

Si n'eren uns clítics de subjecte:
Evidential Subject Clitics in Old Central Catalan*

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Abstract

The goal of this paper is to show that some sort of “subject clitics” (SCIs), in a broad sense, indeed existed in a previous stage of Central Catalan (~ 17th, 18th and 19th centuries), especially in traditional Catalan folk songs and romances (e. g.: *Si n'eren tres tambors que en venen de la guerra* ‘There were three drummers who are coming from the war’; *Ja n'eren tres ninetes assentades en un banc* ‘There were three little girls sitting on a bench’), and to provide a syntactic analysis for them. In particular, we are claiming that Central Catalan recycled the partitive clitic *en/ne/n'* as an evidential SCI, usually preceded by a deictic adverb/particle (*si* ‘thus’, *ja* ‘already’). We propose that this clitic is the overt manifestation of an Agr_{Num} head, specified by a deictic operator (overt or null) (Op), which maintains a D-linked or anaphoric relationship to a previous intervention in a discourse or to an implicit context, real or unreal, so the truth value of the statement can remain suspended. Then, Op moves higher in the CP domain, in order to bind its variable in the IP field and value an evidential Force_[uDeictic] head, modifying the illocutionary force of the whole sentence and, therefore, presenting the source of information on the grounds of which the speaker justifies or supports a given speech act. Along its way to [Spec, ForceP], the deictic Op passes through several intermediate projections: Σ P/PolP, Foc_{weak}P and DeixisP—and, sometimes, also Foc_{contrast}P, provided the Op possesses a [+contrast] feature. This paper also compares the similarities and differences between the Catalan evidential clitic *en/ne/n'* and other SCIs found in some Romance languages (Northern Italian dialects and Galician).

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1. Introduction

In the *cançoners* and *romancers popular català*—that is to say, in traditional Catalan folk songs, Christmas carols, epic poems and tales, approximately from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries,¹ and from the Central Catalan area—a “partitive” clitic *en/ne* (*n’* before vowel) can be found in many sentences, which has been considered to be “pleonastic”, “redundant” or “abusive” by traditional grammarians, since this clitic does not stand in for any NP/PP argument/adjunct of the predicate, or maybe it would be doubling one.

- (1) a. Si n’ eren tres tambors
thus CL.PART be.IMPERF.3PL three drums
 ‘There were three drummers’

que en venen de la guerra...²
that CL.PART come.PRES.3PL from the war
 ‘who {are [lit.] / were} coming from the war...’

- b. Si n’ hi havia una dama
thus CL.PART CL.LOC have.IMPERF.3SG a lady
sota l’ ombra d’ un pi.
under the shadow of a pine
 ‘There was a lady under the shadow of a pine tree’

- c. Ja n’ eren tres ninetes
already CL.PART be.IMPERF.3PL three girls.DIM
assentades en un banc.
sitted in a bench
 ‘There were three little girls sitting on a bench’

- d. Allà sota una penya n’ és nat el Jesuset...
there under a rock/crag CL.PART is born the Jesus.DIM
 ‘There under a rock/crag, little Jesus is born...’

¹ The new grammar by the Institut d’Estudis Catalans (IEC) (2016) (§ 18.6.3.4: “lexicalized uses of the pronoun *en*”) only says that, “in songs and traditional romances, there was a use of the pronoun *en* that disappeared a long time ago” [our translation]. One of the two examples that it provides is a poem by Jacint Verdaguer dedicated to the Virgin of Montserrat, from late 19th century: vid. (39b).

The facts told in the epic poem in (2b) happened in 1713, and the ones told in the famous song in (1a) happened during the Protestant wars of the 17th century.

² Vid. fn. 1, second paragraph.

- e. Allí dalt de la muntanya (fum, fum, fum!)
there top of the mountain smoke smoke smoke
 ‘There on the top of the mountain (*smoke, smoke, smoke!*)’

si n' hi ha dos pastorets
thus CL.PART CL.LOC has two shepherds.DIM
 abrigadets, abrigadets...
wrapped-up.DIM wrapped-up.DIM
 ‘there are two little shepherds warmly clothed, warmly clothed...’

—Qui en dirà més gran mentida?
who CL.PART say.FUT.3SG {more/most} big lie
 ‘“Who is going to tell the biggest lie?”’

Ja en respon el majoral, el gran tabal:
already CL.PART answers the head-shepherd the big scatterbrain
 ‘The head shepherd—such a scatterbrain—answers:’

—Jo en faré deu mil camades amb
I CL.PART do.FUT.1SG ten thousand strides with
 un salt totes plegades.
one jump all together
 ‘“I will do ten thousand strides in one single jump”’

- f. A la vora de la mar n' hi ha una donzella
at the shore of the sea CL.PART CL.LOC has a damsel
 ‘At the seashore, there {is [lit.] / was} a damsel

que en brodava un mocador:
that CL.PART embroider.IMPERF.3SG a kerchief:
 ‘who was embroidering a kerchief:’

n' és per la reina.
CL.PART is for the queen
 ‘it is for the Queen’

Quan en fou a mig brodar, li n
when CL.PART was at half embroider CL.DAT CL.PART
 manca seda...
lacks silk
 ‘When she had it half embroidered, she {needs [lit.] / needed} silk...’

—Mariner, bon mariner, que en portau seda?
sailor good sailor that CL.PART bring.PRES.YOU silk
 “‘Sailor, good sailor, are you bringing silk fabric?’”

Notice that, in the special use in (1), the partitive clitic *en/ne/n’* can be optionally preceded by an adverb/particle such as an unstressed *si* (< Latin SIC ‘thus, this way’; cf. the stressed *sí* ‘yes’) or *ja* (< Latin IAM ‘already, before the referential time’).

According to the *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (DCVB, by Alcover & Moll):

en₂: ll 7. In folk songs and its imitations, *en* or *ne* is used abusively together with any verb, with no utility, as a mere expletive particle with certain intensive flavour. [Our translation; underline added].

The DCVB provides some other examples: (2a) is from a Christmas carol; (2b) is an epic poem telling the story of Bac de Roda, a Catalan hero (1658-1713).³

(2) a. La Mare de Déu li diu:
the mother of god CL.DAT says
 ‘the Mother of God says:’

—Josep, s’ en heu tornat jove.
Joseph CL.2PL CL.PART have.PRES.2PL become.PRT young
 “‘Joseph, you have become young(er)’”

—Maria, bé ho tinc de fer,
Maria well CL.NEUTRE have {of/to} do
 “‘Maria, I must do it’

si n’ és nat lo Rei de Glòria.
{thus/if} CL.PART is born the king of glory
 ‘since the King of Glory is born’

b. Ja en varen fer una crida:
already CL.PART AUX.PST.3PL make.INF a announcement
 ‘They made an announcement:’

³ Vid. fn. 1. second paragraph.

fusters i mestres de cases
carpenters and masters of houses
 fessin unes forques noves...
make.OPT.PST.3PL some gallows new
 ‘carpenters and master builders had to make some new
 gallows...’

Ne responen los fusters
CL.PART answer.PRES.3PL the carpenters
 ‘The carpenters answer’

que no n’ hi ha fusta obrada.
that NEG CL.PART CL.LOC has wood worked
 ‘that there is no planed wood’

Ne respon lo general:
CL.PART answers the general
 —Epatllin algunes cases...
break.IMP.3PL some houses
 ‘The general answers: “Break some houses”...’

Ja en varen fer unes crides
already CL.PART AUX.PST.3PL make.INF some announcements
 ‘They made some announcements’

que tots los portals ne tànquien.
that all the gates CL.PART close.OPT.PRES.3PL
 ‘that all the gates must be closed’

This construction with *en* cannot be exhibiting *clitic doubling*, which would be very strange in Catalan (unlike Spanish, for instance). In Catalan, you can only find clitic doubling in a very particular case: when the direct or indirect object is a strong personal pronoun — but not with regular full DPs. Compare Spanish (3a), with *dative* clitic doubling, with Catalan (3b), where the dative clitic cannot double a full indirect object (at least in standard and traditional Catalan, not influenced by Spanish). Moreover, in Catalan, unless the direct object is a strong personal pronoun, you can never find *accusative* clitic doubling (with an accusative clitic duplicating a full direct object DP), unlike the Spanish example in (4a), from the dialect of Río de la Plata:

- (3) a. Le di el libro a mi marido.
CL.DAT.3SG gave.1SG the bookto my husband
 ‘I gave my husband the book’ [Spanish]
- b. (*Li) vaig donar el llibre al meu marit.
CL.DAT.3SG AUX.PST.1SG gave.INF the book to-the mine husband
 ‘I gave my husband the book’ [standard and traditional Catalan]
- (4) a. Lo sigue usando el mismo auto.
CL.ACC.3SG.M keeps using the same car
 He/she still uses the same car’ [Spanish from Río de la Plata]
- b. (*El) continua emprant el mateix cotxe.
CL.ACC.3SG.M keeps using the same car
 ‘(S)he still uses the same car’ [Catalan]

In addition to this, our special construction with *en* cannot be a case of clitic doubling because, in some cases, the special “partitive” clitic would be doubling a definite DP argument—e. g., *el Jesuset* in (1d), *lo Rei de Glòria* in (2a) and *tots los portals* in (2b), examples repeated here as (5)—while the canonical partitive clitic typically replaces indefinite NPs (6). To put it in other words, even if clitic doubling was supposed to be possible in Catalan, the definite DP arguments in (5) should be expected to be doubled by a definite clitic, not by the partitive one.⁴

⁴ An anonymous reviewer points out that, cross-linguistically, clitic doubling is not restricted to definite DPs (see, for instance, Arregi & Nevins 2012, on clitic doubling in Basque). Despite this, we would expect the definite DPs in (5) to be duplicated by a definite clitic in Catalan (and in Romance, in general), not by the partitive *en*, which typically stands in for indefinite NPs. Therefore, these examples show that we are not dealing with clitic doubling in the “*si n’eren*” construction.

Another anonymous reviewer claims that clitic-left/right-dislocation (CILD/CIRD) could count as a sub-case of clitic doubling in Catalan (Villalba 2000), and s/he proposes to analyse some of our examples as CIRD constructions in which the partitive case marker *de* of the double of the clitic has been deleted. Nevertheless, for some other examples—like the ones in (5), with definite DPs—this would not solve the problem mentioned in the previous paragraph. Furthermore, in Catalan, unlike CILD, in CIRD the partitive case marker (*de*) is mandatory; cf. (i) and (ii). Moreover, in CIRD, a special low intonation is needed for the right-dislocated constituent—which is expressed orthographically with the comma mark (“,”). However, in the examples (1) and (2) from the paper, this low intonation for the internal argument is completely missing, so this constituent must be *in situ*.

- (i) (De) fusta no n’ hi ha. (CILD)
 PART.MARK wood NEG PART.CL LOC.CL has
- (ii) No n’ hi ha, *(de) fusta. (CIRD)
 NEG PART.CL LOC.CL has PART.MARK wood
 ‘There is no wood’

- (5) a. Allà sota una penya n' és nat
there under a rock/crag CL.PART is born
 [_{DP} el Jesuset]... [= (1d)]
the Jesus.DIM
 'There under a rock/crag, little Jesus is born...'
- b. [...] si n' és nat
{thus/if} CL.PART is born
 [_{DP} lo Rei de Glòria]. [from (2a)]
the king of glory
 '[...] (since) the King of Glory is born'
- c. [...] que [tots [_{DP} los portals]] ne tànquien. [from (2b)]
that all the gates CL.PART close.OPT.PRES.3PL
 '[...] that all the gates must be closed'
- (6) a. No en vull ∅_{NP} (, de pa).
NEG CL.PART want.PRES.1SG ∅ PART.MARK bread
 'I don't want any bread'
- b. (De vaixells) n' arribaren [_{QP} dos ∅_{NP}].
PART.MARK ships CL.PART arrive.PST.3PL two ∅
 'There arrived two of them (two ship)'

Furthermore, our special clitic *en* is also compatible with embedded CP arguments (7). However, embedded clauses should be expected to be pronominalized by the neuter clitic *ho*, not by the partitive *en*. So neither this could be a case of clitic doubling:

- (7) [...] Ne responen los fusters
CL.PART answer.PRES.3PL the carpenters
 'The carpenters answer'
- [_{CP} que no n' hi ha fusta obrada].
that NEG CL.PART CL.LOC has wood worked
 'that there is no planed wood'

Even though this special use of the partitive clitic is not alive anymore in current Catalan,⁵ we argue that, in a previous stage of the language (~ 17th, 18th and 19th centuries), Central Catalan recycled the partitive

⁵Vid. fn. 1.

clitic *en/ne/n'* as an evidential subject clitic (SCI), usually preceded by an adverb/particle (*si, ja*): an overt deictic operator which could remain also covert or null. The deictic operator maintains a D-linked or anaphoric relationship to a previous intervention in a discourse or to an implicit context, real or unreal, so the truth value of the statement can remain suspended. For this reason, the *en*-construction is usually found in story-telling texts or songs.

Within the broad sense of the term “subject clitic” (SCI) used in the literature, we are going to argue that Old Central Catalan also possessed a very particular kind of SCI. So we are not claiming that Catalan displayed the whole variety of SCIs that we can find, for instance, in the Northern Italian dialects, but that Catalan recycled its partitive clitic (*en*) as a SCI with mixed properties: structurally (according to its position), it is an IP SCI (but an invariable or non-agreeing one, with neither person nor gender features); functionally, it behaves as the Borgomanerese CP SCI (because its phrasal correlative, the deictic operator, moves up to the CP area).

Section 2 does a quick overview on SCIs (both IP SCIs and CP SCIs), summarizing the state of the art on this topic, focusing on the Northern Italian dialects and, particularly, on the distinction between the Paduan-like invariable SCI and the Borgomanerese non-personal SCI.

Section 3 reviews Bartra’s (2011) proposal that Medieval Catalan and (current) Balearic Catalan recycled some neuter pronouns (*ell, açò/això*) with a new use: these pronouns can maintain a D(iscourse)-linked or anaphoric relationship to a previous intervention in a discourse (or, more specifically, in a dialog) or even to an implicit context. This use is very similar—if not the same—to the one we find with the deictic adverbs/particles *si* or *ja* in the examples in (1) and (2). The difference between *ell* (contrastive) and *açò* (non-contrastive) is also important in order to distinguish between the Paduan and the Borgomanerese CP SCIs; the former is contrastive, but not the latter.

Section 4 reviews Longa, Lorenzo & Rigau’s (1996, 1998) idea that Galician recycled the accusative clitic as a partitive clitic and also as a “modal” SCI, and explains the similarities and differences between this Galician “modal” SCI and the Northern Italian SCIs. These authors conclude that Catalan lacks a “modal” SCI.

By contrast, section 5 presents the core of our proposal; in a nutshell: Old Central Catalan recycled the partitive clitic as an evidential SCI, which would be the overt manifestation of an Agr_{Num} head, specified by a deictic operator (overt or null). This operator (Op) then moves higher in the CP domain, in order to bind its variable in the IP field and value an evidential Force_[uDeictic] head, modifying the illocutionary force of

the whole sentence. Along its way to [Spec, ForceP], the deictic Op passes through several intermediate projections: Σ P/PolP, Foc_{weak} P and DeixisP—and, sometimes, also $\text{Foc}_{\text{contrast}}$ P, provided the Op possesses a [+contrast] feature.

Three final remarks are stated in section 6: (i) Evidentiality is encoded in $\text{Force}_{[\text{uDeictic}]}$: its specifier presents the source of information (direct or indirect) on the grounds of which the speaker justifies or supports a given speech act. Thus, the Old Central Catalan construction in (1) and (2) has many links with the evidential enclitic particles found in Cuzco Quechua and studied by Faller (2002). (ii) Could the *en*-construction be a root (or a main clause) phenomena? (iii) Why it is the partitive clitic the one recycled as an evidential SCI? (iv) The final subsection tries to answer this question: what is the difference between the partitive clitic *en* being present or not in this construction?

2. Subject clitics: an overview

The expression “subject clitic” (SCI) is generally used in a broad sense, as a hotchpotch or a catch-all term. According to Poletto (2000) and Tortora (2014), “this term has traditionally been used to characterize a class of elements which is actually heterogeneous”. It “encompasses an assortment of clitic morphemes instantiating a disparate array of functional heads in the higher functional field”. “Not all of the forms traditionally referred to as ‘subject clitics’ are in fact the same animal”.

The main literature regarding SCIs includes Benincà & Vanelli (1982, 1984); Benincà (1983); Renzi & Vanelli (1983); Burzio (1986); Vanelli (1987); Brandi & Cordin (1981, 1989); Poletto (1993, 2000); Zanuttini (1997); Gorla (2004), Tortora (2014), *i. a.*

Poletto (2000) and Tortora (2014) distinguish two big types of SCIs: (i) *IP* or *Agr SCIs*, and (ii) *CP SCIs*—the latter could be also named *vocalic SCIs*, since they usually consist of a single vowel morpheme.

2.1. IP or Agr SCIs:

These clitics display ϕ features agreeing with the grammatical subject. They can be of two kinds:

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|---|------------|----------------|---|---|---|
| a) | Person SCIs: | 1 | 2 | 3 _M | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| | | – | <i>t+V</i> | <i>V+l</i> | – | – | – |

- b) Number and gender SCIs: 1 2 3F 4 5 6M 6F
 – – *l+a* – – *(l)+i l+e*

The following examples show that Agr SCIs are mandatory:

- (8) a. El Mario *(el) parla.
the Mario SCI speaks
 ‘Mario speaks’
- b. La Maria no *(la) mangi pomi.
the Maria NEG SCI eats apples
 ‘Maria doesn’t eat apples’
 [Trentino, Veneto (Brandi & Cordin 1989)]

2.2. CP (or vocalic) SCIs:

They can be of two kinds—although we are especially interested in the second kind:

- a) Deictic SCIs: They display only two morphological forms, since they distinguish between 1st and 2nd person (1, 2, 4, 5), on the one hand, and 3rd person (3, 6), on the other hand.

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>

[San Michele al Tagliamento; Friulian variety]

- b) Invariable SCI: According to Poletto (2000) and Tortora (2014), this type of clitic does not encode any subject feature at all, since its morphological form is the same for all persons and numbers.

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>

[Paduan, Polesano, Lugano]

[Carcare, Fiorentino]

[Cosseria]

The following examples show that the invariable SCI is, at least apparently, optional:

- (9) a. (A) vegni mi c. (A) vegnum
SCI_{inv} come.PRES.1SG I SCI_{inv} come.PRES.1PL
 ‘I’m coming’ ‘We’re coming’

- b. (A) vegn luu d. (A) vegnuf
SCL_{inv} come.PRES.3SG he *SCL_{inv} come.PRES.2PL*
 ‘He’s coming’ ‘You_{PL} are coming’ [Lugano]

- (10) a. (A) piove!
SCL_{inv} rains
 ‘It’s raining!’ [Paduan]

- b. (A) non vegno!
SCL_{inv} NEG come.PRES.1SG
 ‘I’m not coming!’ [Polesano]

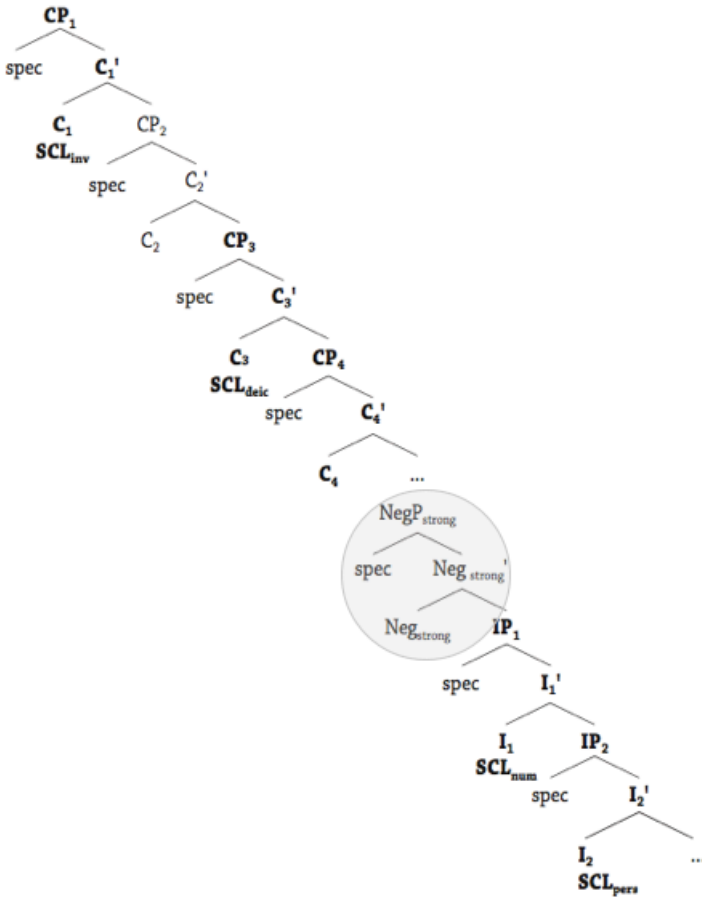
- c. La Maria, (e) la parla troppo!
the Maria SCL_{inv} SCL talks too-much
 ‘As for Maria, she talks too much!’ [Fiorentino]

- d. (E) n te n capise!
SCL_{inv} NEG ObjCl.2SG NEG understand.PRES.1SG
 ‘I don’t understand you!’ [Carcare]

- e. (I) n te n dan nent u libru!
SCL_{inv} NEG ObjCl.2SG NEG give.PRES.3PL NEG the book
 ‘They’re not giving you the book!’ [Cosseria]

The main difference between IP (or Agr) SCIs and CP SCIs lies in their position in relation to Zanuttini’s (1997) strong or highest preverbal Neg projection. As you can see in (10b), (10d) and (10e), CP SCIs precede Neg_{strong}:

(11)



According to Benincà (1983), the invariable SCL has a very specific pragmatic function: it is used to mark the entire sentence as new information; usually, in exclamatory contexts, since it conveys an element of surprise. Likewise, Poletto (2000) states that “invariable SCLs are the only clitics that express a theme/rheme distinction.”

These authors propose that the invariable SCL is the morpho-syntactic instantiation of a Topic head, and that it saturates the left periphery of the sentence. “Invariable SCLs are able to move through the head of the CP projections where weak *wh*-items occur to the head of FocusP, and then to the head of the left dislocation position, thus preventing

wh- (12), focalized (13), and left-dislocated items (14) from occurring in the sentence”:⁶

(12) a. *Dove a zelo nda?
where SCl_{inv} is-he gone

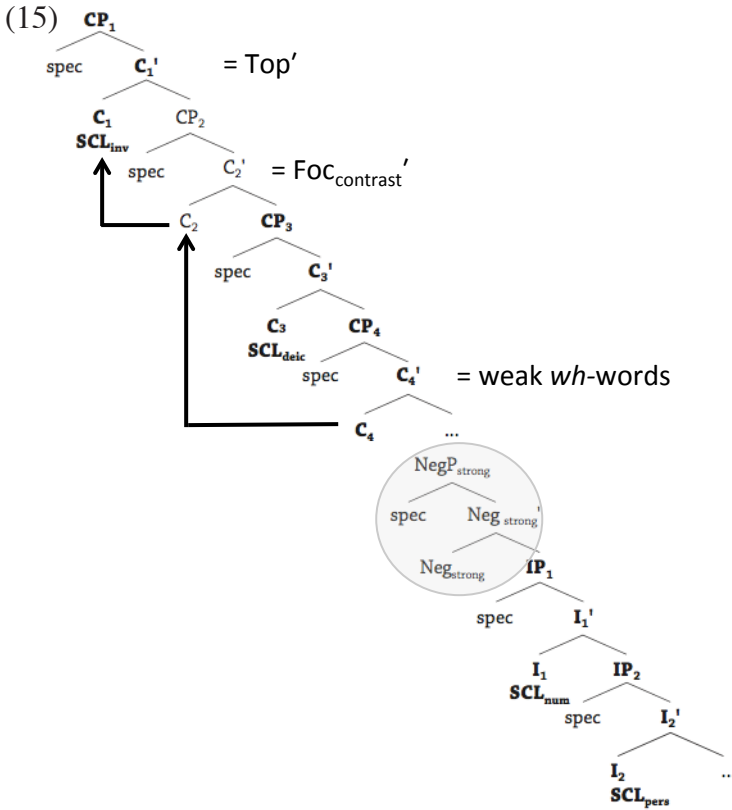
b. *A dove zelo nda?
SCl_{inv} where is-he gone
 ‘Where has he gone?’

(13) *EL GATO a go visto
the cat SCl_{inv} have.PRES.ISG seen
 ‘I have seen the cat’

(14) *Co ti, a no voio ndare.
with you SCl_{inv} NEG want.PRES.ISG go.INF
 ‘I don’t want to go with you’ [Paduan]

Therefore, Poletto (2000) and Tortora’s (2014) proposal for the invariable SCl is represented as follows (next page):

⁶ As for [_{DP} La Maria] in (10c), it would not be a prototypical topic, but a hanging topic.



However, as stated by Tortora (2014), in Borgomanerese there is a CP SCI (the vocalic clitic *a*) very different from the Paduan-like invariable SCI we have outlined above, since the Borgomanerese *a* does not involve a surprise interpretation—cf. (16)-(18) vs. the examples in (10). She calls this CP SCI non-personal SCI, which can be found in constructions such as the following:

- a) With the deontic pronominal verb *nè-gghi* (lit.: go-CL.LOC, equivalent to the standard Italian *volerci* ‘to take, to be needed, to be required’):

(16) a. A va-gghi quatu omi rubusti.
SCL_{non-pers} goes-CL.LOC four men strong
 ‘It takes four strong men’

b. A va-gghi curagiu.
SCI_{non-pers} goes-CL.LOC courage
 ‘Courage is needed’ [Borgomanerese]

b) With the pronominal verb *stè-gghi* (equivalent to the standard Italian *starci* ‘to fit [in a space]’):

(17) A sta-gghi quatro parsuni in cul ascensôr.
SCI_{non-pers} is_{stare}-CL.LOC four people in that elevator
 ‘Four people can fit in that elevator’ [Borgomanerese]

c) With the verb *smijè* (‘to seem’):

(18) A smeja ca ngh è-gghi na parsuna in cüsghina.
SCI_{non-pers} seems that SCL.LOC is-CL.LOC a person in kitchen
 ‘It seems that there is a person in the kitchen’ [Borgomanerese]

Let us quote Tortora (2014: 285) (underline added):

Unfortunately, I cannot say with certainty what function Borgomanerese *a* [...] serves: I do not, for example, have any information on whether [these] sentences are necessarily interpreted as “all-new”. If Borgomanerese *a* does serve this function (as only future research can tell), then it seems that other elements can stand in its syntactic place to serve this function, as *chi* apparently does [...]. It does also seem that the pragmatic function of Borgomanerese *a*—if there is indeed a particular one—is different from that of Paduan *a*. As P. Benincà notes (pers. comm.), the sentence in (10a) conveys an element of surprise; in contrast, use of Borgomanerese *a* with the *nè-gghi* construction [...] does not involve this kind of “surprise” interpretation.

In section 6.1, we suggest a more precise use for the Borgomanerese CP SCI, related to the expression of direct or general evidentiality.

3. Bartra’s (2011) recycled neuter pronouns

Regarding the different behaviour between the Paduan-like invariable SCI and the Borgomanerese non-personal SCI—the former has a surprise interpretation, but not the latter—we think that it can be very enlightening to consider Bartra’s (2011) proposal that Medieval Catalan

and also (current) Balearic Catalan recycled some neuter pronouns (*ell*, *açò/això*) with a new use.

These pronouns can maintain a D(iscourse)-linked or an anaphoric relationship to a previous intervention in a discourse (or, more specifically, in a dialog) or even to an implicit context. They anchor a speech act, a predication, to the external situation. In other words: they introduce a propositional element, and its semantic and pragmatic function is to bring this propositional content to the attention of the listener.

(19) a. — Es camps estan completament secs...

‘The fields are completely dry...’

— Ell ha de ploure un dia o altre!

ELLO has of/to rain.INF a day or another

‘It should rain one day or another!’

b. — Madò Paula, parau taula.

mistress Paula set.IMP table

‘Ma’am Paula, lay the table’

— Macià, ell no hi ha pa.

Macià ELLO NEG CL.LOC has bread

‘Macià, there is no bread’ [Balearic Catalan]

(20) a. Açò era costuma d’ ells

DEM.N be.IMPERF.3SG habit of they

que despertaven los ferres de les llances.

that awake.IMPERF.3PL the irons of the spears

‘It was usual for them to encourage the spears’

[Medieval Catalan]

b. Açò era un poble on hi

DEM.N be.IMPERF.3SG a village where CL.LOC have.

havia dos vells

IMPERF.3SG two old.PL

‘There was a village where two old men lived’

[Balearic Catalan]

Bartra (2011) claims that the demonstrative *açò/això* is a neuter pronoun with a [+deictic] (or [+D-linked]) feature, but it is not necessarily contrastive; it links the clause in which it is embedded to the proposition

to which it refers. By contrast, *ell* (in the non-masculine use, equivalent to the Spanish *ello*) is a strong neuter pronoun with two features: [+deictic] (or [+D-linked]) and [+contrast] (or [+emphasis]). As maintained by Rigau (1988), strong personal pronouns in Catalan—unlike clitic pronouns—are, indeed, contrastive or emphatic:

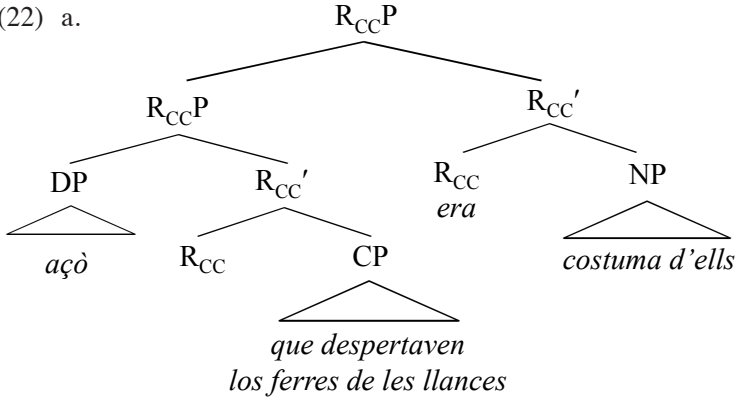
- (21) a. Ho donaré a ell.
CL.N give.FUT.ISG to he
 ‘I’ll give it to him (not to somebody else)’
- b. Li ho donaré.
CL.DAT CL.N give.FUT.ISG
 ‘I’ll give it to him/her’ [standard/general Catalan]

According to Bartra (2011), “ELLO generally appears in the second replica of a dialog, clearly referring to the previous assertion, and preceding the new information that the second speaker introduces to contradict the presuppositions or expectations of the first speaker. In that sense, this element has a discourse linking property by which the contrastive value implies a polarity and a truth-value opposed to that explicitly set by the previous replica or implicitly presupposed in the previous context” (underline added).

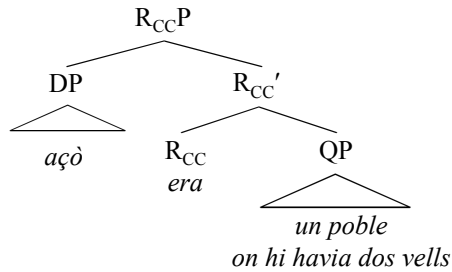
For us, the D-linked or anaphoric relationship maintained between the non-contrastive neuter pronouns *açò/això* and the previous discourse or an implicit context is very similar—if not the same—to the one we find with the particles *si* ‘thus’ or *ja* ‘already’ in the examples (1) and (2), where these deictic adverbs usually link or anchor the propositional content of their sentences to an evocated world/story which is being narrated—notice that *si* is always used to start a narration, while *ja* can be used either to start it or to let the story move on. The sole difference between the *açò/això* construction and the *si/ja* construction is that the SCL *en* only appears in the second one, that is to say: in Central Catalan folk songs from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries; but it neither appears in Medieval Catalan (before those centuries) nor in current Balearic Catalan.

Finally, Bartra (2011) proposes the simple analysis in (22) in order to account for the constructions in (20) and (19), based on Hale’s (1986) and Hale & Keyser’s (1993, 2002) central coincidence relator, which establishes an identification or predication.

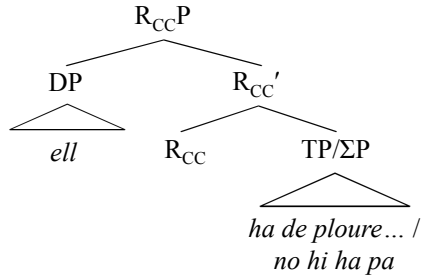
(22) a.



b.



c.



In spite of this simple and elegant analysis, Bartra (2011) also points out the possibility that the neuter pronoun maybe raises further to a higher projection in the tree: Σ P/PolP, FocP or ForceP—as suggested by Carrilho (2003, 2005) and Remberger & Hinzelin (2009). However, Bartra (2011) finally dispenses with the need for dedicated positions for these neuter pronouns. To put in her words, “we will restrict ourselves to argue for a restrictive structure in which the pragmatic, discourse and semantic properties [of *ello* and *Acò*] are derived compositionally from the formal features of these elements.”

By contrast, in this paper we claim for a more cartographic approach, which allows us to put the Catalan constructions in the more general picture of SCIs in Romance, as presented in Poletto (2000) and Tortora (2014), with some modifications.

Before doing this, we need one more piece in order to make our own proposal clearer.

4. The Galician “modal” recycled clitics (Longa, Lorenzo & Rigau 1996, 1998)

As can be seen in (23), the (canonical) partitive clitic is overt in Catalan (*en/ne/n'*) (24a), but it is null in Castilian Spanish (24b). By contrast, according to Longa, Lorenzo & Rigau (1996, 1998), in Galician—and the same stands for Galician Spanish—accusative object clitics have been recycled as partitive clitics (24c):

(23)		Catalan	Castilian Spanish	Galician
	accusative	<i>el, la, els, les</i>	<i>lo, la, los, las</i>	<i>o, a, os, as</i>
	partitive <i>en</i>	<i>en</i>	\emptyset	<i>o, a, os, as</i>

(24) a. (De) bruixes no n' hi havia.
of witches NEG CL.PART CL.LOC have.IMPERF.3SG
[Catalan]

b. Brujas no \emptyset había.
witches NEG CL.PART have.IMPERF.3SG
[Castilian Spanish]

c. Meigas non as había.
witches.FEM NEG CL.ACC.FEM.PL have.IMPERF.3SG
'There weren't any witches'
[Galician]

Furthermore, according to these authors, Galician also recycled its accusative/partitive object clitics as “modal” SCIs in certain contexts:

(25) a. ¡Aquí as veñen elas!
here CL.ACC.FEM.,PL come.PRES.3pl they.FEM
'Here they come!'

- b. ¡Aquí os veñen
here CL.ACC.MAS,.PL come.PRES.3Pl
 os veciños!
the neighbours.MAS
 ‘Here come the neighbours!’ [Galician]

In fact, Castilian Spanish also recycled its null partitive clitic as a “modal” SCI:⁷

- (26) ¡Ahí/ay Ø viene María!
there CL.PART comes María
 ‘There comes María!’ [Castilian Spanish]

As stated by Longa et al., the main properties of the “modal” construction in (25) and (26) would be the following ones:

- a) It is only possible if the individuals denoted by the subject are present in the utterance situation. So, this construction can only be used in present tense, as a means of expressing a deixis *ad oculos*.
- b) It has an appellative function and, therefore, and exclamatory meaning.
- c) The use of these SCIs is only possible in sentences with a presentational meaning, with stative verbs like *estar* ‘be’ or movement verbs like *venir* ‘come’, *chegar* ‘arrive’, *ir* ‘go’...
- d) The verbal inflection, the lexical subject and the clitic Agree, sharing their ϕ features.

The last property (the agreement in ϕ features) establishes a certain connection between the Galician SCIs and the IP SCIs of some Northern Italian dialects—e. g., (8), from Trentino and Veneto. However, the Northern Italian inflected SCIs are neither restricted to sentences with a deictic use nor with a locative verb, unlike the Galician SCIs:

- (27) *A xanta mazás.
SCI eats apples [Galician]

The “modal” properties of the Galician construction could also be related to the so-called “invariable SCIs” we saw in (10), since they convey a surprise or exclamatory meaning. In spite of this “modal” similarity, Galician SCIs display agreement with the subject, while in

⁷ The demonstrative locative adverb *ahí*, in this context, is usually replaced by its unstressed variant *ay* (pronounced with a diphthong: [aj]).

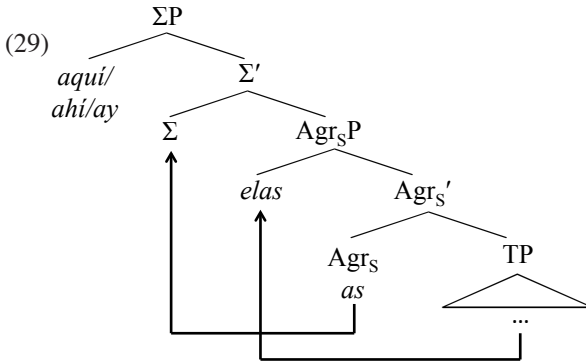
the Italian cases in (10) the SCl is invariable. Furthermore, the Northern Italian invariable SClS always appear to the left of Zanuttini’s (1997) *Neg_{strong}*, while in Galician the “modal” clitic is in complementary distribution with negation:

(28) ¡Aquí (*non) as veñen elas! [Galician]

And again, the Northern Italian invariable SClS are not restricted to locative contexts.

Longa, Lorenzo & Rigau (1996, 1998) claim that the Galician “modal” recycled SClS are first Merged under the *Agr_s* node and, thus, compelled to show agreement with the subject. From this position, the clitic moves, crucially, to a functional head where the relation between the speaker and the utterance situation is encoded: this is Laka’s (1990) Σ projection (or PolP), in which sentential negation and certain emphatic features are complementarily generated.

A locative demonstrative adverb like *aquí/ahí/ay* could be externally merged in [*Spec, Σ P*]. In this context, the adverb is neither a locative argument nor an adjunct of the predicate, but nothing more than an operator or a marker of the emphatic-deictic meaning of the sentence as a whole.



But what about Catalan? For these three linguists, Catalan lacks this kind of “modal” SClS; so this language, instead of (25)-(26), has to use a different construction, with an imperative verb:

(30) Vet/heus aquí en Pere!
look/get.IMP here the Peter
 ‘Here comes Pere!’ [Catalan]

Therefore, for these authors, there would be a gap in the Catalan clitics paradigm:

(31)

	Catalan	Castillian Spanish	Gallician
accusative	<i>el, la, els, les</i>	<i>la, la, los, las</i>	<i>o, a, os, as</i>
partitive	<i>en</i>	\emptyset	<i>o, a, os, as</i>
"modal"	—	\emptyset	<i>o, a, os, as</i>

5. Our proposal

In a nutshell, we claim that a “modal” SCI—or, more precisely, an evidential SCI—would not be missing in the Catalan clitics paradigm, but it would be null or covert in both Medieval and Contemporary Central Catalan, and in Balearic Catalan. Moreover, a previous stage of Central Catalan (from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries) recycled its partitive clitic (*en/ne/n'*) as an overt manifestation of the evidential SCI.

(32)

	Catalan	Castilian Spanish	Galician
accusative	<i>el, la, els, les</i>	<i>lo, la, los, las</i>	<i>o, a, os, as</i>
partitive	<i>en</i>	\emptyset	<i>o, a, os, as</i>
evidential	<i>en</i> (17th-19th c.)/ \emptyset	\emptyset	<i>o, a, os, as</i>

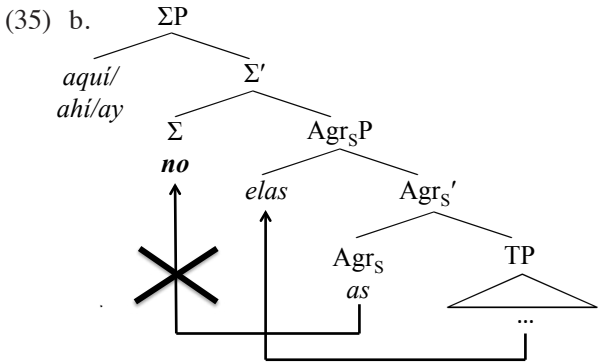
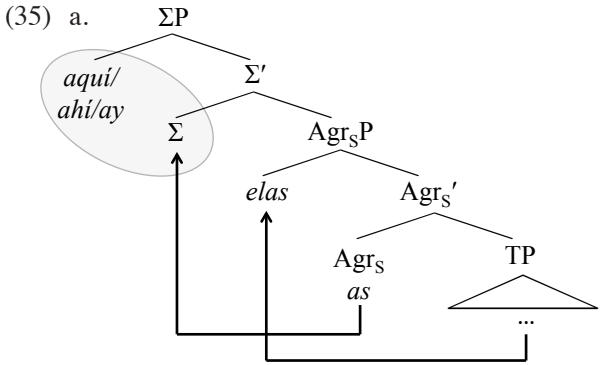
Unlike Galician—but like the Northern Italian invariable SCIs—the Central Catalan SCI *en/ne/n'* is invariable (it has no inflection; the [ə] is just an epenthetic vowel) and it is compatible with negation—cf. (33) vs. (28):

- (33) [...] Ne responen los fusters
CL.PART answer.PRES.3PL the carpenters
 ‘[...] The carpenters answer’
 que no n’ hi ha fusta obrada.
that NEG CL.PART CL.LOC has wood worked
 ‘that there is no planed wood’
 [Old Central Catalan; [extracted from the (2b) example]

Also in current Balearic Catalan—and the same would stand for Medieval Catalan—the construction with the neuter pronouns *ell* or *açò/això* is compatible with negation (34). The only difference is that, in this dialect, the evidential SCI is null, despite the availability of the partitive clitic *en* in Balearic Catalan for canonical uses.

- (34) a. Macià, ell no hi ha pa. [= (14b)]
Macià ELLO NEG CL.LOC has bread
 ‘Macià, there is no bread’
- b. Això era i no era...
DEM.N be.IMPERF.3SG and NEG be.IMPERF.3SG
 Lit.: ‘There was and was not...’ (≡ ‘Once upon a time...’)⁸
 [Balearic Catalan]

How could we explain this compatibility with Neg, in comparison with what happens in Galician? Remember that, according to Longa, Lorenzo & Rigau (1996, 1998), this is not to be expected, since the clitic could not raise to the Σ /Pol head if this position is already filled by *no*, so no syntactic relationship could be established between the SCI and the deictic adverb (in [Spec, Σ P]):



⁸ *Això era i no era...* is a traditional Balearic formula for starting fairy tales, equivalent to the English “Once upon a time...”

First of all, let us introduce a small modification in Longa *et al.*'s (1996, 1998) analysis, in accordance with Shlonsky (1989) and Rigau's (1991) idea that Agr_s can be split into two different projections: Agr_{Pers} and Agr_{Num}.

With this in mind, we claim that, in Central Catalan from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, a recycled “partitive” clitic *en* is the overt manifestation of an Agr_{Num} head (above Agr_{Pers}),⁹ specified by a deictic operator, which can be overt—a deictic (but non locative) adverb such as *si* ‘thus, this way’ or *ja* ‘already, before the referential time’—or covert (*null*).

Since the SCl *en* is generated above Agr_{Pers}, it displays neither person nor gender features, unlike the Galician SCIs. In the *en*-construction, the Agr_{Num} head only encodes a quantificational interpretable feature ([+Q]) and an uninterpretable [*u*Deictic] feature, which is going to be valued by the deictic operator in [Spec, Agr_{Num}P] (see also section 6.3, and footnotes 9 and 11).

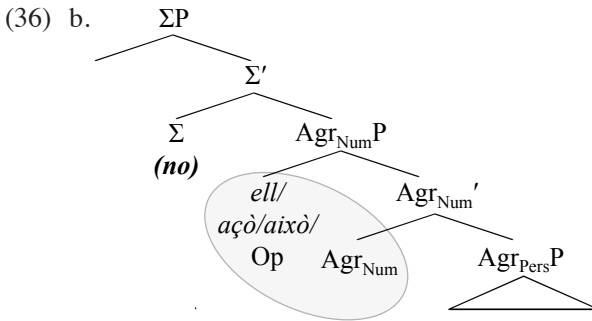
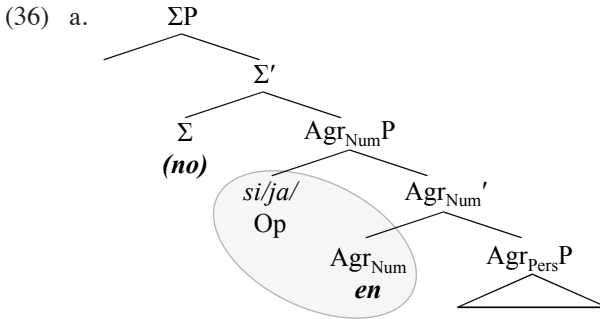
Moreover, notice that the (purely) syntactic Spec-Head Agree relationship between the Central Catalan SCl (in Agr_{Num}) and the deictic operator (in [Spec, Agr_{Num}P]) is established earlier than in the Galician case—cf. (36a) vs. (35)—so there is no need for the SCl *en* to move to Σ /Pol in order to Agree with the deictic operator. Hence, *en* (in Agr_{Num}) is perfectly compatible with the negative particle *no* (in Σ /Pol).

Nevertheless, in Medieval Catalan and in (current) Balearic Catalan, the Agr_{Num} head is null, and its specifier can be a neuter pronoun (the contrastive neuter pronoun *ell* or a non-contrastive neuter demonstrative pronoun such as *açò/això*) or a null operator.

To sum up, in Catalan, a deictic adverb (*si*, *ja*), a neuter pronoun (*ell*, *açò/això*) or a null deictic operator can be merged in [Spec, Agr_{Num}P], and the Agr_{Num} head could be explicitly materialized by the recycled “partitive” clitic *en*—in Central Catalan from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries—or could remain covert or null:

⁹ According to Chomsky (1995), functional categories built exclusively with uninterpretable features (such as Agr) are not in accordance with the Minimalist Program. However, we have maintained Rigau's (1991) labels, although we leave for further research the specification of which interpretable functional categories we are dealing with (e. g., Person and Number). Vid. also fn. 11, for the possibility of getting rid of our Agr_{Num} projection and replacing it by a World functional head (above T and Person).

While *en* Merges in Agr_{Num}, Agr_{Pers} could be the projection where the Catalan locative clitic *hi* Merges in existential impersonal sentences (e. g.: *Si n'hi ha dos pastorets abrigadets* ‘There are two little shepherds warmly clothed’). Moreover, in Borgomanerese, the locative clitic *ghi* always co-appears with the partitive clitic in this kind of construction (e. g.: *Ngh è-gghi tre mataj int la stônza* ‘There are three boys in the room’) (Tortora 2014).



Notice that the Central Catalan SCl *en*, despite being morphologically “invariable”, belongs to the IP domain. It is generated in Agr_{Num} and remains in that position—it does not move higher in the tree. As for its position in relation to Neg (one of the main tests for distinguishing between IP and CP SCIs), *en* always follows the negative particle *no*. Therefore, *en* is an IP SCl (or an Agr SCl), not a CP SCl—unlike the Paduan invariable SCl or the Borgomanerese non-personal SCl.

By contrast, the deictic operator—first generated in $[\text{Spec}, \text{Agr}_{\text{Num}} \text{P}]$ —does raise higher up to the CP domain, in order to bind its variable in the IP field and value the unvalued feature(s) of some higher CP head projection.

- (i) Firstly, the deictic operator has to move to $[\text{Spec}, \text{CP}]$.
- (ii) From there, it moves to $[\text{Spec}, \text{Foc}_{\text{weak}} \text{P}]$. Regarding this position, Benincà (2004), Leonetti & Escandell (2009) and Batllori & Hernanz (2015), considering left-dislocated phrases like the ones underlined in (37), argue for a Weak, Unmarked or Verum Focus projection in Romance languages, between PolP and $\text{Foc}_{\text{contrast}} \text{P}$:

- (37) a. Los chamins e les charrerres pupliches fa trencar
the paths and the roads public makes destroy.INF
 e clodir.
and close.INF
 ‘He destroys and closes the public paths and roads’
- b. D’ aquesta misèria de la comunitat parla
of this misfortune of the community speaks
 la Escriptura en molts lochs.
the Scripture in many places
 ‘The Holy Scriptures tell us about this community misfortune
 in many places’
- c. En semblant manera no poràs forçar
in similar way NEG be-able.FUT.2SG force.INF
 que sies just per justícia.
that BE.OPPT.PRES.2SG fair for justice
 ‘In a similar way you will not be able to force you to be fair
 on rightness’
- d. Molt me enuja la vostra partida.
much CL.OBJ.1SG annoys the your departure
 ‘Your departure annoys me a lot’[Old Catalan]

(iii) Then, the deictic operator moves to [Spec, DeixisP]. This step is coherent with Poletto’s (2000) observation that the Paduan-like invariable SCI can “never” co-occur with a deictic SCI.

(iv) On the one hand, the Balearic contrastive neuter pronoun *ell* moves to [Spec, Foc_{contrast}P], which would explain the *mirativity* (or surprise interpretation) of this construction. On the other hand, the deictic operators without a [+contrast] (or [+emphasis]) feature—for instance, *açò/això* or the Borgomanerese non-personal SCI *a*—should skip [Spec, Foc_{contrast}P]; even if they pass through this specifier position, this movement would be inert, since no features valuation could be established.

Thus, we can suggest that the Paduan-like invariable SCI would be the cliticized version of the Balearic contrastive deictic operator *ell*, while the Borgomanerese non-personal SCI *a* would be the cliticized version of the Balearic non-contrastive deictic operator *açò/això*.

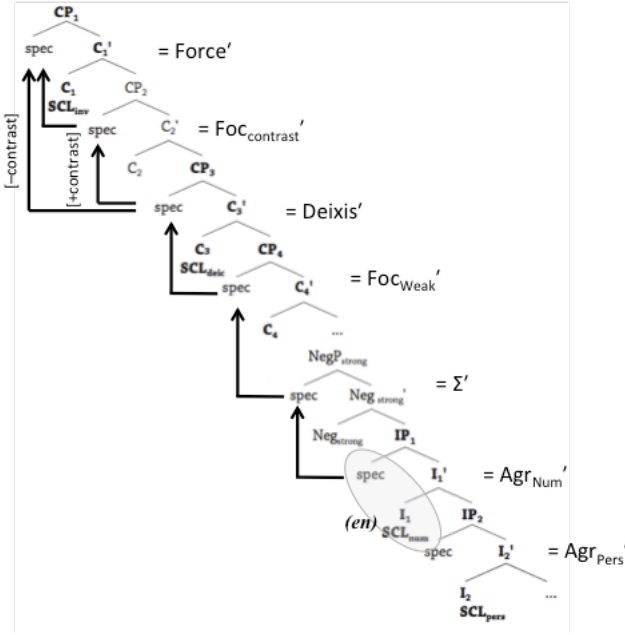
- (v) The final landing position for the deictic operator would be [Spec, Force_[uDeictic]P], in order to modify the illocutionary force of the whole sentence and value its [uDeictic] feature. This step is justified in section 6.1.

In the case of the Northern Italian dialects, the specifier would be finally grammaticalized and cliticized with the Force head, so the Paduan-like and the Borgomanerese SCIs would be real CP SCIs—unlike the Central Catalan recycled *en*, which is an IP or Agr SCI with a correlative (the deictic Op) in CP.

To put it in other words: the special clitic *en* is an SCI with mixed properties: structurally (according to its position in relation to Neg), it is an IP or Agr SCI (but an invariable or non-agreeing one, with neither person nor gender features); functionally, it behaves as the Borgomanerese CP SCI, because its phrasal correlative (the deictic Op) moves up to [Spec, Force_[uDeictic]P], in the CP area. However, in Catalan, the deictic Op does not undergo a final process of grammaticalization or cliticization with the Force head—although it can leave the clitic *en* back in the IP area, as the overt manifestation of the Agr_{Num} head.

If this is so, we can replace Poletto (2000) and Tortora's (2014) derivation in (15) by the more detailed version in (38). Notice that our starting point for the deictic operator is [Spec, Agr_{Num}P] (the *specifier* of I₁) and our final position is [Spec, ForceP] (the *specifier* of C₁); while, for those authors, the starting point was the C4 *head* (a projection for weak *wh*-words) and the final point was C₁ (a *Topic head*, for them).

(38)



Besides this, we have to remember that the Galician evidential construction uses a locative demonstrative adverb (*aquí/ahí/ay*) as a deictic operator, which allows this construction to convey a kind of deixis *ad oculos*. So, another difference with Galician is that, in Catalan, the deictic operator—besides its different first-Merge position: [Spec, Agr_{Num}P] in Catalan, but [Spec, ΣP] in Galician—is not a locative demonstrative adverb, but a manner demonstrative (*si* < Lat. *sic* ‘thus, this way’), an aspectual adverb (*ja* < Lat. *iam* ‘already’), a neuter pronoun (*açò/això*, or the contrastive *ell*) or even a null operator.

We think that this enables an evocative or a narrative function, presenting some imaginary or fictitious facts regardless of whether they are real/true or not. For instance, *si* (and *açò/això*, in Balearic Catalan) is used to begin a story or song; *ja*—on account of its temporal properties—can also be used in the middle of the story, in order to let the narration move on. By contrast, the Galician construction (with a locative adverb) always conveys a deixis *ad oculos*.

As a corollary, the Central Catalan sentences in (1) and (2) do not need to be in present tense, but they can also be in past, imperfect or perfect/compound tenses (e. g., *eren*, *havia*, *és nat*, *brodava*, *fou*, *varen fer*, etc.).

Finally, the Galician construction (with a SCl and a locative adverb) is only possible in sentences with a presentational meaning, with stative verbs like *estar* ‘be’ or movement verbs like *venir* ‘come’, *chegar* ‘arrive’ or *ir* ‘go’. By contrast, in the Old Central Catalan construction (with a non-locative deictic Op), although the existential and presentational contexts are the most frequent ones (with verbs such as *haver-hi* ‘there be’, *ésser* ‘be’, *venir* ‘come’ and *néixer* ‘be born’), the evidential SCl construction can also be used in other contexts than the ones we find in Galician—e. g., with non unaccusative verbs like *dir* ‘say’, *respondre* ‘answer’, *fer* ‘do/make’, *brodar* ‘embroider’, *portar* ‘bring’, *tancar* ‘close’...

6. Final remarks

6.1. Evidentiality is encoded in Force_[uDeictic]

The notion of evidentiality centres around “the sources of information or sources of knowledge behind assertions” (Dendale & Tasmowski 2001). Evidential markers present the source of information on the grounds of which the speaker justifies or supports a given speech act, typically an assertion (Aikhenvald 2004).

The Central Catalan SCl construction in (1) and (2) has many links with the evidential enclitic particles found in Cuzco Quechua and studied by Faller (2002). According to her, Cuzco Quechua possesses three evidential enclitics: (i) *-mi/-n*, (ii) *-chá*, and (iii) *-si/-sis/-s*.

(i) *-mi/-n* indicates that the speaker has the best possible grounds or the strongest evidence in relation to the type of information conveyed by the expressed proposition (*p*). Two types of sources can feed this direct or general evidence/access to the described events: a) personal information (information about events in the speaker’s private life); or b) encyclopaedic information, which includes knowledge that is taken for granted within a culture and knowledge that is typically taught in school or found in encyclopedias—speakers are only expected to have obtained (learned and assimilated) this information from a source of authority.

In our opinion, the Central Catalan sentences in (39) and the Borganerese non-personal constructions in (16), (17) and (18) could exemplify this kind of direct or general evidentiality. In (39a), Virgin Maria is telling her husband that the evidence is clear that now he looks

younger—she has “personal information” for saying this. In (39b), it is strongly evident to the speaker¹⁰ that the Virgin of Montserrat is dark-skinned, both from personal information (he has seen this Virgin statue) and from encyclopaedic knowledge about this holy statue.

(39) a. Josep, s' en heu tornat
Joseph CL.2PL CL.PART have.PRES.2PL become.PRT
 jove.
young
 ‘Joseph, you have become young(er)’ [= (2a)]

b. Moreneta en sou, l
dark-skinned.DIM.FEM CL.PART are.2PL l
 és que el Sol vos toca, l
is that the Sun CL.OBJ.2SG touches
 ‘You are dark skinned, that is because the Sun touches you’
 és que us toca el Sol, l
is that CL.OBJ.2SG touches the Sun l
 lo Sol de la Glòria.
the Sun of the Glory
 ‘that is because the Sun touches you, the Sun of Glory’

(ii) According to Faller (2002), the enclitic *-chá* in Cusco Quechua marks that the speaker “conjectures” that *p*. We have not found any example with this pragmatic meaning in the Central Catalan sentences with *en*.

However, we are especially interested in the third type of evidential markers from Cusco Quechua: (iii) *-si/-sis/-s* indicates that the speaker has “heard” that *p*. The speaker has no direct evidence for the assertion that *p*, but bases his/her assertion on someone else’s saying. The meaning of *-si* is simply to “describe”: the speaker “reports” what someone else has said, be it to talk about daily events, or to report news, or to tell stories, folk tales or formulaic riddles—it is not by chance that these narrative contexts are the ones we find, in general, in the Central Catalan examples in (1) and (2).

Use of the “reportative” or “hearsay” evidentiality does not mean that the speaker does not believe the embedded proposition *p*; but does also not necessarily mean that the speaker believes *p*. Rather, *-si* is simply silent about the speaker’s beliefs regarding the truth of *p*. It is enough that s/he believes that someone else said *p*.

¹⁰ Vid. fn. 1, first paragraph.

As stated by Faller (2002), the reportative *-si* is an illocutionary act modifier/operator (PRESENTATION). It does not operate at the propositional level, but above it; *si* is a function that applies to the basic speech act of ASSERTION, defined by the sincerity condition that the speaker believes the asserted proposition (*p*), and changes its force to that of a PRESENTATION: the speaker only presents *p* for discussion. To put it in other words: this function introduces the sincerity condition that the source of the information is someone else's assertion, and eliminates the sincerity condition associated to the speaker of a basic assertion that this assertion is intended as true. The relevant saying is specified as not coming from either the speaker or the hearer.

Following this reasoning, we claim that the deictic operator ($\text{Op}_{[+deictic]}$) raises to the specifier of Force_[uDeictic], in order to modify the illocutionary force of the whole sentence and value its [*uDeictic*] feature (cf. [irrealis] in Hernanz 2012). Remember that Bartra (2011) argues that the neuter pronouns *açò/això* and *ell* maintain a D-linked or an anaphoric relationship to a previous intervention in a discourse (or, more specifically, in a dialog) or to an implicit context. In fact, this context could be real or unreal, so the truth-value of the statement could remain suspended.

Unlike the Cusco Quechua particles, in Old Central Catalan, the kind of evidentiality encoded by the chain “deictic Op – *en* clitic” remains underspecified. This chain only introduces the source of information, real or unreal, on the grounds of which the speaker justifies or supports a given speech act. So, in Catalan, this chain can be used to express both direct and evocative evidentiality—although, statistically, most of the examples (from story-telling texts) convey the second type of evidentiality.

6.2. A root (or main clause) phenomenon?

We could ask ourselves if the evidential SCI construction is a root (or main clause) phenomenon. Our answer is yes and no, at the same time:

Notice that we can find the recycled SCI *en* within embedded clauses; e. g., *que en venen de la guerra*, in (1a); *que en brodava un mocador* and *quan en fou a mig brodar*, in (1f); *que no n'hi ha fusta obrada* and *que tots los portals ne tànquien*, in (2b). However, this could be explained by Concord or Upwards Agree (Zeijlstra 2012) between the main clause (also with *en*) and the agreeing embedded clause. From our examples, we can conclude that the evidential *en* never occurs in an embedded clause unless the higher clause also contains that clitic.

Notice also that it seems that the deictic operators *si* or *ja* can only appear in the root clause. The exception is (2a): *Maria, bé ho tinc de fer, si n'és nat lo Rei de Glòria*. An evidential SCI clause introduced by the

deictic operator *si*, if embedded, turns out to be, crucially, a conditional clause (or an indirect interrogative clause, in other cases)!¹¹

6.3. Why the “partitive” clitic as an evidential SCI?

Remember that our claim is that the Central Catalan SCI *en* is Merged in Agr_{Num}, above Agr_{Pers}, so it displays neither person nor gender features. This Agr_{Num} head only encodes a quantificational interpretable feature ([+Q]) and an uninterpretable [*u*Deictic] feature, which is going to be valued by the deictic operator in its specifier.

Besides this, we think that the deictic operators can be seen as indefinite quantifiers. Let us quote Hernanz (2012) [our translation]:

Following Manzini & Savoia (2003), I assume that *si* is a “modal complementizer”, together with *wh*- linking words (relative and interrogative/exclamative operators). This paradigm is opposed to a second group: the “non-modal complementizers” from declarative embedded clauses in indicative mood. Considering that complementizers can be conceived as nominal elements that subcategorize a proposition as their complement, the classification of complementizers into “modal” and “non-modal” ones would be correlated with the opposition between “definiteness” and “indefiniteness”. More specifically, non-modal complementizers would possess some features typical of definite quantification, while modal complementizers would introduce an indefinite quantification. This parallelism between clauses and indefinite nominals, besides capturing the polar status of indirect interrogative clauses (Rigau 1984), opens the way for approaching comprehensively, as a whole, interrogative and conditional clauses. Then, the marked modal status of both of them — related to the expression of “unreality” — would be derived from its peculiar nature, which could be likened to indefinite quantification. As stated by Brucart & Gallego (2009), “what indirect interrogative clauses and conditional protasis have in common is the fact that the truth-value of the proposition remains suspended”.

¹¹ We leave for further investigation this parallelism between the Old Central Catalan *en*-construction and conditional clauses. For instance, Bhatt & Pancheva (2006) and Haegeman (2010) argue for the derivation of conditional clauses in terms of movement of a World or Mood_{irealis} operator (in the high IP area) to [Spec, ForceP]. In fact, the Catalan construction *Si n'eren tres tambors* also possesses a “world-creating” *si* ‘if’ particle.

Villalba (2001, 2002, 2003), considering exclamative sentences like the one in (40a)—which in current Central Catalan also display a “partitive” clitic—says:

The last detail we must consider concerns the form of the clitic: Why should it be the partitive one? One possible answer to this question may be that partitive is the typical default case when accusative is not available [...]. A different, but nonetheless compatible alternative would be to consider that the presence of the partitive clitic is necessary to identify the null degree operator as quantificational, a feature systematically associated with the paradigmatic nonspecific clitic *en/ne*.

- (40) a. Que n' ets d' intel·ligent!
 that CL.PART are of intelligent
 ‘How intelligent you are!’ [current Central Catalan]

- b. [_{CP} O_{pi} Que [_{IP} n'ets [_{DegP} ti d' [_{AdjP} intelligent]]]]

Crucially, the exclamative sentence in (40a) is impossible in Balearic Catalan with an overt *en*. This is highly expectable, since we have seen that Balearic Catalan did not recycle its partitive clitic as a modal or evidential SCI—vid. also IEC (2016: § 18.6.1.3).

- (41) a. Que ets d' intel·ligent!

- b. *Que n'ets d' intel·ligent! [Balearic Catalan]

By contrast, Central Catalan seems to be more prone to recycle the partitive clitic with new uses—even if contemporary Catalan has lost the evidential *en*-construction that we have presented in (1) and (2), but not the exclamative one in (40).

6.4. What is the difference between the special “partitive” clitic being present or not?

We have to remember that the special use of the “partitive” clitic that we have analysed in this article belongs exclusively to one particular Catalan dialect (Central Catalan) and to a very specific temporal period (~ 17th, 18th and 19th centuries). Medieval Catalan, current Central

Catalan or Balearic Catalan do not materialize the Agr_{Num} head with an explicit exponent in this construction. Even in the Central Catalan dialect from those centuries, we can find many songs or stories without that clitic, or alternating sentences (with and without *en*) in the same text. So we can conclude that *en* (as an overt exponent for Agr_{Num}) is optional.

The important issue, from the syntactic and semantic/pragmatic point of view, is the presence vs. absence of the deictic operator (overt or covert), which presents the source of information on the grounds of which the speaker justifies or supports a given speech act. This Op maintains a D-linked or anaphoric relationship to a previous intervention in a discourse or to an implicit context, real or unreal, so the truth value of the statement can remain suspended—in the unreal case—when the deictic Op moves up to [Spec, ForceP_{[uDeictic]]] and modifies the illocutionary force of the whole sentence.}

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