

# On Null Complementizers in Spanish<sup>1</sup>

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## 0. Introduction\*

In the present paper I propose that a given class of predicates, that I call, with Cartell (1978), *Stance Predicates*, selects an additional feature of assertion in their finite dependents, and that this additional feature is realized as a null complementizer, standardly assumed in sentences such as (1b) below (Torrego 1983). This null complementizer is involved in checking features of point of view, in the sense of Uriagereka (1995a, b), and plays a crucial role in the deictic evaluation of the embedded proposition. The purpose of the paper, besides examining in detail the syntax of null complementizers in indicative dependents, is that of providing a first step in the syntactic formalization of a subclass of deictic relations: those holding of the ascription of propositional attitudes.

Section 1 presents the basic facts concerning the syntax of null complementizers in indicative dependents and compares them to subjunctive ones. Section 2 discusses the substantive nature of the null complementizer, both from the point of view of selection and from the point of view of its checking relations. Section 3 discusses the formal properties of the null complementizer: its position in the clause structure and its morphological properties. Section 4 examines the function of the null complementizer in the syntax of extraction, as well as a class of relative clauses typical of colloquial speech, adopting Chomsky's Copy and Merge theory of movement as developed by Nunes (1995). Section 5 examines matrix clauses headed by overt complementizers in Spanish, and shows how the presence of a null complementizer, and the syntax associated to it, account for some otherwise striking restrictions when these clauses take a finite dependent.

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- (2) a. Qué paquetes afirma Correos enviaron sus empleados?  
 what parcels claims the PS sent its employees  
 "What parcels claims the Postal Service its employees sent?"  
 b. ??Qué paquetes afirma Correos sus empleados enviaron?  
 What parcels claims the PS its employees sent  
 "What parcels claims the Postal Service its employees sent?"
- (3) a. TODO EL VINO DE LA BODEGA afirma Juan bebieron sus amigos  
 all the wine of the cellar claims Juan drank his friends  
 "Juan claims that his friends drank ALL THE WINE IN THE CELLARS"  
 b. ??TODO EL VINO DE LA BODEGA afirma Juan sus amigos bebieron  
 all the wine of the cellar affirm Juan his friends drank  
 "Juan claims that his friends drank ALL THE WINE IN THE CELLARS"

### 1.2. A Paradox

However, if we look at the full movement paradigm, we find the following intriguing pattern: whereas extraction from the embedded sentence to the matrix is possible and triggers inversion in the embedded sentence, suggesting that the movement is successive cyclic, syntactic movement into the embedded Null Comp seems to be independently forbidden:

- (4) \*Juan asegura TODO EL VINO DE LA BODEGA bebieron sus amigos  
 Juan asserts all the wine of the cellar drank his friends  
 "Juan asserts his friends drank ALL THE WINE IN THE CELLAR"

At the level of mere description, we must conclude that the null complementizer is only compatible with a trace in its Spec.

- (i) [<sub>S1</sub> [ ] [<sub>S</sub>...supones...[<sub>S2</sub> [ ] [<sub>S</sub> ... t ...]]]]  
 (ii) [<sub>S3</sub> [ ] [<sub>S</sub> ...supones...[<sub>S2</sub> [ ] [<sub>S</sub> ...[<sub>S1</sub> [ ] [<sub>S</sub> ...t...]]]]]]]]

Whereas in (i'), a wh-element can directly move to the matrix S without violating subadjacency, in (ii') the wh-element must necessarily stop at S'2, to avoid a subadjacency violation. It is precisely in that position that, according to Torrego, a null complementizer is impossible (cf. (ii)). I have nothing to object to Torrego's arguments except that I don't agree with the facts. For me (ii), and other sentences of that format that she presents as evidence, are just fine. On the other hand, it is not clear how Torrego's conclusion would fit the obligatory inversion in (11), if this sort of inversion necessarily accompanies movement (Torrego 1984). Clearly, Torrego's intuitions must be accounted for in an alternative analysis that for the moment I am unable to provide. Differences in judgement also extend to cases such as (iii) that Uriagereka (1996) and Kempchinsky (1997) give as good:

- (iii) Dijo [ Ø [ (a su confesor) le había de contar tales cosas]]

I find (iii) degraded in comparison to (iv) for instance:

- (iv) Las cosas que dijo le había de contar a su confesor

In any case, (iii) is considerably better than (v), where the embedded clause has a non-modal verb:

- (v) \*Dijo (a su confesor) le contó tales cosas

### 1.3. Factive and Subjunctive Dependents

The null complementizer that we see in indicatives must be kept separate from the null complementizer we see in subjunctives<sup>3,4</sup> and complements of some factive verbs. In those cases movement is not necessary to have a null complementizer:<sup>5</sup>

- (5) a. Te pido [ Ø [ me dejes marchar]]  
 you ask-I me let go  
 "I ask you to let me go"
- b. Recuerdo [Ø [ bebimos un vino excelente]]  
 I-Remember we-drank a wine excellent  
 "I remember we drank an excellent wine"

(3) Many languages have morphologically different complementizers in indicative and subjunctive dependents (see Lasnik & Saito 1984; Terzi 1992; Kempchinsky 1997; and references therein), which impose different bounding conditions on movement, an issue relevant to this paper but that I will contemplate in future research.

(4) There is a further difference between the subjunctive null complementizer and the indicative one, first noted by Bello (1847), concerning the availability of so-called "Expletive Negation" (Vendryes 1950; Bosque 1980; Muller 1983; Espinal 1992). Expletive Negation is a Neg syntactic constituent which appears in certain syntactic environments, but makes no effective contribution to the interpretation of the sentence containing it. This negation is marginally possible in Spanish in dependents of some verbs denoting fear or a negative attitude towards the embedded sentence (always in subjunctive):

- (i) a. Temíamos no fueran a llegar tarde      b. Dudamos no sea demasiado tarde  
 be afraid we neg would to arrive late      doubt we neg be too late  
 "We were afraid they could be late"      "We fear it could be too late"

In both (ia) and (b), the semantic argument of the matrix predicate is a positive proposition: (ia) expressing the eventuality that they could arrive late, and (ib) expressing the fear that it may be too late. Interestingly, such a reading is only possible if there is no overt complementizer:

- (ii) a. Temíamos que no fueran a llegar tarde      b. Dudamos de que no fuera demasiado tarde  
 be afraid we that neg be to arrive late      doubt we that neg be too late  
 "We were afraid they would not be late"      "We feared that it would not be too late"

The semantic arguments of the matrix predicates in (ii) are all negative propositions: That they may not arrive in time in (iia) and that it might not be too late in (iib). The relevant variable here is the presence of a canonical, overt complementizer. In this regard we must note that the null indicative complementizer behaves as the overt one in blocking the expletive readings. Compare (iia), with a subjunctive dependent, and (iib), with an indicative one:

- (iii) a. Los paquetes que nos tememos no lleguen a la hora  
 the parcels that we be afraid neg arrive-subj in time  
 "The parcels that we are afraid would not arrive in time"
- b. Los paquetes que nos tememos no llegaran a la hora  
 the parcels that we be afraid neg arrive in time  
 "The parcels we are afraid will not arrive in time"

Whereas (iia) can have an expletive reading, the non-expletive one is the only reading available to (iib) with an indicative null complementizer. Assuming some sort of reanalysis operation with the matrix verb in the expletive negation reading, the facts seem to show that the subjunctive null complementizer, unlike the indicative one, is below the expletive negation and does not block reanalysis. This is consistent with the rest of the facts in this section concerning subjunctive null complementizers.

(5) This conclusion depends very much on the status of subjunctive mood, particularly on the issue whether subjunctive mood is a syntactic operator (Kempchinsky 1986). See recently Quer (1997) for arguments against this view.

And then, the presence of a null Comp in subjunctives and factive complements, as opposed to the one in indicatives, is blocked by the presence of an overt subject preceding the inflectional complex. This adjacency effect suggests that the subjunctive/factive null comp is an affix (Moll 1995; Uriagereka 1996), which in turn implies that subjects c-command the subjunctive/factive null Comp (Uriagereka 1996):

- (6) a. Deseo mañana se encuentren mejor  
I-wish tomorrow you-feel better  
“I wish that tomorrow you feel better”  
b. \*Deseo ustedes se encuentren mejor  
I-wish you you-feel better  
“I wish you feel better”
- (7) a. ?Recuerdo entonces bebimos un vino excelente  
Remember I then drank we a wine excellent  
“I remember we then drank an excellent wine”  
b. \*Recuerdo los amigos bebimos un vino excelente  
Remember I the friends we-drank a wine excellent  
“\*I remember the friends we drank an excellent wine”

Importantly, the effect surfaces also in cases of movement:

- (8) a. ??[Los paquetes]<sub>i</sub> que queremos [ nuestras amistades reciban e<sub>i</sub> ]  
the parcels that want we our friends receive  
“The parcels that we want our friends to receive”  
b. [Los paquetes]<sub>i</sub> que queremos [ reciban nuestras amistades e<sub>i</sub> ]  
the parcels that want we receive our friends  
“The parcels that we want our friends to receive”
- (9) a. ??[El vino]<sub>i</sub> que recuerdo [ los amigos bebimos e<sub>i</sub> ]  
the wine that remember I the friends drank we  
“The wine that I remember we friends drank”  
b. [El vino]<sub>i</sub> que recuerdo [ bebimos los amigos e<sub>i</sub> ]  
the wine that remember I drank we the friends  
“The wine that I remember we friends drank”

## 2. The Substantive Nature of the Null Complementizer

### 2.1. Selection

Not all verbs taking indicative dependents can select a clause with a null complementizer, as the contrast in (10) shows:

- (10) a. El vino que Pedro asegura tú le bebiste  
the wine that Pedro asserts you him drank  
“The wine that Pedro asserts you drank on him”  
b. \*El vino que Pedro mencionó tú le bebiste  
the wine that Pedro mention you him drank  
“The wine that Pedro mentioned that you drank on him”

The different behavior of the verbs in (10a,b) corresponds to a semantic difference that, according to Cattell (1978), separates propositional attitude verbs into two main groups: *Stance* and *Non-stance* verbs. Cattell bases his distinction between stance verbs and non stance verbs on their different pragmatic orientation towards the common ground established by speaker and hearer in a communicative situation. Consider the difference in this regard between (11a) and (b):

- (11) a. Richard claimed that the road went through Windsor  
 b. Richard commented that the road went through Windsor

A felicitous utterance of (11a) presupposes that “what is in the *that*-clause is NOT part of the common ground of assumed knowledge between Richard and his hearers”. In order for (11a) to make sense, we must imagine a situation in which Richard either knew that someone in his audience had a different opinion, or was uncertain whether this was so. (11b) is different: uttering (11b) would be felicitous even if the embedded proposition were part of the common ground. To the contrary, the very reason for putting forward the proposition denoted by the finite dependent in (11a) is “to present it as a candidate for incorporation into the body of accepted belief”. The person who says *I claim such-and-such* “implies that such-and-such is the truth, and therefore ought to be commonly accepted”. Cattell calls these predicates “stance verbs”, because “they commit the subject (who always either is, or has been, the speaker of the proposition in the *that*-clause) to some deictic stance on the truth of the complement.”

Assuming Cattell's distinction, I will define stance predicates as follows:

- (12) *Stance Predicates* are those predicates which imply the existence of a claim to truth (that is, an assertion) in their finite dependents.

(13) is an illustrative sample of stance and non-stance predicates.

(13) SPredicates	Non-SPredicates
Say	Mention/Comment/Point Out
Claim	Omit (that...)
Think	Speculate (that...)
Believe	Interpret/Understand (that...)

The distinction between the two groups is clear: someone who says, claims, thinks or believes something, finds himself in the position of holding that what he says, claims, thinks or believes is true. Someone who mentions, comments, omits, speculates about, or interprets something does not find himself in the position of holding that what he omits, speculates, etc. is true. Null complementizers with indicative dependents are only licensed by Cattell's stance predicates:

- (14) a. Los paquetes que Correos afirma/asegura/piensa/ cree/ dice  
 the parcels that Post affirms asserts thinks believes says  
 sus empleados enviaron el martes  
 its employees sent on tuesday  
 “The parcels that the Postal Service claims/asserts/thinks/believes/says  
 its employees sent on tuesday”

- b. \*Los paquetes que Correos contó/mencionó/interpretó/omitió  
 the parcels that the PS told/mentioned/interpreted/omitted  
 sus empleados enviaron el martes  
 its employees sent on tuesday  
 "The parcels that the Postal Service told/mentioned/interpreted/omit-  
 ted its employees sent on tuesday"

From here, there is a short step to conclude that the functional projection that licenses movement of a syntactic operator in (1b) and is selected by a designated class of predicates actually substantiates in the clausal structure of the sentence the notion of "claim to truth" or (equivalently) assertion, as defined in (12). Henceforth, I will take the null Comp to denote assertoric force.

## 2.2. Null Complementizers and Point of View

Consider (15):

(15) John believes that Peter is taller than he is

(15) can be read in two ways (Reinhart 1982; Jackendoff 1983: 212-239): we can either ascribe to John the illogical belief that Peter is taller than himself, in which case the embedded sentence is fully presented under the point of view of *John*, or we can ascribe one of the definite descriptions in the proposition denoted by the embedded sentence to the speaker, the result being that John's belief consists of an overestimation of Peter's height, that the speaker knows is actually smaller. This reading could be paraphrased by (16):

(16) John believes of Peter that he is taller than he really is

Interestingly, if we put (15) in Spanish, the presence/absence of a phonologically realized complementizer has an effect in the ascription possibilities:

- (17) a. #Hay un tipo que Juan afirma [ Ø [ es más alto de lo que realmente es]]  
 there is a guy that Juan claims is more tall than really he-is  
 "There is a guy that Juan claims is taller than he really is"  
 b. Hay un tipo que Juan afirma que es más alto de lo que es  
 there is a guy that Juan affirms that is more tall than he-is  
 "There is a guy that Juan claims is taller than he is"

Whereas in (17a) the only possible reading is one where Juan holds a contradictory belief, (17b) allows a reading of the sort of (16), with the subject definite description being presented from the point of view of the speaker.

From a purely syntactic perspective, Uriagereka postulates the existence of a functional projection over IP (that he calls F) which involves notions related to deixis. For Uriagereka, F is intended to host all those elements which in order to be interpreted,

require a “responsible judge” (1994) or an anchoring point of view (1995b).<sup>6</sup> To see what is meant by this, consider (18), from Uriagereka (1995b), with focus in capitals:

(18) John thinks that Mary likes NOTHING WHATSOEVER

The extra illocutionary force added to the object of the embedded sentence may be related to either the speaker of the sentence (that is, I) or the subject, *John*. That is, I may be reporting a belief that John has, namely that Mary likes nothing whatsoever, or I may attribute to John an array of beliefs: “Mary doesn’t like peanuts”; “she doesn’t like candy”; or that she doesn’t even like cookies or ice-cream. Then I am entitled to conclude that John believes that Mary doesn’t like anything whatsoever. As Uriagereka points out, “John never had that belief, but had enough beliefs for me to conclude what I did.” The first interpretation corresponds to the embedded proposition as corresponding to the point of view of the subject *John*. The second one as corresponding to the point of view of the speaker. Uriagereka proposes to capture these shifts in point of view through a syntactic device. (19) presents an illustrative case.

(19) a. John thinks that NOTHING does Mary like  
 b. NOTHING does John think that Mary likes

In the first of these sentences it is John who is responsible for the emphasis. In the second one, it is the speaker. This time each of the sentences corresponds to one single point of view. Unlike in (18) though, in (19) the focused constituent has moved in the syntax. Uriagereka’s conclusion is that the focused constituent is moved to a syntactic projection that encodes point of view in the above sense, and that syntactic movement fixes the interpretation of the moved element, relative to *John* in (19a), and relative to the speaker in (19b). We have seen that the null complementizer in Spanish hosts all sorts of syntactic operators, all of them point of view dependent, and that the presence of a null complementizer has a clear effect in the anchoring of a definite description relative to an individual. Let us assume that Uriagereka’s F is actually instantiated as the null complementizer in Spanish. This null complementizer, that I will henceforth call F, expresses assertoric force and is involved in checking features related to point of view, in Uriagereka’s sense. This allows us to give a comprehensive analysis of the phenomena in (19) and (17). In (17a), the null complementizer forces a reading where the subject definite description is presented from the point of view of the matrix subject. Following Uriagereka’s intuition, I will claim that this definite description checks point of view features in the null Comp. In that position, it is c-commanded by the matrix subject, and therefore interpreted as pertaining to the subject’s mental model. Observe that the presence of a “point of view”-dependent element of the sort that occupy the Spec of F fixes the interpretation of the embedded clause as being related to the subject’s mental model. Compare in this regard (20) and (21). In (20), the definite description can be attributed to the spea-

(6) For Uriagereka, point of view dependent elements comprehend not only focus and focus particles such as *even* or *only*, but also non contrastive topics, overt expletives, double-comp structures of the sort discussed by Plann (1982), and special clitics (Uriagereka 1995b).



ker's point of view. In (21), on the other hand, it is necessarily presented from the point of view of the matrix subject:

- (20) Juan dice que Pedro es mas alto de lo que es  
 "Juan says of Pedro that he is taller than he is"
- (21) a. #Juan dice que [<sub>FP</sub> sinceramente F<sup>0</sup> [<sub>IP</sub> Pedro es mas alto de lo que es]]  
 "#Juan says that sincerely, Pedro is taller than he is"  
 b. #Juan dice que [<sub>FP</sub> PEDRO<sub>i</sub> F<sup>0</sup> [<sub>IP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> es mas alto de lo que es]]  
 "#Juan says that PEDRO is taller than he is"  
 c. #Juan dice que [<sub>FP</sub> en cuanto a Pedro F<sup>0</sup> [<sub>IP</sub> pro<sub>i</sub> es mas alto de lo que es]]  
 "#Juan says that as for Pedro, he is taller than he is"

This means that for the cases where the scoped out interpretation of the subject is possible, as in (17b), F must be absent. That is, that Stance predicates can optionally select for a complement that includes an assertion feature.

### 3. The Formal Nature of F

#### 3.1. Position in the Clause Structure

The null complementizer, because of its A-bar properties, must be placed above IP. From the fact that it can occur with an overt complementizer, in which case the null complementizer follows the overt one (22), we must conclude that it occurs below the overt complementizer:

- (22) a. Juan asegura que TODO EL VINO DE LA BODEGA bebieron sus amigos  
 Juan asserts that all the wine of the cellar drank his friends  
 "Juan asserts that his friends drank ALL THE WINE IN THE CELLAR"

Other hypotheses regarding the structure of the clause argue in favor of a functional projection above the IP level and below C<sup>0</sup>. One of them, Laka's Sigma Phrase (1990), is particularly relevant to this paper, since it is claimed to host focus phrases. Laka (1990) convincingly argues that a functional projection above IP (Sigma Phrase) hosts negation and emphatic affirmation:

- (23) [<sub>SP</sub> No/sí [<sub>IP</sub> pro han venido los clientes] ]  
 No yes have come the customers  
 "The customers did/didn't come"

For Laka, Sigma Phrase is also the locus of preverbal focus in Spanish:

- (24) SIN COBRAR UN DURO he trabajado esta semana  
 without receiving a penny have I worked this week  
 "I work this week WITHOUT RECEIVING A SINGLE PENNY"

And preverbal focus and emphatic affirmation cannot occur together, in the same way negative polarity items and negation cannot:

- (25) a. \*SIN COBRAR UN DURO sí he trabajado esta semana  
 without receiving a penny yes have I worked this week  
 “\*I did work this whole week WITHOUT RECEIVING A SINGLE PENNY”  
 b. \*Nadie no ha venido (with the single negation reading)  
 nobody neg has come  
 “Nobody came”

Assuming that focus operators also target the null complementizer in Spanish a reasonable hypothesis would claim this null complementizer to be Sigma. Observe, however, that the overt presence of Sigma is indifferent to the presence/absence of a null complementizer: overt negation does not save a sentence without an overt complementizer (26a), but as soon as we move something to the matrix clause, the overt complementizer can again be absent (26b):

- (26) a. \*Correos afirma no envió los paquetes a tiempo  
 Post claims neg sent the parcels in time  
 “The Postal Service claims it did not send the parcels in time”  
 b. Los paquetes que Correos afirma no envió a tiempo  
 the parcels that the PS claims neg sent in time  
 “The parcels that the Postal Service claims it did not send in time”

On the other hand, the selection facts that correlate with the absence of an overt complementizer do not establish a distinction with regard to typical material in Sigma, be it negation or emphatic affirmation:

- (27) a. Comentó/mencionó que no/sí había venido  
 commented mentioned that neg/yes had come  
 “He commented/mentioned that he had/not come”  
 b. \*El tipo que Pedro comentó/mencionó (sí/no) había venido  
 the guy that Pedro commented/mentioned yes/neg had come  
 “The guy that commented/mentioned that he had/not come”

A further fact comes in support of the idea that the locus of preverbal focus is not Sigma. The complementary distribution of preverbal NPIs and overt negation in preverbal position breaks down when the NPI is unequivocally focused:

- (28) a. ?? ABSOLUTAMENTE NADA hemos comprado  
 absolutely nothing we-have bought  
 “We bought ABSOLUTELY NOTHING”  
 b. ABSOLUTAMENTE NADA no hemos comprado  
 absolutely nothing neg we-have bought  
 “We bought absolutely nothing”  
 (29) a. ?? ABSOLUTAMENTE NADIE ha comprado eso  
 absolutely nobody has bought that  
 “Absolutely nobody bought that”

- b. ABSOLUTAMENTE NADIE no ha comprado eso  
 absolutely nobody neg has bought  
 "Absolutely nobody bought that"

Assuming, with Laka (1990) that the absence of overt negation is a reflex of agreement with a NPI in the Spec of the negation phrase, (28-29) show that the focus raises to a position beyond Sigma. The clause structure of a dependent with Null Comp (that I represent as F) must therefore be as in (30):

- (30) ... $[_{FP} t' [_F \emptyset [_{SP} S^0 [_{IP} \dots t \dots ]]]]$

### 3.2. Affixal Properties of F

#### 3.2.1. Blocking

As I noted in section 1.1., although syntactic operators must be moved through the null complementizer in their way to the matrix Comp (31a), they cannot stop in it (31b):

- (31) a. TODO EL VINO DE LA BODEGA asegura Juan bebieron sus amigos  
 all the wine of the cellar asserts Juan drank his friends  
 "Juan asserts that his friends drank ALL THE WINE IN THE CELLAR"  
 b. \*Juan asegura TODO EL VINO DE LA BODEGA bebieron sus amigos  
 Juan asserts all the wine of the cellar drank his friends  
 "Juan asserts that his friends drank ALL THE WINE IN THE CELLAR"

Observe that having an embedded displaced focus is not problematic in principle:

- (32) Los paquetes que Correos asegura que A MUCHA GENTE le llegaron  
 the parcels that Post asserts that to many people arrive  
 rotos  
 broken  
 "The parcels that the Post Service asserts they arrived broken to many people"

From the contrast between (31a) and (31b) we concluded that the null complementizer could only cooccur with a trace in its Spec.

Other elements besides focus (all of them point of view dependent) are also incompatible with the null complementizer, with or without additional movement: inverted predicates (33a), *As for*-topics (33b), pragmatic adverbs (33c) (Bellert 1977; Ross 1970; Sadock 1974), and focus sensitive adverbs such as *incluso* "even" (33d):

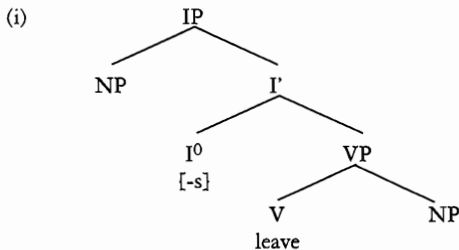
- (33) a. (Los cuadros que) Pedro asegura \*(que) de esa autora eran los  
 the paintings that Pedro asserts that of this author were the  
 mejores  
 best  
 "(The paintings that) Pedro asserts that of this author, they were the best"

- b. (Los cuadros que) Pedro asegura \*(que) en cuanto a su costo,  
 the paintings that Pedro asserts that as for their price  
 habrá que hablar  
 will have to talk  
 “(The paintings that) Pedro asserts that as for their price, they will  
 have to talk”
- c. (Los cuadros que) Pedro asegura \*(que) francamente, no valen gran  
 the paintings that Pedro asserts that frankly neg worth big  
 cosa  
 thing  
 “(The paintings that) Pedro asserts that frankly, they are not good”
- d. (Los cuadros que) Pedro asegura \*(que) incluso con rebaja son caros  
 the paintings that Pedro asserts that even with sale are expensive  
 “(The paintings that) Pedro asserts that even in sale are expensive”

The facts seem to point towards two opposing conclusions: on the one hand, point of view dependent elements are shown to target an embedded A-bar position, corresponding to the null complementizer, in their way to a matrix peripheral position. On the other hand, those same elements seem to be barred from such intermediate position if this is chosen as the ultimate target of movement. I want to suggest that there is a straightforward way of accounting for these surprising facts, namely the affix-like nature of the null Comp.

Pesetsky (1995) has recently argued that null complementizers are affixes, an hypothesis supported by Ormazabal (1995) from a comparative perspective. Affixation processes, on the other hand, are known to work under adjacency between the heads involved in the affixation relation (Marantz 1989; Halle & Marantz 1993; Bonet 1991; and from a different perspective, Lasnik 1994). Bobaljik (1994) applies this insight to a number of cross-linguistic phenomena, showing how intervening specifiers block affixation in a number of languages, forcing for instance *do*-support in English, and accounting for other restrictions in Object Shift in Scandinavian languages or word order in Irish.<sup>7</sup> The approach I suggest to the cooccurrence restrictions involving the null complementizer in Spanish is basically the

(7) Consider, for the sake of illustration, *do*-support in English. Bobaljik follows Halle & Marantz (1993) in taking English finite verbal forms such as *leaves* to be a result of *Merge*: a morphological process that takes two heads in an adjacency relation (in this case *leave* and the inflection morpheme *-s*) and spells them out as a single word *leaves*. As in (i):



same. The null complementizer is an affix that must hop onto the selecting verb. But then, morphologically realized intermediate elements block affixation:

- (34) \* $[_{IP}$  Pedro asegura  $[_{FP}$  TODO EL VINO  $\{ \emptyset_{\text{affix}} [_{IP}$  se bebieron]]  
 Pedro asserts all the wine they-drank  
 "Pedro asserts that they drank ALL THE WINE"

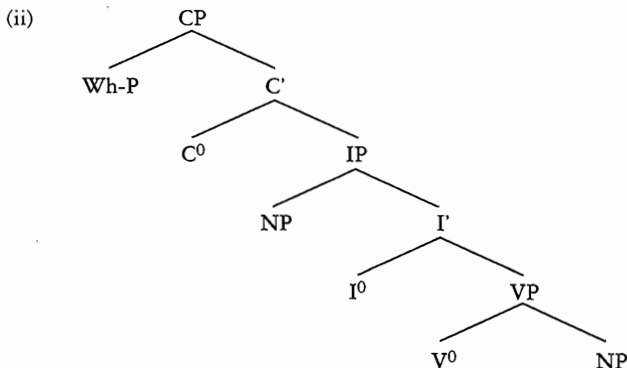
Since the affix cannot hop onto its designated host, the derivation crashes at PF. The same account extends to all cases in (29), with the additional assumption that pragmatic adverbs also occupy the specifier position of FP, and that they equally block affixation.<sup>8</sup>

The affixation hypothesis also extends to the following cases, following Stowell's classical discussion (1981):

- (35) a. \* $[_{CP}$  Lo que Pedro asegura] es  $[_{FP}$   $\emptyset$   $[_{IP}$  Juan está dormido]]  
 what Pedro asserts is Juan is asleep  
 b. \* $[_{FP}$   $\emptyset$   $[_{IP}$  Juan está dormido]]<sub>i</sub> lo<sub>i</sub> dice Juan  
 Juan is asleep cl says Juan

We have still an unsolved case, one which shows no apparent blocking but that nevertheless is ungrammatical: our (1a), repeated below:

Adjacency between the verb and the inflection is broken by an intervening negation, in which case a dummy verb (*do*) is inserted in I<sup>0</sup> to save the morphological requirements of the affix. *Do*-support is also required in Object questions, where I<sup>0</sup> raises to C<sup>0</sup>:



If we assume that the syntax forces the wh-phrase to raise to Spec CP and I<sup>0</sup> to adjoin to C<sup>0</sup>, then the overt subject intervenes between I<sup>0</sup> and the lexical verb, which again forces the presence of *do*-support.

(8) Adverbs would not seem to block cliticization in English, for unclear reasons (Bobaljik 1994):

- (i) Sam definitely likes horseradish

However, Bobaljik's conclusion on (i) is based on the assumption that the position of the subject in English is necessarily IP-internal. If with Branigan (1992), we allow the possibility that subjects in English target a projection above IP, then the adverb could actually be adjoined to IP, exerting no blocking.

- (1) a. \*Juan dice Correos envió los paquetes  
       Juan says the PS sent the parcels  
       "Juan says the Postal Service sent the parcels"

The previous account can be straightforwardly extended to these cases if we make the standard assumption that (optional) inversion structures contain an expletive *pro* in their subject position (Burzio 1986; Rizzi 1986; Barbosa 1995), and that this expletive must raise to the Spec of FP. That overt expletives in languages with an active F in their clause structure must raise to that Comp position is shown by other Romance languages (and also Germanic ones, Vikner 1991) like Galician (Uriagereka 1988) or Archaic Spanish (Uriagereka 1995a), as in (36):<sup>9</sup>

- (36) Ello que yo lo vi  
       it that I it saw  
       "It that I saw it"

Obviously, that only accounts for those cases where F is present. Alternatively, (1a) may instantiate a structure that lacks a complementizer:

- (37) Dice [<sub>IP</sub> viene Juan]

If Ormazabal is right in his proposal that expressions denoting propositions always have a complementizer, then (37) is semantically ill-formed, because the verb *decir* ("say") selects complements of a propositional type, and such complements must have a complementizer.

### 3.2.2. Coordination

A last argument in support of the affix hypothesis is provided by coordination. Consider the contrast in (38):

- (38) a. La gente que Pedro asegura que vió y que no vió vendrá a la fiesta  
       the people that Pedro asserts that saw and that neg saw come to the party  
       "The people that Pedro asserts that he saw and that he did not see will all come to the party"
- b. La gente que Pedro asegura vió y no vió vendrá a la fiesta  
       the people that Pedro asserts saw and neg saw come to the party  
       "The people that Pedro asserts he saw and did not see will come to the party"

(9) The present account of why null complementizers preceded by any overt constituent are bad is, in principle, at odds with Uriagereka's analysis of the position of the clitics in Spanish. The reason is that for him, the finite verb plus the clitic end up being adjoined to F, thereby rescuing the affix. In my analysis, the finite verb does not raise to F in embedded contexts. This has been independently proposed for contexts of inversion by Uribe-Etxebarria (1992), who claims that in embedded sentences the verb (plus the clitic, if there is one) only raises to I<sup>0</sup>. See also Suñer (1994).

Whereas (38a) may have the reading of “the people that John saw and the people that John didn’t see will all come to the party”, sentence (38b) cannot have that meaning and is decidedly odd. (38b) means something like “there is people such that John both saw and didn’t see them, and those will come to the party”. Interestingly, the meaning of (38b), which apparently conjoins two CPs headed by a null complementizer each, is similar to IP conjunction if we take sentences with overt complementizers:

- (39) La gente que Pedro asegura que vió y no vió en la calle  
 vendrá a la fiesta  
 the people that Pedro asserts that saw and neg saw in the street  
 come to the party  
 “The people that Pedro asserts that he saw and did not see in the street  
 will come to the party”

(39) can only mean what (38b) means. Suppose that this identity of meaning follows from a structural identity in the terms of conjunction. That is, in (38b) conjunction can only involve IPs. Then, the affix hypothesis of null complementizers provides a ready explanation for why this should be so: if we embed the affix in an island such as the coordinate construction (Ross 1968) the structural adjacency relation between the affix and the host will be broken, and affixation blocked (even more so if coordinate structures are asymmetric as advocated by Munn 1993, and Kayne 1994). Therefore conjunction can only be at the IP level in sentences with a null complementizer.

### 3.2.3. *Cliticization versus Affixation*

Our analysis of the ungrammaticality of (1a), (3b) or (28) raises a problem. Consider again (3), repeated below:

- (3) Juan asegura \*(que) TODO EL VINO DE LA BODEGA bebieron sus amigos  
 Juan asserts that all the wine of the cellar drank his friends  
 “Juan asserts that his friends drank ALL THE WINE IN THE CELLAR”

The reason why the sentence is bad without the presence of an overt complementizer has to do, we argued, with the blocking effect of the focus constituent in the Spec of FP regarding the affixation of F to the matrix verb. But now the grammaticality of the sentence with an overt complementizer becomes a problem: if the focus sits in the Spec of FP why is now the sentence good? Doesn’t the focus block affixation?

- (40) ...[<sub>CP</sub> que [<sub>FP</sub> [ TODO EL VINO DE LA BODEGA ]  $\emptyset$  [<sub>IP</sub>...]]]  
 that all the wine of the cellar

One could argue that F is rescued by the movement of the embedded finite verb in a context of inversion (in the sense of Torrego 1984), a solution which is independently proposed by Uriagereka (1995a) for Galician. But this solution does not extend to (3) (without a complementizer) which also triggers inversion.

I want to argue that the affix properties of F are rescued by the overt complementizer when this is present, but that the saving role of the complementizer is

actually indirect, in that it is preceded by a cliticization of the affix due to the attraction of F features in C.

The operation of *Merge*, in the sense of Halle & Marantz (1993) and Bobaljik (1994), is an operation that applies in the mapping from syntactic representations to morphological representations. From the point of view of the computational system, it is a rule that applies at the point of Spell Out, or at some subsequent morpho-phonological module of computation. At that point, the affix must be adjacent to a morphologically independent element. Put in other words: affixhood is a property that is not checked until Spell Out. What happens to a functional element marked as [affix] until the point of Spell Out, depends on the feature content of that element, for instance on whether its categorial feature is attracted or not by some c-commanding element. In fact there is good reason to think that C and F are L-related. Consider again (27), repeated below as (41a) and now compared to (41b):

- (41) a. Los paquetes que Correos dice que A MUCHA GENTE le llegaron rotos  
 the parcels that the PS says that to many people arrived broken  
 "The parcels that the Postal Service says arrived broken TO MANY PEOPLE"
- b. \*Los paquetes que A MUCHA GENTE dice Correos le llegaron rotos  
 the parcels that to many people says the PS to-them arrived broken  
 "The parcels that the Postal Service says that TO MANY PEOPLE they arrived broken"

We have seen that both the relative operator and the focus operator must target Spec of FP in their way to a matrix A-bar position (cf. (1b),(3)). Let us say that this intermediate movement serves the purpose of checking point of view features in F. If this is correct, then the ungrammaticality of (41b) can only mean that FP provides a single specifier position. Although this is a straightforward conclusion given the ungrammaticality of (41b), it is not clear why movement of the relative operator cannot simply cross the FP projection, if what is at stake is just checking the point of view feature in F, once this has been checked by the focus phrase. Alternatively, we may consider that both operators come furnished with point of view features that they must check against the F head. Then what becomes a problem is the grammaticality of (41a), since one of the operators must have raised to the matrix clause via the escape hatch provided by the overt complementizer, but C is not the locus of point of view features (if it were, all point of view dependent operators could occur preceding the complementizer, which is not the case). There are only two solutions: (i) that there is more than one F (as in (42a); or (ii) that F can check point of view features recursively, but only in a very strict and local first Spec/head relation. The last option allows F to check point of view features only if it forms a chain that extends its checking domain to include a higher Spec, in the sense of Chomsky's *Extended Domain* (1995: 179-186). This option implies movement of F to C, where F checks a point of view feature with the Spec of CP (42b).



- (42) a.  $[_{FP2} F^0 [_{CP} \text{ que } [_{FP1} F^0 [_{IP} \dots ]]]]$     b.  $[_{CP} F^0 +\text{que } [_{FP} (F^0) [_{IP} \dots ]]]]$

The first option implies that each checking relation requires an independent head. But also that the feature in question is non-interpretable in the operator. This is so because if the point of view feature is interpretable in the operator, then it doesn't disappear after checking (Chomsky 1995), and whichever operator arrives first to F1 will also be in the most local relation to check the point of view feature of F2. This should already convince us that the first alternative is misguided. The semantics of point of view crucially involves the interpretation of the moved operators. It is the point of view ascription of the syntactic operators which is at stake, not the point of view ascription of F, whose semantic content, as we saw before, is that of conveying assertoric force. So the relevant structure of (39a) must be the following one:<sup>10</sup>

- (43)  $[[[\text{Los paquetes}]_i; [_{Op}_i [_{CP} \text{ que } \text{Correos afirma } [_{CP} t_i F^0 +\text{que } [_{FP} A \text{ the parcels that PS claims that to MUCHA GENTE } (F^0) [_{IP} \text{ pro } [_{le} \text{ llegaron } t_i \text{ rotos}]]]]]]]]]$   
 many people to-them arrived broken  
 "The parcels that the Postal Service says arrived broken to many people"

Where F checks the point of view features of both the focus and the relative operators. In turn, if movement of F to C precedes Spell Out, then at the point of Spell Out  $F^0$  is already in a configuration where its affix feature can be licensed, namely in an adjunction relation to  $C^0$ , a morphologically autonomous category. In the absence of the overt complementizer, the null complementizer finds itself in an improper configuration for Merge, and the derivation crashes at Spell Out (cf. (4b)).

#### 3.2.4. Stance Verbs under the Scope of a Modal Operator

Cattell's stance readings fail to arise in two ways. On the one hand, there is the class of predicates who in virtue of their lexical meaning, do not give rise to a stance reading:

- (44) \*El vino que Pedro contó/mencionó/omitió/interpretó sus amigos  
 the wine that Pedro told/mentioned/omitted/interpreted his friends  
 le bebieron  
 to him drank  
 "The wine that Pedro told/mentioned/omitted/interpreted his friends  
 drank on him"

On the other hand, there are those stance predicates that, when combined with a modal element, and with an indicative dependent, compositionally construct a non stance interpretation. This element can be negation or a modal adverb of a designated sort:

(10) I crucially assume that *Attraction* (Chomsky 1995: 297-312) of  $F^0$  to  $C^0$ , extends the *Minimal Domain* of the chain (C, C) to include the Spec of both FP and CP, as in Chomsky (1993) but unlike in Chomsky (1995), thus avoiding a *Minimal Link* violation (267-268).

- (45) a. \*El vino que Pedro no asegura/afirma/cree/piensa sus amigos  
 the wine that Pedro neg asserts affirms believes thinks his friends  
 bebieron a escondidas  
 drank secretly  
 "The wine that Pedro does not assert/affirm/believe/think his  
 friends drank secretly"
- b. El vino que Pedro quizás/acaso/probablemente asegura que sus  
 amigos  
 the wine that Pedro maybe/perhaps/probably asserts that his  
 friends  
 bebieron a escondidas  
 drank secretly  
 "The wine that Pedro maybe/perhaps/probably asserts that his  
 friends drank secretly"

Observe that in order for the verb + negation/modal combinations above to be ungrammatical, the indicative morphology in the clausal dependent is crucial. The null complementizer is perfect if the dependent is in the subjunctive:

- (46) El vino que Pedro no asegura/afirma/cree/piensa sus amigos  
 bebieran a escondidas  
 the wine that Pedro neg asserts/affirms/believes/thinks his friends  
 drank secretly  
 "The wine that Pedro does not assert/affirm/believe/think his friends  
 drank secretly"

Interestingly, the sort of null complementizer that we have here behaves as the one corresponding to indicative dependents such as (1a). The null complementizer in (46) requires movement in order to be licensed (cf. the ungrammaticality of (47a), and does not mind if the embedded subject intervenes between the matrix verb and the embedded verb (47b):

- (47) a. \*Pedro no asegura/afirma/piensa [Ø [sus amigos bebieran el vino]]  
 Pedro neg asserts affirms thinks his friends drank the wine  
 "Pedro does not assert/claim/think that his friends drank the wine"
- b. El vino que Pedro no afirma/piensa sus amigos bebieran  
 de la botella  
 the wine that Pedro neg claims/thinks his friends drank  
 from the bottle  
 "The wine that Pedro does not affirm/think his friends drank from  
 the bottle"

The alternation indicative/subjunctive under modal operators gives rise to two different interpretations regarding the scope of the embedded sentence. When in the indicative, the embedded sentence is necessarily interpreted from the point of view of the speaker, and the proposition it denotes is understood factively. When in the subjunctive, the embedded sentence is interpreted from the point of view of the

matrix subject, and is therefore understood as holding of the mental model associated to the subject. Consider for instance the contrast in (48), from Kempchinsky (1986).

- (48) a. No me pareció que el bar estuviera cerrado; es más, creo que estaba abierto  
 neg me seemed that the pub was closed actually believe I that was open  
 "It did not seem to me that the pub were closed; actually, I believe that it was open"
- b. \*No me pareció que el bar estaba cerrado; es más creo que está abierto  
 neg me seemed that the pub was closed actually believe I that is open  
 "It did not seem to me that the pub was closed; actually I believe that it is open"

In (48a), the subjunctive dependent is presented as holding of the matrix subject's beliefs, and therefore can be contradicted by the speaker, who does not assume the truth of the proposition denoted by it. In (48b), the indicative dependent is presented as holding of the speaker's beliefs, and these cannot be contradicted by him/herself (an instance of Moore's paradox).

A number of authors (Kempchinsky 1986; Laka 1992; Uribe-Etxebarria 1995; Brugger & D'Angelo 1997; among others) have suggested that the different readings associated to the indicative/subjunctive distinction result from different LF structures. The idea is that whereas subjunctive dependents are syntactic complements at LF, indicative dependents are removed out of the scope of the modal operator, giving rise to factive readings. This operation also accounts for the fact that indicative dependents under a modal operator constitute an opaque domain for different connectivity phenomena (NPI-licensing, quantifier interaction).<sup>11</sup>

If this view is correct, then the ungrammaticality of the null Comp with indicative dependents in the scope of a modal operator receives a straightforward analysis

- (11) Consider, for instance (i) (from Torrego & Uriagereka 1994), and (ii):
- (i) a. \*El Cid no dijo que lo vió moro ni cristiano  
 El Cid neg said that him saw anybody  
 b. El Cid no dijo que lo viera moro ni cristiano  
 El Cid neg said that him saw-subj....
- (ii) a. Siempre, alguien no cree que solucionamos cada problema  
 always someone neg believes that we-solve-ind each problem  
 "There is always someone who does not believe that we solve each problem"  
 b. Siempre, alguien no cree que solucionemos cada problema  
 always someone neg believes that we-solve-subj each problem

In (ii), only (iib) can be interpreted (marginally) as meaning that "for each problem, there is always someone who does not believe we can solve it". Assuming a QR analysis, the contrast suggests that the embedded quantifier can only raise out of a subjunctive dependent.

as a matter of morphology: raising of the indicative dependent breaks the adjacency relation between the matrix verb and the null Comp.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4. The Function of F in the Syntax of Extraction

The existence of a phonologically null projection with the properties of a complementizer will be shown to be crucial in the proper analysis of some problematic cases of extraction across indicatives. But before we go into that, I will spell out a few assumptions regarding basic operations of the computational system, in the spirit of recent developments in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995).

##### 4.1. Move as Copy and Merge

Nunes (1995) proposes that Movement is not a primitive of the computational system, but actually the product of a set of more elementary operations. *Move* is simply a notion that informally describes the effects of the interaction of the independent operations of *Copy*, *Merge*, *Form Chain*, and *Deletion*.

The *Move* based approach and the *Copy and Merge* theory of movement differ in that the latter permits instances of "sideways" movement, where a term of a syntactic object K is copied and merged with a syntactic object L, unconnected to K. In this case, the sequence of derivational steps involving Copy and Merge do not yield a chain. Conditions which are taken to hold of the operation *Move* (*C-Command*, *Last Resort*, *Minimal Link*) are interpreted as holding of the operation *Form Chain*.

Consider the abstract representation of "sideways movement":

$$(49) \text{ a. } \begin{array}{cc} \text{K} & \text{L} \\ / \dots \text{T} \dots \backslash \end{array} \quad \text{b. } \begin{array}{cc} \text{K} & \text{M} = \{ \underline{x}, \{ \text{T}, \text{L} \} \} \\ / \dots (\text{T}) \dots \backslash & \begin{array}{cc} \text{T} & \text{L} \end{array} \end{array}$$

In (49), a term T which is a term of K (49a), is copied and merged with an unconnected term L. At the derivational step represented in (49b), the pair ((T), T) does not constitute a chain because neither of the copies c-commands the other.

One case where sideways movement provides a straightforward account is in cases of apparent non-cyclic adjunction of relative clauses. Consider the kind of sentence discussed by Lebeaux (1988) and Chomsky (1993) as providing evidence for *Generalized Transformations*:

$$(49) \text{ } [ [\text{Which portrait}]_k \text{ that Picasso}_i \text{ painted } e_k ] \text{ did he}_i \text{ like?}$$

If the relative clause had merged to the wh-phrase before the wh-phrase merged to the verb, we would expect a Principle C violation (in Chomsky's Copy and Deletion system of Reconstruction). Chomsky's answer is that the relative clause is merged to the wh-phrase after this is raised to the matrix Comp. This leads him to propose that whereas substitution operations are necessarily cyclic (they enlarge the tree), adjunc-

(12) With a caveat: scoping out of the indicative dependent must occur before Spell Out if affixation is a purely morphological process.

tion is not. But under a Copy and Merge theory of movement, a cyclic derivation is available, as shown below (from Nunes 1995):

- (50) a. K=[Q+did he like {which portrait}]  
 L=[that Picasso painted]  
 b. K=[Q+did he like (which portrait)]  
 L=[that Picasso painted]  
 M=[Which portrait]  
 c. K=[Q+did he like (which portrait)]  
 N=[[Which portrait] that Picasso painted]  
 d. O=[[Which portrait] that Picasso painted] Q+did he like (which in portrait)

In (50a) two independent structures are built. As Q has a strong feature, the computational system makes a copy of the *wh*-phrase (M in (50b)). This copy merges to the relative clause independently assembled, forming N in (50c). Finally, N merges with K, forming O in (50d). The pair (which portrait, which portrait) can form a chain because: (i) it satisfies Last Resort and the C-Command Condition; and (ii) it satisfies the Minimal Link Condition (there is no closer *wh*-phrase that can check the *wh*-feature of Comp). In the following, I will assume Nunes' Copy and Merge Theory of movement.<sup>13</sup>

#### 4.2. CED

Nunes' Copy and Merge Theory of movement, coupled with the presence of an extra projection between the overt complementizer and IP in Spanish, can account for some problematic instances of extraction.<sup>14</sup> Consider (51):

- (51) [Qué libro]; crees [que [si Ricardo lee e; alguna vez] abandonará la  
 which book believe you that if Ricardo reads some time give up the  
 Lingüística de inmediato]?  
 Linguistics immediatly  
 "Which book do you believe that if Ricardo ever reads he will give up  
 Linguistics immediatly?"

(51) presents extraction of a *wh*-element out of a conditional clause, arguably an island. Observe that there is no additional gap associated to the argument structure of the embedded verb that could independently license extraction. Lasnik et alia (1988) suggest, on the basis of cases analogous to (51), that clauses in A-bar positions are transparent to extraction. However, it seems to be crucial for this sort of extraction that the embedded clause where the adjunct is inserted be indicative. Similar extractions out of subjunctive dependents are out in Spanish:

(13) For a version of this theory as applied to head movement, see Bobaljik and Brown (1997).

(14) The sort of analysis pursued in this section is inspired in Reinhart's (1979) early proposal to derive the parametric properties of Bounding Theory, as well as Uriagereka's (1991) more thorough reworking of those ideas in the GB model.

- (52) \*[Qué libro] proponen que [si alguien lee t alguna vez] abandone la  
 which book propose that if someone reads some time give up-subj  
 Lingüística?  
 Linguistics  
 “\*Which book do they propose that if someone ever reads he gives up  
 Linguistics?”

Observe that there is nothing against having a conditional in a subjunctive:

- (53) Proponen que [si alguien lee ese libro] abandone la Lingüística  
 propose that if someone reads that book give up the Linguistics  
 de inmediato  
 immediatly  
 “They propose that if someone reads that book he should give up  
 Linguistics immediatly”

Also, it is unclear how Lasnik et alia’s hypothesis would fare with cases such as (54):

- (54) \*[La revista]<sub>i</sub> que [si tu madre ve t<sub>i</sub>] se armará un cirio  
 the magazine that if your mother sees she will get angry  
 “The magazine that if your mother sees she will get very angry”

(54) also shows that in order to extract out of a conditional island, we need a verb of saying/thinking in the matrix clause. In fact, we can be even more explicit about this: the kind of verb we need is what Cattell calls a stance verb; non-stance verbs do not license this kind of extraction:

- (55) a. \*Qué libro contaste/mencionaste/interpretaste que [si tu madre  
 ve t ] se armará un cirio?  
 which book you-told/mentioned/interpreted that if your mother  
 sees  
 “Which book did you tell/mention/interpret that if your mother sees  
 she will be very angry?”  
 b. Qué libro dijiste que si tu madre ve se armará un cirio?  
 which book you-said that if your mother sees she will get angry

The difference between dependents of stance and non-stance predicates is that the former have an extra Null Comp but the latter don’t. The syntactic representation of dependents of stance verbs must have the structure in (56):

- (56) Juan dice [<sub>CP</sub> F+que [<sub>FP</sub> francamente (F<sup>0</sup>) [<sub>IP</sub> está harto]]]  
 Juan says that frankly he-is fed up  
 “Juan says that frankly he is fed up”

Availing ourselves from the Copy and Merge theory of movement, extraction as in (50) can proceed as follows:

- (57) a. K=[<sub>CP</sub> si Ricardo lee qué libro]  
 L=[<sub>FP</sub> F<sup>0</sup> [<sub>IP</sub> pro abandonará la Lingüística]]

- b. K=[<sub>CP</sub> si Ricardo lee (qué libro)  
 L=[<sub>FP</sub> F<sup>0</sup> [<sub>IP</sub> pro abandonará la Lingüística de inmediato]]  
 M=[qué libro]
- c. K=[<sub>CP</sub> si Ricardo lee qué libro]  
 N=[<sub>FP</sub> [si Ricardo lee (qué libro)] F<sup>0</sup> [<sub>IP</sub> pro abandonará la  
 Lingüística de inmediato]
- d. O=[<sub>FP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> [ si Ricardo lee (qué libro) [<sub>FP</sub> qué libro [<sub>F</sub> F<sup>0</sup> [<sub>IP</sub> ...]]]]]
- e. [Qué libro] crees ...[<sub>CP</sub> (qué libro) [<sub>C</sub> F+que [<sub>FP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> si Ricardo lee  
 (qué libro)]] [(qué libro) [<sub>F</sub> F<sup>0</sup> [<sub>IP</sub> ...]]]]]]]  
 what book what book

(57a) shows the stage at which we have two different phrase markers constructed separately in the derivational space, K and L. In (57b), we have made a copy of the *wh*-phrase in K, that we call M. In (57c), we merge M with L, checking a point of view feature in F. The result is the more complex phrase marker N. In (57d), we merge the conditional phrase to FP as an adjunct. At this point, we didn't yet create a chain among the several copies. Now extraction proceeds as usual. If the two specifiers are in the same minimal domain, movement of the lower one across the other is permitted (Chomsky 1995). In (57e) the copy of *qué libro* checks the *wh*-feature of the matrix Comp, and the final configuration is also one that obeys all the conditions of Form Chain: the upper copy *c*-commands the other two copies, none of the lower copies *c*-commands the other, so there is no intermediate copy that blocks chain formation (Minimal Link), and finally, the upper copy checks features in the target of movement: *wh*-features, so Last Resort is also obeyed.

Of course, the above derivation is only possible if F is present. But this depends on the semantic nature of the matrix predicate. Non-stance predicates (including subjunctives) do not license F in their dependents, and therefore cannot support this sort of extraction.

#### 4.3. On a Class of Relative Clauses

The effect of an extra projection related to illocutionary force and involved in extraction has a further expression in a class of relative clauses which appear to lack any possible grammatical source. Consider the following sentences:

- (58) a. [La casa que me dijiste e ] no está en venta  
 the house that me you-told neg is for sale  
 "The house that you told me about is not for sale"
- b. [El coche que pensabas e ] ya lo han vendido  
 the car that you-thought already it have sold  
 "The car that you thought (about it) has already been sold"
- c. [El tipo que me contaste e] come en esa cantina  
 the guy that me told you eats in that canteen  
 "The guy that you told me about eats in that canteen"





Sentences such as (63) can be pronounced out of the blue, and they leave implicit a speaker assertion. That is, sentences like (63) are a speaker report of someone else's saying. These sentences have some intriguing features: first, their matrix predicate must be a stance verb:

- (64) a. Que dice María que subáis a cenar  
 that says María that go up you for dinner  
 "(I tell you) that María says that you should go up for dinner"  
 b. \*Que sabe María que subisteis a cenar  
 that knows María that went up you for dinner  
 "(I tell you) that María knows that you went up for dinner"  
 c. \*Que comenta María que subáis a cenar  
 that comments María that you-go up for dinner  
 "(I tell you) that María comments that you should go up for dinner"

This extends also to cases with negation. Recall that stance readings are suspended when the matrix clause contains a sentential negation and the embedded sentence is in the indicative. When that happens, sentence initial complementizers are bad:

- (65) \*Que no dice María que vienen  
 that neg says María that they-come  
 "(I tell you) that María does not say that they are coming"

Also, inversion is obligatory in clauses headed by an overt complementizer:

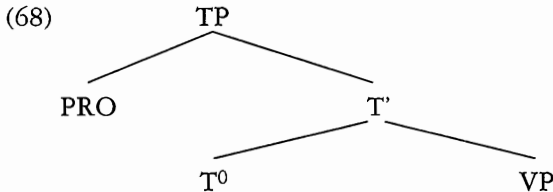
- (66) \*Que María dice que vienen  
 that María says that they-come  
 "\*I tell you that María says that they are coming"

The existence of obligatory inversion in these cases suggests that there is movement of some non-overt operator. On the other hand, the restrictions on the class of predicates that can follow a matrix complementizer suggests that the structure that we assigned to dependents of stance predicates is crucially at stake. We have seen in section 4 that F can sustain syntactic operators. Let us say that the null operator that triggers obligatory inversion in (64) is generated in the Spec of FP. This null operator is generated in complementary distribution with derived operators of the focus or wh-sort. That is, the Spec of FP must always be filled, because point of view features are strong, in the sense of Chomsky (1995: 198-199). The relevant structure is as in (67):

- (67) Que dice María [<sub>CP</sub> F<sup>0</sup> +que [<sub>FP</sub> Op (F<sup>0</sup>) [<sub>IP</sub> vengais a cenar]]]  
 that says María that come you to dinner

The question that naturally arises at this point is what this null operator is. For the present time, I am unable to provide anything but bold speculation. Ormazabal (1995), extending ideas of Zagona (1991) and Stowell (1993) on the nature of Tense, proposes that complementizers denote two place relations, and that this denotation is instantiated in the syntax by means of an argument structure. Zagona and Stowell argue independently that Tense is a two place predicate expressing a relation between the time of the event expressed by the verb and a reference time,

which in matrix clauses is the utterance time itself. The phrase structure of Tense therefore involves two arguments: an internal one, projected syntactically in the complement position of the Tense head, denotes the time of the event; an external one, realized as a maximal projection sitting in the Spec of TP, which must be bound or controlled by a higher c-commanding element, denotes the reference time:



The role of Tense in this view is to establish as temporal relation between the reference time denoted by the external argument and the event time. In Stowell's system, the reference time is bound by the closest c-commanding ZP (Zeit Phrase) denoting an event time, in which case the embedded Tense is interpreted as relative to the higher event. When there is no structural antecedent, as in the case of matrix Tense, the reference time is interpreted by default as the utterance time, the time provided by the discourse setting.

Ormazabal extends this view of Tense to Comp, which becomes a two place predicate relating an eventuality to the contexts where this eventuality is evaluated. In other words, complementizers are functions from eventualities to truth values. Ormazabal suggests that the external argument of Comp is a PRO-like empty category that must be controlled by outside in the same way as the temporal reference is bound to an external antecedent, be it the higher event or the discourse setting. This PRO-like element can be thought of as a context variable. When the context variable is in the c-command domain of the matrix subject, the embedded proposition is interpreted as pertaining to the mental model of the matrix subject. When the context variable is outside the c-command domain of the matrix subject, it is interpreted as holding of the speaker's mental model.

Turning back to (65), obligatory inversion must be produced by movement of the context variable, which unlike Ormazabal, I view as a null operator. The net effect of this movement is that the embedded proposition is evaluated from the point of view of the speaker. Consider in this regard the following contrast:

- (69) a. Dice María que hay que parar en Amute, pero no es cierto  
 says María that have to stop in Amute, but neg is true  
 "María says that we have to stop in Amute, but it is not true"
- b. Que dice María que hay que parar en Amute, #pero no es cierto  
 that says María that have to stop in Amute, but neg is true  
 "I tell you that María says that we have to stop in Amute, #but it is not true"

Whereas in (69a) the speaker can put into question the truth of the embedded proposition, since this is the presented from the point of view of the matrix subject, in

(69b) after raising of the null operator, this is not possible anymore. The scope of the null operator is now the matrix clause, and the embedded proposition is evaluated from the point of view of the speaker. And the speaker cannot put into question his/her own truth. If so, the awkwardness of (69b) is equivalent to that of (70), an instance of Moore's paradox:

- (70) Hay que parar en Amute, #pero no es cierto  
 have to stop in Amute, but neg is true  
 "We have to stop in Amute, #but it is not true"

## 6. Conclusion

I have tried to show that a class of predicates, that following Cartell (1978) I called Stance Predicates, optionally select a feature of assertion in their finite dependents. This assertion feature has important effects in the deictic attribution of the finite dependent, in that it fixes the ascription possibilities of the associated proposition by putting it under the matrix subject's point of view. This feature heads its own projection and has the morphological properties of an affix. The presence of this affixal head has also important effects in an array of phenomena related to the syntax of extraction: certain apparent extractions out of islands are shown to involve a parasitic gap configuration that capitalizes on the presence of an assertion head. Also, cases of relativization without an apparent source are shown to follow elegantly from the existence of this extra syntactic projection.

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