

The Spanish Complementizer System: Consequences for the Syntax of  
Dislocations and Subjects, Locality of Movement, and Clausal Structure

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University of Connecticut, 2012

This dissertation investigates the syntax of Spanish complementizers, with special attention to double-complementizer constructions and non-high *que* ‘that’ complementizers. The goal is to explore the consequences of the behavior and distribution of such complementizers for the mapping of the Spanish left periphery, the analysis of dislocations and preverbal subjects in Spanish, as well as more general issues concerning locality of movement and ellipsis.

Chapter 1 introduces the phenomena to be investigated and provides an outline of the dissertation.

Chapter 2 focuses on the phenomenon of recommentation (i.e. the double-complementatizer construction) in Spanish and provides a number of arguments for analyzing the second instance of *que* as the head of TopicP in Rizzi’s (1997 *et seq.*) split-CP system.

Chapter 3 provides a systematic comparison of recommentation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que*, another non-high complementizer characteristic of subjunctive exhortative and desiderative clauses. The central claim of Chapter 3 is

that the two complementizers constitute radically different phenomena and thus should be analyzed differently. I argue that whereas recomplementation *que* heads TopicP, “jussive/optative” *que* heads FinitenessP.

Chapter 4 builds on the findings of Chapter 3 and investigates the implications of “jussive/optative”-*que* clauses for the syntax of preverbal subjects in Spanish. I identify a configuration where only a genuine subject can occur, to the exclusion of non-subject preverbal XPs. I claim that this is the canonical subject position (i.e. Spec,TP) and that Spanish preverbal subjects are not always CP-related phenomena; they can also occur in Spec,TP, which is furthermore restricted to true subjects.

Chapter 5 investigates the locality of non-high complementizers. I show that movement across recomplementation *que* induces a locality-of-movement effect. I also show that sandwiched Clitic-Left Dislocated (CLLDed) phrases fail to show reconstruction effects, unlike their counterparts without recomplementation *que*. I therefore argue that sandwiched dislocates must be base-generated (i.e directly merged) in between complementizers, the movement derivation of sandwiched dislocates being unavailable due to a locality violation. I then pursue the parallelism between the English *that*-t effect and the Spanish recomplementation-*que*-t effect and show that the contrast between the ungrammatical sentences where *que* is crossed and their grammatical counterparts without *que* can be accounted for in a principled way under the Rescue-by-PF-Deletion analysis of the mitigating effect of ellipsis/deletion on island violations.

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A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the

University of Connecticut

2012

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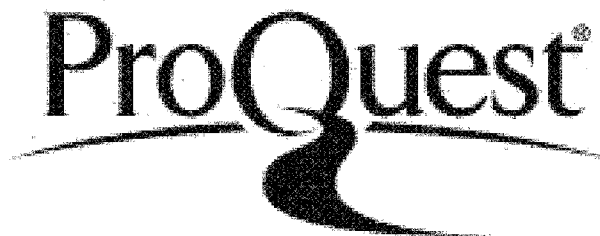


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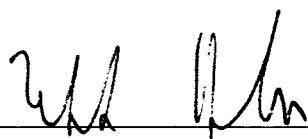
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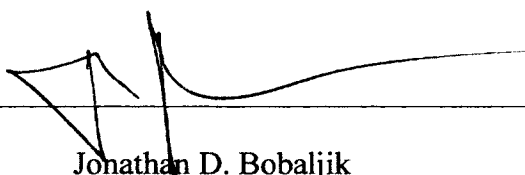
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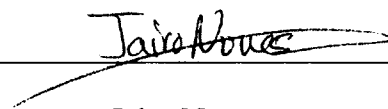
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2012

*A mis padres, Julio y Esther,  
que me lo han dado  
todo, incluyendo las  
primeras oraciones con  
múltiples ques  
que escuché en mi vida*

## Acknowledgments

In much the same way as I despise the inevitability of sending off the final version of any document only to reopen the file minutes later and realize that there is an offending typo in it, I have spent some months worrying about who I will fail to mention in my dissertation acknowledgments. For this reason, I would like to apologize in advance to those who I may forget to thank in the following lines. In my defense, though, I will blame it on the desideratum that the acknowledgments section not be (way) too long.

There is certainly one person whose guidance, encouragement, generosity, supportiveness, advice, and help I wouldn't be able to forget to acknowledge even if my memory betrayed me: Željko Bošković. I would like to sound original and write something that not every former advisee of Željko's has said in the past, but I am afraid I will have to sound repetitive. Željko is, without a doubt, the best advisor that I could have even dreamed of having. And he certainly deserves the title of advisor, since his advice goes well beyond theoretical syntax: from buying a car, finding a house, thinking syntactically, and writing a proposal, to finding a dream job. I think that the person I have become since I arrived in Storrs in August 2007 owes much to Željko. I will never be able to thank him enough or describe his genius in words properly, and I will certainly not be able to express my gratitude accurately in print, so I will stop here.

I am also thankful to the members of my committee: Jonathan Bobaljik and Jairo Nunes. Jonathan is a role model, and I very much respect his diligence

and professionalism. I really like his transparency and values, and I know he will excel as a Linguistics Department Head. His knowledge, comments, and criticisms have always impressed me. He's also one of the best teachers and linguists I have ever met. Jairo has been a constant source of support. Without his encouragement, I wouldn't have been able to muster the strength to publish much of my work to date. I would also like to thank him for his friendship and sense of humor.

The professors at UConn Linguistics have been extremely helpful: Scott AnderBois, Eva Bar-Shalom, Andrea Calabrese, Marie Coppola, Tom Ernst, Jon Gajewski, Harry van der Hulst, Diane Lillo-Martin, David Michaels, Keiko Murasugi, Mamoru Saito, Yael Sharvit, William Snyder, Daiko Takahashi, and Susi Wurmbrand. Eva has been not only an outstanding teacher and mentor, but also a great friend. The Bar-Shaloms are an amazing family that have always treated me like one of them. Thanks for all the love and encouragement –and for your hospitality and amazing food! I can't wait to be back in Storrs to visit you! Marie has been a great friend and I thank her for her charm and sense of humor. Harry has been a great TA supervisor and I have learned a lot from him. Diane has always been extremely generous in all respects. Thank you for recommending me for the jobs! I will never forget that! I have always enjoyed spending time with David, who has shared wonderful stories about the legacy of the UConn Linguistics Department with me. I couldn't be prouder of being a UConn guy now! Keiko and Mamoru are just incredibly nice in all senses. I will never thank

them enough for their generosity and hospitality in Japan in October 2011, and for all the knowledge and experience they've shared with me. Yael has been an amazing unofficial mentor for a long time now. Her friendship, generosity, and unremitting support are greatly appreciated. In the last year, I have missed our dinners very much, but I can't wait to visit her in Beverly Hills! William has been extremely nice to me, despite the fact that he was always so busy heading the Department. He was probably one of the first people to believe in me. He has helped me with so many things in the last five years: from becoming an acquisitionist and an abstract writer, to teaching advanced linguistics courses and getting a job. Again, I will never be able to show William my gratitude appropriately. Thanks for everything, Wil(l)! Susi has been extremely inspirational. Her attention to detail, criticism, generosity, and guidance are impressive. Thanks for being a great syntax teacher and a superb work supervisor!

Catalina Ritton has been so helpful in so many ways that if I could ever hire a program assistant wherever I am, I would certainly persuade her enthusiastically to accept the job offer. ¡*Gracias, Cat!*

I would also like to express my gratitude to a bunch of talented and lovely graduate students (some of whom are already alumni) at UConn Linguistics (in no particular order): Cynthia, Serkan, Nilüfer, Carlos, Takuro, Nina, Natasha, Oksana, Miloje, Masa T., Ken, Masahiko A., Jeff, Jean, Johnny, Tsuyoshi, Soyoung, Beata, Neda, Jungmin, Zhanna, Corina (and Anthony), Ruei, Troy, Koichi, Zheng, Yoshi, Koji, Peter, Aida, Winny, Safet, Lyn, Ting, and Renato, an

entering student. Thanks also to a recent postdoc, Kate Davidson, for some great advice on Philly! Some UConn grads and postdocs deserve special mention, though: Sasha Vaxman has been a great classmate and a great friend to hang out with. Vanessa Petroj has been a lovely friend in the last year and I wish I had been able to spend more time with her in the area. Thanks for your support and encouragement, (and lasagna) *Petrović*! Ana Bastos-Gee and her family have always been extremely hospitable and lovely. Gísli Harðarson and Jonas Moody have been like a family to me, as have been Helen Koulidobrova and Vanessa González-Rivera. Thanks! Yong Suk You has been a great friend in the last months. I wish he had come to Storrs earlier. His intelligence, class, and multifaceted talents will take him far! Of all the amazing people that I have had the privilege of befriending at UConn Linguistics, I need to dedicate some very special lines to three of them: Mary Goodrich, Krzysztof Migdalski, and Irina Monich. Despite my initial adjustment, the last five years –one sixth of my life– have arguably been the best years –Mary, Krzysztof, and Irina are some of the people responsible for that! Irina is one of the smartest people I’ve ever met, and it’s been a real pleasure to have her as my classmate. Her linguistic intuitions are unparalleled, and she is so fun to be around! I will certainly spend a lot of money on train tickets from Philadelphia to Boston, but hey, it’ll be worth it! Thanks for everything, *Iriniti*! Mary has been a major source of support since 2009. Her loyalty, friendship, encouragement, generosity, help, and guidance without limits are priceless. Even though she always says that she’s very introverted, the truth is

that Mary is one of those few people for whom friendship truly means friendship. Mary has also been my teaching muse. Her students are very lucky to have her, and so am I! Thanks Mary. I will never thank you enough! There are no words to describe Krzysztof as a friend. I was so lucky to meet him in 2007-2008, during his last year as a postdoc (or “postdoctor,” as I like to call him) at UConn. Krzysztof has played a major role in my life ever since, in spite of a big ocean between us: from always being there on Skype® to support me, and traveling to America and Spain to meet me, to helping me with anything to do with linguistics, and being my efficient travel agent. Krzysztof, I know that we will always be friends, and I couldn’t be happier! Thanks, *Piñounse*!

Outside of the Linguistics Department but still within UConn, I’ve been lucky to meet some really interesting people. There are many names and the full list would be too long, so I will just mention a few individuals here: María Aranda, Koichi Yoshikawa, Hassan Salmani, Isaac Ruiz-Alfaro, Marc Artiga-Galindo, Adriana Vega, Garazi Echeverría, Mar Pérez Fortes, Lucía Santana, Alejandro Mylonas-Leegstra, Tania Huedo, Ana María Díaz-Marcos, Gustavo Nanclares, Eduardo Urios-Aparisi, Arata Nakajo, Viviana Magionni, Joshua Ang, Jarred Wiehe, Stephen Tobin, Wei, Ilke Canakci, and so many others. María and Ilke, for instance, will be my friends forever. Thanks for everything, *mis chicas*! I should certainly mention the person who is not only my best friend but also my brother: Mikel Lorenzo-Arza. Mikel is the perfect friend. Our four-year friendship just gets better with time. I have been blessed with him in my life. His advice and



guidance with respect to virtually every aspect of life have been too good for words. *¡Gracias, Hermua!*

Adolfo Ausín, Luisa Martí-Martínez, Lara Reglero, and Emma Ticio have been great representatives of the UConn Spanish “Mafia.” Lara gave me the best advice ever at the beginning of my stay at UConn via email and Emma has constantly supported me from Syracuse until the present day. I just hope that the advice I supply to people who begin an academic career in the future is at least half as good as the advice I got from them! Thanks also to Sandra Stjepanović, Masao Ochi, and Yoichi Miyamoto.

This dissertation has benefited enormously from the comments, suggestions, and criticisms of many linguists in addition to those mentioned above: Klaus Abels, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Marc Authier, Pilar Barbosa, Josef Bayer, Roberta D’Alessandro, Marcel den Dikken, Janet Fodor, Ángel Gallego, Francesc González i Planas, Paula Kempchinsky, Luis López-Carretero, Liljana Progovac, Andrew Radford, Christina Tortora, and Jan-Wouter Zwart. Special thanks to Violeta Demonte and Olga Fernández-Soriano, and also to Adam Ledgeway, M<sup>a</sup> Teresa Rodríguez-Ramalle, and Sandra Paoli for inspiring me to work on complementizers. A thank-you note goes to my countless consultants and the generous anonymous reviewers that have helped me improve my work. I am also thankful to Carmen Escobedo de Tapia, Carolina Fernández Rodríguez, Ana Ojea, Guillermo Lorenzo, Javier Vallina, Isabel García Martínez, M<sup>a</sup> José Álvarez Faedo, Cristina Valdés, Francisco Martín-Miguel, Roger Hawkins, Michael

Hughes, Andrew Spencer, and Andrew Radford for believing in me, preparing me so well for a Ph.D. in linguistics at a top US research university, and for their constant support and friendship!

Special thanks to the following people (in no particular order): Juliana de la Mora, Silvia Perpiñán, Meghan Armstrong, Ana de Prada, Verónica González, Paco Fernández-Rubiera, Melvin González-Rivera, Alejandro Cuza, Grant Armstrong, Laura Domínguez, Paula Kempchinsky, Gerardo Fernández-Salgueiro, Violeta Demonte, Eulália Bonet, Ángel Jiménez, Tim Gupton, Lucía Quintana, Diego Pascual, Hilton Alers-Valentín, Elena Valenzuela, Mary Kato, Luis López-Carretero, Deborah Arteaga, Cristina Martínez-Sanz, Brad Hood, Juana Liceras, Ana Teresa Pérez-Leroux, Ricardo Etxepare, Ángel Gallego, Antxon Olarrea, Shane Ebert, Joyce Bruhn de Garavito, Sonia Colina, Silvina Montrul, Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria, Javier Ormazábal, José Camacho, Liliana Sánchez, Pilar Prieto, Drew Long, María Luisa Zubizarreta, Paco Ordóñez, Iván Ortega-Santos, Karen Zagona, Francesc González i Planas, Sandro Sessarego, Pedro Guijarro-Fuentes, Eugenia Casielles, and, particularly, Jason Rothman, for accepting me into the Spanish/Romance Linguistics World and for their perennial help. I am lucky to belong to one of the nicest, friendliest, and most generous groups of linguists ever! *¡Gracias por todo!*

Thanks to all of my undergraduate students at UConn, who are the main reason why I decided to continue to pursue an academic career. I knew that

teaching was not only my vocation but my life, and this intuition has been strongly confirmed by my experience teaching at UConn. Thanks, folks!

Cafémantic is arguably the most inspirational coffee house I have ever been to. Much of the present work got written while at Cafémantic. I am also extremely proud to say that I was the one to give the Café its name, using the morphological operation of *blending*. Thanks to Andrew Gütt, Courtney Haines, and their incredible staff for an amazing job, great friendship, and delicious food and drinks!

Thanks also to the Spanish savings bank “la Caixa” for a generous graduate fellowship that has enabled me to live comfortably, save money, and travel to academic conferences.

I would like to express my gratitude to Mercedes Juliá and her team in the Romance Languages and Literatures Department at Villanova University for this great opportunity and for believing in me. *Philly, here I come!*

I am indebted to my former partners, who are no longer part of my life. They know who they are, and they know how instrumental they have been in my life and career. Likewise, Andrew Gütt has been an amazing “family” member. He’s one of the best friends I have. Although we both have embarked on different –but somewhat similar– endeavors, we have grown together and learned a lot from each other. He has shown tremendous support in many facets of my life. For all of that, thank you –and “Guille.” *Cli!*

As a person who holds his friends in such high regard, I can't finish the acknowledgments section without thanking my wonderful friends around the States, back in England and Spain, and all over the world. Fortunately, there are many of them; unfortunately there are too many to list them all here. They've always been here for me and they've believed in me more than myself.

And last but not least, I would like to thank my family, especially, my sister Marta, my granny Tita, and my parents, Julio and Esther. I can't help but cry as I type these lines. My parents have always been there for me. I owe them who I am. Without their unremitting support, I would have not been able to do even one tenth of what I've done so far. They have been Wikipedia® parents!

*Papá y Mamá: os quiero más que a mi vida. ¡Gracias por todo!*

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1. Overall goals

Complementizers offer a window into the structure of the left periphery. Their syntactic behavior and distribution can help shed light on various empirical and theoretical issues, including extraction possibilities and the theory of locality as well as the status of subjects and left-peripheral phenomena such as left dislocations, and issues concerning the demarcation of the boundaries of the C and T domains.

This dissertation deals with the syntax of Spanish complementizers. Spanish allows more than one instance of *que* /ke/ ‘that’ in the left periphery. In addition to the high, primary complementizer, which I call primary *que*, Spanish has non-primary complementizers that occur below primary *que*. In this work, special attention will be devoted to two non-primary *que* complementizers, which I refer to as *recomplementation que* and “jussive/optative” *que*. I will investigate the behavior, locality, and distribution of such complementizers, which have generally been wrongly believed to constitute a single phenomenon. Although it is well-known that double-complementizer constructions are attested in a number of languages, many questions remain at this point, regarding both the empirical domain of such constructions and their analysis. The goal of this dissertation is to



provide a detailed account of double-complementizer constructions in one language, Spanish, which could then be used as a cornerstone for similar investigations in other languages.

Set against this background, this investigation aims to shed light on the architecture of the complex Spanish CP layer while contributing to current theoretical debates relevant to the left periphery and clausal structure. Specifically, this dissertation will illuminate the account of non-primary complementizers, which will serve as a stepping stone towards revisiting the controversial status of left dislocations and preverbal subjects in Spanish. A number of more general issues concerning locality of movement and ellipsis will also be addressed.

## **2. Spanish recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que***

Spanish, like many other languages, displays low non-interrogative complementizers, which have the peculiarity that they are camouflaged as /ke/ and therefore are difficult to tease apart in certain contexts (e.g. (1)). The first complementizer this dissertation is concerned with is optional recomplementation (i.e. reduplicative) *que*, which is found in embedded clauses that display at least one left-dislocated constituent sandwiched between overt complementizers, as illustrated in (1a). The second complementizer investigated in detail in this work is mandatory “jussive/optative” *que*, illustrated in (1b), which appears in desiderative/exhortative clauses in the subjunctive.

- (1) a. *Recomplementation que*:

Dice que si nieva, **(que)** viene el niño a casa  
 says that if snows that come<sub>3.SG-Indic.</sub> the child to home  
 ‘S/he says that the kid will come home if it snows.’

- b. *“Jussive/optative” que*:

Dice que si nieva, **\*(que)** venga el niño a casa  
 says that if snows that come<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub> the child to home  
 ‘S/he demands that the child come home if it snows.’

One major property of such complementizers that has gone unnoticed in the literature so far is that recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* block movement operations (i.e. they induce a barrier/island for extraction), as illustrated for recomplementation *que* by the data in (2) and (3). The examples in (2) illustrate the impossibility of extracting a long-distance moving constituent across overt recomplementation *que* (cf. (2a)); the examples in (3), for their part, show that when recomplementation *que* is present, the sandwiched dislocate/Clitic-Left Dislocated Phrase (CLLD) does not show reconstruction effects (cf. (3a)). I take this finding to indicate that the CLLDed phrase is directly merged in the position in-between *ques*, the movement derivation of the dislocate being unavailable for sentences like (3a) given that movement across the secondary complementizer is illicit.

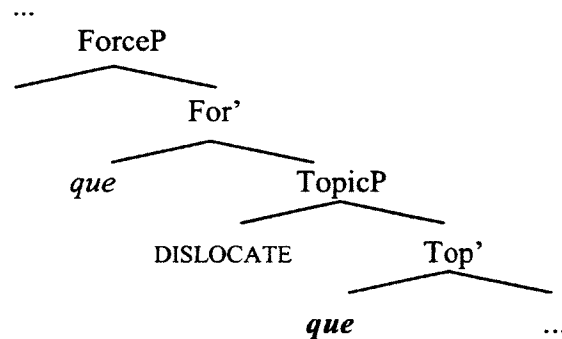
- (2) a. \*¿Quién me dijiste que a tu madre **que** la  
who cl. said that your mother that cl.  
va a invitar?  
goes to invite  
'Who did you tell me is going to invite your mother?'
- b. ¿Quién me dijiste que a tu madre la va a invitar?  
who cl. said that your mother cl. goes to invite
- (3) a. Dice que en su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo, **que** todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> tiene  
says that in his son that all the world has  
que creer  
that believe  
'S/he says that everybody has to believe in his/their (= somebody  
else's) son.'
- [bound reading: ✗]
- b. Dice que en su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo, todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> tiene  
says that in his son all the world tiene  
que creer  
that believe  
'S/he says that everybody has to believe in his/their son.'
- [bound reading: ✓]

The discussion of these facts in the dissertation will shed light on more general issues, including ellipsis, subject positions, freezing effects, and the theory of locality of movement (e.g. Rescue-by-PF-Deletion and the theory of phases).

### 3. Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. In Chapter 2, I focus on recomplementation configurations in Spanish (cf. (1a)). I provide a number of empirical arguments in support of Rodríguez-Ramalle's (2003) TopicP account of recomplementation whereby secondary *que* is the head of TopicP in Rizzi's (1997 *et seq.*) split CP, as shown in (4).

(4) *Spanish recomplementation que heads TopicP*



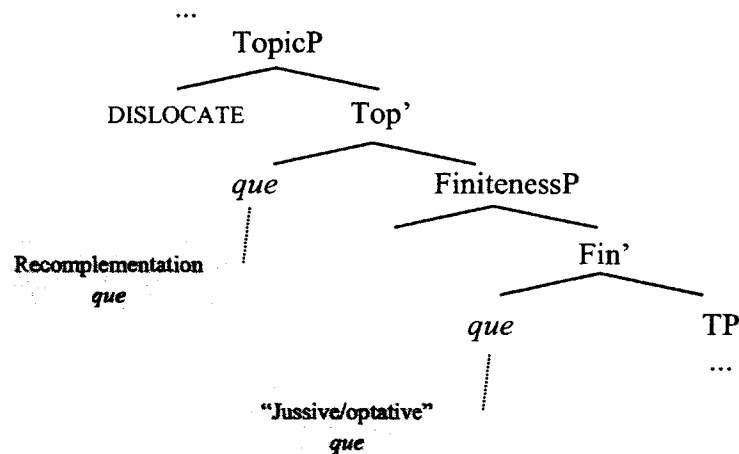
The arguments in favor of this analysis come from the close relationship between the secondary complementizer and the dislocate, on whose occurrence the appearance of the secondary complementizer is contingent; the possibility of multiple non-primary complementizers, which follows from the recursive character of Rizzi's (1997) TopicP; and the option of placing dislocated material below secondary *que*. Additional arguments include the observation that foci, (negative) quantified phrases, and *wh*-items as well as interrogative

complementizers can follow but never precede recomplementation *que*, and the distinct behavior displayed by recomplementation *que* (cf. (1a)) and “jussive/optative” *que* (cf. (1b)), which is argued to be located in FinitenessP. One of the empirical findings of Chapter 2 is that the complement of recomplementation *que* can be elided. On the standard assumption that functional heads can license ellipsis of their complement only when they undergo feature-checking in a Spec-Head configuration (Lobeck 1990, Saito and Murasugi 1990), I take the ellipsis facts to support the analysis in (4), wherein the sandwiched dislocate and the head of TopicP (i.e. recomplementation *que*) enter into an agreement relationship, a claim for which I provide crosslinguistic support. I show that non-primary-*que* constructions exhibit a complex ellipsis paradigm which I demonstrate can be accounted for under the current analysis, which has consequences for more general theoretical issues regarding the licensing of ellipsis and freezing effects with certain types of movement.

In Chapter 3, I turn to a detailed comparison of recomplementation *que* (cf. (1a)) and “jussive/optative” *que* (cf. (1b)) in terms of a number of properties, which include their (non)dependence on the appearance of a dislocated phrase, their optionality vs. obligatoriness, their (in)ability to license ellipsis, their distribution with respect to left dislocations and foci, their bearing on clitic placement possibilities in a related Western Iberian Romance language –Asturian, their (im)possibility to iterate, and their ability to co-occur in the same sentence. I conclude that the two non-primary complementizers constitute radically different

phenomena, contrary to what has often been assumed in the literature, and argue that they are best analyzed as heading different projections, as shown in (5). More generally, I conclude that the different behavior and distribution of the two seemingly identical complementizers strongly argues for a highly articulated structure of the Spanish left periphery.

(5) *Spanish recommentation que and “jussive/optative” que*



In Chapter 4, I explore the consequences of analyzing “jussive/optative” *que* as the head of the lowest split-CP projection (i.e. FinitenessP) for the much debated syntax of preverbal subjects. On the basis of evidence suggesting that only a *bona fide* subject can occupy the position sandwiched between “jussive/optative” *que* and the verb (standardly assumed to move to T° in Spanish), I argue that Spec,TP/AgrSP is indeed available only for subjects in

Spanish. Moreover, the fact that preverbal subjects can occupy the canonical subject position in Spanish disputes the claim generally made in the literature that preverbal subjects in Spanish-style null-subject languages are *always* left-peripheral constituents in the CP domain. I also discuss the relevance of the data for the syntax of Locative Inversion structures.

In Chapter 5, I investigate the locality of non-primary complementizers (cf. (2)/(3)), with a focus on recomplementation *que*. I argue that sandwiched CLLDed constituents are directly merged in their surface position between *ques*. The arguments for this position come from the behavior of negative constituents and from the failure of sandwiched dislocates to reconstruct for purposes of the bound variable interpretation, anaphor binding, and scope (cf. (3a)), unlike their counterparts without secondary *que* (cf. (3b)). Moreover, I show that sandwiched CLLDed phrases are subject to an additional locality constraint –a clausematehood requirement. I then go on to draw a comparison between the behavior of sandwiched CLLDed phrases and that of sandwiched hanging topics. I claim that sandwiched CLLDed phrases receive case *à la* Bošković (2007), since they can check case by probing their case-licensor from their base-generated position in the left periphery, as they are higher than the case-checker, which provides a novel argument for Bošković’s system. More generally, Chapter 5 contributes to the contentious account of left dislocations in Spanish, and proposes that CLLD may be the result of direct merge or move, the first option

being the only derivation available for CLLDed phrases appearing between overt complementizers.

The claim that recomplementation dislocates are directly merged in pre-secondary-*que* position falls in line with the observation that movement across secondary *que* triggers a locality problem (i.e. the dislocate cannot move to pre-secondary-*que* position because the movement would result in a locality-of-movement violation). In this respect, I show that movement across secondary *que* induces a locality-of-movement effect in cases such as long-distance *wh*-extraction (cf. (2a)), a state of affairs which is closely reminiscent of the English *that*-t effect. I submit that secondary *que* is crucially implicated in the locality violation triggered by movement across it, since in the absence of the offending complementizer, the locality violation vanishes (cf. (2b)). I argue that the novel Spanish facts constitute new evidence for the rescue-by-PF-deletion account of the mitigating effect of ellipsis on island violations pursued in recent research (e.g. Boeckx and Lasnik 2006, Bošković 2011, Hornstein *et al.* 2003, Lasnik 2001, Merchant 1999 *et seq.*, Park 2005, among others), which allows for a unification of a number of previously unconnected phenomena. Drawing on the work of Bošković (2011), which provides an account of the contrast between ungrammatical sentences with *that* in English (i.e. *that*-t-effect violations) and their grammatical counterparts without *that*, I offer a principled account of the difference between ungrammatical sentences exhibiting movement across secondary *que* in Spanish and their grammatical counterparts without secondary



*que*. The Repair-by-PF-Deletion account thus allows for a uniform analysis of the Spanish facts and the English *that-t* phenomenon. A number of correct predictions are derived from this account, which substantiates the overall analysis adopted here. Lastly, I explore the advantages and disadvantages of a potential alternative analysis of the observed locality effect with low complementizers –the *phase*-based account.

## Chapter 2

### Recomplementation in Spanish<sup>\*</sup>

#### 1. Overview

This chapter investigates recomplementation constructions in Spanish and provides a number of arguments in favor of analyzing recomplementation (i.e. secondary) *que* as the head of TopicP in the left periphery. The purpose of the present chapter and, more generally, of this dissertation, is twofold: on the one hand, this study aims to bring to light certain Spanish data related to recomplementation which have thus far gone unnoticed in the literature and, on the other hand, this investigation intends to shed light on the architecture of the Spanish clausal left periphery while contributing to current theoretical debates relevant to the CP layer. In this chapter, I focus on data from Iberian Spanish, although I also present data from other linguistic varieties when appropriate.<sup>1</sup>

I first outline existing accounts of the phenomenon of recomplementation and then go on to discuss a number of properties of the construction in question, which will lead me to the conclusion that the TopicP analysis of Spanish recomplementation is on the right track. In addition to medial, recomplementation

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<sup>\*</sup> This chapter is a revised version of (various sections of) Villa-García (in press a).

<sup>1</sup> Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009) claim that the phenomenon under consideration is found across various dialects of Spanish. Yet, I will limit the discussion to Modern Castilian/European/Iberian/Peninsular Spanish. Note also that Uriagereka (1995a) attributes this construction to “archaic” Romance varieties.

*que*, I provide evidence for the existence of an additional complementizer, which I refer to as low, “jussive/optative” *que*, characteristic of subjunctive clauses with exhortative/desiderative meaning, a conclusion further reinforced by the evidence adduced in Chapter 3.

## 2. The double-complementizer construction in Spanish: recomplementation

The phenomenon of *recomplementation* consists of one or more left-dislocated (LD) phrases sandwiched between overt (homophonous) *que* /ke/ complementizers, the second of which is optional in most cases. This configuration, characteristic of colloquial, spoken Iberian Spanish, is illustrated in (6). I refer to the primary *que* as high, obligatory *que*,<sup>2</sup> and to the lower *que* as secondary/recomplementation *que*.<sup>3</sup>

- (6) Susi dice que a los alumnos (que) les van a dar regalos  
 Susi says that DAT the students that cl. go to give presents  
 ‘Susi says that they are going to give the students presents.’

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<sup>2</sup> Note that deletion of the higher *que* is highly restricted in Iberian Spanish (Torrego 1983, Martín-González 2002, among others). However, the reader is referred to Broveto (2002) and references therein for the possibility of complementizer deletion in other dialects of Spanish.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the examples provided in the main text, dislocations in Spanish can be preceded and followed by a pause with and without the secondary complementizer, as shown by the following examples, where pauses are represented by means of commas:

- (i) a. Susi dice que, a los alumnos, que les van a dar regalos  
 Susi says that DAT the students that cl. go to give presents  
 b. Susi dice que, a los alumnos, les van a dar regalos  
 Susi says that DAT the students cl. go to give presents  
 Both: ‘Susi says that they are going to give the students presents.’

This construction was first noted in the generative paradigm by Higgins (1988), who, in addition to acknowledging the existence of double-complementizer structures in Old English, is credited with coining the term *recomplementation*. This pattern is attested in a number of languages, including Old English (Higgins 1988), present-day colloquial English (Casasanto and Sag 2008, Haegeman 2011, McCloskey 2006, and Radford 2011, among others), Medieval Castilian (Fontana 1993; Uriagereka 1988; Wanner 1996, 1998), and in present-day Romance varieties such as Catalan (González i Planas 2010, 2011), Galician (Gupton 2010, Uriagereka 1995a), Portuguese (Barbosa 2000, Mascarenhas 2007), and Spanish (Campos 1992; Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2007, 2009, in press; Escribano 1991; Etxepare 2010; López 2009b; Martín-González 2002; Rodríguez-Ramalle 2003; and Villa-García, in press a; *inter alia*). Recomplementation is also found in a number of Italian dialects (Ledgeway 2005, Manzini and Savoia 2011, Paoli 2006, and Poletto 2000, among others).

This phenomenon has also been explored in a number of languages in recent works, e.g. Barbosa (2000), Cocchi and Poletto (2007), Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2007, 2009, in press), Dagnac (2011), Etxepare (2010), Fernández-Rubiera (2009), González i Planas (2010, 2011), Gupton (2010), Iatridou and Kroch (1992), Ledgeway (2005), López (2009b), Manzini and Savoia (2011), Martín-González (2002), Mascarenhas (2007), McCloskey (2006), Paoli (2006), Poletto (2000), Poole (2006), Radford (2011), and Rodríguez-

Ramalle (2003), among others.<sup>4</sup> Although the existence of recomplementation configurations is well established, few studies have actually investigated this construction in depth, and many questions remain at this point, regarding both the empirical domain of the construction and its analysis. The reader should bear in mind, however, that secondary complementizers do not work in exactly the same way in all the aforementioned linguistic varieties, a claim for which I present several pieces of evidence in different parts of the dissertation. As noted in the introduction, my main focus is Spanish recomplementation.

### **3. Existing analyses at large**

I will start by introducing the existing analyses of recomplementation in order to determine which proposals are supported by empirical evidence, and what kind of modifications would be necessary to account for the data to be presented in this chapter.

Studies on the left periphery have pursued two different lines of research in light of the observation that a unique CP projection does not suffice to accommodate the frequent occurrence of more than one phrase in the clausal left edge. The first approach concerns the CP recursion analysis, and the second approach includes analyses that resort to a more elaborated architecture of the left-periphery. In this second category, I include Uriagereka's (1995a) FP analysis

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<sup>4</sup> Most investigations to date have focused on embedded clauses, with the exception of Etxepare (2010), who notes that recomplementation is also attested in quotative root clauses introduced by an overt complementizer (see fn. 13).

and a number of accounts proposed within Rizzi's (1997 *et seq.*) split-CP analysis.<sup>5</sup>

### 3.1. CP recursion

The CP recursion analysis assumes that the category CP can iterate. The primary complementizer occupies the higher C° and the low complementizer occupies the lower C°, with the sandwiched dislocate sitting in the specifier of the low CP, as shown in (7). This analysis, which dates back in spirit to Chomsky (1977), has been pursued in the work of Fontana (1993), Iatridou and Kroch (1992), and Manzini and Savoia (2011), *mutatis mutandis*, for recomplementation structures.<sup>6</sup>

- (7) [CP [C' que [CP DISLOCATE [C' que ...]]]]

### 3.2. FP

Uriagereka (1995a) argues that there is a left-peripheral category, which he calls FP, situated between CP and TP. The second instance of *que* thus heads FP, with the dislocate in its specifier, while the higher *que* heads CP, as shown in (8).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Casasanto and Sag (2008) argue that the occurrence of double-complementizer constructions stems from processing limitations. I discuss this view in Section 5.1.

<sup>6</sup> McCloskey (2006) has argued that the constituent sandwiched between overt instances of *that* in English is the result of XP adjunction (see also Barbosa 2000 for Portuguese).

<sup>7</sup> Uriagereka's (1995a) FP category is responsible for expressing point of view.

- (8) [CP [C' que [FP DISLOCATE [F' que ...]]]]

### 3.3. Analyses within Rizzi's split-CP approach

A number of analyses of recomplementation rely on the split-CP analysis (e.g. the highly articulated left periphery of Rizzi 1997 *et seq.*, among many others). Rizzi has put forward the proposal that the category CP should be split into at least two categories, ForceP, the highest category, responsible for the specification of force (e.g. declarative, interrogative, imperative, etc.), and FinitenessP, associated with the marking of a sentence as [ $\pm$  finite/tensed], along with the encoding of mood features (e.g. subjunctive). If fronted material occurs in the left periphery, the optional Topic and Focus phrases can be projected, in this order, as needed. According to Rizzi, TopicP is recursive, as witnessed by the possibility of projecting more than one left-dislocated phrase per clause, whereas only one FocusP can occur per clause, since only one focalized element can occur in the left periphery (i.e. either focus or *wh*-movement). When no left-peripheral material intervenes between the two projections, only one conflated projection (CP or FFP, which corresponds to 'ForceFinitenessPhrase') is projected. The fine structure of the left periphery assumed in this chapter is shown in (9), with Int(errogative)P being the phrase that Rizzi (2001) argues hosts interrogative complementizers and *wh*-items such as *why*.

- (9) ForceP > ( TopP<sup>recursive</sup> > IntP > TopP<sup>recursive</sup> > FocP ) >  
 FinitenessP > TP ...

Before I proceed, it is important to mention an assumption shared by all the accounts proposed within Rizzi's system, namely the claim that the high, primary complementizer heads ForceP, perhaps with the exception of double-*que* constructions that involve the high quotative *que* of Etxepare (2010) (see fn. 13).

### 3.3.1. FinitenessP

A number of proposals assume that optional secondary *que* heads FinitenessP, while the high, obligatory *que* characteristic of embedded declarative clauses heads ForceP, the two complementizers serving to delimit the low and the high edge of the CP layer, respectively:

- (10) [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' ... [FinitenessP [Fin' *que* ...]]]]]]

This analysis was adopted by Broveto (2002), Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009), Fernández-Rubiera (2009), and López (2009b) for Spanish, and by Dagnac (2011) for Oïl dialects, among others.



### 3.3.2. No TopicP/FocusP-FinitenessP

A modified version of the FinitenessP analysis of recomplementation is put forward in López (2009a,b). For López, projections such as TopicP and FocusP should be dispensed with, but the ForceP and FinitenessP projections are still necessary. López argues that instances of hanging topics, Clitic-Left Dislocated (CLLDed) phrases, *wh*-items, and foci alike target multiple specifiers of FinitenessP.<sup>8</sup> According to López (2009b), secondary *que* sits in FinitenessP:

- (11) [ForceP [Force' *que* [FinitenessP DISLOCATE [Fin' *que* ...]]]]

### 3.3.3. (Doubled)ForceP

The analysis laid out in Martín-González (2002) assumes that secondary *que* in recomplementation contexts heads a projection which he calls (Doubled)ForceP, sandwiched between TopicP and FinitenessP:

- (12) [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' [(Doubled)ForceP [(Doubled)Force' *que* [FinitenessP [Fin' ...]]]]]]]]]

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<sup>8</sup> In Chapter 5, I discuss the different behavior of hanging topics and CLLDed topics in the context of recomplementation in detail.

This proposal is also entertained by Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009, in press) for cases where a *wh*-item or a focused element occurs after secondary *que* (as shown in (24a,g) below), by Gupton (2010) for Galician, *mutatis mutandis*, and by Poole (2006) for Old Spanish. For Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009), secondary *que* is a “reinforcement” of Force.

### 3.3.4. Moving complementizers

In his (2005) diachronic study of a number of Italian dialects, Ledgeway (2005) pursues an analysis of double-complementizer constructions which assumes complementizer movement through the left periphery.<sup>9</sup> According to Ledgeway, the high Italian complementizer *che* is associated with indicative mood, whereas the lower complementizer *ca*, found in certain older dialects, is connected to the subjunctive mood, and thus located under FinitenessP in Rizzi’s system (though see Manzini and Savoia 2011 for evidence militating against Ledgeway’s generalization). Ledgeway claims that the complementizer moves across the different heads of the left periphery, in compliance with Rizzi’s claim that head movement through left-peripheral heads is allowed. On this view, the occurrence of two overt complementizers is the result of pronouncing different copies of the moved head, under the Copy Theory of Movement of Chomsky (1995). Specifically, according to Ledgeway, high *che* is the consequence of realizing the features of ForceP in combination with a *ca* complementizer which has moved

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<sup>9</sup> Poletto (2000) makes a similar suggestion within a strong/weak features framework.

from FinitenessP. On occasion, the complementizer may be realized under TopicP, thus deriving *que* LD *que* configurations, or even under FocusP, for the dialects Ledgeway is concerned with:<sup>10</sup>

- (13) [ForceP [Force' *que*<sub>i</sub> [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' *que*<sub>i</sub> [FocusP ... [Foc' ~~*que*~~<sub>i</sub> [FinitenessP  
[Fin' ~~*que*~~<sub>i</sub> ...]]]]]]]]]

### 3.3.5. TopicP

Lastly, it is important to mention the analysis according to which the sandwiched dislocate occupies the specifier of secondary *que*, which heads TopicP –the projection responsible for hosting left-dislocated material in Rizzi's system. This account was adopted in the work of Rodríguez-Ramalle (2003) for Spanish (see also Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2007, 2009, in press), Mascarenhas (2007) for European Portuguese, Paoli (2006) for early Romance, and Radford (2011) for present-day English:

- (14) [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' *que* ... [FinitenessP [Fin' ...]]]]]]]

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<sup>10</sup> The analysis presented by Ledgeway has been adapted to the Spanish case, although the reader should note that Ledgeway's study refers to Italian dialects and not to Spanish recommentation. Strikethrough indicates deleted copies of moved constituents.

#### 4. Properties of recomplementation configurations

Having presented the previous analyses of double-complementizer structures, in what follows I turn to empirical evidence from Spanish which will help tease apart the competing accounts, in addition to bringing to light previously unacknowledged properties of the construction at issue. As the discussion proceeds, it will become clear that the TopicP analysis of recomplementation constructions (cf. (14)) is the most promising account of the phenomenon.

Before I proceed, a note of caution is in order, since there are certain seemingly identical constructions to the recomplementation cases in (6) that turn out to constitute different phenomena. For instance, it is important to distinguish reconstruction patterns (cf. (6)/(15a)) from a construction that is superficially identical in embedded contexts, namely “jussive/optative” clauses headed by *que*, exemplified in (15b). This structure, where the second instance of the complementizer is typically mandatory, is intimately associated with the presence of subjunctive morphology (Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2007, 2009; Ledgeway 2005; Paoli 2003, 2006; among others). I refer to this homophonous complementizer as “jussive/optative” or “desiderative/exhortative” *que*.

(15) a. *Recomplementation que*:

Dice que si llueve, (que) viene	Andrés
says that if rains that come <sub>3.SG-Indic.</sub>	Andrew
‘S/he says that Andrew will come (here) if it rains.’	

b. “*Jussive/optative*” *que*:

Dice	que	si	llueve,	*( <b>que</b> )	venga	Andrés
says	that	if	rains	that	come <sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>	Andrew
‘S/he demands that Andrew come (here) if it rains.’						

In Chapter 3, I show that the latter construction is relatable to root subjunctive sentences mandatorily headed by *que*, which have desiderative/exhortative value, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. ¡Que se piren!  
           that cl. go<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>  
           ‘I demand that they go away.’
- b. \*¡Se piren!  
           cl. go<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>

Different works in the literature, in particular those that have treated the two distinct complementizers in (15) as instances of the same construction, have referred to the two phenomena by means of only one term, namely recomplementation. In this dissertation, I will use the terms recomplementation/secondary *que* for cases like (15a) and “jussive/optative” or “desiderative/exhortative” *que* for cases like (15b) and (16a). Although recomplementation patterns (cf. (15a)) and “jussive/optative” patterns (cf. (15b)) may at first sight appear to be instances of the same configuration, the two constructions exhibit different properties, including the optionality vs.

obligatoriness of the low complementizer. While I will refer to “jussive/optative” *que* again in passing in this chapter, I discuss the differences between the two constructions at length in Chapter 3, which is devoted to a systematic comparison of the two types of *que* in terms of a number of properties. For the time being, it is important to note the existence of at least three homophonous complementizers in Spanish: high, primary *que*, recomplementation/secondary *que*, and “optative/jussive” *que*.<sup>11</sup> Crucially, the three complementizers can occur in the same sentence, as (17) shows, which already points to the need for a highly articulated left periphery in Spanish (cf. (9)).

- (17) Dice **que** hoy, (**que**<sub>recomp.</sub>) cuando llames, **\*(que**<sub>juss./opt.</sub>) salga  
 says that today that when call that exist<sub>3,SG-Subj.</sub>  
 ‘S/he demands that s/he then go outside today when you call.’

It is worth noting that there is in fact crosslinguistic evidence corroborating the existence of configurations akin to (17). For instance, Aboh (2006) shows that in Saramaccan, a creole language spoken in Suriname, and in

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<sup>11</sup> In addition to the three homophonous complementizers mentioned in the main text and quotative *que* (see fn. 13), another potentially different phenomenon involving multiple instances of *que* concerns the iteration of complementizers following non-left-dislocated material, such as the following example from Etxepare (2010: fn. 12), which includes the speaker’s report of somebody else’s speech after the addressee-oriented particle *oye* ‘listen.’ Note that the second instance of the complementizer is again obligatory in this case:

- (i) Ricardo que oye, ?\*(que) los invitados finalmente no vienen  
 Richard that listen<sub>imper.</sub> that the guests finally not come  
 ‘Richard, listen, the guests finally are not coming.’

See also Campos (1992) for another construction involving two complementizers in Spanish, namely sentences where the positive polarity particle *sí* ‘yes’ is followed by *que* in embedded clauses. (The same applies to *no* ‘not’).

Gungbe, one of the Gbe languages stretching between Ghana and Nigeria, configurations comparable to that of (17) are attested (see also Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2009). More concretely, the following example from Gungbe displays different complementizers devoted to different functions, namely a high *ní* complementizer marking the interrogative force of the sentence, a topic marker *yà* right below a dislocated phrase, a focus marker *wé* right below a focused constituent, and a low *ní* complementizer, homophonous with the high *ní*, but a marker of deontic modality.

- (18) Ún kánbió ní<sub>1</sub> ósó éhè yà ògán wé mí ní<sub>2</sub>  
 1.SG ask horse Dem. Top chief Foc 1.PL  
 zè è yi ná?  
 take 3.SG go give  
 'I asked if, as for this horse, we should give it to the CHIEF?'  
 [Aboh (2006: 38)]

Thus, the left-peripheral configurations available in Spanish may be paralleled by those of other languages. Although in Spanish all the relevant left-peripheral heads are realized morphologically as *que*, as shown in (17), and Spanish lacks an overt focus marker (see Section 4.2.3 for the inability of *que* to occur below focused constituents), the close resemblance between Gungbe, Saramaccan, and Spanish –three unrelated languages from the typological point of view– is striking, suggesting that the underlying structure of the left periphery of these

languages may be very similar. I return to the analysis of examples akin to (17) and (18) below (see also Chapter 3).

#### 4.1. On the topical nature of sandwiched dislocates

Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009) claim that the dislocated phrase appearing between two overt complementizers is a topic or a Clitic-Left Dislocated (CLLDed) structure *à la Cinque* (1990) (cf. (6)).<sup>12</sup> However, the data in (19) show that it is not only *bona fide* examples of CLLDed phrases (i.e. dislocated objects with a clitic) that can appear in the syntactic environment of interest, but in general phrases that can be left-dislocated:<sup>13</sup>

- (19) a. Susi dice **que** *los alumnos*, **que** son felices (DP subjects<sup>14</sup>)  
 Susi says that the students that are happy  
 ‘Susi says that the students are happy.’  
 [Barbosa (2000), Paoli (2006), Ron (1998)]
- b. Ya le dije **que** yo, **que** no voy (pronominals)  
 already cl. said that I that not come  
 ‘I’ve already told him/her that I won’t go.’

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<sup>12</sup> In this dissertation, I remain silent about the properties of topics, aside from their behavior in multiple-complementizer constructions. The reader is referred to Casielles (2004), González i Planas (2010, 2011), and López (2009a), among others, for discussion.

<sup>13</sup> Etxepare (2010) notes that quotative *que*, a report marker in root clauses, can also be followed by a dislocate followed by secondary *que*, as illustrated by examples like (i):

(i) Que si llueve que no vienen  
 that if rains that not come  
 ‘Somebody said that they won’t come if it rains.’

<sup>14</sup> Note, however, that lexical subjects in languages like Spanish are often deemed to be cases of CLLD under some accounts (cf. Barbosa 2009 and Olarrea 1996, among others). See Chapter 4 for novel facts relevant to the on-again off-again debate on the analysis of preverbal subjects in Spanish.



- c. Dice **que** *dinero*, **que** no tenía (NP objects)  
 says that money that not had  
 ‘S/he says s/he didn’t have (any) money.’  
 [Escribano (1991: 146)]
- d. Dice **que** *cuando llegue*, **que** te llama (clausal adverbials)  
 says that when arrives that cl. calls  
 ‘S/he says that s/he will call you when s/he arrives.’
- e. Dice **que** *en ti*, **que** no confía (PP arguments)  
 says that in you that not trusts  
 ‘S/he says that s/he doesn’t trust you.’
- f. Dice **que** *tu ejemplo*, **que** el análisis no (hanging topics)  
 says that the example that the analysis not  
 da cuenta de él  
 gives account of it  
 ‘S/he says that the analysis doesn’t capture your example.’

## 4.2. The distribution of recomplementation *que*

### 4.2.1. Multiple dislocates and recomplementation *que*

Regarding recomplementation constructions, Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2007, 2009) claim that when more than one instance of CLLD appears in the left periphery, the two instances of the overt complementizer, which I will continue to refer to as high *que* and recomplementation/secondary *que* throughout for ease of exposition, must respectively precede and follow *all* left-dislocated structures (see also Gupton 2010 for Galician):

- (20) Me contó que el cheque, tu padre, a los proveedores, **que**  
 cl. told that the check your father the vendors that  
 no se lo va a dar  
 not cl. cl. goes to give  
 ‘S/he told me that your father is not giving the check to the vendors.’

However, albeit perfectly acceptable, (20) is not the only option, as shown by the examples in (21), which concur with the judgments reported in Martín-González (2002):<sup>15</sup>

- (21) a. Me dijeron que entonces, **que** a tu padre no lo van a llamar  
 cl. told that then that your father not cl. go to call  
 ni de coña  
 nor of joke  
 ‘They told me that as a result they won’t call your dad under any circumstances.’
- b. Me dijeron que el billete, **que** entonces, a tu padre, no se  
 cl. told that the ticket that then to your father not cl.  
 lo van a enviar  
 cl. go to send  
 ‘They told me that as a result they are not sending your father the ticket.’

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<sup>15</sup> In particular, Martín-González notes that secondary *que* may optionally be followed by one topic (a dislocate, in our terms), although example (21b) suggests that there is no restriction on the number of dislocates following secondary *que*.

The acceptability of these examples therefore argues against Demonte and Fernández-Soriano's (2007, 2009) contention that secondary *que* must follow *all* left-dislocated structures.

#### 4.2.2. Iteration of recomplementation *que*

Further, Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009) submit that it is impossible to have an overt complementizer after each occurrence of a dislocated phrase in cases of multiple fronted phrases in Spanish (i.e. in principle only two complementizers can co-occur in the left periphery). Yet, this claim is refuted by the judgments of my consultants (see also Escribano 1991 and Rodríguez-Ramalle 2003 for Spanish embedded clauses, Etxepare 2010 for Spanish root clauses, and Mascarenhas 2007 for European Portuguese):

- (22) a. Me dijeron que la madre de Ángel, **que** al perro, **que** no le  
cl. told that the mother of Angel that the dog that not cl.  
  
da de comer  
gives of eat  
'They told me that Ángel's mother doesn't feed the dog.'
- b. Dijo que el dinero, **que** a Juan, **que** se lo mandaban  
said that the money that John that cl. cl. were-sending  
  
por correo  
for mail  
'S/he said they were sending John the money through the mail.'
- [Escribano (1991: 139)]

Note, similarly, that sentences with a mixed pattern are also grammatical, as shown in (23a) and (23b), which respectively illustrate licit *que* + dislocate + dislocate + *que* + dislocate + *que* and *que* + dislocate + *que* + dislocate + dislocate + *que* combinations.

- (23) a. Dijo que a su perro, Juan, **que** entonces, **que** no lo  
 said that his dog John that then that not cl.  
 va a vacunar  
 goes to vaccinate  
 ‘S/he said that as a result, John is not going to vaccinate his dog.’
- b. Dijo que a su perro, **que** Juan, entonces, **que** no lo  
 said that his dog that John then that not cl.  
 va a vacunar  
 goes to vaccinate  
 ‘S/he said that as a result, John is not going to vaccinate his dog.’

#### 4.2.3. Non-dislocated left-peripheral material and recomplementation *que*

Even though left-dislocated phrases can readily appear in *que* XP *que* configurations, it is well known that not all left-peripheral material can occur between overt complementizers: contrastively focused phrases (cf. (24b)), quantified phrases (cf. (24d)) (Barbosa 2000), including negative quantifiers (cf. (24f)), and *wh*-items in indirect questions (cf. (24h)) cannot precede the second

instance of the complementizer *que*; they must appear below it, as shown by (24a, c, e, and g) (note that capitals indicate focus):<sup>16,17</sup>

- (24) a. Me dijeron que a tu primo, **que** SÓLO DOS PORTÁTILES le  
cl. said that your cousin that ONLY TWO LAPTOPS cl.  
  
le robaron (, no tres)  
cl. stole not three  
'They told me that it was only two laptops that your cousin got stolen,  
not three.'
- b. \*Me dijeron que SÓLO DOS PORTÁTILES, **que** le robaron a tu  
primo (, no tres)
- c. Me dijeron que mi madre, **que** llama a todo el mundo  
cl. said that my mother that calls all the world  
'They told me that my mother calls everybody.'

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<sup>16</sup> Poletto (2000: 143) reports examples from the Piedmontese dialect of Italian spoken in Turin where a phrase like *gnun* 'nobody' can occur in between overt *che* complementizers, as shown in (i):

- (i) A venta che gnun ch'a fasa bordel  
it needs that nobody that+cl do<sub>subj.</sub> noise  
'It is necessary that nobody make noise.'

This suggests that there are important differences among Romance varieties regarding the distribution of fronted material appearing in between overt complementizers, Piedmontese presumably allowing negative quantifiers in between *ches* (see also Ledgeway 2005). The focus of this chapter, however, is Spanish recomplementation, where only *bona fide* left-dislocated phrases can occur in sandwiched position.

<sup>17</sup> Exclamative sentences constitute a special case in that they can sometimes be followed by an optional instance of *que*, as shown in (i) and (ii) (see Brucart 1993 for further properties of exclamative + *que* patterns):

- (i) ¡Tu madre qué guapa (que) está!  
your mother what beautiful that is  
'Your mother looks so beautiful!'
- (ii) Dice que tu madre (que) qué guapa (que) está  
says that your mother that what beautiful that is  
'S/he says that your mother looks so beautiful.'

- d. \*Me dijeron que a todo el mundo, **que** llama mi madre<sup>18</sup>
- e. Me dijeron que (últimamente) a mi madre, **que** ninguno de los  
 cl. said that lately my mother that none of the  
 niños la llama  
 children cl. calls  
 ‘They told me that none of the children call my mother lately.’
- f. \*Me dijeron que (últimamente) ninguno de los niños, **que** llama a mi madre
- g. Me preguntaron que mi madre, **que** cuándo podría venir  
 cl. asked that my mother that when could come  
 ‘They asked me when my mother could come.’
- h. \*Me preguntaron que cuándo **que** podría venir mi madre

The fact that recomplementation/secondary *que* can occur below *bona fide* dislocated phrases but not below non-dislocated left-peripheral material points to the “topicality” of secondary *que* (i.e. of what precedes it). As will be argued below, there is feature incompatibility between secondary *que* and foci, including (negative) quantified phrases, and *wh*-items, which accounts for the inability of the phrases in question to appear above secondary *que*. Note, furthermore, that

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<sup>18</sup> Examples that involve quantificational operators improve if they appear with a concomitant clitic, suggesting that they are dislocated rather than focalized. The following example is inspired by Martín-González (2002):

- (i) Dice que a ninguno de ellos # que no los invitó  
 says that none of them that not cl. invited  
 ‘S/he says that s/he didn’t invite any of them.’

I return to the relevance of examples like (i) in Chapter 5.

*que* cannot occur below a *wh*-item or an interrogative complementizer even if a dislocated phrase intervenes between the *wh*-word/*si* ‘if’ and secondary *que*, as shown in (25).

- (25) a. \*Me preguntaron cuál de estos a mi madre, **que** le iba a comprar  
 cl. asked which of these my mother that cl. was to buy  
 ‘They asked me which of these I was going to buy for my mother.’
- b. Me preguntaron cuál de estos, a mi madre, le iba a comprar
- c. \*Me preguntaron si a mi madre, **que** le iba a comprar un regalo  
 cl. asked if my mother that cl. was to buy a present  
 ‘They asked me if I was going to buy a present for my mother.’
- d. Me preguntaron si a mi madre le iba a comprar un regalo

The examples in (25) indicate that secondary *que* cannot follow low dislocated phrases, that is, dislocates occurring below *wh*-items and interrogative complementizers (cf. (25a,c)). Secondary *que* is thus a head higher than the projection to which *wh*-phrases and foci move. Similarly, it is worth noting that although secondary *que* cannot follow the interrogative complementizer (cf. (25c)), it can precede it:

- (26) Me preguntaron *que* a tu madre, **que si** la vas a visitar a menudo  
 cl. asked that your mother that if cl. go to visit often  
 ‘They asked me whether you visit your mother often.’

Based on the data above, I conclude that secondary *que* can only appear after high dislocates, as the head of a projection that is higher than the projections where *wh*-items and foci as well interrogative complementizers occur.<sup>19</sup>

#### 4.3. Non-primary *que* has island-creating properties

An important property of recomplementation constructions brought to light in this dissertation is the fact that the presence of secondary *que* induces a barrier/island for extraction (i.e. movement operations across secondary *que* are illicit). For the time being, I will just provide the basic paradigm here, since some aspects of the forthcoming discussion bear on the “islandhood” of non-primary complementizers. I will take up discussion of this aspect of double-complementizer constructions in detail in Chapter 5.

First, I show that long distance extraction across secondary *que* is impossible, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (27a). Note that extraction is possible in the counterpart of (27a) without secondary *que*, as shown in (27b).

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<sup>19</sup> The reader should note that there are restrictions as to the possibility of having recomplementation *que*. While there are certain predicates that subcategorize for a sentential complement capable of displaying recomplementation, others do not. Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009) point to the incompatibility of secondary *que* with factive/volitional predicates, whose complement displays subjunctive mood. Other authors point out that recomplementation is allowed with bridge verbs (i.e. verbs across which an XP can be long-distance extracted) (e.g. González i Planas 2011), but is disallowed in adjunct clauses in dialects such as Iberian Spanish (see also Iatridou and Kroch 1992, among others). At this point, I cannot provide a full characterization of which predicates long-distance select for recomplementation, an issue which I leave for future research (see Villa-García 2010 for some relevant discussion).



- (27) a. \*¿Quién me dijiste que a tu madre **que** la  
           who cl. said that your mother that cl.  
           va a llamar?  
           goes to call  
           ‘Who did you tell me is going to phone your mother?’
- b. ¿Quién me dijiste que a tu madre la va a llamar?  
       who cl. said that your mother cl. goes to call

Second, I observe that whereas sandwiched CLLDed constituents fail to show reconstruction effects (cf. (28a)), CLLDed constituents without secondary *que* show reconstruction effects (cf. (28b)). More concretely, in (28a), with secondary *que*, the bound variable interpretation is not available. However, in (28b), without secondary *que*, the bound variable interpretation is possible.

- (28) a. Dice que en su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo, **que** todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> tiene  
           says that in his son that all the world has  
           que confiar  
           that trust  
           ‘S/he says that everybody has to trust his/their (= somebody else’s)  
           son.’ [bound reading: ✗]
- b. Dice que en su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo, todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> tiene  
       says that in his son all the world tiene  
       que confiar  
       that trust  
       ‘S/he says that everybody has to trust their son.’ [bound reading: ✓]

My claim in Chapter 5 will be that sandwiched CLLDed constituents (cf. (28a)) are directly merged in between *ques* in the left periphery; the movement derivation is not available for sandwiched dislocates, since the presence of secondary *que* creates a locality-of-movement effect, also illustrated in (27a). (More precisely, I argue in Chapter 5 that crossing of the lower *que* induces a locality effect that is similar to the English Comp-t phenomenon.) Being base-generated in their surface position, sandwiched dislocates do not exhibit reconstruction effects, unlike their counterparts without secondary *que*; thus, the PP *en su hijo*, which is directly merged in between *ques*, fails to be bound by the universal quantifier *todo el mundo* in (28a). However, *en su hijo* can be bound by *todo el mundo* in the counterpart of (28a) without secondary *que* (cf. (28b)), since in this case the movement derivation is available for the dislocate *en su hijo*. I return to the account of the contrasts in (27) and (28) in Chapter 5.

#### **4.4. The relationship between the sandwiched dislocated phrase and recomplementation *que***

An important issue to which I turn in this subsection is the relationship between the dislocated phrase(s) sandwiched between overt complementizers and the secondary complementizer. It is important to keep in mind that the presence of secondary *que* is conditional upon the occurrence of a dislocated element.<sup>20</sup> For

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<sup>20</sup> As is well known, embedded dislocation/topicalization generally requires a high (i.e. primary) complementizer, a fact that has been poorly understood to date (cf. Brovett 2002, among others).

instance, whereas in (29a) the occurrence of two *ques* is perfectly licit in conversational, spoken Spanish, sentence (29b), where two instances of *que* are adjacent to each other without a left-dislocated phrase in between, is ungrammatical.

- (29) a. Me gritaron *que si llueve que* se cancela la fiesta  
 cl. shouted that if rains that cl. cancels the party  
 ‘They shouted to me that the party will be canceled if it rains.’
- b. \*Me gritaron *que que* se cancela la fiesta si llueve

Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009), McCloskey (2006), and Villa-García (in press a), among many others, assume that the reason for the ban on adjacent complementizers is phonological (i.e. in particular, the reason for the impossibility of *\*que que* sequences is a haplology constraint against adjacent homophonous forms, which, as is well-known, is language-/lexical item-specific; see Bošković 2002).<sup>21</sup> Thus, it would be possible to assume that there is a PF

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In this regard, recomplementation *que*, which depends on a dislocate appearing to its left, is found in embedded clauses headed by primary *que* as well as in matrix quotative clauses introduced by reportative *que* (cf. fn. 13)), which behave much like embedded clauses.

<sup>21</sup> Haplology (i.e. antihomophony) constraints against contiguous sequences have been proposed in a number of works (e.g. Bošković 2002, McCloskey 2006, Menn and MacWhinney 1984, Napoli 1976, Neeleman and van de Koot 2007, van Riemsdijk 2008, among many others. See also Haegeman 2011, who cites unpublished work by Luigi Rizzi where he appeals to an economy principle blocking the reduplication of functional or lexical heads except in special structural environments). Note that in other contexts, however, two *ques* can be adjacent to each other, as illustrated in (i). Despite the fact that the *ques* in (i)a and (i)b are homophonous, they are likely to be instances of different lexical items in (i), i.e., they are not instances of *que* complementizers, in which case Demonte and Fernández-Soriano’s analysis can easily be modified so that it applies to (29b) but not to (i). In (i)a, the first *que* corresponds to English *than*, and the second *que* is the complementizer that introduces the sentential complement. In (i)b, the first occurrence of *que*

Filter blocking \**que que* sequences, which works nicely under the analysis argued for in Chapter 5, according to which the null head in dislocations without secondary *que* is in fact a deleted secondary *que* (see Chapter 5 for discussion of the mechanism responsible for secondary-*que* deletion).<sup>22</sup> Alternatively, it would be possible to pursue a syntactic account of the impossibility of (29). Under the analysis to be adopted in this chapter, wherein secondary/recomplementation *que* heads TopicP, the unacceptability of (29b) may reduce to the requirement that secondary *que* have an element in its specifier. Put differently, secondary *que* can only occur if its specifier is filled (see below for a similar suggestion by Paoli 2006). It could also be that the category hosting dislocated elements is simply not projected when dislocated material is not present, as in (29b); see here Rizzi's assumption that TopicP is projected only if a topic occurs, on an as-needed basis.<sup>23</sup>

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belongs to the lexicalized expression *cómo que* 'how come,' and the second instance of *que* is the obligatory *que* complementizer of the "jussive/optative" construction illustrated in (15b). (Bošković 2002 notes cases akin to (i), which show that the phenomenon is morphological, not phonetic.)

- (i) a. Me dijo *que* ir allí es mejor **que que** te quedes  
       cl. said that go there is better than that cl. stay  
       'S/he told me that going there is better than staying.'  
       b. ¿Cómo **que que** me pires?  
       how that that cl. go<sub>subj.</sub>  
       'How come you (dare) tell me to go away?'

<sup>22</sup> As mentioned above, secondary *que* is homophonous with Force *que* and Finiteness *que* (Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2009). In fact, except for the interrogative complementizer *si* 'if/whether,' all complementizers in Spanish are realized as *que*. One way of capturing this, suggested by Jairo Nunes (pers. comm.), is to assume that *que* is the most underspecified exponent of the left periphery in Spanish, hence its pervasive realization of different CP-related heads (see Ledgeway 2005 for a different proposal regarding certain Italian dialects).

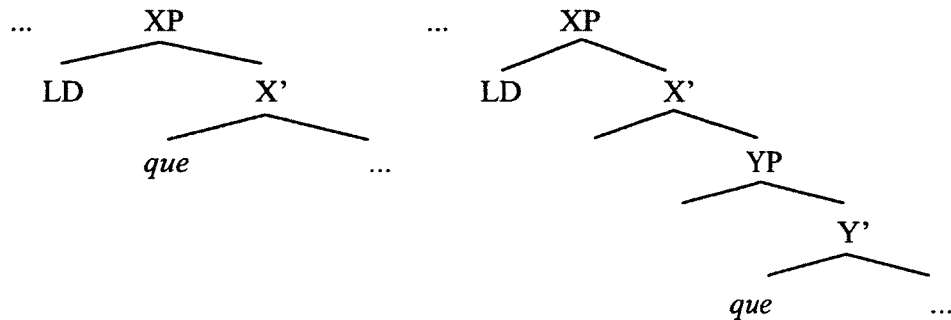
<sup>23</sup> See, however, Section 4.4.1.1 for a potential argument for the PF-Filter analysis.

Returning now to the dependence of secondary *que* on dislocated material, Paoli (2006) has argued with respect to early Romance that this fact itself supports an analysis of the sandwiched dislocate as the specifier of a projection headed by the secondary complementizer *que*. According to Paoli (2006: 1075), secondary *que* is not a complementizer as such, but rather the lexicalization of Topic features. In the words of Paoli, “QUE2 [i.e. recomplementation *que*] is not a subordinating particle, but the overt realization of TopP. The head is lexicalized only when its Specifier position is filled: the presence of a phrase specified for [+Top] features triggers a [Spec, head] agreement matching relation making QUE2 visible.” I would like to retain the essence of Paoli’s analysis in that I will provide a novel argument that the dislocated phrase and recomplementation *que* (QUE2, in Paoli’s terms) indeed enter into a Spec-Head agreement relationship with each other in Spanish, which leads to the conclusion that the dislocate is situated in a projection headed by secondary *que*.

The crucial question for our current purposes is whether there is additional evidence that the dislocate and secondary *que* are in the same projection, which will in turn enable us to further tease apart the existing accounts reviewed in Section 3. More specifically, at this point it is important to determine whether the data support a [<sub>XP</sub> DISLOCATE [<sub>X'</sub> *que*]]-analysis (where, e.g. *que* heads TopicP, as argued by Paoli 2006, among others), or a [<sub>XP</sub> DISLOCATE [<sub>X'</sub> Ø [<sub>YP</sub> [<sub>Y'</sub> *que*]]]]-account (where, e.g. *que* heads FinitenessP, as suggested by Brovetto 2002, *inter alia*, or (Doubled)Force, as claimed by Martín-González 2002, while the dislocate

is situated in the specifier of TopicP). In other words, the question is whether the sandwiched dislocate (LD) occupies the specifier of recomplementation *que* or whether it occupies the specifier of a different phrase, as shown abstractly in (30a) and (30b), respectively:

- (30) a. LD in the spec. of *que*                      b. LD in the spec. of a higher projection



Before I turn to the novel Spanish data in support of hypothesis (30a), I would like to provide crosslinguistic evidence that the dislocate and the secondary complementizer stand in a Spec-Head feature-checking configuration (cf. (30a)). As noted above, Aboh (2006) has shown that languages such as Saramaccan and Gungbe possess a number of markers that encode C-type features (e.g. interrogative, topic, focus), as shown in (18) for Gungbe, repeated here again in (31).

- (31)    Ún    kánbió    ní<sub>1</sub> [ósó    éhè]    yà    [ògán]    wé    mí    ní<sub>2</sub>  
          1.SG   ask                   horse Dem.   Top       chief   Foc   1.PL  
  
          zè       è       yì    ná?  
          take   3.SG   go   give  
          ‘I asked if, as for this horse, we should give it to the CHIEF?’

Aboh argues that such markers are the lexical realization of the relevant left-peripheral heads (*yà* for topic and *wé* for focus in Gungbe), which establish a Spec-Head agreement configuration with the elements in their specifiers (*yà* with the dislocated phrase *ósó éhè* and *wé* with the focused phrase *ògán* in example (31)). Example (32) illustrates the distinct complementizer *dé* in Saramaccan, which is also an optional topic marker, much like its Spanish counterpart – recommentation *que*. (Note that *yà* is the equivalent topic marker in Gungbe, as shown by (31) above).

- (32)    Mi    táki    taa    [dí    bakúba]    (dé)    Amato    bóí    en  
          1.SG   say   that   Det.   banana       Top.   Amato   cook   3.SG  
          ‘I said that, as for that banana, Amato cooked it.’  
[Aboh (2006: 10)]

Thus, the topic and focus heads are morphologically distinct in Saramaccan and Gungbe, unlike in Spanish, where the topic marker, recommentation *que*, is morphologically identical to other complementizers. With Aboh, I take the fact that the complementizers in Saramaccan and Gungbe co-vary with the left-peripheral function of the element in their specifier (i.e. topic

or focus) to indicate that the relevant left-peripheral phrases are in a Spec-Head agreement configuration with the relevant heads, which are morphologically distinct from each other in Saramaccan and Gungbe. This, I argue, is similar to what happens in Spanish, the difference being that the corresponding C-markers in Spanish are camouflaged by all being pronounced as /ke/.

In the next subsection, I present an argument that confirms that the sandwiched dislocate and Spanish recomplementation *que* stand in a Spec-Head agreement relationship with each other (cf. (30a)). The relevant evidence comes from ellipsis facts.

#### **4.4.1. The dislocate and secondary *que* undergo feature-checking (Spec-Head agreement): evidence from ellipsis**

As noted above, Paoli (2006) (see also Uriagereka 1995a) claims that the second *que* in Romance recomplementation agrees with an element in its specifier. I have also shown that Saramaccan and Gungbe provide crosslinguistic confirmation of this hypothesis. This conclusion is strengthened by the novel Spanish ellipsis facts presented in what follows.

Lobeck (1990) and Saito and Murasugi (1990) observe that functional heads can license ellipsis of their complement only when they undergo Spec-Head agreement (i.e. feature-checking), provided that other conditions on ellipsis are met (see López 1999 and Saab 2010, among others, for discussion of ellipsis in



Spanish).<sup>24</sup> The following examples, adapted from Bošković (2008b), illustrate this generalization. In (33a), *who* and C° agree with each other (Fukui and Speas 1986); hence, ellipsis of the complement of C° can be effected. In contrast, in (33b), the complementizer *that* in C° does not enter into an agreement relationship with any element in its specifier (in fact, there is no constituent in Spec,CP), rendering ellipsis of its complement impossible.

- (33) a. John believes that Peter met someone but I don't know [<sub>CP</sub> who<sub>i</sub> [<sub>C'</sub> Ø ~~Peter met who<sub>i</sub>~~ ]]
- b. \*John believes that Peter met Samantha but I don't know [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C'</sub> that ~~Peter met Samantha~~ ]]

In Spanish, sluicing/TP ellipsis in cases akin to English (33b) is also impossible, as shown in (34).

- (34) a. \*Me dijeron mis padres que Juan fue a la fiesta pero no pienso que  
cl. said my parents that John went to the party but not think that  
'My parents told me that John went to the party but I don't think so.'
- b. ... pero no pienso [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C'</sub> que ~~Juan fue a la fiesta~~ ]]
- c. \*Me dijeron que hacía calor, y ya había oído que también  
cl. said that did heat and already had heard that too  
'They told me it was hot and I had already heard the same.'

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<sup>24</sup> There are some potential counterexamples to the Lobeck/Saito and Murasugi requirement that functional heads whose complements are elided must undergo Spec-Head agreement. For relevant discussion, see Bošković (2012) and references therein.

- d. ... y ya había oído [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C'</sub> **que** ~~hacía calor~~ también]]

In much the same way as in English, the head of CP in the Spanish sentences in (34) is not an agreeing head; consequently, ellipsis of its complement cannot be effected, given the agreement requirement on ellipsis.

Significantly, however, secondary *que* in Spanish can license ellipsis of its complement, as shown by the novel data in (35).

- (35) a. Me dijeron que si llueve, **que** no vienen a la fiesta, y que si  
 cl. said that if rains that not come to the party and that if  
 nieva, **que** tampoco  
 snows that neither  
 'They told me that they will not come to the party if it rains or snows.'
- b. ... y que [<sub>XP</sub> si nieva [<sub>X'</sub> **que** ~~no vienen a la fiesta~~ tampoco]]
- c. Dijeron que Pedro, **que** ayuda a todos, y me contó Juan que  
 said that Peter that helps all and cl. told John that  
 María, **que** también  
 Mary that too  
 'They said that Peter helps everyone and John told me Mary does too.'
- d. ... que [<sub>XP</sub> María [<sub>X'</sub> **que** ~~ayuda a todos~~ también]]

That the complement of secondary *que* can be elided supports an analysis whereby the projection headed by secondary *que* hosts the dislocated phrase in its specifier (cf. (30a)), on the assumption that functional heads can license ellipsis of their complement only if they undergo Spec-Head agreement with their specifier

(provided that other requirements on ellipsis are fulfilled). It is important to mention that ellipsis is similarly licensed in cases of dislocation without secondary *que*:

- (36) a. Me dijeron que si llueve  $\emptyset$  vuelven a casa, y dijeron que si  
 cl. said that if rains return to home and said that if  
  
 nieva  $\emptyset$  también  
 snows too  
 ‘They told me that they will come back home if it rains or snows.’
- b. .... y dijeron que [<sub>XP</sub> si nieva [<sub>X'</sub>  $\emptyset$  ~~vuelven a casa~~ también]]

On the basis of examples like (36), I argue that an agreeing null head ( $\emptyset$ ) is present in cases of (embedded) left-dislocation without secondary *que*, as indicated by the possibility of ellipsis. In other words, the dislocated phrases in (36) enter into an agreement relationship with a null/covert head, which in turn can license ellipsis of its complement. Note that ellipsis is also possible in cases of multiple lower *ques*, exemplified in (22) in Section 4.2.2 above, which suggests that the tertiary instance of *que* is not in a very low left-peripheral head (e.g. FinitenessP), but rather in the head of the projection whose specifier is occupied by the dislocated phrase:

- (37) a. Dijo que ella, **que** por eso, **que** no venía, y que él, **que**  
 said that she that for that that not come, and that he that  
  
 entonces, **que** tampoco  
 then that neither  
 ‘S/he said that because of that, she is not coming, and then he’s not  
 coming either.’
- b. ... y que él, que [<sub>XP</sub> entonces [<sub>X'</sub> **que** ~~no venía~~ tampoco]]

Furthermore, ellipsis is also licensed when the recomplementation structure involves more than one dislocate sandwiched between overt *ques* (cf. (20)):

- (38) Dijo que hoy, si llueve, **que** no viene, y que esta tarde, si  
 said that today if rains that not come, and that this afternoon if  
  
 nieva, **que** tampoco  
 snows that neither  
 ‘S/he said she won’t come today if it rains, and she won’t come this  
 afternoon if it snows either.’

In a similar vein, secondary *que* can license ellipsis of its complement in the presence of a tertiary *que*, as indicated by the data in (39), which provides evidence for the recursion of the projection headed by secondary *que*.

- (39) a. Dijo que hoy, **que** si llueve, **que** no viene, y que esta  
 said that today that if rains that not come, and that this  
  
 tarde, **que** si nieva, **que** tampoco  
 afternoon that if snows that neither  
 ‘S/he said she won’t come today if it rains, and she won’t come this  
 afternoon if it snows either.’

- b. Dijo que hoy, **que** si llueve, **que** no viene, y que  
 said that today that if rains that not come, and that  
  
 mañana, **que** tampoco  
 tomorrow that neither  
 ‘S/he said she won’t come today if it rains, and she won’t come  
 tomorrow if it rains either.’

Finally, note that the secondary *que* in the second conjunct of sentences like (39b) can also be null in ellipsis cases, as shown in (40).

- (40) Dijo que hoy, **que** si llueve, **que** no viene, y que  
 said that today that if rains that not come, and that  
  
 mañana, **Ø** tampoco  
 tomorrow neither  
 ‘S/he said she won’t come today if it rains, and she won’t come tomorrow  
 if it rains either.’

At this point, an alternative analysis needs to be considered before safely concluding that the sandwiched dislocate and secondary *que* are in the same projection. It would in principle be reasonable to suggest that the dislocate starts below secondary *que* and passes through the specifier of the projection headed by *que*, with which it would agree, on its way to a higher position. Yet, this analysis, which is in principle compatible with the account in (30b), and thus with analyzing recomplementation *que* as the head of the lowest CP projection (i.e. FinitenessP), will not work for two reasons: first, in Section 4.3 I noted that

secondary complementizers display island-creating properties (see Chapter 5 for extensive discussion of the claim that any movement operation across low instances of *que* violates locality). Second, passing through a specifier (i.e. being located in a specifier at one point in the derivation) does not enable the relevant head to license ellipsis, since movement through an intermediate position does not involve feature-checking (see Bošković 2007, 2008b for extensive discussion). This stems from the claim argued for in Bošković (2008b) that an element X can undergo feature checking under movement only once. In other words, no instance of feature-checking movement can feed another instance of feature-checking movement, since undergoing feature checking has a freezing effect in that it prevents X from undergoing further movement. What is relevant here is the observation that if a moving element checks features with an intermediate head, it is frozen in place (i.e. it is no longer active for further movement) due to the freezing effect of feature-checking (see Bošković 2008a,b and Rizzi 2006, among others). That moving elements do not establish feature-checking with intermediate heads is shown by the failure of the relevant heads to license ellipsis of their complement, as discussed by Bošković (1997a, 2008b) and indicated by the following examples from English and Spanish. (I have used CP here for ease of exposition).

- (41) a. \*John called a girl, but I don't know who Peter said that ~~John called~~  
 b. ... [<sub>CP</sub> who<sub>i</sub> Peter said [<sub>CP</sub> ~~who<sub>i</sub>~~ [<sub>C'</sub> C/that ~~John called who<sub>i</sub>~~]]]  
 c. \*Juan llamó a una chica, pero no sé a quién me dijo Pedro que  
 John called a girl, but not know who cl. said Peter that  
~~Juan llamó a quién~~  
 John called a quién  
 'John called a girl, but I don't know who Pedro told me that...'  
 d. ... [<sub>CP</sub> a quién<sub>i</sub> dijo Pedro [<sub>CP</sub> ~~a quién<sub>i</sub>~~ [<sub>C'</sub> C/que ~~Juan llamó a quién<sub>i</sub>~~]]]

If *who/a quién* entered into an agreement relationship with intermediate C in (41), then ellipsis of the complement of C should be possible, contrary to fact. Bošković interprets examples like (41a) as indicating that, in such cases, the moving phrase just transits through the intermediate Spec,CP, but it does not enter into a Spec,Head agreement relationship with the intermediate C°. <sup>25</sup> Returning to the Spanish cases involving recomplementation *que*, the same situation can be replicated: in (42), *anteayer* cannot enter into a feature-checking relationship with the head of YP and then undergo (further) movement, as shown schematically in (42b), given the freezing effect of feature-checking.

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<sup>25</sup> Bošković (2008b) actually shows that in Kinande there is Spec-Head agreement, but there is no further movement, as indicated by the lack of reconstruction effects in such constructions (see Section 4.4.1.1 for relevant data).

- (42) a. Pedro dijo que ayer, **que** lo llamó ella, y      Sole dijo que  
 Peter said that yest. that cl. called she, and      Sole said that  
  
 anteayer,                              **que** también  
 the-day-before-yesterday that too  
 ‘Peter said she called him yesterday, and Sole said she also called him  
 two days ago.’
- b. ... que [<sub>XP</sub> anteayer<sub>i</sub> [<sub>X'</sub> [<sub>YP</sub> anteayer<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Y'</sub> que ~~lo llamó ella anteayer<sub>i</sub>~~  
 también]]]]] (cf. structure (30b))

On balance, the facts discussed in this section indicate that recomplementation dislocates are located in the specifier of secondary *que*.

A further argument in favor of the analysis of recomplementation structures laid out in (30a) comes from the behavior of “jussive/optative” clauses (cf. (15b)) in ellipsis contexts. As noted above, the low *que* is mandatory in these cases. According to Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2007, 2009), Ledgeway (2005), and Paoli (2003, 2006), among others, this instance of *que* should be analyzed as the head of FinitenessP, the lowest CP head in Rizzi’s system (cf. (9)), which Rizzi claims is responsible for encoding the mood of the sentence (*que* in these cases is deemed to be the lexical realization of subjunctive mood). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that left-dislocated phrases must precede *que* (see Calabrese 1993 for the Italian dialect of Salentino):

- (43) a. ¡Cuando llegue, \*(que) duerma!  
 when arrives that sleep<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>  
 ‘I demand that s/he go to sleep when s/he arrives.’



- b. ?\*¡Que cuando llegue duerma!
- c. ¡(Que) al perro de Juana, ?\*(que) lo bañen!  
     that the dog of Juana      that cl. wash<sub>3,PL-Subj.</sub>  
     ‘I’m telling you that somebody demands that they wash Juan’s dog.’<sup>26</sup>
- d. Dice que si llueve, \*(que) venga            Andrés            (= (15b))  
     says that if rains      that come<sub>3,SG-Subj.</sub> Andrew  
     ‘S/he demands that Andrew come (here) if it rains.’

As Paoli (2006) correctly notes for early Romance, the familiar secondary *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* configurations are superficially identical, in particular in embedded contexts, as illustrated in (15) above, although the two constructions clearly differ syntactically and distributionally (see Chapter 3 for extensive discussion and exemplification). For our current purposes, it is important to note that unlike “jussive/optative” *que*, secondary *que* is normally optional, and can be followed by dislocated material (cf. (21)). Then, a problem arises for any analysis that places secondary *que* in the same position as “jussive/optative” *que*, since the distribution and the behavior of the two types of *que* are evidently different. Therefore, I conclude that the distinct behavior manifested by “jussive/optative” *que* and secondary *que* strongly suggests that whereas secondary *que* heads a high projection in the CP space (e.g. TopicP), “jussive/optative” *que* heads a very low one (e.g. FinitenessP), a hypothesis for which I will offer additional support in Chapter 3.

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<sup>26</sup> High *que* in this example is an instance of quotative *que* in the sense of Etxepare (2010) (see fn. 13). Notice that if the high *que* is absent in (43c), the sentence is no longer interpreted as a reported command but as a direct command.

- (44) ForceP > TopP<sub>secondary que</sub> > IntP > TopP >  
 FocP > FinitenessP “juss./opt.” *que* ...

An argument in favor of this conclusion is offered by the piece of data in (45), which is a “jussive/optative” construction. In stark contrast to the secondary *que* cases involving ellipsis discussed in this section, (45) indicates that ellipsis cannot be licensed by the second instance of *que* in the second conjunct.

- (45) ?\*Dice *que si llueve, que vengan Pedro y María, y que*  
 says that if rains that come<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> Peter and Mary and that  
*si nieva, que también*  
 if snows that too  
 ‘S/he says that Peter and Mary should come here if it rains or snows.’

If the dislocate *si nieva* in (45) were located in the specifier of “jussive/optative” *que* (i.e. in the specifier of FinitenessP) and established an agreement relationship with Finiteness°, the inability of the functional head to license ellipsis would remain unaccounted for, given the generalization that agreeing functional heads can license ellipsis of their complement. A similar point can be made with respect to root clauses involving “jussive/optative” *que*:

- (46) \*¡Al perro, *que* lo bañen, y al gato, *que* también!  
 the dog that cl. wash<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>, and the cat that too  
 ‘I demand that they wash the dog, and the cat too.’

This disparity follows immediately if the second instance of *que* is in FinitenessP in “jussive/optative” cases like those in (45)/(46) and the dislocate is in a higher projection. On this view, no dislocate sits in Spec,FinitenessP and therefore “jussive/optative” *que* does not establish a feature-checking relationship with any phrase in its specifier, rendering it unable to license ellipsis of its complement. Note that (45) involves three instances of complementizers, namely high *que* in Force°, secondary *que* in Topic°, which is deleted (see the discussion in Chapter 5), and “jussive/optative” *que* in Finiteness°, as shown in (47).

- (47) \* [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>Force'</sub> *que* [<sub>TopicP</sub> *si nieva* [<sub>Top'</sub> *que/Ø* [<sub>FinitenessP</sub> [<sub>Fin'</sub> *que* ... también]]]]]]

Not surprisingly, examples (45) and (46) become grammatical if the low *que* in the second conjoined clause is absent, as shown in (48a) (cf. (45)) and (48b) (cf. (46)).

- (48) a. Dice *que* *si llueve*, ***que*** *vengan*      *Pedro y María*, y *que*  
           says that if rains    that come<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>    Peter and Mary, and that  
           *si nieva*, también  
           if snows too  
           ‘S/he says that Peter and Mary should come here if it rains or snows.’
- b. ¡Al perro, ***que*** *lo bañen*,      y    al gato, también!  
       the dog    that cl. wash<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>, and the cat    too  
       ‘I demand that they wash the dog, and the cat too.’

The acceptability of the sentences in (48), which do not involve a second instance of *que*, comes as no surprise if what is licensing ellipsis in these cases is in fact the null head (i.e. the null counterpart of secondary *que*; see Chapter 5), whose specifier is occupied by the dislocates *si nieva* in (48a) and *al gato* in (48b).<sup>27</sup> Therefore, the complement of the null Topic head (i.e. FinitenessP, which includes “jussive/optative” *que*) is deleted here. The following labeled bracketing illustrates the relevant derivation of (48a):

- (49) ...[ForceP [Force' *que* [<sub>TopicP</sub> *si nieva* [<sub>Top'</sub> Ø [<sub>FinitenessP</sub> — [<sub>Fin'</sub> *que* ... también]]]]]]]

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<sup>27</sup> I attribute the impossibility of overt recomplementation/secondary *que* in the second conjunct to a parallelism requirement disallowing the occurrence of “jussive/optative” *que* in the first conjunct and (superficially identical but different) secondary *que* in the second one (\**que* LD *que*<sub>juss./opt.</sub>” and *que* LD *que*<sub>sec./recompl.</sub>). In other words, secondary *que* is silent in both conjuncts in (48); only “jussive/optative” *que* surfaces in the first conjunct. This is expected, as the oddity of the following example with secondary *que* only in the second conjunct illustrates:

- (i) Dice *que si llueve* Ø *vienen*, y *que si nieva* (??*que*) *también*  
 says that if rains come, and that if snows that too  
 ‘S/he says that they will come if it rains, and if it snows too.’

Importantly, the analysis of the marginality of (i) in terms of parallelism predicts that in “jussive/optative” sentences involving an instance of recomplementation/secondary *que* in addition to “jussive/optative” *que* (cf. (17)), ellipsis with overt secondary *que* should be possible, given parallelism. This prediction is born out, as shown by the contrast between (ii)a and (ii)b.

- (ii) a. ?Dice *que hoy*, *que si quiere*, *que me llame*, y *que mañana*, *que<sub>sec.</sub>* *también*  
 says that today that if wants that cl. call and that tomorrow that too  
 ‘S/he ordered that s/he call me if s/he feels like it today, and that s/he call me if s/he wants to tomorrow too.’  
 b. \*Dice *que hoy*, *que me llame*, y *que mañana*, *que<sub>jussive/opt.</sub>* *también*  
 says that today that cl. call and that tomorrow that too  
 ‘S/he ordered that s/he call me today, and tomorrow too.’

This result should be taken as a further argument for the conclusion reached above regarding the Spec-Head agreement relationship established by recomplementation *que* and the dislocate in recomplementation configurations, which is required for ellipsis to be licensed, as well as for a different treatment of secondary *que* and “jussive/optative” *que*, a task that I undertake at length in Chapter 3. In this respect, the current findings argue against placing both types of *que* in the same projection, given the different behavior displayed by the two complementizers.

Furthermore, given the conclusion that the dislocated phrase and recomplementation/secondary *que* undergo feature-checking, it is expected that there should be constraints on the nature of the dislocate (i.e. secondary *que* demands that its specifier meet certain requirements, which is a result of the agreement relationship established between secondary *que* and the dislocate). In other words, for a dislocate to occur in the specifier of secondary *que*, the featural makeup of both entities should match. This can account for why secondary *que* can host left-dislocated material but not foci, quantified phrases such as *nadie* ‘nobody,’ or *wh*-items: my suggestion in this regard is that the features of these elements are incompatible with those of secondary *que*, which I argue are Topic features *à la* Rizzi (1997 *et seq.*). Uriagereka (1995a: 160), who places secondary *que* in Romance in the head position of his FP category (cf. Section 3.2), independently notes that “although *que* can occupy the head of an FP, in these languages [i.e. in Romance varieties such as Galician] it does not have the

appropriate features to agree with a focused phrase in its spec—much like *that* is not compatible with Wh-phrases [in English].” Paoli (2006: 1077), for her part, reasons that secondary *que* lexicalizes TopicP, “and is overtly realized as a consequence of the [Spec, head] agreement relation triggered by left dislocated elements raising to its Specifier.” Note that Paoli’s justification of her conclusion that the dislocated constituent and the lower complementizer enter into a Spec-Head agreement relationship is that secondary *que* is licensed only in the presence of dislocated elements (cf. (29a) vs. (29b)). The new ellipsis data presented in this section lend further support to Paoli’s claim regarding the Spec-Head relationship that the two entities establish, but the reader should bear in mind that, *contra* Paoli, the evidence presented in Section 4.3 (and discussed at length in Chapter 5) shows that sandwiched dislocated phrases do *not* move to pre-secondary-*que* position in recomplementation configurations; rather, they are directly merged in between *ques*.

Overall, the findings reported in this section provide evidence in favor of the account sketched in (30a). The data furnished above strongly argue for an analysis of recomplementation configurations whereby the dislocate and the secondary complementizer undergo feature-checking in a Spec-Head configuration (cf. (30a)).

Before evaluating the existing analyses of double-*que* constructions in light of the recomplementation facts considered in this chapter, I would like to

provide additional data relevant to the discussion of recomplementation and ellipsis and offer some speculations as to their analysis.

#### 4.4.1.1. Cases of LD + verb + *que* + elided material

At this point, I would like to explore some intriguing cases which involve ellipsis after *que* despite the fact that the dislocate is in the left periphery of a higher clause. This kind of configuration, which involves a dislocate in a clause higher than the one where ellipsis is licensed, is exemplified by the examples in (50).

- (50) a. Me dijo que si llueve, (*que*) se cancela la fiesta,  
           cl. said that if rains that cl. cancels the party  
  
           y si nieva, dijo ella *\*(que)* también  
           and if snows says she that too  
           ‘S/he said that the party will be canceled if it rains, and she said that  
           the party will also be canceled if it snows.’
- b. Marta me dijo que a ella (*que*) no la llamaban, y  
       Martha cl. said that she that not cl. called, and  
  
       a su novio, me dijeron *\*(que)* tampoco  
       her partner cl. said that neither  
       ‘Marta said to me that they didn’t call her, and they told me that they  
       don’t call her either.’

In these examples, the italicized dislocated material appears in a position that is not adjacent to *que* in the second clause, and yet ellipsis is licensed. Still, note that the licensing of ellipsis is contingent on the presence of the dislocate, as the

ungrammaticality of the following example without a dislocate in the second clause demonstrates:

- (51) \*Me dijo que si llueve (**que**) se cancela la fiesta,  
cl. said that if rains that cl. cancels the party  
  
y ya me habían dicho que también  
and already cl. had said that too  
'They said that the party will be cancelled if it rains, and they had already told me the same.'

A number of important questions arise. The first question concerns why *que* becomes obligatory in these cases. My answer is that this complementizer is in fact the higher (i.e. primary) *que*, the obligatory clause-typer in declarative clauses in Spanish, whose appearance is required by the verb (see fn. 2). Then, the next question is why it appears to be able to license ellipsis in (50) but not in (34a,c), (41c), or (51). Given Lobeck's and Saito and Murasugi's observation that only agreeing heads can license ellipsis of their complement, the complementizer should have a null element in its specifier, with which it undergoes Spec-Head agreement (cf. (53) below). However, this option is problematic in that it raises a number of non-trivial questions such as why a null dislocated element is placed in Spec,ForceP only in the cases at hand (i.e. (50)), and why this element never surfaces overtly in any context (i.e. left-peripheral material never appears between the matrix verb and the first embedded complementizer in Spanish), as illustrated by (52).



- (52) \*Me dijo *al perro* que lo van a operar  
 cl. said the dog that cl. go to operate  
 ‘S/he told me that they are going to operate on the dog.’

Further, note that cases like (34b,d) and (41d) indicate that the primary *que* does not license ellipsis even when there is a moving element passing through its specifier, as in (41). The conclusion must be, therefore, that a different head is responsible for licensing ellipsis here. I tentatively propose that ellipsis in these contexts is not licensed by primary *que*, as in (53), but by a null head (which in Chapter 5 I argue is actually the non-overt counterpart of secondary *que*), with which the null element in the embedded left periphery of the second conjunct agrees. Put differently, primary *que* (in Force<sup>o</sup>) takes a complement, the head of which is responsible for the licensing of ellipsis, with its complement elided. This is illustrated in (54).<sup>28</sup>

- (53) LD<sub>i</sub> dijo [<sub>ForceP</sub> null dislocate<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Force'</sub> que [<sub>---</sub> también]]]

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<sup>28</sup> It should be noted that the configuration exemplified in (50) cannot be replicated for focused elements, as indicated by (i). This is not surprising, since unlike dislocated phrases (cf. Cinque 1990, Martín-González 2002, among others), it is standardly assumed that focused constituents cannot be generated in the left periphery and be doubled by a null focused counterpart in the embedded left periphery (see the analysis proposed below).

- (i) \*Dijo que A TU PADRE le mandó la mesa, y A TU PRIMA dijeron que también  
 said that your father cl. sent the table, and your cousin said that too  
 ‘He said that it was to your dad that they sent the table, and they said they sent it to your cousin too.’

- (54) LD<sub>i</sub> dijo [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>Force'</sub> que [<sub>TopicP'</sub> null dislocate<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Top'</sub> Ø [<sub>---</sub> también]]]]]]

Before I proceed, it is important to consider two alternative routes. First, we could assume that the LD moves to the matrix left periphery from its base-generated position in the VP area by making a stop in the embedded left periphery, as in (55):

- (55) LD<sub>i</sub> dijo [<sub>ForceP</sub> LD<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Force'</sub> que [<sub>TopicP'</sub> LD<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Top'</sub> Ø [<sub>---</sub> LD<sub>i</sub> también]]]]]]

In (55), the intermediate copy of the dislocate could in principle check features with the head of TopicP (recall that under the Lobeck/Saito and Murasugi system, feature-checking of a functional head is required for it to be able to license ellipsis of its complement), and then continue its journey to the matrix CP. Nevertheless, as should be clear by now, feature-checking with intermediate heads does not take place (cf. (41)). Even if we assumed feature-checking in the relevant intermediate position, the dislocated phrase would be unable to move further, given Bošković's deduction of the freezing generalization discussed in the preceding subsection. (Recall that there is also the locality issue, given the "islandhood" of secondary *que*.) The same problem arises for the second alternative: one could in principle assume that the dislocate is base-generated in the embedded left periphery (see Chapter 5), and from there it would move to the matrix left periphery (cf. (56)),

but once again, if feature-checking has taken place, as would have to be the case given the ellipsis facts, the dislocated constituent should still be frozen in place.<sup>29</sup>

$$(56) \quad LD_i \text{ dijo } [_{\text{ForceP}} \text{ LD}_i [_{\text{Force}'} \text{ que } [_{\text{TopicP}'} \text{ LD}_i [_{\text{Top}'} \emptyset] [\text{---} \text{tambi\'en}]]]]]$$

Thus, we are left with the analysis in (54), according to which the long-distance dislocate is doubled by a null dislocate in the embedded left periphery (i.e. the specifier of recomplementation/secondary *que*).

Further evidence that (54) is the correct analysis of the construction exemplified in (50) is provided by the reconstruction facts presented below. The potential derivations considered above make different predictions regarding reconstruction. The relevant derivations are repeated here for convenience:

- (57) a.  $LD_i \text{ dijo } [_{\text{ForceP}} \text{ LD}_i [_{\text{Force}'} \text{ que } [_{\text{TopicP}'} \text{ LD}_i [_{\text{Top}'} \emptyset] [\text{---} \text{LD}_i \text{ tambi\'en}]]]]]$  (=55)
- b.  $LD_i \text{ dijo } [_{\text{ForceP}} \text{ LD}_i [_{\text{Force}'} \text{ que } [_{\text{TopicP}'} \text{ LD}_i [_{\text{Top}'} \emptyset] [\text{---} \text{tambi\'en}]]]]]$  (=56)
- c.  $LD_i \text{ dijo } [_{\text{ForceP}} \text{ } [_{\text{Force}'} \text{ que } [_{\text{TopicP}'} \text{ null dislocate}_i [_{\text{Top}'} \emptyset] [\text{---} \text{tambi\'en}]]]]]$  (=54)

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<sup>29</sup> It is natural to assume that LDs that are merged in the left periphery are left-peripheral constituents which undergo feature-checking with a left-peripheral head whose specifier they occupy or which satisfy some type of criteria à la Rizzi (2006). Therefore, base-generated-in-the-CP-domain LDs should be frozen in place (i.e. they cannot be merged in a left-peripheral position and then move to a left-peripheral position in a higher clause), which the reader should bear in mind. Recall that the ellipsis facts presented in Section 4.4.1 provide strong evidence that the LDs in question indeed establish a feature-checking relationship with the head of the projection hosting them.

The analysis in (57a) predicts that reconstruction in the shaded area (which includes the elided part) should be possible. The derivation in (57b), for its part, predicts that reconstruction should be possible in the shaded area given in (57b), reconstruction possibilities being more restricted under this analysis than under the analysis in (57a). Finally, under the analysis sketched in (57c), the dislocate should not be able to reconstruct at all. Put differently, if the long-distance dislocates in the second conjunct in ellipsis cases are base-generated in their surface position, it is predicted that the relevant nominals will not be able to show reconstruction effects. It is important to note that long-distance dislocation in the regular cases can reconstruct, as shown by the possibility of reconstruction in cases like (58), suggesting that the operation can be the result of movement.

- (58) a. *En sí mismo<sub>i</sub>*, le dijeron al presidente<sub>i</sub> que debería confiar  
           in himself cl. told the president that should trust  
           ‘They told the president that he should have faith in himself.’
- b. *A su hijo<sub>i/j</sub>*, le dijeron a todas las madres<sub>i</sub> que lo recogieran  
           her son cl. said all the mother that cl. pick  
           a las siete  
           at the seven  
           ‘They told every mother to pick her/their son at 7.’

The question then arises as to whether reconstruction is possible in cases involving ellipsis (cf. (50)). The data in (59) and (60) test this for purposes of the bound variable interpretation and for anaphors, respectively. The constituents *su camión* in (59) and *a sí mismos* in (60) would need to reconstruct to a low position

in the elided part for the bound variable interpretation to be possible in (59) and for the anaphor to be bound in (60).

- (59) Dicen que su<sub>i/j</sub> coche todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> lo conduce por la  
 say that his car all the world cl. drives by the  
 izquierda aquí, y su camión\*<sub>i/j</sub>, dicen que también  
 left here and his truck say that too  
 ‘The say that here, everybody<sub>i</sub> drives his/their<sub>i</sub> car on the left-hand side of the road, and his/their<sub>j</sub> truck too.’

- (60) \*Me dijo que a sus empleados todos los ministros les dan  
 cl. said that their employees all the ministers cl. give  
 beneficios adicionales, y a sí mismos<sub>i</sub>, dijo que también  
 benefits additional and themselves said that too  
 ‘S/he told me that all ministers give extra benefits to their employees, and also to themselves.’

The impossibility for the relevant phrases to reconstruct argues against the analysis laid out in (57a). In the same vein, reconstruction is impossible even if the binder is outside of the elided part (i.e. if the binder is a complement of the verb in the higher clause), which argues against both (57a) and (57b):

- (61) a. After the earthquake, the City Hall representatives...
- b. Dijeron que con el mercado (que) no deberían contar, y con  
 said that with the market that not should count and with  
 su<sub>i/j</sub> coche, les dijeron a todos los vecinos; que tampoco  
 his car cl. said all the neighbors that neither  
 'The representatives said that they shouldn't count on the marketplace,  
 and they told every neighbor that they shouldn't count on his/their car  
 either.'
- (62) a. In light of the economic recession, the City Hall representative...
- b. \*Dijo que en él (que) deberían confiar, y en sí mismos,  
 said that in him that should trust and in themselves  
 les dijeron a todos los vecinos; que también  
 cl. said all the neighbors that too  
 'The representative said that they should have faith in him, and he told  
 all the neighbors that they should have faith in themselves too.'

Admittedly, the judgments in (61) and (62) are somewhat murky. However, the grammaticality status of (the relevant interpretations) of these sentences contrasts markedly with that of non-elliptical sentences (cf. (58)), which are fully grammatical. Likewise, (61) and (62) improve considerably if ellipsis does not apply, as shown by (63) and (64).

- (63) a. After the earthquake, the City Hall representatives...
- b. Dijeron que con el mercado (que) no deberían contar, y  
 said that with the market that not should count and
- con su<sub>i/j</sub> coche, les dijeron a todos los vecinos<sub>i</sub> que  
 with his car cl. said all the neighbors that
- tampoco deberían contar  
 neither should count
- ‘The representatives said that they shouldn’t count on the marketplace,  
 and they told every neighbor that they shouldn’t count on his/their car  
 either.’
- (64) a. In light of the economic recession, the City Hall representative...
- b. Dijo que en él (que) deberían confiar, y en sí mismos,  
 said that in him that should trust and in themselves
- les dijeron a todos los vecinos<sub>i</sub> que también  
 cl. said all the neighbors that too
- deberían confiar  
 should trust
- ‘The representative said that they should have faith in him, and he told  
 all the neighbors that they should have faith in themselves too.’

This contrast follows if the dislocate must be base-generated in its surface position *only* in the cases involving ellipsis. In other words, the data in (61) and (62) provide additional support for the analysis in (57c), to the detriment of the analyses in (57a) and (57b). The data at hand indicate that the relevant dislocates cannot reconstruct to an intermediate position (i.e. the embedded left periphery) (cf. (63)/(64)), or to a VP-internal position (cf. (59)/(60)). This result falls in line with the analysis sketched in (57c), which entails that the potential reconstruction

site right below *que* is occupied by the null dislocate, which prevents the LD from being bound (i.e. c-commanded) by the binder, as shown schematically in (65).<sup>30,31</sup>

- (65) LD<sub>i</sub> dijo BINDER<sub>i</sub> [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>Force'</sub> que [<sub>TopicP'</sub> null dislocate [<sub>Top'</sub> Ø [<sub>---</sub> también]]]]]

Note that the account of the Spanish data in (50) proposed here makes a prediction regarding the availability of LD + verb + *que* + elided material configurations. Recall that what is licensing ellipsis in these cases is a null head, namely the non-overt counterpart of secondary *que* (see especially Chapter 5 for evidence that the null head is actually the null counterpart of secondary *que*), whose specifier hosts the null dislocate coreferential with the LD phrase (cf. (57c)/(65)). This analysis predicts that the predicates that appear in the

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<sup>30</sup> As discussed in Chapter 5, the relevant dislocated elements receive case *à la* Bošković (2007). See Bošković (2008b) for discussion of why intervening case checkers do not cause an intervention effect for probe-goal relations here.

The reader should bear in mind that the LDs under consideration (cf. (50)) are cases of CLLD rather than hanging topics (HTLD) (see Chapter 5, Section 2 for discussion of the two types of dislocation). In this connection, note that using a default nominative hanging topic in the second conjunct in the place of a PP (as in the first conjunct) is ungrammatical, as shown by (i).

- (i) Dijo que *en tu padre* (que) no confiaba, y \*(en) *tu madre*, creo que tampoco said that in your father that not trusted, and in your mother believe that neither 'S/he told me that they don't trust your father, and I believe that they don't trust your mother either.'

<sup>31</sup> We can appeal to the PF Filter against adjacent homophonous forms alluded to in Section 4.4 to exclude ungrammatical examples where secondary *que* is pronounced below the null dislocate (cf. (57c)); pronouncing secondary *que* here would result in an illicit sequence of homophonous complementizers (\* *que que*), given that no phonological material intervenes between them (cf. LD<sub>i</sub> dijo [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>Force'</sub> que [<sub>TopicP'</sub> null dislocate [<sub>Top'</sub> ~~que~~ [<sub>---</sub> también]]]]]).



construction exemplified in (50) should be compatible with recomplementation structures. In other words, the analysis predicts that this pattern should be ungrammatical with predicates that do not allow for recomplementation structures. In fn. 19, I noted that CPs selected by factive verbs cannot involve secondary *que* (Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2009, among others), as shown in (66).

- (66) Lamentó que al perro (\*que) lo mataran  
 lamented that the dog that cl. killed  
 ‘S/he was sorry that the dog was killed.’

If the analysis in (57c)/(65) is on the right track, then cases of LD + factive verb + *que* + elided material should not be possible, since factive predicates are incompatible with recomplementation. This prediction is borne out by the data in (67), which can be interpreted as strengthening the analysis pursued here.

- (67) \*Lamentó que al perro lo mataran, y al gato, lamentó  
 lamented that the dog cl. killed, and the cat lamented  
 que también  
 that too  
 ‘S/he lamented that they killed the dog; s/he also lamented that they killed the cat too.’

Lastly, it should be noted that the current analysis (cf. (65)) is based on the account of apparent long-distance *wh*-movement in Kinande given in Boeckx (2004) and Bošković (2008b). Kinande poses a potential problem for the operator freezing effect generalization put forth in Bošković (2008a,b), in the sense that the featural specification of an intermediate C co-varies with that of the *wh*-phrase, suggesting intermediate *wh*-agreement (the Kinande example in (68) has been taken from Schneider-Zioga 2005, which is cited in Bošković 2008b):

- (68) *Ekihi kyo* Kambale a.si [nga. *kyo* Yosefu a.kalengekanaya [nga. *kyo*  
 what agr. Kambale agr. C agr. Joseph arg.thinks C agr.  
 Mary' a.kahuka \_\_ ]]  
 Mary agr.cooks  
 'What did Kambale know that Joseph thinks that Mary is cooking (for  
 dinner)?'

Boeckx (2004) claims that (68) should receive an analysis which does not involve feature-checking with intermediate heads in the course of successive-cyclic movement of the phrase *ekihi kyo* to the matrix left periphery. In fact, his account implies that instead of long-distance *wh*-movement, the *wh*-item undergoes a series of local  $\bar{A}$ -movements. This alternative possibility involves iterative prolepsis in that the apparent argument of the lower verb is in fact generated as a

matrix clause dependent which undergoes local  $\bar{A}$ -movement and binds a null element that also undergoes local  $\bar{A}$ -movement.<sup>32</sup>

(69) [CP e<sub>1</sub> [CP e<sub>1</sub> [CP e<sub>1</sub> ... t<sub>1</sub>

Scheneider-Zioga (2005) advocates an analysis along these lines, based on the observation that Kinande does not exhibit real long-distance agreeing *wh*-/focus movement, as evidenced by the lack of reconstruction and the insensitivity to islands of the long-distance *wh*-/focused item in constructions with “agreeing” intermediate Cs. The following examples from Scheneider-Zioga (2005) illustrate the lack of reconstruction effects, which in turn indicates that *ekitabu kiwe* is base-generated in its surface position, intermediate Cs undergoing agreement with a null element co-indexed with *ekitabu kiwe*:

(70) *Ekitabu kiwe*<sub>i/j</sub> kyo [obuli mukolo]<sub>i</sub> alengekanaya [CP nga.kyo  
 book his wh<sub>agr</sub> every student agr.think C wh<sub>agr</sub>  
 nganasoma \_\_\_ kangikangi]  
 I read regularly  
 ‘(It is) his<sub>i/j</sub> book that [every student]<sub>i</sub> thinks I read regularly.’

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<sup>32</sup> Note that the analysis presented here is based on the modification of Boeckx’s original analysis proposed by Bošković’s (2008b), where higher null elements do not move; they are generated in Spec,CP.

- (71) *Ekitabu kiwe<sub>\*ij</sub> kyo ngalengekanaya* [<sub>CP</sub> *nga.kyo* [*obuli mukolo*]<sub>i</sub>  
 book his wh<sub>agr</sub> I.think C wh<sub>agr</sub> every student  
 akasoma \_\_\_ kangikangi]  
 read regularly  
 ‘(It is) his<sub>\*ij</sub> book that I think [every student]<sub>i</sub> reads regularly.’

I suggest that the Spanish facts under consideration are amenable to the same analysis (cf. (72)): the LD is base-generated as a matrix clause dependent (hence accounting for why reconstruction is unavailable in (59)-(62)), and the null Op(erator) undergoes feature-checking with the relevant embedded left-peripheral head, therefore capturing the ability of the head in question to license ellipsis.

- (72) [<sub>CP</sub> LD<sub>1</sub> V [<sub>CP</sub> null dislocate/e ...

I conclude therefore that long-distance dislocates in ellipsis cases in Spanish (cf. (50)) are not derived via movement, but rather base-generation in their surface position, which is confirmed by their inability to reconstruct. The fact that the embedded head is capable of licensing ellipsis is due to the presence of an agreeing null dislocate or Op with which the embedded left-peripheral head establishes a Spec-Head agreement relationship (cf. (57c)). Moreover, the Spanish facts above do not pose a challenge to—but rather confirm—Bošković’s (2008a,b) operator freezing generalization, since the dislocated phrase does not establish feature-checking in the intermediate position in the embedded left periphery, and

in fact the relevant constituent never undergoes movement to or from that position in the first place.

## 5. Evaluating existing accounts of recomplementation

The evidence presented hitherto allows for an assessment of the major accounts of recomplementation proposed in the literature to date. The analyses of double-*que* constructions outlined in Section 3 are repeated here for convenience:

- (73) a. CP RECURSION (Fontana 1993, Iatridou and Kroch 1992, *i.a.*)  
 [CP [C' **que** [CP LD [C' **que** ...]]]]
- b. SECONDARY-*QUE* IN FP (Uriagereka 1995a)  
 [CP [C' **que** [FP LD [F' **que** ...]]]]
- c. SECONDARY-*QUE* IN FINITENESSP (Brovetto 2002, *i.a.*)  
 [ForceP [Force' **que** [TopicP LD [Top' ... [FinitenessP [Fin' **que** ...]]]]]]
- d. NO TOPICP/FOCUSP (SECONDARY-*QUE* IN FINITENESSP) (López 2009b)  
 [ForceP [Force' **que** [FinitenessP LD [Fin' **que** ...]]]]
- e. SECONDARY-*QUE* IN (DOUBLED)FORCEP (Martín-González 2002, *i.a.*)  
 [ForceP [Force' **que** [TopicP LD [Top' [(Doubled)ForceP [(Doubled)Force' **que** [FinitenessP [Fin' ...]]]]]]]]
- f. MOVING COMPLEMENTIZERS (Ledgeway 2005)  
 [ForceP [Force' **que**<sub>i</sub> [TopicP LD [Top' **que**<sub>i</sub> [FocusP ... [Foc' ~~**que**~~<sub>i</sub> [FinitenessP [Fin' ~~**que**~~<sub>i</sub> ...]]]]]]]]
- g. SECONDARY-*QUE* IN TOPICP (Rodríguez-Ramalle 2003, *i.a.*)  
 [ForceP [Force' **que** [TopicP LD [Top' **que** ... [FinitenessP [Fin' ...]]]]]]

The discussion in the previous subsections leads to the following facts about recomplementation patterns in Spanish:

- (74)
- a. Secondary *que* is typically optional (cf. (6), Section 2).
  - b. Multiple dislocates can occur in sandwiched position (cf. (20), Section 4.2.1).
  - c. Left-dislocated material can appear below secondary *que* (cf. (21), Section 4.2.1).
  - d. Multiple secondary complementizers are possible (cf. (22), Section 4.2.1) and mixed patterns are possible (cf. (23), Section 4.2.1).
  - e. Foci, (negative) quantified phrases, *wh*-items (cf. (24)), and interrogative complementizers (cf. (26)) can follow but *not* precede secondary *que* (cf. Section 4.2.3).
  - f. Secondary *que* is contingent on the appearance of (at least) a sandwiched left-dislocated XP (viz. the “topicality” of recomplementation *que*) (cf. (29), Section 4.4).
  - g. It is possible to elide the complement of secondary *que* (cf. the sandwiched XP and secondary *que* establish a Spec-Head agreement relationship) (cf. (35), Section 4.4.1).
  - h. Secondary *que* behaves differently from the homophonous low *que* found in “jussive/optative” clauses, which is regarded as being the lexical realization of the subjunctive mood in Finiteness<sup>o</sup> (cf. (15b)) (cf. Section 4.4.1).

Before reviewing the previous accounts of recomplementation in Spanish, I assess the processing account of double-complementizer constructions proposed for English by Casasanto and Sag (2008).

### 5.1. Against a processing account of double-complementizer sentences in Spanish

As mentioned in fn. 5, Casasanto and Sag (2008) have put forth the proposal that double-complementizer constructions (in English), illustrated in (75), stem from processing pressures.

- (75) I told him that for sure **that** I would come  
[Casasanto and Sag (2008: 1)]

Casasanto and Sag (2008: 4) claim that “the extra *that* is a production strategy speakers use to simultaneously satisfy [...] processing constraints [...] when there is material intervening between the verb and the subject.” According to the authors (ibid.: 1-2), one of the functions of the complementizer is to signal “that the subject of the clause is immediately upcoming, making this subject highly predictable and easier to process when it appears.” Thus, when an adverbial intervenes between the high complementizer and the subject in English in sentences such as (76), speakers tend to produce an additional instance of *that*, which facilitates processing of the subject.

- (76) The party opposite said **that** *if we cut 6 billion from the budget* **that** it  
 would end in catastrophe  
 (David Cameron, Prime Minister's Questions, BBC Radio)  
 [Radford (2011: 7)]

This proposal, however, is untenable for Spanish, which is a prototypical example of a null-subject language where the subject either does not need to appear, or it can appear postverbally (see also Radford 2011 for criticisms against the processing account of the double-*that* construction in English). The Spanish counterpart of (76), which in fact displays an obligatorily null subject, confirms that double-*que* sentences in Spanish are not limited to embedded clauses involving preverbal subjects:

- (77) La oposición dijo **que** si cortábamos 6 billones del  
 the party-opposite said that if cut 6 billion of+the  
 presupuesto **que** terminaría en una catástrofe  
 budget that end<sub>Condit.</sub> in a catastrophe  
 'The party opposite said that if we cut 6 billion from the budget that it  
 would end in catastrophe.'

Moreover, as noted in passing, double-*que* constructions are not possible with all types of predicates (see fn. 19), which further undermines the processing account (González i Planas 2011). In much the same way, the possibility of multiple complementizers (cf. (74d)) and the existence of two clearly different non-primary complementizers (namely recomplementation *que* and "jussive/optative"



*que*, cf. (74h)) also argue against double-*que* constructions being the result of processing constraints. Throughout the remainder of the dissertation, I will provide additional evidence that the phenomenon in question is grammatical in nature. I therefore conclude that double-*que* constructions in Spanish are not (necessarily) motivated by processing difficulty. In what follows, I review the grammatical accounts of recomplementation in Spanish.

## 5.2. CP Recursion

The CP-recursion analysis (cf. (73a)) has a number of virtues, including the fact that it can handle the ellipsis facts (cf. (74g)) and the dependence of secondary *que* on a dislocated phrase (cf. (74f)) by virtue of placing the sandwiched constituent in the specifier of secondary *que*. However, it is not clear how this system can capture the occurrence of interrogative complementizers below secondary *que* (cf. (74e)) without resorting to additional structure between the low CP and the TP layer (i.e. without appealing to a more elaborated CP field). Similarly, as noted by a *Probus* reviewer, under Fontana's (1993) claim that there can be at most two CPs in CP-recursion constructions in recomplementation, how to account for the possibility of multiple lower *ques* (cf. (74d)) remains unclear. Moreover, under the CP-recursion analysis, unless we assume more structure between CP and TP, it is not easy to draw the necessary distinction between secondary *que* and "jussive/optative" *que* (cf. (74h)), since the two complementizers would in principle head the same low CP phrase, leaving the

different behavior and distribution of secondary *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* unaccounted for. Further, under the CP recursion analysis, it is difficult to accommodate the fact that the two distinct complementizers can co-occur in the same sentence (cf. (17)), since the two items display clearly different behavior and distribution (see Chapter 3), which is unexpected if the two complementizers head recursive CPs. Even if we adopt the assumption that the high CP and the lower CP have different properties (*à la* Iatridou and Kroch 1992, among others), it is still not easy to account for the different complementizers with which this dissertation is concerned: the high CP would be headed by high, obligatory *que*, and the low CP would presumably be headed by secondary *que*. Then, it is unclear where “jussive/optative” *que* would fit in this picture; it would be necessary to assume that “jussive/optative” *que* heads a (left-peripheral) projection below the lowest CP. The same would be needed to account for the fact that focused phrases, *wh*-items, and interrogative complementizers all occur below recomplementation *que* (cf. (74e)). Put differently, a more straightforward mapping of the complex left periphery of Spanish is accomplished by resorting to an articulated structure of the CP layer.

### 5.3. FP

The secondary-*que*-in-FP account (cf. (73b)) also captures the ellipsis facts (cf. (74g)) as well as the dependence of secondary *que* on a sandwiched dislocate (cf. (74f)) appropriately, but is unable to handle the possibility of multiple

complementizers as well as mixed patterns (cf. (74d)) and dislocates below secondary *que* (cf. (74c)), the fact that focalized elements and interrogative complementizers must follow secondary *que* (cf. (74e)), and the distinction between secondary *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* (cf. (74h)), including the occurrence of the two types of *que* in the same clause (cf. (17)). Extepare (2010) points out that in order to account for the possibility of multiple-complementizer sentences under this approach, it would be necessary to assume that FP is a recursive phrase. The same problem arises for the secondary-*que*-in-FinitenessP and the no TopicP/FocusP accounts reviewed in the following subsections.

#### 5.4. FinitenessP

While the secondary-*que*-in-FinitenessP analysis (cf. (73c)) can easily accommodate examples where multiple dislocations occur in the position sandwiched between *ques* (cf. (74b)), it cannot account for the possibility of multiple complementizers and mixed patterns (cf. (74d)) or for the ability of dislocates to occur below secondary *que* (cf. (74c)), unless we make the undesirable assumption that FinitenessP is a recursive projection, as noted above. Similarly, this account falls short of capturing the fact that focalized material and interrogative complementizers must follow secondary *que* (cf. (74e)), the ellipsis facts (cf. (74g)), and the dependence of secondary *que* on the appearance of a dislocated phrase (cf. (74f)). Moreover, it cannot correctly distinguish secondary

*que* and “jussive/optative” *que* (cf. (74h)), nor can it accommodate examples where the two distinct complementizers appear in the same clause (cf. (17)).

### 5.5. No TopicP/FocusP-FinitenessP

The no TopicP/FocusP analysis (cf. (73d)) assumes that secondary *que* heads FinitenessP, with dislocates, *wh*-items, and foci all targeting multiple specifiers of FinitenessP. While this analysis can accommodate the possibility of multiple dislocates in sandwiched position (cf. (74b)), the dependence of secondary *que* on a dislocate (cf. (74f)), and the ellipsis facts (cf. (74g)), it is at odds with the fact that multiple complementizers and mixed patterns are possible (cf. (74d)), dislocated phrases can appear below secondary *que* (cf. (74c)), and focalized constituents and interrogative complementizers must appear below secondary *que* (cf. (74e)). Further, under this analysis, it is also difficult to capture the different properties of secondary *que* and “jussive/optative” *que*, as well as their ability to co-occur in the same sentence (cf. (17)).<sup>33</sup>

### 5.6. (Doubled)ForceP

The secondary-*que*-in-(Doubled)ForceP system (cf. (73e)) cannot explain the dependence of secondary *que* on a sandwiched dislocate (cf. (74f)) or the ellipsis

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<sup>33</sup> See Kempchinsky (to appear) for a modification of López’s system which assumes that secondary *que* (reduplicative *que*, in Kempchinsky’s terms) is the head of a category-neutral projection located between ForceP and FinitenessP.

facts (cf. (74g)), since the dislocate and the secondary complementizer are in different, unrelated projections. This approach raises other serious questions such as why the presence of a dislocated phrase triggers the doubling of ForceP, and what the connection between TopicP and (Doubled)ForceP is, given that the appearance of (Doubled)ForceP is conditional upon the occurrence of TopicP. In much the same way, this proposal inevitably has to invoke a proliferation of projections in cases of multiple recomplementation *ques* (cf. (22)), since presumably each CLLDed element would project its own TopicP, which would in turn be followed by (Doubled)ForceP, headed by *que*, as follows:

- (78) [ForceP [For' [TopicP LD [Top' [(Doubled)ForceP [(Doubled)For' *que* [TopicP LD [Top' [(Doubled)ForceP [(Doubled)For' *que*...]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

Additional questions include why ForceP is “doubled” but not FinitenessP, and what happens in cases of embedded dislocation without secondary *que*, in which case, presumably, (Doubled)ForceP would not be projected.

### 5.7. Moving complementizers

The moving complementizers account outlined in (73e) faces the obvious issue of how to explain why the grammar would overtly realize more than one copy of a moved element (in this case a complementizer) and why the relevant complementizer would not be frozen in place after undergoing feature-checking

(recall the freezing effect of feature-checking alluded to in Section 4.4.1). Further, an inadequacy of this system is that, according to Ledgeway (2005), a low copy of a complementizer is only pronounced if the dislocate is heavy, in an attempt to clearly delimit the topic field. However, as shown in (19b), even monosyllabic pronouns such as *yo* ‘I’ can occur in recomplementation configurations in Spanish, which suggests that the occurrence of multiple complementizers is not contingent upon the heaviness of the dislocate. A further problem for this system is that in Spanish, low *ques* never appear after focalized material, which poses the question of why copies of low complementizers left right below focused phrases can be pronounced in the Italian dialects Ledgeway is concerned with but not in Spanish.<sup>34</sup>

### 5.8. In defense of a TopicP account of recomplementation in Spanish

Lastly, as the discussion in the preceding subsections suggests, the TopicP account of recomplementation (cf. (73g)) is empirically superior to the alternatives reviewed above. This analysis places secondary *que* in the head of TopicP and straightforwardly accounts for the facts under discussion. First, it elegantly captures the fact that the presence of secondary *que* is contingent on the occurrence of a left-dislocated phrase (cf. (74f)) as well as the ellipsis facts (cf. (74g)). In particular, this analysis explains the licensing of ellipsis in sentences

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<sup>34</sup> See Manzini and Savoia (2011) for further criticisms of the moving-complementizer system with particular reference to the Italian varieties covered by Ledgeway.

with (cf. (35)) and without (cf. (36)) secondary *que*: in both cases, ellipsis is licensed by the same agreeing head (Topic<sup>o</sup>), regardless of whether it is lexicalized as *que* or it is a null head (see Chapter 5 for the mechanism responsible for secondary-*que* deletion). Further, this account is fully consistent with the possibility of multiple sandwiched dislocates (cf. (74b)/(79)), multiple complementizers (cf. (74d)/(80)), mixed patterns (cf. (74d)/(81)), and the ability of left-dislocated phrases to occur below secondary *que* (cf. (74c)/(82)), which follow under Rizzi's analysis, where it is independently argued that TopicP is recursive. Therefore, the current analysis dispenses with the need to assume that left-peripheral heads other than TopicP are recursive.

- (79) [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top'  $\emptyset$  [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top'  $\emptyset$  [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' *que* [FinitenessP [Fin' ...]]]]]]]]]]]
- (80) [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' *que* [FinitenessP [Fin' ...]]]]]]]]]
- (81) [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top'  $\emptyset$  [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' *que* [FinitenessP [Fin' ...]]]]]]]]]]]
- (82) [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top'  $\emptyset$  [FinitenessP [Fin' ...]]]]]]]]]

Similarly, the TopicP analysis immediately accounts for the occurrence of focalized material and *wh*-items below secondary *que*, this being the only option (cf. (74e)). In Rizzi's architecture of the left periphery, the relevant phrases land in Spec,FocusP, which is below TopicP, i.e., secondary *que*:

- (83) [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' *que* [FocusP *wh/focus* [Foc' ... [FinitenessP  
[Fin' ...]]]]]]]]

In parallel fashion, the present account can readily accommodate *que* LD *que* + interrogative complementizer configurations, exemplified in (26) above:<sup>35</sup>

- (84) [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' *que* [InterrogativeP [Int' *Si* ... [FinitenessP  
[Fin' ...]]]]]]]]

Furthermore, the current analysis makes it possible to draw the necessary distinction between secondary *que* (the head of TopicP) and “jussive/optative” *que* (the head of FinitenessP) (cf. (74h)), whose co-occurrence in the same sentence also follows straightforwardly under this account, since secondary *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* occupy different projections (cf. (85)). This conclusion will be further substantiated in Chapter 3.

- (85) [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE [Top' *que*<sub>recomplementation</sub> [TopicP DISLOCATE  
[Top' Ø [FinitenessP [Fin' *que*<sub>“jussive/optative”</sub>]]]]]]]]

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<sup>35</sup> Rizzi (2001) postulates Int(errogative)P, a category which is responsible for hosting interrogative complementizers such as *if*. Note that this projection is situated between TopicP and FocusP, as indicated by *si*'s ability to co-occur with *foci* to its right:

- (i) Me preguntó *que* tu madre *que si* SÓLO A TI te hacía regalos  
cl. asked that your mother that whether only you cl. did presents  
'S/he asked me if your mother used to give presents only to you.'



Note also that the current analysis readily captures the Saramaccan and Gungbe facts from Aboh (2006) noted in Section 4. The analysis provided in (86b) is in fact the analysis Aboh (2006) adopts for examples like (86a), where the high *ní* marks the interrogative force of the sentence and the low *ní* is a deontic marker. (See also Chapter 3 for crosslinguistic evidence from Asturian in support of this analysis).

- (86) a. *Ún kánbió ní ósó éhè yà ògán wé mí ní*  
 1.SG ask horse Dem. Top chief Foc 1.PL  
*zè è yì ná?*  
 take 3.SG go give  
 ‘I asked if, as for this horse, we should give it to the CHIEF?’
- b. [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>Force'</sub> *ní*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TopicP</sub> DISLOCATE [<sub>Top'</sub> *yà* [<sub>FocusP</sub> FOCUS [<sub>Foc'</sub> *wé* [<sub>FinitenessP</sub> [<sub>Fin'</sub> *ní*<sub>2</sub>]]]]]]]]]

Overall, the discussion in this chapter leads to the conclusion that the Spanish recomplementation facts can be accounted for uniformly under the TopicP account of recomplementation within Rizzi’s (1997 *et seq.*) articulated structure of the left periphery.<sup>36</sup> This analysis accounts for the facts without

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<sup>36</sup> In a Benincà and Poletto (2004)-style left periphery, hanging topics and CLLDed constituents target different projections, as indicated, for instance, by the empirical observation that at most one hanging topic can appear per clause and must always precede CLLDed elements. As noted above, hanging topics can occur in recomplementation contexts (cf. (19f)). This could be taken to suggest that secondary *que* may head different high left-peripheral projections or different projections in a split Topic field. Future research should tackle this matter. For convenience, however, I keep to the label TopicP, following standard practice in the literature. (The reader is referred to Chapter 5 for further discussion of the behavior of hanging topics and CLLD in the context of double-complementizer constructions).

recourse to additional projections and without further stipulation (i.e. the analysis relies on assumptions already made in the literature for independent reasons), which should be taken as an argument in its favor.<sup>37</sup>

## 6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have addressed the analysis of recomplementation configurations in Spanish. After reviewing previous analyses of the construction, I discussed a number of properties of recomplementation/secondary complementizers. The relevant properties include the following: secondary *que* is typically optional; multiple dislocates can occur in the position sandwiched between complementizers; left-dislocated material can appear below secondary *que*; multiple secondary complementizers are possible; mixed patterns are licit; foci, (negative) quantified phrases, *wh*-items, and interrogative complementizers can follow but *not* appear in a position higher than secondary *que*; secondary *que* is contingent on the appearance of (at least) a sandwiched left-dislocated XP; it is possible to elide the complement of secondary *que*, which led me to conclude that the sandwiched XP and secondary *que* establish a Spec-Head agreement relationship; and recomplementation/secondary *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* behave differently and display different distribution patterns.

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<sup>37</sup> I have hitherto adopted Rizzi’s original proposal without any modifications. In the remainder of the dissertation, however, I will make the assumption that FinitenessP (or, equivalently, MoodP) is only projected when its head is lexically filled (i.e. when “jussive/optative” *que* occurs or when the verb moves to the left periphery; see Chapter 3), its absence signaling default indicative.

I have shown that the TopicP analysis, according to which recomplementation *que* heads TopicP, with the sandwiched dislocate in its specifier, successfully accounts for all the aforementioned properties in a unified way. Thus, I have argued that the recomplementation facts presented in this chapter further support Rizzi's (1997) analysis of the left periphery, which captures the Spanish recomplementation facts without further stipulation. I have also furnished evidence from unrelated languages pointing to the correctness of the analysis pursued here for the Spanish case. This conclusion will be reinforced in the next chapter, where I systematically compare (medial) recomplementation *que* and (low) "jussive/optative" *que* in terms of a number of properties.

## Chapter 3

### **Spanish medial and low complementizers: recommentation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que*\***

#### **1. Overview**

Building on the findings reported in Chapter 2, the goal of this chapter is to characterize the differences between two distinct (non-primary) complementizers in Spanish which superficially look like the same item: recommentation/secondary *que* and “jussive/optative” *que*. In Chapter 2, I anticipated some of the differences between these two complementizers, a matter to which I return here. In this chapter, I make a detailed comparison between the two complementizers in terms of a number of properties, including their (non)dependence on the appearance of a dislocated phrase, their optionality vs. obligatoriness, their (in)ability to license ellipsis, their distribution with respect to left dislocations and foci, their bearing on clitic placement possibilities in Asturian, their (im)possibility to iterate, and their ability to co-occur in the same sentence.

More generally, this chapter has three major objectives:

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\* This chapter is a revised version of Villa-García (2012).

- to characterize previously unacknowledged differences between medial and low complementizers in Spanish, namely recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que*;
- to provide further empirical evidence relevant to the study of the clausal left periphery; and
- to confirm the conclusion reached in Chapter 2 that a highly articulated structure is required to map the Spanish left periphery.

The first goal of this chapter is crucial, since many previous works on Spanish complementizers have by and large failed to draw the necessary distinction between the two complementizers. The second goal is also important in that the empirical evidence to be presented in this chapter will be pivotal to the analysis of the Spanish left periphery, which, as the third goal indicates and as shown in Chapter 2, necessarily requires appealing to a split-CP approach.

After careful examination of the distinct behavior and distribution of the two complementizers that constitute the object of study of this chapter, the conclusion drawn is that the data lend support to a split-CP analysis of the Spanish left periphery, along the lines of Rizzi (1997, 2001, 2004). In particular, this chapter further corroborates the claim put forth in Chapter 2 that recomplementation *que* lexicalizes Topic° and “jussive/optative” *que* lexicalizes Finiteness°. For the sake of clarity, in the examples and structures provided throughout the chapter, I adopt the following convention: recomplementation *que*

will be marked with an underline and “jussive/optative” *que* with a dotted underline. (I do not use any special marking for primary *que*).

## 2. Recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que*

The clausal left periphery of Spanish displays a complex system of complementizers, oftentimes masked by the fact that default complementizers are lexically realized as *que*, with the notable exception of interrogative *si* ‘if.’ The present chapter focuses on medial and low *que* complementizers, which, given their homophony (/ke/) and their apparently identical distribution in certain contexts, have often been treated in the literature as the same item.<sup>38</sup> As anticipated in Chapter 2, the minimal pair in (87) illustrates a context in which the two complementizers with which this chapter is concerned, namely recomplementation/secondary *que* and “jussive/optative” *que*, are *prima facie* indistinguishable.

(87) a. *Recomplementation que*:

Me	dijeron	que	como	hace	sol,	( <u>que</u> )	viene	Guillermo
cl.	said	that	as	does	sun	that	come <sub>3.SG-Ind.</sub>	William
‘They said that since it’s sunny, William is coming (here).’								

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<sup>38</sup> For accounts that treat the two types of complementizers as heads of different projections in certain Italian dialects and in Catalan, see Paoli (2006) and González i Planas (2010, 2011), respectively.

b. “*Jussive/optative*” *que*:

Me	dijeron	<u>que</u>	como	hace sol,	*( <u>que</u> )	venga	Guillermo
cl.	said	that	as	does sun	that	come <sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>	William
‘They demanded that William come (here), since it’s sunny.’							

However, closer inspection reveals that the underlined *que* complementizers in (87a) and (87b) constitute distinct functional heads and exhibit radically different distributional and syntactic behavior. In fact, the pair in (87) already highlights two crucial differences between the two complementizers: whereas recomplementation *que* is optional and typically appears in indicative clauses (cf. (87a)), “jussive/optative” *que* is mandatory and is intimately associated with the subjunctive mood (cf. (87b)).

## 2.1. The analysis of medial and low complementizers in Spanish

In this section, I briefly present the two complementizers in turn, namely recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que*, and the analysis I pursue for each of the two complementizers, which draws on the findings of Chapter 2.

Recomplementation, discussed at length in Chapter 2, is a phenomenon characteristic of spoken Spanish, which consists of a topic/left-dislocated (LD) constituent sandwiched between overt complementizers, the second of which can be absent without apparent semantic effect, as illustrated by the Spanish data in (88a) ((88b) is the counterpart of (88a) without secondary *que*).

- (88) a. Susi dice que *a los alumnos* que los quieren  
 Susi says that ACC the students that cl. love
- b. Susi dice que *a los alumnos* los quieren  
 Susi says that ACC the students cl. love  
 Both: ‘Susi says that they love the students.’

I will pursue the view championed by Mascarenhas (2007), Paoli (2006), and Rodríguez-Ramalle (2003) (and argued for extensively in Chapter 2) that the secondary complementizer of recomplementation patterns lexicalizes Topic°, the head of TopicP in Rizzi’s (1997 *et seq.*) analysis, with the sandwiched dislocate being hosted in the specifier of TopicP. Although a number of arguments for the TopicP account of recomplementation can be found in Chapter 2 (see also Villagarcía, in press a), additional supporting evidence for this analysis will be provided in this chapter. The TopicP account of recomplementation is provided in the bracketing in (89):

- (89) *The secondary que of recomplementation configurations heads TopicP in Spanish*

... [ForceP [Force’ que [TopicP DISLOCATE (LD) [Top’ que ...]]]]

The other complementizer discussed in the current chapter is found in exhortative and desiderative root and embedded clauses characterized by the obligatory presence of the overt complementizer and subjunctive morphology on



the verb, as illustrated in (90). This pattern includes both exhortative/jussive (cf. (90a)) and desiderative/optative (cf. (90b)) sentences. By way of illustration, the speaker who utters (90a) is telling his/her interlocutor about an order or command that affects a third party. The speaker who utters (90b), on the other hand, does not need an interlocutor, since he or she is just expressing his/her desire that something happen to the person he or she is talking about (RAE 2009). As (87b) shows, this pattern is also possible in embedded contexts.

- (90) a. ¡\*(Que) se vaya! [exhortative/jussive]  
           that cl. go<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>  
           ‘I demand that s/he go away.’
- b. ¡\*(Que) sea muy feliz! [desiderative/optative]  
           that be<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub> very happy  
           ‘May s/he be very happy.’

Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2007, 2009), Ledgeway (2005), Paoli (2003, 2006), and Villa-García (2012; in press a,b) argue that the mandatory complementizer with a dotted underline in examples like (87b) and (90a,b) is the lexical realization of the subjunctive mood, and thus it heads Finiteness°, the lowest left-peripheral projection of Rizzi (1997), which Rizzi independently argues is the locus of mood and finiteness features.<sup>39</sup> As the discussion below demonstrates, this analysis is further substantiated by the empirical observation

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<sup>39</sup> For the connection between the CP layer and the subjunctive mood, the reader is referred to the work of Paula Kempchinsky (e.g. Kempchinsky 2009).

that “jussive/optative” *que* cannot be followed by left-peripheral material. I will assume, therefore, that “jussive/optative” *que* heads Finiteness° in Rizzi’s system, as shown in (91).

(91) “Jussive/optative” *que* heads FinitenessP

a. Embedded contexts (cf. (87b)):

[ForceP [Force’ *que* [TopicP DISLOCATE (LD) [Top’ [FinitenessP [Fin’ *que* [TP ...]]]]]]]

b. Root contexts (cf. (90)):

[FinitenessP/CP [Fin’/C’ *que* [TP ...]]]

In what follows, I provide a systematic comparison of recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* in terms of a number of properties. The empirical evidence to be presented indicates that the two complementizers are radically different in their behavior and distribution. I show that analyzing recomplementation *que* as the head of TopicP (cf. (89)) and “jussive/optative” *que* as the head of FinitenessP (cf. (91)) correctly predicts the different behavior and distribution of recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* in Spanish. Put differently, the two complementizers, which are superficially identical in certain contexts (e.g. (87)), are in fact distinct elements, which strongly suggests that the two complementizers cannot be treated as the same element (cf. (89) and (91)).

## 2.2. The different behavior and distribution of recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que*

### 2.2.1. The (non-)dependence of complementizers on left dislocations: root and embedded contexts

An important difference between recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* is that whereas the former is contingent on the appearance of a left-dislocated topic, the latter is not. Needless to say, this difference is obscured in embedded contexts like (87), where the low “jussive/optative” complementizer can only appear if dislocated material occurs between the high complementizer and the low one; otherwise only one complementizer can occur (see below). However, I show that the low “jussive/optative” complementizer appears in embedded contexts only if dislocated material occurs because the presence of left-peripheral material causes the left periphery to split into multiple projections, with TopicP being projected between ForceP and FinitenessP, whose head hosts “jussive/optative” *que*.

As shown in (92), recomplementation *que* requires at least one dislocated phrase to its left (see Chapter 2, Section 4.4), both in embedded contexts (cf. (92a,b)) and in root sentences introduced by quotative *que* (see fn. 13) (cf. (92c,d)).<sup>40,41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> A similar root construction which may not exactly involve recomplementation *que* is illustrated by the following interaction, which shows that only a default nominative, DP hanging topic doubled by a resumptive can occur in this context; a full-fledged dislocated PP is ungrammatical in this environment:

- (92) a. Pedro dice *que con ella (que)* no van a venir  
 Peter says that with her that not go to come  
 ‘Peter says that they are not planning to come with her.’
- b. \*Pedro dice *que que* no van a venir con ella  
 Peter says that that not go to come with her
- c. *Que con ella (que)* no van a venir<sup>42</sup>  
 that with her that not go to come  
 ‘Somebody says they are not planning to come with her.’
- d. \**Que que* no van a venir con ella  
 that that not go to come with her

By contrast, “jussive/optative” *que* can appear in root contexts without a dislocate to its left, as shown by (91a,b) and (93).

- 
- (i) A: ¿Qué pasó?      ¿Por qué estás triste?  
 what happened for what are sad  
 ‘What happened? Why do you look so sad?’
- B: a. *Mi madre, que* dependen todos *de ella* económicamente  
 my mother that depend all of her economically
- b. \**De mi madre, que* dependen todos económicamente  
 of my mother that depend all economically  
 ‘Everybody relies on my mother for money.’

As shown in Chapter 5, however, recomplementation *que* differs from the *que* exemplified in (i) in that it can be preceded by both hanging topics and full-fledged dislocated phrases/Clitic Left-Dislocations (CLLDs).

<sup>41</sup> See Chapter 2, Section 4.4 for the impossibility of realizing the head of TopicP overtly in the absence of a dislocate in its specifier. See also González i Planas (2011) for evidence from Catalan that recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* can actually be adjacent in certain contexts, which is straightforwardly captured by the analysis pursued in this chapter wherein the two heads occupy distinct CP-related projections. (It may be that the haplology constraint mentioned in Chapter 2, Section 4.4 is not operative in these cases in Catalan).

<sup>42</sup> As shown by Extepare (2010), the high *que* that appears in quotative constructions is not optional, since it is a marker of hearsay (i.e. (92c) means “somebody says X”) (see also Chapter 2).

- (93) (*A la fiesta*), que vayan  
 to the party that go<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>  
 ‘I demand that they go (to the party).’

Note, incidentally, that “jussive/optative” *que* can also appear inside of a quotative construction, much like recomplementation *que*:

- (94) *Que a la fiesta*, que vayan  
 that to the party that go<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>  
 ‘I insist again/somebody ordered that they go (to the party).’

Examples (90) and (93) indicate that the complementizer intimately associated with the subjunctive mood, namely “jussive/optative” *que*, does not need to appear with an attending dislocated phrase, contrary to recomplementation *que*. This difference suggests that whereas recomplementation *que* is licensed by left-dislocated material, “jussive/optative” *que* is not. This follows immediately under the account pursued in this dissertation: recomplementation *que* heads TopicP (cf. (95a)), which must have a constituent in its specifier. Hence, *que* and the dislocate are in the same projection, which explains the dependence of recomplementation *que* on the occurrence of a dislocate (see Chapter 2, Section 4.4 for additional evidence). “Jussive/optative” *que*, on the other hand, heads FinitenessP (cf. (95b)), which is not associated with left-dislocated topic phrases, nor does it host a left-dislocated topic in its specifier.

Thus, “jussive/optative” *que* is not conditional upon the presence of a dislocated phrase.

(95) a. *Recomplementation que*

... [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP LD [Top' *que* ...]]]]

b. “*Jussive/optative*” *que*

... [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP LD [Top' [FinitenessP [Fin' *que* ...]]]]]]]

I now return to the question of why in embedded contexts (and in quotative cases like (94)), “jussive/optative” *que* occurs only if dislocated material precedes it (cf. (87b)/(94)). Following Rizzi (1997 and subsequent work), I assume that if no left-peripheral material occurs in the CP layer, a single head is sufficient to realize different functions, by virtue of bearing all the relevant features. This, I argue, is what happens in cases like (90), where “jussive/optative” *que* is not preceded by left-dislocated material. The highly simplified derivation of sentences like those in (90) is shown in (96), where *que* is regarded as the realization of both force and finiteness features.

(96) [*que* [TP ...]]

However, in cases like (87b), where “jussive/optative” *que* follows dislocated material in embedded contexts, a split left periphery with ForceP, TopicP, and FinitenessP occurs. In this case, ForceP and FinitenessP can no longer be conflated, and the “jussive/optative” *que* complementizer realizes the low head Finiteness°, as shown in (95b). The apparent dependence of “jussive/optative” *que* on the presence of a dislocate in embedded contexts is the result of FinitenessP being projected only if dislocated material occurs (i.e. if TopicP is projected). Note that the analysis in (96) is also the structure assumed for cases of embedding without dislocation:

- (97) a. Pedro dice que no vienen  
           Peter says that not come<sub>3.PL-Ind.</sub>  
           ‘Peter says that they are not coming.’  
       b. Pedro dice que no vengán  
           Peter says that not come<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>  
           ‘Peter demands that they not come.’

The sentences in (97a) and (97b) again constitute a minimal pair in that the difference in mood (indicative vs. subjunctive) crucially changes the meaning of the sentence, much like in (87). Since no left-peripheral material occurs here, there is only one instance of the complementizer in such sentences, which functions as the locus of both force and finiteness features.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> There is direct evidence from Spanish suggesting that a single complementizer *que* can sometimes realize different functions simultaneously (i.e. it can be the lexical realization of a head

The evidence adduced in this subsection points to the conclusion that whereas recomplementation *que* is contingent on a dislocate in its specifier, “jussive/optative” *que* is not. This difference is accounted for under the proposed analysis (cf. (95)), which is further supported by the evidence to be presented in the following subsections.

### 2.2.2. Optionality vs. obligatoriness

As mentioned in passing in Chapter 2, a property that helps differentiate recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* is that the former is typically optional (cf. (98)), whereas the latter is obligatory (cf. (99)).<sup>44</sup>

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bearing different features). The sentence uttered by interlocutor C as part of the following dialog is headed by *que*, which serves a double function, since it is both a quotative marker (see also the previous footnote) and the (mandatory) lexical realization of the subjunctive mood.

- (i) A: ¡Vete!  
           <sup>gO2.SG-Imper.</sup>  
           ‘Go!’  
       B: ¿Qué dijo A?  
           what said A  
           ‘What did A say?’  
       C: ¡\*(Que) te vayas!  
           that cl. <sup>gO2.SG-Subj.</sup>  
           ‘A ordered that you go away.’

<sup>44</sup> For some speakers, the lower *que* is obligatory only in third-person cases in “jussive/optative” *que* contexts, but optional for other persons (although the preferred option is still to have an overt *que* in all “jussive/optative” environments):

- (i) Dicen que a la fiesta, %(que) vayamos  
       say that to the party that <sup>gO1.PL-Subj.</sup>  
       ‘They demand that we go to the party.’

I will leave this issue open here, offering only some speculations. Third-person *que* + subjunctive constructions form a natural class in not having a root counterpart displaying true imperative morphology, hence their structure is identical in root and embedded clauses. It may be that in cases other than the third-person, the subjunctive morphology is the embedded counterpart of the true imperative morphology exhibited in root cases (see González i Planas 2010), whereas third-



- (98) a. Repitió que a la fiesta, (que) vienen mis padres  
 repeated that to the party that come my parents  
 ‘S/he repeated that my parents are coming to the party.’
- b. Que a la fiesta, (que) vienen mis padres  
 that to the party that come my parents  
 ‘Somebody says that my parents are coming to the party.’
- (99) a. Repitió que a la fiesta, ?\*(que) vengan mis padres  
 repeated that to the party that come<sub>3,PL-Subj.</sub> my parents  
 ‘S/he insisted again that they come to the party.’
- b. (A la fiesta,) \*(que) vengan mis padres  
 to the party that come<sub>3,PL-Subj.</sub> my parents  
 ‘I demand that my parents come (to the party).’
- c. Que a la fiesta, ?\*(que) vengan mis padres  
 that to the party that come<sub>3,PL-Subj.</sub> my parents  
 ‘I insist again/somebody demands that my parents come to the party.’

The current analysis successfully captures the optionality of recomplementation *que* and the obligatoriness of “jussive/optative” *que*: on the one hand, recomplementation *que* functions as an optional topic marker heading

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person cases invariably involve subjunctive morphology in root and embedded environments. It may also be that cases involving persons other than the third-person have a different syntax for the speakers who accept sentences like (i), without the low *que*.

A related question concerns whether the obligatoriness of the lower complementizer *que* in embedded “jussive/optative” constructions (cf. (99a)) is limited to communication verbs such as *decir* ‘to say’ or *repetir* ‘to repeat,’ which do not inherently subcategorize for an embedded clause with a verb in subjunctive, or whether the low complementizer is also mandatory with predicates like *pedir* ‘to ask’ or *ordenar* ‘to order,’ which always take subjunctive complements with exhortative value and thus may not require realizing a lower *que* to lexicalize the relevant mood and mark the sentence as exhortative/desiderative. The judgments are not totally clear in this regard, though the version with lower *que* is still preferred in all cases, as shown by (ii).

- (ii) Pidió que a la fiesta ??(que) vengan  
 requested that to the party, that come<sub>3,PL-Subj.</sub>  
 ‘S/he demanded that they come to the party.’

TopicP (see Chapter 2 and, especially, Chapter 5 for evidence that recomplementation *que* can be deleted in PF, as well as the mechanism behind its deletion).<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, “jussive/optative” *que* is the lexical realization of the subjunctive mood in the head of FinitenessP, which is responsible for encoding finiteness and mood features.<sup>46</sup> In this sense, note that for many speakers of English, complementizers in subjunctive sentences are obligatory (Hegarty 1992, *inter alia*), which indicates that *that* is not vacuous (i.e. it cannot be omitted, as it is the lexical realization of the subjunctive mood).

- (100) a. The University requires *that* all students pay on time  
 b. \*The University requires all students pay on time

In the next subsection, I discuss the different behavior of the two complementizers with respect to ellipsis possibilities (see also the discussion in Chapter 2), which in turn supports the analysis currently pursued whereby recomplementation *que* lexicalizes Topic° and “jussive/optative” *que* lexicalizes Finiteness°.

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<sup>45</sup> See Fontana (1993: 234) and Wanner (1996, 1998) for diachronic evidence that recomplementation *que* was the unmarked option in Spanish texts from the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>46</sup> It may be that what looks like subjunctive mood on the verb is in fact the morphological realization of optative/jussive mood, which happens to be homophonous with that of true subjunctive mood. In this sense, the obligatorily overt realization of *que*, together with the verbal morphology, could be taken to mark optative/jussive mood. Following the majority of the literature, however, I will continue to refer to the relevant mood as subjunctive for ease of exposition.

### 2.2.3. Ellipsis

The data provided in this dissertation regarding ellipsis and recomplementation (see Chapter 2, Section 4.4.1) point to a further difference between recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que*. Whereas the complement of recomplementation *que* can be elided (cf. (101)), the complement of “jussive/optative” *que* cannot, as shown in (102) (ellipsis is only licensed in (102) provided that no low *que* occurs in the second conjunct, as noted in Chapter 2).

- (101) Me dijeron que si llueve (que) se quedan aquí, y que si  
 cl. said that if rains that cl. stay here and that if  
 nieva (que) también  
 snows that too  
 ‘They told me that they are going to stay here if it rains or snows.’

- (102) a. El tenedor, \*(que) lo cojan, y el cuchillo, (\*que)  
 the fork that cl. grab<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> and the knife that  
 también  
 too  
 ‘I demand that they grab the fork, and the knife too.’
- b. Dice Juana que el tenedor, \*(que) lo cojan, y que  
 says Juana that the fork that cl. grab<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> and that  
 el cuchillo, (\*que) también  
 the knife that too  
 ‘Juana demands that they grab the fork, and the knife too.’

In Chapter 2, I argued that the difference between recomplementation/secondary *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* in terms of their (in)ability to license ellipsis can be accounted for by appealing to the standard requirement on ellipsis proposed by Lobeck (1990) and Saito and Murasugi (1990) that functional heads can license ellipsis of their complement only when they undergo Spec-Head agreement (i.e. feature-checking), provided that other conditions on ellipsis are met.

Given the Spec-Head agreement requirement on ellipsis, the analysis currently pursued straightforwardly explains the different behavior of recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* with regard to ellipsis. Recomplementation *que* in Topic<sup>o</sup> enters into a Spec-Head relationship with the sandwiched dislocate in its specifier (i.e. Spec,TopicP). The two entities establish a feature-checking relationship and therefore ellipsis of the complement of secondary *que* can be effected, as shown in (103).

- (103) ... y [... Force' que [<sub>TopicP</sub> si nieva [<sub>Top'</sub> que ~~se quedan aquí~~ también]]]  
(cf. (101))

On the contrary, “jussive/optative” *que* is located in Finiteness<sup>o</sup>, whose specifier is empty, and therefore *que* does not establish an agreement relationship with any element in its specifier (i.e. Spec,FinitenessP). Not surprisingly, the complement of “jussive/optative” *que* cannot be elided, since the Spec-Head-

agreement-relationship requirement on ellipsis is not satisfied, as shown in (104), which includes relevant aspects of the derivation of (102b).<sup>47</sup>

- (104) \*... y ... [<sub>TopicP</sub> el cuchillo [<sub>Top'</sub> Ø [<sub>FinitenessP</sub> [<sub>Fin'</sub> que ~~lo cojan~~ también]]]]

As noted in Chapter 2, under any analysis that treats recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* as the same item (e.g. as the head Finiteness°), the ellipsis facts brought to light in this dissertation would remain shrouded in mystery.<sup>48</sup>

To summarize, the ellipsis facts confirm the correctness of the analysis currently pursued, according to which the head of TopicP (in the examples at hand, overt recomplementation *que*) establishes a Spec-Head-agreement relationship with the sandwiched dislocate in its specifier, which enables *que* to

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<sup>47</sup> A logical question to ask is what prevents conflation of TopicP and FinitenessP in cases such as (102b), as opposed to the cases discussed in fn. 43, where *que* functions both as a report marker and as the lexicalization of the subjunctive mood. I propose that the reason why projecting a syncretic TopicFinitenessP is not possible in (102b)/(104) is that the specifier of the conflated projection is filled in this case, but not in the examples in fn. 43. I assume that the dislocate in the specifier needs to establish a Spec-Head relationship with a unique (i.e. non-conflated) Topic head (recall in fact that projecting TopicP is conditional upon the occurrence of a dislocate in its specifier):

(i) \*... [<sub>For'</sub> *que* [<sub>TopFinP</sub> DISLOCATE [<sub>TopFin'</sub> Topic°/Finiteness° ... ]]]

Note, similarly, that the empirical fact remains that in elliptical cases involving “jussive/optative” constructions, no overt low *que* can occur in the second conjunct (cf. (102)).

<sup>48</sup> Recall from Chapter 2, Section 4.4.1 that the derivation whereby the dislocate moves to the specifier of the low complementizer and then moves up to a higher projection is ruled out for a variety of reasons (i.e. there is no intermediate feature checking, since feature checking has a freezing effect on the moving element, and low complementizers manifest island-creating properties). See also Chapter 2, Section 4.4.1 for discussion of why ellipsis is possible with a null complementizer in the second conjunct in “jussive/optative” cases like (102).

license ellipsis of its complement. On the other hand, the head of FinitenessP, “jussive/optative” *que*, does not enter into an agreement relationship with a constituent in its specifier, which prevents *que* from licensing ellipsis of its complement.

#### 2.2.4. The distribution of medial and low complementizers and left dislocations

The preceding discussion suggests that dislocated phrases can appear higher than the complementizers under discussion (i.e. both ... XP<sub>dislocate</sub> *que* and ... XP<sub>dislocate</sub> *que* configurations are possible). The question arises as to whether dislocated phrases can follow the complementizers in question.

As far as recomplementation *que* is concerned, the discussion in Chapter 2, Section 4.2.1 and the data in (105) show that dislocated phrases are licit in post-recomplementation-*que* position (Martín-González 2002).

- (105) Me dijeron que *aunque* no les cae bien, (*que*), a mi  
 cl. said that even-though not cl. fall well that my  
 hermana la saludan por las mañanas  
 sister cl. greet for the mornings  
 ‘They told me that they say hi to my sister every morning even though they don’t like her.’

With respect to “jussive/optative” *que*, however, a different picture emerges.<sup>49, 50</sup>

- (106) a. ?\**Que aunque no les caiga bien saluden a mi*  
           that even-though not cl. fall well greet<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> my  
           hermana por las mañanas  
           sister for the mornings

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<sup>49</sup> As regards examples like (106a), there seems to be a dialectal split. Most speakers agree that (106a) is ungrammatical or at least outdated; instead, they find equivalent sentences with the constituent *aunque no les caiga bien* in front of *que* perfectly grammatical, as in (106b). For some speakers, though, (106a) sounds unnatural, but not ungrammatical. Incidentally, as far as I can tell, most of the speakers who marginally accept sentences like (106a) are bilingual speakers of Catalan and Spanish. At this point, I am not in a position to determine whether any properties of Catalan are relevant here (though see González i Planas 2011). Be that as it may, a preliminary suggestion would be that for those speakers who allow (106a), the locus of mood features may be the highest projection in the split CP (i.e. ForceP). A related possibility is that (106a) is being interpreted as a report, and that *que* is a quotative marker that is realizing multiple left-peripheral functions (see fn. 43). I leave this issue open for further research.

<sup>50</sup> Sentences like (106a) become grammatical as long as the italicized dislocated material is followed by an additional instance of *que*, as illustrated in (i) (see also examples (94) and (99c)):

- (i) ¡*Que aunque no les caiga bien, que saluden a mi hermana por las mañanas*  
       that ev.-th. not cl. fall well that greet<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> my sister for the mornings  
       ‘I insist again/somebody ordered that they greet my sister every morning even if they don’t like her.’

This fact lends further support to the analysis currently pursued, since in multiple-homophonous-complementizer constructions such as (i), the high complementizer is a report/quotative marker in the spirit of Etxepare (2010) (see Chapter 2, fn. 13), and the low complementizer is precisely the mandatory lexicalization of Finiteness°. This state of affairs is predicted under our analysis, since the dislocated material is sandwiched between complementizers in a medial CP-related projection (i.e. in TopicP), with the low complementizer in the lowest left-peripheral head, namely Finiteness°. Put differently, the low occurrence of *que* in (i) is an instance of “jussive/optative” *que*. Therefore, it is natural to assume that sentences like (i) receive the following (simplified) analysis: [... *que* [<sub>TopicP</sub> *aunque no les caiga bien* [<sub>Top</sub> ... [<sub>Fin</sub> *que* ...]]]]. Such sentences thus further corroborate the correctness of the analysis pursued here.

- b. *Aunque no les caiga bien, que saluden a mi*  
 even-though not cl. fall well that greet<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> my  
 hermana por las mañanas  
 sister for the mornings  
 ‘I demand that they greet my sister in the mornings even though they  
 don’t like her.’
- c. ?\**Dice que aunque no les caiga bien, que a mi hermana*  
 says that even-though not cl. fall well, that my sister  
 la saluden por las mañanas  
 cl. greet<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> for the mornings
- d. *Dice que a mi hermana, aunque no les caiga bien,*  
 says that my sister even-though not cl. fall well,  
 que la saluden por las mañanas  
 that cl. greet<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> for the mornings  
 ‘S/he demands that they greet my sister in the mornings even though  
 they don’t like her.’

The data in (105) and (106) indicate that while recomplementation *que* can be preceded and followed by dislocated phrases, “jussive/optative” *que* can readily be preceded, but not followed, by dislocated phrases. (The reader is referred to Chapter 4 for additional data to this effect). The patterns that arise from the preceding empirical evidence are schematized in (107).



- (107) a. ... XP<sub>dislocate</sub> > que<sub>recomplementation</sub> > XP<sub>dislocate</sub>  
 b. ... XP<sub>dislocate</sub> > que<sub>“jussive/optative”</sub> > (?) \*XP<sub>dislocate</sub>

Under the current analysis (cf. (89)/(95a) and (91)/(95b)), the distribution of the two complementizers follows straightforwardly. Recomplementation *que* is optionally overt and heads TopicP, which Rizzi (1997) has independently argued is a recursive phrase (in fact, see Section 2.2.7 for further evidence to this effect in light of the iteration of recomplementation *que*). Thus, in (105), the low dislocate *a mi hermana* is in the specifier of the low TopicP, whose head is null, as shown in (108) (see Chapter 5 for the prospect that recomplementation *que* can be deleted in PF).

- (108) ... [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>Force'</sub> que [<sub>TopicP</sub> aunque no les cae bien [<sub>Top'</sub> que [<sub>TopicP</sub> a mi hermana [<sub>Top'</sub> que/Ø ...]]]]]]]

“Jussive/optative” *que*, for its part, is the head of FinitenessP; this immediately accounts for the fact that dislocates cannot follow “jussive/optative” *que* (cf. (106a,c)), given that Finiteness° marks the lower bound of the left periphery (cf. (109)).

- (109) ... [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>Force'</sub> que [<sub>TopicP</sub> aunque no les caiga bien [<sub>Top'</sub> Ø [<sub>FinitenessP</sub> [<sub>Finiteness'</sub> que [<sub>TP</sub> ...]]]]]]]

Consequently, there is no lower left-peripheral position capable of hosting dislocated phrases. It would in principle be possible to assume that Spec,TP, which is projected immediately below Finiteness°, can host dislocated phrases in its specifier, as has been argued by a number of authors (e.g. Zubizarreta 1999). However, the data at hand show that this conclusion cannot be correct, since dislocated phrases are ungrammatical below “jussive/optative” *que*. In fact, in Chapter 4 I show that only a genuine lexical subject can occur between “jussive/optative” *que* and the subjunctive verb, which strongly suggests that Spec,TP is actually a dedicated subject position in Spanish, contrary to what has often been assumed in the literature.

In the following subsection, I discuss the distribution of the two complementizers with respect to foci.

#### **2.2.5. The distribution of medial and low complementizers and foci**

As shown in Chapter 2, Section 4.3 and as discussed in detail in Chapter 5, non-primary *que* complementizers in Spanish induce an island/barrier for extraction. Thus, only elements derived by base-generation (rather than movement) in their surface position can appear higher than said complementizers. Consequently, only dislocated phrases, which can be derived either by base-generation or by movement (Martín-González 2002; see Chapter 5) can appear to the left of medial or low complementizers. That sandwiched dislocates are directly merged in between *ques* is indicated by the lack of reconstruction effects in the presence of

the non-primary complementizer, as shown for recomplementation *que* by the data in (110) and for “jussive/optative” *que* by the data in (111).

- (110) a. Dice *que* en su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo, *que* todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> tiene  
 says that in his son that all the world has

*que* confiar  
 that trust

‘S/he says that everybody has to trust his/their (= somebody else’s) son.’

[bound reading: ✗]

- b. Dice *que* en su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo, todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> tiene  
 says that in his son all the world tiene

*que* confiar  
 that trust

‘S/he says that everybody has to trust his/their son.’

[bound reading: ✓]

- (111) a. A su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo, *que* nadie<sub>i</sub> lo traiga  
 his son that nobody cl. bring<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>

‘I demand that nobody bring his (= somebody else’s) son (here).’

- b. A su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo, nadie<sub>i</sub> lo debería traer  
 his son nobody cl. must bring

‘Nobody should bring his son (here).’

It follows, then, that constituents such as foci and *wh*-items, which are standardly assumed to be derived by movement, cannot precede the complementizers at issue, as the following data illustrate, where upper-case letters indicate focus (see also Chapter 2, Section 4.2.3):

- (112) a. \*Dicen *que* A LA FIESTA *que* van (, no al circo)  
 say that TO THE PARTY that go (, not to+the circus)  
 ‘They say that they are going to the party, not to the circus.’
- b. \*SI LLUEVE *que* vengan (, no si nieva)  
 IF RAINS that come<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> (, not if snows)  
 ‘I demand that they come here if it rains, not if it snows.’
- c. \*Dice *que* SI LLUEVE *que* vengan (, no si nieva)  
 says that IF RAINS that come<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> (, not if snows)  
 ‘S/he demands that they come here if it rains, not if it snows.’

The islandhood of recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* thus prevents a moved constituent from appearing higher than said complementizers. Note that in the case of recomplementation *que*, foci would also be ungrammatical in Spec,TopicP due to a featural mismatch (see Section 2.2.3 and Chapter 2 for evidence that the constituent in Spec,TopicP and the head of TopicP undergo feature-checking). In other words, there is no appropriate focus position above secondary *que*. In the case of “jussive/optative” *que*, which heads Finiteness<sup>o</sup>, even though FocusP is in principle available to host focused phrases above “jussive/optative” *que*, the impossibility of foci to appear higher than “jussive/optative” *que* reduces to the “islandhood” of the complementizer. The next question concerns whether foci can appear below the complementizers under consideration. In much the same way as in the case of left-dislocated phrases discussed in the preceding section, only recomplementation *que* can be followed by foci:

- (113) a. Dicen que mañana que A LA FIESTA van a ir  
 say that tomorrow that TO THE PARTY go to go  
 (, no al circo)  
 not to+the circus)  
 ‘They say that tomorrow they are going to the party, not to the circus.’
- b. \*Que SI LLUEVE vengan (, no si nieva)  
 that IF RAINS come<sub>3,PL-Subj.</sub> (, not if snows)  
 ‘I demand that they come here if it rains, not if it snows.’
- c. \*Dice que mañana que SI LLUEVE vengan (, no si nieva)  
 says that tomorr. that IF RAINS come<sub>3,PL-Subj.</sub> (, not if snows)  
 ‘S/he demands that they come here if it rains, not if it snows.’

The distributional patterns gathered in this subsection can be summarized as follows:

- (114) a. ... \*XP<sub>focus</sub> > que<sub>recomplementation</sub> > XP<sub>focus</sub><sup>51</sup> ...
- b. ... \*XP<sub>focus</sub> > que<sub>“jussive/optative”</sub> > \*XP<sub>focus</sub> ...

This state of affairs is accounted for under the analysis advocated in this work (cf. (89)/(95a) and (91)/(95b)), since recomplementation *que* heads TopicP. In Rizzi’s architecture of the left periphery, TopicP can be followed by FocusP (i.e. the

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<sup>51</sup> See Chapter 2 for evidence that secondary *que* can also be followed by exclamative particles, *wh*-items, and interrogative complementizers, in accordance with Rizzi’s analysis, as illustrated in (i) for *wh*-items.

- (i) Me preguntó que a María, que *cuándo* la conociste  
 cl. asked that Mary that when cl. met  
 ‘S/he asked me when you met Mary.’

position targeted by focused constituents), which captures the grammaticality of (113a), as shown in (115a). In contrast, “jussive/optative” *que* lexicalizes Finiteness°, the lowest CP-related projection in Rizzi’s system, which means that there is no low FocusP below FinitenessP capable of hosting focused phrases, as shown in (115b).<sup>52</sup> Recall that the impossibility of having focused phrases to the left of “jussive/optative” *que* stems from its “islandhood.”

- (115) a. ... [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP LD [Top' *que* [FocusP FOCUS [Foc' Ø ...]]]]]]  
 b. ... [TopicP LD [Top' [FinitenessP [Fin' *que* [TP ...]]]]]]]

The data just reviewed provide additional evidence that the analysis proposed in this chapter is on the right track.

#### 2.2.6. Clitic placement in Asturian

The account of the Spanish complementizer system proposed in this chapter makes an interesting prediction regarding clitic placement. As is known, present-day Spanish invariably exhibits preverbal clitics (i.e. proclitics) in finite contexts, postverbal clitics (i.e. enclitics) being confined to gerundival, infinitival, and imperative forms. However, in Asturian, a related West Iberian Romance variety, both preverbal and postverbal clitics are attested in finite contexts (Fernández-

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<sup>52</sup> See the previous subsection and, especially, Chapter 4 for the claim that Spec,TP, located right below Finiteness°, cannot host non-subject preverbal constituents.

Rubiera 2009, *inter alia*). More specifically, in Asturian, clauses with embedded topicalization display enclisis (the example in (116) builds on data reported in Fernández-Rubiera 2009):

(116) *Conservative Asturian*

Xulio cree    que nes moces de Mieres enfótase    tou Dios  
 Julio believes that in girls of Mieres trusts+cl. all god  
 ‘Julio believes that everybody trusts girls from Mieres.’


Following much work on clitics in Romance (cf. Benincà 2006; Fernández-Rubiera 2009; Lema and Rivero 1991; Raposo and Uriagereka 2005; Uriagereka 1995a,b; among many others), I assume that enclisis results from the verb undergoing  $T^{\circ}$ -to- $C^{\circ}$ /Finiteness $^{\circ}$  movement (specific technical details being immaterial to the discussion at hand), with the clitic located in a position below the final landing site of the verb, as shown in (117), which illustrates the (simplified) derivation of (116). (See below for novel evidence from adverb placement in support of this hypothesis).<sup>53,54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> For alternative proposals, see Barbosa (1995, 2000), Franks (1998), and Bošković (2001, 2004), *inter alia*.

<sup>54</sup> As Fernández-Rubiera (2009) shows, the status of the clitic (e.g. reflexive or pronominal) has no bearing on its placement possibilities. Note also that the exact position of the clitic need not concern us here; yet, Fernández-Rubiera argues that clitics are located in CliticP, projected between Finiteness $^{\circ}$  and TP. In the derivations furnished in the main text, I place clitics in TP for ease of exposition.

(117) ... que [<sub>TopicP</sub> LD [<sub>Top'</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> [<sub>Fin'</sub> enfota [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> se ~~enfota~~ ...]]]]]]]



Although it is not totally clear that Asturian (in particular, Conservative Asturian) displays recomplementation patterns (see Fernández-Rubiera 2009 for relevant discussion), (118), which displays recomplementation and enclisis, is only slightly degraded.

(118) ?Xulio cree      que *nes moces de Mieres* que enfótase    tou    Dios  
 Julio believes that in girls of Mieres that trust+cl. all god  
 'Julio believes that everybody trusts girls from Mieres.'

Under the analysis proposed in this dissertation, the possibility of T°-to-Finiteness° movement (i.e. enclisis) is expected, since secondary *que* is located in Topic°, with the low left-peripheral Finiteness° head available to host the verb *enfota*.<sup>55</sup>

(119) ... [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>Force'</sub> que [<sub>TopicP</sub> LD [<sub>Top'</sub> que [<sub>FinitenessP</sub> [<sub>Fin'</sub> enfota [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> se ~~enfota~~ ...]]]]]]]]] (cf. (118))

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<sup>55</sup> Recall that I pursue a what-you-see-is-what-you-get type of approach to the left periphery whereby FinitenessP is only present when its head is realized lexically, either by “jussive/optative” *que* or by the moved verb, as in the Asturian enclisis cases discussed in this subsection (cf. fn. 37, Chapter 2).



Now, the current analysis predicts that if Finiteness<sup>o</sup> is realized lexically by *que*, verb movement to the left-periphery should be impossible, since the lowest left-peripheral head (i.e. Finiteness<sup>o</sup>) would be (lexically) filled, prohibiting verb movement, and thus enclisis should not obtain. The relevant context is provided by “jussive/optative” sentences headed by *que*, which, I argue, heads FinitenessP. As shown by the Asturian data in (120), this prediction is correct.

(120) *Asturian “jussive/optative” constructions*

- a. \*Nes moces de Mieres, que enfótese tou Dios  
in girls of Mieres that trust<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>+cl. all god
- b. Nes moces de Mieres, que se enfote tou Dios  
in girls of Mieres that cl. trust<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub> all god  
‘I demand that everybody trust girls from Mieres.’
- c. \*Repítote que nes moces de Mieres, que enfótese  
repeat that in girls of Mieres that trust<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>+cl.  
  
tou Dios  
all god
- d. Repítote que nes moces de Mieres, que se enfote  
repeat that in girls of Mieres that cl. trust<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>  
  
tou Dios  
all god  
‘I insist again that everybody trust girls from Mieres.’

Examples (120a) and (120c) indicate that enclisis is banned both in root and embedded “jussive/optative” contexts in Asturian, with proclisis occurring in both

root and embedded environments (cf. (120b,d)).<sup>56</sup> This state of affairs comes as no surprise under the current analysis: given that the lowest left-peripheral head (i.e. Finiteness<sup>o</sup>) is occupied by the lexical complementizer *que*, the verb cannot move to the CP domain, which explains why enclisis does not obtain in (120a,c). Put differently, in “jussive/optative” constructions in Asturian, the verb has to stay in the inflectional layer, since *que* occupies Finiteness<sup>o</sup>, with the resulting clitic + verb word order (cf. (120b,d)). Illustrative derivations of (\*120c) and (120d) are furnished in (121) and (122), respectively.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> It is important to emphasize that the strong ungrammaticality of (120a,c) stands in glaring contrast to the acceptability of (118).

<sup>57</sup> There is a potential alternative account of cases like (120c). It could be that the overt complementizer in (120c) is recomplementation/Topic<sup>o</sup> *que*, the lowest *que* in Finiteness<sup>o</sup> being deleted due to haplology-deletion blocking \**que que* sequences (see Chapter 2, Section 4.4, esp. fn. 21). In this configuration, Finiteness<sup>o</sup> would still block head movement of the verb, since it would be occupied by the Finiteness<sup>o</sup> *que*, which could be deleted later in PF, as shown in (i).

(i) \*... [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP LD [Top' *que* [FinitenessP [Fin' ~~*que*~~ [TP [T' *se enfote* ...]]]]]]]]

Note, however, that which *que* would delete is not clear under this account; we have seen evidence suggesting the impossibility of deleting “jussive/optative” *que* in the presence of the subjunctive verb (see Section 2.2.2; see also fn. 31 in Chapter 2 for evidence that it is recomplementation *que* that can delete). Indeed, the fact that the low complementizer in (120c) is mandatory strongly suggests that it is “jussive/optative” *que* rather than recomplementation *que*. Lastly, it is important to note that the alternative analysis presented here would only work for embedded contexts, since the word order *que* + cl. + V in Asturian is also found in root clauses where no dislocated phrase occurs, as shown in (ii):

(ii) ¡*Que se enfote tou Dios nes moces de Mieres!*  
       that cl. trust<sub>3.SG.Subj.</sub> all God in girls of Mieres  
       ‘I demand that everybody trust girls from Mieres.’

I therefore conclude that the alternative outlined here is not the correct analysis of cases like (120c).

- (121) \*... [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP LD [Top' [FinitenessP [Fin' *que* enfote [TP [T' *se enfote* ...]]]]]]]] (cf. (\*120c))
- (122) ... [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopicP LD [Top' [FinitenessP [Fin' *que* [TP [T' *se enfote* ...]]]]]]]] (cf. (120d))

The conclusion arrived at from the preceding discussion is that the clitic placement facts in Asturian further back up the analysis defended in this chapter: recomplementation *que* heads TopicP, which allows the verb to raise to the lower left-peripheral head Finiteness<sup>o</sup>, and thus the clitic can appear postverbally; “jussive/optative” *que*, on the contrary, heads FinitenessP, which prevents movement of the verb to the CP domain, and thus the clitic has to appear preverbally.<sup>58</sup>

Before I conclude this subsection, I will provide evidence from adverb placement facts in Spanish and Asturian confirming that the verb is obligatorily very high in a number of enclisis contexts in Asturian. Cinque (1999: 226, n. 4) shows that infinitives in Spanish raise obligatorily past adverbs such as *siempre* ‘always,’ which can remain to the left of finite verbs. The contrast in (123a,b), inspired by Ojea-López (1994: 114), shows that infinitives must raise past *siempre* ‘always’ in Spanish. The examples in (123c,d), for their part, indicate that the adverbs in question can appear to the left of finite verbs. Note that the same

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<sup>58</sup> The reader is referred to Fernández-Rubiera (2009: Ch. 3, fn. 20) for evidence that subjunctive complement clauses generally disallow enclisis in Asturian, consistent with the analysis pursued here.

adverb placement possibilities obtain in the corresponding constructions in Asturian, as shown in (124). (See also Grohmann and Etxepare 2003, Kayne 1991, and Uriagereka 1995b, among others, for arguments in favor of a high landing site for the infinitival verb in several Romance languages).<sup>59</sup>

- (123) a. Lllamarla (tú) *siempre* no va a ayudarte  
 call+cl. you always not goes to help+cl.  
 ‘Your always calling her won’t help you.’
- b. \**Siempre* llamarla (tú) no va a ayudarte  
 always call+cl. you not goes to help+cl.
- c. Mi prima protesta *siempre*  
 my cousin complains always  
 ‘My cousin complains all the time.’
- d. Mi prima *siempre* protesta  
 my cousin always complains
- (124) a. Llamala (tú) *siempre* nun va ayudarte  
 call+cl. you always not goes help+cl  
 ‘Your always calling her won’t help you.’
- b. \**Siempre* llamala (tú) nun va ayudarte  
 always call+cl. you not goes help+cl.

Consider now the Asturian contrast in (125), which includes sentences exhibiting recomplementation and enclisis.

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<sup>59</sup> The reader should bear in mind that the evidence to be presented below is just preliminary, since only one adverb has been considered, and thus further study is required at this point.

- (125) a. ?Xulio cree que nes moces de Mieres que enfótase  
 Julio believes that in girls of Mieres that trusts+cl.  
  
*siempre* tou Dios  
 always all god
- b. \*Xulio cree que nes moces de Mieres que *siempre*  
 Julio believes that in girls of Mieres that always  
  
 enfótase tou Dios  
 trusts+cl. all god  
 ‘Julio believes that everybody always trusts girls from Mieres.’

In (125), the only possible word order is the one in which the verb+cl. combination precedes the adverb *siempre* ‘always,’ as shown in (125a), much as in the case of infinitivals in both Asturian and Spanish (cf. (124)/(123a,b)). I take the contrast in (125) to indicate that the V+cl. moves past the adverbial in the construction at hand.<sup>60</sup>

Turning now to “jussive/optative” sentences, a different picture emerges. The data in (126) indicate that the adverb can appear to the left of the cl.+verb, in much the same way as in finite sentences, illustrated for Spanish in (123c,d).

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<sup>60</sup> There are two possibilities here. First, it could be that it is not only the verb, but also the clitic, that is located in Finiteness°. Second, it could be that the verb is in Finiteness° while the clitic is lower; however, there is an adjacency requirement between the verb and the clitic, so the adverb needs to be placed in a lower position here (cf. fn. 62).

- (126) a. Xulio diz que nes moces de Mieres que siempre  
 Julio says that in girls of Mieres that always
- se enfote tou Dios  
 cl. trust<sub>2.SG-Subj.</sub> all god  
 ‘Julio demands that everybody always trust girls from Mieres.’
- b. Xulio diz que nes moces de Mieres que se  
 Julio says that in girls of Mieres that cl.
- enfote siempre tou Dios  
 trust<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub> always all god

The patterns gleaned from the sentences in (123)-(126) are schematized in (127).

- (127) a. Infinitives: { \**siempre* } V<sub>Inf.</sub>+cl. { *siempre* }
- b. Finite verbs: { *siempre* } cl.+V { *siempre* }
- c. Recomplementation (Ast.): { \**siempre* } V+cl. { *siempre* }
- d. “Jussive/optative” sent. (Ast.): { *siempre* } cl.+V<sub>Subj.</sub> { *siempre* }

The behavior of V+cl. combinations in Asturian in terms of adverb placement possibilities can be interpreted as confirming the claim made in this subsection that the verb moves to a higher (i.e. left-peripheral) position in cases involving enclisis, in parallel fashion to what happens in infinitival sentences (cf. (123a,b)/(124)), which are standardly assumed to involve movement of the verb

to a left-peripheral position.<sup>61</sup> As noted above, enclisis is possible with recomplementation *que*, but not with “jussive/optative” *que*. Under the analysis pursued in this chapter, recomplementation *que* occupies Topic°, leaving Finiteness° open for the raised verb.<sup>62</sup> Additionally, the adverb facts presented in the preceding paragraphs provide independent evidence for the often-made claim in the literature that enclisis is the result of verb movement to a left-peripheral position.

### 2.2.7. Complementizer iteration

Returning now to Spanish, an additional difference between recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* is that whereas the former can iterate (i.e. there can be more than one occurrence of recomplementation *que* per sentence, as discussed in Chapter 2) (cf. (128a)) (Escribano 1991, González i Planas 2011, Mascarenhas 2007, Rodríguez-Ramalle 2003, among others), the latter cannot (cf. (128b)).

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<sup>61</sup> Note that, unlike infinitival sentences in Spanish, Asturian can have the order cl.+V in cases where the adverb *siempre* ‘always’ precedes the verb, as shown in (i).

(i) Xulio cree        que    nes    moces de Mieres   que   *siempre*   se   enfota   tou   Dios  
 Julio believes    that   the    girls of Mieres   that   always   cl. trusts   all   god  
 ‘Julio believes that everybody always trusts girls from Mieres.’

The reader is referred to Fernández-Rubiera (2009) for further discussion of the interplay between adverbs and clitics in Asturian.

<sup>62</sup> A question arises as to whether the ability of *siempre* ‘always’ to follow the verb in “jussive/optative” contexts (cf. (126b)) indicates that the verb has moved to a high position past the adverb in these cases, despite the cl.+V word order. However, this does not need to be the case, since, as argued by a number of authors (e.g. Castillo-Orihuela 2003, Ojea-López 1994), certain adverbs in languages like Spanish can be generated in different positions in the clause. What matters for our purposes is that the adverb *siempre* ‘always’ must follow V+cl. combinations in Asturian, which provides evidence for movement of the verb to a high position in enclisis environments, since the verb must occur even above the highest position where *siempre* ‘always’ can be located (see also fn. 60).

- (128) a. Dijo que el dinero, que a Juan, que se lo  
 said that the money that DAT John that cl. cl.  
 mandaban por correo  
 were+sending for mail  
 ‘S/he said they were sending John the money through the mail.’  
 [Escribano (1991: 139)]
- b. \*A tu madre, que a la fiesta, que la traigan  
 your mother that to the party that cl. bring<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>  
 ‘I demand that they bring your mother to the party.’

This asymmetry between recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* immediately follows under the analysis pursued here, which assumes with Rizzi (1997) that TopicP is a recursive phrase, whereas FinitenessP is not:

- (129) a. ... [ForceP [Force' que [TopicP LD [Top' que [TopicP LD [Top' que ...]]]]]]  
 (cf. (128a))
- b. \*... [TopicP LD [Top' Ø [FinitenessP [Fin' que [TopicP LD [Top' Ø [FinitenessP [Fin' que ...]]]]]]]] (cf. (\*128b))

The possibility of having multiple instances of recomplementation *que* but only one instance of “jussive/optative” *que* therefore lends further credence to the TopicP analysis of recomplementation *que* and the FinitenessP analysis of “jussive/optative” *que* proposed here.



### 2.2.8. Co-occurrence of complementizers

The analysis proposed in this dissertation predicts that, in principle, recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* should be able to appear in the same sentence, since they realize distinct functional heads in the CP domain. Crucially, this prediction is borne out by the data in (130), as noted in Chapter 2, Section 4.

- (130) a. Que a tu hijo, (que) como va a suspender, \*(que) lo  
           that your son that since goes to fail that cl.  
           castiguen  
           punish<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>  
           ‘I/somebody ordered that they punish your son, since he’s going to fail  
           (the course).’
- b. Dicen que, entonces, (que) puesto que van a llegar  
       say that then that since that go to arrive  
       Juan y Pablo, \*(que) venga María  
       John and Paul that come<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub> Mary  
       ‘They demand that Mary then come (here), since John and Paul are  
       about to arrive.’

As the data in (130) show, the medial complementizer following the dislocates *a tu hijo* and *entonces* can be omitted, which is consistent with it being an instance of TopicP/recomplementation *que*. However, the lowest complementizer cannot be dropped, which, coupled with the presence of the subjunctive verb and the exhortative meaning of the sentences, strongly points to the conclusion that this is

an instance of “jussive/optative” *que*. The order of elements is exactly as predicted by our analysis: recomplementation *que* (in TopicP) is higher than “jussive/optative” *que* (in FinitenessP), as illustrated abstractly in (131).<sup>63</sup>

- (131) ... [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopP LD [Top' *que* [TopP LD [Top'  $\emptyset$  [FinitenessP [Fin' *que* ...]]]]]]]]

The data in (130) provide additional evidence for the analysis proposed in this chapter, as well as for the existence of two non-primary complementizers in Spanish, namely medial, recomplementation *que* and low, “jussive/optative” *que*, which are not only different, but can also co-exist in the same sentence.

### 3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* should not be treated as the same (low) complementizer in Spanish, despite their homophony and sometimes overlapping distribution. What seem to be instances of the same element (cf. (87a,b)) in fact constitute distinct complementizers occupying different left-peripheral heads and displaying different distributional and syntactic behavior. Following Rizzi’s (1997 *et seq.*) architecture of the CP domain, I took as my point of departure the conclusion

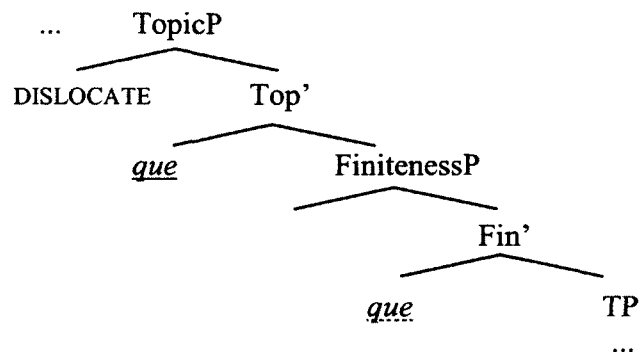
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<sup>63</sup> Recall that this analysis also captures straightforwardly the Saramaccan and Gungbe facts discussed in Chapter 2, Section 5.8.

drawn in Chapter 2 that recomplementation *que* is a medial complementizer in the head of TopicP, and thus a topic marker. Then, I argued that “jussive/optative” *que* is instead a low complementizer in the head of FinitenessP, and thus the lexical realization of the subjunctive mood. In support of this hypothesis, I have drawn a systematic comparison between recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que*, and shown that (i) whereas recomplementation *que* depends on the presence of a sandwiched dislocate, “jussive/optative” *que* does not; (ii) whereas recomplementation *que* is typically optional, “jussive/optative” *que* is not; (iii) whereas recomplementation *que* can license ellipsis of its complement, “jussive/optative” *que* cannot; (iv) whereas recomplementation *que* can both precede and follow left-dislocated topics, “jussive/optative” *que* can follow, but not precede, left-dislocated topics; (v) whereas recomplementation *que* can be followed by foci, “jussive/optative” *que* cannot; (vi) whereas in Asturian, recomplementation-*que* clauses allow enclisis, sentences involving “jussive/optative” *que* only allow proclisis; (vii) whereas recomplementation *que* can iterate, “jussive/optative” *que* cannot; and (viii) recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* can co-occur in the same clause, with recomplementation *que* preceding “jussive/optative” *que*.

I have argued that all these differences can be accounted for, and in fact receive a uniform account, under the analysis presented here, shown in arboreal form in (132).

(132) *Spanish recomplementation que and “jussive/optative” que*



This analysis in turn provides further support for Rizzi’s split-CP system, which accounts for the Spanish facts without further stipulation. The different behavior and distribution of the distinct complementizers brought to light in this dissertation argues against existing accounts of secondary complementizers that treat recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* as heading the same projection. Note that the distributional evidence adduced in this chapter strongly argues even against analyses that assume different feature specifications of functional heads (with recomplementation *que* and “jussive/optative” *que* being lexical realizations of the same head with different features in each case). Overall, the data presented in this chapter confirm the need for a highly articulated left periphery in Spanish, and suggest that the proposed analysis may also be extendable to other Western Iberian Romance languages such as Asturian.

## Chapter 4

### The status of preverbal subjects in Spanish revisited\*

#### 1. Overview

The status of overt (preverbal) subjects in null-subject languages like Spanish has been a hotly debated topic for decades. One of the major questions posed by this line of research has been whether subjects in Spanish are located in Spec,TP –the canonical subject position–, or whether they occupy a left-peripheral position in the CP domain.

The Spanish “jussive/optative” clauses exhibiting the *que* (FinitenessP) + V<sub>Subjunctive</sub> pattern discussed in the previous chapter provide a very interesting testing ground for the structural position of preverbal subjects. Thus, in this chapter I discuss the relevance of the data that will be presented in Section 3 to the controversy regarding the analysis of preverbal subjects in Spanish, and go on to defend the view that Spanish preverbal subjects can in fact occupy either Spec,TP or a specifier in the CP field. The main evidence for this claim comes from Spanish *que* /ke/ ‘that’ + V<sub>Subjunctive</sub> sentences with desiderative/exhortative meaning. It is shown that only *bona fide* subjects can readily occur between *que* and the subjunctive verb, as illustrated by (133d), despite the relatively free word order exhibited by Spanish. As shown in Chapter 3, Sections 2.2.4 and 2.2.5,

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\* This chapter is a revised version of parts of Villa-García (in press b).

“jussive/optative” *que* cannot be followed by left-dislocated elements or foci. The contrasts manifested by the examples in (133) strongly suggest that there exists a dedicated subject position in Spanish located between the complementizer (in  $C^\circ$  or, as argued in Chapter 3, in Finiteness $^\circ$ ) and the verb (standardly assumed to move to  $T^\circ$  in Spanish). Following standard assumptions on clausal architecture, I conclude that this position is Spec,TP (or Spec,AgrSP, in the split INFL framework), as shown schematically in (134).<sup>64</sup>

- (133) a. ¡Que se vaya Ángela con su hermana a Toronto!  
           that cl. go<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub> Angela with her sister to Toronto  
           ‘I demand that Angela go to Toronto with her sister.’
- b. ?\*¡Que con su hermana se vaya Ángela a Toronto!
- c. ?\*¡Que a Toronto se vaya Ángela con su hermana!
- d. ¡Que Ángela se vaya con su hermana a Toronto!

- (134) ...[C'/Finiteness' *que* ([<sub>TP</sub> Subject] [<sub>T'</sub> V<sub>Subjunctive</sub>] ... )]

More specifically, in this chapter I argue for the following claims:

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<sup>64</sup> The data reported in this chapter are representative of present-day Iberian Spanish, although speakers of other varieties report identical judgments. It is beyond the scope of the chapter to provide a dialectal study of word order or a historical account of *que* + V<sub>Subjunctive</sub> patterns, since speakers note that sentences like (133b) and (133c) sound somewhat archaic and literary. This is not surprising given the existence of formulaic ecclesiastical expressions such as (i).

(i) ¡Que en paz descanse!  
       that in peace rest<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>  
       ‘May s/he rest in peace/R.I.P.’

- (i) preverbal subjects in Spanish can be either in Spec,TP or in a specifier in the CP domain;
- (ii) genuine preverbal subjects and cases of Clitic-Left Dislocation (CLLD)/foci do *not* exhibit the same distribution; and
- (iii) Spec,TP/AgrSP can be projected in Spanish and can only host *bona fide* subjects.

The chapter is organized as follows: Section 2 provides an overview of the literature on Spanish preverbal subjects, with an emphasis on the lack of consensus regarding their structural position; Section 3 presents the relevant evidence from desiderative/exhortative contexts and discusses the implications of the data for the placement of preverbal subjects; Section 4 is the conclusion.

## 2. The much debated account of subjects in Spanish

The analysis of subjects in paradigmatic null-subject languages like Spanish has commanded much attention in a vast body of research that spans several decades, and at present remains the object of painstaking inquiry. In addition to null, non-overt subjects (cf. (135a)), much controversy has centered on the account of (overt) preverbal (cf. (135b)) and postverbal (cf. (135c)) subjects.

- (135) a. Llegó                      a las tres  
           arrive<sub>3.SG-PAST</sub> at the three  
           ‘S/he arrived at three.’

- b. *Pedro* te ha llamado  
Peter cl. has call<sub>PART.</sub>  
‘Peter has called you’
- c. Te ha llamado *Pedro*  
cl. has call<sub>PART.</sub> Peter  
‘Peter has called you’

Focusing on preverbal subjects (cf. (135b)), two major proposals polarize the spectrum of analyses of such subjects in languages like Spanish: the classical IP/TP-EPP account and the CP account.<sup>65</sup>

## 2.1. Subjects in Spec,TP

The TP-EPP analysis assumes that overt preverbal subjects in Spanish occupy Spec,TP, in parallel fashion to subjects in English, as shown schematically in (136).

(136) [<sub>TP</sub> Pedro [<sub>T'</sub> te ha] [<sub>VP</sub> llamado]] (cf. (135b))

This analysis was pioneered by Rizzi (1982) and adopted in the work of Belletti (1988), Cardinaletti (1996), Motapanyane-Hill (1991), and Torrego (1984) among many others. Recent proponents of this analysis include Goodall (2001), Gupton (to appear), Ortega-Santos (2005 *et seq.*), and Suñer (2003). It should be noted

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<sup>65</sup> Henceforth, I will use TP instead of IP or IP/TP for ease of exposition.



that soon after the appearance of Pollock's (1989) split-TP proposal, different preverbal subject positions were identified within the inflectional layer, including Spec,AgrSP and Spec,TP (see, *mutatis mutandis*, Cardinaletti 2004 and Zubizarreta 1999).

## 2.2. Subjects in Spec,CP/TopicP

The CP account of preverbal subjects in Spanish assumes that overt preverbal subjects are discourse-sensitive  $\bar{A}$ -constituents whose appearance and distribution is governed by discourse notions such as topic and focus. On this view, preverbal subjects are instances of topics or CLLDed phrases situated in a specifier in the CP field (cf. (137)), more precisely in Spec,TopicP, assuming Rizzi's (1997 *et seq.*) split-CP analysis.<sup>66</sup>

(137) [CP Pedro [C' Ø] [TP ... [T' te ha] [VP llamado]]] (cf. (135b))

This analysis has been pursued for a number of Spanish-style null subject languages by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), Barbosa (1995, 2009), Contreras (1991), Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Holmberg (2005), Kato (1999), Olarrea (1996), Ordóñez (1997), Ordóñez and Treviño (1999), Otero (1993), Speas

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<sup>66</sup> Note that the accounts cited in the text differ from each other as to the precise left-peripheral position occupied by the preverbal subject and its nature (i.e. specifier or adjunct). Since this issue is not immediately relevant to the discussion at hand, I will not explore it further here.

(1994), and Ticio (2004), among many others.<sup>67</sup> This type of analysis often goes hand in hand with the claim that Spanish lacks the EPP, or that in Spanish the EPP can be satisfied in an alternative way (e.g., in languages like Spanish, the EPP can be satisfied by head movement of the verb and its “rich” agreement morphemes to T°, as argued by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998). Under this account, lexical subjects in Spanish do not necessarily have to be in Spec,TP, since this position might not be projected, or ultimately it may be occupied by the empty category *pro*, in the spirit of Baker (1996). However, authors including Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), Ordóñez and Treviño (1999), Taraldsen (1992), and Ticio (2004), among others, have tried to eliminate *pro* altogether by claiming that the “rich” subject-verb agreement morphology functions as a subject and receives Case. Moreover, Manzini and Savoia (2002) have put forward the suggestion that the verbal inflection is also capable of receiving a  $\theta$ -role (see also Barbosa 2009 and Holmberg 2005, *inter alia*).

### 2.3. Spec,TP as an $\bar{A}$ position

As a compromise between the TP and CP accounts, authors such as Fontana (1993), Masullo (1992), Solà (1992), Uribe-Etxebarria (1991), and Zubizarreta (1998, 1999), among others, have suggested that Spec,TP in languages like Spanish has  $\bar{A}$ -properties and can host  $\bar{A}$ -moved elements such as topics and *wh*-

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<sup>67</sup> See Grinstead (1998 *et seq.*), Villa-García and Snyder (2010), and Villa-García *et al.* (2010) for acquisitional evidence in favor of the CP account.

items (see Gallego 2007 for discussion). More accurately, whereas some proposals explicitly allow Spec,IP/TP to be occupied by non-subjects such as topics, which I refer to as the Generalized-Spec,TP-as-an- $\bar{A}$ -position approach, others argue that Spec,TP is an  $\bar{A}$  position that is still reserved for subjects (e.g., Uribe-Etxebarria 1991).<sup>68</sup>

## **2.4. Subjects in Spec,TP or in Spec,CP**

Lastly, authors such as Beas (2007), Camacho (2006), Casielles (2001), and López (2009a) have argued that preverbal subjects in Spanish can but need *not* be in the CP domain. In other words, preverbal subjects can occupy a specifier in the CP domain or a TP specifier, a view for which I will present novel support in this chapter.

Set against this background, this chapter aims to explore the relevance of the data to be presented in the following section to the controversy surrounding the status of preverbal subjects summarized in the preceding paragraphs. The reader should note that it is beyond the scope of this chapter to provide an exhaustive account of the arguments for each of the positions outlined above. I will merely focus on the pertinence of the facts to be presented here for the longstanding debate regarding the analysis of preverbal subjects. As noted in the

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<sup>68</sup> Gupton (2010) discusses the inconclusive results of a number of tests used in order to determine the  $\bar{A}$ /A-status of preverbal subjects in a number of Romance null-subject languages. In this dissertation, I remain silent as to whether preverbal subjects occupying Spec,TP in Spanish display A- or  $\bar{A}$ -properties.

introduction, in what follows I provide evidence for the following claims: (i) Spanish preverbal subjects can be either in TP or in CP; (ii) Spanish preverbal subjects and cases of topics/CLLD (and foci) do *not* exhibit the same distribution; and (iii) Spec,TP (or Spec,AgrSP) can in fact be projected in Spanish and can only host genuine subjects. The relevant evidence comes from the different distribution of subjects and *bona fide* cases of CLLD (and foci) in the context of desiderative and exhortative constructions in Spanish.

### 3. The different behavior of subjects and CLLDed phrases in Spanish desiderative/exhortative *que* + V<sub>Subjunctive</sub> sentences: implications for the analysis of preverbal subjects

#### 3.1. “Jussive/optative” *que* and CLLD/foci

As noted in Chapter 3, Spanish has a construction characterized by the obligatory presence of an overt complementizer and subjunctive morphology on the verb, illustrated in (138) (see also (133)). This construction includes both exhortative/jussive (138a) and desiderative/optative (138b) sentences:<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> It is important to mention that this construction is not limited to third-person contexts, but can actually be used with all persons when interpreted as a desiderative/optative, as shown in (i).

(i) ¡Que        me        muera/te mueras/se muera/nos muramos/os muráis/se mueran!  
       that        cl.        die<sub>1.SG/2.SG/3.SG/1.PL/2.PL/3.PL</sub>  
       ‘I hope that I/you/he or she/we/you/they die(s)’

The reason why the examples provided throughout the main text all involve the third person is that this is the only person that is compatible with non-pronominal subjects.

- (138) a. *¡\*(Que) se vaya!* [Exhortative/jussive]  
           that cl. go<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>  
           ‘I demand that s/he go away.’
- b. *¡\*(Que) sea muy feliz!* [Desiderative/optative]  
           that be<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub> very happy  
           ‘May s/he be very happy’

As argued in Chapter 3 (see also Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2009 and Paoli 2003, 2006), the mandatory complementizer in the *que* + subjunctive construction is the lexical realization of the subjunctive mood. Assuming Rizzi’s (1997) highly articulated structure of the left periphery (i.e. ForceP (TopicP) (FocusP) FinitenessP), I have argued that *que* in the construction exemplified in (133) and (138) heads the lowest projection in Rizzi’s split-CP system, namely FinitenessP, which Rizzi (1997) claims is the locus of finiteness and mood features.

An argument in favor of this analysis comes from the distribution of left-peripheral material in the construction at issue. In Chapter 3, Section 2.2.4, I showed that “jussive/optative” *que* must follow left-dislocated constituents. In analogous fashion, Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2009) claim that if left-dislocated material occurs in preverbal position, it precedes mandatory *que*, although the reader should note that the authors do not provide data to this effect. Thus, the contrast between the sentences in (139) and those in (140) (see also the data in Chapter 3, Section 2.2.4) strongly suggests that *que* heads a very low CP-related projection (i.e. FinitenessP), since left-dislocated constituents (italicized in

the examples in (139) and (140)) have to precede it (see also Ledgeway 2005 and references therein for Italian).<sup>70,71</sup>

- (139) a. *¡De mi hija, que dejen de hablar ya!*  
of my daughter that give-up<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> of talk already  
‘I demand that they stop talking about my daughter once and for all.’
- b. *¡Si deciden dejarme, que les vaya bien!*  
if decide leave+cl. that cl. go<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub> well  
‘I hope everything goes well for them if they decide to leave me.’
- c. *¡El tenedor, que lo cojan!*  
the fork that cl. take<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>  
‘I demand that they grab the fork.’
- d. *¡Este fin de semana(,) a mi casa, que vengan todos!*  
this end of week to my house that come<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> all  
‘I demand that they all come to my place this weekend.’
- e. *¡A tu hermana, que la busquen!*  
your sister that cl. search<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>  
‘I demand that they look for your sister.’
- f. *¡Enfermo, que no vaya a trabajar!*  
sick that not go<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub> to work  
‘I demand that he not go to work if he’s sick.’

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<sup>70</sup> The left-dislocated phrases in the examples in question are more natural if a brief pause occurs between the dislocate and *que*. This pause is represented orthographically by the comma that appears in the examples. When uttered normally, all the desiderative/exhortative sentences in this chapter end with falling intonation.

<sup>71</sup> As the exemplification throughout the chapter reveals, desiderative and exhortative *que* + subjunctive patterns behave in the same way in all the relevant respects.

- (140) a. ?\*<sub>i</sub>Que *de mi hija* *dejen* *de* *hablar* *ya!*  
           that of my daughter give-up<sub>3,PL-Subj.</sub> of talk already
- b. ?\*<sub>i</sub>Que *si deciden* *dejarme* *les* *vaya* *bien!*  
           that if decide leave+cl. cl. go<sub>3,SG-Subj.</sub> well
- c. ?\*<sub>i</sub>Que *el tenedor* *lo* *cojan!*  
           that the fork cl. take<sub>3,PL-Subj.</sub>
- d. ?\*<sub>i</sub>Este *fin de semana*, *que a mi casa* *vengan* *todos!*  
           this end of week that to my house come<sub>3,PL-Subj.</sub> all
- e. ?\*<sub>i</sub>Que *a tu hermana* *la* *busquen!*  
           that your sister cl. search<sub>3,PL-Subj.</sub>
- f. ?\*<sub>i</sub>Que *enfermo* *no* *vaya* *a* *trabajar!*  
           that sick not go<sub>3,SG-Subj.</sub> to work

On the assumption that CLLDed elements (viz. the italicized phrases in (139) and (140)) target Spec,TopicP, I argued in Chapter 3 for the structure in (141) (see also Ledgeway 2005 and Paoli 2003, 2006) for the same analysis for different varieties of Italian):<sup>72</sup>

- (141) [ForceP [For' [TopicP CLLD [Top' [FinitenessP [Fin' que [TP ... [T' V<sub>Subjunctive</sub> ]]]]]]]]

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<sup>72</sup> As shown in fn. 50 (Chapter 3), sentences identical to those in (140a,b,c, e, and f) become fully grammatical as long as another instance of *que* occurs right below the italicized constituents. In such contexts, the high *que* is interpreted as an instance of quotative *que* (see fn. 13) and the low complementizer is the mandatory lexicalization of the subjunctive mood in Finiteness°, consistent with the analysis in (141).

The account sketched in (141) correctly captures the observation that CLLDed material must precede *que* ((139) vs. (140)) as well as the close connection between obligatory *que* and the subjunctive mood (see fn. 46 in Chapter 3). Note furthermore that it is not only CLLDed phrases, but also focused constituents, that cannot appear after *que* in the structure under consideration, as noted in Chapter 3 (Section 2.2.5) and shown again in (142). This is expected under the account in (141) on the assumption that focused phrases target Spec,FocusP, given that the *que* here is in the lowest CP-related projection (i.e. FinitenessP).<sup>73</sup>

- (142) \*<sub>i</sub>Que *SÓLO A TU MADRE* inviten (, no a tu padre)!  
 that only your mother invite<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> not your father  
 'I demand that they invite only your mother, not your father.'

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<sup>73</sup> Foci cannot occur to the left of the low complementizer *que*, since medial and low complementizers in Spanish display island-creating properties (as noted in passing in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 and discussed extensively in Chapter 5). As a result, only elements that can be base-generated in pre-*que* position can occur in this construction. The data in (i) show that dislocates to the left of "jussive/optative" *que* do not exhibit reconstruction effects, unlike their counterparts without a lower complementizer, which I take to indicate that dislocates occurring higher than lexical *que* complementizers are derived by base-generation rather than movement (see Chapter 5):

- (i) a. A su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo que nadie<sub>i</sub> le pegue  
       his/their son that nobody cl. hit  
       'I demand that nobody hit his/their (=somebody else's) son.'  
       b. A su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo nadie<sub>i</sub> le debería pegar  
       his/their son nobody cl. should hit  
       'Nobody should hit his/their son.'

Consequently, only dislocated phrases that can be base-generated in the left periphery can appear to the left of low complementizers. Constituents such as foci and *wh*-items are standardly assumed to be derived by movement. It follows, then, that foci cannot precede this type of *que*.



At this point, the question arises as to where preverbal subjects can occur in the construction under consideration.

### 3.2. “Jussive/optative” *que* and preverbal subjects

In glaring contrast to unambiguous cases of CLLD (cf. (140)), subjects can appear in the position sandwiched between *que* and the subjunctive verb in the configuration in question, as shown by the examples in (143), inspired by Beas (2007), Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009), and RAE (2009).

- (143) a. ¡Que Antonio no lo vea!  
 that Anthony not cl. see<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>  
 'I demand that Anthony not see it.'  
 [Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009: 39)]
- b. A ese alumno, que los profesores no lo dejen salir  
 that student that the teachers not cl. let<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> leave  
 hasta las 6  
 until the 6  
 'I demand that the teachers not allow that student to leave until six.'  
 [Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009: 39)]
- c. ¡Que los que maten se mueran de miedo!  
 that the that kill cl. die<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> of fear  
 'I hope those who kill will die of fear.'  
 [From *Noches de Boda*, Spanish song by Joaquín Sabina, 1990]
- d. ¡Que la niña del segundo se calle de una vez!  
 that the girl of+the second cl. shut-up<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub> of one time  
 'I demand (or hope) that the girl living on the second floor stop(s)  
 talking once and for all.'

Further, subjects can precede *que*, in analogous fashion to CLLDed phrases (cf. (139)), as illustrated in (144), which confirms the by-now standard claim that subjects in Spanish can be left-dislocated in the CP field (López 2009a).

- (144) ¡*Antonio*,      *que* *no* *lo*      *vea*!  
           Anthony      that not cl.      see<sub>3.SG-Subj</sub>.  
           ‘I demand that Anthony not see it.’

### 3.3. Implications for the analysis of preverbal subjects in Spanish

The contrast between (143) and (140) brings to light an important difference between preverbal subjects and uncontroversially left-dislocated/CLLDed constituents: whereas preverbal subjects can be either higher (cf. (144)) or lower (cf. (143)) than compulsory *que* in *que* + V<sub>Subjunctive</sub> desiderative/exhortative constructions, non-subject dislocated phrases can readily occur above *que* (cf. (139)), but *not* below *que* (cf. (140)), in the construction at hand.

The different distributional possibilities of the relevant constituents in the configuration at issue are summarized in simplified form in the structure in (145).

- (145) ...´DISLOCATE-CLLD/´DISLOCATED SUBJECT    >    *que* >    ´SUBJECT  
           XP/(?)\*NON-SUBJECT XP    >    V<sub>Subjunctive</sub> ...

This state of affairs points to a crucial distributional asymmetry between preverbal subjects and CLLD in Spanish, which refutes the influential claim that preverbal subjects are *always* CLLDed constituents in the CP layer.<sup>74</sup>

Furthermore, the analysis advocated in this dissertation (cf. (141)) correctly predicts that the same pattern should be found in embedded contexts exhibiting “jussive/optative” *que* (see Chapter 3). As the minimal pair in (146) shows, whereas CLLDed phrases cannot appear in between the low complementizer and the subjunctive verb (cf. (146a)), subjects can (cf. (146b)). Thus, the contrast between CLLDed constituents and subjects in the context of “jussive/optative” *que* holds not only for matrix contexts, but also for embedded contexts. Note, similarly, that the data in (146) confirm the correctness of the analysis in (141), wherein the *que* characteristic of “jussive/optative” constructions is the head of a very low left-peripheral projection (i.e. FinitenessP), with the high *que* occupying the head position of a higher left-peripheral projection (i.e. Force<sup>o</sup>, by hypothesis).

- (146) a. ?\*Dicen    que, si llueve, que [a mis    padres] los    llamen  
           say        that if rains that        my        parents cl.    call<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>  
           ‘They demand that they call my parents if it rains.’
- b. Dicen    que, si llueve, que [mis    padres] los    llamen  
           say        that if rains that        my        parents cl.    call<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub>  
           ‘They demand that my parents call them if it rains.’

---

<sup>74</sup> In their discussion of “jussive/optative” *que*, Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009) do not note the contrast between subjects and non-subjects. They present the relevant examples regarding subjects (i.e. subjects can appear in between the complementizer and the verb, namely ((143a,b)), but they do not notice the relevant facts presented in this chapter.

The data noted above provide evidence that there exists a dedicated preverbal syntactic position in Spanish which can only be occupied by genuine subjects to the exclusion of non-subject preverbal XPs. Given the analysis in (141) and the standard assumption that Spanish displays V-to-T movement, the position occupied by the subject (and *only* by the subject) in (143)/(146b) must be located within the inflectional layer, that is, the subject must be in a position along the lines of Spec,TP/AgrSP, as shown in (147).<sup>75</sup>

- (147) a. ... [FinitenessP/CP [Fin'/C' que [TP la niña del segundo [T' se calle] ... ]]]  
(root; cf. (143d))
- b. ... [ForceP [For' que [TopicP si llueve [Top' [FinitenessP [Fin' que [TP mis padres [T' los llamen] ... ]]]]]]]]  
(embedded; cf. (146b))

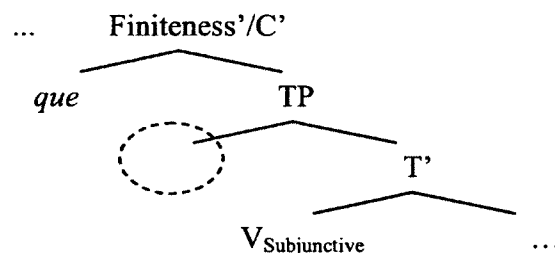
More abstractly, the evidence adduced in this chapter leads to the conclusion that there is a specialized subject position between the CP layer and the verb in T°, namely Spec,TP, as shown in arboreal form in (148).

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<sup>75</sup> The standard diagnostic test for verb movement indicates that the verb moves to the inflectional domain in the *que* + V<sub>Subjunctive</sub> patterns under consideration, as shown in (i) (see Emonds 1978 and Pollock 1989, *inter alia*).

(i) ¡Que los hijos de Juan se coman *rápido* la manzana!  
that the children of John cl. eat<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> fast the apple  
'I demand that John's children eat the apple fast.'

(148)



Additionally, the contrast between (143) and (140) (see also (146b) vs. (146a)) indicates that Spec,TP in Spanish is unable to host phrases other than subjects (including both CLLDed phrases and foci), which weakens the claim put forward by proponents of the Generalized-Spec,TP-as-an- $\bar{A}$ -position account that Spec,TP can host  $\bar{A}$ -moved elements such as non-subject topics.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, the data argue against analyses whereby preverbal subjects in Spanish are always CP-related phenomena.

The data discussed in this section are also relevant to the proper analysis of Locative Inversion in Spanish. Authors including Ortega-Santos (2005), Torrego (1989), and Zubizarreta (1998) have argued that Spec,TP in Spanish can be occupied by non-subject phrases such as locatives, depending on discourse structure, as (149) shows.

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<sup>76</sup> As noted above, I leave open the issue of whether Spec,TP in Spanish is an A-position or an  $\bar{A}$ -position, noting that the fact that Spec,TP might be an  $\bar{A}$ -position in Spanish does not necessarily mean that it can host any element (i.e., it can still be a dedicated subject position). The reader is referred to Ortega-Santos (2008: Ch. 4) for an account of the observed differences with regard to surface semantics displayed by subjects in Spec,TP in English and subjects in Spec,TP in Spanish based on Uriagereka's (1999 *et seq.*) Multiple Spell-Out system.

- (149) *Aquí* ponemos unas mesas de bienvenida  
 here put<sub>1.PL</sub> some tables of welcome  
 ‘We place some conference registration tables here.’

As illustrated in (150c), whereas the locative adverb *aquí* ‘here’ can appear in different positions in the sentence, it cannot occur between *que* and the subjunctive verb in exhortative constructions headed by *que*.

- (150) a. ¡Que pongan unas mesas de bienvenida *aquí*!  
           that put<sub>3.PL-Subj.</sub> some tables of welcome here  
       b. ¡Que pongan *aquí* unas mesas de bienvenida!  
       c. ??¡Que *aquí* pongan unas mesas de bienvenida!  
       d. ¡*Aquí*, que pongan unas mesas de bienvenida!  
           All: ‘I demand that they place some conference registration tables here.’

The data in (150) provide evidence that Locative Inversion in Spanish does not target Spec,TP, since it is not possible to place the locative in the position sandwiched between *que* and the subjunctive verb (cf. (150c)). If locatives were subjects in Spec,TP, they should display the same distributional properties as true subjects (cf. (143)), contrary to fact.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> The reader is also referred to Kempchinsky (2002) for the claim that locatives in Spanish are not in Spec,TP. The reader should note, however, that some of my consultants allow adverbials between “jussive/optative” *que* and the verb (in fact, see Chapter 3, Section 2.2.6. for Asturian data showing adverbs in this position). At this point, we have two options for the grammars of such speakers: either the adverbials are adjoined to TP or, in the case of locative adverbials (cf.

Before concluding this chapter, I would like to present evidence from other Romance varieties indicating that there are other Spanish-style null-subject languages that also have a dedicated preverbal subject position. The relevant variety is the Italian dialect of Abruzzese. Consider the data in (151), from D'Alessandro and Ledgeway (2010: 2052).

- (151) a. Je so ditte ca la machine c' ocche zi li pije  
 cl. I-am said that the car that cl. cl. takes<sub>Ind.</sub>  
 'I told him to take the car.'
- b. So ditte ca, si ni funzione la machine, ca [Gianne]  
 I-am said that if not works the car that Gianni
- ocche le porte a lu meccaniche  
 cl. take<sub>Ind.</sub> to the mechanic  
 'I said that, if the car won't work, Gianni should take it to the mechanic.'
- c. \*Je so ditte ca, si ni funzione, ca [la machine]  
 cl. I-am said that if not works that the car
- ocche le porte a lu meccaniche  
 cl. take<sub>Ind.</sub> to the mechanic  
 'I told him that, if it won't work, he should take the car to the mechanic.'

Aside from double-complementizer constructions (i.e. *ca* LD *ca*), Abruzzese has the particle *ocche*, which D'Alessandro and Ledgeway argue is a T-element

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(150c)), the locatives behave as subjects hosted in Spec,TP for these speakers. It is important to note that even if it turns out that the right analysis of locatives in Locative Inversion is that they are located in Spec,TP, nothing changes regarding the main hypothesis advanced in this chapter that Spec,TP is a dedicated subject position, since, as shown by Ortega-Santos (2005), among others, the locative behaves like a subject in certain relevant respects.

lexicalizing modal features associated with the embedded verb. The low instance of *ca*, D'Alessandro and Ledgeway claim, lexicalizes Finiteness°. Note that the position sandwiched between *cas* can host left-dislocated elements, as shown by the examples in (151). However, as indicated by the contrast between (151b) and (151c), the position situated between the complementizer *ca* and the T-element *ocche* can be occupied by *bona fide* subjects, as shown in (151b), but *not* by non-subject XPs, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (151c). D'Alessandro and Ledgeway (2010: 2052) take this asymmetry to indicate “that the position immediately above *ocche* but below *ca*<sub>2</sub> is not a left-peripheral position but, rather, a dedicated subject position, namely Spec,TP.” The different patterns arising from the Abruzzese facts in (151) are summarized in (152).

- (152) ... *ca* > ✓DISLOCATE > *ca* > ✓SUBJECT XP/\*NON-SUBJECT XP  
           > *ocche* ...

The Abruzzese facts reviewed here therefore provide independent confirmation from Romance that the claim made for Spanish in this chapter is on the right track.

#### 4. Conclusion

Based on the different distribution of *bona fide* subjects and uncontroversially left-dislocated/CLLDed phrases (and foci) in the context of *que* + V<sub>Subjunctive</sub>



patterns with desiderative/exhortative meaning, I have shown that whereas subjects in Spanish can occur either higher or lower than *que*, CLLDed phrases can only precede *que*; they cannot appear between *que* and the subjunctive verb. This state of affairs strongly suggests that Spec,TP is available in Spanish and that it can only host genuine subjects. More generally, in this chapter I have provided evidence that preverbal subjects in Spanish can be in Spec,TP or in a specifier in the CP domain; genuine preverbal subjects and cases of CLLD do *not* exhibit the same distribution; and Spec,TP/AgrSP can be projected in Spanish and can only host *bona fide* subjects. Thus, the evidence presented here argues not only against the CP-account according to which preverbal subjects in Spanish are *always* CP-related phenomena, but also against the Generalized-Spec,TP-as-an- $\bar{A}$ -position account, since Spec,TP can only host true subjects, regardless of whether Spec,TP enjoys A- or  $\bar{A}$ -status. To the extent that the argument advanced in this chapter is correct, the configuration identified here avails itself as a Spec,TP-detector.

Overall, this chapter contributes to the longstanding debate over the analysis of preverbal subjects in Romance null-subject languages like Spanish, since it provides novel support for the claim that preverbal subjects in Spanish can (but need not) be left-dislocated: preverbal subjects can occupy a CP specifier, but crucially they can also occupy the canonical subject position –Spec,TP, which is furthermore restricted to genuine subjects.

## Chapter 5

### Non-primary complementizers and locality of movement<sup>\*</sup>

#### 1. Overview

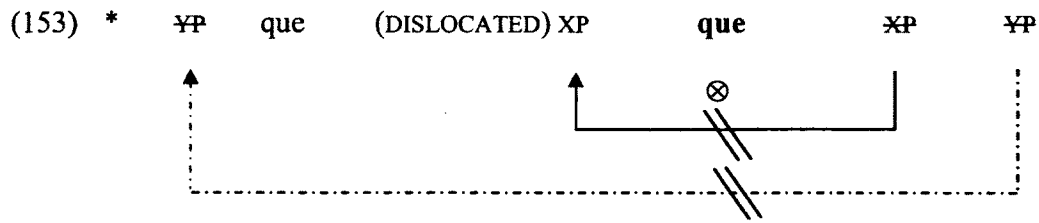
In this chapter I investigate the locality of non-primary complementizers in Spanish, with particular attention to recomplementation/secondary *que*. As noted in passing in the preceding chapters, I provide novel data indicating that dislocates in recomplementation configurations fail to display reconstruction effects, unlike their counterparts without recomplementation *que*, and show that the presence of secondary *que* induces an islandhood effect, which vanishes in the absence of the secondary complementizer.

More concretely, I argue for the following major claims:

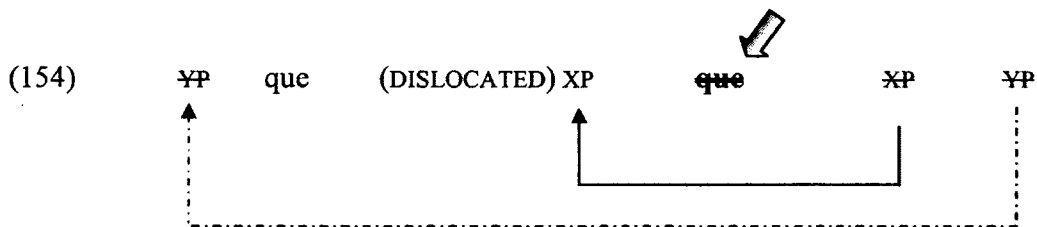
- (i) left-dislocated phrases can be base-generated in or moved into the CP/left periphery, with base-generation in their surface position being the derivation of recomplementation and “jussive/optative” dislocates;
- (ii) movement across the secondary complementizer induces a locality-of-movement violation, as shown in the following (simplified) diagram:

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<sup>\*</sup> This chapter is a revised version of (parts of) Villa-García (in press a).



- (iii) PF-deletion of the secondary complementizer removes the violation caused by movement across it, in the spirit of the Rescue-by-PF-Deletion analysis of the ameliorating effect of ellipsis on island violations (Boeckx and Lasnik 2006; Bošković 2011; Hornstein *et al.* 2003; Lasnik 2001; Merchant 1999 *et seq.*; Ross 1969; among many others):



The chapter is organized as follows: Section 2 investigates the novel empirical observation that sandwiched dislocates are externally (i.e. directly) merged in their surface position and explores the consequences of this fact for the much debated analysis of dislocations in Spanish. Section 3 is devoted to the

islandhood of secondary *que*, including the account of the effect in question and a number of predictions; Section 4 is the conclusion.

## **2. Dislocated constructions in *que* XP *que* configurations are base-generated in the position sandwiched between *ques***

In this section, I argue that dislocates in recomplementation-*que* and “jussive/optative”-*que* configurations are derived by base-generation (i.e. external/direct merge) in their surface position. The evidence comes from the absence of reconstruction effects and the behavior of negation in negative-constituent structures.

### **2.1. Sandwiched dislocates fail to show reconstruction effects**

An important observation which the existing works on double-complementizer constructions have failed to acknowledge is that, unlike regular cases of CLLD without secondary *que*, dislocates situated between overt complementizers do not exhibit reconstruction effects. I assume that if an occurrence of CLLD can reconstruct, it can safely be concluded that movement of the dislocate has taken place, in line with Cinque (1977), López (2009a), and Sportiche (1993), among others, and *contra* the view championed by authors including Anagnostopoulou (1997), Cinque (1990), and Iatridou (1995), which assumes that instances of

dislocation are always base-generated in the CP domain.<sup>78</sup> As we shall see, the thorny issue of whether CLLD results from base-generation or movement is indeed far from settled. In what follows, I report the results of a number of heuristics employed to test whether recomplementation CLLD displays reconstruction effects. The diagnostics test reconstruction for purposes of the bound variable interpretation, anaphor binding, and scope.

### 2.1.1. Bound variable interpretation

López (2009a) reaches the conclusion that CLLDed phrases move on the basis of examples akin to the following (inspired by Anagnostopoulou 1997, Villalba 2000, and Zubizarreta 1998):

- (155) A su<sub>i/j</sub> perro, todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> lo tiene que dejar fuera  
           his dog all the world cl. has that leave out  
           ‘Everybody has to leave his/their dog outside.’

In (155), reconstruction is possible, which implies that at some point in the derivation, the nominal *a su perro* must have been c-commanded by the quantified nominal *todo el mundo* for the bound variable interpretation to obtain. López (2009a) takes this fact to argue in favor of a movement analysis of CLLD (see the cited work for further arguments to this effect).

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<sup>78</sup> This line of research accounts for the reconstruction effects observed in cases of CLLD by appealing to mechanisms that do not involve movement.

Significantly, in stark contrast to cases like (155), whose embedded counterpart is provided in (156a), secondary *que* impedes reconstruction of the dislocate *a su perro*, as shown in (156b). Put another way, the bound variable interpretation is not available if recomplementation *que* intervenes between the instance of CLLD containing the possessive pronoun and the binder.

- (156) a. Dice *que* a  $su_{i/j}$  perro, todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> lo tiene  
 says that his dog all the world cl. has  
  
*que* dejar fuera  
 that leave outside  
 ‘S/he says that everybody has to leave his/their dog outside.’
- b. Dice *que* a  $su_{i/j}$  perro, **que** todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> lo tiene  
 says that his dog that all the world cl. tiene  
  
*que* dejar fuera  
 that leave outside  
 ‘S/he says that everybody should leave his/their (= somebody else’s)  
 dog outside.’

This contrast follows straightforwardly on the assumption that the sandwiched dislocate *a su perro* is base-generated (i.e. externally merged) in pre-secondary-*que* position (i.e. it does not move to the position sandwiched between complementizers). Thus, my claim is that recomplementized dislocates are merged in their surface position in between complementizers. This finding refutes the claim made by Martín-González (2002) and Paoli (2006) that sandwiched dislocates can move to pre-secondary *que* position (see Section 3 for evidence that secondary *que* in fact creates a strong island which prevents any type of

extraction). The bracketed structures in (157a) and (157b) represent the relevant (simplified) derivations of (156a) and (156b), respectively.

- (157) a. ... [CP que [XP a su perro<sub>i/j</sub> [Ø todo el mundo<sub>i</sub>... ~~a su perro~~]]]  
           that       his     dog               all    the world
- b. ... [CP que [XP a su perro<sub>i/j</sub> [que todo el mundo<sub>i</sub>...]]]  
           that       his     dog       that all    the world

Although in this chapter I focus primarily on recomplementation *que*, before I proceed, I will provide a minimal pair showing that the same situation can be replicated with regard to dislocates preceding “jussive/optative” *que* (see Chapter 3). In much the same way as with the secondary-*que* examples presented above, in (158b), the dislocate fails to be bound by *nadie* in the presence of “jussive/optative” *que*, suggesting that the dislocate is directly merged in the left periphery. In sentences without a low complementizer, however, the bound variable reading is available (cf. (158a)), which indicates that the dislocate *a su hijo* has undergone movement to the left periphery in this case.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Following the convention adopted in Chapter 3, I mark “jussive/optative” *que* with a dotted underline in the examples furnished in this chapter.

- (158) a. A su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo, nadie<sub>i</sub> lo debería traer  
           his son nobody cl. must bring  
           ‘Nobody should bring his/their son.’
- b. A su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo, **que** nadie<sub>i</sub> lo traiga  
           his son that nobody cl. bring<sub>Subj.</sub>  
           ‘I demand that nobody bring his/their (= somebody else’s) son.’

### 2.1.2. Anaphors

On a par with bound pronouns, for those speakers of Spanish for whom anaphors can be dislocated (some speakers do not allow this), such constituents also fail to display reconstruction effects in the presence of secondary *que*, as shown by examples like (159b).

- (159) a. Me han dicho que a sí misma<sub>i</sub>, María<sub>i</sub> se manda  
           cl. have told that herself Mary cl. sends  
           emails a todas horas  
           emails at all hours  
           ‘They have told me that Mary emails herself all the time.’
- b. \*Me han dicho que a sí misma<sub>i</sub>, **que** María<sub>i</sub> se  
           cl. have told that herself that Mary cl.  
           manda emails a todas horas  
           sends emails at all hours



Therefore, in analogous fashion to the bound variable interpretation cases explored above, CLLDed anaphors in double-*que* configurations cannot reconstruct.

### 2.1.3. Scope

A further argument in support of the base-generation-in-the-left-periphery analysis of dislocates sandwiched between *ques* comes from the inability of dislocated numerals appearing between complementizers to reconstruct for scope:

- (160) a. Dijo que a dos o tres personas, las sacaron de  
 say that two or three people cl. took of  
 todos los edificios en helicóptero  
 all the buildings in helicopter  
 $\exists >> \forall; \forall >> \exists$
- b. Dijo que a dos o tres personas, **que** las sacaron de  
 say that two or three people that cl. took of  
 todos los edificios en helicóptero  
 all the buildings in helicopter  
 $\exists >> \forall; * \forall >> \exists$   
 ‘S/he told me that they took two or three people out of every building by helicopter.’
- c. Dice que tres o cuatro portátiles, todo quisqui los  
 says that three or four laptops all everyone cl.  
 puede tomar prestados  
 can take loaned  
 $\exists >> \forall; \forall >> \exists$

- d. Dice que tres o cuatro portátiles, **que** todo quisqui  
says that three or four laptops that all everyone

los puede tomar prestados  
cl. can take loaned

$\exists \gg \forall; * \forall \gg \exists$

‘S/he says that everyone can borrow two or three computers.’

The data in (160) show that in the presence of secondary *que*, only the surface scope interpretation is possible—wide scope of the universal quantifier ( $\forall$ ) is not available in cases like (160b,d), in contrast to (160a,c), where the universal quantifier can take scope over the existential quantifier and vice versa. Focusing on the minimal pair in (160a,b) for the sake of illustration, in (160a), without secondary *que*, the two possible interpretations arising from the two potential scope orders are readily available: either any two or three people were evacuated from every building (cf.  $\forall \gg \exists$ ) or two or three specific people were evacuated from every building (cf.  $\exists \gg \forall$ ). In (160b), with secondary *que*, however, the only possible reading is the one in which it is the same two or three people that are evacuated from all the buildings. This interpretation is odd at first glance, but possible if one assumes that the evacuation process took place at different points in time. For instance, (160b) would be compatible with a scenario in which the same two or three people were evacuated from Building X on day 1, from Building Y on day 2, and from Building Z on day 3. In the presence of secondary *que*, thus, only surface scope is available (cf.  $\exists \gg \forall$ ). I take this fact to indicate that reconstruction of the existential quantifier ( $\exists$ ) cannot proceed in order to

achieve the  $\forall \gg \exists$  order, which follows immediately if there is no base-generated position below the universal quantifier ( $\forall$ ) to which the dislocated nominals can reconstruct. By contrast, no problem arises in the non-recomplementation examples without secondary *que*, where dislocation can involve movement, and hence reconstruction for scope is available (cf. (160a)). The same reasoning applies to the pair in (160c,d). Therefore, the failure of reconstruction for the purposes of scope constitutes additional evidence for a base-generation-in-the-CP analysis of dislocates in recomplementation contexts. In the next subsection, I offer an argument which additionally supports this conclusion.

## 2.2. Negative constituents

The behavior of negative constituents occurring in sandwiched position constitutes another argument in support of the base-generation of recomplementation dislocates. When negative constituents (n-phrases) are accompanied by a clitic, suggesting that the constituent is a CLLDed –rather than a focalized– phrase, then the negative phrase can occur in the position sandwiched between complementizers. Importantly, though, sentential negation is required in this case, as shown by the contrast between (161) and (162).<sup>80</sup> The examples in

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<sup>80</sup> The contrast between (161) and (i) indicates that the negative constituent can only appear between *ques* if accompanied by a clitic, which further corroborates the generalization gleaned in Chapter 2 that only topic-like (i.e. left-dislocated) elements can occur in the position sandwiched between complementizers. See Chapter 2, Section 4.2.3, for the ban on (focused) (negative) quantified elements in pre-secondary-*que* position.

(161) and (162) are adapted from the work of Martín-González (2000, 2002) and González i Planas (2011).<sup>81</sup>

(161) María dice que a ninguno de los niños # **que**  
 Mary says that none of the kids that  
  
 no los invitó  
 not cl. invited  
 ‘Mary says that as for the kids, s/he didn’t invite any.’

(162) \*María dice que a ninguno de los niños # **que**  
 Mary says that none of the kids that  
  
 los invitó  
 cl. invited  
 ‘Mary says that as for the kids, s/he didn’t invite any.’

In examples akin to (161) but without secondary *que*, there are two possibilities: either the no pause+no negation option, as in (163), or (more marginally) the pause+negation option, as in (164).<sup>82</sup>

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(i) \*María dice que a ninguno de los niños # **que** no invitó  
 Mary says that none of the children that not invited  
 ‘Mary says that s/he did not invite any of the children.’

<sup>81</sup> Following Martín-González (2002), I use # to indicate the long pause characteristic of examples like (161).

<sup>82</sup> The judgments regarding (163)/(164) are somewhat controversial. I will follow here the judgments reported in Bošković (2001: Ch. 4, fn. 96), which I also share.

(163) María dice que a ninguno de los niños  
 Mary says that none of the kids  
  
 los invitó  
 cl. invited  
 'Mary says that as for the kids, s/he didn't invite any.'

(164) ?María dice que a ninguno de los niños #  
 Mary says that none of the kids  
  
 no los invitó  
 not cl. invited  
 'Mary says that as for the kids, s/he didn't invite any.'

It is important to note that the counterpart of (163) with a long pause (#) is ungrammatical (cf. (165)), as is the counterpart of (164) without the long pause (cf. (166)).

(165) \*María dice que a ninguno de los niños #  
 Mary says that none of the kids  
  
 los invitó  
 cl. invited  
 'Mary says that as for the kids, s/he didn't invite any.'

(166) \*María dice que a ninguno de los niños  
 Mary says that none of the kids  
  
 no los invitó  
 not cl. invited  
 'Mary says that as for the kids, s/he didn't invite any.'

More abstractly, the (im)possible patterns observed in (161)-(166) are schematized in (167).

- (167) a. ... que n-phrase # **que** no cl. V (cf. (161))  
 b. \*... que n-phrase # **que** cl. V (cf. (162))  
 c. ... que n-phrase cl. V (cf. (163))  
 d. ?... que n-phrase # no cl. V (cf. (164))  
 e. \*... que n-phrase # cl. V (cf. (165))  
 f. \*... que n-phrase no cl. V (cf. (166))

Now, Bošković (2001) shows that a number of peculiarities of negation and negative constituents in Romance can insightfully be accounted for under the PF-merger+multiple-spell-out analysis. The main characteristic of this account is that negation in languages like Spanish is always phonologically null, but is a PF affix on a negative constituent. Affixes are phonologically weak elements requiring a host. As a result, they cannot be stranded; such configurations are ruled out in the PF component due to the presence of an illegitimate PF object (i.e. a phonologically weak element that does not have a host). On this view, the negative affix merges with the negative constituent in PF under PF adjacency. If PF merger of the negation and the negative constituent cannot occur, *no* is introduced into the structure in order to save a stranded affix, along the lines of *do*-support in English. Under this analysis, *no*-insertion is a last-resort operation

to rescue a derivation that otherwise would not comply with the requirements of the PF component, just like *do* in English *do*-support. To illustrate how negation in Spanish is accounted for by Bošković's system, which provides a uniform account of the distribution of *no* in Spanish and *do* (of *do*-support) in English, consider the data in (168).

- (168) a. Pedro      \*(no)    vino  
           Peter        not     came  
           'Peter didn't come.'
- b. Nadie      (\*no)    vino  
           nobody     not     came  
           'Nobody came.'
- c. \*(No) vino    nadie
- d. Nadie    (\*no) ha hecho    nada  
           nobody   not   has done    nothing  
           'Nobody has done anything.'
- e. Pedro    \*(no) ha hecho    nada  
           Peter    not   has done    nothing  
           'Peter hasn't done anything.'

In (168b), the subject *nadie* merges with the negation serving as its host and satisfying its affix requirement. Therefore, *no*-insertion cannot take place. The same holds for (168d). In (168a), no negative constituent is present. In (168c,e), the negative constituent is present, but is not adjacent to the negative affix; hence it cannot merge with it. Therefore, in (168a,c,e), *no* is introduced to salvage the otherwise stranded negative affix.

With this analysis in mind, let us now return to the contrast between (161) and (163). Recall that these two examples are crucially different: in (161), secondary *que* is present, there is a long pause between the n-phrase and secondary *que*, and sentential negation needs to appear below secondary *que*, as shown in (167a) above. In (163), on the contrary, there is no secondary *que*, no pause, and no sentential negation (cf. (167c)). I turn to the other cases below. Under the current account, the mandatory presence of sentential negation in sentences like (161) and its obligatory absence in sentences like (163) follows straightforwardly: first, in (161), the n-phrase *a ninguno de los niños* and the negative affix are not PF adjacent, since secondary *que* blocks PF adjacency (cf. (169a)).<sup>83</sup> Thus, the negative affix does not have a host and as a consequence *no*-insertion has to take place (cf. (169b)).<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> With Bošković (2001), I assume that the null negation is a phrasal affix, along the lines of the possessive in English, since examples like (161)/(163) involve constituents like *a ninguno de los niños* ‘none of the children.’

<sup>84</sup> For the sake of concreteness (other analyses are compatible with the current account too), I assume with Laka (1990), López (1995), Martín-González (2002), and Suñer (1995), *inter alia*, that NegationP ( $\Sigma$ P for Laka) immediately dominates IP/TP. Thus, I adopt the following structure for Spanish: C’/Finiteness’ > TP > NegP... (Note that a split-INFL approach may be required to accommodate the preverbal subject, which precedes the negation in Spanish; see Chapter 4 for evidence for a dedicated preverbal subject position in the inflectional layer).



- (169) a. ... [TopicP a ninguno de los niños [que [NegP [Neg' Af ...]]]] (cf. (161))  
 b. ... [TopicP a ninguno de los niños [que [NegP [Neg' no ...]]]] (cf. (161))

By contrast, in (163), without secondary *que*, the n-phrase and the null negative affix are PF adjacent, as shown in (170). Consequently PF merger of the two elements occurs, blocking *no*-insertion. Inserting *no* would in fact lead to ungrammaticality, as shown in (166), which is now ruled out as a violation of last resort (note that *do* of *do*-support in English is also inserted as last resort).

- (170) ...[TopicP **a ninguno de los niños [... [NegP [Neg' Af] ... ]]]] (cf. (163))**

Consider now the contrast in (171), which shows a case when the subject intervenes between the n-phrase and the null negative affix, and yet *no* 'not' does not occur.

- (171) a. María dice que a ninguno de los niños  
 Mary says that none of the kids  
  
 Juan los invitó  
 John cl. invited  
 'Mary says that as for the kids, Juan didn't invite any.'

- b. \*María dice que a ninguno de los niños  
 Mary says that none of the kids
- Juan no los invitó  
 John not cl. invited

In (171a), the n-phrase and the null negative affix are not adjacent to each other in the final structure in overt syntax/PF. However, it is likely that the n-phrase and the negative affix are PF-adjacent to each other at some point in the derivation. Bošković argues that in order for PF merger to take place, it is enough if at some point in the derivation the n-phrase and the negative affix are adjacent to each other, which bars *no*-insertion. Concretely, if, as is often assumed, the dislocated n-phrase passes through Spec,NegP on its way to its final landing site in the left periphery, then at that point the n-phrase is adjacent to the null negative affix in NegP (see fn. 84). Note that if we assume that the structure is sent to the phonology at the point when the n-phrase is located in Spec,NegP, consistent with Uriagereka's (1999) Multiple Spell-Out model, wherein the syntax sends information to the phonology throughout the derivation (i.e. at more than one point), then merger of the n-phrase and the negation can take place at that point, thus satisfying the affix requirement and rendering *no*-insertion impossible (cf. (171b)), as shown in the simplified derivation furnished in (172).

- (172) ... [TopicP a ninguno de los niños ... [Juan [NegP a ninguno de los niños [NegP  
A ... ~~a ninguno de los niños~~ ]]]] (cf. (171a))

Notice, however, that there are actually two possibilities for the analysis of n-phrases in constructions where such phrases are dislocated and not adjacent to the negative affix in the final structure in overt syntax/PF: if the n-phrase could be derived by movement or direct merge/base-generation in its surface position, even without secondary *que*, then *no* should be optional, since the movement derivation never yields *no* and the direct-merge derivation obligatorily yields *no*. On the other hand, if only the movement derivation were available, then *no*-insertion should be blocked (cf. (171a)). Focusing now on cases involving recomplementation *que*, as in (161), if the movement derivation were available for such cases, then sentential negation should be impossible, since the movement derivation always bars *no*-insertion. Nevertheless, negation is obligatory in (161), which I attribute to the inability of the n-phrase to move from a low position, and pass through NegP *en route* to the specifier of secondary *que*. More specifically, in (161), the n-phrase and the negation are not PF adjacent at any point in the derivation (cf. (173a)). Here, secondary *que* intervenes between the n-phrase and the negation. But despite the presence of secondary *que*, if the n-phrase could move from a lower position through Spec,NegP, then PF merger of the n-phrase and the negative affix should still be possible at that point in the derivation,

preventing *no*-insertion, much like in (171a). However, as (161) and (162) show, sentential negation must occur with secondary *que* (cf. (173b)).

- (173) a. ... [<sub>TopicP</sub> a ninguno de los niños [<sub>Top'</sub> que ... [<sub>NegP</sub> [<sub>Neg'</sub> *Af* ... [<sub>TP</sub> ...  
[<sub>VP</sub> ...]]]]]] (cf. (161))
- b. ... [<sub>TopicP</sub> a ninguno de los niños [<sub>Top'</sub> que ... [<sub>NegP</sub> [<sub>Neg'</sub> **no** ... [<sub>TP</sub> ...  
[<sub>VP</sub> ...]]]]]] (PF of (161))

Given that there is no movement of the n-phrase through NegP (not even as an option), and since secondary *que* disrupts PF adjacency of the two elements (i.e. the n-phrase and the null negative affix are never PF adjacent), *no* is inserted so as to rescue the stranded negative affix (cf. (173b)). I therefore take the obligatory presence of *no* ‘not’ in (161) to indicate that the sandwiched n-phrase never moved to pre-secondary-*que* position. Put differently, the facts in (161) are supportive of the obligatory base-generation analysis of recomplementation dislocates in their surface position between complementizers.<sup>85</sup>

In analogous fashion, Martín-González (2000, 2002) observes an additional configuration where *no*-insertion is mandatory, namely when a

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<sup>85</sup> Martín-González (2000) claims that the n-phrase is directly merged between complementizers in cases akin to (161), which is the view for which I provide support in this chapter. However, Martín-González (2002) abandons this idea and instead proposes that sandwiched XPs can be the result of movement or direct merge.

negative constituent has been extracted out of a *wh*-island, as illustrated in (174).<sup>86</sup>

- (174) A ninguno de los niños # dime por qué \*(no) los invitó  
          none of the kids tell-cl. for what not cl. invited  
          ‘Please, tell me why s/he didn’t invite any of the children.’

According to Martín-González, the n-phrase *a ninguno de los niños* in (174) cannot move to its surface position due to a violation of locality restrictions on movement (see Section 2.3 regarding the sensitivity of CLLDed phrases to islands). Instead, the n-phrase is directly merged in its surface position. Therefore, the n-phrase and the negative affix are not PF adjacent at any point in the derivation of (174), making *no*-insertion obligatory, much like in (161).

Consider now (164), repeated here as (175), where a long pause occurs between the n-phrase and the negation, despite the absence of secondary *que*. (Note also that the acceptability of (175) decreases notably without secondary *que*).

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<sup>86</sup> Speaker judgments vary regarding (174). Some speakers find it ungrammatical even with negation. The judgment reported here draws on that of Javier Martín-González, although I have added the long pause which the sentence requires for me to find it (marginally) acceptable.

- (175) ?María dice que a ninguno de los niños #  
 Mary says that none of the kids  
  
 no los invitó  
 not cl. invited  
 ‘Mary says that as for the kids, s/he didn’t invite any.’

Here, sentential *no* is again obligatory (cf. (164)/(175)) vs. (165)). Following Bošković (2001), I make the natural assumption that PF merger cannot take place across I(ntonational)-phrase boundaries, with the pause, #, corresponding to an I-boundary. Still, if the movement derivation were available in (175), then the pause should not matter, and *no*-insertion would be blocked, since the negative constituent *a ninguno de los niños* and the negative affix would be adjacent at one point in the derivation, as is the case in (163) and (171a). However, *no*-insertion is mandatory in (175). I assume with Bošković (2001) that the long pause indicates direct merger of the negative constituent in its surface position (i.e. direct merger is accompanied by a pause), as shown schematically in (176a), which prevents PF merger of the negative constituent and the negation, since the pause precludes PF merger, and the movement derivation of the n-phrase is not available. Therefore, *no* must be inserted in (175) to rescue the stranded negative affix (cf. (176b)); otherwise the derivation fails (cf. (165)). Note, importantly, that the familiar example involving a negative constituent with secondary *que* in (161) also requires a long pause, which indicates that direct merger indeed requires a pause (see also (174)).

- (176) a. ... [<sub>TopicP</sub> a ninguno de los niños # [<sub>NegP</sub> [<sub>Neg'</sub> *Af* ... [<sub>TP</sub> ...  
[<sub>VP</sub> ...]]]]] (cf. (164)/(175))
- b. ... [<sub>TopicP</sub> a ninguno de los niños # [<sub>NegP</sub> [<sub>Neg'</sub> **no** ... [<sub>TP</sub> ...  
[<sub>VP</sub> ...]]]]] (PF of (164)/(175))

I therefore conclude that the negative constituent facts presented in this subsection additionally support the hypothesis that recomplementation dislocates are base-generated in pre-recomplementation-*que* position, which is consonant with the findings reported in the preceding subsections. Moreover, the data just reviewed suggest that whereas recomplementation dislocates are always base-generated (i.e. directly merged) in the left periphery (cf. (161)), dislocates without secondary *que* can be the result of either base-generation (cf. (164)/(175)), provided that a prolonged pause (#) occurs, or movement (cf. (171a)) (though see Section 3.3.2 for additional discussion).

### **2.3. Recomplementation CLLDed phrases must be generated in the left periphery of the clause where they are interpreted**

Although CLLDed phrases in recomplementation contexts fail to show reconstruction effects (see Section 2.1), which provides strong evidence that CLLDed phrases in recomplementation do not undergo movement, a conclusion that is confirmed by the distribution of *no* ‘not’ in negative-constituent constructions, the dislocates in question are subject to island effects, which *prima*

*facie* indicates that they do undergo movement. Accordingly, CLLDed phrases are sensitive to complex NP islands (cf. (177a)) and to adjunct islands (cf. (177b)).

- (177) a. \*Dijo que con el cura<sub>i</sub>, **que** no entendían el  
           said that with the priest that not understood the  
           hecho de que no se puede contar t<sub>i</sub>.  
           fact of that not cl. can count  
           ‘S/he told me that they don’t understand the fact that one cannot  
           count on the priest.’
- b. \*Me han dicho que con el cura<sub>i</sub>, **que** van a sufrir  
       cl. have told that with the father that go to suffer  
       porque no se puede contar t<sub>i</sub>.  
       because not cl. can count  
       ‘They have told me that they are going to suffer because one cannot  
       count on the priest.’

Therefore, the data reviewed so far present conflicting evidence. On the one hand, the reconstruction and negative constituent facts argue for a base-generation-in-the-CP analysis of dislocates sandwiched between complementizers. On the other hand, the sensitivity of the phrases in question to islands (cf. (177)) points to a movement analysis. At this juncture, two possibilities need to be considered: it may be that the relevant phrases do move (hence their sensitivity to islands), but reconstruction is blocked for some reason. (This account would also require a new explanation for the *no* ‘not’ facts discussed in the preceding subsection.) Alternatively, it may be that the relevant phrases are base-generated in the left periphery (hence the lack of reconstruction);



crucially, however, they cannot be generated in just any clause –they must be generated in the clause where they are interpreted. *A priori*, both options seem plausible.

Nonetheless, closer inspection reveals that the second option is better motivated. Under the first option, it is unclear why reconstruction of the moved constituent would be barred. Furthermore, note that the islandhood test as an argument for movement cannot be taken at face value, since something stronger than islandhood is at play here. Consider the long-distance dislocation data in (178):

- (178) a. \*Dijo que sobre el artículo<sub>i</sub>, **que** escuchó que  
           said that about the article    that listened that  
           habían hecho comentarios muy positivos t<sub>i</sub>  
           had made comments very positive  
           Intended meaning: ‘S/he told me that she heard that they had made  
           very positive comments about the paper.’
- b. Dijo que sobre el artículo<sub>i</sub>, escuchó que habían hecho comentarios  
           muy positivos t<sub>i</sub>
- c. \*Dicen que encima de la mesa<sub>i</sub>, **que** le había  
           say that on-top of the table that cl. had  
           contado que ponían de todo t<sub>i</sub><sup>87</sup>  
           told that put of all  
           Intended meaning: ‘They say that s/he had told him/her that they place  
           all types of things on the table.’

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<sup>87</sup> As expected, this sentence is acceptable in the rather odd reading in which the telling event took place on top of the table (i.e. the interlocutors were on top of the table while the telling event occurred). This state of affairs is not surprising, since *encima de la mesa* ‘on top of the table’ is base-generated between *ques* and is thus interpreted in the same clause (i.e. as an adjunct of *decir* ‘to say’), rather than as the long-distance dislocated complement of *poner* ‘to put.’

- d. Dicen que encima de la mesa<sub>i</sub>, le había contado que ponían de todo  
t<sub>i</sub>
- e. \*Dijo que a Mar<sub>i</sub>, **que** no le gustaba que le dieran  
said that Mar that not cl. liked that cl. give  
  
carne t<sub>i</sub><sup>88</sup>  
meat  
Intended meaning: ‘S/he said that s/he didn’t like anyone giving meat  
to Mar.’
- f. Dijo que a Mar, no le gustaba que le dieran carne t<sub>i</sub>

The data in (178) crucially show that long-distance recomplementized dislocates are impossible even in the absence of an island, which significantly undermines the island argument against the base-generation of recomplementation dislocates in the left periphery. Put differently, the contrasts in (178) indicate that the island test cannot be used to disprove the results of the reconstruction test, since long-distance CLLD in recomplementation contexts is ungrammatical even if there are no complex-NP or adjunct islands. At this point, everything falls into place under the suggestion made above that sandwiched dislocates must be base-generated in the left periphery; more precisely, they must be generated right above secondary *que* in the clause where they are interpreted. Why should this be the case? My

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<sup>88</sup> This sentence is of course grammatical on the reading in which *a Mar* is an argument of *gustar* ‘like;’ in fact this interpretation becomes even clearer if the dative object of *dar* ‘to give’ is lexically expressed in the sentence (i.e. as the phrase *al perro*):

- (i) Dijo que a Mar, **que** no le gustaba que le dieran carne al perro  
said that Mar that not cl. liked that cl. give meat to+the dog  
‘They said that Mar didn’t like anyone giving the dog meat.’

claim is that there is an island effect associated with double *que*; in particular, movement across *secondary que* induces a locality problem (see Section 3 for more detailed discussion). Given this, in the ungrammatical examples with *secondary que* in (178), the dislocates cannot be generated in the lower clause, which I argue is necessary, since they would then have to cross *secondary que* in the matrix clause, resulting in a locality-of-movement violation. By way of illustration, in (178a) the PP dislocate *sobre el artículo* moves from its base-generated position in the lower clause to the CP domain of a higher clause. This sentence is ungrammatical under this reading because *sobre el artículo* crosses *secondary que* in the higher clause, which induces a locality effect (cf. (179a)). However, this problem does not arise in the good examples without *secondary que* in (178), where the dislocate can be generated in the lowest clause, move to a higher clause, and still not cross *secondary que*. For instance, in (178b), *sobre el artículo* moves from its base-generated position in the lower clause to the CP domain of a higher clause. The sentence is grammatical because *secondary que* is not present in the higher clause; consequently no locality problem arises here (cf. (179b)).

- (179) a. \*Dijo [CP que [XP sobre el artículo [ **que** ... [CP ...  
           say       that       about the article       that  
           ~~sobre el artículo ...]]]] (cf. (178a))~~
- b. Dijo [CP que [XP sobre el artículo [ Ø ... [CP ...  
       say       that       about the article  
       ~~sobre el artículo ...]]]] (cf. (178b))~~

This immediately accounts for the lack of reconstruction effects noted above: since movement across recomplementation *que* is not possible, recomplementation dislocates must be base-generated in the CP field, which means that there is no lower site to which they can reconstruct, as shown again by the contrast between (180a) and (180b).

- (180) a. Dice *que* a su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo, nadie<sub>i</sub> lo debería traer  
 say that his son nobody cl. should bring  
 ‘S/he says that nobody should bring his/their son (here).’
- b. Dice *que* a su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo, **que** nadie<sub>i</sub> lo debería traer  
 say that his son that nobody cl. should bring  
 ‘S/he says that nobody should bring his/their (= somebody else’s) son (here).’

While the bound variable interpretation is available in (180a), it is not available in (180b) with secondary *que*. In (180b), the sandwiched constituent *a su hijo* is base-generated in pre-secondary-*que* position, hence the lack of reconstruction effects.

Note also that whereas recomplementized dislocates are base-generated in pre-secondary-*que* position, nothing prevents long-distance dislocates without secondary *que* from undergoing movement, as expected on the assumption that secondary *que* triggers a locality-of-movement effect which vanishes if the relevant complementizer is absent (see below). This is confirmed by the ability of the relevant phrases to reconstruct in the context of long-distance extraction.

Thus, (181) is acceptable on the reconstructed reading where *en su hijo* is bound within the most embedded clause:

- (181) Marta me dijo que en su hijo<sub>ij</sub>, le habían dicho a  
 Marta cl. said that in his/her son cl. had told  
  
 todas las madres<sub>i</sub> que deberían confiar  
 all the mothers that should trust  
 ‘Marta told me that they had told every mother that she/they should rely  
 on her/their son.’

Not surprisingly, such dislocates respect islands:

- (182) \*Dijo que sobre el artículo<sub>i</sub>, dijeron que no iba  
 said that about the article said that not went  
  
 allí porque no hablaron bien t<sub>i</sub>.  
 there because not talked well  
 ‘S/he told me that s/he was not going there because they didn’t say good  
 things about the paper.’

Consequently, dislocates which do not involve secondary *que* can be long-distance extracted (cf. (178b)), as indicated by their ability to reconstruct (cf. (181)) and their sensitivity to islands (cf. (182)). Importantly, these cases of dislocation without secondary *que* contrast markedly with recomplementation dislocates in between *ques*, which cannot occur in long-distance dislocation contexts, as noted earlier. I therefore conclude that CLLDed phrases can only

appear in recomplementation constructions provided that they are base-generated in the left periphery, more precisely, in the left periphery of the clause where they receive their interpretation, which captures all the facts presented above, including reconstruction. In other words, sandwiched instances of CLLD in recomplementation must obey an additional locality constraint –they are subject to a clausematehood requirement.<sup>89</sup>

An obvious question to pose at this juncture is which type of dislocates the CLLDed phrases that appear in recomplementation contexts are, since they may bear structural case (cf. (6), repeated here as (183)), and yet they do not seem to raise to the pre-secondary-*que* position, as has been argued.

- (183) Susi dice *que* a los alumnos, **que** les van a dar regalos  
 Susi says that DAT the students that cl. go to give presents  
 ‘Susi says that they are going to give the students presents.’

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<sup>89</sup> A logical question to raise in light of the preceding discussion is why CLLDed phrases in recomplementation patterns must be generated at the left edge of their own clause. I suggest that this should be related to the general requirement discussed in the preceding paragraphs that recomplementation CLLDed constituents be merged in the clause where they are  $\theta$ -marked (i.e. interpreted). Although this is an issue that requires further investigation, I will make the preliminary suggestion here that this happens exactly for interpretative reasons. Any kind of theta relation clearly requires clausematehood, which is easy to implement if  $\theta$ -roles are assumed to be features, as argued by Bošković (1994), Bošković and Takahashi (1998), and Hornstein (1999, 2003), among many others. On this view, traditional  $\theta$ -role assigners and assignees are involved in  $\theta$ -role checking. Under the plausible assumption that  $\theta$ -licensing cannot take place across clausal boundaries, a CLLDed element that is base-generated in the left periphery has to be generated in the left periphery of the clause where it is theta-marked. As far as adverbs are concerned, it has often been proposed that they can be base-generated at the edge of the clause, in which case they modify the clause they are generated in (see, e.g. Law 1994, Rizzi 1990, and Uriagereka 1988). See below for the case of hanging topics, which always involve resumption in the clause where they are interpreted.

Two types of left dislocation are usually mentioned in the Romance literature, namely the familiar CLLD construction (cf. (184a)) and the hanging topic left dislocation construction, which, following López (2009a), I refer to as HTLD, exemplified in (184b).

- (184) a. A la monja, dicen que (\*a ella) no le van a dar  
           the nun say that her not cl. go to give  
           nada  
           nothing  
           ‘They say they are not going to give anything to the nun.’
- b. La monja, dicen que ?\*(a ella) no le van a dar nada  
     the nun say that her not cl. go to give nothing  
     ‘As for the nun, they say they are not going to give her anything.’

Researchers such as López (2009a) have argued that HTLD does not involve movement, unlike CLLD. A hallmark of HTLD is that the hanging topic can only be a DP, in contrast to CLLD, where the fronted constituent does not have to be a DP; it can be a PP or a case-marked element (viz. dative *a*), as in (184a). Moreover, HTLDed nominals lack structural case and instead bear default case, which in Spanish happens to be nominative (cf. the lack of *a* in the phrase *la monja* in (184b)). Similarly, unlike CLLD, hanging topics always require resumption (e.g. via a pronoun or an epithet) and are usually doubled by a full, tonic pronominal in the clause where they are interpreted, as shown in (184b) (cf. Benincà and Poletto 2004 and López 2009a). The full pronominal and the HT

agree in number and gender, but the case borne by the two entities can differ (i.e. the HT bears default nominative, while the resumptive bears structural case).<sup>90</sup>

Therefore, recomplementized CLLDed phrases seem to manifest properties of both CLLD and HTLD: sandwiched CLLDed constituents may bear structural case, are not limited to DPs, cannot be doubled by a full pronominal, and yet they are derived by base-generation, rather than movement. Following Martín-González (2002), among others, I propose that, in principle, instances of CLLD can be base-generated in the left periphery (cf. (185a)) or move to the CP domain from a VP-internal position (cf. (185b)), the option of base generation (i.e. external/direct merge) being the only derivation available for recomplementation CLLD, for the reasons discussed above (cf. (185c)).<sup>91</sup> Since, as noted previously, movement across secondary complementizers yields a locality-of-movement violation (cf. (185d); see Section 3), instances of CLLD can only move to the CP area provided that secondary *que* is absent, sandwiched

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<sup>90</sup> As far as dislocated subjects are concerned, note that the resumptive in this case could be *pro* or the verbal morphology, and that subjects bear nominative case; hence subjects do not constitute a good test for CLLD/HTLD. See López 2009a for the suggestion that dislocated subjects in Romance languages like Spanish are actually cases of HTLD, for they do not exhibit reconstruction effects and they bear nominative case, which is the default case. This move raises a number of issues, however, including why dislocated subjects can be preceded and followed by uncontroversial cases of CLLD (see, for instance, example (20) in Chapter 2), given that HTLDed phrases must precede instances of CLLD. I will not explore this non-trivial matter further here, since it will take the discussion at hand too far afield.

<sup>91</sup> I have shown that the derivations in (185b) and (185c) are clearly available. The question is whether (185a) is actually available. Put differently, the question is whether embedded CLLDs without recomplementation *que* have to be derived by movement, or whether they can be base-generated in the left periphery. I discuss this issue in Section 3.3.2 (Condition C effects, which are potentially relevant here, are discussed in that section).



instances of CLLD being merged between complementizers in the left periphery (cf. (185c)), as has been seen.

- (185) a. Base-generated LD; absent secondary *que*:  
 [CP *que* [XP LD [X' Ø ... ]]]
- b. Moved LD; absent secondary *que*:<sup>92</sup>  
 [CP *que* [XP LD<sub>i</sub> [X' Ø ... ~~LD<sub>i</sub>~~]]]
- c. Base-generated LD with secondary *que*:  
 [CP *que* [XP LD [X' **que** ... ]]]
- d. Moved LD with secondary *que*  
 \*[CP *que* [XP LD<sub>i</sub> [X' **que** ... ~~LD<sub>i</sub>~~]]]

### 2.3.1. Recomplementation HTLDed phrases

Focusing now on HTLD in recomplementation contexts, it should be noted that whereas long-distance recomplementation CLLD is not possible (cf. (178a,c,e)), long-distance recomplementation HTLD is possible (cf. (186c)). As noted above, in cases of HTLD, a resumptive (e.g. a full pronoun) is required in the clause where the hanging topic is interpreted, in both root and embedded HTLD contexts. In fact, with PPs, which lack an attending (resumptive) clitic, a full PP containing a co-indexed pronominal must appear in the clause where the HTLD

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<sup>92</sup> It should be noted that this analysis is a simplified version of the analysis to be presented in Section 3.3. The modifications of this analysis in Section 3.3, however, do not affect the points made here.

DP is interpreted, as (186) illustrates.<sup>93</sup> HTLDed phrases are also reported in the literature to be insensitive to islands. That these nominals do not obey islands is shown for complex NP islands in (186a) (HT counterpart of (177a)) and for adjunct islands in (186a) (HT counterpart of (177b)). Not surprisingly, HTLDed phrases are not sensitive to secondary-*que* islands, as shown in (186c).<sup>94</sup>

- (186) a. Dijo que, el cura<sub>i</sub>, **que** no entendían el hecho de  
 said that the priest that not understand the fact of  
  
 que no se puede contar \*(con él<sub>i</sub>)  
 that not cl. can count with him  
 ‘She said that, as for the priest, they couldn’t understand the fact that you can’t count on him.’
- b. Me han dicho que, el cura<sub>i</sub>, **que** van a sufrir  
 cl. have told that the priest that go to suffer  
  
 porque no se puede contar \*(con él<sub>i</sub>)  
 because not cl. can count with him  
 ‘They told me that, as for the priest, they are going to suffer because you cannot count on him.’
- c. Dijo que, yo<sub>i</sub>, **que** escuchó que habían hecho  
 said that I that listened that had made  
  
 comentarios buenos \*(sobre mí<sub>i</sub>)  
 comments good about me  
 ‘S/he said that as for me, s/he heard that they had made good comments about me.’

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<sup>93</sup> The reader should bear in mind that I have deliberately provided cases involving PPs in order to ensure that we are dealing here with a HTLD doubled by a strong resumptive pronoun in the lower clause, rather than with CLLD, which would involve a whole PP constituent in the left periphery.

<sup>94</sup> The examples in (186) all involve secondary *que*, since, as noted by González i Planas (2011) and Rodríguez-Ramalle (2003), most speakers accept embedded HTLDs in Spanish only if they are followed by secondary *que*; sandwiched HTLDed phrases hence receive an analysis along the lines of (185c) (see Section 3.3.2 for an account of the obligatoriness of the low *que* with HTLD). Therefore, (186a) and (186b), in fact, each involve two islands (a complex-NP/adjunct island and a secondary-*que* island) to which the HTLD *el cura* is insensitive.

Returning to CLLD, I will now discuss the non-trivial issue of how the sandwiched CLLDed phrases in recomplementation patterns receive case.<sup>95</sup>

#### 2.4. The case of recomplementation CLLDed phrases

As seen above, in contrast to HT dislocates, which receive default nominative case, non-HT dislocated nominals in multiple-complementizer (i.e. *que* CLLD *que*) contexts bear structural case, although they are base-generated in the left periphery in pre-secondary-*que* position. If *v* is responsible for accusative case, under the standard view that a case-checker (a probe) has to c-command the nominal (a goal), a question which immediately arises is how the relevant nominals sandwiched in between overt complementizers receive structural case, given that they are never c-commanded by their case-licensor, namely little *v*. This paradox is immediately resolved once we adopt Bošković's (2007) Agree(ment) system. On this view, in many cases the Agree relationship established between probe (*v*) and goal (the dislocate preceded and followed by *que*) is reversed: what is standardly assumed to be a goal actually functions as a probe. Under this system, a nominal moves to a position from which it c-commands its case-checker (e.g. *v*), and then probes it in order to license its case (see Bošković 2007 for conceptual and empirical evidence for this system). In

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<sup>95</sup> Recall that CLLDs contrast with HTLDs in that the former are standardly case-marked and the latter default case-marked.

light of this, consider a sentence displaying the familiar recomplementation configuration:

- (187) Dicen que a su perro, que no lo reconocen  
 say that DOM-ACC his dog that not cl. recognize  
 ‘They say that they don’t recognize their dog.’

Following the discussion in Section 2, the nominal *a su perro*, which bears structural D(ifferential)O(bject)M(arking) accusative case, is base-generated in pre-secondary-*que* position, which means that it is not lower than its case licensor (i.e.  $\nu$ ) at any point in the derivation. Under Bošković’s (2007) account, this state of affairs can be explained straightforwardly: *a su perro* successfully probes *reconocen* (i.e. its  $\nu$ ) from its surface position in the embedded CP.<sup>96</sup> Note that the situation here is even simpler than the one described above to illustrate Bošković’s proposal, since there is no need for the nominal to undergo movement at all. Thus, the nominal checks off its uK feature (i.e. case), as shown in (188), which is simplified by including only the features that are directly relevant to the discussion at hand.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> See also Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) for additional evidence that Spanish DOM case-licensing is best captured within this system (i.e. that Spanish DOM requires this type of case licensing).

<sup>97</sup> Bošković (2007) argues that this kind of agree relation in such cases is not subject to some of the standard locality effects; the reader is referred to the cited work for detailed discussion of the locality of such agree relations.

(188) a su perro                       $\nu$   
                  ~~uK~~                              K

Consequently, there is no need for the nominal to originate in a position below its case licenser. The puzzle arising from the observation that the nominals in question do not move, yet bear structural case, is now resolved. Moreover, the preceding discussion provides a novel argument for Bošković's (2007) Agree system.

### 3. Movement across low complementizers induces a locality effect

An important property of recomplementation structures that the analysis of double-complementizer structures and, more generally, of the architecture of the left periphery, has to account for is that the presence of a secondary *que* induces islandhood effects. This observation has, to the best of my knowledge, gone unnoticed in the literature to date. So far I have discussed cases like (171), where long-distance recomplementation CLLD is impossible, since the CLLD would have to cross secondary *que*, which induces a locality problem. Now I turn to other cases in order to confirm that secondary *que* creates an island; the diagnostic tests utilized include long-distance extraction of *wh*-phrases, foci, CLLD, and subextraction. In Section 3.2, I turn to the account of the phenomenon.

### 3.1. Recomplementation *que* is an opaque domain for extraction

#### 3.1.1. Extraction of *wh*-phrases and foci

The following examples, where a focused phrase (cf. (189a)) and a *wh*-phrase (cf. (189b,c)) have been long-distance extracted over the boldfaced occurrences of *que*, illustrate that secondary *que* creates a barrier/island for movement.

- (189) a. \*SÓLO A TU PADRE me dijeron **que** el perro  
           only your father cl. told that the dog  
           **que** podía tolerar  
           that could tolerate  
           ‘It is only your father that they told me your dog could tolerate.’
- b. \*¿Cuál de estos collares me dijiste **que** al  
           which of these collars cl. told that  
           perro **que** le habías comprado?  
           dog that cl. had bought  
           ‘Which of these collars did you say you had bought for the dog?’
- c. \*¿Quién me dijiste **que** a tu perro **que** lo  
           who cl. said that your dog that cl.  
           vacunó?  
           vaccinated  
           ‘Who did you say vaccinated your dog?’

Notice that the secondary-*que*-less counterparts of the sentences in (189) are acceptable, as shown in (190).

- (190) a. SÓLO A TU PADRE me dijeron que el perro  
 only your father cl. told that the dog  
 podía tolerar  
 could tolerate
- b. ¿Cuál de estos collares me dijiste que al  
 which of these collars cl. told that  
 perro le habías comprado?  
 dog cl. had bought
- c. ¿Quién me dijiste que a tu perro lo  
 who cl. said that your dog cl.  
 vacunó?  
 vaccinated

It should be noted that the long-distance *wh*-questions in (189)/(190) contain object and subject *wh*-phrases as well as D-linked and non-D-linked *wh*-questions, all of which yield ungrammatical outcomes when crossing an instance of secondary *que* in the embedded clause. Confirmation that the secondary *que* prevents an extracted constituent from crossing the medial CP comes from adjunct extraction.<sup>98</sup> Significantly, (191a) is perfectly grammatical if the *wh*-word is interpreted as a matrix adjunct (i.e. if secondary *que* is not crossed):

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<sup>98</sup> Extraction of adjuncts across secondary *que* is even worse than extraction of arguments (cf. traditional ECP vs. Subjacency violations), although both types of extraction lead to unacceptable sentences.

- (191) a. ¿Cómo me dijiste que a tu madre **que**  
how cl. said that your mother that
- la había mordido el perro?  
cl. had bitten the dog  
'How come you told me that your mother had been bitten by the dog?'  
\*'In which way did you say that the dog had bitten your mother?'  
(✓ matrix construal; \* embedded construal)
- b. ¿Cómo me dijiste que a tu madre la  
how cl. said that your mother cl.
- había mordido el perro?  
had bitten the dog  
'How come you told me that your mother had been bitten by the dog?'  
'In which way did you say that the dog had bitten your mother?'  
(✓ matrix or embedded construal)

Note further that it is irrelevant here whether the element that is sandwiched between complementizers is an adjunct or an argument. The lower *que* always induces unacceptability, i.e. secondary *que* triggers a locality-of-movement effect irrespective of the nature of the sandwiched left-dislocated material:

- (192) ¿Qué me dijiste que normalmente (\*que) comprabais?  
 what cl. said that normally that bought  
 'What did you say that you normally bought?'

### 3.1.2. Extraction of topics/CLLD

As noted, the issue of whether CLLD results from movement or base-generation has generated a great deal of discussion in the literature and is far from decided.



The apparent insensitivity of CLLD to islands led Cinque (1990) to the influential conclusion that CLLDs are base-generated in the left periphery (see also Barbosa 2000, 2009; Fernández-Rubiera 2009; and Olarrea 1996; among many others). The arguments for this position include the presumed failure of CLLD to display the set of properties attributed to  $\bar{A}$ -movement, namely weak crossover effects (Rizzi 1997), parasitic gap licensing (Raposo 1996), Subjacency, and reconstruction for the purposes of proper binding of the trace of cliticized *ne* in Italian (Cinque 1990). By contrast, López (2009a: Ch. 6) has argued that confounding variables should be controlled for: a dislocate which is not ambiguous between CLLD and HTLD should be used to test movement (see fn. 93). López argues that in this way, it can easily be shown that CLLD obeys islands (cf. (182)), that is, that Romance CLLD results from movement, as noted in Section 2.<sup>99</sup> However, as shown in Section 2, recomplementized dislocates are merged in TopicP in pre-secondary *que* position (i.e. they are not derived via movement), as indicated by their inability to reconstruct in the presence of secondary *que* (e.g. (156)/(159)/(160); cf. Section 2.1) and the distribution of *no* ‘not’ in negative-constituent constructions (cf. Section 2.2).

Focusing on long-distance extraction of CLLDed phrases across secondary *que*, the data in (193) indicate that long-distance CLLD is not possible if recomplementation *que* is present. (Note that I have used a PP and a case-marked

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<sup>99</sup> Note that no mention of recomplementation structures is made in López (2009a), whose focus is CLLD in main clauses in Romance.

DP in (193a,b) deliberately in order to ensure that we are not dealing with hanging topics (HTLD)):

- (193) a. \*Con tu hermana<sub>i</sub>, me dijeron que tu madre,  
with your sister cl. told that your mother

que no podía contar t<sub>i</sub>  
that not could count

Intended meaning: 'They told me your mother cannot count on your sister.'

- b. \*Al perro<sub>i</sub>, me dijo Patricia que al veterinario,  
the dog cl. said Patricia that to+the veterinary

que nunca lo llevaron t<sub>i</sub>  
that never cl. took

Intended meaning: 'Patricia told me that they never took the dog to the vet.'

- c. \*Encima de la mesa<sub>i</sub>, me dijeron que tu madre,  
on-top of the table cl. told that you mother

que había puesto los libros t<sub>i</sub><sup>100</sup>  
that had put the books

Intended meaning: 'They told me your mother had put the books on table.'

In contrast, the following examples show that the employment of a structure involving a hanging topic (cf. (194a)) or the absence of secondary *que* (cf. (194b,c)) yield acceptable outcomes.

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<sup>100</sup> See fn. 87.

- (194) a. Tu hermana<sub>i</sub>, me dijeron que tu madre **que**  
 your sister cl. told that your mother that  
 no podía contar con ella<sub>i</sub>  
 not could count with her  
 'As for your sister, they told me that your mother cannot count on her.'
- b. Al perro<sub>i</sub>, me dijo Patricia que al veterinario,  
 the dog cl. said Patricia that to+the veterinary  
 nunca lo llevaron t<sub>i</sub>  
 never cl. took  
 'Patricia told me that they never took the dog to the vet.'
- c. Encima de la mesa<sub>i</sub>, me dijeron que tu  
 on-top of the table cl. told that your  
 madre había puesto los libros t<sub>i</sub>.  
 mother had put the books  
 'They told me your mother had put the books on the table.'

I conclude that extraction of CLLDed phrases across secondary *que* gives rise to locality-of-movement effects, in parallel fashion to extraction of focused or *wh*-phrases.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Note that the derivation in which the dislocate is base-generated in the sandwiched position (i.e. TopicP) and then moves to a higher clause needs to be ruled out, given the claim made below that crossing recomplementation *que*, not the phrase headed by *que*, induces the locality problem. It is natural to assume that dislocates that are merged in the left periphery are left-peripheral constituents which undergo feature-checking with a left-peripheral head whose specifier they occupy or which satisfy some type of criteria *à la* Rizzi (2006). Therefore, base-generated-in-the-CP-domain dislocates should be frozen in place (i.e. they cannot be merged in a left-peripheral position, e.g. TopicP, and then move to another left-peripheral position in a higher clause), which the reader should bear in mind. Recall that the data presented in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 provides evidence that the dislocates in question indeed establish a feature-checking relationship with the head of the projection hosting them (see also Chapter 2 for discussion of the freezing effect of feature checking).

### 3.1.3. Subextraction

Drawing on López (2009a), another diagnostic worth subjecting the familiar recomplementation structure to is sub-extraction. Sub-extraction from a CLLD sandwiched between complementizers is licit, as shown by the following example (see also Section 3.3.2 for examples without overt secondary *que*):<sup>102</sup>

- (195) a. En su abuelo<sub>i</sub>, dicen que [la confianza t<sub>i</sub>], **que**  
of his/her grandpa say that the confidence that  
  
no la perdió  
not cl. lost  
‘They say that s/he didn’t lose confidence in her/his grandfather.’
- b. PP<sub>i</sub> [que [CLLD - PP<sub>i</sub> [que ...]]]

If the sub-extracted material in fact moves from its base-generated position between complementizers in (195a), indicated by t<sub>i</sub>, then reconstruction should be available. The following example tests reconstruction for purposes of anaphor binding, with the binder *María* also in pre-secondary-*que* position. Its acceptability confirms the availability of the indicated movement derivation.

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<sup>102</sup> I have avoided using examples with the prepositions *sobre* ‘about’ and *de* ‘of’ so as to ensure that we are not dealing here with a constituent that depends on the verb *decir* ‘to say.’

- (196) a. ?En sí misma<sub>i</sub>, dicen que María<sub>i</sub>, [la confianza t<sub>i</sub>],  
           in herself say that Mary the confidence  
           **que** no la perdió  
           that not cl. lost  
           ‘They say that Mary didn’t lose confidence in herself.’
- b. ?PP anaphor<sub>i</sub> [que [binder<sub>i</sub> CLLD - PP<sub>i</sub> [**que** ...]]]

Example (196a) is also important in that it helps us determine more precisely the islandhood of the double-*que* construction. More specifically, (196a) shows that it is not crossing the phrase headed by secondary *que* (i.e. TopicP, given the conclusions drawn in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3), but crossing the secondary *que* itself, that causes the locality problem. Similarly, crossing the higher *que* (in Force<sup>o</sup>, by hypothesis) in this configuration does not cause a locality problem (*en sí misma* crosses the higher *que* but not the lower *que*). This conclusion will become particularly important in Section 3.2, where I will argue that it is indeed the lower instance of *que* (i.e. secondary *que*, in Topic<sup>o</sup>) that induces the locality effect in the construction in question.

Notice also that the acceptability of (196a) contrasts with the ungrammaticality of (197a), where the anaphor fails to be bound. This contrast comes as no surprise, given that the anaphor cannot reconstruct to a position from which it can be bound by *María*.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> The corresponding example without secondary *que* is grammatical, as shown in (i).

- (197) a. \*En sí misma<sub>i</sub>, dicen que [la confianza t<sub>i</sub>], **que** María<sub>i</sub>  
           in herself say that the confidence that Mary  
           no la perdió  
           not cl. lost  
           'They say that Mary didn't lose confidence in herself.'
- b. \*PP anaphor<sub>i</sub> [que [CLLD - PP<sub>i</sub> [que binder<sub>i</sub> ...]]]

Example (197a) confirms the analysis pursued in this chapter under which recomplementation dislocates are merged in pre-secondary-*que* position.

In this connection, the following examples further support the base-generation analysis of recomplementation dislocates in their surface position in between *ques*, as indicated by the lack of reconstruction effects (see also Section 2.1). Concretely, in (198a,b) the anaphor *en sí misma* fails to be bound by *María*, which follows if the anaphor is base-generated between *ques* and therefore cannot reconstruct to a position below secondary *que* from which it would be properly bound. Note also that (198c) is markedly better, which is not surprising given the acceptability of (196a).

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- (i) En sí misma<sub>i</sub>, dicen que [la confianza t<sub>i</sub>], María<sub>i</sub> no la perdió  
       in herself say that the confidence Mary not cl. lost  
       'They say that Mary didn't lose confidence in herself.'

- (198) a. \*Dicen que en sí misma<sub>i</sub>, María<sub>i</sub>, **que** no perdió  
           say that in herself Mary that not lost  
           la confianza t<sub>i</sub>]  
           the confidence
- b. \*Dicen que en sí misma<sub>i</sub>, **que** María<sub>i</sub> no perdió [la confianza t<sub>i</sub>]
- c. ?Dicen que María<sub>i</sub>, en sí misma<sub>i</sub>, **que** no perdió [la confianza t<sub>i</sub>]  
     All: 'They say that Mary didn't lose confidence in herself.'

Sentence (199) is also acceptable, which is expected, since nothing prevents base-generation of *en su abuelo* in the specifier of secondary *que*. (There is no reconstruction effect that would force *en su abuelo* to be generated in a lower position here and *en su abuelo* is still located in the TopicP of the lower clause, where it is interpreted.)<sup>104</sup>

- (199) Dicen que en su abuelo<sub>i</sub>, **que** María no  
           say that in her grandpa that Mary not  
           perdió [la confianza]  
           lost the confidence  
           'They say that Mary didn't lose confidence in her grandfather.'

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<sup>104</sup> Note also that long-distance sub-extraction is in principle possible, but not across secondary *que*, as shown by (i)a.

- (i) a. \*En su abuelo, creen que María **que** ya perdió [la confianza t<sub>i</sub>]  
           of her grandpa believe that Mary that already lost the confidence  
           'They believe that Mary has already lost confidence in her grandfather.'
- b. En su abuelo<sub>i</sub>, creen que María ya perdió [la confianza t<sub>i</sub>]  
           in her grandpa believe that Mary already lost the confidence

Sub-extraction over secondary *que* also leads to unacceptability if the operation is effected from a CLLDed constituent located immediately after the second instance of the complementizer. The following example again corroborates that it is crossing secondary *que*, and not the phrase headed by secondary *que*, that creates the locality problem.<sup>105</sup>

- (200) \*En su abuelo<sub>i</sub> dicen que María, **que** [la confianza t<sub>i</sub>] no  
in her grandpa say that Mary that the confidence not  
la perdió  
cl. lost  
‘They say that Mary didn’t lose confidence in her grandfather.’

Note also that both parts of a ‘split’ complex DP can appear between overt complementizers, as shown in (201).

- (201) a. Me dijeron que del abuelo [las historias] **que** no se las  
cl. said that of+the grandpa the stories that not cl. cl.  
cree nadie  
believe nobody  
‘They told me that nobody believes the stories about the grandfather.’

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<sup>105</sup> Not surprisingly, with a HTLDed structure, as in (i), which involves a nominative DP doubled by a full pronominal in the subordinate clause, the sentence becomes grammatical in spite of the presence of secondary *que* (see Section 2.3.1 for the insensitivity of HTLD to all islands, including secondary-*que* islands).

(i) El abuelo<sub>i</sub>, dicen que María **que** no perdió [la confianza en él]  
the grandfather say that Mary that not lost the confidence in him  
‘As for the grandfather, they say Mary didn’t lose confidence in him.’



- b. Me dijeron que del abuelo, tu madre, [las historias] **que**  
 cl. said that of+the grandpa your mother the stories that  
 no se las cree  
 not cl. cl. believe  
 ‘They told me that your mother doesn’t believe the stories about your grandfather.’
- c. ?Dijo que sobre sí misma<sub>i</sub>, tu amiga<sub>i</sub>, [las historias t<sub>i</sub>],  
 said that about herself your friend the stories  
**que** nunca las escribió<sup>106</sup>  
 that never cl. wrote  
 ‘S/he said that your friend never wrote the stories about herself.’

Further, the interplay between sub-extraction and recomplementation constructions also has relevance for an old debate regarding extraction from preverbal subjects in languages like Spanish. First, note that sub-extraction from a postverbal subject (cf. (202a)) yields more acceptable results than sub-extraction from a preverbal subject (cf. (202b)).<sup>107</sup> Sub-extraction is also not possible from unambiguously left-dislocated (i.e. sandwiched) subjects, as shown by (202c), where the subject occurs between complementizers. Recall that sub-extraction is possible with sandwiched CLLDed objects, as illustrated again in (202d).

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<sup>106</sup> Example (201c) may require the following derivation: *las historias sobre sí misma* is generated right below *tu amiga* in a single specifier, with *sobre sí misma* undergoing movement above *tu amiga*, still within the same left periphery (note that Bošković’s 2008a account of the freezing effect allows for this derivation).

<sup>107</sup> Note that here I use the term sub-extraction neutrally both for ‘splits’ that are accomplished by movement and for ‘splits’ that are accomplished by base-generation.

- (202) a. Dicen que de su abuelo, **que** faltaban las historias  
 say that of his/her grandpa that lacked las historias  
 ‘They say that the stories about his/her/their grandfather were missing.’
- b. ?\*Dicen que de su abuelo, **que** las historias faltaban  
 say that of his/her grandpa that the stories lacked
- c. \*Dicen que de su abuelo, las historias, **que** faltaban  
 say that of his/her grandpa the stories that lacked  
 ‘They say that the stories about his/her/their grandfather were missing.’
- d. Dicen que de su abuelo, las historias, **que** no se las cree  
 say that of his/her grandpa the stories that not cl. cl. believe  
 ‘They say that s/he does not believe the stories about his/her/their grandfather.’

A number of works have argued that in non-double-*que* constructions, sub-extraction from a subject can only take place from the postverbal subject position in Spanish, as indicated by the well-known contrast in (203). While sub-extraction from a postverbal subject is licit (cf. (203a)), sub-extraction from a preverbal subject is not (cf. (203b)) (cf. Uriagereka 1988 and Gallego and Uriagereka 2006; see also Section 3.2).

- (203) a. ¿De qué conferenciante<sub>i</sub> me dijiste que había triunfado  
 of which speaker cl. said that had succeeded  
 [la ponencia t<sub>i</sub>] ?  
 the talk  
 ‘Of which speaker did you say that the talk \_\_ had succeeded?’

- b. ?\*¿De qué conferenciante<sub>i</sub> me dijiste que [la ponencia t<sub>i</sub> ]  
           of which speaker           cl. said that the talk  
           había triunfado?  
           had succeeded

The recomplementation construction (cf. (202a,b)) patterns with the non-recomplementation case illustrated in (203a,b). This is surprising given that the sub-extracted element can be base-generated in pre-*que* position in (202a,b), hence the constructions do not involve actual movement. The same also holds for (202c). It appears, therefore, that sub-extraction from subjects is possible only from postverbal position even when it is not accomplished through actual movement. This indicates that there are additional restrictions on what can be base-generated in pre-secondary-*que* position; the clausematehood requirement (see Section 2.3) is not the only factor. I will leave this issue open for future research.

On balance, the sub-extraction cases in this subsection illustrate the same point as all the other cases discussed previously, namely that secondary *que* gives rise to locality-of-movement effects. Moreover, the sub-extraction data above allow us to conclude that it is secondary *que*, and not the phrase headed by it, that induces a locality-of-movement violation in double-complementizer constructions.

### 3.2. Accounting for the secondary-*que* locality effect in Spanish

In this section, I argue that the novel Spanish facts presented above provide further support for the rescue-by-PF-deletion analysis of locality violations (Boeckx and Lasnik 2006; Bošković 2011; Hornstein *et al.* 2003; Lasnik 2001; Merchant 1999 *et seq.*; Park 2005; *inter alia*). The conclusion drawn from the previous sub-sections is that in configurations involving double complementizers in Spanish, movement across the secondary complementizer induces a locality-of-movement effect, which vanishes if the relevant complementizer is absent. More specifically, I have shown that it is not movement across the phrase headed by secondary *que*, but movement across the complementizer itself (i.e. the head), that causes the locality effect in question.<sup>108</sup> I submit that the presence vs. absence of a locality violation can be accounted for under a rescue-by-PF-deletion analysis, in much the same way as the *that*-t phenomenon in English, of which the Spanish facts are reminiscent.

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<sup>108</sup> There is also a locality effect with regard to extraction across secondary complementizers in European Portuguese. (I would like to thank Pilar Barbosa for her judgments):

- (i) \*A quem<sub>i</sub> achas que esse livro **que** (o) posso dar t<sub>i</sub>? [European Portuguese]  
who believe that that book that (cl.) can give  
'Who do you think I can give that book to?'

### 3.2.1. Residual Comp-t effects in Spanish

As is well known, English displays *that*-trace effects in cases of local subject extraction, a fact which has attracted a great deal of attention in the literature and yet has resisted a principled account for decades:

- (204) a. \*Who do you think **that** won?  
b. Who do you think won?

The English pattern with a selective Comp-t effect sensitive only to local subject extraction is not the only pattern found crosslinguistically. In other languages, no extraction of any element (e.g. subject, object, or adjunct) can be effected out of sentences headed by the counterpart of English *that*. Non-colloquial Russian is such a case. This can be taken to indicate that in non-colloquial Russian, the Comp-t effect holds for any type of extraction, not only for local  $\bar{A}$ -subject extraction, as is the case in English.

Traditionally, paradigmatic null-subject languages like Italian and Spanish have been reported to be insensitive to *that*-t effects, unlike English. Example (205a) illustrates that Spanish is impervious to the Comp-t phenomenon. In fact, as is well known, the complementizer cannot normally be deleted in Spanish, as shown in (205b). (See fn. 2, Chapter 2).

- (205) a. ¿Quién piensas \*(que) ganó?  
           who think-you that won
- b. Pienso \*(que) ganó Juan  
     think that won John  
     ‘I think that John won.’

Nevertheless, the recomplementation cases discussed in the previous section surprisingly bring to light an unexpected state of affairs regarding the behavior of secondary *que* in Spanish. More specifically, I have shown that the presence of the lower *que* blocks movement (cf. (206a)), but this problem ceases to exist in the absence of secondary *que* (even when a CLLDed phrase appears), as shown in (206b) for long-distance *wh*-movement.

- (206) a. \*¿Quién me dijiste que a tu madre **que** la  
           who cl. said that your mother that cl.  
           va a llamar?  
           goes to call  
           ‘Who did you tell me is going to phone your mother?’
- b. ¿Quién me dijiste que a tu madre la va a llamar?  
     who cl. said that your mother cl. goes to call

Thus, in contrast to single-complementizer constructions (cf. (205a)), movement across secondary *que* in recomplementation contexts is impossible in Spanish.

From the preceding discussion, it can be concluded that what creates a locality problem is the presence of secondary *que* (see Section 3.1.3 for additional

evidence to this effect in light of subextraction facts); identical sentences that lack secondary *que* do not display the locality effect (cf. (206b)), much like the situation in English, where local  $\bar{A}$ -subject extraction is possible when *that* is absent (cf. (204b)), but not when *that* is present (cf. (204a)).<sup>109</sup>

This situation is in fact highly—and suspiciously—reminiscent of the English *that*-t effect. Therefore, I propose that the contrast between (206a) and (206b) can be captured in the same way as the contrast between (204a) and (204b). In both English and Spanish, the complementizers are the troublemakers (*that* in English and secondary *que* in Spanish). Further, the two complementizers are optional (i.e. they can be deleted without apparent semantic effect in the cases under consideration). Moreover, both *that* in English and secondary *que* in Spanish need to be absent in the relevant cases for the relevant extraction to be licit. Importantly, the English and Spanish effects under consideration display yet another shared property –they are ameliorated in the presence of an adverbial appearing immediately after the offending element (for English, see Bresnan 1977 and Culicover 1992):

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<sup>109</sup> Below, for ease of exposition, I will use the term *complementizer* to refer to both English *that* and Spanish secondary *que* when details of their structural placement are not at issue.

- (207) a. ? Who did you say that *in the end* became the mayor of the city?
- b. ? ¿Quién me dijiste que a tu madre, **que al**  
       who cl. said that your mother that at+the  
       *final* la va a llamar?  
       end cl. goes to call  
       ‘Who did you tell me is going to phone your mother eventually?’

Based on these similarities, I therefore argue that the *that*-t effect in English and the secondary-*que*-t effect in Spanish should be analyzed uniformly.

However, there are also some differences between the English and the Spanish case. First, the English complementizer does not require (and in fact, cannot have) a concomitant LDed phrase above it.<sup>110</sup> Second, recomplementation *que* in Spanish creates a rigid barrier for all extraction (cf. non-colloquial Russian), whereas English *that* is only sensitive to local subject extraction. Although accounting for the Comp-t effect itself is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I will now offer a speculation as to why Spanish differs from English.

The first difference follows from the discussion in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, where it was shown that the availability of secondary *que* depends on the appearance of at least one dislocated phrase above it, which is due to independent factors (i.e. secondary *que* is the head of TopicP, which must have topic-like phrase in its specifier). The second difference can be accounted for in the

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<sup>110</sup> Though see Radford (2011) for the occurrence of secondary *that* in spoken English. Note, however, that I focus here on high *that* in English, which is involved in the infamous *that*-t effect.



following manner: it is standardly assumed in the accounts of the *that*-t effect that extraction is impossible from the position to the immediate right of the overt complementizer (see, e.g., Rizzi 1990): if the complementizer *that* is crossed from a position that is very close to it, the moving element is affected by it. Since subjects in English are standardly assumed to be located in Spec,TP, the complementizer in CP is immediately above it (i.e. ...[CP [C' *that* [TP *wh*-subject [T'...]]]]; see also (209a) below). In this configuration, movement of the subject yields an unacceptable sentence. Note that extraction of objects or adjuncts over *that* is licit, since this operation is effected from a lower position, not from Spec,TP.

Focusing now on the Spanish cases under consideration, I speculate that *all* moving elements transit through a position which is very close to secondary *que* and consequently *all* extraction is affected by the overt secondary complementizer. In support of this claim, it is important to recall examples involving a *wh*-phrase right below secondary *que*, illustrated again in (208).

- (208) Me preguntó que mi madre, **que** cuándo podría venir  
 cl. asked that my mother that when could come  
 'S/he asked me when my mother could come.'

Based on the existence of examples like (208), I tentatively suggest that there is an  $\bar{A}$ -position right below secondary *que*, through which *all* moving elements undergoing  $\bar{A}$ -movement must pass. A number of authors have actually

argued for the existence of such an  $\bar{A}$ -position that is targeted by successive-cyclic movement on independent grounds, tying this to the Torrego (1984) locality effect, i.e., inversion triggered by successive-cyclic movement (see, e.g. Canac-Marquis 1991 and Goodall 1991). While it would be far beyond the scope of this chapter to provide an account of this effect, I am merely appealing here to the often-made claim that the effect in question provides evidence for the existence of a low  $\bar{A}$ -position that is targeted by successive-cyclic  $\bar{A}$ -movement in Spanish.

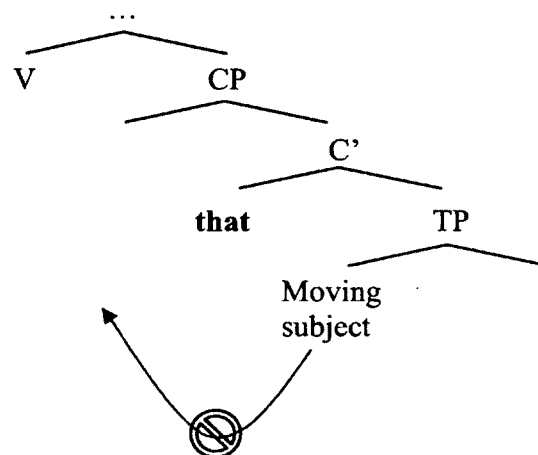
On this view, the Spanish cases of extraction in recomplementation structures provide a configuration in which, much like in the English subject local  $\bar{A}$ -extraction cases, an element is extracted from a position to the immediate right of an overt complementizer (cf. (209b)), incurring a locality violation, regardless of whether the crossing constituent is a subject, an object, or an adjunct. In other words, whereas in English only extraction of the subject is disallowed, in Spanish recomplementation configurations any extraction is impossible, by virtue of the moving element passing through an  $\bar{A}$ -position which is very close to the overt secondary complementizer *en route* to a higher position.<sup>111</sup> Recall also that the

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<sup>111</sup> At this point, I do not have sufficient evidence to identify precisely the  $A'$ -position in question. Thus, the label of the projection remains to be determined, and whether it is InterrogativeP, FocusP, FinitenessP, or a different projection is a matter that I leave for future research. What matters for the moment is that there is evidence for such a projection. Note also that a potential problem arises regarding the analysis of the islandhood of “jussive/optative” *que*, which I have argued is the head of FinitenessP (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). In this case, it may be necessary to assume that the moving constituent passes through Spec,TP/AgrSP, which is the position to the immediate right of “jussive/optative” *que*. Thus, on this view Spec,TP/AgrSP would be an  $\bar{A}$ -position. Given the generalization gleaned in Chapter 4 that only a genuine subject can occur between *que* and the subjunctive verb, it would be necessary to make the assumption that whereas

pattern regarding the Spanish Comp-t effect with secondary *que* that this analysis leads to, where *all* types of extraction are subject to the Comp-t effect, is actually found crosslinguistically, as indicated by the non-colloquial Russian facts mentioned above.

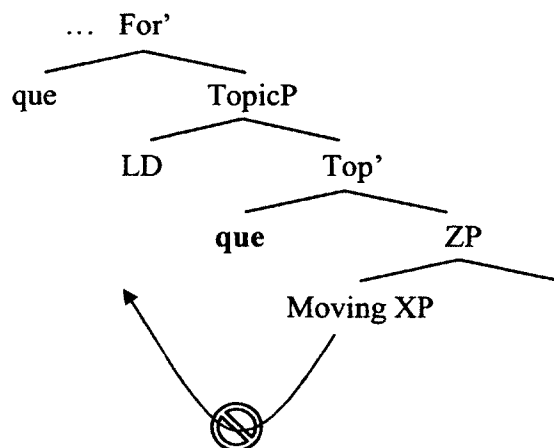
(209) a. English




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an  $\bar{A}$ -moved element could transit through Spec,TP, only a *bona fide* subject could stay there, possibly due to feature incompatibility. This would be reminiscent of what happens with Spec,ForceP, which is a position through which constituents are standardly assumed to pass, but in which they do not stay, under most accounts. A more satisfactory solution would be to adopt (a version of) Bošković's (1997b) proposal for Serbo-Croatian that the AgrSP adjunct position is an  $\bar{A}$ -focus position, with Spec,AgrSP being the real subject position. On this view,  $\bar{A}$ -moving constituents would have to pass through the adjunct position of AgrSP, which is located to the immediate right of the head of Finiteness<sup>o</sup> (i.e. "jussive/optative" *que*). The details are actually not important here; what is important is Bošković's evidence that there is an  $\bar{A}$ -position below the CP field and right above the canonical subject position.

b. Spanish



At this point, it is clear that in both English and Spanish the offending element is the complementizer. My proposal is then that the Spanish *que*-island in recomplementation cases discussed above should be cast as a Comp-t(race) effect.

The hypothesis that all moving elements pass through a low  $\bar{A}$ -position can in turn ultimately help shed light on a well-known issue regarding the syntax of Romance null-subject languages like Spanish, where it has been shown that extraction of the subject always takes place from postverbal position (Burzio 1986, Campos 1997, Rizzi 1982, among many others). The analysis currently pursued can offer an explanation for why preverbal subject extraction is banned in Spanish-style languages, as follows: Lasnik and Saito (1992: 107-111) show that short subject topicalization is impossible in English in cases like *\*I think that John, left*, which can be taken to mean that it is not licit to short-distance  $\bar{A}$ -move the subject in Spec,TP to the local  $\bar{A}$ -position right above Spec,TP and below

Spec,CP.<sup>112</sup> Subject  $\bar{A}$ -extraction from Spec,TP in Spanish could then reduce to the impossibility of short subject topicalization in English. Although the Spanish case may not be exactly the same as the English one, it is very similar to it. Given my proposal that there is a low  $\bar{A}$ -position through which every  $\bar{A}$ -moved phrase passes in Spanish, preverbal subjects in Spanish would have to undergo short  $\bar{A}$ -movement below Spec,CP. Thus, the proposal advocated here, if correct, may additionally account for the longstanding issue of why the subject in Spanish needs to be extracted from postverbal position: moving the subject from the canonical subject position (i.e. Spec,TP/AgrSP) to a low  $\bar{A}$ -position in the left periphery in the course of subject extraction would be akin to short subject topicalization in English, which is ungrammatical; instead, subject extraction in Spanish proceeds from postverbal position.

### 3.3. Rescue by PF Deletion. Analysis and predictions

In what follows, I show that the Spanish facts under consideration provide an additional argument in support of the repair-by-PF-deletion analysis, which emerged with Ross's (1969) observation that ellipsis ameliorates the effect of island violations:

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<sup>112</sup> Lasnik and Saito (1992) provide arguments for the impossibility of short subject topicalization in English, including anaphor binding and extraction, based on the topic/subject contrasts in (i-ii) (if subjects could undergo short topicalization, these contrasts should not exist).

- (i) a. John thinks that himself<sub>i</sub> Mary likes <sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub>  
       b. \*John thinks that himself<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> likes Mary
- (ii) a. ??Which athletes do you think that pictures of <sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> Mary bought  
       b. ??\*Which athletes do you think that pictures of <sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> are on sale

- (210) a. \*That he will hire someone is possible, but I will not divulge who that he will hire is possible
- b. That he will hire someone is possible, but I will not divulge who ~~that he will hire is possible~~

Chomsky's (1972) account of the mitigating effect of ellipsis on island violations states that when a movement operation crosses an island, the island in question is marked with a \* (or #, in Chomsky's original formulation). At surface structure, ellipsis can salvage an island by deleting the \*-marked category, but if the \*-marked troublemaker survives in the final structure, a violation occurs, resulting in an ungrammatical output.<sup>113</sup> Recent proposals have revived this approach, with the update that the relevant ellipsis operation takes place in PF (Boeckx and Lasnik 2006; Bošković 2011; Fox and Lasnik 2003; Hornstein *et al.* 2003; Lasnik 2001; Merchant 1999 *et seq.*; among many others). Under this account, movement out of an island is theoretically possible, provided that a rescue operation –a repair strategy– takes place to save a structure which otherwise would not comply with the requirements at the PF interface, since the presence of a \* in the final PF representation causes a violation. Note also that this approach is partly derivational (\*-marking takes place derivationally) and partly representational (the ultimate violations are determined representationally, i.e., in PF).

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<sup>113</sup> \*-marking an island in the course of the derivation poses a problem in light of the Inclusiveness Condition of Chomsky (2001). However, see Lasnik (2001) for a way of circumventing this issue.

Bošković (2011) argues that once we allow the rescuing effect to arise not only through ellipsis but also through deletion of regular copies and other offending elements marked with a \*, a number of longstanding problems can be resolved, including the contrast between sentences exhibiting *that*-t effects, with overt *that*, as in (204a), and their corresponding grammatical examples without it, as in (204b). Following a long tradition, Bošković assumes that the contrast between the English sentences \**Who do you think that won?* and *Who do you think won?* is due to locality of movement, leaving open how exactly this is to be accomplished, but noting that the complementizer is crucially implicated in the violation. In this sense, Bošković (2011: fn. 29) notes that the relevant *that*-t violation in English is “standardly ruled out either as a movement violation, or because the relevant movement leaves a trace that cannot be properly licensed.” The author takes locality of movement rather broadly in order to include both sorts of analysis, which is also what I will do here for the Spanish facts, leaving open how exactly the locality of movement violation is to be implemented (though see the previous subsection for an account).<sup>114</sup> Capitalizing on the only clear principled difference between the two contrasting examples in English (namely overtness vs. non-overtness of *that*), Bošković advocates a rescue-by-PF-deletion account of the contrast in (204) based on Chomsky and Lasnik’s (1977)

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<sup>114</sup> The reader should bear in mind that the \*-marking mechanism adopted in this chapter is just a formal way of stating the issue at hand, leaving open the exact implementation of the account. In fact, it is important to note that as long as we are dealing here with a syntactic locality violation (regardless of the actual account of the violation), the Rescue-by-PF-deletion analysis adopted in this dissertation works.

analysis of the alternation in (211a,b), where (211a) and (211b) have the same structure in the syntax, with *that* being deleted in the PF of (211b), as shown in (211c).

- (211) a. I think **that** colorless green ideas sleep furiously  
 b. I think colorless green ideas sleep furiously  
 c. I think ~~**that**~~ colorless green ideas sleep furiously

In particular, the contrast between the two English sentences in (204) can then be accounted for as follows: when movement of the *wh*-subject crosses *that*, the offending complementizers is \*-marked:

- (212) Who<sub>i</sub> do you think [<sub>CP</sub> ~~who<sub>i</sub>~~ **that\*** ~~who<sub>i</sub>~~ won?]

If the element bearing a \* survives into PF, the derivation crashes, with the consequently ill-formed output *\*Who do you think that won?* (cf. (204a)). By contrast, if the relevant \*-marked element is deleted by a PF operation, as in Chomsky and Lasnik's (1977) account of the alternation (211a,b), then the derivation succeeds, yielding the grammatical counterpart of (204a), i.e., *Who do you think won?* (cf. (204b)):



(213) Who<sub>i</sub> do you think [<sub>CP</sub> ~~who<sub>i</sub>~~ ~~that\*~~ who<sub>i</sub> won?]

Turning now to the Spanish case, it is important to emphasize that, as illustrated extensively above, the locality effect created by secondary *que* disappears when *que* is not (overtly present) in the sentence, much like in the English *that*-t cases. Recall that the goal is to provide an account of the contrast between ungrammatical sentences where secondary *que* has been crossed and their grammatical counterparts without it. It is also important to bear in mind that unlike the higher *que* (by hypothesis in Force<sup>o</sup>), which is a clause-typer and hence obligatory in embedded declarative clauses in Iberian Spanish (cf. fn. 2), secondary *que* is optional; hence, it can be deleted in PF, in the spirit of Chomsky and Lasnik's (1977) analysis of optional *that* in English in sentences like *I think (that) colorless green ideas sleep furiously*, whereby *that* has been deleted when it does not surface (cf. (211)). I will now show how the account currently pursued works for the Spanish case at hand (cf. (206)).

In parallel fashion to the English case, when a moving element crosses the trouble-marker in Spanish (i.e. secondary *que*), the complementizer receives a \*, as shown in (214).

- (214) ¿Quién<sub>i</sub> me        dijiste [<sub>ForceP</sub> ~~quién<sub>i</sub>~~ [ que        [<sub>TopicP</sub> a tu  
                               who cl.        said                                that                                your  
                               madre        **que\*** ~~quién<sub>i</sub>~~ la        va        a ~~quién<sub>i</sub>~~ llamar?]]]  
                               mother        that                                cl.        goes to                                call  
                               ‘Who did you say is going to phone your mother?’        (= (206a))

If \*-marked *que* survives into PF, a violation ensues and the sentence is ill-formed as a result (cf. (206a)), since the presence of a \* in the final PF representation is fatal. Pursuing the parallelism between English and Spanish further by applying Chomsky and Lasnik’s complementizer deletion analysis to the dislocation examples without an overt recomplementation *que*, if a PF-deletion operation takes place that affects the complementizer in question, the \*-marked troublemaker is deleted in PF, and the derivation is salvaged. This, I propose, is the derivation of (206b):

- (215) ¿Quién<sub>i</sub> me        dijiste [<sub>ForceP</sub> ~~quién<sub>i</sub>~~ [ que        [<sub>TopicP</sub> a tu  
                               who cl.        said                                that                                your  
                               madre        ~~**que\***~~ ~~quién<sub>i</sub>~~ la        va        a ~~quién<sub>i</sub>~~ llamar?]]]  
                               mother        that                                cl.        goes to                                call  
                               ‘Who did you say is going to phone your mother?’        (= (206b))

The Spanish facts under consideration can then be explained in parallel fashion to the English *that*-t effect cases. In this connection, note that the English example in

(204b) and the Spanish example in (206b) are now handled in the same way as Ross's example in (210b), since in all cases deletion of the troublemaker improves the grammaticality status of the relevant sentences. Another welcome result of the current system is that there is no need to stipulate a different syntax for sentences involving extraction across secondary *que* (cf. (206a)) and for their counterparts without secondary *que* (cf. (206b)). Under this system, sentences like those in (206) share the same syntactic structure, the difference being overttness (cf. (206a)) or non-overttness (cf. (206b)) of secondary *que*.<sup>115</sup>

A further consequence of the analysis just presented is that any movement across secondary *que* results in the complementizer being \*-marked. This entails that if a phrase moves to the specifier of secondary *que*, a violation occurs unless *que* is deleted in PF:

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<sup>115</sup> Bošković (2011) also presents an alternative to Chomsky and Lasnik's (1977) analysis of *that* deletion which assumes a null C (null Topic°, under the current analysis for Spanish), which, furthermore, much like its overt counterpart, also causes a locality violation; hence C/Topic° gets a \* when it is crossed. Bošković observes that Rescue by PF deletion can still be appealed to under Pesetsky's (1992) null-C-affixation analysis, whereby null C undergoes movement to a higher head, hence the \*-marked C is a copy deleted in PF (i.e. the \* is placed on a copy that is deleted in PF under lower copy deletion; removal of the \*-marked element thus circumvents the violation). When applied to Spanish, this option faces the potential problem that while the null C would affix to V in English (note that Tagalog clearly has C-to-V affixation, as shown by Richards 1999), it would be rather odd to have the null C affixing to the higher *que*/Force° in Spanish, though see Cardinaletti (2004: 131) for the prospect of a low null complementizer cliticizing into a higher one. As a result, the secondary-*que* deletion analysis proposed in the main text seems to be preferable, although the reader should note that nothing changes with respect to the account in this section if a null-C/Topic°-style account is adopted.

- (216) Me dijiste [<sub>ForceP</sub> que [<sub>TopicP</sub> a tu madre<sub>i</sub> [ que\*  
 cl. said that your mother that  
~~a tu madre<sub>i</sub>~~ la llamaron ~~a tu madre<sub>i</sub>]]]  
 cl. called  
 ‘You told me that they called your mother.’~~

Recall now that in principle there are two options available for CLLD in Spanish, namely i) movement to TopicP and ii) external merge, base-generation in TopicP. Option (i) is ruled out for (216) due to the presence of a \*-marked element (secondary *que*) in PF. This leaves us with option (ii) for double-*que* constructions, namely base-generation of the dislocate in pre-secondary-*que* position. This explains the lack of reconstruction effects below secondary *que*, as discussed in 2.1, illustrated again in (217).

- (217) Dicen que a su<sub>i/j</sub> perro, que todos los niños<sub>i</sub> lo traen  
 say that his dog that all the children cl. bring  
 a este parque  
 to this park  
 ‘It is said that every child brings his/their dog (= somebody else’s) to this park.’

However, the violation caused by movement to Spec,TopicP in (216) can also be rescued if secondary *que* is deleted in PF, as shown in (218).

- (218) Me dijiste [<sub>ForceP</sub> que [<sub>TopicP</sub> a tu madre<sub>i</sub> [ ~~que\*~~  
cl. said that your mother that  
~~a tu madre<sub>i</sub>~~ la llamaron ~~a tu madre<sub>i</sub>]]]  
cl. called  
‘You told me that they called your mother.’~~

The movement derivation can then yield an acceptable outcome if secondary *que* is not present (i.e. if it is deleted), which in turn accounts for the possibility of reconstruction in cases of CLLD without secondary *que* (see Section 2.1), illustrated here again by (219a), whose derivation is provided in (219b,c). In this case, movement of *a su perro* to Spec,TopicP occurs. Secondary *que* receives a \* when *a su perro* crosses it (cf. (219b)) and is then deleted in PF in the familiar way, circumventing the locality violation (cf. (219c)).

- (219) a. Dicen que a su<sub>i/j</sub> perro, todos los niños<sub>i</sub> lo traen  
say that his dog all the children cl. bring  
a este parque  
to this park  
‘It is said that every child brings his/their dog to this park.’  
b. Dicen [<sub>ForceP</sub> que [<sub>TopicP</sub> a su perro<sub>i</sub> [que\* ~~a su perro<sub>i</sub>~~ todos los  
niños ... lo traen ~~a su perro<sub>i</sub>~~ ...]]]  
c. Dicen [<sub>ForceP</sub> que [<sub>TopicP</sub> a su perro<sub>i</sub> [~~que\*~~ ~~a su perro<sub>i</sub>~~ todos los  
niños ... lo traen ~~a su perro<sub>i</sub>~~ ...]]]

On the other hand, in the derivation where secondary *que* surfaces (cf. (217)), *a su perro* is directly merged in TopicP and no movement is effected, which accounts for the fact that *a su perro* does not show reconstruction effects. In this case, since no movement is effected at all across secondary *que*, no \*-marking occurs and of course the derivation converges:

- (220) Dicen [<sub>ForceP</sub> que [<sub>TopicP</sub> a su perro [ **que** todos los niños lo traen a este parque ]]] (cf. (217))

Under this analysis, dislocations with and without secondary *que* are treated in the same way in the syntax, which is a desirable result. While the unification itself is an obvious argument for the analysis, the ellipsis data discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 can also be interpreted as an argument for the unified analysis. As noted in Chapter 2, Section 4.4.1, ellipsis is licensed both in the case when secondary *que* surfaces (cf. (221a)) and when it does not (cf. (221b)). There is nothing surprising about this under the current analysis; it is in fact expected, since the two cases are exactly the same structurally, with the same element licensing ellipsis in both cases.

- (221) a. Dijo que hoy, **que** no compra nada, y que  
           said that today that not buy nothing, and that  
           mañana, **que** ~~no compra nada~~ tampoco  
           tomorrow that neither

- b. Dijo que hoy, Ø no compra nada, y que  
 said that today not buy nothing, and that
- mañana, Ø ~~no compra nada~~ tampoco  
 tomorrow neither
- Both: 'S/he told me that s/he is not purchasing anything either today or tomorrow.'

The present account thus enables us to unify a number of seemingly unrelated facts.

### 3.3.1. Ellipsis repairs secondary-*que*-t violations in Spanish

I would now like to explore an additional prediction made by the rescue-by-PF-deletion approach. The overall analysis pursued in this chapter predicts secondary-*que*-t violations to be rescuable by ellipsis, in much the same way as English *that*-t effect violations vanish under ellipsis (Merchant 2001; Perlmutter 1971):

- (222) a. \*They said that a professor was hired, but I don't recall which professor they said that was hired
- b. They said that a professor was hired, but I don't recall which professor ~~they said that was hired~~

This prediction is borne out by the novel Spanish data in (223).

- (223) a. \*Me dijo Marta que a tu madre, **que** le  
cl. said Martha that your mother that cl.

habían regalado flores, pero no te voy a  
had given flowers, but not cl. go to

decir quién me dijo Marta que a tu madre,  
say who cl. said Martha that your mother

**que** le había regalado flores  
that cl. had given flowers

\*‘Martha told me that somebody had given your mother flowers, but I won’t tell you who Martha told me *that* had given your mother flowers.’

- b. Me dijo Marta que a tu madre, **que** le habían regalado flores, pero no te voy a decir quién ~~me dijo Marta que a tu madre, que\* le había regalado flores.~~  
‘Martha told me that somebody had given your mother flowers, but I won’t tell you who.’

In (223a), movement of *quién* is effected across overt secondary *que*, which is not deleted. This yields an ungrammatical outcome, since *que\** remains in the final PF representation. In (223b), movement across secondary *que* also results in \*-marking of secondary *que*. In contrast, in this case TP-ellipsis/sluicing occurs, which results in concomitant deletion of the offending \*-marked complementizer; hence the derivation is rescued. This particular case is exactly the same as Ross’s original examples where sluicing remedies the effect of island violations (cf. (210b)). That secondary-*que* locality violations are salvaged by ellipsis confirms the correctness of the analysis pursued here.



In the next subsection, I look more closely at the process through which secondary *que* is deleted, evaluating the possibility that secondary-*que* deletion may in fact be triggered only if movement crosses the complementizer.

### 3.3.2. Secondary-*que* deletion as last resort?

In the previous subsections, reference was made to the hypothesis that secondary *que* is deleted in PF in much the same way as optional English *that* is deleted under Chomsky and Lasnik's (1977) *that*-deletion account (cf. (211)). In this subsection, however, I would like to explore the prospect of secondary-*que* deletion being a last-resort operation, triggered *only* when movement across the complementizer and subsequent \*-marking of the complementizer take place. Put differently, I would like to explore the hypothesis that secondary *que* can only be deleted when movement crosses it, in the spirit of the Rescue-by-PF-Deletion analysis. On this view, when the dislocate is base-generated in sandwiched position, recomplementation *que* cannot be deleted (unless a long-distance moving phrase crosses it). On the contrary, if the dislocate moves to pre-secondary-*que* position, then secondary *que* is \*-marked and deleted in PF. Of course, if ultimately successful, the secondary-*que*-deletion-as-last-resort analysis has the virtue of dispensing with the optionality of secondary *que*, consonant with Minimalist considerations of economy (Chomsky 1993 *et seq.*, *inter alia*).

There is empirical evidence supporting this view. As mentioned in passing in fn. 94, embedded hanging topics (HTLD) require secondary *que* in Spanish

(Grohmann and Etxepare 2003; Rodríguez-Ramalle 2003; González i Planas 2011), as shown by the contrast between (224a) and (224b) (adapted from Grohmann and Etxepare 2003).

- (224) a. \*Me dijo que el baloncesto, ese deporte le encanta  
           cl. said that the basketball that sport cl. charms
- b. Me dijo que el baloncesto, **que** ese deporte le encanta  
           cl. said that the basketball that that sport cl. charms  
           ‘S/he said that as far as basketball goes, s/he loves that sport.’

Recall from Section 2.3.1 that a key property of HTLD is base-generation of the hanging topic in its surface position. In embedded contexts, as shown by the minimal pair in (224), recomplementation *que* is obligatory (i.e. it cannot be deleted). In cases of CLLD, however, we have seen that secondary *que* is optional, as illustrated again in (225).

- (225) a. Me dijo que de fútbol, hablaban a todas horas  
           cl. said that the soccer talked at all times
- b. Me dijo que de fútbol, **que** hablaban a todas horas  
           cl. said that of soccer that talked at all times  
           Both: ‘S/he said that they talked about soccer all the time.’

In Section 2, I entertained the hypothesis that CLLDed phrases in Spanish can be derived by movement or direct merge (i.e. base-generation) in their surface

position. Thus, if secondary *que* is only deleted when movement crosses it, then in (225a), the dislocate *de fútbol* would be derived via movement, with concomitant \*-marking and subsequent PF-deletion of secondary *que*, as shown in (226a). As noted in Section 2.1, CLLDed phrases without secondary *que* exhibit reconstruction effects. In (225b), however, *de fútbol* is directly merged in pre-secondary-*que* position; hence deletion of secondary *que* cannot be effected here, as shown in (226b). As expected (see Section 2.1), recomplementation CLLDed constituents do not display reconstruction effects. Under the last-resort account, the apparent optionality of recomplementation *que* would reduce to two different underlying derivations, each of which yields a different sentence: one derivation involves movement of the dislocate (the no-secondary-*que* version) and the other derivation involves direct merge of the dislocate in between *ques* (the secondary-*que* version). Note that under the last-resort account, the base-generation derivation of the CLLD without secondary *que*, illustrated in (185a), is not available. In other words, on this view, direct merger of the CLLDed element is not possible without secondary *que*; the only derivation in which secondary *que* is absent is the movement derivation, wherein secondary *que* is deleted as part of Rescue-by-PF-Deletion. Returning now to HTLDed phrases, which are always derived via base-generation, in (224b), the HTLD is directly merged in its surface position, the movement derivation being unavailable. Here, secondary *que* cannot be deleted, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (224a)), since no movement operation crosses it (cf. (226c)). Thus, the obligatoriness of secondary *que* with

embedded HTLD is accounted for: no movement crosses the low complementizer, blocking its deletion, which confirms the last-resort analysis (i.e. no base-generation of the dislocate with deleted *que*). In other words, removing secondary *que* when no movement crosses it would constitute a violation of last resort; in fact, the ungrammaticality of (224a) is now explained under this analysis as a violation of last resort (cf. (226d)).

- (226) a. Moved CLLD - secondary *que* deletion  
 [que CLLD **que\*** [ ... [ ~~CLLD~~]]]
- b. Base-generated CLLD – no secondary *que* deletion  
 [que CLLD **que** [ ... ]]
- c. (Base-generated) HTLD – no secondary *que* deletion  
 [que HTLD **que** [ ... ]]
- d. (Base-generated) HTLD – illegitimate secondary *que* deletion  
 \*[que HTLD **que** [ ... ]]

Therefore, the fact that secondary *que* is obligatory with HTLD could be taken to indicate that secondary *que* can only be deleted when a moving element crosses it. Consequently, this account has a last resort flavor in that it circumvents the problem of the seeming optionality of secondary *que*.<sup>116</sup> Under this analysis, secondary *que* would in fact be obligatory, its deletion being motivated by movement operations across secondary *que* resulting in its \*-marking and ensuing

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<sup>116</sup> See, e.g., Pesetsky and Torrego (2001 and subsequent work) for an attempt to motivate the presence vs. absence of *that* in English examples such as (211a,b).

PF-deletion. On this view, the different derivations available for embedded HTLD and CLLD in Spanish can be summarized abstractly as follows:

- (227) a. Embedded HTLD (base-generation)  
           ...que     HTLD     **que**
- b. Embedded CLLD (base-generation or move)  
           ...que     CLLD     **que**
- ...que     CLLD     ~~que\*~~/Ø     CLLD

Moreover, deletion of recomplementation *que* could be effected for independent reasons, that is, if movement of a long-distance element crosses secondary *que*. In other words, secondary *que* would also be \*-marked if a long-distance extracted element crossed it, as shown in (215), repeated here as (228a), whose abstract derivation is provided in (228b).

- (228) a. ¿Quién<sub>i</sub> me     dijiste [<sub>ForceP</sub> ~~quién<sub>i</sub>~~ [ *que*     [<sub>TopicP</sub> a tu  
           who cl.     said                             that             your  
           madre ~~que\*~~ ~~quién<sub>i</sub>~~     la     va     a ~~quién<sub>i</sub>~~     llamar?]]]  
           mother   that                             cl.   goes   to             call  
           ‘Who did you say is going to phone your mother?’     (=(206b))
- b. *Movement of a long-distance extracted element across sec. que*  
           [wh-     ...     [*que* CLLD     ~~que\*~~     wh-]]

It follows, then, that secondary *que* can be deleted even if the sandwiched dislocate is base-generated between *ques*, providing that a movement operation (in this case, long-distance extraction) across secondary *que* takes place, as in (228).

As far as embedded HTLD is concerned, long-distance extraction in examples with secondary *que* is also ungrammatical, as shown in (229a). Now, under the present analysis, it would be theoretically possible to delete the secondary complementizer if a long-distance extracted element crosses it. However, HTLDeD phrases themselves display island-creating properties (Cinque 1990 and Cinque and Rizzi 2010, among others). Therefore, even deletion of secondary *que* does not improve the status of (229a), since a locality-of-movement violation ensues even without secondary *que*, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (229b), where the moving element *quién* still crosses the HTLD *el cura*, in spite of the absence of the low complementizer.

- (229) a. \*¿Quién me dijiste que el cura, **que** no podía contar con él?  
           who cl. said that the priest that not could count with him  
           \*‘Who did you tell me that, as for the priest, couldn’t count on him?’
- b. \*¿Quién me dijiste que el cura, no podía contar con él?  
           who cl. said that the priest not could count with him

Overall, the contrast between (base-generated) HTLD and (base-generated/moved) CLLD with respect to the (im)possibility of secondary *que*

deletion noted in this section could be interpreted as indicating that secondary-*que* deletion is a last-resort operation triggered by movement across the secondary complementizer, which gets a \* as a result, and consequently is deleted in the PF component. Rather than being optional, recomplementation-*que* deletion would now be recast a last-resort operation effected *only* when movement crosses it, a welcome result in light of current Minimalist conceptions of the grammar. I will not explore this possibility further here.

Before concluding this subsection, though, I would like to consider three potential arguments against the last-resort nature of the secondary-*que*-deletion process, and show that once we look at the relevant data closely, they do not pose a real challenge to the hypothesis advanced here.

First, as (230) shows, reconstruction is not forced in the absence of secondary *que* for Condition C effects. In principle, if the dislocate were able to be derived only by movement, *él* could not refer to *Juan* in (230), since at some point in the derivation *Juan* would be lower than the pronominal, in violation of Condition C. This could be taken to suggest that non-recomplementation CLLDed constituents can also be base-generated in the left-periphery, in line with Martín-González (2002) and *contra* López (2009a). (I would like to thank Klaus Abels for bringing this type of data to my attention and Luisa Martí for her judgments).

- (230) Dijeron que [al perro de Juan<sub>i</sub>], lo va a llevar él<sub>i</sub> a la fiesta  
 said that dog of John cl. goes to take he to the party  
 ‘They said that John/he will take his/John’s dog to the party.’

However, it is still possible that the dislocate *al perro de Juan* moves to the left periphery and does not reconstruct, if reconstruction is not taken to be obligatory here. For instance, regarding Condition A, it is well-known that reconstruction is not forced, as witnessed by famous examples such as *John<sub>i</sub> wondered which picture of himself<sub>i,j</sub> Bill<sub>j</sub> saw*, where the anaphor can be bound by either *John* or *Bill*. Thus, (230) is in principle compatible with both the base-generation derivation and the movement derivation of the CLLDed phrases, which allows us to maintain the movement analysis of CLLDs without secondary *que*.

Second, regarding the sub-extraction cases discussed in Section 3.1.3, it is important to bear in mind that if Takahashi’s (1994) generalization that extraction out of a moved element is impossible is correct (see, e.g., López 2009a for a dissenting view), then it has to be the case that the CLLD split *la confianza* in examples like (231) does not move in the first place, despite the absence of secondary *que*. Put another way, if Takahashi’s generalization holds, then in (231) the dislocate *la confianza [en su abuelo]* must be base-generated in the left periphery even in the absence of *que*, suggesting that Spanish CLLD can be the result of direct merge of the dislocate in its surface position. (Note that (231) is the counterpart of (195a) without secondary *que*).



- (231) En su abuelo<sub>i</sub>, dicen que [la confianza t<sub>i</sub>], no  
 in his grandpa say that the trust not  
 la perdió  
 cl. lost  
 ‘They say that s/he didn’t lose confidence in her/his grandfather.’

Thus, in order to maintain the last-resort account pursued in this subsection, we would have to abandon Takahashi’s generalization, at least for Spanish/Romance, which has in fact been independently proposed by López (2009a) (see also Rizzi 2006 and Torrego 1985).

Third, in the discussion of the distribution of *no* ‘not’ with negative constituents in Section 2.2, I considered examples along the lines of (232), which, albeit marginal, indicate that *no* ‘not’ is obligatory when the negative constituent is followed by a long pause. (Remember that the counterpart of (232) without *no* is completely out, as shown by (165) above, and that the counterpart of (232) without the long pause cannot have *no*, as shown by the contrast between (163) and (166)). Since the movement derivation of the dislocate always bans the insertion of *no*, as discussed in Section 2.2, it seems that we are forced to conclude that in (232), the negative constituent is directly merged in the left periphery, in spite of the fact that secondary *que* is absent.

- (232) ?María dice que [a ninguno de los niños] #  
 Mary says that none of the kids  
  
 no los invitó  
 not cl. invited  
 ‘Mary says that as for the kids, s/he didn’t invite any.’

However, it is important to note that, as mentioned in Section 2.2, the pause associated with negative dislocates (#) is certainly more prolonged than the optional pause found in cases of non-negative dislocates (which I have represented throughout this dissertation by means of a comma, which may have some significance). Recall that I have followed Bošković (2001) in assuming that the long pause indicates an I(ntonational)-phrase boundary. An (2007) shows that the edge of an I-phrase cannot be null (i.e. it must be overtly demarcated). Thus, the long pause may be taken to be a PF-mechanism to demarcate the edge of the I-phrase (replacing the overt complementizer, perhaps at a different, prosodic level, from the point in the derivation where the last-resort deletion of secondary *que* takes place). Recall also that the counterpart of (232) with secondary *que* is clearly more acceptable than (232), which may be taken to indicate that marking the edge of an I-phrase by means of a pause plus an overt element is preferred to marking it by means of a pause alone, or that the derivation behind (232) is not fully acceptable. Whatever the case may be, although still somewhat of a problem, the above examples do not necessarily pose a challenge to the hypothesis explored in this subsection that secondary-*que*-deletion may be a last-

resort operation. The reader should, however, bear in mind that nothing in the rest of the system developed in this chapter depends on this hypothesis.

In the next subsection, I turn to cases where a low complementizer cannot be deleted when movement crosses it, because it is required for semantic reasons.

### **3.3.3. Recoverability of Deletion and complementizer deletion**

As noted by Bošković (2011), there is a noteworthy aspect of the C-deletion analysis adopted in this chapter. Given Recoverability of Deletion, the account is based on the assumption that the deleted *that*/secondary *que* is essentially semantically null; otherwise, its deletion would violate Recoverability of Deletion. Therefore, it would be plausible to argue that at least in some cases where the complementizer cannot be deleted, it has semantic import; hence, its deletion would violate Recoverability of Deletion. Hegarty (1992) in fact pursues this line of research, claiming that the complementizer *that* in English indeed has semantic import in all and only the cases where *that* in the complement of a verb cannot be deleted in PF.

In light of this observation, if we could find cases where *que* is mandatory in Spanish, the prediction would be that a rescue-by-PF-deletion operation should not be readily available, since *que* in these contexts would be required for semantic purposes; hence secondary *que* could not be deleted in PF. As has been noted throughout, the higher *que* is almost always compulsory in Spanish, a fact which could be due to the observation that the complementizer in languages like

Spanish is a clause-typer –a declarative marker, as argued by Bošković (1997a), who suggests that when *that* can be deleted in English, a clause can be typed as declarative by default. On the contrary, secondary *que* has been shown to be optionally overt, but a question arises as to whether there exist configurations where secondary *que* (or what appears to be secondary *que* at first sight) is compulsorily overt (i.e. cannot be deleted). The answer to this question turns out to be positive.<sup>117</sup>

I will first discuss the impossibility of deleting the low complementizer in cases where “jussive/optative” *que* is crossed by a long-distance moving constituent. In this respect, the reader should bear in mind that, as noted in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, “jussive/optative” *que* is required to mark the appropriate mood of “jussive/optative” clauses. I then turn to certain novel and intriguing data pertaining to embedded interrogatives involving an obligatory instance of putative recomplementation/secondary *que*.

As argued in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, “jussive/optative” *que*, characteristic of desiderative/exhortative clauses exhibiting subjunctive mood, is mandatory, since it functions as the lexical realization of the subjunctive mood. The obligatoriness of “jussive/optative” *que* is illustrated again for root and embedded clauses in (233a) and (233b), respectively.

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<sup>117</sup> Recall also the cases of obligatorily overt secondary *que* with embedded HTLD discussed in the previous subsection.

- (233) a. A Filadelfia, **\*(que)** venga a visitarme mi jefe  
 to Philly that come<sub>Subj.</sub> to visit+cl. my boss  
 ‘I demand that my boss visit me in Philadelphia.’
- b. Dice que a Filadelfia, **\*(que)** venga a visitarme mi jefe  
 says that to Philly that come<sub>Subj.</sub> to visit+cl. my boss  
 ‘S/he demands that my boss visit me in Philadelphia.’

Recall from Section 2.1.1 that dislocates higher than “jussive/optative” *que*, much like recomplementation dislocates, fail to manifest reconstruction effects, which means that they are derived by base-generation rather than movement, as shown again by the data in (234a).

- (234) A su<sub>\*i/j</sub> hijo, **que** nadie<sub>i</sub> lo traiga  
 his son that nobody cl. bring<sub>Subj.</sub>  
 ‘I demand that nobody bring their (= somebody else’s) son.’

Similarly, long-distance extraction across “jussive/optative” *que* is impossible, in parallel fashion to long-distance extraction across secondary *que* (cf. (206)).

- (235) \*¿Quién dices tú que a tu madre **que** la  
 who say you that your mother that cl.  
 llame?  
 call<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>  
 ‘Who are you ordering to call your mother?’

If deletion of “jussive/optative” *que* could be effected when moving constituents cross the offending complementizer, then we would expect (235) to improve, just like deletion of secondary *que*\* improves the status of (206a), as shown in (206b). However, “jussive/optative” *que* is necessary to realize the subjunctive mood lexically (or, more specifically, jussive/optative mood, as noted in Chapter 3); as a result, deletion of “jussive/optative” *que* in (235) is impossible, as shown in (236a), whose simplified derivation is provided in (236b).

- (236) a. \*¿Quién dices tú que a tu madre la  
           who say you that your mother cl.  
           llame?  
           call<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>  
           ‘Who are you ordering to call your mother?’
- b. \*¿Quién dices tú que a tu madre ~~que~~\* la  
           who say you that your mother that cl.  
           llame ~~quién~~?  
           call<sub>3.SG-Subj.</sub>

On balance, extraction across “jussive/optative” *que* is illicit (cf. (234)/(235)), and rescue by PF deletion cannot apply (cf. (236a)), since “jussive/optative” *que* is mandatory. Put differently, deleting “jussive/optative” *que* incurs a Recoverability-of-Deletion violation. Moreover, note that the impossibility of deleting “jussive/optative” even when long-distance movement

crosses it further confirms the claim made in Chapter 3 that “jussive/optative” *que* is obligatory.

In the same vein, note that in English subjunctive contexts, where the complementizer is required for many speakers, as shown in (100), repeated here as (237), Comp-t-effect violations also cannot be rescued by deleting *that* under Salvation-by-PF-deletion, as indicated by (238b).

(237) a. The University requires *that* all students pay on time

b. \*The University requires all students pay on time

(238) a. \*Who did you require *that* pay on time?

b. \*Who did you require pay on time?

I now turn to the behavior of low *que* in embedded interrogatives. It is a well-established fact that indirect questions may –but need not– include an overt complementizer in front of the *wh*-item in spoken Spanish (cf. Brucart 1993; de Cuba and MacDonald, in press; Etxepare 2010; Fontana 1993, 1994; Lahiri 1991, 2002; Plann 1982; RAE 2009; Rivero 1994; Saito 2010 *et seq.*; Suñer 1991, 1993; Uriagereka 1988; Uribe-Etxebarria 1991; *inter alia*):<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Uriagereka (1988) notes that underlying the seeming optionality of *que* in these constructions lies a difference in meaning: indirect interrogatives embedded under *preguntar* ‘to ask’ with *que* (cf. (239)) can only be interpreted as reports, and therefore they can only have the *de dicto* reading, as opposed to their *que*-less counterparts, which are ambiguous between a *de dicto* and a *de re* reading.

- (239) Juan preguntó **(que)** cuántos íbamos a comprar  
 John asked that how many were+going to buy  
 ‘John asked me how many we were going to buy.’

Crucially, (239) stands in glaring contrast to embedded declaratives in Spanish (cf. (205b)), where the complementizer is mandatory (i.e. it is a clause-typer), as noted above.<sup>119</sup> The question is what happens in cases where an embedded dislocated phrase appears in front of the *wh*-item:

- (240) Juan preguntó **\*(que)** a mi madre **(que)** cuántos le  
 John asked that my mother that how many cl.  
 íbamos a comprar  
 were+going to buy  
 ‘John asked me how many we were going to buy for my mother.’

As (240) shows, embedded dislocation in Spanish requires the presence of *que* in front of the dislocate (Brovetto 2002), in much the same way as *that* is usually compulsory in English declarative clauses involving embedded topicalization (see fn. 20 in Chapter 2). Lower *que* is optional in indirect questions selected by

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<sup>119</sup> An important question arises as to whether the optional complementizer in embedded interrogatives occupies the head of ForceP or a different projection, since in other contexts the higher *que* appears to be mandatory. In this regard, it seems natural to assume that the optionality of the complementizer in embedded interrogatives is due to the embedded clause being interrogative, not declarative. One possibility is to assume that, given its optionality, the relevant complementizer heads TopicP, in much the same way as in the cases involving dislocated material, but this raises the non-trivial issue of why TopicP would be projected here in the absence of a dislocated phrase. Another possibility, explored below, is that the complementizer in (239) may be the overt realization of a ReportP that is conflated with ForceP unless TopicP occurs (i.e. unless left-dislocated material occurs in the embedded clause).



*preguntar* ‘to ask,’ (cf. (240)), much like in the regular CLLD cases involving recomplementation discussed in this dissertation.<sup>120</sup>

Similarly, the relevant dislocates pattern with their counterparts in non-interrogative clauses with respect to reconstruction (cf. Section 2.1), as shown by the minimal pair in (241), where reconstruction is only possible in the absence of the low complementizer, as indicated by the availability of the bound variable reading in (241b), but not in (241a).

- (241) a. Juan preguntó que a su hijo<sub>i</sub> **que** cuántas madres<sub>i</sub>  
 John asked that her son that how-many mothers  
 lo llevan al colegio  
 cl. take to school  
 ‘John asked me how many mothers take their (= somebody else’s) son to school.’
- b. Juan preguntó que a su hijo<sub>i</sub> cuántas madres<sub>i</sub>  
 John asked that her son how-many mothers  
 lo llevan al colegio  
 cl. take to school  
 ‘John asked me how many mothers take their son to school.’

Now, note that Plann (1982) observed that embedded interrogatives in Spanish are not limited to inherently *wh*-selecting verbs like *preguntar* ‘to ask,’

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<sup>120</sup> It is interesting to note that, in examples akin to (240) but with an indirect yes/no question, the presence of *que* seems mandatory, as shown in (i). At this point, it is unclear to me why there is a contrast between (240) and (i), a matter which I leave for future research.

(i) Juan preguntó que a mi madre ?\*(**que**) si la vamos a visitar  
 John asked that my mother that if cl. go to visit  
 ‘John asked whether/if we are going to visit my mother.’

but can also be constructed with manner-of-speaking verbs such as *gritar* ‘to shout’ and *susurrar* ‘to whisper,’ as well as with *decir* ‘to say’ and *repetir* ‘to repeat,’ and, in general, with predicates that can take a direct quote. Thus, these predicates can embed reported questions, but crucially an instance of *que* must precede the *wh*-item/interrogative complementizer, as shown in (242). (The reader is referred to RAE 2009 for potential counterexamples to Plann’s generalization).

- (242) a. Juan      dijo    que    cuántos      íbamos      a    comprar  
           John      said    that    how many    were+going   to   buy  
           ‘John asked how many we were going to buy.’
- b. Juan    dijo    que    si    íbamos      a    comprar    muchos  
           John    said    that    if    were+going   to   buy            many  
           ‘John asked whether we were going to buy many.’

According to Plann (1982), the principal difference between cases like (242) and indirect questions embedded under *preguntar* ‘to ask’ is that whereas with *preguntar* ‘to ask’ *que* appears to be optional (cf. (239)), with verbs such as *decir* ‘to say,’ which do not intrinsically select for a question, *que* is mandatory (cf. (242)). The absence of *que* with predicates such as *decir* signals a free relative rather than an indirect question, as shown by the examples in (243), which are the counterparts of the sentences in (242) without *que*.

- (243) a. Juan       dijo   cuántos       íbamos   a   comprar  
           John       said   how many       were       to buy  
           ‘John said how many we were going to buy.’
- b. Juan       dijo   si íbamos a   comprar   muchos  
           John       said   if were   to   buy       many  
           ‘John said whether we were going to buy many.’

In other words, indirect questions in Spanish can be formed with verbs other than inherently *wh*-selecting verbs like *preguntar* ‘to ask.’ However, with such verbs, *que* is crucially required for the relevant clause to be interpreted as a question.<sup>121</sup> At this juncture, the question arises as to what happens regarding embedded dislocations in indirect questions introduced by non-inherently-*wh*-selecting verbs such as *decir* ‘to say.’ As the previously unacknowledged data in (244) illustrate, in contrast to (240), the second instance of *que* in this context is obligatory.

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<sup>121</sup> A logical objection to raise is that, given that Spanish root clauses may start with an overt quotative marker, as shown in fn. 13, examples like (242) may involve a quotation rather than a true indirect question (cf. *Juan dijo: “que cuántos íbamos a comprar”*). However, these sentences pass the pertinent tests for indirect questions. The following dialog shows that the sentence in (a) displays typical features of indirect discourse, namely tense change (present to past), adverbs (*the following day* instead of *tomorrow*), and pronominals (*le* ‘him’ instead of *te* ‘you’):

- (i) A: ¿Cuántos libros te van a comprar mañana?  
           how-many books cl. go to buy tomorrow  
           ‘How many books are they going to buy you tomorrow?’  
       B: Sorry, C, did you hear what A just said to me? I couldn’t hear!  
       C: Que cuántos libros te van a comprar mañana  
           that how many books cl. go to buy tomorrow  
       D: (reporting some days later)  
           a. A le dijo a B que cuántos libros le iban a comprar al día siguiente  
               A cl. said to B *that* how-many books cl. were to buy the day following  
               ‘A asked B how many books they were going to buy him the following day.’  
           b. #A le dijo a B que cuántos libros te van a comprar mañana  
               A cl. said to B that how many books cl. go to buy tomorrow

- (244) a. \*Juan gritó que a mi madre cuántos le íbamos  
           John shouted that my mother how-many cl. were+going  
           a comprar  
           to buy  
           ‘John asked me (by shouting) how many we were going to buy for  
           my mother.’
- b. Juan gritó que a mi madre **que** cuántos le íbamos a comprar
- c. \*Juan repitió que a mi madre si la van a hospitalizar  
           John repeated that my mother if cl. go to hospitalize  
           ‘John asked again if my mother is going to be hospitalized.’
- d. Juan repitió que a mi madre **que** si la van a hospitalizar

At first glance, it may appear that the obligatory second instance of *que* in (244) is the counterpart of the *que* required for (242) to be interpreted as a question, the difference being that in (244), it appears below a dislocated phrase. I explore this possibility further below. The ungrammatical sentences in (244a,c), without the low instance of *que*, cannot be interpreted either as free relatives or as indirect questions, (244a) being rather marginally possible only if interpreted as an embedded exclamative. This state of affairs contrasts with the cases involving *preguntar* ‘to ask’, where the presence of secondary *que* appears to not be required in this environment (cf. (240)). Hence, in contexts where an indirect question involving dislocation is introduced by a matrix predicate which does not inherently subcategorize for a [+wh] complement, the sequence ... *que* + *wh*- (or ... *que* + *si* ‘if/whether’) is necessary for the relevant clause to be interpreted as a

reported question. I will now offer some speculations as to why the low complementizer is obligatory in (244b,d).

The first possibility is that the compulsory low *que* in (244) is in fact an instance of regular recomplementation/secondary *que* (thus in Topic°, under the analysis proposed in this dissertation), contingent on the appearance of a sandwiched dislocate. If the hypothesis explored in Section 3.3.2 is correct, then secondary-*que* deletion is a last-resort operation triggered only when movement crosses the complementizer. If we make the assumption that in the configuration in (244) CLLD can only be derived by direct merge rather than movement, then the impossibility of deleting secondary *que* in (244) reduces to the lack of movement across secondary *que*. Yet, this account cannot be correct, since as shown in (245a,b), long-distance extraction across the low *que* in the relevant configuration leads to ungrammaticality even if the low *que* is absent (i.e. deleting *que* after a moving element crosses it in the spirit of Rescue by PF deletion does not improve the status of the sentence). I return to the examples in (245) below.

- (245) a. \**En mi prima*, me gritó que su hijo **que** cuándo confiará  
           in my cousin cl. shouted that her son that when trust  
           ‘S/he asked me (by shouting) when my sister’s son will trust her.’
- b. \**En mi prima*, me gritó que su hijo cuándo confiará  
           in my cousin cl. shouted that her son when trust

Another possibility would be to regard the required low *que* in (244b,d) as a different phenomenon altogether. Therefore, instead of an instance of recomplementation *que*, this low complementizer could be a report marker, again homophonous with the other complementizers realized as *que* /ke/. The structure assigned to a sentence such as (244b) under the low-*que*-as-a-report-marker account is provided in (246), which includes a ReportP sandwiched between TopicP and FocusP.

(246) ... [ForceP [For' [TopicP' LD [Top' [ReportP [Rep' *que* [FocusP *wh*- ...]]]]]]]

On this view, the low *que* in (244b,d) is not semantically vacuous, since the embedded report needs to be marked overtly, which would account for why the low *que* in (244b,d) is undeletable in PF.<sup>122,123</sup> The major problem with this analysis is that root sentences involving Etxepare's (2010) quotative *que* (see fn. 13) require both high and low *que* in cases displaying dislocation with a reported question, as (247) shows.

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<sup>122</sup> I am again following Hegarty's proposal according to which whenever a complementizer that is in principle optional must be present, the complementizer has semantic import.

<sup>123</sup> One virtue of this analysis is that the complementizer is regarded as a report marker. Given Uriagereka's (1988) observation that the presence of *que* in examples with *preguntar* 'to ask' can only be associated with the *de dicto* reading (see fn. 118), it is reasonable to analyze *que* as a marker of report.

- (247)    \*(Que)    a    la    fiesta    de    Psicología,    \*(que)    si    vas    a    ir  
                  that    to    the    party    of    Psychology    that    if    go    to    go  
                  ‘Somebody asked whether you are going to attend the Psychology  
                  party.’

In (247), both instances of *que* are compulsory. Under the analysis in (246), we would need to assume two ReportPs (presumably with a TopicP sandwiched in between the two ReportPs) for sentences like (247), since both *ques* would be regarded as quotative markers, as shown in (248).<sup>124</sup> I will leave this possibility open for future research, noting the oddity of having two ReportPs, with TopicP occurring in between.

- (248)    ... [Report1P [Rep1' que [TopicP' LD [Top' [Report2P [Rep2' que [InterrogativeP si ...]]]]]]]

A final possibility would be to make the assumption that the high complementizer and the dislocate are both in the specifier of the low *que* in sentences like (244b,d). Note that the *que* that appears below the dislocate would be the same *que* required for the complement of a non-inherently-*wh*-selecting predicate to be interpreted as a report question in sentences without a dislocate (cf. (242)). In other words, the italicized *que* in (249a) and (249b) is the same item

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<sup>124</sup> An alternative would be to assume that ForceP and ReportP are conflated (i.e. ForceReportP) unless TopicP occurs, in which case they are split (i.e. ForceP > TopicP > ReportP), but the question is why in (247) the high complementizer (presumably in Force<sup>o</sup>) is obligatorily overt, given that this is a root clause.

in both examples, the difference being that the sequence *que en Filadelfia* ‘that in Philadelphia’ is the occupant of the specifier of *que* in (249b). Under this analysis, the italicized *que* in the sentences in (249) is always the head of the complement of the selecting verb. On the traditional assumption that a predicate selects its complement, then it follows that the obligatory *que*, italicized in (249a,b), is directly selected by the verbal head *dijo* ‘said’ in both examples.

- (249) a. Dijo *que* cuántos íbamos a comprar en Filadelfia  
           said that how many were+going to buy in Philly  
           ‘S/he asked how many we were going to buy in Philadelphia.’  
       b. Dijo [que en Filadelfia] *que* cuántos íbamos a comprar  
           said that in Philly that how-many were+g. to buy  
           ‘S/he asked how many we were going to buy in Philadelphia.’

The structure assigned to (249b) would be that in (250).

- (250) ... dijo [<sub>XP</sub> que en Filadelfia [<sub>X'</sub> que [<sub>FocusP</sub> *wh*- ...]]]

The major problem with this account is that the high *que* and *en Filadelfia* do not seem to form a constituent, as suggested by (251), which shows that coordinating [*que* + dislocate] sequences followed by a low complementizer is not possible in Spanish:<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> This type of coordination is also impossible in regular cases of recomplementation in non-interrogative clauses, as shown in (i):



- (251) \*Juan dijo [que en Filadelfia] y [que en Nueva York]  
 John said that in Philadelphia and that in New York
- que cuántos íbamos a comprar  
 that how-many were to buy  
 ‘John asked how many we were going to buy in Philadelphia and in NYC.’

Similarly, it is unclear what the internal structure of the presumed group *que en Filadelfia* in the specifier of *que* would be.

At this point, I will leave the account of the intriguing data in (244) for future research. Whatever the right analysis of sentence likes (244b,d) turns out to be, for our current purposes it is sufficient to keep in mind the empirical observation that the low instance of the complementizer is obligatory in this context.

Now the question is whether a rescue-by-PF-deletion account can salvage an otherwise non-convergent derivation by applying the familiar deletion operation in PF. Starting with embedded questions under *preguntar* ‘to ask,’ deletion of secondary *que* is in principle possible in cases of long-distance extraction, given the optionality of the low *que* (see also (241) for the availability of reconstruction only if the low complementizer is absent):

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- (i) \*Gritó que Juan y que Pedro que son unos fiesteros  
 shouted that John and that Peter that are some party-animals  
 ‘S/he shouted that John and Peter are party animals.’

- (252) a. \**En mi prima*, me pregunto *que* su hijo **que** cuándo confiará  
           in my cousin cl. ask       that her son that when trust  
           ‘I wonder when my cousin’s son will trust her.’
- b. ?*En mi prima*, me pregunto *que* su hijo cuándo confiará  
           in my cousin cl. ask       that her son when trust

This contrast indicates that once the low *que* does not surface, long-distance extraction of the PP *en mi prima* improves, as expected under the analysis pursued here.

Turning now to questions embedded under non-*wh*-selecting predicates like *gritar* ‘shout,’ a different picture emerges:

- (253) a. \**En mi prima*, me gritó *que* su hijo **que** cuándo confiará  
           in my cousin cl. shouted that her son that when trust  
           ‘S/he asked me (by shouting) when my sister’s son will trust her.’
- b. \**En mi prima*, me gritó *que* su hijo cuándo confiará  
           in my cousin cl. shouted that her son when trust

On its path to the matrix left periphery, the embedded PP argument *en mi prima* in (253a) crosses the low instance of *que*. Under the Rescue-by-PF-Deletion analysis pursued in this chapter, *que* receives a \*. Then, the deletion operation responsible for the removal of \*-marked elements in PF applies, yielding a sentence which is still ungrammatical, as shown in (253b), since the offending element *que\** is not semantically vacuous in this context, i.e., its deletion precludes the sentence from being correctly interpreted as a question, unlike in (252b) with *preguntarse*

‘wonder,’ which can only embed a question. This confirms that when the low *que* is mandatory, PF deletion is not available as a way of salvaging the sentence, and the relevant structure inevitably crashes. (Recall that whatever the right analysis of this type of *que* turns out to be, the bottom line is that this instance of *que* is obligatory in this context). In much the same way as the cases above showing the undeletability of “jussive/optative” *que* (cf. (236)) in Spanish and of subjunctive *that* in English (cf. ((238))), the impossibility of deleting the low *que* in reported questions embedded under verbs that do not inherently select for a question is expected under the Repair-by-PF-Deletion analysis adopted here, since PF-removal of the complementizer in this context leads to a violation of Recoverability of Deletion.

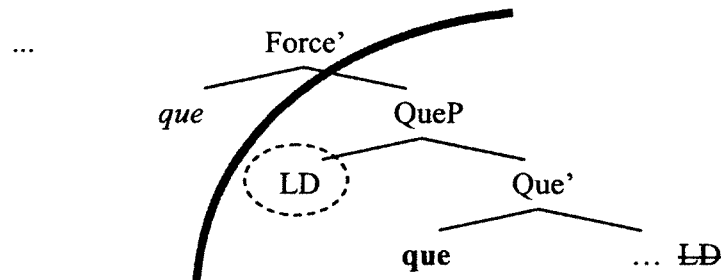
In the last subsection of this chapter, I discuss an alternative account of the locality effect with secondary *que* in Spanish that relies on Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) *phase* theory.

### **3.4. A cursory look an alternative analysis: the *phase*-based account**

I will now briefly explore the advantages and disadvantages of a more conventional account of the locality effect with recomplementation in Spanish brought to light in this dissertation. In particular, I will focus on a potential phase-based account of the phenomenon, inspired by the well-known fact that the verb second (V2) phenomenon induces an island for extraction in a number of

Germanic languages (Vikner 1995, Bobaljik 2005, among many others). Consider the structure in (254).

(254)



Assume that the projection headed by the low complementizer (i.e. *QueP*) is a phase. Assume also that movement of the sandwiched LD (i.e. CLLD) to the edge of the phase is legitimate, contrary to what has been argued up to this point. Then, rather than being base-generated in pre-secondary-*que* position, as argued in the preceding subsections, recomplementation CLLDed constituents would move to the specifier of a projection headed by the phasal head *que*. However, nothing else could move out of *QueP*, since there would be no escape hatch, on the assumption that there are no multiple specifiers (i.e. the specifier position on the edge of the phase would be filled by the CLLD, preventing further extraction).<sup>126</sup> Thus, the

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<sup>126</sup> Notice that if we assumed that the CLLD is tucked in on the edge of the phase by base-generation after movement of another element to Spec,*QueP*, we would be dealing here with the same configuration as the one that arises with extraction out of *vP*, where one specifier, filled by the subject, is base-generated. As is well known, such configurations allow extraction (i.e.

ungrammaticality of examples involving long-distance extraction across secondary *que* (cf. (206a)) would stem from the inability of the long-distance moving constituent to pass through the edge of the QueP, given the uniqueness of specifiers, in violation of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), which posits that all moving elements must pass through the edge of a phase on their way to a higher position. (Note that I am basically treating this in the same way *wh*-islands are standardly treated). This account would also be compatible with the facts reviewed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 regarding the possibility of ellipsis of the complement of recomplementation *que*. Under the phase-based account, this follows on the assumption that ellipsis is phase-constrained: only phases and complements of phasal heads can in principle undergo ellipsis (Bošković 2012). Therefore, the complement domain of a phase head (namely, the complement of secondary *que*) is elided.

However, the phase-based account faces a number of problems. Recall that it is not only accounting for the impossibility of long-distance extraction across secondary *que* that is important, but also accounting for why movement to the specifier position of secondary *que* is not possible either (see Section 2 for empirical arguments to the effect that recomplementation dislocates are directly merged in between *ques*). Thus, whereas the phase-based analysis appears to be able to capture the long-distance extraction cases, it faces a serious problem, since it cannot account for the impossibility of movement of the sandwiched dislocate

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extraction out of *vP* is possible), which would raise a problem for the phase account (see also the discussion below).

to the specifier of QueP; more precisely, it cannot account for the failure of sandwiched dislocates to display reconstruction effects (see Section 2.1), which can be most straightforwardly captured if there is no movement in the first place. In other words, it is not at all clear why there would be an anti-reconstruction effect with secondary *que*, given that reconstruction into phases is allowed (e.g. *Which picture of himself<sub>i</sub> did you say [<sub>CP</sub> that somebody had pointed out [<sub>CP</sub> that Peter<sub>i</sub> had seen t<sub>i</sub>...]]?*). Likewise, this analysis crucially requires assuming uniqueness of specifiers even for phasal heads (i.e. only one specifier would be allowed at the edge of the recomplementation-*que* phase, which would be occupied by the sandwiched dislocate, since long-distance extraction needs to be blocked). Yet, this assumption is problematic in light of the fact that, as shown by Bošković (2008a), phasal heads can have multiple specifiers (e.g. it is standardly assumed that *v*P can have multiple specifiers, given the standard assumption that subjects originate in Spec,*v*P and that any movement out of *v*P requires passing through the edge of the *v*P phase due to the PIC. In fact, multiple movements out of *v*Ps as well as CPs headed by *that* are possible in English; see Bošković 2007, 2008a).<sup>127</sup> In much the same way, the negative constituent facts reviewed in Section 2.2 would also be difficult to explain under this account, since the *n*-phrase would be able to pass through NegP on its way to Spec,QueP, which should preclude *no* ‘not’ insertion, contrary to fact. Further, a question arises as to

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<sup>127</sup> Note that the Germanic V2 islands alluded to above show no second specifier available in those contexts. On the assumption that all phase heads have multiple specifiers, it is unclear that such cases of V2 islands can be accounted for straightforwardly under a phase-based approach (see Bošković 2008a for relevant discussion of additional factors).

how the properties of “jussive/optative” *que* with respect to islandhood and ellipsis could be accounted for.

On the theoretical side, an additional problem with the phase-based account stems from the fact that a medial left-peripheral phrase (headed by recomplementation *que*) would be acting as a phase. Under a contextual approach to phasehood such as Bošković (2012), wherein the highest phrase in the extended projection of a major phrase/particular domain works as a phase, the assumption that secondary *que* is a phasal head is problematic, since we would expect the highest CP-related projection (i.e. ForceP) to work as a phase instead. In other words, it is not at all clear how this crucial assumption, required by this account, could fit in a principled way into a broader theory of phases. Lastly, unlike the analysis pursued in the preceding subsection, the phase-based account of the locality effect with recomplementation would require assuming a different syntax for sentences with and without secondary *que* (the latter option not involving a phase).

Pending new theoretical advances and the discovery of new evidence that would bear on this issue, I conclude that the phase-based analysis cannot straightforwardly account for the locality effect with non-primary *que* in Spanish.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Needless to say, the notorious English Comp-t effect is not straightforwardly amenable to a phase-based account either.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have investigated the locality of low complementizers, with special attention to recomplementation/secondary *que*.

An important finding of this chapter is that dislocates in recomplementation environments are merged in pre-secondary-*que* position in the clause where they are interpreted. The relevant dislocates can be hanging topics or instances of CLLD, but in both cases they must be base-generated in between complementizers. This is motivated by the inability of recomplementation CLLDed phrases to display reconstruction effects and the distribution of *no* ‘not’ with negative dislocates. Yet, I have shown that in-between-*ques* CLLDed phrases cannot be merged in just any clause; crucially, they must abide by a clausematehood requirement (i.e. they must be base-generated in pre-secondary-*que* position in the clause where they receive their interpretation), which has led me to conclude that long-distance recomplementation is not possible with dislocates other than hanging topics. That recomplementation CLLDed phrases can bear structural case has in turn been shown to provide support for Bošković’s (2007) Agree system, which reverses the structural relationship between nominals and case assigners, since the relevant nominals can check case from their base-generated position in the left periphery, as they are higher than their case-checker.

An ancillary consequence of the picture emerging from the discussion in the preceding sections is that this chapter contributes to the much debated status of dislocations in Spanish and, in general, in Romance languages. As has been



seen, the analysis of CLLD without secondary *que* is one of the hotly debated topics in Romance syntax, the major question being whether such dislocates are derived by merge or move. In this chapter, I have provided a number of arguments suggesting that such dislocates move, in accordance with López's (2009a) claims (see also Kempchinsky, to appear, among others), but also arguments that such dislocates may in principle be base-generated in their surface position, with independent factors affecting CLLDed phrases that are followed by *que* and those that are not in a different way.

Returning to double-complementizer constructions in Spanish, an important question arose as to whether sandwiched CLLD constituents can ever move to pre-secondary *que* position, which led me to the discussion in the second part of the chapter: dislocates in recomplementation configurations must be base-generated in the left periphery; they cannot move to pre-secondary-*que* position because of locality of movement. In this respect, I have presented empirical evidence that movement across secondary *que* (be it movement to the specifier of secondary *que* or long-distance extraction across double-*que* constructions) induces a locality-of-movement effect (i.e. any movement operation crossing secondary *que* leads to non-convergent derivations, the problem being crossing secondary *que* itself, not the phrase projected by secondary *que*). Thus, secondary *que* has been argued to be critically involved in the locality violation, since in the absence of the offending complementizer, the locality problem disappears.

This led me to draw a parallelism between the well-known English *that-t* phenomenon and the Spanish secondary-*que-t* effect brought to light in this dissertation. I then outlined an analysis based on the rescue-by-PF deletion account of the amelioration of island violations under ellipsis proposed in recent research, which allows for a unification of a number of previously unrelated facts. Consequently, drawing on the work of Bošković (2011), I have offered a principled account of the difference between ungrammatical sentences exhibiting movement across secondary *que* and their grammatical counterparts without secondary *que*. The Rescue-by-PF-Deletion analysis has the advantage that sentences involving dislocations with and without secondary *que* are treated in the same way syntactically. A number of additional predictions derived from this account have been shown to be borne out by the empirical evidence, which corroborates the correctness of the overall analysis pursued here. The fact that the *that-t* phenomenon and the secondary-*que* locality effect in Spanish can be accounted for under a repair-by-PF-deletion system lends further credence to the proposal in question, inasmuch as they add to the repertoire of superficially unrelated phenomena now uniformly captured under the rescue-by-PF-deletion analysis (see Bošković 2011). I have also investigated the process through which recomplementation *que* is deleted in PF. Accordingly, I have entertained the hypothesis that secondary-*que*-deletion may be a last-resort operation effected only when movement crosses it. I have also explored certain contexts where deletion of the non-primary complementizer is impossible for semantic reasons

and furnished some new data related to reported interrogatives that bear on this issue. Finally, I have discussed a potential alternative account of the novel locality facts, namely the *phase*-based analysis, and shown that this account is not satisfactory on both empirical and theoretical grounds.

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