

Explorations in the left periphery: The expression of polarity emphasis

The availability of expressions of emphatic polarity in embedded domains may give us an indication as to their syntactic realisation and suggests that the syntactic encoding of emphatic polarity is not uniform cross-linguistically.

Reference

Haegeman, Liliane. (2010) Conditional clauses, Main Clause Phenomena and the syntax of polarity emphasis. Ghent University: GIST.

1. Emphatic polarity as an MCP

1.1. Emphatic polarity bien/si in the Spanish left periphery (Hernanz 2007a,b)

- (1) a. Pepito bien ha comido pasta. (Spanish)
Pepito *bien* have-3SG eaten pasta
'Pepite DID eat pasta.' (Hernanz 2007b :113)
b. [_{ForceP} [_{TopicP} Pepito_j [_{FocusP} *bien* [_{PolP} t_i [_{TP} e_j...]]]]]
- (2) a. Julia {dice / piensa / cree} que bien cantó la soprano
Julia {says / thinks / believes} that indeed sang the soprano
'Julia {says / thinks / believes} that the soprano indeed sang '
(Hernanz to appear (75))
b. *Lamento que bien sean ricos. (Spanish)
Regret-1SG that *bien* be-SUBJ-3PL rich-MASC-PL
(Hernanz 2007a : 145, her (23b))
- (3) a. Como Julia (*bien) fuma, siempre se está quejando. (Spanish)
since Julia (*well) smoke--3SG, she herself be-3SG always complain-PART
(Hernanz 2007b : 130 : (51a))
b. Cuando Pepe (*bien) trabaja, ve la televisión. (Spanish)
when Pepe (*well) work-3SG , he watch-3SG television (Hernanz 2007b :
130 : (51b))
c. Si Pepe (*bien) acaba a tiempo su tesis, ya te lo haré saber. (Hernanz, p.c)
If Pepe (*well) finish-3SG the thesis on time, I you it let-FUT-1SG know

1.2. Sentence final emphatic negation in Northern Italian dialects (Zanuttini 1997, Poletto 2008, 2009)

- (4) a. No ghe so ndà NO. (Veneto)
Not there are gone NOT
'I did NOT go there.' (Poletto 2008)

According to this analysis, NO is always moved from within the NegP where it originates [note omitted] to a Focus position, which, following standard assumptions on the structure of the clause in Italian is located low in the CP area. When NO is in first position, the sentence there is no TP fronting. When NO is in sentence final position, this is the result of a movement of the whole TP to a position, GroundP, which is located in the Topic field, higher than Focus (again following standard assumptions on the CP layer) [note omitted] Poletto (2009:6)

- [4] b. [_{SpecGroundP} [_{TP} no ghe so ndà] [_{GroundP} [_{CPFocus} NO]

[_{FinP} [_{TP} ~~no ghe so ndà~~]] [_{Fin°} [_{TP} ~~no ghe so ndà~~]] (Poletto 2009:6, her (13))

- (5) a Credo che non venga NO
 Believe that not comes NO
 ‘I think that he is not coming at all’
 b Mi ha detto che non viene NO
 Me has told that not comes NO
 ‘He told me that he is not coming at all’ (Poletto 2009: her 38¹)
 c *Mi dispiace che non viene/venga NO. (Northern Italian %)
 me displease-3S that *non* come IND-SUBJ-3SG NO (Poletto 2009 : 37)
- (6) a. Dovrebbe aver finito il suo lavoro per stasera.
 Must-COND-3SG have finished the his work for tonight
 *Quando non lo aveva finito NO, l’ho fatto io. (Italian)
 When non it have-3SG Finished NO it-have 1SG done I
 b. Dovrebbe finire il lavoro per stasera.
 must-COND-3SG finish the work for tonight.
 *Se non lo finisce NO, lo faccio io. (Italian)
 If *non* it finish-3SG NO it do-1SG I (C. Poletto, pc. 22.10.08)
 c. *Se non viene NO... (Italian)
 If not comes NO (Italian)
 If he is not coming,... (Poletto 2009: 9, her (37b))
- (7) a * Che non è venuta NO, non è vero.
 That *non* be-3SG come-PART-F-SG NO, not is true (Poletto, p.c.)
 b *Ho appena finito di leggere
 Have-1SG just finish-PART of read-INF
 l’annuncio che non viene NO. (Italian)
 the announcement that *non* come-3SG NO (Poletto, p.c.)
 c. * Che non potrà venire NO, non lo ha detto . (Italian)
 that *non* can-FUT-3SG come NO, *non* it have-3SG say-PART. (Poletto, p.c.)
 d. * Che non viene al pranzo NO, non lo penso. (Italian)
 that *non* come-3sg to-the meal NO, *non* it think-1SG (Poletto, p.c.)

2. Emphatic polarity expressions in adverbial clauses

2.1. English emphatic do and emphatic auxiliaries

- (8) a. When it DID rain, we got enough water to compensate for the drought.
 b. If it DOES rain, you should water the flower bed.
 c. When he finally HAD left, we were quite relieved.
 d. If he HAD left on time, we would not be in such a mess.
- (9) a. I am surprised that she DID go in the end.
 b. They ignored his claim that he DID know the answer.
 c. That he DID know the answer to the final question was not relevant any more.
 d. That he DID know the answer to that question, I did not expect.

‘focus or emphasis ... on the validity (truth value) of the proposition.’ (Hyman and Watters 1984: 234).

¹ Not all Italian speakers share these judgements (Cardinaletti p.c)

while in some of the languages emphatic assertion through auxiliary focus is generally available in all clause types, in most languages it is restricted to ‘main clause types or embedded clause types that can be assimilated to main clauses’ (1984:256). H&W say that in many languages ‘one or more types of subordinate clauses require [-focus] forms [of the auxiliary, lh]’, in such languages, they propose, ‘focus marking is grammatically, not pragmatically, controlled’ (1984: 256).

2.2. Emphatic negation in (West) Flemish: not a MCP

- (10) a. Oa’t nie en-regende, moesten me de blommen ook wouter geven.
if it not *en* rain-PAST-3SG, must-1PL we the flowers also water give
‘When it DIDN’T rain, we also had to water the flowers.’
(Breitbarth & Haegeman 2008)
- b. Oa’t nie en-regent, moe-j de blommen wouter geven.
if it not *en* rain-3SG, must -2SG you the flowers water give
‘If it DOESN’T rain, you must water the flowers.’ (Breitbarth & Haegeman 2008)
- (11) a. ‘T verwondert myn da-j gie da nie en weet (factive complement)
It surprises me that you you that not *en* know
‘I am surprised that you don’t know that.’
- b. t feit dat-ze zie da nie en wist zegt genoeg (noun complement)
The fact that she she that not *en* knew says enough
‘The fact that she die not know that is telling.’
- c. Dat-ze zie da nie en wist zegt genoeg. (subject clause)
that she she that not *en* knew says enough
‘That she die not know that is telling.’ (West Flemish)

2.3. Portuguese *ele*

Carrilho (2008): ‘presence [of *ele*] correlates with an emphatic effect on the (i) expressive, (ii) command, or (iii) assertive values, respectively assumed by (i) exclamatives and special questions, (ii) imperatives, and (iii) declarative sentences’ (2008: 315).

‘[t]he embedded contexts that allow the EP expletive are not limited to assertive *that*-clauses, however: they also include some adverbial clauses, such as *if*- and *when*- clauses.’ (Carrilho 2008: 317).

- (12) a. Nós, antigamente, cozíamos quando ele vinha o tempo de castanhas –
we in.the.PAST cooked when EXPL came-3SG the time of chestnuts
(que) também dávamos castanhas. (OUT32)
QUE also gave-1PL chestnuts
‘In the past, we used to cook [null object: the pig’s food] when was the chestnuts time – we also used to give [them] chestnuts.’
- b. De vez em quando tem que se lhe dar uma mexidela.
‘You have to stir it every now and then’
E quando ele começa a vir aquela (...), quer dizer, a massa, (...) que ela lá dentro tem
and when EXPL begins A come-INF that mean-3SG the paste QUE it there inside has
aquela coalhada que daqui vai saindo... (MST01)
that curd which from.here goes getting out
‘And when that paste begins to appear – inside, it has that curd that one gets from this...’
- c. Se ela (...) tiver mestra, larga aqueles ovitos;
if it have-FUT.SUBJ queen.bee releases those little.eggs
se ele não tiver mestra, não larga nada.
if EXPL NEG had queen.bee NEG releases anything

‘If it[the hive] has a queen bee, it releases those little eggs; if it doesn’t have any queen bee, it doesn’t release anything.’
(Carrilho 2005: 216, her (159))

- d. Se *ele* alguém disser alguma coisa, (...) diga-lhe que foi à minha ordem.
if EXPL anybody sayFUT.SBJ.3SG anything tell- him that was to my order
‘ If anybody says anything, you tell him that it was done under my orders.’
(Carrilho 2005: 216, her (159))

‘High’ (LP) *ele* and ‘low’ (TP) *ele*

- (13) Ele aqui debaixo tenho ele assim uma pias para os pequeninos,
Expl here under [this] have-1SG EXPL thus some sinks to the small.ones
para là comeerm.
to there eat-INFL-3PL

‘Here, under this, I have some sinks for the small ones, for them to eat here’. (Carrilho 2005: 246, her (217))

3. Two sites for Polarity focus

Syntactic markers of emphasis that implicate an operator in the left periphery are MCP; syntactic markers of emphasis that are TP internal are not MCP: they are lower than the launch site of operator movement that derives adverbial (temporal/conditional) clauses.

- (14) a. Anh (kho`ng) co` mua sa`ch!
PRN NEG CO buy book
‘He DID (did NOT) buy the book!’
b. Chi (kho`ng) co` di la`m!
PRN NEG CO go work
‘She IS (is NOT) going to work!’
c. To`i co` guri thur m`foi ong a.y mà!
I CO send letter invite PRN DEM EMPH
‘I DID send him an invitation.’ (N:153) Vietnamese : Duffield 2007: (21))
d. TP> Asr > VP (cf. Duffield 2007: (20))

Tentative hypothesis: Haegeman and Kandybowicz (in progress):

-Verum Focus (Höhle 1992): LP related polarity markers target FocP in the LP (Han and Romero 2004),

- TP-related polarity markers target vP peripheral FocP (Belletti 2001, 2003; Butler 2004).