

EMPHATIC AFFIRMATION AND POLARITY
CONTRASTING EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE WITH BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE,
SPANISH, CATALAN AND GALICIAN¹

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1. Introduction

This paper initially deals with the syntactic expression of emphatic affirmation in Portuguese, contrasting European Portuguese (EP) with Brazilian Portuguese (BP). The comparative approach undertaken in the paper is then extended beyond Portuguese in order to cover other Romance languages, namely Spanish, Catalan and Galician. Different strategies available in the Romance languages to express emphatic affirmation are described and their distribution across languages identified. The paper is intended to account for the restricted availability of each strategy across the Romance languages and more generally contribute to a better understanding of the syntactic encoding of emphatic affirmation.

Before I present the general architecture of the paper, a few theoretical assumptions should be clarified. I will adopt the copy theory of movement of Chomsky (1995). I will further endorse the proposals of Nunes (2001, 2004) on the linearization of non-trivial chains. In particular I follow Nunes' idea that the phonetic realization of multiple links of a chain is permitted as far as linearization, understood as the application of the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) of Kayne (1994), can still operate. This is what happens when morphological reanalysis makes some copy invisible for the LCA.

As I will be dealing with (emphatic) affirmation, I must say that I take the view that there is an overall parallel between affirmative and negative sentences, meaning that every clause includes a polarity encoding functional head, say Σ or Pol (the former label is adopted here), where aff/neg features are located (cf. Laka 1990, Zanuttini 1994, 1997). Furthermore I take this functional head to

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display a different behavior across languages with respect to triggering or not verb movement (see Martins 1994).

I will propose in this paper that the sentences with verb reduplication found in European Portuguese can only be derived in languages which have both verb movement to Σ and verb movement to C. In this way the contrast between EP and the Romance languages that cannot express emphatic affirmation by means of verb reduplication is straightforwardly derived. Why there is crosslinguistic variation with respect to verb movement (in relation to the different positions within the functional space) is an unsettled matter. I will adopt here the view that the distinction between strong and weak functional heads has place in grammar (departing from Chomsky 2000, 2001). Following Costa and Martins (2004) I assume that the distinctive property of strong functional heads is the fact that they require visibility at PF. Thus a strong functional head is licensed if and only if it is given phonological content, or in the terms of Costa and Martins (2004) if it is lexicalized. Lexicalization may arise under syntactic merger, under head or XP-movement, or under morphological merger.

The paper is organized in four sections. In section 2 I describe data from European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese and identify two types of syntactic strategy to express emphatic affirmation, namely the verb reduplication strategy and the ‘V-*sim*’ strategy. I then account for why the former is restricted to EP whereas the latter belongs to both EP and BP. In section 3 I extend the analysis so as to integrate other Romance languages, namely Spanish, Catalan and Galician. These languages allow for a third strategy to express emphatic affirmation, which I refer to as the ‘*sí (que)*’ (*SÍ*-that) strategy. Two main issues are addressed in section 3, namely why the ‘*sí (que)*’ strategy is not available in Portuguese and why the verb reduplication strategy is disallowed in Spanish and Catalan. Section 4 concludes the paper summarizing the results achieved in the preceding sections. Two factors appear to play a central role in explaining language particular options with respect to how emphatic affirmation is syntactically expressed. That is, the (un)availability of verb movement targeting certain functional heads (namely Σ and C), and the nature of the affirmative word(s) found in each language (i.e. whether a polarity-head or an adverb is at stake).

2. *Emphatic affirmation in European and Brazilian Portuguese*

European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese display similar answering systems when we look at neutral affirmative answers to yes/no questions. EP and BP diverge in important respects, however, when it comes to the syntactic expression of emphatic affirmation. In the present section the structures which EP and BP resort to in order to express emphatic affirmation will be contrastively described. After superficial differences between EP and BP are discarded, we will concentrate on accounting for the two patterns identified to

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express emphatic affirmation: the ‘V-*sim*’ pattern (common to EP and BP), and the verb reduplication pattern (restricted to EP). Besides clarifying why neutral affirmative answers and emphatic affirmative answers differ the way they do (in both EP and BP), an explanation will be offered for the unavailability of verb reduplication in BP. The divergent behaviour of EP and BP in this respect seems to be rooted in a deeper grammatical split: EP displays verb movement to C but BP does not.

2.1 *Emphatic answers to yes/no questions. Emphatic declaratives*

Emphatic affirmation emerges in the context of discourse interaction as a linguistic manifestation of disagreement with some previous assertion or presupposition. Specifically, emphatic affirmative answers to yes/no questions are felicitous in the context of a tag question presupposing a negative answer (as illustrated in (1) below) and emphatic affirmative declaratives are appropriated as assertions of the untruth of a preceding negative statement (as exemplified in (2) below). As the data displayed below also show, BP is more restrictive than EP with respect to the means it resorts to expressing emphatic affirmation, so sentences (1b) and (2b) are a grammatical option in EP but are excluded in BP.

Emphatic affirmative answers:

- (1) [A] a. *O João não comprou o carro, pois não? / comprou?*²
 the J. not bought the car *POIS NEG / bought*
 “John didn’t buy the car, did he?”
- [B] b. *Comprou, comprou.* EP: OK; BP: *
 bought bought
 “Yes, he (certainly) did.”
- c. *Comprou sim.* EP: OK; BP: OK
 bought *SIM [= AFFIRMATIVE WORD]*
 “Yes, he (certainly) did”

Emphatic Declaratives:

- (2) [A] a. *O João não comprou o carro.*
 the J. not bought the car
 “John did not buy the car.”
- [B] b. *O João comprou o carro, comprou.* EP: OK; BP: *
 the J. bought the car bought
 “John did buy the car.”

² The tag part of a negative tag question is constituted by *pois não* (confirmative word + negative marker) in EP but not in BP, which displays instead a bare verb tag.

- c. *O João comprou o carro, sim.* EP: OK; BP: OK
 the J. bought the car *SIM* [= AFFIRM. WORD]
 “John did buy the car”

If we now compare emphatic affirmative answers with neutral affirmative answers to yes/no questions (i.e. those obtained in the context of an unbiased information request), EP and BP become alike. In both BP and EP a neutral affirmative answer to a yes/no question may be formed with a bare verb, with the affirmative word *sim*, or with the combination of the affirmative word plus the verb:³

Neutral affirmative answers:

- (3) [A] a. *O João comprou um carro?*
 the J. bought a car
 “Did John buy a car?”
- [B] b. *Comprou.* EP: OK; BP: OK
 bought
 “Yes(, he did)”
- c. *Sim.* EP: OK; BP: OK
 “Yes.”
- d. *Sim, comprou.* EP: OK; BP: OK
SIM bought
 “Yes, he did”

In BP reinforced affirmation (in order to express disagreement) is obtained by placing the affirmative word *sim* post-verbally (see (1c) and (2c) above). The question of why the order ‘V-*sim*’ expresses emphatic affirmation whereas the order ‘*sim*-V’ expresses neutral affirmation (see (3d) above) will be addressed in section 2.3 below. EP shares with BP the strategy of reinforcing affirmation by placing *sim* pos-verbally. But EP can alternatively implement the strategy of verb reduplication (see (1b) and (2b) above). This option sets EP apart from BP, which does not allow it.

EP structures with verb reduplication, which were first observed and discussed in the literature by Hagemeyer and Santos (2004), will be the topic of section 2.2.⁴ The analysis which will be proposed to account for such

³ Usually a bare verb answer is more natural than a *sim* answer in Portuguese (EP and BP alike). Nevertheless, in particular configurations of question-answer pairing *sim* may be the only appropriate answer (see on this matter Santos 2003), while in others only a verbal answer is felicitous (see section 3.2 below).

⁴ Differently from what will be proposed here, Hagemeyer and Santos (2004) analyse sentences like *Ele comprou um carro, comprou* (he bought a car, bought) as involving right adjunction of

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structures correctly predicts their unavailability in BP. The prosody of verb reduplication sentences, like (1b) and (2b), and a number of syntactic and semantic properties manifested by such sentences show that they are mono-sentential structures, not instances of reiterative sentence repetition. For an extensive discussion of this matter, the reader is referred to Martins (2005).⁵

The emphatic affirmative sentences with post-verbal *sim* will be considered in section 2.3. In emphatic answers to yes/no questions the affirmative word *sim* immediately follows the verb (see (1c) above); in emphatic declaratives, it rather follows a full clausal constituent (see (2c) above). In spite of this slight dissimilarity, I will refer to both structures as the ‘V-*sim*’ pattern of emphatic affirmation.

Before I close this initial overview of the EP and BP data to be discussed throughout the paper, I should point to a further contrast between EP and BP. In parallel with the sentences with post-verbal *sim*, EP also displays sentences with post-verbal *pois*, as illustrated in (4)-(5):

Emphatic affirmative answer:

- (4) [A] a. *O João não comprou o carro, pois não / comprou?*
the J. not bought the car *POIS NEG / bought*
“John didn’t buy the car, did he?”
- [B] b. *Comprou pois.* EP: OK; BP: *
bought *POIS [= CONFIRMATIVE WORD]*
“Yes, he (certainly) did”

Emphatic Declarative:

- (5) [A] a. *O João não comprou o carro.*
the J. not bought the car
“John did not buy the car.”
- [B] b. *O João comprou o carro, pois.* EP: OK; BP: *
the J. bought the car *POIS [CONFIRM. WORD]*
“John did buy the car”

the final constituent (overtly expressed by a single verb). This constituent is described as an elliptic sentence where the head T-V licences VP deletion. The right-adjunction analysis is discussed in Martins (2005).

⁵ Let me just stress here that while reiterative sentence repetition typically involves a prosodic break separating the two sentences and a falling intonation at the end of each sentence, in verb reduplication sentences there is no prosodic break (the coma being an unavoidable orthographic artifice) and the sequences are associated with an overall rising intonation.

Differently from *sim*, the word *pois* is confirmative, not affirmative, and is thus unfit to constitute a neutral affirmative answer to a yes/no question, as illustrated in (6):⁶

- (6) [A] a. *O João comprou um carro?*
 the J. bought a car
 “Did John buy a car?”
- [B] b. **Pois.* EP: *; BP: *
 POIS [= CONFIRMATIVE WORD]

The confirmative word *pois* is not part of the Lexicon of BP. This is the reason why sentences (4b) and (5b) above are ungrammatical in BP. This lexical difference between EP and BP will not be a matter of concern in this paper. Although from now on I will be silent with respect to EP sentences with post-verbal *pois*, I take them to be structurally akin to the ‘V-*sim*’ sentences, which will be analyzed in section 2.3.

2.2 *The European Portuguese verb reduplication pattern*

In section 1 above, I identified the main theoretical assumptions I will be relying on in order to analyze the data discussed in this paper. Recapitulating briefly, I adopt the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995), the proposals of Nunes (2001, 2004) on the linearization of non-trivial chains, the view that the distinction between weak and strong functional heads plays a role in grammar, strong heads needing to be made visible at PF (Costa and Martins 2004), and the perspective that a functional head which encodes polarity features is always part of the structure of the clause (Martins 1994). I will refer to the polarity encoding head as Σ (following Laka) but I could as well call it Pol (following Zanuttini) – out of consequences for the development of the paper.

⁶ That *pois* is confirmative, not affirmative, is also showed by its ability to express agreement with both an affirmative and a negative declarative (in sharp contrast with *sim*):

- (i) [A] a. *O João comprou um carro.*
 the J. bought a car – “John bought a car.”
- [B] b. *Pois comprou.*
 POIS bought – “In fact he did.”
- c. *Sim, comprou.*
 SIM bought – “Yes, he did.”
- (ii) [A] a. *O João não comprou um carro.*
 the J. not bought a car – “John didn’t buy a car.”
- b. *Pois não (comprou).*
 POIS not bought – “In fact he didn’t.”
- c. **Sim não (comprou).*
 SIM not bought

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- (11) [A] a. *Ele não comprou o carro.*
 he not bought the car
 “He did not buy the car.”
 [B] b. *Ele comprou o carro, comprou.*
 he bought the car bought
 “He did buy the car.”

- (12) [_{CP} *ele comprou_i o carro* [_{C'} [_C *comprou_i*] [_{ΣP} *ele_j*] [_{Σ'} *comprou_i*] [_{TP} *ele_j* *comprou_i*]-*o carro* ...

Emphatic declaratives, like emphatic answers, activate the domains of Σ and C in EP. But in emphatic declaratives the clausal constituent is a Topic in the CP space. Sentences like (11b) above are derived in EP with movement of V-to-T-to- Σ -to-C, followed by movement of the remnant Σ P to Spec, CP. Again, the double phonetic realization of the verb is possible because there is morphological reanalysis in C as said before. (For the details on how deletion of lower copies and linearization proceed, so that (11b) is spelled out as (12), see Nunes (2004) and Bošković and Nunes (forthcoming)).¹²

We will now look at Brazilian Portuguese (BP). The question to ask with respect to BP is why it disallows the emphatic verb reduplication structures but it nevertheless displays, like EP, verbal non-emphatic answers to yes/no questions:

- (13) [A] a. *O João leu esse livro?*
 the J. read that book
 “Did John read that book?”
 [B] b. BP and EP: *Leu.*
 read
 “Yes(, he did).”

- (14) [A] a. *O João não leu esse livro, pois não / leu?*
 the J. not read that book *POIS NEG* / read
 “John didn’t read that book, did he?”
 [B] b. BP: **Leu, leu.*
 c. EP: *Leu, leu.*
 read read

¹² Note that if morphological reanalysis had not taken place, the verbal copy in Σ would be deleted (as it is c-commanded by the verbal copy in C). Hence the constituent moved to Spec, CP would not include the verb. See Nunes (2004:50-55) who offers a representational approach to chain reduction that adequately deals with the linearization of chains created by remnant movement. Bošković and Nunes (forthcoming) alternatively propose a derivational approach to chain reduction which is also unproblematic with respect to remnant movement structures.

“Yes, he (certainly) did.”

Among Brazilian linguists, it is consensually assumed that BP lacks verb movement to C (see Kato and Roberts (1996), Kato (2004), among others). Since according to the present analysis verb movement to C is a crucial step in the derivation of the EP verb reduplication structures, the unavailability of such structures in BP is correctly predicted. On the other hand, in non-emphatic answers to yes/no questions verb-movement goes as high as Σ but no further. So once it is conceded that BP like EP has verb-movement to Σ , nothing prevents verbal answers like (13b) from being derived.¹³

The absence of verb movement to C in BP is the source for the word order facts illustrated by (15) to (18) below. In contrast with EP, BP systematically disallows subject-verb inversion when the order VS is the outcome of verb movement to C. This is the case of root interrogatives (see (15) below), of gerund clauses (see (16) below), of root conditional or future interrogatives with a *wonder* interpretation (see (17) below), and of root subjunctives like (18), which are just unattested in BP.

- (15) a. *Quem disse a Maria que telefonou?* EP: OK / BP: *
 who said the M. that called
 “Who did Mary tell that called”
 b. *Quem a Maria disse que telefonou?* EP: * / BP: OK
 who the M. said that called
 “Who did Mary tell that called”
- (16) a. *Telefonando a Maria, saímos para jantar.* EP: OK / BP: *
 calling the M. leave-1PL for dinner
 “As soon as Mary calls, we will go out for dinner”
 b. *A Maria telefonando, saímos para jantar.* EP: * / BP: OK
 the M. calling leave-1PL for dinner
 “As soon as Mary calls, we will go out for dinner”
- (17) a. *Teria/-á o João encontrado as chaves?* EP: OK; BP: *
 have-would/willl the J. found the keys
 “I wonder whether J. could find his keys”
 b. *O João teria/-á encontrado as chaves?* EP: OK; BP: OK
 the J. have-would/will found the keys

¹³ Martins (1994) proposes that the Romance languages with V-movement to Σ allow VP-ellipsis and concomitantly bare verb minimal answers to yes/no questions, while the Romance languages without V-movement to Σ lack VP-ellipsis and necessarily display an affirmative word in minimal answers to yes/no questions (e.g. Spanish *sí* or French *oui*).

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“I wonder whether J. could find his keys”

- (18) *Contasse-me* *ele a verdade!...* EP: OK; BP:*
- tell-SUBJ-3SG-me-DAT he the truth
- “If he would tell me the truth (it would be much better)”

The loss of verb movement to C in BP is one of the diachronic episodes that set BP and EP in divergent paths. Having lost verb movement to C, BP lost concomitantly the kind of VS order attested in (12) to (15) above and the option for emphatic verb reduplication.¹⁴ Hence BP resorts to a different strategy in order to create structures expressing emphatic affirmation.¹⁵

2.3 *The ‘V-sim’ pattern*

Emphatic affirmative answers and emphatic declaratives with the affirmative word *sim* as the rightmost constituent are found in EP and BP as well. So the fact that Brazilian Portuguese lacks verb movement to C does not prevent this type of sentences from being successfully derived. We will see why, starting with emphatic declaratives.

As said before, emphatic declaratives, like emphatic answers, activate the domains of Σ and C. Sentences like (19b) below are derived with verb movement to Σ followed by movement of Σ P to Spec, CP, thus satisfying the requirement of making the strong C head visible.¹⁶ *Sim* is merged in the Σ P domain as an adjunct to Σ P (see section 3.2. below). Σ merges with C post-

¹⁴ The contrast between EP and BP with respect to the availability of emphatic verb reduplication structures indicates that Σ is not the locus of morphological reanalysis in such structures. EP and BP both allow non-emphatic verbal answers to yes/no questions (as well as other instances of VP-ellipsis). Therefore EP and BP are similar in what concerns the availability of verb movement to Σ (see Martins 1994). If Σ instead of C was the locus of morphological reanalysis in verb reduplication structures, EP and BP would agree in permitting them, contrary to fact.

¹⁵ BP and EP display sentences such as (i) below where two copies of the verb are phonetically realized. Such sentences do not express emphatic disagreement, hence do not involve a C head with emphatic features and are not derived with V-to-T-to- Σ -to-C movement. According to the analysis proposed in the literature by Bastos (2001) and Bošković and Nunes (forthcoming), sentences such as (i) are derived with movement of a remnant vP to Spec, TopP or with verb movement to Top⁰ (followed by morphological fusion between the verb and the Top head). This category is to be distinguished from the category I have been calling C, which under a split analysis of the CP space à la Rizzi would rather be Force.

(i) *comer (chocolate), ele come, mas...*
 eat-INFN chocolate he eats, but...
 “He eats (chocolate), but...”

¹⁶ The visibility requirement of emphatic C either is satisfied by head movement (i.e. V-to-T-to- Σ -to-C) or by XP movement (i.e. movement of Σ P to Spec, CP).

- (23) [A] a. *Ele comprou o carro?*
 he bought the car
 “Did he buy the car?”
 [B] b. *Sim, comprou.*
 SIM bought
 “Yes(, he did).”

We can now understand why emphatic affirmative answers and neutral affirmative answers integrating the verb and the word *sim* show reverse word orders. In contrast with emphatic answers, in neutral affirmative answers there is no place for licensing of a strong C head encoding emphasis. The structural contrast between neutral and emphatic affirmative answers is sketched in (24)-(25) below. Since the position of the affirmative word *sim* (which will be shown in section 3.2. below to have an adverbial nature) is invariable, the post-verbal position of *sim* in emphatic answers and emphatic declaratives is a clear indicator that the verb or a larger constituent including the verb is hosted within the CP space (in the structures expressing emphatic affirmation).

Emphatic answer:

- (24) [_{CP} *comprou* [_{ΣP} *sim* [_{ΣP} ...

Neutral answer:

- (25) [_{ΣP} *sim*, [_{ΣP} [_{Σ'} *comprou* ...

3. Extending the analysis: other Romance languages

Verb reduplication sentences as well as the ‘V-*sim*’ sentences which are available in EP to express emphatic affirmation are not permitted in most Romance languages. We will concentrate here on comparing Portuguese with Spanish (Sp), Catalan (Cat), and Galician (G). Spanish and Catalan contrast with Portuguese in excluding both the EP verb reduplication strategy and the ‘V-*sim*’ strategy shared by EP and BP.²⁰ Spanish and Catalan display instead the ‘*sí (que)*’ (*SÍ*-that) pattern which is absent from Portuguese (see (26d) and (27d)). Galician, in turn, is fine with respect to all three types of emphatic affirmative sentences. The data in (26) and (27) below illustrate the relevant facts which are then summarized in figure 1.

²⁰ The verb reduplication and the ‘V-*sim*’ patterns are also absent from French and Italian, which are closer to Catalan and Spanish with respect to the syntactic strategies implemented to express emphatic affirmation.

Emphatic affirmative answers:

- (26) [A] a. [You didn't read Saylor's *Catilina*, did you?]
 [B] b. *Li, li.* (EP) Sp, Cat, BP: * / G, EP: OK
 read-PAST read-PAST
 "Yes, I (certainly) did."
 c. *Li sim.* (EP) Sp, Cat * / G, EP, BP: OK
 read *SIM*
 "Yes, I (certainly) did."
 d. *Sí que lo he leído.* (Sp) Sp, Cat, G: OK / EP, BP: *
SÍ that it have-1SG read
 "Yes, I did read it."

Emphatic affirmative declaratives:

- (27) [A] a. [John did not come to Rome.]
 [B] b. *O João foi a Roma, foi* (EP) Sp, Cat, BP:* / G, EP: OK
 the J. went to Rome went
 "John did come to Rome"
 c. *O João foi a Roma, sim.* Sp, Cat:* / G, EP, BP: OK
 the J. went to Rome *SIM*
 "John did come to Rome"
 d. *Juan sí que fue a Roma* (Sp) Sp, Cat, G: OK / EP, BP:*
 J. *SÍ* that went to Rome
 "John did come to Rome"

	BP	EP	Galician	Spanish	Catalan
'V-sim'	OK	OK	OK	*	*
Verb reduplication	*	OK	OK	*	*
'sí (que)'	*	*	OK	OK	OK

Table 1: *Patterns of emphatic affirmation in 5 Iberian-Romance languages*

The absence of the verb reduplication strategy in Spanish and Catalan is predicted by the analysis presented in section 2.2 above. Crucially Spanish and Catalan disallow bare verb affirmative answers to yes/no questions (see (28) below)). This shows that verb movement to Σ is not an option in Spanish and Catalan; so only an affirmative word can give lexical content to Σ (cf. Laka 1990, Martins 1994). Since the derivation of the EP verb reduplication

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sentences expressing emphatic affirmation involve V-to-T-to- Σ -to-C movement, such sentences cannot be derived in languages lacking verb movement to Σ (the case of Spanish and Catalan). As was observed at an earlier point, they cannot be derived in languages lacking verb movement to C either (the case of Brazilian Portuguese). Galician shares with Portuguese the option for emphatic verb reduplication structures because like Portuguese it has both verb movement to C and verb movement to Σ , thus displaying bare verb answers to yes/no questions. Example (28c) illustrates the preferred pattern of affirmative answer in Galician and Portuguese, a pattern which is excluded in Spanish and Catalan.

- (28) [A] a. [Did you read Saylor's last book?]
[B] b. *Sí*. (Sp, Catalan)
"Yes(, I did)."
c. **Leí* (Sp) / **Llegí* (Cat) / *Li* (EP&BP) / *Lin* (G)
read
"Yes(, I did)."

The unavailability of the 'V-*sim*' pattern in Spanish and Catalan is also expected under the analysis put forward in section 2.3. above. Recall that 'V-*sim*' emphatic sentences are derived with verb movement to Σ followed by movement of Σ P to Spec, CP. Therefore, such sentences are not a grammatical option in languages like Spanish and Catalan which lack verb movement to Σ .

A question remains as for the contrasts identified in figure 1, namely why is the '*sí (que)*' strategy disallowed in Portuguese (both in EP and BP). In the remainder of this section I will concentrate on this problem. I will first propose an analysis for the '*sí (que)*' sentences of Spanish and Catalan (see 3.1). I will then be able to show why such sentences are not an option in Portuguese, although they are an option in Galician (which in other respects is very close to Portuguese).

3.1 *The 'sí (que)' strategy in Spanish and Catalan: the affirmative word Sí as a polarity head*

In order to syntactically express emphatic affirmation Spanish and Catalan display the '*sí (que)*' (*Sí-that*) strategy exemplified in (29) and (30) below. The Spanish and Catalan data fall right into place if we let Spanish and Catalan be similar to Portuguese in activating the strong functional heads Σ and C in order to express emphatic affirmation. Because the verb cannot move into Σ in Spanish and Catalan, it is the affirmative word *sí* that merges with Σ , thus satisfying its visibility requirement. The head Σ , incorporating *sí*, moves then to C. As for C, which encodes emphatic features, it has the option to be phonologically null (in which case sentences like (30b) are derived) or to be phonologically realized (originating sentences like (29a) and (29b)). Catalan

shows a preference for *sí que* over bare *sí*, that is, the option for a null complementizer is marked,²¹ while Spanish freely allows a null or an overt complementizer.

That the affirmative word *sí* in Spanish and the verb in EP play a similar role in expressing emphatic affirmation is made clear by Spanish sentences like (30c). Although marginal, a pattern with *sí* reduplication parallels the EP verb reduplication structures.²² The *sí* reduplication structure involves morphological reanalysis in C just like the EP verb reduplication structure. The unavailability of *sí* reduplication sentences in Catalan apparently indicates that morphological reanalysis is disallowed in Catalan.²³ Abstracting from morphological reanalysis, Catalan and Spanish *sí que* emphatic affirmative sentences are similarly derived, with *sí* merged with Σ which subsequently moves to C.

- (29) Cat: [A] a. [John is not coming to the party.]
 [B] b. *Joan sí que vindrà a la festa.*
 J. *sí* that will-come to the party
 “John is certainly coming to the party.”

²¹ Catalan has preferably *sí que*. However *sí* by itself is fine in some varieties of Catalan (cf. Vallduví 1999). For speakers that usually do not accept *sí* alone, it becomes possible as a means to reinforce emphasis in a context of reiterated denial (personal communication and example from Montse Batllori):

- (i) [A] *En Pere no sopa aquí els dijous.*
 “Peter doesn’t dine here on Thursdays.”
 [B] *Sí que sopa aquí.*
Sí that dines here – “He certainly does.”
 [A] *No,estic segura que no sopa aquí.*
 “I am sure that he doesn’t dine here.”
 [B] *Sí sopa aquí els dijous! M’ho diràs a mí!*
Sí dines here on Thursdays. me it will-say to me
 “Of course he dines here! Who knows it better than me!”

²² Reiterated denial/correction is the right kind of discourse context allowing *sí* reduplication to emerge (personal communication and example of Ricardo Etxeparre):

- (i) [A] *No vendra.*
 not will-come-3SG – “He won’t come.”
 [B] *Sí que vendra.*
Sí that will-come-3SG – “He certainly will”
 [A] *Qué va!*
 “No way!”
 [C] [rejoining/supporting A] *Sí que sí que vendra.* (marginal)
Sí that *Sí* that will-come-3SG
 “Of course he will come, I’m positive about it.”

²³ This contrast between Spanish and Catalan will not be further explored in the paper. Providing a complete analysis of the Spanish and Catalan data is well beyond the author’s ambition.

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- (30) Sp: [A] [John didn't go to Rome.]
 [B] a. *Juan sí que fue a Roma.*
 J. *sí* that went to Rome
 "J. did go to Rome."
 b. *Juan sí fue a Roma.*
 J. *sí* went to Rome
 "John did go to Rome."
 c. *?Juan sí que sí fue a Roma.*
 J. *sí* that *sí* went to Rome
 "John did go to Rome."

The fact that *sí*-movement to C does not prevent C from being given independent phonological content by the complementizer *que* (that) seems to be the effect of *sí* having a clitic nature. When C is phonologically empty, *sí* presumably cliticizes to the verb. Empirical evidence supporting this hypothesis is given in (31) below (examples are from Spanish but similar facts hold in Catalan). While in the sentences where *que* is absent, *sí* needs to be adjacent to the verb,²⁴ as the contrast between (31b) and (31c) illustrates, this is not the case when *sí* left-adjoins to *que* – see (31a-b) vs. (31d-e).²⁵

- (31) [A] a. [He doesn't dine here on Thursdays.]
 [B] b. **Sí los jueves cena aquí.*
sí the Thursdays dines here
 "He does dine here on Thursdays."
 c. *Sí cena los jueves aquí.*
sí dines the Thursdays here
 "He does dine here on Thursdays"
 d. *Sí que los jueves cena aquí.*
sí that the Thursdays dines here
 "He does dine here on Thursdays"
 e. *Sí que cena los jueves aquí.*
sí that dines the Thursdays here
 "He does dine here on Thursdays"

²⁴ Only clitic personal pronouns can intervene between *sí* and the verb. In this respect *sí* and the predicative negation marker *no* (not) behave in exactly the same way.

²⁵ Differently from other constituents, the subject cannot occur between *sí que* and the verb (see Brucaut (1999) with respect to Spanish; similar facts hold for Catalan, according to Montse Batllori, p.c.). I admit this is the effect of preverbal subjects being left-dislocated in Spanish and Catalan (see Alexiadou and Agnastopolou (1998) and Vallduví (1992), among others). But I will not go into this complex issue here.

3.2 Unavailability of the ‘*sí que*’ strategy in Portuguese: the adverbial nature of the Portuguese affirmative word *SIM*

The Spanish and Catalan affirmative word *sí*, on the one hand, and the Portuguese affirmative word *sim*, on the other, behave quite differently when we look at their ability to express affirmative assertions in particular yes/no question contexts or in denial contexts. A comparative observation of Portuguese *sim* versus Spanish and Catalan *sí* offers the clue to understand why the *sí que* strategy is not available in Portuguese (both in EP and BP). As the empirical evidence discussed in the present section will show the Portuguese affirmative word *sim* has an adverbial nature. Because it is not a polarity-head (i.e. a Σ -head), differently from Spanish and Catalan *sí*, it cannot be merged with Σ and be subsequently incorporated in C. Hence the *sí que* sentences cannot be derived in Portuguese.

After comparing Portuguese with Spanish and Catalan, we will consider Galician. It will be proposed that Galician has both an adverb-like affirmative word and a polarity-head affirmative word, although they are phonologically alike. This is the reason why Galician cumulates the strategies found in Portuguese to express affirmative emphatic affirmation with the *sí que* strategy which is not a grammatical option in Portuguese.

The examples in (32) to (34) below illustrate the incapacity of Portuguese *sim* to constitute an affirmative answer to a negative question (see (32b)) in contrast to Spanish and Catalan *sí* (see (33b)-(34b)). In Portuguese (P) only the verb can set an appropriate affirmative answer to a negative yes/no question (see (32c)).

(32) P: [A] a. *O João hoje não vai ao cinema?*
the J. today not goes to-the cinema
“Isn’t John going to the movies today?”

[B] b. **Sim.*
“Yes, he is going to the movies today.”

c. *Vai.*
goes
“Yes, he is going to the movies.”

(33) Sp: [A] a. *No va a ir al cine hoy Juan?*
not go to go to-the cinema today J.
“Isn’t John going to the movies today?”

[B] b. *Sí. (= Sí, Juan va a ir al cine hoy)*
sí (= sí, J. goes to go to-the cinema today)
“Yes, he is going to the movies today.”

(34) Cat: [A] a. *Avui no anirà al cine en Juan?*

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- today not will-go to-the cinema the J.
 “Isn’t John going to the movies today?”
- [B] b. *Sí*. (= *Sí*, en Joan anirà al cine avui)
sí (= *sí*, the J. will-go to-the cinema today)
 “Yes, he is going to the movies today.”

Behind the observed empirical contrast lies the different nature of the affirmative words available in Portuguese, on the one hand, and in Spanish and Catalan, on the other. Being an adverb left-adjoined to Σ P, Portuguese *sim* licenses a null IP (= Σ P) whose content is recovered from the preceding yes/no question. Answering with *sim* to a negative question results in a clash between the affirmative features associated with the word *sim* and the negative content of the null IP (which includes [+ neg] Σ).²⁶ What makes the situation different in Spanish and Catalan is the fact that the affirmative word in these languages is a polarity-head. As the affirmative word *sí* is incorporated in Σ , the null constituent that *sí* licenses is not the full IP (= Σ P), but a smaller chunk of structure, presumably TP, the complement of Σ . So in Spanish and Catalan the polarity value of the answering clause is strictly established by *sí* because the null constituent whose content is recuperated from the question does not include the polarity encoding head Σ .

Again differently from Spanish and Catalan, the Portuguese affirmative word *sim* cannot be used to positively answer to an embedded question, as illustrated in (35) to (37) below. While an answer with *sí* is associated with two possible interpretations in Spanish and Catalan (see (36b)-(37b)), an answer with *sim* in Portuguese is unambiguously interpreted as a positive answer to the

²⁶ I am here adopting the analysis devised by Holmberg (2003, forthcoming) who deals with similar facts in English (see (i) below). Although English *yes* incorporates in C (cf. Laka 1990) while Portuguese *sim* adjoins to Σ P, the relevant point here is that both affirmative words are structurally placed above IP (= Σ P) and thus recuperate a full IP (which includes a polarity encoding head associated with a particular value).

- (i) a. – Does John speak French? – Yes. / – Yes, he does.
 b. – Doesn’t John speak French? – *Yes. / – Yes, he does.
 (examples taken from Holmberg 2003:111)

With respect to Portuguese, it should be noted that an answer with *sim* to a negative question can be marginally allowed just in case it is interpreted as a negative answer. In such case, I take *sim* to be not the affirmative word but an adverb-like discourse marker expressing agreement with the interlocutor.

- (ii) [A]a. *O João hoje não vai ao cinema?*
 the J. today not goes to-the cinema
 “Isn’t John going to the movies today?”
- [B]b. *???Sim. / ?Sim, (hoje) não vai (ao cinema)*
SIM / SIM today not goes to-the cinema
 “That’s right, he is not going to the movies today.”

main question (see (35b)). Only the verb can constitute a minimal affirmative answer to the embedded question (see (35c)).

- (35) P: [A] a. *Sabes se o João foi à festa?*
 know-2SG if the J. went to-the party
 “Do you know if John went to the party?”
 b. *Sim.*
 “Yes, I know (that he did).”
 c. *Foi.*
 went
 “Yes, he did.”
- (36) Sp: [A] a. *Sabes si Juan fue a la fiesta?*
 know-2SG if J. went to the party
 “Do you know if John went to the party?”
 [B] b. *Sí.* (= *Sí*, lo sé / = *Sí*, Juan fue a la fiesta)
sí (= *sí*, it know-1SG / = *sí*, J. went to the party)
 “Yes, I know (that he did).” / “Yes, he did.”
- (37) Cat: [A] a. *Saps si en Joan va.anar al cine?*
 know-2SG if the J. went to-the cinema
 “Do you know if John went to the movies?”
 b. *Sí.* (= *Sí*, ho sé / = *Sí*, en Joan va.anar al cine)
sí (= *sí*, it know / = *sí*, the J. went to-the cinema)
 “Yes, I know (that he did).” / “Yes, he did.”

The examples in (36) and (37) above show that the polarity head *sí* of Spanish and Catalan can be interpretatively associated either with the matrix Σ head or with the embedded Σ head, thus licensing and recuperating the content of a larger or smaller null constituent. The contrast between (36)-(37) and (35) makes clear that the Portuguese affirmative word *sim*, behaves as a sentential adverb which cannot be associated with so internal a position as the embedded Σ projection. Thus *sim* always licenses and recuperates the content of the matrix IP present in the question.

In Spanish, *sí* can by itself contradict/correct a previous negative statement (see (38) below). This is impossible in Portuguese where affirmative declaratives expressing denial necessarily include the verb.

- (38) Sp: [A] a. *Juan no fue a Roma.*
 J. not went to Rome
 “John didn’t go to Rome.”
 [B] b. *Sí.* Sp: OK/ EP, BP: *

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“(You are wrong,) he did go to Rome.”

A particular intonation is associated with (38b) as only a long high-low *sí* expresses the intended meaning (personal communication of Ricardo Etxeparre). A short flat *sí* would instead be interpreted as a manifestation of agreement with the interlocutor (i.e. as ‘you are right, he didn’t go to Rome’) – see footnote 27 above. The intonation contrast presumably signals a structural difference. I take (38b) to be derived with movement of Σ (carrying along the incorporated *sí*) to C, according to the general derivational pattern of emphatic affirmative declaratives. After it is incorporated in the $C_{[+emph]}$ head, affirmative *sí* works as a polarity-reversal operator just like French *si* (cf. Holmberg 2003:112). So, although *sí* in (39b) licenses a null IP whose content is recuperated from the proposition in (38a), there is no clash between affirmative *sí* and the negative value of Σ in (39a). As Holmberg puts it, having in mind French,²⁷ *sí* neutralizes the contextually set negative feature of Σ [= Pol in Holmberg], by deleting it, and assigns the value affirmative to Σ . What makes Portuguese *sim* unable to play the same role as Spanish *sí* in a denial context such as the one illustrated in (38) above is the fact that it is not the right kind of entity, namely a polarity-head.

We will now point to some significant contrasts between Portuguese and Galician.

The data in (39b) vs. (39c) below show that clitic placement in Galician and in European Portuguese is sensitive to the presence of sentential negation (which is always preverbal). So, while the usual pattern of clitic placement in matrix clauses is enclitic, like in (40b), negation makes proclisis obligatory (see (39c)). Assuming with Laka (1990) and Zanuttini (1994, 1997) that the predicative negation marker (*non* ‘not’) is incorporated in Σ (i.e. Zanuttini’s Pol), we can draw the conclusion that when Σ is filled with a polarity word, enclisis is disallowed and proclisis emerges. This much being acknowledge, the contrast between Galician and EP illustrated by the availability of sentences like (39d) in the former versus its unavailability in the latter gives striking evidence that the affirmative word can incorporate in Σ in Galician, and thus play the same role as negation with respect to clitic placement, but it cannot do so in Portuguese. In Portuguese, the affirmative word *sim* does not trigger proclisis (under no circumstances) because it is not a polarity-head. Instead it has an adverbial nature and being a maximal category cannot merge with Σ .

²⁷ Holmberg (2003) considers also Swedish, German and Finnish. All these languages differ from the Romance languages studied in this paper in that they resort to a specific affirmative word to express denial. French, for example, has *si* which denies a proposition (or a presupposition) present in the discourse context and *oui* which instead expresses agreement with a previous statement (or presupposition) or else constitutes a neutral affirmative answer to a yes/no question.

- (39) [A] a. [Did I tell him that I am leaving tomorrow? I probably didn't.]
 [B] b. (*Si,*) *dixéchelo.* (Galician) G, EP: OK
SI said-it
 “Yes, you did.”
 c. (*Non,*) *non o dixeches.* (Galician) G, EP: OK
 No, not it said
 “No, you didn't.”
 d. *Si o dixeches.* (Galician) G: OK; EP: *
SI it said
 “You certainly did.”

Comparing Galician with Portuguese is also rewarding when we look at tag questions. In Galician and Portuguese (both EP and BP) tag questions presupposing an affirmative answer are made up of an affirmative clause, an interrogative-negative word (phonologically akin to the negation marker) and a verbal form that repeats the main verb or the finite auxiliary of the affirmative clause (see (40a) below). I take the affirmative clause to be a topic merged in Spec, TopP, the interrogative-negative word to be inserted in Spec, CP, and the inflected bare verb in the tag to be incorporated in Σ , licensing VP-ellipsis.²⁸ In tandem with sentences like (40a), Galician also allows sentences like (40b) which Portuguese excludes. The difference between (40a) and (40b) is just that in the former Σ is filled with the verb while in the latter it is filled with the affirmative word *si*. As expected given the line of reasoning we have been arguing for throughout the present section, Portuguese can not derive tag questions like (40b) since an affirmative polarity-head is not available in Portuguese.²⁹

²⁸ Hence this type of tags, let us call them ‘verbal tags’, are not allowed in languages that do not license VP-ellipsis. If we look at Catalan, for example, the tag-part of a tag question is constituted by a modal interrogative word alone (see (i)), a modal interrogative word plus a polarity word (see (ii)), or a full clause (see (iii)).

- (i) *En Joan va.comprar el cotxe,* {¿no? / ¿veritat? / ¿oi? / ¿eh?}
 the J. bought the car, {¿no? / ¿true? / ¿INTERJ? / ¿INTERJ?}
 (ii) *En Joan va.comprar el cotxe,* {¿no que sí? / ¿veritat que sí? / ¿oi/eh que sí?}
 the J. bought the car, {¿no that SÍ? / ¿true that SÍ? / ¿INTERJ that SÍ?}
 (iii) *En Joan va.comprar el cotxe,* ¿no el va.comprar?
 the J. bought the car, ¿no it-ACC bought-3SG?

²⁹ The correlate in Catalan of the Galician “no si?” tags are “¿no que sí?” tags (see example (ii) in footnote 28 above). Catalan makes clear that the interrogative-negative word *no* occurs in Spec, CP while *que* (that) lexicalizes C. Tag questions with “¿no que sí?” (¿no that SÍ?) are ungrammatical in Spanish, in contrast to Catalan, presumably because the interrogative-

- (40) a. *¿Este meniño é o neto de Carmela, non é?* G, P: OK
 this kid is the grandson of Carmela, Q-NEG is
 “This little boy is the grandson of Carmela, isn’t he?”
- b. *¿Este meniño é o neto de Carmela, non si?* G: OK / P: *
 this kid is the grandson of Carmela, Q-NEG *SI*
 “This little boy is the grandson of Carmela, isn’t he?”
 (Galician examples taken from Álvarez and Xove 2002: 199)

4. Conclusion

This paper studies the different strategies available to syntactically express emphatic affirmation in a set of closely related Romance languages, namely (Brazilian and European) Portuguese, Galician, Spanish and Catalan, with a particular focus on Portuguese. The approach developed in the paper crucially assumes that C and Σ (the polarity encoding head) are involved in the expression of emphatic affirmation. Verb movement (in relation to the functional heads C and Σ) and the categorial nature of affirmative words are the two factors identified in the paper as the source of variation across languages.

Three types of emphatic affirmation structures are described in the paper. The verb reduplication pattern (which dispenses with the contribution of an affirmative word) is found in languages allowing verb movement to Σ in tandem with verb movement to C (European Portuguese, Galician) while it is absent from languages lacking verb movement to C (Brazilian Portuguese) or verb movement to Σ (Spanish, Catalan). The ‘*sí (que)*’ (*SÍ*-that) pattern is available in languages whose lexicon includes an affirmative word of the polarity-head type (Galician, Spanish, Catalan) but it is unavailable in languages with an adverbial affirmative word only (Portuguese, both EP and BP). Finally, the ‘*V-sim*’ pattern appears to be a grammatical option in languages allowing verb movement to Σ (European and Brazilian Portuguese, Galician).

Common to all the structures that express emphatic affirmation in the Romance languages (beyond the ones studied in the present paper, I suggest) is the fact that their derivation involves movement of Σ to C (even if only post-syntactically). In this way the polarity features of Σ and the emphatic features of C are paired under C.

When Σ (overtly) incorporates in C, it may carry along a polarity-head affirmative word (deriving the ‘*sí (que)*’ type of sentences) or it may carry along the verb (originating verb reduplication sentences where two copies of

negative word *no* does not allow complementation in Spanish – note that “*¿verdad que sí?*” (*¿true that SÍ?*) is a possible tag in Spanish.

the verbal chain end up phonologically realized).³⁰ Otherwise, sentences with a clause-final affirmative adverb are derived (i.e. the ‘V-*sim*’ pattern).

In the Romance languages inquired in the paper, what sets emphatic affirmative answers to yes/no questions apart from neutral affirmative answers to yes/no questions is the fact that the latter are derived without movement of Σ to C.

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³⁰ It should be stressed that the analysis offered in this paper is restricted to the Romance languages. Whether it can be extended in order to cover a broader spectrum of data is a matter left for future research. Note anyway that the analysis does not predict that all languages with verb movement to C will allow emphatic verb reduplication. The motivation for verb movement to C is not uniform across languages or across language-internal constructions. Hence, morphological reanalysis is not expected to be necessarily associated with verb movement to C (as it is dependent on C having a certain featural content, encoding emphasis). Spanish and Catalan show precisely that allowing verb movement to C is not enough to make emphatic verb reduplication a grammatical option.

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