Force and finiteness in the Spanish complementizer system[1]

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Abstract

The goal of this paper is to show that the structure of CP in Spanish is more complex than it appears to be in most descriptive approaches. In particular, we analyze five types of constructions, which are quite extended in all dialects of Spanish but which have remained almost unaddressed in grammatical studies. These data clearly reveal a complex structure for Spanish CP both in root and embedded clauses: They involve sentences with more than one instance of a complementizer heading the clause, sentences where a wh-element (interrogative or exclamative) can be preceded or followed by the complementizer que *'that', and matrix sentences (obligatorily) introduced by an explicit Comp, among other cases. Our point of departure will be the studies on the so called "sentence left periphery" (Rizzi 1997) containing an upper limit, ForceP and a lower limit, FinP. Our claim will be that in Spanish there are two instances of* que*: que1 and que2 which are respectively generated in the upper and in the lower part of the sentence periphery. In addition, we will provide data suggesting that there might even be a third instance of que, a kind of "reinforcement" of Force. In this sense Spanish resembles some languages which are very different from the typological point of view.*

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1.   Introduction

This paper seeks to offer a new view of the system of particles introducing finite subordinate clauses in Spanish. If we take a first look at it, this system appears to be very restricted (as has been noted by Spanish traditional grammarians): it would include the particle *que*, 'that', which introduces declarative sentences (*Dije [que me iba]* 'I said that I was leaving'), and *si* 'if' appearing in embedded interrogative sentences (*Me preguntó [si me iba]* 'He asked whether I was leaving'). Despite this wide consensus, we will try to show that there are Spanish data – quite extended although almost unaddressed in grammatical studies – which, if analyzed within the framework of comparative studies based on principles of UG, reveal that a quite more complex system can be drawn.

In fact, there is a place where this complexity manifests itself very sharply. In Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2005) the dialectal variation that can be found in Spanish with respect to subordinate sentences is examined. Together with the regular bare complementizer *que*, in some dialects (called "dequeístas") subordinate clauses may be introduced by the preposition *de* 'of' followed by *que*.

(1)   *Pienso* [***de que*** *no   los   conozco   mucho*].
        I.think   of that not CL$_{3PL}$ I.know   much
        (Standard: *Pienso que . . .*)
        'I think I don't know them very well.'

The account developed in the mentioned work is based on the assumption that the array of features usually carried by complementizers (declarativity, evidentiality, wh, . . .) can appear as one single lexical item (*que*) and one functional projection (C) or be split into different projections (and lexical items). In particular, it is claimed that in Spanish the complementizer can be spelled out in two different ways: *de* in "dequeísta" dialects heads its own maximal projection encoding Mood/Evidentiality features (Cinque 1999) while in standard Spanish these features are amalgamated in one single lexical item: the complementizer *que* 'that'. In evaluating some consequences of this hypothesis some instances of what could be called a "defective" *que* were found. This Complementizer only instantiates what would correspond to the lower part of the complex Comp in "dequeísta" dialect. In other words, in Spanish there is a Comp that only carries part of the features usually endowed to complementizers. Some constructions in standard Spanish containing this element are presented in the mentioned work, either in unselected contexts or selected by a special type of head. The present work rescues some of those constructions as well as some others that clearly reveal a complex CP structure for Spanish root and embedded clauses.
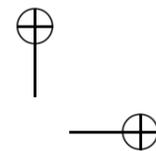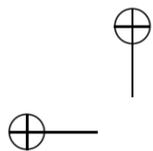
Since Rizzi (1997) and subsequent work it is widely assumed that the so called "sentence left periphery" is complex and encodes different types of features. In particular it is assumed that the complementizer system consists of distinct functional heads and their projections: a "fixed" component involving the heads specifying Force and Finiteness, and an "accessory" component involving the heads of Topic and Focus, activated only when needed (Rizzi 1997). So the sentence left periphery has an upper limit (ForceP) and a lower limit (FinP). Topic Phrases (TopP) and a Focus phrase (FocP) are generated between these two nodes. Basically the structure of the Comp system is similar to the one depicted in (2).

(2)   ForceP > TopicP > FocP > FinP > TP ...

ForceP is responsible for the distinction among various types of clauses: declarative[2], interrogative, exclamative, relative, comparative, adverbial, etc. and Finiteness contains the specification distinguishing at least between finite and non finite clauses. For Italian, which has a "non finite/infinitival" complementizer *di* 'of', as well as the complementizer *che* 'that', Rizzi (2001) proposes that the latter occupies the highest C position, Force, while *di* occupies the lowest position, Finiteness. This is straightforwardly supported by the ordering of the two elements with respect to other structural positions: *che* must precede the topic (3a), whereas *di* must follow the topic, as in (3b).

(3)   a.   *Ho   pensato che   a   Gianni glielo   abbiamo detto.*
                 I.have thought   that to Gianni $CL_{DT\text{-}AC}$ we.have   told
                 'I thought that we have told that to Gianni.'
           b.   *Credo, a   Gianni, di non   averlo   detto.*
                 I.think   to Gianni   of not   haveCL_{3SG} told
                 'I believe not to have told that to Gianni.'

In languages like English, Force attracts Fin, so only one Comp head appears (Rizzi 1997).

With this framework in mind, in what follows we will try to account for the grammatical subsystem underlying some Spanish constructions exemplified in (4). In some of them, as can be observed, there is more than one single element heading the clause. Some of them are standard while others belong to spoken language. None of them is restricted to a specific geographic area, as far as we know.

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2. Roberts (2004) claims that "declarative" is the default value of C, that is, there is no declarative feature.
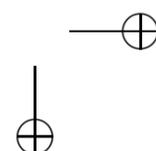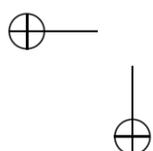
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(4)   a.   *Preguntaste* [***que quién*** *había llegado a las tres de*
              you.asked   that who   had   arrived at the three of
              la mañana].
              the morning
              'You asked who had arrived at 3 o'clock in the morning.'
       b.   *¡Qué rico **(que)** está!*
              what good that is
              'How good this is!'
       c.   ***Que*** *se calle   Juan / Juan **que** se calle.*
              that SE keeps.quiet Juan / Juan that keeps.quiet
              'Let John keep quiet.'
       d.   *Ojalá **(que)** {llueva   / *llueve} café.*
              PRT.   that   rains$_{subj}$ / rains$_{ind}$ coffee
              'May it rain coffee.'
       e.   *Dice mamá* [***que*** *a tu   hermana **(que)** no la*
              Says mom   that to your sister   that not CL$_{3SgF}$
              dejes salir].
              you.let go.out
              'Mom says that you should not let your sister go out.'

(4a) is an instance of so called "doubly filled Comp" where the complementizer
que appears before a wh-element in all varieties of oral and written Spanish. In
(4b) we see that a(n optional) *que* can appear *after* a wh-element, in this case
an exclamative phrase. This construction is more common in the spoken vari-
ety. (4c) and (4d) are root sentences headed by the complementizer *que*; (4d)
in particular shows that some root *que* can only take subjunctive (*que* in (4c)
is obligatory in all varieties). Finally (4e) is meant to show that one single sen-
tence may be introduced by two complementizers if it contains a dislocated el-
ement (the phenomenon sometimes referred to as "recomplementation", which
is basically restricted to oral varieties).

    Our claim will be that in Spanish there are two instances of *que*: *que$_1$* and
que$_2$ which are respectively generated in the upper and in the lower part of
the sentence periphery, expressing Force and Finiteness. In the course of our
discussion, we will also provide data suggesting that there might even be a third
instance of *que*, a kind of "reinforcement" of Force.

2.   Background

It has been recently observed that some Creole languages explicitly manifest
the structure proposed in (2). In particular, Damonte (2002) and Aboh (2006)
analyze some particles in Saramaccan. Saramaccan is a Creole language spo-
ken in Suriname (see Byrne 1987) which has, on one hand, a declarative com-

plementizer *tàa* 'that',[3] which is generated as the head of ForceP, as suggested by its position with respect to Topic and Focus, as seen in (5):

(5) *Mi meni **tàa** [a di djai] mi bi si en.*
     I   think that [in the garden] I PAST see him
     'I think that it is in the garden that I saw him.' (Veenstra/den Besten 1994 *apud* Damonte 2002)

On the other hand, Saramaccan also has the particle *fu*[4]*,* which the abovementioned authors show to have a double meaning: *fu*$_1$ introduces the *irrealis* mood (sometimes it indicates counterfactuality, sometimes purpose); *fu*$_2$ encodes deontic modality (necessity/obligation and permission).[5] Aboh (2006) claims that there are two different *fu's*: *fu*$_1$, which is generated as the head of ForceP (this is why this element is incompatible with complementizer *tàa*: probably they compete for the same position) and the deontic particle *fu*$_2$, which heads FinP (as suggested by the fact that it appears to the right of declarative *táa*).[6] In (6a) we have a sentence (from Aboh 2006, who takes it from Veenstra 1996), where both elements (*tàa* and *fu*$_2$) co-occur. In (6b) we provide the relevant structure:

(6) a. *I taki **tàa** **fu** a naki di daga.*
         you said that$_{(decl)}$ fu he hits DET dog
         'You told/asked him to hit the dog.' (Veenstra 1996: 156)
     b. ... [$_{ForceP}$ *tàa* [$_{TopP}$...[$_{FocP}$...[$_{FinP}$ *fu* [$_{TP}$ *a naki di daga*]]]]]

That is, only deontic *fu*$_2$ is compatible with declarative complementizer *tàa*, since it does not generate in ForceP but in FinP. In addition, *fu*$_1$ can precede both topics (7a) and foci (7b), again indicating that it is ForceP. Examples in (7) are taken from Aboh (2006: 35):

(7) a. *A ke **fu**$_1$ do mii dé a njan di kuku.*
         2sg wants fu DET boy Top 3sg eat DET cookie
         'The boy, he wants him to eat the cookie.'
     b. *Amaato ke **fu**$_1$ a mâtu Ajawa kivi di ógifou.*
         Amato wants fu Loc jungle Ajawa take DET owl
         'Amato wants Ajawa to catch an owl IN THE JUNGLE.'

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3. This particle is literally equivalent to the verb *say* in Saramaccan.

4. From English *for*, which sometimes also works as a complementizer in non finite clauses.

5. More precisely, according to Damonte (2002) *fu* is a complementizer that merges in FinP and encodes *irrealis* modality. Its deontic meaning is obtained when it interacts with a null deontic verb in embedded clauses.

6. One piece of evidence provided by this author is that, contrary to what would be expected if we only had one particle *fu* whose deontic meaning is derived from the fact that it is embedded under a deontic verb, this element also appears in main clauses, as Aboh (2006) shows.

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On the other hand, Saramaccan (deontic) fu_2 follows interrogative phrases (Damonte 2002), an important fact which indicates that it appears in FinP.

(8)   *Biga   an   sa'   [andi]   **faa**   taki.*
       because   he.neg   knows   [what]   fu.he   say
       'Because he does not know what to say.' (Glock 1986: 40)

In accordance with the preceding data, the structure corresponding to the Saramaccan sentence is, following Aboh (2006), the one depicted in (9) (which includes topic and focus markers):[7]

(9)

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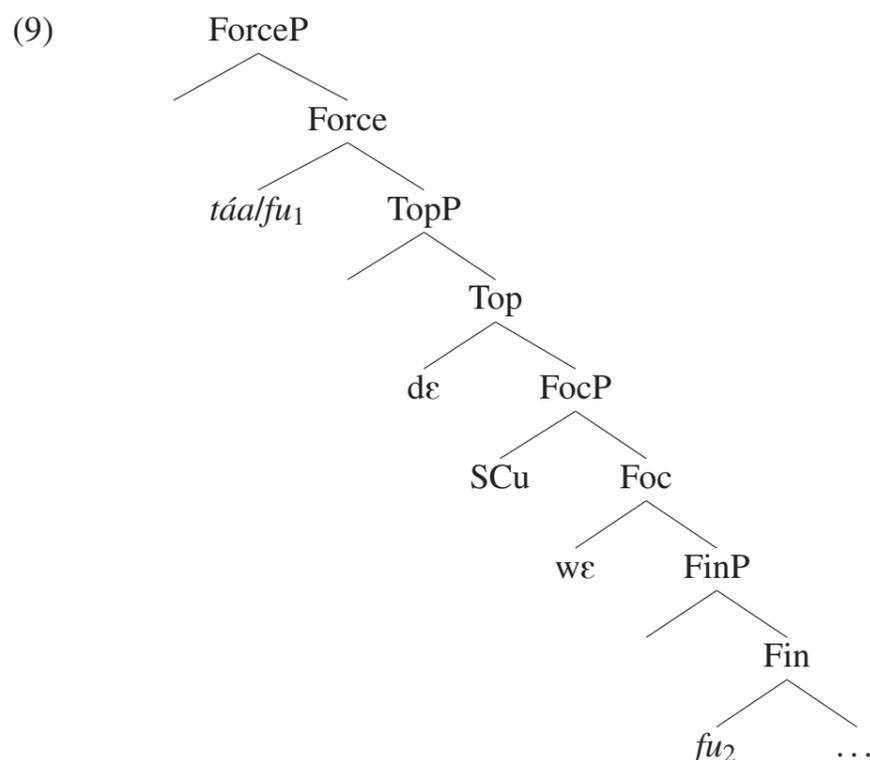
7. A similar picture is found in Gungbé (a dialect of Gbe spoken in Togo, Africa), this time with particles *ɖɔ* and *ni*. The first one is a complementizer specified as declarative; it always precedes topic and focus. As was the case for Saramaccan *fu*, there are two *ni*: a conditional *ni*, which can also encode futurity and interrogative force, and a deontic *ni*. The declarative complementizer always precedes focus, a fact that indicates that it generates as the head of ForceP. That is also the position for conditional *ni*. Deontic *ni*, on the other hand, follows foci and topics and would be heading FinP. (10) is an example taken from Aboh (2006: 39):

(i)   *Ùn   kanbió   **ni**   òsó   éhè   yá   ògán   we   mi   **ni**   zè   è   yi   na?*
       I   ask   ni   horse   dem   Top   boss   Foc   1pl   ni   take   3sg   ir   give
       'I asked if the horse we should give to the BOSS.'

Guayanan (Gibson 1986) and the Jamaican Creole (Durrleman 2000) are similar to the ones just described.

Roberts (2004) shows that some Celtic languages such as Welsh also show overt elements in Fin and Force. In particular this author proposes that in V2 structures Fin can be filled by (V) movement or by merger of a particle in Fin^0. We will come back to this issue later.

In what follows we will try to show that the Spanish complementizer system is very similar to what we just described. In particular, it will be claimed that there are different types of *que* filling different positions in the sentence left periphery. We will take all the cases presented in (4) and analyze them within this framework.

3.   The nodes Force and Finiteness in Spanish

3.1.   Doubly filled COMP and declarative que

3.1.1.   Doubly filled COMP in wh-questions   In Spanish there is a type of interrogative clause, selected by verbs like *ask* and "way of speaking" verbs, which do not constitute a real question but a literal statement that includes a question. These have been called "indirect questions" (see Suñer 1992).[8] The peculiarity of Spanish, contrary to English (as shown by the glosses) and other Romance languages, is that the functional structure of these sentences contains a complex sequence formed by complementizer *que* followed by a wh-phrase. Some examples of this "doubly filled" Comp (Suñer 1992) are provided in (10) (Sentences equivalent to (10) are impossible in English, with the relevant interpretation):

(10)   a.   *Me   preguntó **que qué**   había   comprado.*
             CL_{1Sg} asked   that what I-had bought
             'S/He asked me what I had bought.'
       b.   {*Dijo   / gritó   / susurró   / musitó*}   ***que   por qué***
             {said   / shouted / whispered / murmured}   that why
             éramos   tan duros.
             we.were   so   tough
             'S/He {said/shouted/whispered/murmured} why should we be so tough.'

As noted by Plann (1982) only verbs selecting for a direct quote can take this type of subordinate sentences. Compare sentences in (11a), with verbs taking direct quotes, with sentences in (11b), with reported speech verbs:

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8. Suñer points out that, contrary to "indirect questions", "semi questions" like *Me dijo por qué lo había hecho* 'He told me why he did it' are not interpreted as questions but as assertions.

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(11)   a.   *Me preguntó: ¿qué quieres? ⇒ Me preguntó que qué quería.*
                'He asked me: "what do you want?" '
          b.   **Explicó/confesó: "¿qué pasa?" ⇒*
                *Explicó/confesó que qué pasaba.
                'He explained/confessed: "what happens?" '

The generalization is that in (10) both an assertive and an interrogative fea-
ture are present in the same clause. Suñer (1992) claims that these constructions
have a recursive Comp, that is, an interrogative Comp selected by a higher one
headed by assertive *que*, as in (12):[9]

(12)   [CompP [COMP que [CompP *qué/por qué* [C [IP . . .

In contrast with the recursive Comp analysis, our proposal is that we are
dealing with a more simple structure, following the scheme of the left periphery
depicted above. More precisely, if we suppose that wh-elements are merged in
FocP,[10] we can propose that (10) contains a particular type of declarative *que*,
merged in ForceP and thus preceding interrogative phrases. So the structure for
the sentences in (10) would be:

(13)   [ForceP [*que* [TopP. . . [FocP *qué/por qué* [. . . [*FinP* . . .

A piece of evidence in support of this proposal (and which deals one more blow
to the idea of a recursive Comp) is that some verbs selecting this type of indi-
rect questions do not accept a single CompP projection. More explicitly, verbs
like *preguntar* 'to ask' cannot take a bare declarative CompP (see (14a)). The
opposite also holds: verbs like *susurrar* or *musitar* 'to whisper' do not easily
accept a single interrogative CompP (see (14b)). This would not be expected if
we had a recursive Comp:

(14)   a.   **Me   preguntó   **que**   lo   hizo   /   **que** dijera*
                CL$_{1sg}$ s/he.asked that CL$_{3sg}$ he.did /   that I.said
                algo.
                something
          b.   *??Susurró   /   musitó   **por qué** lo   había*
                s/he whispered / murmured why   CL$_{3sg}$ s/he.had
                hecho.
                done

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9. Other alternatives have been proposed for these cases. Goodall (1991), for example, claims
   that the Wh-element is in Spec IP and not in CP. We will not consider them here.
10. This is a straightforward assumption if we accept the hypothesis of the left periphery, as has
    been claimed by many authors.

Unless one stipulates some means (a) to select for a declarative Comp only when this Comp also dominates (selects for) an interrogative one, and (b) to take an interrogative Comp only when embedded under a declarative one, the facts in (14) would remain unexplained in the recursive Comp framework.

Another phenomenon which supports our account is that interrogative sentences in "double Comp" constructions cannot be infinitival (15a). If there were two independent CPs, an *ad hoc* explanation would be required for the fact that, contrary to what happens in regular indirect questions (15b), an interrogative Comp, if it is embedded under another CompP, cannot take an infinitival clause:

(15) a. **Preguntó / dijo que adónde ir.*
          s/he asked / said that where go
      b. *Preguntó / dijo adónde ir.*
          s/he asked / said where go

The contrast in (15) follows straightforwardly from the structure in (13). Within the same Complementizer system a ForceP node is included, headed by a declarative *que*. One can argue that this element only appears in finite clauses (see discussion about (3) above) therefore excluding infinitival interrogatives.[11] This declarative feature of *que* would be responsible for the "literal question" interpretation of these sentences (as opposed to pure indirect questions). The wh-element is located in a functional phrase lower than declarative *que*, that is FocP. The layered left periphery proposal thus accounts for the "doubly filled COMP" data without further stipulation.

3.1.2. Doubly filled Comp and yes/no questions   The phenomenon just described also obtains in Spanish in the case of yes/no questions, where the interrogative complementizer *si* 'if' appears. In this case again, *si* may be preceded by *que*. The meaning of the sentence is also an assertion including a question.

(16) a. *Maria decía / preguntaba que si queríamos más*
          Maria sayed / asked   that if we.would.like more
          sopa.
          soup
          'Maria said/asked whether we wanted some more soup.'

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11. As Roberts (2004) notes, selection for interrogative Force blocks selection for Fin, therefore allowing infinitive complements only if there is an interrogative element:

   (i)   a. **I explained to fix the car.*
          b. *I explained how to fix the car.* (from Roberts 2004)

   In the cases under consideration, the realization of a declarative complementizer in Force pre-empts a non finite Fin.

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b. *Me   preguntaron que si había vuelto   de*
   CL_{1Sg} they.asked   that if I.had come back from
   Barcelona.
   Barcelona
   'They asked me whether I was back from Barcelona.'

Rizzi (2001) analyzes the equivalent particle in Italian, *se*, and claims that it occupies a position lower than the complementizer *che*, and higher than Foc, but lower than TopP (since it can be preceded by topics). He calls this position INT(errogative). The sequence of positions in the left periphery would be like in (17). The relevant examples would be those in (18) (from Rizzi 2001):

(17)   FORCE (TOP*) INT (TOP*) FOC (TOP*) FIN IP

(18)   a. *Mi   domando se QUESTO gli   volessero   dire*
           Cl_{1sg} I.wonder if THIS CL_{3sg} they.wanted say
           (non qualcosaltro).
           (not   something else)

        b. *Non so   se, a Gianni, avrebbero potuto dirgli*
           not   I.know if to Gianni   they.have   could   tellCL$_{3sg}$
           la   verità.
           the   truth.

        c. *Non so,   a Gianni, se avrebbero potuto dirgli*
           not   I.know to Gianni   if they.have   could   tellCL$_{3sg}$
           la   verità.
           the   truth

According to this author, since *se* is not incompatible with Foci (as wh-elements usually are), it has to occupy a position distinct from FocP.[12]

As Rizzi (2001) notes (see his Spanish example (11)), and as expected if our analysis is correct, in Spanish some embedded questions overtly express the force head in cooccurrence with INT (occupied by *si*, according to Rizzi) by allowing the *que si* ('that if') sequence, as seen in (16).

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12. According to Rizzi, the position INT (its Spec) is occupied in main clauses by wh-phrases like *Perché* 'why' and *come mai* 'how come', which can be generated in a higher position in the clause. These phrases have the particularity that they do not require inversion and are base generated as the Spec of INT (examples from Rizzi 2001):

(i)   *Perché Gianni è venuto?*
       'Why Gianni has left?'
(i)   *Come mai Gianni è partito?*
       'How come Gianni has left?'

Interrogative phrases of this type are intrinsically endowed with the feature Wh, which explains the lack of inversion.

So far, data seem to indicate, then, that there is a complementizer *que* that occupies the head position in ForceP and precedes interrogative elements. We will call this *que*$_1$. It has to be noted that our analysis of *que* in ForceP is independent of the type of interrogative elements appearing in the sentence: wh-elements in FocP or elements in INT, such as *si* in Rizzi's account.

In the next section it will be shown that in Spanish there is still another type of *que*, which appears as the head of FinP in (13). We will call this *que*$_2$. In order to support this claim, a specific type of exclamative sentences will be analyzed.

3.2. *Exclamative sentences and* que *in FinP*

If the structure in (13) is correct, the question is whether the Spanish Comp system also includes an explicit element encoding finiteness features. The answer seems to be affirmative, given the existence of exclamative sentences of the type in (19):

(19)   a.   *¡Qué rico (que) está!*
            how good (that) is
            'How good this is!'
    b.   *¡Qué de coches (que) tiene tu hermana!*
            what of cars (that) has your sister
            'What a lot of cars your sister has!'

What we observe in these sentences is that a *que* appears optionally to the right of an exclamative phrase. Supposing that this phrase (as wh-elements do) occupies the Spec of FocP, the claim we would like to put forward is that the *que* which follows it is another instance of *que*, not generated in FocP but heading FinP. Our hypothesis is that this *que* encodes information related to finiteness; in particular, as we will see, it has features related to sentence mood.

Before getting into more details of our proposal, let us note that the element we are analyzing, which we will refer to as *que*$_2$, is not the same *que* found in constructions with exclamative meaning of the type in (20) (Gutiérrez Rexach 2001):

(20)   a.   *¡Los libros que tiene!*
            the books that has
    b.   *¡La de libros que tiene!*
            the$_{fem}$ of books that has
            'What a lot of books s/he has!'
    c.   **¡Los libros tiene!*
    d.   **¡La de libros tiene!*

In these cases, it seems more plausible to claim, as does Bosque (1984) among others, that what we have is not a subordinating but a relative *que*. This element, as expected, is not optional but obligatory, as shown in (20c, d). It is an operator binding a variable inside the sentence. This is the reason why it shows the same Case marking as the extracted element, just as in relative clauses. We can see that in (21):

(21)   a.   *La   de sitios   donde ha   ido!*
             the$_{fem}$ of places where has gone
             'How many places s/he has been to!'
       b.   *La   de momentos cuando puedes   hacerlo.*
             the$_{fem}$ of moments when   you.can doCL$_{3sg}$
             'What a lot of moments for you to do it!'

An important fact for the present analysis is that, as shown in (22), we can have structures where the two proposed complementizers co-occur explicitly, that is, where both the head of ForceP and the head of FinP are filled by *que$_1$* and *que$_2$* respectively.

(22)   a.   *Le   gritó   que qué   mala cara   que tenía.*
             CL$_{3Sg}$ he.shouted that what bad   face   that she.had
             'He shouted him how awful she looked.'
       b.   *Susurró   que qué   rico   que estaba el   café.*
             he.whispered that what good that was   the coffee
             'He whispered how good the coffee was.'

Our proposal is, then, that in Spanish there are at least two homophonous *que*, *que$_1$* and *que$_2$*, each of which marks one of the two limits of the left periphery of the clause. Between these two elements exclamative and interrogative phrases are located. If these constituents are situated in FocP, the structure in (13) can be completed as in:

(23)   [$_{ForceP}$ [*que$_1$* [$_{TopP}$... [$_{FocP}$ *qué$_{int/excl}$* [... [$_{FinP}$ *que$_2$*[...

From the preceding proposal and the data it is based upon an interesting contrast (which has to be accounted for) can be drawn: exclamatives differ from interrogative wh-elements and focused phrases in being able to appear in a structure like (23), while, on the contrary, sentences like those in (24) with interrogative and focal wh-elements are ungrammatical in all Spanish dialects.

(24)   a.   *¿Qué coche que te   has   comprado?*
             what car   that CL$_{2Sg}$ you.have bought?
       b.   *ESE COCHE que me   he   comprado.*
             that car   that I.have bought

c. **Me   preguntó (que) qué   coche que   me   había*
    asked   me   that   what   car   that CL_{1Sg} I.had
    comprado.[13]
    bought

d. **Me   dijo   que   ESE   COCHE   que   se   había*
    CL_{1Sg} told   that   that   car   that   CL   had
    comprado.
    bought

If our analysis is correct, different elements in (Spec of) FocP behave differently with respect to the possibility of taking a node FinP whose head is filled by an explicit complementizer. The reason for this contrast is to be found, we would like to claim, in the wh-properties of the complementizer. We will basically follow Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) [hereafter P&T] proposal on the feature composition of (part of) the Complementizer system. According to these authors, the Complementizer node has uninterpretable Tense features (uT in C, in their terminology) which have to be deleted. This can be done in various ways. The first way is by applying Aux/V to (T to) C movement (i.e., subject inversion). This option is undertaken when there is also a wh-element that deletes the wh features in C by movement. The second way to delete uninterpretable phi features in C is insertion of *that*. This particle in English, then, is not a real complementizer but the realization of T to C movement to check uT in C. This takes place for example in regular subordinate clauses headed by *that*. There is still another possibility in English, which consists of the subject (be it wh or not) itself moving to C. This possibility is related to the fact that the subject also bears T features and can therefore delete uT in C.[14] In embedded clauses, English can choose between moving Spec TP (the subject) to C or inserting the particle *that*.[15] We provide the relevant structures in (25), from P&T:

(25)   a.   [$_{CP}$ *what* [T *will*]+[C, uT, uWh] [$_{IP}$ *Mary __ buy __*].
      b.   *Mary expects* [$_{CP}$ [T *that*]$_j$+[C, uT] [$_{IP}$ Sue will buy the book.]].
      c.   *Mary expects* [$_{CP}$ [*Sue*, uT]$_j$ [C, uT] [$_{IP}$ *t*-Sue$_j$ *will buy the book*.].

With this background in mind, let us turn to exclamatives. In English, these constructions have the property of not triggering Aux to C (i.e., they do not require, in fact they pre-empt, subject inversion), as can be seen in (26):

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13. The parenthesis in the first *que* is meant to indicate that the impossibility of a second *que* following the wh element applies to both types of embedded interrogatives, not that the first *que* is optional.

14. For Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) this feature is actually nominative case.

15. This process, according to the authors, involves an instance of resumption, which explains why both *that* and the auxiliary are explicit in English embedded sentences.

(26)   *What a nice car Mary bought!* vs. **What a nice car did Mary buy!*

Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) take this fact to follow from the option of deleting uT in C either by movement of T or its Spec (i.e., the lexical subject) to C, as mentioned above. The only choice when we have an exclamative phrase is the second one, i.e., to move the subject to C. This can be seen in (27) (from P&T):

(27)   [CP [*What a nice car*]$_i$ [*Mary*, uT]$_j$ [C, uT, uWh] [TP *t*-Mary$_j$ T
         bought t-what a nice car$_i$]]

The generalization would be that (in the author's words) if a "non head appears in one of the CP specifiers" the sentence would be interpreted as an exclamative, otherwise it would be interpreted as an interrogative.

We would like to frame our explanation of the facts in (19) and (22) along the lines of P&T proposal. Let us recall, first, that in the left periphery geometry the relevant node (which bears a T feature) in the complementizer system is FinP. It has to be assumed, in the first place, that movement of the subject to (Spec of) CP is not an option in Spanish. As is widely accepted since Rizzi (1982), in this language the subject has the possibility of staying inside VP and not moving even to Spec of IP. This impossibility for the subject to move to Spec CP is the reason why the complementizer q*ue* (as opposed to English *that*) cannot be absent in subordinate clauses in Spanish (i.e.. a sentence like **Sé Juan se ha ido* 'I know John left', without *que*, is ungrammatical).[16] Thus, one cannot claim any kind of Subject to Spec CP (Spec FinP in our analysis) movement to delete *u*T in C in Spanish.

Moving one step further, the contrast between interrogatives / Foci and exclamative phrases, i.e., the fact that only the latter accept *que* to their right (as the head of FinP), derives from V to C movement in the following way: in interrogatives (and in focalization structures) V moves to C, so the appearance of *que* is banned. This is not the case in exclamatives if we assume, as P&T claim (and can be seen by English data) that there is no V movement in these cases. Our hypothesis is that this leaves Fin^0 empty for *que* insertion. This explains (19) and (22).

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16. The complementizer can be omitted in Spanish only in very restricted cases, among other, in formal speech, and always before subjunctive clauses. Some examples are the following:

(i)   a.   *Temo se haya extraviado.*
               'I am afraid it might have been lost'
        b.   *Le ruego lo tenga en cuenta para el fututo.*
               ' I beg you take this into account for the future.'

We thank Carlos Piera for bringing these cases to our attention.

The question is why the subject has to be postverbal in these structures in Spanish, if Fin^0 is occupied by *que*, that is, why sentences such as (19b'), with preverbal subject, are, at least, very odd:

(19)   b′.   ??*¡Qué de coches que tu hermana tiene!*

We cannot provide a thorough explanation for this fact, but we would like to point out that, as has been widely observed (see Zagona 2001 and references therein), in Spanish the subject has to be postverbal also in embedded sentences with a filled C from which a wh-element has been extracted, as seen in (28):

(28)   a.   *¿Qué quieres que haga Juan?*
         b. ??*¿Qué quieres   que Juan haga?*
               hat   you.want   that   John   does$_{Subj}$
               'What do you want John to do?'[17]

The most plausible account seems to be to assume (as does Suñer 1994) that V does not move to C in these cases but that it occupies a lower position inside the clause. This being so, the postverbal subject would be a case similar to other postverbal subjects in non Wh contexts. Our supposition is then, that, the properties of exclamative C are the same in English and Spanish, which explains why *que* can be inserted.

In support of the previous suggestion, it is interesting to bear in mind that exclamatives present some syntactic/semantic properties which are absent in interrogatives and focalization structures. In a nutshell, exclamatives, as opposed to interrogatives, are factive sentences (Grimshaw 1979) whose propositional content is presupposed and the degree of a given property is asserted. Zanuttini and Portner (2000) analyze Paduan structures similar to Spanish and claim that these structures contain a factive operator in the most embedded layer of CP (2000: 64).

In what follows we will consider other cases which also give support to our account of the CP structure in Spanish.

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17. It has also been pointed out (Piera 1987) that certain adverbial phrases (not topicalized) require subject inversion both in matrix and embedded clauses (with explicit *que*):

(i)   a.   *(Dijo   que)   temprano   salía   Julia   de   casa.*
               said   that   early   left   Julia   of   home
               'He said that Julia used to leave home early.'
         b.   **(Dijo que) temprano Julia salía de casa.*

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3.3.   Imperative sentences and features in FinP

In Spanish second person imperative verbal forms present a particular morphological form (*haz/haced* 'do$_{Sg/Pl}$'). They also show some special syntactic properties, which make them different from the rest of the forms in the verbal paradigm. Among those properties we would like to emphasize three: (a) they do not admit negation (29a), (b) they present obligatory enclisis (29b), and (c) if there is an explicit subject it has to be necessarily postverbal, (29c) vs. (29d). First person plural and second person formal singular and plural forms (*usted(es)*) behave in a similar way (29e):

(29)   a. ***No   {haz   /   haced}   eso.*
             not   do$_{sg}$ do$_{pl}$ that
         b. *Hazlo   (*lo haz) / Hacedlo   (*lo   haced).*
             do$_{sg}$ CL$_{3Sg}$ / do$_{pl}$CL$_{3Sg}$
             'Do it.'
         c. *Hazlo   tú   / Hacedlo   vosotros.*
             doCl$_{3Sg}$ you$_{Sg}$ / doCl$_{3Sg}$ you$_{Pl}$
             'You do it.'
         d. **Tú hazlo / vosotros hacedlo.*
         e. *Hagámoslo nosotros / hágalo   usted   / háganlo*
             doCl$_{3Sg}$ we   / doCl$_{3Sg}$ you$_{formal\ Sg}$/ / doCl$_{3Sg}$
             ustedes.
             you$_{formal\ PL}$
             'Let us do it.'

Rivero and Terzi (1995), among others, argue that the just mentioned properties can be accounted for if we suppose that in imperative constructions the verb has to move to Comp. More specifically, these authors claim that in languages like Spanish Comp contains a "logical mood" feature, which is not interpretable. In second (and first) person imperative forms verbal mood is intrinsically encoded in inflectional morphology and can therefore license non interpretable features in Comp if and only if the verb moves to that position. If the verb moves to Comp both the subject and the cluster of clitic pronouns stay to its right. This would explain the ordering properties shown in (29b) and (29c). With respect to incompatibility with negation, the idea is that this element is an operator which creates a minimality effect for verb raising to C. Translating this analysis to the framework of left periphery, we could suppose that the verb moves to the closer head, that is, to the head of FinP.

   The data we would like to present at this point have to do with third person imperative sentences. These are special cases (different from second –and first-person commands) in that they do not show any special morphological form:

they do not take any imperative form but necessarily appear in the subjunctive mood and, what is crucial for us, must be introduced by *que*,[18] as can be seen in (30):

(30)   a.   *Que lo   haga(n).*
             that CL_{3Sg} $do_{3Sg/Pl}$
             'Let him/them do it.'
    b.   *Que se   vaya.*
             that CL $leave_{3Sg}$
             'Let him leave.'
    c.   *Que Antonio no lo   vea.*
             that Antonio not CL_{3Sg} see
             'Don't let Antonio see it.'

In the context of the hypothesis defended here, what we will assume is that, since the verbal form does not include any specific morphological markers which encode imperative mood, FinP has to contain an explicit element to license those features. *Que₂* (the head of FinP) is, in our view, such an element. Therefore this is another instance (recall the analysis for (20) and (23)) of Fin head filled by *que*.

There are some theoretical and empirical reasons to support the preceding claim. First of all, note that if a dislocated element appears in these imperative sentences the topic phrase precedes *que* in a root (non subordinating) context. See (31):

(31)   a.   *A ese alumno, que los profesores no lo   dejen*
             to that student that the teachers   not CL_{3Sg} allow
             salir hasta las 6.
             leave untill the 6
             'Let the teachers not allow that student to leave before 6.'
    b.   *Juanito, que se   calle.*
             Juanito that CL keeps quiet
             'Let Juanito keep quiet.'

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18. At least in contemporary non literary, non formulaic Spanish, since there still exist some cases like:

(i)   *¡Hágase la   luz!*
       makeCL the light
       'Let there be light!'

The above examples allow us to speculate that in these sentences the left periphery is displayed only up to TopP and that the element heading the imperative sentence is the "lower" *que* (in FinP).

This analysis is parallel to what has been proposed for Verb second constructions. Within the framework of sentence cartography, it has been claimed (Haegeman 1997; Roberts 2004; Poletto 2000; among others) that in V2 languages some additional requirement to check features in FinP is imposed: the lowest C position (Fin) has to be filled either by movement or by merge. Verb movement to Fin^0 is a last resort strategy to check non interpretable features in Fin. In embedded clauses, non interpretable features are checked by the complementizer head. The behaviour of imperative sentences in Spanish resembles very much V2 structures. In our case, it is mood features that are involved and it is the verb's lack of appropriate markers to check those features which accounts for merger of the particle *que* in Fin^0. As in the case of V2 languages, no further XP movement needs to take place in this case, since Fin is filled by merge (not move) of an element (Roberts 2004).

Summarizing, our proposal is that in third person imperative clauses the verb does not raise (as is the case for second and first person imperatives). Instead of that, *que* appears as a means to make the corresponding mode explicit. This would explain why enclisis is not obtained (30a), (30b) and (31), and why the subject is allowed to be preverbal, as in (30c) and (32).

(32)   *Que los invitados se sienten delante de la mesa.*
        that the guests CL sit in front of the table
        'Let the guests sit in front of the table.'

These examples are to be contrasted with (29c) and (29d) where verb raising has taken place.

Another piece of evidence in support of the proposed analysis is that this *que* heading FinP, as expected, is compatible with declarative *que* heading ForceP, that is, we can find cases like the following, where both positions are again overtly filled, in spoken Spanish:

(33)   a.   *Ordeno* **que** *esos árboles* **que** *los talen.*
              I.order that those trees that CL$_{3Pl}$ cut
              'I order to cut those trees.'
        b.   *He dicho* **que** *el dinero* **que** *no lo toquen.*
              I.have said that the money that not Cl$_{3Sg}$ touch
              'I said that the money should not be touched.'

It has to be observed that this "double *que*" structure is impossible in all dialects when the relevant phrase is right instead of left dislocated, as seen in (33′):

(33′)   **Ordenó que los talen que esos árboles.*[19]

This contrast is expected in our analysis and derives from the fact that right dislocation does not involve left periphery (see, for example, Villalba (2000)).

As we saw was the case for Saramaccan *fu*, both boundaries of the left periphery can be overtly filled also in Spanish. The fact that we do not have two instances of *que* unless a topic appears between them, that is, the fact that sentences like (34) are ungrammatical, is, in our opinion, to be attributed to phonological reasons:

(34)   **Dije   que$_{decl}$ que$_{mood}$ se   fuera   Juan.*
         I.said that   that   CL   leave   Juan
         'I said that Juan should leave.'

A similar (reduction) phenomenon obtains, for example, when we have two instances of clitic *se* such as:

(35)   **A   mí   se   me   dijo   la   verdad pero a   María no*
         to me   Cl$_{Imp}$ Cl$_{1Sg}$ told   the truth   but   to María not
         se   se   la   dijo.
         se$_{imp}$ se$_{dat}$ CL$_{3AC}$ told

From the data analyzed in this section and in the previous one it can be inferred that *que* insertion in Fin is an alternative to V movement to C. Another partial conclusion is that, among other features, FinP must contain those related to mood. In the next section we will go deeper into this claim.

3.4.   *Mood and FinP. Subjunctive markers*

It has been frequently noted that there is a relation between mood features in a sentence and the properties of its complementizers. Kempchinsky (1990), for example, shows that there is a subjunctive Comp which, in the case of volition verbs, contains an (empty) operator with an imperative value that she calls IMP. This would account for the apparent "transparency" that sentential boundaries of subjunctive sentences show when embedded under volition verbs. To be more precise, these sentences trigger "obviation" effects, that is, they widen the pronominal's governing category up to the matrix clause. Therefore, in a subjunctive sentence subordinated to a volition verb a pronoun cannot appear if it is coreferent with a matrix argument. Thus in (36) the subordinate subject, be it explicit or implicit, cannot have the same index as the main subject:

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19. We thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing these data to our attention.

(36)   *Juan$_i$ quiere   que   él$_i$/pro$_i$ vaya.*
        Juan   wants   that   he   go$_{subj}$

Laka (1995) presents another case in which Comp in subjunctive sentences appears to be "transparent". The relevant data concern the licensing of negative polarity items (NPI). The author provides contrasts like the following:

(37)   a.   *Dudo   que   venga   nadie.*
              I.doubt   that   comes$_{subj}$ nobody

        b.   **Sé   que   viene   nadie.*
              I.know   that   comes   nobody

        c.   **No   sabía   que   venía   nadie.*
              not   I.know   that   came   nobody

        d.   *No   sabía   que   viniera   nadie.*
              not   I.know   that   come$_{subj}$ nobody
              'I did not know that anybody was coming.'

The paradigm in (37) shows that verbs of the type of *dudar* 'to doubt' behave like negation in the sense that they can license NPIs inside subordinate clauses if they are in the subjunctive mood. Laka's (1995) hypothesis is that in all cases in (37) a complementizer appears with a negative feature [Ng], which licenses subjunctive mood while binding the NPI at the same time. Given its tight relation to verbal inflection, it seems reasonable to propose that these mood features are located in FinP.

If this is correct, and FinP in Spanish contains features related to mood, we expect to find subjunctive root sentences (in addition to the imperative ones analyzed in the previous section) introduced by an explicit complementizer which is directly related to mood. This type of structures is precisely like the ones in (38), with volition or desiderative subjunctive, in standard Spanish:

(38)   a.   *Ojalá   que   venga.*
              PRT   that   comes$_{subj}$
              'I wish s/he comes.'

        b.   *Ojalá   que   haga   buen   tiempo.*
              PRT   that   makes   good   weather
              'I wish that the weather is fine.'

It seems to be the case that sentences with a counterfactual meaning do not admit this *que*, as examples like (39) seem to suggest. The only meaning associated with this Comp is thus purely desiderative:

(39)   a.   *?*Ojalá que la   tierra fuera cuadrada / que*
           PRT   that the earth   was   flat   /   that
           viviéramos en   Marte.
           we.lived   in   Mars
   b.   *?*Ojalá que lo   hubiéramos sabido.*
           PRT   that CL_{3Sg} we.had   known

It has to be noted, though, that in present day Spanish, subjunctive taking doubt particles, contrary to volition ones like *ojalá*, do not easily admit *que*, as (40) shows:

(40)   a.   ?*Quizás que ya   lo   sepa.*
           maybe   that already CL_{3Sg} knows$_{Subj}$
           'S/He may already know (about it).'
   b. ??*Acaso   que deberíamos quedarnos.*
           perhaps   that we.should   stay

Nevertheless, in previous stages of the language and in some American varieties, structures with *acaso/quizá(s)/tal vez* 'maybe' followed by a verb in the subjunctive and with *que* are possible. In (41) we provide some examples:

(41)   a.   *Y   acaso   que algunos pongan los ojos en sus*
           and   maybe   that some   put$_{Subj}$ the   eyes   in   his
           obras para las   imitar.
           plays   for CL_{3Pl} imitate
           'And they might look at his plays to imitate them.'
           [Unknown: Translation of *Imagen de la vida cristiana* by Fray Héctor Pinto, SPAIN, 1571]
   b.   *Pues tal vez que lo   sean   -se fue   diciendo*
           so   maybe   that   CL   they.are   he.went   saying
           él mismo-, tal vez   que lo   sean.
           himself   maybe   that   CLthey-are
           [Asturias, M. Ángel: *Hombres de maíz.* GUATEMALA] 1949–1953]
   c.   *Me   dije: quizá   que vendan   cerillas.*
           CL_{1sg} I.told: maybe   that   they.sell$_{Subj}$ matches
           'I told myself: they may sell matches here.'
           [Trigo, Felipe, Jarrapellejos, SPAIN, 1914]

We do not have an insightful explanation for the fact that in present day Spanish *que* in Fin is only visible with the desiderative particle *ojalá*, but we would like to mention that historical data support the hypothesis sketched above.

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3.5.   Topic structures. Another type of que*?*

There is still another type of Spanish subordinate construction which contains two instances of *que*. In Spanish, when a clitic left dislocation structure is embedded, the dislocated element (the topic) can be both preceded and followed[20] by *que*, as in the following examples:

(42)   a.   *Dijo* [***que*** [*a   ese   tío*] ***que*** [*no   podía ni   verlo*]].[21]
             said   that   to   that guy   that   not could even seeCL
             'S/He said that s/he could not stand that guy.'
       b.   *Suplicó* [***que*** [*esas   cosas*] ***que*** [*no   se   las*
             begged   that   those things that   not CL$_{DT}$ CL$_{AC\,fem\,plur}$
             dijera]].
             tell
             'He begged me not to say those things to him.'

This phenomenon has been referred to as "recomplementation" (Fontana 1993, Uriagereka 1995) and consists of a second complementizer appearing after a dislocated phrase. In the examples in (42) the phrases *a ese tío, esas cosas* in Spec of TopP are sandwiched between two *que*. In all relevant respects, these are "regular" cases of embedded clitic left dislocated structures. They behave just like CLLD structures in three important respects:
(a) the phrases in brackets in (42) are interpreted as topics,
(b) a coreferent resumptive clitic appears inside the clause,
(c) these structures allow interrogative island violations.
Properties (a) and (b) can be seen in (42). As for property (c), it follows from examples like (43) that a dislocated element can be related to a position inside an embedded interrogative clause without triggering ungrammaticality:

(43)   a.   *Dijo* ***que*** [*a   ese   empleado*]$_i$ ***que*** *no   sabía*
             said that   to that employee   that not know
             [*cuánto   le$_i$ pagaban*].
              how-much Cl   paid
             'S/He said that he didn't know how much they paid that employee.'

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20. We will not be concerned here with the question of how many Topic (and focus) positions there are and whether they are recursive or not. In Benincà and Poletto (2001) there is a detailed analysis of these projections in Italian.
21. Again *que* iteration is impossible in structures with right dislocation. Hence the ungrammaticality of (i). See discussion about (33) and (33′) above:

    (i)   **Me dijo que no podía ni verlo que a ese tío.*

b. *Me   dijo **que** [ese paquete]ᵢ **que** no   sabia [quién*
   CL₁Sg told that that parcel   that not know   who
   loᵢ   había traído].
   Cl₃Sg had   brought
   'He told me that he didn't know who brought that parcel.'

In addition, as is always the case for CLLD constructions, the Topic can be iterated. The crucial fact is that *que* only appears after the last dislocated phrase. (44) is a relevant example:

(44)   *Te   pido **que** a   tu   padre (***que***) en este momento*
       CL₂Sg I.ask that to your father that   at   this moment
       *(***que***) esa mentira (***que***) no   se   la   digas.*
       that   that lie   that   not CL_DT CL_AC tell
       'I ask you not to tell that lie to your father at this moment.'

In accordance with what has been proposed so far, we will assume, as in the previous cases, that the (obligatory) *que* which appears to the left of the dislocated phrase is in ForceP. As for the second instance of *que*, a structure like (45) could be proposed, which parallels the one for embedded imperatives:

(45)   [ForceP [*que* [TopP *a ese tío* [FocP … [… [FinP *que* […

Nevertheless, it has to be noted that the structures under discussion are different from the ones just analyzed which display an overt Fin⁰ in some relevant aspects. First of all, dislocated structures do not require any particular mood or entail a special modal interpretation. They are different in this respect from the other instances of *que* in FinP. Second, and perhaps more important, in dislocated structures an interrogative or a focus phrase can appear after the second instance of *que*. This possibility is not expected if *que* is generated in FinP. See the following grammatical examples:

(46)   a. *Me   dijo que ese coche **que dónde** lo   había*
         CL₁Sg told that that car   that where CL₃Sg I.had
         comprado.
         bought
         'S/He asked me where I had bought that car.'
       b. *Me   aseguró que esa tontería que NUNCA la*
         CL₃Sg assured that that nonsense that never   CL₃SgF
         diría.
         would.say
         'He promised that he would never say such nonsense.'

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It is worth noting at this point that the *que* present is these sentences contrasts sharply with the one that appears with imperatives and with subjunctive particles, which we have claimed to occupy the head position inside FinP. In these cases, a wh-phrase or a Focus are impossible after the second *que*, as expected

(47)   a.   *Ordenó*   *que   ese   coche   que   quién   lo   lavara.*
             s/he.ordered   that   that   car   that   who CL_{3Sg} washed

       b.   *Ordenó*   *que   ese   coche   que   SU   PADRE*
             s/he.ordered   that   that   car   that   HIS   FATHER
             lo lavara
             washed

       c.   *Dijo*   *que   ojalá   que   quién   lavara   ese   coche.*
             s/he.said   that   PRT   that   who   that   car   wash

       d.   *Dijo*   *que   ojalá   que   ESE   COCHE   comprara*
             s/he.said   that   PRT   that   THAT   CAR   that
             Juan.[22]
             John   would   buy

This seems to indicate that this *que* might be of a different sort: It would not be generated in FinP but in another (higher) position. It thus seems that there might be yet another instance of *que* and that maybe a (slightly) more complex left periphery might be proposed. Some authors (see for example Rodríguez Ramalle (2003)) claim that the second *que* in these constructions is a topic marker thus situated in TopP. So the structure for (42a), for example, would be something like (48):

(48)   [ForceP [*que* [TopP *a ese tío* [*que* [FocP … [… [FinP …

It has also been proposed that there is an additional or "doubled" ForceP located between TopicP and FocusP. This is the hypothesis put forward for example in Martín-Gonzalez (2002), who proposes a structure like (48):

(49)   ForceP (TopicP) (DoubledForceP) (FocusP) FinP

This might indicate that the *que* in these cases ((43)–(44)) is a reinforcement of the declarative status of the sentence. This could explain why recomplementation is odd when embedded under factive predicates:

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22. One has to note that, although it can be argued that interrogative elements are incompatible with imperatives and *ojalá* clauses in general, this is not the case for Foci.

(50) a. *Lamento que ese coche (*que) no lo compres.*
          am sorry that that car   that   not CL$_{3Sg}$ you-buy
          'I am sorry that you won't buy that car.'
      b. *Siento mucho que una película tan bonita (*que)*
          am-sorry very   that a   film   so   nice   that
          te la hayas perdido.
          CLCL$_{3SgF}$ you.have missed
          'I am sorry that you have missed such a nice film.'
      c. *Me encanta que ese vestido (*que) te*
          CL$_{1Sg}$ like that that dress   that   CLCL$_{3Sg}$
          lo pongas tanto.
          you-wear so   often
          'I like it that you wear that dress so often.'

It is not clear to us which of the two options is to be chosen. A deeper study of the behaviour of left dislocated elements is in order. However, it is reasonable to conjecture, given the facts presented above, that we are very possibly dealing with another instance of *que*.

4. Conclusion

Along these pages we have tried to show that the structure of CP in Spanish is more complex than it appears to be in concrete descriptive approaches and looks similar to that of languages apparently very different from the typological point of view. What our work finally indicates is that the initial part of the sentence (its left periphery, more exactly) is an intricate laboratory where interaction of categories and features can produce different but not arbitrary outputs depending on the action of two minimal grammatical actors: the features present in the complementizers Force and Fin (which are presumably universal) and the availability of lexical elements, in a given language, to fill these positions. The hypothesis of the left periphery is used in this work, then, not as a mere cartographic device (a kind of linguistic universal) but as the structural emergence of basic principles of grammar.

From the empirical point of view, by resorting to this universal structure we have been able to throw light on some Spanish constructions which, despite of being very common, have been so far left out of the theoretical analysis. More specifically, the analysis of five types of constructions has served us to prove that there are at least two instances of the complementizer *que*, each being the spell out of the upper and the lower boundaries of so called sentence left periphery. The *que* in ForceP is obligatory in declarative embedded sentences whereas *que* in FinP (which encodes at least features related to sentence mood) is optional unless it has to check some (mood) features, as is the case

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for imperatives. Our analysis has also gone deeper into the properties of exclamative and interrogative sentences and into the interaction between mood and complementizers.

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