

‘E sí la hoïren tots’: *sí* and emphatic positive polarity in Old Catalan

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Abstract

This paper explores the semantic value and syntactic distribution of the lexical item *sí* in Old Catalan. By examining data extracted from 13th century legal and historiographical texts, it is concluded that *sí* was an Emphatic Positive Polarity Particle (EPPA) whose appearance was restricted to non-veridical contexts, as well as a positive sentential proform, already by that date. This analysis strongly contrasts with analyses put forward for *sí* in Old Catalan and Old Spanish that date its grammaticalization as an EPPA two centuries later, and with analyses of *sí* in other Old Romance languages that have linked it to the satisfaction of the V2 parameter.

Keywords: Old Catalan; *sí*; positive polarity; grammaticalisation.

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1. Introduction

In this article we explore the semantics and distribution of the particle *sí* in Old Catalan with data drawn from three 13th century textual sources. It is shown that Old Catalan had already grammaticalised *sí* into a positive sentential proform by the 13th century, even though its usage was strongly determined by register and stylistic factors. Furthermore, it is also shown that *sí*'s distribution was not limited to answer yes/no questions: it could also occur as an Emphatic Positive Polarity Particle in fully fledged clauses within the scope of a non-veridical operator.

While Latin did not have a positive sentential proform, several sentential proforms are found across the Romance languages: Old Catalan and Occitan grammaticalised the demonstrative HOC into *òc* 'yes', now lost in Modern Catalan but still in use in Modern Occitan; in French; the demonstrative phrase HOC ILLUD was grammaticalised into *oui* 'yes', while the Latin manner adverb SIC was grammaticalised as *sí* 'yes' in Catalan, Spanish and Italian, and as *sim* in Portuguese.

The grammaticalisation of Latin SIC, a VP manner adverb, into the Emphatic Positive Polarity Particle (EPPA) *sí* that is found in Modern Catalan has been extensively studied by Batllori & Hernanz (2008, 2013). According to these authors, in the Medieval period, *sí*, still and adverb, was merely used as a reinforcement of other strategies to convey positive polarity (Batllori and Hernanz 2008:14), while in the Modern language, after undergoing grammaticalisation, it acts as a positive sentential proform that is used in yes/no questions.

While I agree and endorse Batllori and Hernanz's (2008, 2013) analysis of the grammaticalisation of *sí*, the data presented in this paper suggests that the grammaticalisation of *sí* occurs earlier than previously thought and that its distribution was wider than previously described. Therefore, Old Catalan is the first Old Romance language in which *sí* is attested as a positive sentential proform. This is shown by examining three Old Catalan texts dating from the 13th century: two historiographical chronicles and one compilation of legal texts (mainly containing complaints and reports): (i) *El Llibre dels Fets*, (1244-1274), henceforth '*LdF*', (ii) *Crònica de Bernat Desclot* (1288), henceforth '*CBD*', and (iii) *Llibre de la Cort de Justícia de Cocentaina* (1265-1296), henceforth '*LdCJC*'. Data from *LdF* has been extracted from the *Sí* database (Pujol i Campeny, 2018), while data from the *Crònica de Bernat Desclot* and the *Llibre de la Cort de Justícia de Cocentaina* has been directly extracted from the *Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic* (CICA). These three works have been chosen based on two reasons: they are clearly dated, contemporary, and they represent different genres and registers. *LdF* and *CBD* are two historiographical chronicles devoted to narrating the feats of Catalan-Aragonese kings, displaying a high literary register and written by civil servants of the Crown of Aragon. *LdCJC* consists of a compilation of legal documents recording daily transactions carried out in Cocentaina's notary, which, in spite of containing stretches of conventionalised legal text, also presents attestations of reported direct speech of laymen and laywomen from Cocentaina who used the notary.

The analysis of these texts not only reveals novel insights concerning the grammaticalisation and distribution of *sí* and the nature of Old Catalan's left periphery, but also highlights the importance of taking into account the interaction of register variation and syntax.

The article is organised as follows: in section 2, the different strategies for encoding positive polarity in Latin and the distribution of the manner adverb from which *sí* derives are presented. In section 3, analyses of *sí* in other Romance languages are succinctly discussed in reference to Old Catalan data, followed by section 4, where Old Catalan data is presented and analysed. Finally, section 5 offers a summary of the findings presented throughout the article.

2. Emphatic Positive Polarity in Latin

It is a well-known fact that Latin did not have a positive sentential proform. Nevertheless, it had plenty of mechanisms that could convey emphatic positive polarity, among which the following particles and adverbs: ENIM (Spevak 2012), QUIDEM (Danckaert 2014), and SIC (Batllori and Hernanz 2008). This is shown in examples (1-3):

- (1) Dissimilis **quidem** Chares horum et factis
 unlike certainly Charles his and deeds.ABL
 et moribus sed tamen Athenis et
 and character.ABL but however Athens.ABL and
 honoratus et potens.
 honourable and powerful

‘It is **true** that Chares differed from them both in his actions and in his character, but nevertheless, in Athens he was an esteemed and powerful man.’

Apud Danckaert (2014:98), example 3

- (2) Aliud quid? **Etiam**: quando te proficisci
 other what yes when you.ACC go.INF.PRES.PASS
 istinc putes fac ut sciam.
 from;here think.2SG do.2SG.PRES.IMP.ACT so that
 know.1SG.PRS.SBJV

‘What else? **Yes!** When you think of following up from this [letter], do let me know.’¹

Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 2.6.2.15

- (3) {IVPP} Heia autem inimicos?
 INTER however enemies.ACC
 {ALC.} **Sic** est, vera praedico.
 thus is true things.ACC proclaim-1SG

‘Jupiter: Ha! Enemies indeed?’

Alcmena: It is **so**, I speak truly.’

Plautus, *Amphytruo*, 901

In examples (1-3) we can see three different lexical items used to convey positive emphatic polarity. (3) is particularly relevant for the purposes of this paper,

¹ Unless otherwise stated, Latin translations are my own.

since it contains the manner adverb SIC ‘thus’, the precursor of Modern Catalan and Modern Spanish *sí*, Modern Italian *sì*, and Modern Portuguese *sim*.

Apart from adverbs and particles, Latin also had syntactic strategies available for conveying emphatic positive polarity. They include V1 constructions (Devine and Stephens 2006:147) and verb echo answers to direct and indirect questions (henceforth V-echo):

- (4) Context: Cicero, in his defence of Lucius Murena’s dignity against the accusatory Servius Sulpicius, focuses his accusation on the humble origins of Murena’s family. Cicero, in an attempt to deconstruct his arguments, projects Sulpicius’ accusation on the plebeian origin of Murena’s family and contrasts it with the noble origins of the accuser’s family. To highlight the contrast between Sulpicius’ exaltation of his family and contempt towards Murena’s, Cicero sentences:

Contempsisti L. Murenae genus, **extulisti** tuum
 despised.2SG L. Murena’s clan brought;forth.2SG yours
 ‘You **despised** the Murena clan, you have **praised** yours.’

Cicero, *Pro Murena*, 7.15, apud Devine & Stephens (2006:147, example 5)

- (5) Clodius insidias fecit Miloni? **Fecit.**
 Clodius plots.ACC made.3SG Milo.DAT did.3SG
 ‘Did Claudius plot against Milo? He did **indeed**.’

Cicero, *Pro Milone*, 60.3, apud Martins (2005:179, example 3)

Example (4) illustrates a case of V1 used to convey emphatic positive polarity. In the first clause, we find the verb CONTEMPSISTI in sentence initial position, in contrast with the verb in the following clause: EXTULISTI. According to Devine & Stephens (2006:147), in these cases, the movement of the verb to sentence initial position is triggered by the presence of a positive polarity operator, which they label PosPol and which Martins (2005:178-179), following Laka (1990), identifies with the highest projection in the inflectional domain, ΣP . According to Martins 2005, 2013), verb movement to this projection allows for VP ellipsis, which makes structures such as verb-echo possible. The informational value of sentences with verb movement to PosPol/ ΣP is *Verum Focus*, that is, focus on the truth value of the proposition, excluding its negative counterpart (Krifka 2008; Leonetti and Escandell Vidal 2009, Batllori and Hernanz 2015). The movement of the verb to sentence initial position emphasises the positive polarity of the assertion being made and denies its negative counterpart. In (5), after a direct yes/no question, the reply provided is a V-echo answer, where the verb of the question is “echoed” or repeated. The syntax of V-echo structures is discussed at length in section 4.

3. *Sí* across the Old Romance languages

*Si/sí*² has received significant attention in the Old Romance literature: it has been studied in regard to Old Portuguese (Martins 2013), Old Catalan and Old Spanish (Batllori and Hernanz 2013, 2008), Old Spanish (Rodríguez Molina 2014), Old Italian (Salvi 2002; Poletto and Zanuttini 2013; Wolfe 2015; Poletto 2005, 2014), Old Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2008), Old French (Marchello-Nizia 1985; Fleischman 1991; Sitaridou 2003; Wolfe 2015; Wolfe 2018), and Old Occitan (Donaldson 2016).

Analyses of *si/sí* broadly fall in two groups: those that link it to the fulfilment of the V2 parameter and those that link it with the expression of positive polarity. The former stems from data from Galo-Romance and Italo-Romance varieties while the latter type of analyses clusters around Ibero-Romance varieties (the term being understood geographically). In what follows, we consider first analyses that connect *si/sí* with the fulfilment of the V2 parameter, and then those that link *si/sí* with polarity.

Since the 80s, and not without controversy, several authors have proposed that the Old Romance languages went through a V2 stage during the High Middle Ages (Benincà 1984; Vanelli, Renzi, and Benincà 1986; Adams 1987; Roberts 1993; Vance 1993, 1997; Vance, Donaldson, and Steiner 2010; Salvesen 2013; Wolfe 2015b; Benincà and Poletto 2004b; Benincà 2006; Poletto 2005, 2014, Ledgeway 2007, 2008; Steiner 2014; Donaldson 2016 among others). Recent formulations of the V2 parameter establish that it is bipartite:

- (6) ‘A language is called a verb-second (V2) language when the finite verb is obligatorily the second constituent, either specifically in main clauses or in all finite clauses.’ (Holmberg 2015:342)

Wolfe (2015) refines this definition of the V2 parameter for the Romance languages. He proposes the existence of a head in the left periphery (as described by Benincà [2004, 2006]) that acts as a probe for finiteness features, attracting the verb. This same head is endowed with an Edge Feature (EF) that attracts a phrasal constituent to its specifier. According to his analysis, Romance varieties differ in regard to which projection acts as probe for finite features and hosts the EF: some varieties, like Old Sardinian, have it in ForceP, and hence display strict V2, since no projections over ForceP are available for hosting other material, while others, like Old Occitan, have it in FinP, and therefore, elements base-generated in the Frame and Topic fields (Benincà 2004, 2006) can precede the verb and the XP moved to SpecFinP, assuming the cartographic framework (Rizzi 1999, Benincà 2004, 2006, Benincà and Poletto 2006).

Analyses of *si* within V2 grammars broadly fall into three groups: (i) those that connect it to topic continuity (Fleischman 1991; van Reenen and Schløssler 2000; Salvi 2002); (ii) those that take it to be a last resort strategy for the fulfilment of the V2 requirement (Poletto 2005; Ledgeway 2008; Poletto 2014; Wolfe 2015; Donaldson 2016); and (iii) those that link with the assertion of the clause (Marchello-Nizia 1985), in line with analyses proposed for *sí* in the Old Ibero-Romance languages.

² The spelling of *sí/sí* depends on the language: *si* for Old French and Old Occitan, *sì* for Old Italian and Old Neapolitan, and *sí* for Old Catalan, Old Spanish, Modern Catalan and Modern Spanish.

Clauses that present *si* in Old French, Old Occitan and Old Italian varieties, share the following formal features, illustrated by Old French examples in (7-9): (i) *si* is always verb-adjacent, but for clitic pronouns; (ii) *si* is only ever preceded by material base-generated in the left periphery (in the Frame and Topic fields), and very frequently, it occurs in clause initial position, followed by the verb; and (iii) often, but not always, *si* correlates with topic continuity.

- (7) Adont **si** atorna li rois mout rikement se
 then si adorned.3SG the king very richly his
 sereur (...)
 sister
 ‘Then the king dressed his sister up richly.’
 [ForceP [Frame Field adont [TopP [FocP [SpecFinP *si* [Fin’ atorna [SpecTP li rois [T’ [...
 Loys LII, 150-151, *apud* van Reenen & Schløslser (2000:80)

- (8) **Si** en fu la reïne moult carrociee
 si of;it= was.3SG the queen very angry
 ‘The queen was very upset about it.’
 [ForceP [Frame Field [TopP [FocP [SpecFinP *si* [Fin’ en fu [SpecTP la reïne [T’ [...
Mort Artu, §166, *apud* Benincà (2006a:64)

- (9) Li rois se vest et apareille tout maintenant,
 the king himself dressed and got ready all now
 puis s’ assiet en son lit, et puis fist
 the himself sat.3SG in his bed and then made.3SG
sa serour asseoir de joust li; **si** li commence
 his sister sit.INF of just him si to her start.3SG
 a demander de son estre, et ele l’en dist
 to ask.INF of her being and she him=of;it= told.3SG
 partie, et partie l’en ceile. **Si** demeurent
 part and parted.3SG him=of;it= that one si remain.3PL
 leanz en tieus paroles jusqu’ a eure de prime.
 therein in your words until at hour of first
 ‘The king got dressed and ready in the meanwhile, and afterwards he sat on
 his bed and then he made his sister sit next to him, and he started to ask her
 about her wellbeing, and she told him a part of it, and spared him the other
 one. And they remained talking until dawn.’
Mort Artu, §50.78-83, *apud* Fleischman (1991:254)

In (7), *si* is preceded by the frame setter *adont* ‘then’, base-generated in the left periphery. It is followed by the verb, raised to the left periphery, and the subject, that remains in SpecTP. *Si*, in turn, satisfies the EF in FinP. In (8), *si* is not preceded by any other constituent, it occurs in clause initial position. As in (7), the subject of the clause remains in SpecTP, and it is *si* that satisfies the EF in FinP. Finally, (9) is a case in which *si* correlates with discourse topic continuity, but not subject continuity. In the first clause, the subject is *li rois* ‘the king’. In the clause that follows it is *sa serour* ‘his sister’. In the third clause, a clause with no overt subject, *si* appears. It is not the sister, but the king that does the talking. Therefore, there is no subject continuity with

the preceding clause, but there is discourse topic continuity, something that is often the case when *sí* appears.

Given its distribution (frequent in V1 clauses and always verb adjacent), several authors have proposed that it is a last resort strategy to satisfy the EF linked to the V2 constraint when no other XP can raise to the specifier of the projection that probes for finite features. Therefore it must be a maximal category, and given its lack of semantic content, an expletive (Poletto 2005; Salvesen 2013; Wolfe 2015).

In Old Spanish, the distribution and semantics of *sí* differed significantly from those sketched above for Old French. Batllori & Hernanz (2008) propose that Latin SIC underwent an upward grammaticalisation process (in the spirit of Roberts and Roussou 2003) that transformed Latin SIC, a manner adverb, into a Positive Polarity Item (PPI).

According to Batllori and Hernanz (2008), SIC was reanalysed in the context of answers to direct and indirect yes/no questions involving V-echo and verbs of support, similar to English do-support (Biberauer and Roberts 2008:34).

Holmberg (2016:52-53) states that crosslinguistically, there are two mechanisms by which answers to yes/no questions can be constructed: on the one hand, they can be a declarative clause that expresses one of the question’s alternate propositions. On the other hand, they can be constructed through the spell out of a focused polarity feature, either an externally merged particle or a moved verb copied from the question, that assigns value to a polarity feature that is inherited from the question. Holmberg locates this polarity feature in a Polarity Phrase (PolP), the highest projection within the inflectional domain, as first described and labelled Σ P by Laka (1990), label to which we adhere to refer to the polarity-related projection within the inflectional domain in this article. Both strategies involve the movement of the particle or the verb to a Focus projection in the left periphery, so that the CP may be interpretable as a declarative sentence with a truth value, be it positive or negative. Then, Σ P can be elided because it is identical to the question’s Σ P but for its truth value, which is moved to FocP and is the only new information provided is the value of the polarity feature. This is exemplified in relation to polarity particles in (10):

- (10) a. Question: [CP do [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 (2016:53, fig. 1)
- b. Affirmative answer: ‘yes’ + PolP elision
 [CP [_{FocP} yes_i [_{Foc}] [_{Σ P} [_{DP} I] [_{Σ ’} [_{+Pol_i}] [_{TP} want tea]]]]]]]
 Adapted from Holmberg (2016:53, fig. 2)
- c. Affirmative answer: yes + do support and VP elision
 [CP [_{FocP} yes_i [_{Foc}] [_{TP} I [_{+Pol_i}] do [_{VP} want tea]]]]]
 Adapted from Holmberg (2016:61, fig. 19)
- d. Negative answer: ‘no’
 [CP [_{FocP} no_i [_{Foc}’ [_{Foc}] [_{Σ P} [_{DP} you] [_{Σ ’} [_{-Pol_i}] [_{TP} want tea]]]]]]]

Therefore, FocP is the projection that accommodates elements that display emphatic polarity features. Polar elements base-generated in PolP and landing in FocP are both endowed with a polar feature (positive or negative) and a [+emphasis] feature (Ballori and Hernanz 2013:21).

Martins (2013:96) also vouches that the interaction between CP and Σ P is responsible for the encoding of emphatic positive polarity. Without committing to the existence of a specific polarity-related head in the left periphery, she argues that relative polarity features, which encode the agreement or denial ([reverse] and [same] in Farkas & Bruce [2010] analysis) of the polarity of a clause in relation to the previous utterance, are located within the CP. In contrast, the highest functional projection within the inflectional domain, Σ P, hosts absolute polarity features, [+] and [-], corresponding to [+affirmation] and [+negation]. For the purposes of this article, we hypothesise that there is a Polarity-dedicated projection in the left periphery that hosts relative polarity features and interacts with FocP. We refer to this projection as PolP, as opposed to Σ P, the highest head of the inflectional domain, which hosts absolute polarity features. Σ P can be valued, as we have seen above, either by particles base-generated in this projection, which then undergo movement to PolP to value relative polarity features or by verb movement. We do not deny the possibility that relative polarity features might be a property of FocP, which could be the case if we assume a feature staking analysis. However, the visualisation of the interaction between absolute and relative polarity features is simpler by postulating a PolP head in the left periphery. Backing the existence of a polarity-dedicated position in the left periphery, we find Rodríguez-Molina's (2014) analysis of verb position in Old Spanish, which proposes that this variety had V-to-Pol movement, with Pol located above FinP, in the left periphery.

After these theoretical considerations, examine (11) and (12): the former is an instance of a V-echo answer to a yes/no question in Old Spanish and the latter, a case of a do-support answer, also to a yes/no question, supported by *sí*:

- (11) Celestina: ¿Quiereslo saber?
 Celestina want.2SG=it know.INF
 Sempronio: Quiero.
 Sempronio want.1SG
 ‘Celestina: Do you want to know it?
 Sempronio: I **certainly** do.’
 Celestina, 1.110, *apud* Rodríguez Molina (2014:873)
- (12) Yo le dije todo lo que había pasado.
 I to;him= said.3SG all it that had.3SG happened
 Mandome me fuese a Écija.
 ordered.3SG=to;me I.ACC= go.3SG.PST.SBJ to Écija
 Dije que sí **haría**
 said.1SG that yes do.1SG.COND
 ‘And I told him everything that had happened. And he told me to go to Écija.
 And I said that I **certainly** would.’
 Vida, 316, *apud* Rodríguez Molina (2014:876)

In (11), the verb *querer* ‘to want’ that appears firstly in the direct yes/no question and is then repeated in the affirmative answer to the question. In (12), the verb of the indirect question, *irse* ‘to leave’, is not repeated. Instead, the answer contains the verb *hacer*, ‘to do’, which refers anaphorically to the predicate of the first character’s intervention. According to Batllori and Hernanz (2013:14), do-support and

V-echo structures involve the raising of adverb *sí* (a variant of the manner adverb *así* ‘thus’) to the left periphery through focalisation after being base-generated in VP. The adverb eventually becomes base-generated in the left periphery, after being grammaticalised as an EPPA:

- (13) a. [CP ... [FocP ... [PolP ... [TP ... [VP fago así]]]]]
do.1SG thus
b. [CP ... [FocP ... [PolP ... [TP así/sí_i [VP fago t_i]]]]
thus do.1SG
c. [CP ... [FocP así/sí_i [PolP t_i [TP ... [VP fago t_i]]]]]
thus/yes do.1SG
d. [CP ... [FocP sí [PolP [TP [VP]]]]]
yes

From Batllori and Hernanz (2008:14)

As it can be seen in (13), *sí* starts off as a manner adverb in its base-generated position in VP, and through a process of fronting to FocP to receive a *Verum Focus* reading, it grammaticalises as a positive polarity marker. As such, it is no longer moved but base-generated in PolP in the left periphery, to then be focalised in FocP, locus of emphatic features that allow it to gain scope over the clause (Rizzi 1997; Holmberg 2001; Batllori and Hernanz 2008).

Rodríguez Molina (2014) builds on Batllori and Hernanz's (2013) analysis of *sí* in Old Spanish. Starting from Martins' (2013) classification of the Romance languages based on whether verb movement to PolP is available or not, he establishes that Old Spanish, like Modern Galician and Modern Portuguese, had verb movement to PolP associated to the marking of assertive force, with the difference that he locates PolP in the left periphery, while Martins locates it in the inflectional domain, coinciding with Laka's (1990) Σ P. The trigger of movement to Σ P/PolP (depending on the author) are the strong features hosted in this head, which have to be checked by the verb overtly moving to it in positive declarative clauses.

In languages where PolP/ Σ P attracts the verb, certain syntactic structures become available: namely, V-echo answers and answers with do-support. Both structures involve the elision of TP, possible since it is identical to that of the question answered by the V-echo or do-support answer. The elision of TP is made apparent by the lack of clitics intervening between *sí* and the verb and the lack of postverbal subjects that would otherwise be expected (Martins 2013:109).

The possibility of generating V-echo and do-support answers correlates with the lack of emphatic positive polarity clauses in which Force is spelled out as *que* ‘that’. If a language does not have V-to-PolP, it will have a positive sentential proform that can take a CP headed by *que* ‘that’ as a complement. This is summarised in *Table 1*.

V-to- Σ P/PolP Old Spanish, Modern Galician, Modern Portuguese	No V-to- Σ P/PolP Modern Spanish, Modern Catalan
+ verb echo answers	- verb echo answers
+ do-support answers	- do-support answers
+ <i>sí</i> (<i>que</i>)	+ <i>sí</i> (<i>que</i>)

Table 1 – Features of languages with V-to-Pol vs. features in languages without V-to-Pol

In Old Spanish, V-echo answers can be reinforced by the particle *sí*. They require the verb to move from Pol⁰ to Foc⁰ and *sí* to reinforce the answer, located in SpecFocP. According to Rodríguez Molina (2014), this allows for the elision of FocP’s complement, as shown in (14):

- (14) ¿Conoces esta tierra donde estamos?
 know.2SG this land where are.1PL
 [ForceP [TopP [FocP Sí_j [Foc’ conozco_i [PolP t_i [FinP [TP [T’ t_i [VP t_i ~~esta tierra~~
 t_j]]]]]]]]]
 sí know.1SG this land
 ‘Do you know the land that we are going to?’ ‘Yes, I know [it].’
Amadís, 1.781, *apud* Rodríguez Molina (2014:891)

Do-support answers are by no means a phenomenon exclusive to Old Spanish: they are also found in other Old Romance languages (Benincà and Poletto [2004a] on Monnese, and Roberts [1993] on Old French). In cases of do-support, clausal structure is akin to that of V-echo structures: the verb raises to from TP to FocP through PolP. FocP’s complement is elided and *sí* can co-occur with it to convey emphasis:

- (15) “Desto que nos abino, que uos pese, señor.”
 this that to;us = came.3PL that to;you= burdens lord
 Respondio el Rey: “si fago, sin salve Dios!”.
 answered.3SG the King yes do.1SG without save.PRES.SUBJ.3SG God
 [ForceP [TopP [FocP Sí_j [PolP t_j fago_i [FinP [TP t_i]]]]]] sin salve Dios!”.
 Si do.1SG without save.3SG.PRS.SBJ God
 ‘‘What has happened to us should sadden you, lord’/ The King replied: ‘yes it does, may God save me!’.’
Cid, v. 3040-3042, *apud* Batllori & Hernanz (2008:11)

From (14) and (15), it can be established that both structures involve V-to-Pol in unmarked main clauses (Rodríguez Molina 2014; Sitaridou 2019), subsequent movement to FocP to receive emphasis, and the elision of FocP.

Since Old Spanish was a language that involved V-to-Pol to mark positive assertiveness (Rodríguez Molina 2014; Sitaridou 2019), following Martins (2013) classification of the Romance languages in relation to this property, it is not expected for it to have a positive sentential proform. Indeed, this is the case, since *sí* had not yet been grammaticalised and the strategy to encode emphatic positive polarity was the raising of the verb from T-to-Pol-to-Foc.

In this section, we have overviewed analyses of *si* in Old Romance languages, focusing on Old Spanish. It has been established that in Old Spanish, *sí* had not yet been grammaticalised as an emphatic polarity particle. Instead, it appeared only to reinforce the expression of positive polarity in V-echo and do-support structures.

4. *Sí* in Old Catalan

The distribution of Old Catalan *sí*³ differs substantially from the distribution of *sí* in the Old Romance languages reviewed in the previous section. Old Catalan data suggests that in this language, *sí* behaved in a more innovative manner than in the other varieties, having not only already been grammaticalised as an EPPA by the 13th century, but also being already used as a positive sentential proform. Firstly, we consider Old Catalan against Martins’ (2013) classification of the Romance languages. Secondly, the different contexts in which *sí* is found are evaluated and their syntax is described.

Martins (2013), as shown in Table 1, establishes a correlation between the existence of V-to-PolP with the availability of V-echo and do-support answers. In Pujol i Campeny (2018), the lack of verb movement to the left periphery in unmarked main declarative clauses in Old Catalan is extensively proved: Old Catalan, like its modern counterpart, was an SVO language in which the verb remained in the inflectional domain in unmarked declarative clauses. Not only did Old Catalan differ from Old Spanish and Old and Modern Portuguese in this respect, but it also differed from them in having two positive sentential proforms: one shared with Old Occitan,⁴ *òc*, and *sí*.

Òc derives from the Latin demonstrative pronoun *HOC*, ‘this’. In LFRJ, it is exclusively found as a sentential proform, and never in conjunction with V-echo or do-support structures, nor as an EPPA that occurs in fully fledged clauses or with a CP as its complement: *òc* only ever appears as the answer of yes/no questions, as illustrated in examples (16) and (17):

- (16) E dixem -li: “Eres tu ab lo comenador?”
and said.1PL=to;him are.2SG you with the head knight
e él dix: “seyor, **och**”.
and he said.3SG lord yes
‘And we said to him: ‘Were you with the head knight?’ and he said ‘Lord, **yes**’.’
LdF, fol. 103r, l. 16

- (17) E·l comte responia-li: “Sèyer, **hoc**. Per Déu, merçè!”
and;the count answered=to.him lord yes by God mercy
‘And the count answered him: ‘Lord, **yes**. By Lord, mercy!’.’
CBD, p. III.33, l. 16

Apart from *òc*, in Old Catalan, the particle *sí* could already express positive polarity. Instances of polarity-linked *sí* in *LdF*, *CBD* and *LdCJC* can be classified in 5

³ While in Modern Catalan and Modern Spanish, the convention is to distinguish emphatic positive polarity *sí* from the conditional conjunction *si* orthographically by means of a diacritic, this is not always the case in Old Catalan and Old Spanish texts. Here, I will respect the editors’ decision in adding the diacritic to the emphatic polarity particle, and I will rely on the glosses to show the difference in meaning.

⁴ In the texts used for the purpose of this article, several spellings of *òc* are attested: *hoc*, etymologically connected to the Latin demonstrative pronoun *HOC*, and *òch*, with the Old Catalan spelling of word-final /k/.

categories: (i) occurrences of *sí* in fully fledged main clauses; (ii) *sí* V-echo; (iii) *sí* do-support; (iv) *sí* in infinitival clauses; and (v) *sí* as a sentential proform. Table 2 shows the frequency in which each of these structures is attested in each of the works.^{5 6}

Syntactic context	Llibre dels Fets	Crònica de Bernat Desclot	Llibre de Cort de Justícia de Cocentaina	Total	%
Positive Polarity <i>sí</i> in fully fledged main clauses	19	27	1	47	36%
<i>Sí</i> V-echo	7			7	5%
<i>Sí</i> do-support	2	2	1	5	4%
<i>Sí</i> + Inf	-	-	3	3	2%
Proform	1	1	65	67	52%
Total	29	30	70	129	100%

Table 2 – Distribution of *sí* in *LdF*, *CBD* and *LdCJC*

As shown in Table 2, the distribution of *sí* differs substantially depending on the text's genre: in *LdF* and *CBD*, both chronicles, *sí*'s occurrences are strikingly more frequent in fully fledged main clauses, while in *LdCJC* it is the proform use of *sí* that is the most attested. *Sí* in V-echo structures is only attested in *LdF*, while *sí* + INF is only found in *LdCJC*. *Sí* + do support is found across the three texts while displaying low frequency.

In what follows, we describe each of the syntactic contexts in which *sí* is found.

4.1 *Sí* in fully fledged clauses

There are 47 occurrences of *sí* as a positive polarity particle in fully fledged clauses (with no VP elision) across the three works consulted.⁷ Syntactically, these clauses present the following features: (i) *sí* is always verb adjacent, (ii) object and adverbial clitics can appear between *sí* and the verb, and (iii) topical material can precede *sí*. This is illustrated in examples (18)-(21):

- (18) E metem mà a ·iii· guaytes fer.
 and put.1PL hand to 3 watches make.INF
 [La una guayta] **sí** era als genys, e a les
 the one watch indeed was to;the war machines and to the
 cledes la altra, **sí** era contra la porta de Barbelec.
 fences the other indeed was againstthe door of Barbalec

⁵ We have not been able to find any cases of V-echo or do-support without *sí* in the works consulted. This does not exclude this possibility elsewhere.

⁶ The fixed expression '*sí Déus* ajut', found in all Old Gallo Romance languages as well as in Old Spanish, is not considered in this article given its idiomatic and fixed nature.

⁷ *Sí*, analysed as an EPPA in declarative clauses, will be translated as 'indeed', 'certainly' and emphasis on auxiliaries depending on which choice is more idiomatic in English.

‘And we decided to set up three watching posts. One, WAS next to the catapults, and at the wooden fortress, there WAS the other, against the gate of Barbalec.’

LdF, fol. 48r, l. 19

- (19) Si homes del món àn mala fama, nós **sí**
if men of;the world have.3PL bad reputation we indeed
la havem bona.
it have.1PL good

‘If some men in the world have bad reputation, ours is **indeed** good.’

LdF, fol. 29r, l. 10

- (20) Quant lo senescalç hac conegut lo rey, sí li volc
when the butler has met the king indeed to;him= want.3SG
besar la mà, mas lo rey no ho volc.
kiss.INF the hand but the king not it wanted.3SG
‘After meeting the king, the butler **certainly** wanted to kiss his hand, but the king did not want him to.’

CBD, p. III, 162, l 16

- (21) E anch per aquesta paraula nengú no-s moch,
and never for this speech no one not;himself= moved.3SG
e **sí** la hoïren tots.
and sí it heard.3PL all

‘And no one at all budged because of this speech, and they all had **indeed** heard it.’

LdF, fol. 49r, l. 13

In (18), *sí* occurs between the topical subject, *la una guayta*, ‘one of the watches’, and the verb *era* ‘it was’. In (19), *sí* is preceded again by the clause’s subject, *nós* ‘we’. In contrast, in (20), *sí* is preceded by a temporal embedded clause, located in the Frame Field. The indirect object clitic pronoun *li* ‘to him’ appears between *sí* and the verb. In (21), an object clitic intervenes between *sí* and the verb, and the clause’s subject, *tots* ‘all’ appears postverbally. Therefore, up to this point, it can be established that the distribution of *sí* in Old Catalan differs significantly from the description of the distribution of *sí* in Old Spanish in that (i) *sí* can be preceded by topical material; (ii) there is no elision of projections below it given that postverbal constituents may follow the *sí* V sequence; and (iii) clitic pronouns can appear between *sí* and the verb.

All instances of *sí* in fully fledged main clauses have one thing in common: they occur within the scope of a non-veridical licensing environment (Giannakidou 1998, 1999, 2001, 2008 and subsequent). Giannakidou’s non-veridicality model accounts for the distribution and licensing of polarity items, defined as follows:

- (22) Polarity item
a. A polarity item α is an expression whose distribution is limited by sensitivity to some semantic property β of the context of its appearance.
b. B is non-veridicality.

Giannakidou defines non-veridical operators as in (23):

- (23) “An operator *Op* is non-veridical iff the truth of *Op p* in *c* does not require that *p* be true in some such model in *c*”. Giannakidou (1998:112)

In other words, a non-veridical operator does not require a proposition to be true in some of the models (set of worlds) of a specific context. Most importantly, a non-veridical operator does not entail the falsity of the proposition.

Polarity Items (PIs) fall in two different categories: Negative Polarity Items (NPIs), and Positive Polarity Items (PPIs). However, here we are concerned with PPIs, since *sí* comes to be a PPI in the Modern Romance languages. PPIs, as shown by Ernst (2009), do not merely occur in assertive contexts: they can also appear in non-veridical ones. Giannakidou (1998) identified the following non-veridical contexts as potential licensors of PIs:

- (24) Non-veridical contexts in which PIs are licensed
- i. Monotone quantifiers
 - ii. Modal verbs
 - iii. Intentional verbs
 - iv. Non-declarative clauses: interrogative, imperative and exclamative clauses.
 - v. Protasis of conditionals, conditional clauses, before-clauses
 - vi. Habitual tenses
 - vii. Future tenses
 - viii. Non-veridical implicatures

Invariably, all the Old Catalan instances of *sí* in fully fledged main clauses occur within the scope of non-veridical licensors. This is shown in (25)-(31), where several cases of *sí* that occur in fully fledged main clauses are reproduced with their licensing context. With the context in hand, it is possible to identify the non-veridical licensor of *sí*, which may be explicitly expressed in the context or implied (see Giannakidou [1998] for an overview of indirect licensing of PIs):

- (25) La dona féu cercar cavallers qui la
 the woman made.3SG search.INF knights who her=
 descolpassen per batalla, e no podia trobar qui
 exculpated.3PL.SBJV by battle and not could.3SG find.INF who
 per ella se volgués combatre. E **sí** havia a
 for her himself= wanted.3PL.SBJV fight.INF and indeed had.3SG to
 molts cavallers grans dons donats e gran honor feita (...).
 many knights great gifts given and great honour done
 ‘The woman searched for knights who could exculpate her by fighting on
 her behalf and she could not find who would want to fight for her. And she
 had **indeed** made great gifts and paid homage to many knights (...).’
CBD, II.47, line 18

Licensor: implicature derived from the preceding clause, where it is stated that no one would fight for her, implying that she had not made gifts and paid homage to knights who would.

- (26) Context: Certa cosa és que·l nostre naximent se féu per vertut de Déu, car no·s volien bé nostre pare ni nostra mare,
‘It is indeed true that our birth took place by virtue of God, since our father and mother did not love each other,’

e **sí** fo volentat de Déu que nasquem en
and **sí** was will of God that be born.1PL.PRS.SBJV in
aquest món.
this world

‘And **indeed**, it was God’s will that we were born in this world.’

LdF, fol. 28r, l. 15

Licensor: Implicature derived from the preceding clause. Since his father and his mother did not love each other, his birth was unlikely to happen.

- (27) E si volets saber com foren albergats,
and if want.2PL know.INF how were.3PL sheltered
sí ·ls mès hom en una esgleya (...)
indeed;them put.3SG one in one church
‘And if you want to know how they were sheltered, they were **indeed** put in a church (...)’

CBD, p. III. 106, line 18

Licensor: preceding protasis.

- (28) Si homes del món àn mala fama, nós **sí**
if men of;the worldhave.3PL bad reputation we **sí**
la havem bona.
it have.1PL good
‘Even if some men of the world have bad reputation, ours is **certainly** good.’

LdF, fol. 29r, l. 10

Licensor: preceding protasis.

- (29) E metem mà a ·iii· guaytes fer.
and put.1PL hand to 3 watches make.INF
La una guayta **sí** era als genys, e a les cledes
the one watch **sí** was to;the war machines and to the fences
la altra, **sí** era contra la porta de Barbelec.
the other **sí** was against the door of Barbalec
‘And we decided to set up three watching posts. One, was **certainly** next to the catapults, the other was **certainly** at the wooden fortress, which was against the gate of Barbalec.’

LdF, fol. 48r, l. 19

Licensor: monotone quantifiers ‘three’ and ‘una’.

- (30) E anch per aquesta paraula nengú no·s moch,
and never for this speech no one not;himself= moved.3SG

e *sí* la hoïren tots.
 and *sí* it heard.3PL all
 ‘And no one at all budged because of this speech, and they all had **indeed** heard it.’

LdF, fol. 49r, l. 13

Licensor: implicature derived from preceding clause: since no one moved after the speech, it is possible to infer that they had not heard it.

- (31) E ja·s fos que nós haguéssem a entrar
 and already be.3SG.PST.SBJV that we had.1PL.PST.SBJV to entry.INF
 en guerra ab lo rey de Castella, ab tot açò,
 in war with the king of Castille with all this
sí·ns era bo el pleyt per ·iii· raons: (...) *(...)*
sí=to;us was good the dispute for 3 reasons
 ‘And even if we had to wage war against the king of Castille, with all this, the conflict would **certainly** be good for us for three reasons.’

LdF, fol. 71r, l. 7

Licensor: preceding protasis, introduced by the concessive conjunction *jatsia* ‘even if’.

As it can be seen in examples (25-31), *sí* consistently occurs within the scope of a non-veridical licensor, be it overtly expressed or implied. *Sí* is used to ascertain the truth of a declarative clause against the non-veridical background; therefore, it can be established that in fully fledged clauses, *sí* is already a PPI licensed by non-veridical contexts in fully fledged clauses.

In terms of clausal structure, Old Catalan *sí* in fully fledged clauses requires an analysis that can account for its strict adjacency to the verb, with clitics being the only element that can intervene between them. Furthermore, it needs to allow for the presence of topical elements (see (19) and (20)) and the possibility of VP material occurring postverbally.

Old Catalan, like Modern Catalan and Modern Spanish, had a type of focalisation linked to drawing emphasis to the positive polarity of a proposition and the rejection of all negative alternative readings of the same proposition referred to as *Verum Focus* (Krifka 2008; Leonetti and Escandell Vidal 2009:182).

In Pujol i Campeny (2018), following Batllori and Hernanz’s (2015) analysis for this construction in Modern Catalan, I propose that the underlying syntactic structure of *Verum Focus* is connected to that of emphatic positive polarity, since it is also licensed in non-veridical contexts (Batllori and Hernanz 2015:293).⁸ In *Verum Focus* (i) a constituent or head is fronted to the left periphery, to SpecFocP; (ii) the

⁸ While in Old Catalan *Verum Focus* or Weak Focus Fronting, as labelled by Batllori and Hernanz (2009, 2015) could apply to a variety of constituents, in Modern Catalan it is restricted to Quantifier Phrases (Quer 2002) and requires the right dislocation of postverbal elements in order to avoid nuclear stress befalling upon them, which would generate infelicitous clauses. The categorical restrictions of *verum Focus* or Weak Focus Fronting in Modern Catalan has favoured the grammaticalisation of more positive polarity particles than in other varieties where it is still available, such as Modern Spanish.

esmena que nós faríem a él seria molta (...).
 amend that we do.1PL to him be.3SG.COND much
 ‘And we answered that: ‘What we have done of it, we have done rightfully,
 and that we would not make any corrections to it’. And they said that **yes**,
 we would do [make a correction], that the correction that we would make
 would be much for him.’
LdF, fol. 13r, l. 21

- (36) E, hoïdes les paraules, respòs Don Nuno e dix -li:
 and heard the words answered.1PL Sir Nuno and. said-3SG=to;him
 ‘En açò que vós deïts que no tenits al
 in this that you say.2PL that not have.2PL to;the
 rey nostre gran tort, **sí** tenits, quan li presés
 king ours great offence indeed have.2PL when to;him take.2SG
 una tarida de son regne.
 a boat of his kingdom
 ‘And, after hearing these words, Don Nuno answered back and said to him:
 ‘What you say that you have not committed a great offence against our king,
yes you have, when you have taken a boat from his kingdom’.’
LdF, fol. 45, l. 21

- (37) E nós volguem saber dels altres si eren
 and we wanted.1PL know.INF of;the others if were.3PL
 en aquel consel, e atorgaren tots que **sí** eren.
 in that meeting and decided.3PL all that indeed were.3PL
 ‘And we wanted to know whether the others were in that meeting and they
 all said that they were **indeed**.’
LdF, fol. 104v, l. 26

In (35-37) Old Catalan clauses with V-echo, *sí* is always present. In (35), V-echo appears in reaction to a negative statement and reverses its polarity. In (36), the *sí* V-echo answer also reverses the polarity of the preceding statement, overtly negative. Finally, in (37), we can see that the licensing context is an indirect question introduced by *si* ‘whether’.

From these examples, it can be established that Old Catalan *sí* V-echo does not only occur as an answer to direct questions: it can be licensed by non-veridical contexts, as it was the case with *sí* in fully fledged clauses. Secondly, as we can see in (37), *sí* V-echo can also appear within indirect reported speech: it appears within a complement clause introduced by the subordinator *que* ‘that’.¹⁰ Examples (38) and (39) constitute a minimal pair between a *sí* V-echo case in (38), and a parallel example with no *sí* V-echo, in (39):

- (38) E nós respõem que: ‘Ço que nós n’ avem feyt, que
 and we answered.1PL that this which we of;it.CL=have.1PL done that

¹⁰ Complement clauses have been shown to crosslinguistically display root phenomena (Hooper & Thompshon 1973; Haegeman 2003; Haegeman 2009; Haegeman 2010 and subsequent).

u havem feyt ab dret', e que neguna esmena no
 it have.1PLdone with right and that no amend not
 li· n faríem. E éls dixeren que
 to;him.CL= of;it.CL= do.1PL and they said.3PL that
 sí faéssem, que aquela esmena que nós faríem
 indeed do.1PL.PRS.SBJV that that amend that we do.1PL
 a él seria molta (...).
 to him be.3SG.COND much

‘And we answered that: ‘What we have done of it, we have done rightfully, and that we would not make any corrections to it’. And they said that **yes**, we would do [make a correction], that the correction that we would make would be much for him.’

LdF, fol. 13r, l. 21

- (39) E pregam-lo que (...) él que romangués en nostre
 and begged.1PL=to;him that he that remained in our
 loch en Maylorques, e que manaríem als cavallers
 place in Mallorca and that ordered.1PL.COND to;the knights
 e a tots los altres hòmens que faessen per él
 and to all the other men that do.3PL.PST.SBJV for him
 axí con farien per nós. E él dix -nos que u faria.
 as do.3PL.COND for us and he said=to;us that it do.3SG.COND
 ‘And we begged him to remain in Mallorca on our behalf, and that we would order the knights and all the other men that they would act towards him as they act towards us. And he said that he would do it.’
LdF, fol. 57v, l. 5

In (38) (a repetition of (35) for convenience), *sí* V-echo appears in an embedded clause, complement of *dixeren* ‘they said’. In the immediate context, the statement of the embedded complement clause containing *sí* had been overtly denied. In contrast, in (39), the *verbum dicendi* *dix-nos* ‘he told us’ reports the answer to a previous command. The complement echoes the verb of the command, but *sí* is absent and an object clitic pronoun occurs proclitically, producing a positive answer to the command. This minimal pair allows us to safely reach the conclusion that *sí* is only used to encode emphatic positive polarity, and not simply positive polarity, which could be conveyed by means of unmarked declarative clauses with no overt negation. What is then the structural difference that accounts for the fact that *sí* can co-occur with object clitics in fully fledged clauses conveying positive polarity while it cannot in V-echo cases? Before attempting to answer this key question, we need to consider cases of do-support in Old Catalan, given that they pattern syntactically with V-echo and that they are an important piece of the positive polarity puzzle.

4.3 Do-Support

Examples (40-42) reproduce three cases of *sí* do-support found in *LdF* and *CBD*. Structurally, they are very similar to *sí* V-echo clauses: there is no material intervening between *sí* and the verb, not even clitics. All *sí* + do-support cases occur within reported speech sequences, be them direct or indirect.

- (40) Context: King Alphonse of Aragon has been killed in battle with no heir. Aragonese knights ask his brother, Ramir II, a monk, to take up the role. He replies: _
‘Barons – dix lo monge – ‘**sí** faré, ab ·i·
sirs said.3SG the monk indeed do.1SG.FUT with one
covinent (...)’
condition
‘‘Sirs’, the monk said, ‘**yes**, I will, with one condition (...)’.’
CBD, p. II. 14, l. 16
- (41) (...) sol que la guardassen de les sagetes. E nós
only that her kept.3PL from the arrows and we
dixem-li que **sí** faríem.
said=to;her that **sí** do.1PL.COND
‘(...) as long as they would guard her from the arrows. And we said to her
that we would **indeed** do it.’
LdF, fol. 24v, l. 14
- (42) E, quan vench en l’altre dia, tornam -lo veer
and when came.3SG on the;other day do;again.1PL =him see.INF
e enviam -lo a pregar que·ns prestàs ·c·mília sous,
and sent.1PL=him to beg-inf that=to;us lend.2SG.PRS.SBJV 100,000 sous
e él dix que **sí** faría ab que nós li ho
and he said-3SG that si do.3PL.COND with that we to;him=it=
asseguràssem.
ensured.1PL.PST.SBJV
‘And, on the following day, we went back to see him, and sent someone to
beg him that he would lend us 100,000 sous and he said that he would
indeed do it, as long as we would provide a guarantee.’
LdF, fol. 74r, l. 15

All three examples are found in non-veridical licensing environments. In (40), it is the direct question asked by the Aragonese men to Ramir II. In (41), it is the indirect question conveyed in the protasis that precedes the *sí* do-support answer. Finally, in (42) the licensing context is the intentional verb *pregar*. Therefore, we can establish that the presence of *sí* in do-support answers is also licensed by non-veridical contexts, as it is the case with *sí* V-echo structures and *sí* in fully fledged clauses. Given these similarities, we presume that the underlying structure of *sí* V-echo and *sí* do-support is the same.¹¹

4.4 *Sí* in infinitival clauses

Furthermore, in *LdCJC*, we find two cases of *sí* co-occurring with the negative adverb *no*:

¹¹ As kindly pointed out by one of the reviewers of this article, the expression *sí/no fa* ‘yes it does/does not’, is still in use as an emphatic means to answer to yes/no questions in Valencia, Majorca and Ibiza varieties, according to the Diccionari Català Valencià Balear entry of *sí*.

(43)

- a. Fo demanada si sap que·l dit Vidal
 was.3SG asked if knows that;the aforementioned Vidal
 degués altre deute al dit en Bernat.
 owed.3SG.SBJV other debt to;the aforementioned sir Bernat
 Dix que no·s sap.
 said.3SG that not=3.SG.REFL knows
 Fo demanada sobre totes altres entergacions e circumstàncies
 was asked about all other details and circumstances
 del feyt, e dix sí no saber àl re.
 Of;the matter and said.3SG indeed not know.INF other thing
 ‘She was asked if she knew whether Vidal had any other debts towards the
 aforementioned Sir Bernat. She said that she did not know. She was asked
 about all the other details and circumstances around the matter, and she
 said that she did indeed know nothing else.’
LdCJC, book 6, 145
- b. [CP ... [FocP [SpecFocP S_i [F' [Foc] [PolP [Pol' [Pol Pol + t_i]]] [TP [ΣP [Σ' [Σ no [T'
 [T] [vP saber àl re]]]]]]]]]]

In (43), *sí* is found within an infinitival complement clause that acts as the direct object of the verb *dix* ‘she said’. Assuming Puntain’s (1999) and Sitaridou’s (2002) analysis for personal infinitives as declarative complements in Old Spanish, we consider that (43) is a learned construction borrowed from Latin’s Accusative-Infinitive construction. Interestingly, the infinitive is projected with a left periphery where *sí* can be hosted. The co-occurrence of *sí* and *no* within the same clause is not a problem for our analysis, since the former encodes relative polarity features in the left periphery and the latter absolute polarity features within the inflectional domain, with scope over the predicate and not over the whole proposition. The co-occurrence of *sí* marking emphatic positive polarity and *no* simply encoding negation is also possible in Modern Catalan, backing up the idea of the existence of two polarity related constructions.

With this in mind, the analysis required to account for the distribution of *sí* in Old Catalan has to explain the differences between those cases in which *sí* appears in fully fledged clauses, without VP ellipsis and with clitics intervening between *sí* and the verb, and *sí* V-echo and *sí* do-support structures. But before proposing an analysis that may account for both these contexts, a last use of *sí* in Old Catalan needs to be considered: *sí* as a positive sentential proform competing with *òc*.

4.5 *Sí* as a positive sentential proform

As has been illustrated in examples (16) and (17) above, Old Catalan, like Old Occitan, had grammaticalised the Latin neuter demonstrative HOC into the positive sentential proform *òc*. However, data from the *LdCJC* shows that by the 13th century, *sí* had already been grammaticalised as a positive sentential proform which displayed a distribution very similar to that of *sí* in Modern Catalan: it appears as the answer to yes/no questions in reported indirect speech, and it can either occur on its own, asserting the positive value of the proposition introduced in the interrogative clause, or followed by the complementiser *que*, conveying emphatic positive polarity. The positive sentential proform usage is illustrated in examples (44)-(46):

- (44) E nós dixem: ‘Batayla?’ e dix ell:
and we said.1PL battle and said.3SG he
Sí, seyor, que certament hi devem ésser est matí.
yes sir that indeed there must.1PL be.INF this morning
‘And we said: ‘Battle?’, and he said: ‘**Yes**, sir, because we have to be there
this same morning.’
LdF, fol. 100v, l. 16¹²
- (45) E fo demanat P(ere) Alcoy si vol ren dir
and was.3SG asked Pere Alcoy whether wants anything say.INF
a la dita dels testimonis. Dix que **sí** e (...)
to the declaration of;the witnesses said.3SG that yes and
‘And it was asked to Pere Alcoy if he wanted to say anything about the
witnesses’ intervention. He said that **yes** and (...)’
LdCJC, Book 2, 42
- (46) E fo demanat Paschal de Xivert si ho podia
and was.3SG asked Paschal de Xivert whether it=could.3SG
provar. Dix que **sí** e vanà provar (...)
prove.INF said.3SG that yes and boasted.3SG prove.INF
‘And Pasqual de Xivert was asked if he could prove it. He said that **yes** and
presented as proof (...)’
LdCJC, Book 3, 57

The negative sentential proform *no* ‘no’ displays exactly the same distribution as *sí*: it appears as an answer standing for a whole proposition in answers to yes/no questions in indirect speech.

- (47) Fo demanat Abdumelich si él vené al
was.3SG asked Abdumelich whether he sold.3SG to;the
dit J(ohan) la arrova d’oli per III sous e III diners. Dix
said Joan the quarter of;oil for 3 sous and 4 cents said.3SG
que **no**.
that no
‘It was asked to Abdumelich whether he had sold to the aforementioned
Joan the quarter of oil for 4 sous and 3 cents. He said that he did **not**.’
LdCJC, Book 2, 90

¹² In a previous version of this article I suggested that (44) could potentially be understood as a case of *sí* taking a complement clause as a complement, headed by *que*. However, the intervention of the vocative *seyor* ‘lord’ between *sí* and *que* should not be possible if that were the case. Therefore, I take (44) to be the only instance of *sí* as a positive sentential proform found in *LdF*, and *que* to be introducing an embedded adverbial clause, probably causative, or alternatively, quotative.

We assume that the structure of positive and negative answers via sentential proforms in Old Catalan is parallel to the structure proposed by Holmberg (2015), which we reproduce here, applied to example (45):

- (48) a. Question: [CP do [IP you [\pm Pol] want to say anything else]]
 Paraphrase: ‘What is the value of [\pm Pol] such that “you [\pm Pol] want to say something else” is true?’
 b. Affirmative answer: ‘sí’ + PolP elision
 [CP [FocP Sí [FOC] [PolP [Pol’ [+Pol_i] [TP ~~jo vuy l ren dir~~]]]]]

Both in the case of affirmative and negative answers, the TP is elided since it is identical to that of the question, and thus, the polarity particle acts as a sentential proform and stands in place of a full declarative clause. Based on this evidence, we conclude that like *òc*, *sí* was already a positive sentential proform by the 13th century.

4.6 An analysis

We agree with Batllori and Hernanz (2013) and Rodríguez-Molina (2014) in assuming that *sí*'s V-echo and do-support answers are amongst the contexts where *sí* could have been reanalysed, but they are not the only ones. As it has been extensively shown in this section, in the 13th century, *sí* frequently appears in narrative texts in fully fledged clauses as an EPPA. Therefore, we propose that it is in main clauses within the scope of non-veridical operators that *sí* was reanalysed as an EPPA and lent itself to then be grammaticalised as a positive sentential proform in the context of answers to yes/no questions.

On the view of the data presented, 13th century Old Catalan displays a complex picture in regard to the syntax of *sí*. It can appear in three different types of structures that display significant differences in relation to syntactic structure, as it is summarised in *Table 3*:

	<i>Sí</i> in fully fledged clauses	<i>Sí</i> V-echo <i>Sí</i> do-support
Non-veridical licensing context	+	+
<i>Sí</i> – cl – V	+	-
VP ellipsis	-	+

Table 3 – Features of the constructions with sí

For *sí* in fully fledged clauses, we have proposed an analysis in (34), which we reproduce here for the reader's convenience:

- (49) *Sí* in Old Catalan main clauses
 [Force [Top [SpecFocP Sí_i [FocP V_j [PolP t_i [Pol’ +t_j [TP t_j [VP t_j ...]]]]]]]]

This analysis accounts for *sí*'s EPPA status, it assumes that *sí* is base-generated in PolP, and that it moves to SpecFocP to receive emphatic reading. At that point, similarly to wh-operators, with which it is mutually exclusive, it attracts the verb to Pol⁰, to value it positively, and then to Foc⁰, to provide it with emphatic value. This explains why subjects cannot intervene between *sí* and the verb, while they can occur in TopP when left dislocated, as we have seen in (19), and the possibility of having

the complement of this projection could be elided and yield *sí* V-echo and *sí* do-support constructions. These constructions would be derived as in (53):

- (53) [_{ForceP} ... [_{FocP} *Sí*_j [_{Foc'} *V*_i [_{PolP} *t*_i [_{FinP} ... [TP [T' *t*_i [_{VP} *t*_i *t*_j]]]]]]]]]
Rodríguez Molina (2014:890)

Old Catalan did not have verb movement to the left periphery in unmarked main clauses (Pujol i Campeny 2018, 2019). Therefore, these analyses are not readily applicable to the Old Catalan data unless we assume that in these structures, there is independent movement of the verb from TP-to- Σ P/PolP-FocP, where the complement of FocP could be elided, preventing the spell out of lower copies of the verb and the apparition of lower VP material.

This being the case, it can be postulated that Old Catalan had two competing strategies for the expression of emphatic positive polarity, an archaising one on its way out akin to those of Old Spanish with V-to- Σ P/PolP, and an emerging structure, akin to that found in Modern Spanish. The key difference between both structures is *sí* in fully fledged clauses, requires the lexical item *sí* to have already been reanalysed as an EPPA that triggers the movement of the verb to Foc^o, while to produce *sí* v-echo and *sí* do-support structures, there needs to be independent verb movement to Pol^o. This situation can be accounted for if we postulate the existence of two grammars for the encoding of emphatic positive polarity in Old Catalan: one strongly connected to *Verum Focus*, with *sí* base-generated in PolP and verb movement to the left periphery to value PolP, and one in which the verb independently raises to the left periphery without the need of another constituent moving to it, and the complement of the projection to which it is moved is elided.

Therefore, we can conclude that Old Catalan was the first Old Romance language to grammaticalise *sí* as an EPPA. We can also establish that the existence of V-echo and do-support strategies suggests that at some point, the language did have V-to- Σ P/PolP, a type of movement that by the 13th century it was only preserved in archaising V-echo and do support constructions, that failing to be perceived as markers of emphatic positive polarity on their own, always co-occurred with *sí*.

Furthermore, as shown in section 4.6, Old Catalan had gone a step further and had grammaticalised *sí* as a positive sentential proform, competing with *òc*:

- (54) [CP [_{FocP} *Sí* [_{Foc}] [_{PolP} [_{Pol'} [+~~Pol~~_i] [TP]]]]]]

This analysis strengthens the hypothesis that Old Catalan does not fit in the V2 generalisations that have been proposed for Old Romance word order (Benincà 1984; Vanelli, Renzi, and Benincà 1986; Roberts 1993; Benincà 2006, 2004; Wolfe 2015a, among others), and that it can provide us with very valuable data regarding the evolution of the Romance languages.

In the case of the grammaticalisation of *sí* into a positive sentential proform, we agree with Batllori and Hernanz (2013) and Rodríguez Molina (2014) that is reanalysed as a sentential proform in answers to direct or indirect yes/no questions, where it was first used as an EPPA within the scope of a non-veridical operator. Therefore, we propose that the grammaticalisation path of *sí* from a manner adverb (an XP) to a positive sentential proform (a head) is the following:

- (55) a. [CP ... [FocP ... [PolP ... [TP ... [VP SIC]]]]]
 thus
 b. [CP ... [FocP *Sí*_i [PolP ... [TP [VP *t_i]]]]]
 thus
 c. [CP ... [FocP *Sí*_i [PolP + *t_i* [TP [VP]]]]
 indeed
 d. [CP ... [FocP *Sí*_i [PolP + *t_i* [TP [VP]]]]
 yes*

SIC starts off as a manner adverb, a maximal category, based-generated within VP (Cinque 1999). This adverb often underwent fronting to convey *Verum* focus and gain scope over the predicate. That is, the action described in the proposition was done in one specific way and no other. It was in this context that *sí* was then reanalysed as an EPPA: instead of being base-generated in VP, like manner adverbs, it became associated to emphatically asserting a proposition and base-generated in PolP where it values relative polarity features. Once base-generated in PolP, *sí* undergoes categorical change, as it becomes a head and a sentential proform, like its negative counterpart *no*. Through its appearance in the answers of yes/no questions, which are identical to their question, it becomes reanalysed as a positive sentential proform, which, like *òc* is base-generated in Pol⁰, moves to the Foc⁰ to convey emphasis, and allows for the elision of TP, which is identical to the question’s.

These findings set the date of grammaticalisation of *sí* as a positive sentential proform back to 13th century. Batllori and Hernanz (2008:ft. 19) suggest that *òc* was the positive sentential proform in use in Old Catalan until the 14th century. While *òc* is indeed attested until the 15th century in CICA, the data presented here shows that the competition between *sí* and *òc* starts earlier than it was previously believed. In *LdCJC*, 65 cases of *sí* used as a positive sentential proform are attested, while *òc* is only found in two occasions. The reverse is true of *LdF* and *CBD*: in these two texts, *òc* is the most frequent positive sentential proform, while *sí* is only attested once in *LdF* and never in *CBD*, in spite of already being grammaticalised when these texts were written, as we have shown. The distribution of these two forms, which were already in competition, is determined by register, as shown extensively in Pujol i Campeny (in press).

In *LdCJC*, stretches of reported speech uttered by the people involved in the recorded legal actions are reproduced. Interestingly, the only two cases of *òc* that occur in this text are attributed to the same person, Ramon Escrivan, and belong to book 1, written in 1269. Torró (2009) suggests that Ramon Escrivan might have been in charge of the Cocentaina’s notary offices, where the legal records were produced. The language of Ramon Escrivan, a literate man holding one of the most important positions in town and whose election had to be validated by the King himself, must have differed from the language of his contemporary laymen, who resorted to the notary to put into writing petty conflicts with neighbours and mundane legal acts such as the signature of loan contracts. One of the differences seems to be the choice of positive sentential proform. While Ramon Escrivan chose to use *òc*, the same form used in chronicles narrating the feats of Aragonese kings and in poetry, a genre written exclusively in Occitan until the 15th century, his illiterate contemporaries preferred to use *sí*. More data and a more thorough analysis of the distribution of *sí* and *òc* diachronically is required to obtain a clear picture of the diastatic and diamesic

variables that determined it, but the data presented here points towards the importance of understanding and investigating register and diastratic variation to better understand the evolution of Catalan syntax.

5. Summary of findings

In this article, we have demonstrated that by the 13th century, Old Catalan *sí* had already been grammaticalised as a PPI: it was used to express emphatic positive polarity in non-veridical contexts and it had already been grammaticalised as a positive sentential proform that could answer yes/no questions. It has also been shown that strategies associated with the expression of emphatic positive polarity in the Old Romance languages, such as V-echo and do-support, could only take place in Old Catalan in the presence of *sí* (there are no cases of *sí*-less V-echo or do-support attested in the texts consulted). The appearance of *sí* in these structures points towards the co-existence of two constructions to express emphatic positive polarity in 13th century Old Catalan: a more archaising one, allowing for the production of V-echo and do-support clauses, and a more innovative one, where *sí* had already been grammaticalised as an Emphatic Positive Polarity Item and as positive sentential proform, becoming necessary in V-echo and do-support answers. Furthermore, the data examined for this article has allowed us to establish that *sí* and *òc* were already in competition by the 13th century, at least a century earlier than it was previously believed, and that their distribution responded to register and genre. This suggests that a better understanding of the interaction between syntax, register and genre can greatly broaden our knowledge of the syntax of the Old Romance language and its evolution.

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