts.

    v. *Sí que* can contain negation and negative polarity items in the *que* clause.

    vi. *Sí que* can be preceded and followed Clitic Left Dislocated topics, Hanging Topics, and Frame Setters.

    vii. *Sí que* cannot co-occur with Foci.

    viii. *Sí que* can be preceded and followed by ADV+C clusters.

    ix. *Sí que* can be embedded.

    x. *Sí que* does not constitute an island.

    xi. *Sí* can act as an answer particle.

In what follows, each of these features is illustrated and it is shown that they are all shared with ADV+C constructions (see Pujol i Campeny 2022 for more on ADV + C in Modern Catalan).

2.1   Sí que *occurs within the scope of nonveridical operators*

In Modern Catalan, *sí* has been described as an Emphatic Positive Polarity Particle, henceforth EPPA (Batllori & Hernanz 2013). It is the most frequent means to answer positively to a yes/no question. It can either appear in its own, as in (4.Bi), or followed by a partial or total repetition of the content of the question, separated from *sí* by a prosodic pause, as in (4.Bii).[2]

(4)   Yes/no question

    A: *T'*   *agraden*   *les* *pomes?*
         to;you.cl= please.3pl the apples

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2 Unlike in Modern Spanish, Modern Catalan does not allow for *sí* to occur adjacent to a verb without a prosodic pause or without the use of *que*. Nevertheless, due to the extensive contact between these two languages, it is increasingly frequent in Modern Catalan. See Ebner-Landy (2020) for more on the matter.

B_I: *Sí.*
     yes

B_{II}: *Sí, m'*   *agraden.*
     yes to;me.CL= please.3PL

A: Do you like apples?

B_I: Yes.

B_{II}: Yes, I like them.

Sí que can also be used as an answer to a yes/no question. When used, the answer can have a more emphatic and marked character than when *sí* is used on its own or separated from the verb by a prosodic pause as in (5):

(5)   Yes/no question

A: *T'*   *agraden*   *les* *pomes?*
     to;you.CL= please.3PL the apples

B: *Sí*   *que* *m'*   *agraden.*
     yes that to;me.CL= please.3PL

A: Do you like apples?

B: I DO like apples.

Additionally, it can be used in contexts where the statement contained in the *sí que* clause reverses the polarity of (or cancels out) a previous statement in the discourse, which Wilder (2013) refers to as 'antecedent proposition in the discourse', often consisting in a negated version of the proposition contained in the *sí que* clause:

(6)   Polarity reversal

A: *Les* *pomes* *no*   *t'agraden.*
     the apples not to;you.CL= please.3PL

B: *Què* *dius?* *Sí*_[lengthened]. *En*   *menjo* *una* *cada*
     what say.2SG yes   of;them.CL= eat.1SG one every
     dia.
     day

B_{II}: *Què* *dius?* *Sí* *que* *m'*   *agraden.* *En*
     what say.2SG yes that to;me.CL= please.3PL of;them.CL=
     menjo *una* *cada* *dia.*
     eat.1SG one every day

A: You don't like apples.

B: What are you going on about? I DO like apples. I eat one every day.

Additionally, *sí que* can emphatically confirm a positive assertion of a proposition when the tone in which it is uttered or the discourse context convey doubt over its truth value. As in the case of yes/no questions, when confirming a positive assertion, speakers can resort to *sí* on its own, *sí* followed by material contained in the proposition (with a prosodic pause in between), and *sí que*, which conveys a more emphatic confirmation:

(7) Emphatic confirmation

A: *Les pomes t'   agraden.*
   the apples to;you.CL= please.3PL

B: *Sí   que m'   agraden.*
   yes that to;me.CL= please.3PL

A: You like apples.

B: Yes, I DO like apples.

These contexts have in common that they are nonveridical. Following Giannakidou (1998, 1999), Giannakidou & Mari (2021), we take contexts containing a veridical expression to convey that an individual is committed to the truth of a proposition. Nonveridical contexts, on the other hand, express uncertainty and lack of commitment towards the proposition's content. Within nonveridical expressions, Giannakidou labels negation as antiveridical, since the negation of p (NOT p) entails that p is false. This contrasts with nonveridical contexts that do not rule out the possibility of p being false, but, at the same time, do not assert its truth either (Giannakidou 2012: 1675). Therefore, veridicality is strongly connected to epistemic modality, understood as the degree of speaker commitment towards the truth value of a proposition (Palmer 2001, Aikhenvald 2004, Cornillie 2009).

Ernst (2009) shows that speaker oriented adverbs, which he describes as positive polarity items (that is to say, polarity sensitive items with positive semantics), are excluded from antiveridical contexts. Ernst classifies them in two groups, depending on their ability to occur or not in nonveridical contexts: weak positive polarity adverbs cannot occur in antiveridical contexts but are allowed in nonveridical ones and, most importantly, may be indirectly licensed, while strong positive polarity items are disallowed in all nonveridical contexts and cannot be indirectly licensed. Ernst also connects positive polarity items to the notion of subjectivity, understood as the speaker belief set at

the moment of production of an assertion. The expression of subjective epistemic modality restricts the possible worlds in the conversation background to what the speaker believes to be true at the time of the utterance (Ernst 2009: 516). This contrasts with objective epistemic modality, which includes widely known and publicly available evidence instead (and brings us closer to the notion of evidentiality).[3]

Since *sí que* displays polarity sensitivity in that it requires a nonveridical licensor, it can be described as a polarity sensitive item (henceforth PI, following Espinal & Llop (2022), where the term is used to refer purely to polarity sensitive items, be them positive or negative, and Negative Polarity Item or NPI is used for elements that exclusively occur in antiveridical contexts) that expresses a speaker's high degree of commitment towards the truth value of the proposition that it contains, which must already be present in the common ground, or, in Wilder (2013)'s terms, have a discursive antecedent.

Non-veridical contexts provide an antecedent in the discourse that overtly or covertly challenges the truth value of the proposition contained in the *sí que* clause. Giannakidou (1998, 1999, 2001, 2012) proposes the Nonverdicality Theory of Polarity, by which PIs are licensed by nonveridical contexts, which include modal, intensional, generic and downward entailing contexts, as well as disjunctions and non-assertive contexts (questions, imperatives, and protases). The precise location of the PI within the licensing space provided by the nonveridical context varies depending on its semantic features. PIs can be sanctioned (that is to say, be allowed to occur in a certain clause) by being licensed or by being rescued. When licensed, the PI occurs within the scope of nonveridical operator. Rescuing occurs when the immediate context would not license the presence of the PI, but the broader semantic-pragmatic context does:

(8)   Rescuing by nonveridicality (Giannakidou 2006): A PI α can be rescued in the scope of a veridical expression β in a sentence S, if (a) the global context C of S makes a proposition S' available which contains a nonveridical expression β; and (b) α can be associated with β in S'.

<div align="right">Giannakidou (2012: 1687)</div>

The 'association with a nonveridical proposition' means that the PI must appear within the scope of a nonveridical expression at a level other than LF. This is the case of *sí que*: while it cannot co-occur with a nonveridical expression or in a nonveridical expression at LF, it must appear within the context

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3 Cornillie (2009: 45) defines evidentiality as a grammatical category that encodes the source of information of the content of a proposition, along the lines of Aikhenvald (2004: 3).

of one.[4]

Since *sí que* needs to appear within the context of a nonveridical expression that casts doubt over the truth of the proposition contained in the *que*-clause present in the common ground, it follows that it cannot occur in out-of-the-blue contexts. This is illustrated in (9) and (10):

(9)   A: *Què   ha   passat?*
           what   has   happened

      B: **Sí   que   anirem   a   la   festa.*
           yes   that   go.1PL.FUT   to   the   party

      A: What's going on?

      B: We will indeed go to the party.

(10)   A: *Anireu   [a   la   festa]ᵢ?*
            go.2PL.FUT   to   the   party

       B: *Sí   que   [hi]ᵢ   anirem.*
            yes   that   there   go.1PL.FUT

       A: Will you go [to the party]ᵢ?

       B: We will go [there]ᵢ.

In (9), the sentence containing *sí que* cannot act as the answer to A's open question, as the presence of *sí que* requires the content of the proposition contained in the *que* clause to be present in the common ground, as in (10). This means that *sí que* clauses cannot receive broad focus.

In sum, *sí que* occurs within the scope of nonveridical operators, and can either answer positively to a yes/no question, reverse the polarity of a negative assertion, or confirm the positive polarity of a positive assertion.

2.2   Sí que *cannot be split*

No element can intervene between *sí* and *que*. They must be adjacent:

(11)   *Avui   sí   (*avui)   que   anirem   a   la   platja.*
        today   yes   today   that   go.1SG.FUT   to   the   beach
        We will indeed go to the beach.

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4 In previous works, Giannakidou referred to *rescuing* as *indirect licensing* (Giannakidou 1998, 1999).

2.3 Sí que *cannot be modified by degree adverbs*

Sí in *sí que* cannot be modified by degree adverbs, unlike other adverbs that appear in ADV+C configurations. As I show in Pujol i Campeny (2022), adverbs in ADV+C clusters can be modified by degree adverbs depending on their semantics. Adverbs expressing an absolute level of speaker commitment towards the truth value of the proposition contained in the *que*-clause cannot be modified by degree adverbs, while those that express a lower degree of commitment can. When speakers resort to gradable epistemic adverb, their degree of commitment to the truth value of the proposition is high, but not absolute, so it can be quantified. In the case of *sí* in *sí que*, the speaker is absolutely certain about the truth value of the proposition, and therefore *sí* cannot be modified, as in (12), while the adverb *probablement* 'probably' can be modified by degree adverbs such as *molt* 'very', as in (13):

(12) **Molt sí que anirem a la festa.*
very   yes that go.1PL.FUT to the party
We will very much indeed go to the party.

(13) *Doncs molt probablement que tots tres emeten so*
then   very probably   that all three air   sound
gironí.
from;Girona
'Well, it is very likely that all three produce sounds from Girona.'
(Puig 2011)

However, *sí que* can be preceded by epistemic adverbs:

(14) *Potser sí que anirem a eleccions.*
maybe yes that go.1PL.FUT to elections
'It may be that there will indeed be elections.'

(15) *Una nena de dotze anys difícilment empatitzarà amb*
a   girl of twelve years difficultly empathise.3SG.FUT with
un home amb barba, però molt probablement sí que ho
a   man with beard but very probably   yes that it.CL=
farà   amb una dona.
do.3SG.FUT with a   woman
'A twelve-year-old girl would hardly empathise with a bearded man, but she would be likely to do so with a woman.'
(Salán 2017)

A reviewer suggests that the epistemic adverb acts as a modifier of *sí*. I do not share this intuition. Additionally, several types of constituents (left dislocated material, scene setters) can intervene between both, showing that they are not syntactically adjacent:

(16) *Potser   l'Eva   sí   que   vindrà.*
     maybe   Eva   yes   that come.3SG.FUT
     'Maybe Eva will indeed come.'

(17) *Potser   [a la   platja]ᵢ   sí   que   n'hiᵢ   ha.*
     maybe   in the beach   yes   that there.CL=   has.3SG
     'Maybe there are some in the beach.'

(18) *Probablement a   l'estiu   sí   que   hi   anirem.*
     probably   in the;summer yes   that there.CL=   go.1PL.FUT
     'In the summer we will probably indeed go there.'

Therefore, I take epistemic adverbs preceding *sí que* to occur higher in the clause and to be independent from *sí que*. They interact with *sí que* semantically, but this will be left for future research in the interest of space.

2.4 Sí que *cannot be negated or occur in antiveridical contexts*

As explored in the introduction to this Section, *sí* is a PI with positive semantics, and as such, its distribution excludes antiveridcal (where a proposition is negated) and nonveridical (where doubt is cast over a proposition) environments (Ernst 2009, Giannakidou 2012: 1698). As we can see in (19), *sí que* cannot be preceded by negative concord items (NCI, following Espinal & Llop 2022) such as *ningú* 'no one' and *res* 'nothing', which, when occurring preverbally, can license negative PIs and other NCIs independently:

(19) **ningú*   sí   que   anirà   a   la   festa.*
     nobody   yes   that go.3SG.FUT   to the party
     No one will indeed go to the party.

(20) **Res   sí   que   menjo.*
     nothing   yes   that eat.1SG
     I DO eat nothing.

As we will see in Section 3, this is not only the result of *sí* being a PI with positive semantics, but also due to the fact that fronted indefinites occupy FocP in the left periphery, and Foci cannot precede *sí que*.

2.5 Sí que *can contain negation and negative polarity items in the* que *clause*

As we have seen above, *sí que* cannot appear in an antiveridical context. However, NPIs can occur in the clause headed by *que* without yielding an ungrammatical sentence:

(21) *El   Morta   sí   que   no   vindrà   (...)*
       the Morta   yes   that no   come.3SG.FUT
       Morta will indeed not come.

<div align="right">(Duarri 2013)</div>

(22) *A   aquest   sí   que   ningú   el   qüestiona.*
       to this   yes   that nobody him   questions
       No one questions this one at all.

<div align="right">(Riera 2019)</div>

In (21), the sentence headed by *que* contains the standard negative marker *no*. In (22), the negative indefinite pronoun *ningú* occurs in the clause headed by *que*. The fact that *sí* is a PI with positive semantics does not prevent NPIs from occurring after *que*.

2.6 Sí que *can be preceded and followed by ClLD, Hanging Topics, and Scene Setters*

As (14–19) illustrate, *sí que* can be both preceded and followed by Clitic Left Dislocated elements (henceforth ClLD), Hanging Topics (henceforth HTs) and Scene Setters (henceforth ScSts). In the Romance languages, ClLDed elements, found in a Topic projection in the left periphery, are case-marked where possible and picked up by a resumptive clitic pronoun in the core of the clause, while HTs are not case-marked but are also resumed by a clitic pronoun in the core of the clause. Finally, Scene Setters are generated in the upper left periphery, they have scope over the entire clause, and they anchor the speech act either temporally, spatially or aspectually in the discourse. In Modern Catalan, ScSts can be generated below ForceP.

(23) (a) *[A   la   festa]$_i$,   sí   que   hi$_i$ anirem.*
            to   the   party   yes   that there.CL=   go.1PL
            We will indeed go to the party.

      (b) *però   sí   que   [a   Girona]$_i$,   hi$_i$ ha   una   cultura*
            but   yes   that in   Girona   there   is   a   culture
            empresarial,   arrelada   (...).
            business   rooted

'but in Girona, there IS a rooted business culture'

<div align="right">Martí (2017)</div>

(24) (a) [*De pomes*]ᵢ, *sí que enᵢ menja.*
apples   yes that of;them.CL= eats
She does indeed eat apples.

(b) *Sí que,* [*de pomes*]ᵢ, *enᵢ menja.*
yes that apples   of;them.CL= eats
'She does indeed eat apples'

(25) (a) *Des de fa molts anys sí que és obligat de*
from of does many years yes that is compulsory of
fer aquesta carrera a la universitat, (...).
do.INF this degree in the university
For many years, it has been compulsory to study this degree at University, (...).

<div align="right">(Franquès Sans 2020)</div>

(b) *però sí que des de fa molts anys sempre*
but yes that from of does many years always
s' ha celebrat el primer divendres de
itself.CL= has celebrated the first Friday of
setembre.
September
'(...) but for many years, this has always been celebrated the last Friday of September for many years.'

<div align="right">(Forès 2021)</div>

In (23 a), the ClLDed Prepositional Phrase (henceforth PP) *a la festa* 'to the party' precedes *sí que*, while the resumptive clitic pronoun linked to the PP is found below *que*, cliticising onto the verb. In (23 b), however, the ClLDed element, co-referent with the resumptive clitic pronoun *hi* 'there', follows *sí que*. In (24 a), the HT *pomes* precedes *sí que*, co-referent with the clitic pronoun *en*, while in (24 b), *pomes* follows *sí que*, also co-referent with the clitic pronoun *en*. Finally, in (25 a), the ScSt *des de fa molts anys* 'for many years' precedes *sí que*, while in (25 b) it follows it.

2.7 Sí que *cannot co-occur with Foci*

Contrasting with ClLD elements, HTs and ScSts, Foci cannot freely precede and follow *sí que*. In Modern Catalan, two types of Foci are encoded in the

left periphery: Contrastive Focus and *Verum* Focus. Both types of Focus involve two syntactic operations: the fronting of a constituent to the specifier of a projection in the left periphery and the raising of the verb to the head of the same projection. This configuration yields XV(S) sequences, that, in the case of *Verum* Focus, place the focus on the assertive nature of the clause, rendering it a single informational unit (Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal 2009). Foci preceeding *sí que* are ungrammatical, and those following it are only deemed marginally acceptable by some speakers.[5], as illustrated in (26) and (27):[6]

(26) (a) **Pomes* *sí* *que* *menja, peres* *no.*
apples yes that eats pears not
'She does eat apples, not pears.'

 (b) **/??Sí* *que* *pomes* *menja, peres* *no.*
yes that apples eats pears not
'She does eat apples, not pears.'

(27) (a) **Molta feina* *sí* *que* *té* *Human* *Rights* *Watch.*
much work yes that has Human Rights Watch.
'It is indeed the case that Human Rights Watch has a lot of work.'

 (b) **/??Sí* *que* *molta feina* *té* *Human* *Rights* *Watch.*
yes that much work has Human Rights Watch
'It is indeed the case that Human Rights Watch has a lot of work.'

(BC 2019)

These two types of Foci have in common that the fronted element is d-linked: it is either explicitly mentioned or elicited in the common ground. Additionally, they both cancel out an alternative reading of the proposition, as *sí que* clauses inherently do: Contrastive Foci selects an alternative over the rest of alternatives from a contextually evoked set and *Verum* Focus puts emphasis on the assertive nature of an illocutionary act and rules out alternative readings of the proposition contained in it.

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5 Speakers differ in their degree of acceptance of preceding and following Foci. Personally, I can accept following foci more easily than preceding ones, but one of the reviewers of this article has the opposite intuition. Judgements of consulted speakers favour Foci following *sí que*, but the sample is not big enough to be significant.

6 This sentence has been obtained from the Internet, and was thus spontaneously produced by an unprompted speaker whose linguistic background is unknown to us (it could be a Catalan L2 speaker). The five consulted L1 speakers of Catalan do not deem it grammatical, and nor does the author of this article and one of its reviewers.

A successful analysis of *sí que* in Modern Catalan needs to account for the impossibility of left-peripheral Foci preceding or following *sí que*.

2.8 Sí que *can be preceded and followed by ADV + C clusters*

Modern Catalan counts with a series of constructions with modal semantics (epistemic and evidential) that consist of an adverb with modal semantics followed by a clause headed by the complementiser *que*, to which we refer as ADV+C constructions. In Pujol i Campeny (2022), I show how evidential ADV+C constructions can precede epistemic ADV+C constructions (Evidential ADV + C > Epistemic ADV + C), while epistemic ADV+C constructions can follow evidential and epistemic ADV+C constructions, but cannot precede evidental ones (*Epistemic ADV + C > Evidential ADV + C). This order patterns with Cinque (1999) adverbial hierarchy, where a head related to evidential modality is described as governing a head related to epistemic modality:

(28) [frankly $_{\text{Mood speech act}}$ [fortunately $_{\text{Mood evaluative}}$ [allegedly $_{\text{Mood evidential}}$ [probably $_{\text{Mod epistemic}}$ [once $_{\text{T(past)}}$ [then $_{\text{T(future)}}$ [perhaps $_{\text{Mod irrealis}}$ [necessarily $_{\text{Mod necessity}}$ [possibly $_{\text{Mod possibility}}$ [. . . Asp . . .

If adverbs in ADV+C constructions are base-generated in the heads associated to their respective semantics, it is expected that evidential ADV+C constructions can precede epistemic ones but not vice-versa. In the case of *sí que*, we find that evidential ADV+C clusters can precede *sí que*, but not follow it, while epistemic ones can both precede and follow *sí que*. This is illustrated in (29)–(30).

(29) (a) *Evidentment que sí que hem perdut llibertats, (...).*
obviously   that yes that have.1PL lost   freedom
'Obviously, we have indeed lost freedom, (...).'

(Majó 2020)

(b) *$^{*/??}$sí que evidentment que hem perdut llibertats, (...).*
yes   that evidently   that have.1PL lost   freedom
'Obviously, we have indeed lost freedom, (...).'

(30) (a) *Canvi polític i institucions: segur que sí que*
change political and institutions sure   that yes that
es   pot?
RFL.3SG.CL can

'Political change and institutions: is it certain that it is indeed possible?'

<div align="right">(Franch 2016)</div>

(b) (*aquest cop sí que segur que era la Cadena Ser*)
    this   time yes that sure that was the Cadena Ser

'(this time it was certainly for sure the Cadena Ser).'

<div align="right">(Lledó Cunill 2013)</div>

2.9 Sí que can be embedded

Sí que can appear in embedded clauses that allow for root clause phenomena, including complement clauses of bridge verbs, restrictive relative clauses, and adverbial clauses (Batllori & Hernanz 2013: Section 3.6). This is illustrated in examples (31)–(33). In (31), we find *sí que* in a restrictive relative clause with the antecedent *una cosa*. In (32), we find it within the causal adverbial clause introduced by *perquè* 'because'. Finally, in (33), we find *sí que* in the complement clause of the verb *sentir* 'to feel', a bridge verb. Therefore, an account of *sí que* in Modern Catalan needs to allow for *sí que* to occur under ForceP.

(31) *La idea no és viure   per sempre, és crear   alguna cosa*
     the idea not is live.ɪɴғ for always is create.ɪɴғ some   thing
     que sí que ho   faci.
     that yes that it.ᴄʟ= do.3sɢ.sᴜʙᴊ

     'The idea is not to live forever, but to create something that does.'

<div align="right">(eDiversa Group 2021)</div>

(32) *Amargant assegura que els testimonis del   sopar*
     Amargant assures that the witnesses of;the dinner
     "menteixen" perquè sí que van   veure   els abusos
     lie.3ᴘʟ   because yes that ᴘsᴛ.3ᴘʟ see.ɪɴғ the abuses
     sexuals
     sexual

     'Amargant assures that the witnesses to the dinner lie because they DID witness the sexual abuse.'

<div align="right">(324cat 2013)</div>

(33) (...) *que sento   que sí que es   valora la   meva*
          that feel.1sɢ that yes that ᴘʀᴏ.3sɢ= value the my
     música com cal.
     music as   necessary

'(...) that I feel that my music IS valued as it should.'

<div align="right">(Guinovart 2018)</div>

2.10 Sí que *does not constitute an island*

Modern Catalan possesses several *que* entries in the lexicon realised in different heads in the left periphery and associated to different functions (González i Planas 2014). High *que*, located in ForceP and associated with complement clauses, allows for extraction and bound variable reconstruction across it while lower instances of *que* (located below ForceP, in other heads of the left periphery, such as FinP, and henceforth generically referred to as low *que*) induce island effects for extraction (López 2009, Villa-García 2015: 107). This is illustrated in (34) and (35):

(34)   *El*   *seu$_{i/j}$*   *fill,*   *sí*   *que*   *tots$_i$*   *l'*   *han*   *deixat*   *fora*
      the   his/her   son   yes   that   all   him.CL=   have   left   outside

      Possible readings

        i.   Everyone has indeed left their own son outside.

        ii.   Everyone has indeed left Pep's son outside.

(35)   *El*   *seu*$_{*i/j}$ *fill,*   *que*   *tots$_i$*   *el*   *deixin*   *fora*
      the   his/her   son   COMP.JUSS   all   him.CL=   leave.3PL.SUBJ   outside

      Possible readings

        i.   Let everyone leave Pep's son outside.

        ii.   ~~Let everyone leave their own son outside.~~

In (34), the direct object *el seu fill* has been clitic left dislocated to the left periphery, across *sí que*. It allows bound variable reconstruction: *seu* can refer to everyone's son, as well as to a someone else's son (this someone else is called Pep in the example). This shows us that the *que* in *sí que* does not act as a barrier for reference reconstruction, and thus, it must be an instance of high *que*. (34) contrasts with (35), where bound variable reconstruction is not possible across a jussive *que*, located further down in the left periphery. A reviewer suggested that the wh- pronoun *què* 'what' can be extracted across *sí que*, as in (36). Nevertheless, not all consulted speakers accept the co-occurrence of a wh-word and *sí que*, which derives naturally from the fact that *sí que* rejects the co-occurrence with preceding foci. Those who marginally accept it

require a very specific pragmatic context eliciting surprise, and would naturally produce a fragmentary echo version of Speaker A's sentence, instead of Speaker's B full repetition:

(36) A: *Sento   que   es   valora [la   meva música]ᵢ com*
         feel.1sg that RFL.3SG.CL= values the my   music   as
         cal.
         must.3sg

     B: *ⁿ/?? Quèᵢ   sents   que   sí   que   es   valora com*
         what feel.2sg that yes that RFL.3SG.CL= values as
         cal   tᵢ?
         must.3sg

     A: I feel that [my music]ᵢ is valued as it should.

     B: Whatᵢ is valued as it should?

2.11 Sí *can act as an answer particle*

As shown above and repeated here for the reader's convenience, *sí* can occur on its own as a positive answer particle:

(37) A: *T'   agraden   les pomes?*
         to;you.CL= please.3PL the apples

     B: *Sí   que   m'   agraden.*
         yes that to;me.CL= please.3PL

     A: Do you like apples?

     B: I DO like apples.

Adverbs and polarity particles occurring in ADV+C constructions, such as *prou* 'enough' or *bé* 'well' can also be used as positive answer particles like *sí* (see Batllori & Hernanz 2013 for more on it).

2.12 *Summary*

In this section, it has been shown that *sí que* appears within the scope of non-veridical operators. It has also been shown that *sí que* cannot be split, modified by grade adverbs or occur within the scope of antiveridical expressions, but NPIs can occur below *que*. In regards to the positioning of *sí que* in relation to left peripheral elements, we have seen that it can be preceded and followed by ScSts, ClLDed topics and HTs, but that it incompatible with preceding foci and marginally compatible with Foci that follow the *sí que* cluster. We have

also seen that *sí que* can be preceded and followed by epistemic ADV+C constructions but only preceded by evidential ones. Furthermore, it can appear in embedded clauses, it does not constitute an island and allows for bound variable reconstruction, and *sí* can act as an answer particle. A successful analysis of *sí que* in Modern Catalan needs to account for these distributional features.

3   AN ANALYSIS OF *SÍ QUE* IN MODERN CATALAN

In Section 2, the distributional features of *sí que* in Modern Catalan have been illustrated. Before presenting and arguing for our analysis of *sí que* in Modern Catalan, we will explore existing analyses of *sí que* in other Romance languages and establish whether they can be applied to Modern Catalan data or not before presenting our analysis for it.

3.1   Sí que *in Modern Spanish*

Villa-García & González Rodríguez (2020a,b) propose an analysis of *sí* que in Modern Spanish. Modern Spanish differs from Modern Catalan in presenting *sí* in complementary distribution with *sí que*:

(38) *María   sí   vino.*
       María   yes   came.3sG
       'Maria came.'

(39) *María   sí   que   vino.*
       Mary   yes   that   came.3sG
       'María DID come'

(Villa-García & González Rodríguez 2020b: 1)

According to Villa-García & González Rodríguez, in Modern Spanish there is no optionality between *sí*/*sí que*, as had been argued in the past, but they constitute two syntactic structures with different semantics. On the one hand, they describe *sí* as an emphatic positive polarity marker whose semantics would be akin to those of stressing an auxiliary in English: it highlights that something is the case. On the other hand, *sí que* would not encode positive polarity, but the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition (i.e. epistemic modality). They propose the following analysis for *sí* and *sí que* respectively:

(40) (a) [ForceP [TopicP [FocusP síᵢ [ΣP [TP [VP ...]]]]]]]

    (b) [ForceP [TopicP [XP sí [Xº que [TopicP [FocP [FinP [ΣP [TP [VP ...
]]]]]]]]]]]

<div align="right">(Villa-García & González Rodríguez 2020b: 4)</div>

As shown in (40b), Villa-García & González Rodríguez (2020a,b) do not label the projection in which *sí que* appears, even though they suggest it might be AssertiveP, a projection proposed by Ambar (2002), linked to metalinguistic negative particles (see Martins 2021 for more on metalinguistic negation). In any case, they propose that *sí que* is located in a projection below TopP and above FocP. Evidence provided in favour of this location includes the (marginal) possibility of focalised elements, NPIs and positive polarity *sí* occurring following *sí que* but not preceding it, and since this analysis assumes a recursive TopP, it might be possible for ClLDed elements, HTs and Scene Setters to follow *sí que*, even though the authors do not discuss this possibility. These four features are shared with Modern Catalan *sí que*. However, the structure sketched in (40b) does not account for the possibility of *sí que* being followed by ADV+C clusters as there is no projection below *sí que* able to accommodate positive polarity speaker-oriented modal adverbs that can, in turn, embed *sí que*. Therefore, this analysis cannot be applied to Modern Catalan data.

Kocher (2017) also proposes an analysis for *sí que* in Spanish. Kocher (2017) describes clauses containing *sí que* as affirmations that reject a negative proposition spelled out in the previous utterance, a concept that echoes with the nonveridical context that we have identified for Modern Catalan *sí que*. Similar to Villa-García & González Rodríguez (2020a,b), Kocher associates *sí que* with a projection in the left periphery. In this case, she locates in MoodP, a projection associated with sentence mood and located above FinP:

(41) [ForceP [TopicP* [IntP [TopicP* [FocusP* [ModalityP [TopicP [MoodP [TopicP*
[FinP [IP]]]]]]]]]]]]

<div align="right">Kocher (2017: 95)</div>

MoodP would host fronted constituents triggering a *verum* focus reading if assuming Lohnstein (2015)'s analysis of *verum* focus, which equals it to focus on the sentence's Mood. Mod(ifier)P, above it, would host epistemic and evidential adverbs (not followed by a clause headed by *que*). Given that ModP governs MoodP, this explains why epistemic and evidential adverbs can precede *sí que* in Modern Spanish but cannot follow it:

(42) [$_\text{ForceP}$ [$_\text{TopicP*}$ [$_\text{IntP}$ [$_\text{TopicP*}$ [$_\text{FocusP*}$ [$_\text{ModalityP}$ [$_\text{TopicP}$ [$_\text{MoodP}$ [sí] [$_\text{Mood'}$ [$_\text{Mood°}$ [que[$_i$]] [$_\text{TopicP*}$ [$_\text{FinP}$ [$_\text{Fin'}$ [$_\text{Fin°}$ [t$_i$] [$_\text{IP}$]]]]]]]]]]]]]

According to Kocher's analysis, *sí* is base-generated in MoodP and satisfies a [+Focus] feature via specifier/head agreement, while *que* is base-generated in FinP and moves to MoodP, and is, therefore, an instance of low *que*. Modern Catalan data cannot be accommodated by this analysis because if *que* is an instance of a low *que*, Frame Setters, ClLDed elements and HT. ADV+C constructions and foci would not be expected to follow *sí que* either, but as we have seen in Sections 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8 this is not the case as all these elements can follow *sí que*.

These analyses have in common the association of *sí que* with the assertive nature of the clause by locating *sí* eiter in AssertiveP or MoodP, projections located in the core of the left periphery, the former above FocP and the latter below it. Additionally, they postulate a monoclausal structure for *sí que* clauses, whereby *sí* is located in a mood/modality related projection and *que* is realised as a low *que*.

3.2 Sì che *in Modern Italian*

Contrasting with the monoclausal analyses that we have just seen for Modern Spanish, Poletto & Zanuttini (2013) propose a biclausal analysis for *sì che* in Modern Italian:[7]

(43) [$_\text{HTP}$ [non è arrivato][$_\text{ForceP}$ ... [$_\text{PolP}$ [no]$_i$ [$_\text{TP}$ [$_\text{ForceP}$ OP$_i$ [$_\text{Force°}$ che PolP [t]$_i$ non è arrivato]]]]]]

Poletto & Zanuttini (2013: 125, example 5)

In this proposal, Poletto & Zanuttini (2013) postulate that the response marker is base-generated in a higher clause, connected to the lower clause introduced by *che* by a silent operator. The higher clause presents a silent copy of the triggering utterance (the utterance that is being positively or negatively asserted by means of *sì che* or its negative counterpart, *no che*). This copy grounds the clause to the common ground and prevents the appearance of new content in the *sì che*/*no che* structure. The fact that the response marker, located in the upper clause, is linked via a silent operator to a polarity-dedicated position in the lower clause requires both clauses to match in polarity value. This

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7 Cruschina (2015), Cruschina & Remberger (2017a,b) explore the syntax of ADV+C constructions in Modern Italian and Sicilian, but explicitly do not discuss the syntax of *sì che* and will, therefore, not be considered here.

structure presents advantages in comparison to Villa-García & González Rodríguez (2020b,a) and Kocher (2017)'s analyses for the accommodation of Catalan data in that *che* is postulated to be in ForceP, which would allow for Scene Setters, HTs and ClLDed elements, as well as Foci and other ADV+C constructions to follow it. However, the fact that the upper and lower clause necessarily have to match in their polar value makes it unsuitable for Catalan data, since, as we saw in Section 2.5, negative PIs and *no* can be contained in the clause headed by *que*. Furthermore, the content of the upper clause is underspecified and does not account for the compulsory adjacency between *sì* and *che*. There might be a copy of the triggering clause in HTP (as the authors label it), grounding it to the discourse, but the content of the clause itself (and mainly its TP) remains unspecified. The importance of this lies in the fact that, once the silent polar operator linking both clauses has been dismissed for Modern Catalan, as the lower and upper clause need not match in terms of polarity and the relationship between both clauses needs to account for the fact that *sí que* cannot be split. Additionally, these authors rule out the possibility of *sì che* occurring in embedded clauses in Modern Italian (not even complement clauses to bridge verbs), while, as we have seen in Section 2.9, in Modern Catalan it can be embedded in complements of bridge verbs, but also in adverbial and relative clauses, as well as within other ADV+C constructions.

Therefore, none of the analyses summarised here accounts for Modern Catalan data. In Subsection 3.3, I present an analysis of *sí que* in Modern Catalan, backed up by the dichronic data presented in Section 4.

3.3   Sí que *in Modern Catalan*

An analysis of Modern Catalan *sí que* needs to account for the distributional features described in Section 2, mainly:

(44)   i. *Sí que* occurs within the scope of nonveridical operators.

  ii. *Sí que* cannot be split.

  iii. *Sí que* cannot be modified by degree adverbs.

  iv. *Sí que* cannot be negated or occur in antiveridical contexts.

  v. *Sí que* can contain negation and negative polarity items in the *que* clause.

  vi. *Sí que* can be preceded and followed Clitic Left Dislocated topics, Hanging Topics and Frame Setters.

  vii. *Sí que* cannot co-occur with Foci.

viii. *Sí que* can be preceded and followed by ADV+C clusters.

ix. *Sí que* can be embedded.

x. *Sí que* does not constitute an island.

xi. *Sí* can act as an answer particle.

As shown in Section 2, *sí* is a PI with positive semantics that occurs within the scope of nonveridical operators that elicit alternative readings of the proposition contained in the *que*-clause. This precludes the possibility of *sí* occurring in an out-of-the-blue context, as it requires the presence of an unvalued polarity feature in the common ground. Thus, the valuation of this polarity feature positions the clause against the common ground. Martins (2013), following Farkas & Bruce (2010), distinguishes two types of polarity features encoded in a clause: absolute polarity features, which value a clause as positive or negative and are located within a head just above TP (Laka 1990), and the relative polarity features [same] and [reverse], that position an assertion (by which the speaker commits to its propositional content) against the common ground, located in the left periphery:

(45) [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ [$_{\text{FrameP}}$ [$_{\text{TopicP}}$ [$_{\text{FocusP}}$ [$_{\text{PolP}}$ relative polarity [$_{\text{FinP}}$ [$_{\Sigma\text{P}}$ absolute polarity [$_{\text{TP}}$ [$_{\text{VP}}$ ...

From this perspective, *sí* is a PI with positive semantics that values a relative polarity feature left unvalued by a nonveridical operator in the common ground. The nonveridical operator implicitly introduces a question in the discourse that possesses an unvalued polarity feature, as proposed by Holmberg (2015) and reproduced in (46):

(46) Question: [$_{\text{CP}}$ do [$_{\text{TP}}$ you [$\pm$Pol] want tea]]
Paraphrase: 'What is the value of [$\pm$Pol] such that "you [$\pm$Pol] want tea" is true?']

Adapted from Holmberg (2015: 53, fig. 1)

Answer particles, positive or negative, value the unvalued polarity feature and position the clause against the nonveridical operator in the common ground, as in (47) and (48):

(47) (a) Affirmative answer: 'yes' + PolP elision

[$_{\text{CP}}$ [$_{\text{FocP}}$ yes$_i$ [$_{\text{PolP}}$ [$_{\text{DP}}$ I [$_{\text{Pol}'}$ [+Pol$_i$] [$_{\text{TP}}$ want tea]]]]]]
(b) 'Yes.'

Pujol i Campeny (2019: 9)

(48) (a)   Negative answer: 'no'+ PolP elision

[CP [FocP noi [PolP [DP I [Pol' [-Poli] [TP want tea]]]]]]

(b)   Paraphrase: 'No.'

However, *sí que* cannot fit in Holmberg's structure. Recall that *sí que* allows for extraction and bound variable reconstruction across it, and that this is an indicator that *que* is realised in ForceP, which indicates that we are presented with a biclausal structure and not a monoclausal one, as opposed to Holmberg (2015), Villa-García & González Rodríguez (2020a,b), Kocher (2017). Other evidence supporting that *que* is indeed located in ForceP is the fact that it is followed by a fully-fledged left periphery where ScSts, HTs, ClLDed elements, Foci (for some speakers) and ADV+C constructions can occur. With *que* being in ForceP, two alternatives emerge: *sí* can either be located above ForceP in the Speech Act Layer (as suggested for modal adverbs occurring in ADV+C constructions in Italian and Romanian, and *sí que* in Catalan (Cruschina 2015, Hill 2007, Wiltschko 2021) or *sí* can be located in the left periphery of an upper clause, as proposed by Poletto & Zanuttini (2013) for Modern Italian. Given that ScSts, HTs and ClLDed elements can precede *sí* as well as follow it, they would also have to be located in the Speech Act Layer if *sí* were in it, which would require it to be a highly articulated space able to host all left dislocated material. Additionally, the Speech Act Layer would have to be able to be selected as a complement of ForceP, as *sí que* can be embedded (see Section 2.9) when it is located above ForceP. Therefore, this hypothesis is discarded.

Then, is *sí* located in an upper clause, in a configuration similar to that proposed by Poletto & Zanuttini (2013)? This approach would account for various of the distributional features that we have identified in Section 2. Firstly, if *sí* occurs in an upper clause with its own fully-fledged left periphery and *que* heads a complete CP, it follows that ScSts, HTs and ClLDed elements may both precede and follow *sí que*. In addition, this would explain why other ADV+C constructions can precede and follow *sí que*: since each *que* introduces a clause with a fully-fledged left periphery, the said clause contains the projection (or projections) in which *sí* and other modal adverbs are base-generated. Secondly, the incompatibility of *sí* with Foci in the upper clause but the (marginal) possibility of Foci occurring after *que* follows from the fact that *sí* is the only new informational element introduced in the common ground by the clause, conveying that the speaker is committed to the proposition's truth value to a higher degree than that of an unmarked declarative clause and reacting to a nonveridical operator that left all readings

(maximal speaker commitment and minimal speaker commitment) on the table. Therefore, it is natural for *sí* to move from its based-generated position to FocP in order to receive emphasis. As we have seen in (47) and (48), Holmberg (2015) argues that answer particles occur in clauses that echo the content of the yes/no question they answer to. They are base-generated in a polarity-dedicated head where the value the question's unvalued polarity feature and move to FocP in order to receive emphasis. Subsequently, FocP's complement is elided, and the answer particle appears on its own. Thirdly, the possibility of NPIs occurring in the lower clause without incurring ungrammaticality follows naturally from the fact that the lower clause constitutes a separate syntactic domain and an autonomous speech act of which something is predicated, mainly, the speaker's commitment towards the truth of the proposition contained in the clause, subject to different truth conditions.[8]

With this in mind, I propose that we are presented with a biclausal structure along the lines of (49):

(49) $[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{FrameP}} [_{\text{TopicP}} [_{\text{FocusP}} \text{sí}_i [_{\text{PolP}} t_i [_{\text{FinP}} [_{\Sigma P} [_{\text{TP}} [\text{truth predicate}]$
$[_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{ForceP}} \text{que} [_{\text{FrameP}} [_{\text{TopicP}} [_{\text{FocusP}} [_{\text{PolP}} [_{\text{FinP}} [_{\Sigma P} [_{\text{TP}} [_{\text{VP}} \dots$

On the light of diachronic evidence presented in Section 5, I propose that the upper clause contains a silent truth predicate that takes a CP as its complement. *Sí* modifies the truth predicate by expressing the speaker's degree of commitment towards the content of the proposition embedded in it as well as positioning it against the common ground. In (49), I have labelled the projection hosting *sí* PolP, following Martins (2013) and Pujol i Campeny (2019). However, it may well be that this projection corresponds to Rizzi's (2004) ModifierP, a projection associated with speaker attitude, or, bearing in mind the fact that epistemic ADV+C constructions can only follow evidential ADV+C constructions, corresponding to Cinque (1999) adverbial hierarchy, it might be generated in a projection dedicated to epistemic adverbs, with which it patterns. In the interest of space, this matter will be left for future research, and for the reminder of the article I will refer to the projection in which *sí* is base-generated as PolP.

By postulating the presence of a silent truth predicate, we solve the problems faced by Poletto & Zanuttini (2013)'s analysis applied to Modern Catalan data: on the one hand, the possibility of negative PIs and the negative marker *no* occurring in the *que* clause follows naturally, as each clause instan-

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8 Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2013) already put forth the idea that ADV+C constructions contain two separate assertions: the upper assertion, where the speaker's degree of commitment (and potentially, source of information) are conveyed, and the lower assertion, containing the proposition of which the speaker's attitude is predicated.

tiates an independent illocutionary act with its own predicate, and on the other, adjacency between *sí* and *que* is explained by means of the truth predicate. There is no need for a copy of the triggering clause in the left periphery as the impossibility for new information to be introduced in it and the need to be grounded in the discourse are explained through the nature of *sí*, which, as a PI, requires a nonveridical context to surface.

In the following section, we review the facts that brought about the existence of *sí que*. I propose that *sí que* integrated the ADV+C paradigm after the grammaticalisation of the manner adverb *sí* into an emphatic positive polarity adverb with epistemic semantics.

4 From *sí* to *sí que*: the grammaticalisation of a manner adverb, the emergence of C-constructions and the disappearance of an adverbial subordinator

In this Section, we will explore the three factors that brought about the emergence of *sí que* through the period spanning from the 13th to the 15th century:

   i. The grammaticalisation of SIC, a manner adverb, into a PI (13th century);

   ii. The emergence of the ADV+C paradigm (14th century); and

   iii. The disappearance of the adverbial subordinator *sí que* (15th century).

This analysis will confirm and strengthen the proposal of a biclausal analysis for Modern Catalan *sí que*, as well as the presence of a silent truth predicate in the upper clause.

All diachronic data used in this section has been extracted from the *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic* ('Old Catalan Digitised Corpus), henceforth CICA, available online through http://www.cica.cat (Torruella, Pérez Saldanya & Martines 2009). Examples have been referenced using CICA's convention, stating the text they come from, their location within it, as well as their date of production by half century.

4.1 The grammaticalisation of Latin SIC into a PPI

The Latin manner adverb SIC 'thus, in this way', was grammaticalised as a positive polarity item associated to emphatic epistemic semantics by being fronted to yield *Verum* Focus in clauses that, like in the case of *sí que*, occurred

within the scope of a nonveridical operator.[9] This process had already taken place by the early 13th century, when *sí* could occur, like in Modern Spanish, adjacent to the predicate of a clause, triggering subject-verb inversion (unless the subject was topicalised or elided), yielding *Verum* Focus (understood as focus on the truth value of the sentence as judged by the speaker):

(50) *Quant lo senescalc hac conegut lo rey, sí li*
when the butler has met the king indeed to;him=
volc besar la mà, mas lo rey no ho volc.
want.3SG kiss.INF the hand but the king not it wanted.3SG
'After meeting the king, the butler WANTED to kiss his hand, but the king did not want him to.'
Crònica de Bernat Desclot, p. III, 162, l 16, 13th century B

In (50), *sí* is used to cancel out alternative readings of the proposition in which it appears, which would have been perceived as highly unlikely in the context in which it was produced: a serf would not have even attempted kissing the king. And while the butler indeed tried to (against everyone's expectations, triggering the presence of *sí* to convey that the event did indeed take place), the king did refuse, as clearly stated in the negative clause that follows the *sí* clause.

Once *sí* becomes associated to positive polarity and epistemic modality through being fronted with *Verum* Focus reading, it becomes an apt candidate to join a growing paradigm within Catalan language: ADV+C constructions.

4.2 The emergence of the ADV+C construction paradigm

In Modern Catalan, ADV+C to constructions consist of an epistemic or evidential adverb followed by a complementiser *que* used to express subjective judgements about the truth value of a proposition. This is illustrated in (51) and (52):

(51) *Segur que demà plourà.*
sure that tomorrow rain.3SG.FUT
'It will certainly rain tomorrow.'

(52) *Evidentment que m'agraden les pomes.*
evidently that to;me.CL=please.3PL the apples
'It is obvious that I like apples.'

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9 For more on the grammaticalisation of *sí*, see Batllori & Hernanz (2013), Pujol i Campeny (2019). This is not developed here in the interest of space.

	13b	14a	14b	15a	15b	16a	16b	17a	17b	18a
Cert que	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	34	-	-
Segur que	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Segurament que	1	-	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1 Occurrences of *cert que*, *segur que* and *segurament que* in CICA

ADV+C constructions are attested in CICA from the second half of the 13th century. The first adverbs to occur in an ADV+C constructions are *cert*, *segur* and *segurament*:

As shown in Table 1, instances of ADV+C in CICA are scarce. Following Pujol i Campeny (2022), I will focus on *cert que* and *segur que*, as the distribution of *segurament que* casts doubt over its reliability (all cases but one occur in the same 14th century text, attributed to one writer with particular linguistic awareness: Ramon Muntaner).

Cert and *segur* are deadjectival manner adverbs (homophonous and homographs of the masculine singular form of the adjectives *cert* 'certain' and *segur* 'safe, sure') that became associated with epistemic semantics by frequently modifying predicates with modal semantics, such as verbs of knowledge and perception.[10] As manner adverbs, they occur in postverbal position and can be modified by adverbs of degree. When the verb presents a heavy direct object, such as an embedded clause, the adverb precedes it. This is illustrated in (53-54):

(53) (a) *e   sabia   molt cert   que en tota la   dita*
         and   knew.3sG very certain that in all   the said
         terra (...)
         land
         'and he knew for sure that in all the said land (...).'
         Vita Christi, p. 9, l. 23, 15th century B

     (b) *sabent   molt cert la   bondat   del   dit   Tort, (...)*
         knowing very well the kindness of;the said Tort
         'knowing very certainly about the kindness of the said Tort (...)'
         Corts generals de Montsó, p. 694, l. 41, 16th century B

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10 Verbs of perception are frequently associated with epistemic semantics, as González, Roseano, Borràs-Comes & Prieto (2017) show with Modern Catalan data.

(54) *mas de   açò   viu   segur que no   seré   may alegra*
      but from this saw.1SG   sure   that not be.1SG.FUT ever happy
      (...)

'but from this I saw that I would indeed never be happy (...).'
<div align="right">*Decameró*, Part 1, p. 241, l. 6, 15th century A</div>

(55) *Cert   ensenyes que   has   pocha consciència envers Déu,*
      certain show.2SG that have.2SG little conscience   towards God
      (...)

'You show without a shadow of doubt that you have little conscience towards God (...)'
<div align="right">*Dotzè Llibre del Crestià*, l. 130.14, 15th century B</div>

In (53) *cert* modifies the verb *saber*. In (53 a), *saber* takes a clausal complement, introduced by the complementiser *que*. It could be argued that *cert* is a predicative adjective of the complement clause in the unmarked masculine singular form. This is dispelled by (53 b), where the direct object is a feminine NP with which *cert* does not agree. In (54), *segur* modifies the perception verb *veure* 'to see', which also had an entry in the lexicon with the meaning 'to understand' (the narrator did not see that she would never be happy, but understood it, thus this predicate has epistemic semantics). In (55), we find *ensenyar* 'to show, to signal, to teach'. The fronting of the adverb elicits *Verum* Focus and puts emphasis on the speaker's commitment to the truth value of the proposition.

The locus of the fronted constituent is debated in the literature. In Pujol i Campeny (2019), it is suggested that constituents fronted for *Verum* Focus raise to SpecFocP, while the verb adjacent to them undergoes V-to-C movement, to value the relative polarity features that connect the clause to the wider discourse. Like in the case of *sí*, it is through this process of fronting of the adverb to the left periphery in XV(S) *Verum* Focus configurations that initially manner adverbs *cert* and *segur* become associated to epistemic semantics and grammaticalise as epistemic adverbs, base-generated directly in PolP, and subsequently move to FocP to receive emphasis, as is the case with *sí*.[11]

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11 Also like *sí*, they are positive polarity items that, having been grammaticalised in *Verum* Focus configurations, appear within the scope of nonveridical operators and, like *sí*, can act as positive sentential proforms when their complement is elided. See Pujol i Campeny (2022) for more on the emergence of ADV+C constructions.

(56) *Cert/segur* as manner adverbs modifying a predicate with modal semantics

[ForceP [FrameP [TopicP [FocusP [ModP/PolP [FinP [ΣP [TP verb with epistemic semantics [VP [AdvP cert] [ForceP que [FrameP [TopicP [FocusP [PolP [FinP [ΣP [TP [...

(57) *Cert/segur* as manner adverbs modifying a predicate with modal semantics, fronted to trigger *verum* focus

[ForceP [FrameP [TopicP [FocusP cert$_i$ [ModP/PolP [verb with epistemic semantics]$_j$ [FinP [ΣP [TP ~~verb with epistemic semantics~~$_j$ [VP [AdvP t$_i$] [ForceP que [FrameP [TopicP [FocusP [PolP [FinP [ΣP [TP [...

(58) *Cert/segur* as epistemic adverbs (generated in PolP/ModP)

[ForceP [FrameP [TopicP [FocusP cert$_i$ [ModP/PolP t$_i$ [FinP [ΣP [TP verb with epistemic semantics [VP [ForceP que [FrameP [TopicP [FocusP [PolP [FinP [ΣP [TP [...

In *Verum* Focus configurations, there is only one illocutionary act, where the new information provided is the high degree of confidence on the truth value of the proposition contained in the clause. However, in ADV+C constructions, including *sí que* ones, we are confronted with two illocutionary acts: the first assertion, where the degree of confidence of the speaker is predicated of a clause's proposition, and the second, consisting of the clause headed by *que*, which is already present in the common ground.

Cruschina & Remberger (2017a: 99) describe (59) as a diachronically necessary stage for the development of ADV+C constructions:

(59) [PrP [SpecPrP Adverb [PrP′ [PrP⁰ [true]] [CP ...

Cruschina & Remberger (2017a: 99)

The structure of (59) is parallel to that sketched in (58) for epistemic adverbs. In Pujol i Campeny (2022), I propose that, in Modern Catalan, ADV+C display a structure akin to that of (60), where they are associated with a silent truth predicate that takes a CP as their complement:

(60) [ForceP [FrameP [TopicP [FocusP sí$_i$ [ModP/PolP t$_i$ [FinP [ΣP [TP [truth predicate] [VP [ForceP que [FrameP [TopicP [FocusP [ModP/PolP [FinP [ΣP [TP [VP ...

It is possible that in other Romance languages, such as Italian, the structure of ADV+C constructions has evolved further, and the adverb is further gram-

maticalised as a Speech Act Layer element.[12] However, in Modern Catalan, ADV+C constructions contain two separate clauses and two assertions, which explains why the adverb and the *que* clause are adjacent, why there is a fully-fledged left periphery on the upper and lower clause, why Foci cannot occur in the upper clause (as the epistemic adverb is focalised), why they can occur in embedded clauses where the complementiser appears in ForceP, and why epistemic adverbs that occur in ADV+C constructions can act as answer particles: the complement of the upper clause is simply elided, and the silent truth predicate, modified by the epistemic adverb, remains.

The grammaticalisation process sketched in (56)–(58) that led to the emergence of ADV+C constructions as they are in Modern Catalan was completed by the second half of the 14th, when it emerges in the written record with *cert* and *segurament*. They continue being attested in CICA and peak in the first half of the 17th century, when other existing structures used to convey strong speaker commitment disappear (see Pujol i Campeny 2022 for more on this subject).[13] Once ADV+C constructions are well established with epistemic adverbs, other adverbs with polar and modal semantics start joining the paradigm, which becomes fully productive and by the 19th century (*òbviament* 'obviously', *evidentment* 'obviously', *naturalment* 'naturally', are attested by the mid 19th century). Amongst these adverbs we find *sí*, which was not able to join the paradigm until a homophonous adverbial subordinator, *sí que* falls in disuse.

4.3   *The disappearance of the adverbial subordinator* sí que

Old Catalan had a variety of adverbial subordinators that fell in disuse before the Modern period.[14] Amongst them, we find *sí que*, formed by the reduced form of the adverb SIC 'thus, in this way', and the complementiser *que*, parallel to other adverbial subordinators such as *ans que* 'before that' or *després que* 'after that'. CICA offers some examples of *sí* being used as a manner adverb, but the strengthened form *així* (with all its spelling and dialectal variations) is preferred from the earliest texts.[15] In the Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear *sí que* is listed as consecutive subordinator expressing a result of the main clause, as in (61):

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12 A comparison of ADV+C constructions in the Romance languages falls outside the scope of this article and will be left for future research.

13 The perceived drop in their frequency after the first half of the 17th century correlates with a sharp decrease in the production of written texts in Catalan language due to historico-political events (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós 2005, Lledó-Guillem 2018).

14 See Rofes Moliner (2010) for more on Old Catalan connectors.

15 For instance, in *El Llibre dels Fets*, 13th century B, we find one potential instance of *sí* used as a manner adverb vs. 364 instances of *així* in its various spellings (<*ayxí*>, <*axí*>, <*així*>).

	13b	14a	14b	15a	15b	16a	16b	17a	17b	18a
Sí que (adverbial)	300	121	360	11	76	1	-	-	-	-
Sí + V	19	30	78	40	85	5	4	-	-	-
Sí que (epistemic)	1	-	23	-	-	-	4	-	-	6

Table 2   Adverbial *sí que*, polar *sí* and epistemic *sí que* in CICA

(61) *E   foren-nos   venguts cavallers de nostra companya,*
and were.3PL=to.us.CL come   knights of our   company
sí   que   fom   bé   ·xxx· cavallers   (...)
yes   that were well   30   knights

'And some knights from our company joined us, and as a result we were 30 knights (...).'

Llibre dels Fets, Fol. 22v, l. 20, 13th century B

The specific distribution of *sí que* falls outside the scope of this article. Nevertheless, its frequency does not, as its disappearance correlates with the appearance of epistemic and polar *sí que*, as shown in Table 2.

Adverbial *sí que* is attested in CICA until the first half of the 16th century, while epistemic *sí que* is attested from the second half of the 16th century. The decrease in the frequency of use of adverbial *sí que* made it possible for the polar adverb *sí*, which occurred in non-veridical contexts, to join the ADV + C paradigm. As we can see, the last instances of adverbial *sí* occur in the second half of the 16th century, coinciding with the emergence of epistemic *sí que*. This shows that while the possibility of expressing the speaker's commitment to the truth value of a proposition within the same clause that contained the proposition existed still in the 16th century, ADV+C constructions, where the assertion of the speaker's attitude and the proposition were asserted as separate illocutionary acts, were preferred. We know that ADV+C constructions were established from the second half of the 14th century and are consolidated by the 16th (see Table 1 in subsection 4.2 above). *Sí* does not integrate the paradigm until the potential ambiguity between ADV+C *sí que* and adverbial subordinator *sí que* disappears in the 16th century. Additionally, the sequence *sí+V*, also disappears. As Leonetti (2017) shows in his classification of the Romance languages according to their avialability to produce XV(S) sequences with *Verum* Focus readings, Catalan is a restrictive language that only allows the fronting of quantified constituents in such configurations.

5 CONCLUSIONS

In this article, I have established that in Catalan, *sí que* is an epistemic ADV+C construction that requires a biclausal analysis with a silent predicate. This conclusion has been reached after describing the distribution of *sí que* in relation to other clausal elements in Section 2, contrasting Modern Catalan data against other analyses put forth for the *sí que* equivalent in other Romance languages, in Section 3, and reviewing the three factors that contributed towards the emergence of *sí que* diachronically in Section 4.

The inclusion of *sí que* in the ADV+C paradigm is based on its distribution (it occurs within the scope of nonveridical operators, like epistemic and evidential adverbs occurring in ADV+C constructions), its location within the clause (being able to be preceded and followed by Scene Setters, Hanging Topics and Clitic Left Dislocated topics and being incompatible with Foci), and its relative position to evidential ADV+C (*sí que* can be preceded by it, but not followed by them). Additionally, the fact that the grammaticalisation of *sí* from a manner adverb to an epistemic one happens through the same construction as the grammaticalisation of *cert* and *segur*: *Verum* Focus fronting. Additionally, we have shown that *sí que* only joins the ADV+C paradigm after the disappearance of the consecutive adverbial subordinator *sí que*.

The analysis presented here raises some questions regarding the nature of the Catalan and the Romance left periphery, as well as the relationship between positive polarity and epistemic and evidential modality. In Modern Catalan, evidential ADV+C clusters can precede epistemic ADV+C ones, but not the other way around. This suggests that Cinque (1999)'s adverbial hierarchy is at play when it comes to the expression of evidential and epistemic modality by means of ADV+C constructions in spite of the epistemic ADV+C epistemic cluster being embedded under the ADV+C evidential one. More research is needed to understand the mechanisms behind this relative order. Additionally, we have seen that Modern Catalan *sí que* contrasts with the Spanish and Italian counterparts. A comparative analysis of these constructions would be necessary to establish whether they are diachronically related (even though this seems to be the case, at least for Spanish (Kocher 2017)) and whether they instantiate different stages of the same process. Finally, this analysis calls for a finer description of the encoding of modality and polarity within the left periphery.

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