Features and Interfaces in Romance

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"DEQUEÍSMO" IN SPANISH AND THE STRUCTURE AND FEATURES OF CP[*]

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0. *Introduction*

In this paper we will deal with a well known case of dialectal variation in Spanish grammar: the one holding between *que* 'that' and *de que* 'of that' in the head position of embedded tensed clauses. This alternation gives rise to what is called "*dequeísmo*" by prescriptive grammars[1], cf. (1). A parallel phenomenon, usually studied together with the previous one, is "queísmo" which consists in dropping the preposition *de* when required, cf. (2):

(1) *Comentó   con alguien   de que yo era profesora.*
     Commented with someone of that I was teacher
     "He/she told someone that I was a teacher." [Bentivoglio, 1976: 4][2]
     (Standard: Comentó con alguien *que* yo era profesora).

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[1] We will use the term "*dequeísmo*" throughout the paper to refer to the phenomenon and "*dequeísta(s)*" to refer to the variety (or dialect) and its speakers.

[2] From now on all of the examples of "dequeísmo" introduced in the text are attested examples and their source is indicated. We want to anticipate, though, that most of our examples come from the CREA [*Corpus de referencia del español actual,* Real Academia Española] and from the MC-NLCH [*Macrocorpus de la norma lingüística culta de las principales ciudades hispánicas*].

(2)   *...te acuerdas que... están unas piedras enormes...*
       Remember   that...there are some stones enormous...
       "Do you remember that... there are these huge stones?."
       [Bentivoglio, 1975: 2] (Standard: *...te acuerdas de que ...*)

These phenomena have received much attention from sociolinguistic and dialectological studies (Arjona 1978, Bentivoglio 1975, Bentovoglio and Sedano 1992, Gómez Torrego 1999, Rabanales 1994, among others) as well as by cognitive-functionalist oriented ones (García 1986, Mollica 1991, Schwenter 1999). They have found in them, in the first case, an optimal field to discuss the 'norm' of Spanish grammar, in the second case, an appropriate *locus* to argue against the possibility of syntactic variation since the non-normative option ("dequeísmo", basically) would be a way to show the speaker's communicative intention (*de* insertion will be an iconic device, García 1986) or to mark the source of the information he/she provides, namely, "evidentiality" (Schwenter 1999). A general aim of our paper is to incorporate this topic into the theory of grammar. If our analysis proves to be adequate, it will also show that functional explanations can be very well recast in formal terms. This will depend crucially, of course, on the deep understanding of what features of lexical items have real grammatical import.

The main topic of this article will be the status of the *de* found in sentences like (1) and (2). The questions we would like to address are the following: (a) Is the presence of *de* (together with *que*) in sentential constituents related to syntactic/structural Case (Plann 1988, Raposo 1987 for infinitival sentences)? (b) What is the constituent structure of sentences like (1) (indirectly (2))? (c) What are the relevant features of T and C which call for such a structure?

Unfortunately, all these questions cannot be thoroughly developed in this paper due to space limitations. Moreover, we will not be able to elaborate on the theoretical implications of our observations. Let us say, summarizing, though, that our account may bear on old issues coming back to modern minimalist explanations. We refer, for instance, to the hypothesis that complementizers have features; we would say now that C has (un)interpretable features, as well as to the idea that I and C are related. We would now speak about the ability of these features to trigger Move or Agree (Chomsky 1995, 1999).[3]

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[3] All these issues (and many others) are brilliantly approached in Pesetsky and Torrego (2000).

1. **Que** and de que *in Spanish: A brief statement of facts*
1.1 Que

If we leave aside *si* ("if", "whether"), present in indirect questions and conditional sentences, we can assert that in Spanish there is one single complementizer: *que. Que* occurs alone in subject and direct object sentences, cf. (3a) and (3b). It may be preceded by a preposition or other particles in adverbial sentences, (3c), forming a kind of complex conjunction (*porque* 'because', lit: 'for-that'; *aunque* 'although', lit: 'still-that'). *Que* needs to be preceded by the preposition *de* when introducing a sentential complement of a noun, (3d), an adjective, (3e), or a pronominal verb with a reflexive clitic (*enterarse de,* "understand/ realize", *acordarse de,* "remember"), (3f):

(3) a.   *Me gustaría que te quedaras.*
          To-me would like that you stay
          "I would like you to stay."

     b.   *Quiero que te quedes.*
          I want that you stay
          "I want you to stay."

     c.   *Lo haré para que/aunque te quedes   /porque te quedas.*
          I will do it for that/although you stay$_{SUBJ}$ /because you stay$_{IND}$
          " I will do it so that/because/ although you stay"

     d.   *La idea de que te   quedes me fascina.*
          the idea of that you stay   me fascinates
          "The idea of your staying fascinates me."

     e.   *Estoy orgullosa de que te quedes.*
          I am proud   of that you stay
          "I am proud that you are staying."

     f.   *No se enteró de que te quedabas.*
          not realized of that you were staying
          "He did not realize that you were staying."

As can be seen in (3d,e), in Spanish, contrary to other Romance languages and English, the clausal complement of N/A retains the preposition which introduces NP (*la idea de Juan* "the idea of Juan", *orgullosa de mi hija* "proud of my daughter"). For N and A it is usually assumed that this preposition is a Case marker. In (3f) the preposition appears to be required by the verb, and it has also been analyzed as a realization of an inherent Case assigned to an NP complement by a verb which has absorbed accusative Case

(Campos and Kempchinsky 1991). We return to these examples and the Case status of these sentences below (cf. (6)).

1.2 *"Queísmo" and "dequeísmo"*

Taking the previous observations as background, we must recall that "queísmo"—a quite extended phenomenon of variation within Spanish—is defined as the use of *que* not preceded by a preposition in: a) sentential complements of verbs which need a preposition, either *de*, as in (3f) or different from *de* as in (4a); b) sentential complements of (derived) nominals, (4b), or adjectives (4c). In all these cases the omission of the preposition appears to be quite haphazard: it is much more frequent in certain dialectal areas although it is quite general in spoken Spanish, and has had a long life in the history of the language (cases of "queísmo" are attested in Spanish texts of the XVI century, see Gómez Torrego 1999:§34.1.8.). Moreover, speakers are usually "queístas" and "dequeístas" at the same time.

(4)   a.   *... uno aspira, por lo menos, que esa persona le retribuya a*
            ... one seeks,   at least,   that that person CL pay   to
            uno... las manifestaciones   de... cariño.
            one   the manifestations   of... love   (st. Sp.: *aspira a que*)
            "One expects at least to be payed back for his love
            manifestations." [Bentivoglio, 1976: 12]

      b.   *¡Qué esperanza que hablara uno!* [Arjona, 1978: 174]
            What hope   that would speak one. (st. Sp. *esperanza de que*)

      c.   *¡Yo me siento tan rara que me hablen de usted!*
            I   me feel   so weird that me speak of *'usted'*
            (st. Sp: *...me siento tan rara de que me hablen*) [Arjona,
            1978: 174]
            "I feel funny when they address me in the usted form."

"Dequeísmo", as we have anticipated, is the addition of *de* before the complementizer *que* when it appears not to be formally required. The archetypal case is the "para-grammatical" presence of *de* with a direct object finite sentence ((1a) and (5a)). However, *de* can also appear before other finite sentences such as the one in predicate position in (5b) and the adverbial one in (5c) (we come back to these data in §3):

(5)   a.   *Notaron   de que los profesores se los habían leído todos.*
            they noted of that the professors CLCL had   read all
            "They realized that the professors had read them all."
            [Spont, Barcelona, 28-4-00].

      b.   *Así es   de que me voy   a tener que aguantar.*
            so it is of that I am going to have to put up with
            "The thing is that I will have to deal with that."
            [Arjona, 1978: 177]

      c.   *Plantamos de forma de que sea bueno para el ganado.*
            we plant   of form of that it is good for the cattle
            "We plant in a way that is good for the cattle."
            [TV2, 10-5-00, countryman, Extremadura]

2. *Case is not the reason for "queísmo" and "dequeísmo"*

Before developing our proposal, a short comment is in order to argue that Case is not to be invoked in accounting for the facts in (1) and (2). In previous analyses, Case has been, directly or indirectly, at stake when trying to explain the presence or absence of prepositions in complement sentences. Stowell (1981) argued for the existence of a *Case Resistance Principle* (CRP), according to which Case may not be assigned to a category that bears a Case-assigning feature itself. Since Tense is a Case-assigner, Spanish clauses that are objects of prepositions, (6), constitute clear counter-examples to the CRP, as Contreras (1985) and Plann (1986) correctly argued. In other words, complement sentences, even when occurring in contexts where Case is not assigned by a head-governor like N or A, would not need a case-assigning preposition (this is what actually happens in English as well as in many Romance Languages other than Spanish).

(6)   *la convicción/ seguridad/ información de [que trabajamos mucho]*
      the conviction/ certainty/ information of [that work-I-pl much]
      "the conviction/certainty/information that we work a lot"

A consequence of these facts appears to be that Spanish sentences need to be assigned Case, in contradiction to the CRP. However, we could still think that the CRP holds and that the difference between Spanish and languages like English, Catalan or French, in which a preposition cannot appear before sentences in complement position of N and A, is due to the fact that Spanish sentences are NPs or DPs, and it is this constituent and not the CP which needs to receive case.

The phenomena we are considering in this paper contradict these observations in two respects. In the first place, the phenomenon of "queísmo" (which is not incompatible with "dequeísmo", as we have said) indicates that the preposition, which one might suppose to be a Case assigner, is missing in contexts in which Case cannot be assigned in any other way.[4] On the other hand, there are many reasons to think that the claim that sentences are DP's is not tenable.[5] We will mention here just one. As shown in (7), "dequeísmo" does not extend to constructions in which the complement is not clausal. In other words, if *de* is a Case marker and what needs case is not the sentence but an NP which contains a sentence, *de* would be added in "dequeísta" contexts such as (7a), where the complement is a real NP/DP and not a CP. However, (7) is ungrammatical:

(7)   *Me dijo de {eso / tu historia}.*
        He told me of {that / your story}

Within the minimalist framework, it has been argued (Picallo 2000) that (complement) clauses are subject to agreement with a functional category. Picallo claims that sentences do have phi-features, but with a negative specification, that is, CPs are marked as [-person, -number, -gender]. It is also assumed that only [+P, +N, +G] arguments (i.e., nominals) are endowed with Case. So sentences are caseless categories although they undergo the operation *Agree*. We will adopt the main idea of this framework and conclude then that *de* is not inserted for Case purposes.

We come back in §3.1 to the implausibility of *de* as a Case marker, as well as to the features in COMP. In what follows we will assume: (a) Spanish sentential constituents do not need Case; the prepositions which precede them carry features other than Case. (b) *De* is a sort of prepositional complementizer which selects for a CP as its complement and for an (empty)

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[4] Another fact usually referred to as "queísmo" is that of dropping the preposition of prepositional verbs like *advertir (de), dudar (de), informar (de)* (Demonte 1992, Cano Aguilar 1999). However, there are reasons to believe that these cases are not instances of structural Case but of reanalysis of a verb with an inherent Case marker into a transitive verb. If we analyze these verbs as projecting a Larsonian structure similar to that of double object constructions in which the proposition appears in the most embedded constituent (Demonte and Fernández Soriano, in preparation), we could argue that there is an alternation between this structure and a derived one in which the sentence raises to Spec, VP.

[5] This supposition will present new problems since it leaves no way to explain the differences with the Romances languages in which only infinitives are nominal elements (cf. Kayne 1999 and Raposo 1987 in this regard).

"deictic" pronoun (also marked as [-person, -number, -gender]) as its Spec. As a result, the clausal complement occupies a more embedded position in the VP layered structure. (c) C features may either appear together in one functional category (and one morphological word) or be distributed between two functional heads. To argue these points we will mainly rely on examples of "dequeísmo".

3. *On the origin and derivation of* de que *sentences*
3.1 *On the status of* de

Our hypothesis is that "dequeísmo" is a phenomenon related to the nature of COMP, to its feature composition and structure. To begin, it is necessary to have a brief look at the various types of features exhibited by this category in the languages we are acquainted with.

Schematically stated, complementizers generally come from pronouns, conjunctions, adpositions and even verbs. (In Uzbekian, a verb equivalent to *say* behaves as a complementizer.) As to their internal properties, they can be classified into various types. There are complementizers bearing agreement features such as those of Flemish, as in (8a,b), where the complementizer *da* that introduces the embedded sentence becomes *dan* (with the morpheme *–n* appearing also on the verb) when the subject is plural:[6]

(8)   a.   *...da   den inspekteur da boek gelezen eet.*
                    that the inspector   the book read   has
        b.   *...dan d' inspekteurs da boek gelezen een.*
                    that$_{PL}$ the inspectors the book read   have
                    [Haegeman, 1994: 131].

Some languages incorporate in the complementizer a "(switch) reference marker", which indicates how the subject of the subordinate clause is interpreted with respect to the matrix subject. One example is Yavapai, a Penutian language spoken in Arizona (Watanabe 2000, Finer 1985, Kendall 1975). There are also complementizers which appear to be marks of (inherent) Case. In Kanuri, an east-Saharan language, dative and accusative clitics occur as complementizers (cf. (9a)). Maori incorporates a directional particle as an adposition to the verb (cf. (9b)):

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[6] The reader can find an analysis of this phenomenon in minimalist terms in Watanabe, 2000.

(9) a. *Sáva-nyi   íshen-rò   t'man'-nà.*
        friend-my   come-DT$_{3Sg}$ think-1Sg-Perf.
        "I thought that my friend would come."
    b. E   hiahia ana   raatou **ki** te haere.
        pres. want prog. they   to det. go
        "They want to go." [Noonan, 1985:48]

In all these cases COMP marks subordination. Bhatt and Yoon (1991) have argued that COMP is not a unified category either structurally or functionally. One function is to indicate subordination; another is to indicate selection, i.e., clause type. In addition to these grammatical features, complementizers may also carry information about the illocutive force of the embedded clause they introduce. They may incorporate negation (Latin *ut* vs. *ne*), or they may mark the 'truth' or 'credibility' of the sentence. This is the case of Jacalteco, where use of complementizer *chubil* implies the truth of the information in the sentence, while *tato* appears when the speaker is not committed to the truth of the information in the embedded sentence (Noonan, 1985):

(10) a *Xal   naj   **chubil** chuluj   naj presidente.*
        Said   Art.   that   come-fut Art. president
        "He said that the president will come (with certainty)."
    b. *Xal   naj   **tato**   chuluj   naj presidente.*
        said   Art.   that   come-fut   Art. president
        "He said that the president (maybe) will come."
        [Noonan 1985: 48].

In certain languages the complementizer varies depending on the mood of the sentence. In Romanian, for instance, there are different complementizers for indicative (*ca*) and subjunctive (*sa*). In Russian, the subjunctive complementizer *cto* has to add the modal particle *by* (Noonan, op.cit: 52).

In certain cases CP can be dominated by some type of determiner, which is polarity sensitive (like English *either*. Adger and Quer (2001)). In Basque, for example, this higher functional projection is realized overtly, so the COMP which appears with matrix negation, yes/no questions and conditional antecedents can have the form *–(e)nik* (vs. *(e)la,* the declarative complementizer). *–nik* is a partitive mark that has been considered a (partitive) determiner (Laka, 1994). Adger and Quer also show that in Basque factive complements (such as the verb *to know* or adjectives like *clear*,

evident, etc.) there is a special type of complementizer, *-(e)na*, which can be decomposed into a C head *((e)n)* plus the definite determiner *–a*.

Summarizing, the morphological information in COMP is of two types: a) information related to T: Agreement, Tense and Mood, and b) extra sentential information: inherent Case marking, factivity, credibility/evidentiality, etc.

In order to clarify the type of information introduced by Spanish *de* in "dequeísta" contexts, we will assume Pesetsky and Torrego's (2000) claim that Spanish—as opposed to English—COMP is not the spell-out of T-features (agreement and tense)[7]. We are left with the other type of information, which we assume may be split between *de* and *que*. To argue for this idea, let us start by examining the syntactic contexts in which *de* precedes *que*. According to many authors (Gómez Torrego 1999, De Mello 1995, and Quilis 1986), "dequeísmo" is much more frequent in direct object complement sentences (cf. also (1a) and (5a)):[8]

(11) *Entonces, sacó   a la muchacha diciéndole **de que** si llegaba a*
     then,   took out the girl ,   telling-her of that if she dared to
     pararse cerca de su casa,   era   capaz de apalearla
     stand   near of his house, he was capable to hit her.
     "Then he took the girl out and told her that if she dared to stand near his house, he would hit her."
     [CREA, Burgos, E., *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú*, Guatemala, 1983]

In subject sentences, *de que* appears both when the sentence occurs postverbally, (12) (Arjona 1978), and preverbally, (13):

(12) *Entonces, resulta **de que** ...el ejecutivo que viene...*
     "Then, it turns out of that ...the businessman that comes..."
     [MC-NLCH, LP-5, man, 41, business manager]
(13) *Y en este momento hay muchas niñas así. **De que** todas esas*
     "And now there are may girls like that. Of that all those
     niñas se vayan a enfermar ya es mucho más difícil.
     girls are going to get sick is much more difficult."
     [CREA, Oral, *Informe Semanal*, TV1, Spain, 02-11-96]

The second context provides perhaps the most compelling argument against *de* being a Case marker, since preverbal subject sentences occur in Spec, TP

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[7] We refer the reader to the mentioned work for evidence for this claim.
[8] Arjona (1978), on the contrary, found more cases of the phenomenon in subject sentences.

(i.e, in subject position (Piera 1979)), where structural nominative Case would be assigned, and no preposition would be needed (i.e. there are no prepositional subjects in Spanish[9])

In our search of the MC-NLCH, the contexts in which "dequeísmo" was most frequent were 'ungoverned' ones, namely: the predicate position of copulative sentences (cf. De Mello 1995:140, Quilis 1986, Gómez Torrego 1999), (14), and appositive sentences (cf. Gómez Torrego 1999), (15). *De que* can also introduce adverbial consecutive clauses, as in (16):

(14) a.   *La idea es de que entraran los alumnos de la facultad...*
          the idea is of that come in the students of the college
          " The idea is that undergraduate students would get in ..."
          [MC-NLCH, ME-6, man, 40, psychiatrist].

   b.   *Hermano, lo que nosotros vemos aquí es de que si aquellos*
          Brother, what we   see   here is of that if those
          otros amigos cualifican su postura, y ...
          other friends qualify their view and
          [CREA, Prensa, *El Tiempo*, 15-4-1997, Colombia].

(15) a.   *Incide en lo que estábamos hablando: de que nuestra vocación*
          Goes back to what we were saying: of that our vocation
          temporal no es el éxito
          temporary is not success [Gómez Torrego 1999: 2112]

   b.   *Esto es lo que es un poco moral (...): de que no tiene suficiente*
          This is what is little moral ..., of that he does not have enough
          voluntad.
          will.
          "This is what is not moral: the fact that he does not have
          enough willpower."

(16) a.   *Es tal la formación matemática [...] de que comienza a perder*
          Is such the formation mathematical...of that starts to lose
          el sentir de la realidad.
          feeling of reality.
          "His mathematical formation is such that he starts to lose
          contact with reality."[Gómez Torrego 1999: 2114]

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[9] We abstract away from the case of quirky locative and dative subjects (Fernández Soriano 1999).

   b.   *El individuo... debería ... prepararse de manera de que pueda*
          the individual... should ... prepare... in a way   of that he can
          tocar todos los medios ambientes.
          touch all environments.
          "Individuals should get prepared in a such a way that he can
          deal with all environments." [MC-NLCH, CA-1, man, 35,
          dentist].

   c.   *Y así, en fin... por más de que la persona no tenga*
          and so, at last, for more of that the person not has
          ninguna afición, por más de que.. bueno...
          any   hobby for more of that, well...
          "And so, necessarily, no matter that the person does not have
          any hobbies, no matter what, well..."
          [MC-NLCH, BO-3, woman, 33, lawyer].

These examples show once again that the preposition appears in contexts where licensing of NPs or of *que* sentences is independent of Case assignment. Another fact leading to the same conclusion is the occurrence of *de que* in independent sentences:

(17) a.   - *¿Qué es lo que yo le había dicho?*
          "What is it that I had told you?."
          - *De que ustedes, ... no les conviene....*
          "Of that you, it is not convenient for you..."
          [CREA, Puig, M. El beso de la mujer araña, Argentina, 1996]

   b.   -*... ¿Adónde pasaste?*
          "What else did you ask?."
          - *De que si yo no sabía hacer un arroz yo ... iba aprendiendo.*
          of that if I did not know make a rice I go learning
          "That if I did not know how to cook rice I would slowly learn."
          [CREA, oral, 1987, Venezuela]

All these examples suggest that the nature and structure of *de que* sentences is complex and we are not dealing with just another superficial form of the complementizer, either a Case marker or another lexical item (a complex C). We propose instead that *de* in the cases under study is the head of a dyadic structure (in the sense of Hale and Keyser's 1998 proposal) taking CP headed by *que* as its complement and a (null) neuter pronoun (similar to *lo*

or *eso*, "that") as its Specifier.[10] That is, our hypothesis is that in "dequeísta" varieties subordinate clauses have a structure like the one depicted in (18).

(18) .... C/PP
         /\
    pron.   C/P
          /\
      de   CP
            /\
         que   IP
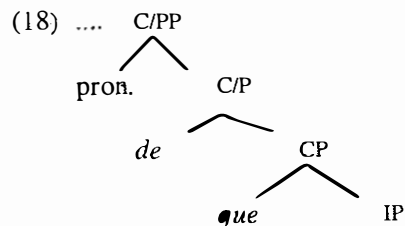
We are not committed to the prepositional status of *de*. We consider it to be a functional category (C/P), such as the one proposed by Kayne (1994), analogous to the English *for* which appears with infinitival clauses.[11] In Chomsky (1999) framework, languages select a subset F' of features from the set F available by UG. Elements of F' are assembled into a lexicon (Chomsky 1999:13). Languages thus have the possibility for some array of features of F' to appear as a single lexical item or in independent lexical items (such as future tense in English, or "analytical" vs. "synthetic" constructions for comparatives or passives in Latin and Romance languages). Following this line of reasoning, we would like to assume that *de* is the realization of an array of features otherwise amalgamated in C (*que*).[12] In this sense, *de* is a 'particle' which, once projected (with a first and a second merge) will converge at LF and at every stage of the derivation to LF (Chomsky 1999:8). We come back to the features of *de* later. As for the null pronoun, we would like to claim that it satisfies, by merge, the EPP feature of the functional category and agrees with complement CP. This pronoun is thus endowed with the same negatively specified features as the sentence, which, as we said, is marked as [-P, -N, -G].

One piece of evidence suggests that this might be on the right track, in the sense that it shows that a *de que* sentence, contrary to the ones introduced by

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[10] One could alternatively claim that *de que* sentences are someway related to "factivity", that is introduced by a (null) factive nominal such as *el hecho (de que)* "the fact that". We will not elaborate on this issue but let us say, in short, that we will not consider this possibility because *de que* sentences can be selected by non factive main verbs.

[11] The fact that *for* never appears in English before complementizer *that* could be explained under Pesetsky and Torrego's hypothesis, according to which English *that* is not a complementizer equivalent to Spanish *que* but a spell out of I to C movement.

[12] Chomsky (1999:fn4) notes that T and C are " cover terms for a richer array of functional categories". See also Rizzi (1997).

plain *que*, never moves to (i.e., agrees with) small *v*. That is, a sentence preceded by *de* does not undergo object shift. This evidence comes from the contrast in Case marking of co-occurring NP arguments in "ditransitive" structures, which are marked with accusative only if the sentence is preceded by *de*. This is shown by passivization facts as in (19a) (where the otherwise dative NP is passivized in *de que* structures) as well as by the contrast between (19b) and (19c), which are uttered by the same speaker:

(19) a. *El partido laborista anunció* **que** *iba   a devolver*
       the party Labour announced that it was going to return
       esos fondos, tras ser   aconsejado **de que** *así lo hiciera*
       those funds after being advised   of that so it do
       por el presidente
       by the president
       "The Labour Party announced that they were going to return those funds after being advised to do so by the president."
       [*ABC* 15/1 197]

   b. *...telefonear a su padre, aconsejándolo de que no los dejaran ir*
      ...telephone his father, advising CL_{AC} of that not them let go
      "...telephone his father, advising him not to let them go"

   c. *..telefonearle, informándole* **que** *el ejército   ya estaba en* CU.
      ..telephone him, informingCL_{DT} that the army already was in CU
      [Marco Antonio Marcos, *Que la carne es hierba*, Mexico, 1982]

As these examples show, if the sentence is introduced by *de*, the NP is marked with accusative, whereas if a *que* sentence is used, the NP appears in the dative Case. We take this to show that only in non-*de que* structures is the sentence a sister of V and the NP cannot move to Spec *v* to be marked for Case. In *de que* structures, on the contrary, it is the NP which undergoes object shift (and gets accusative Case). In this sense, the construction under study is radically different from those CPs which are complements of a determiner (see Adger and Quer 2001 and references therein). In fact, such sentences are never preceded by *de*:

(20) *El de que te vayas no me afecta.
     the of that you leave does not affect me

3.2 De *as a head of a CP/PP*

Evidence that *de* heads a CP—as we stated in (18)—comes from the fact that *de que* object sentences can be clitic left dislocated and a neuter clitic *lo* appears inside the main clause. We provide some examples in (21)[13]:

(21) a. **De que** El Gesticulador impactó ... en la vida de México,
Of that *El Gesticulador* impacted in the life of Mexico
lo prueba el hecho de que fue retirada   de su temporada
CL proves the fact of that it was taken away of its season
teatral...
theater
"That EG had an impact in Mexico's life is proved by the fact that it was taken out of the season."
[CREA, prensa, *Proceso*, Mexico, 29-9-1996]

b. **De que** *tu romería iba por otros nortes fui viéndolo de ha poco*
Of that your pilgrimage went for other norths I saw it of little
y a esta parte.
and to this part
"That you were taking another direction I just saw it recently."
[CREA, Alviz Arroyo, J. *Un solo son en la danza,* Spain, 1982]

Two aspects of these facts need to be mentioned. First, the occurrence of the "accusative" form of the clitic does not mean that the sentence is marked for (accusative) Case. The pronoun *lo* in this case might be correctly argued to be the neuter form of the pronoun which also stands for predicates such as *Guapo lo es*, "Handsome he CL is". Observe, moreover, that *lo* can never pronominalize a (non-predicative) PP (*Va a Granada/*Lo va.* "He is going to Granada/He is going (to) it.") Consequently, *de que* sentences cannot be real PP's. Second, we would like to suggest that *lo* is the spell out of the neuter pronoun in Spec C/P.

This assumption is in line with Rothstein's (1995) hypothesis, according to which pleonastics occur to fill empty "subject" positions, more specifically pleonastics are "subjects of a syntactic predicate which does not assign a theta role". In minimalist terms we would say that C/P bears an EPP feature that needs to be checked by merge. The fact that the pronoun is null is consistent with the pro-drop status of Spanish (where pleonastics are usually null).

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[13] This context was not attested in previous works, to our knowledge.

As to the internal structure of this CP, let us assume that in Spanish *que* is the head of COMP in any tensed IP. Under certain conditions that we will clarify immediately, the putative complement sentence does not merge in its canonical position. More strictly: in certain cases the CP with *que* is the complement of the prepositional complementizer *de*, where *de* becomes the head of another constituent carrying a feature related to the illocutionary content of the sentence. We will call this feature 'evidentiality'.[14]

Interesting evidence in favor of this analysis is the fact that in standard Spanish the full structure (with an explicit pronoun) is possible (see (22a)). Additionally, in the varieties under consideration we have found examples in which this complex structure is "split" so that the neuter pronoun is realized in another syntactic position. See (22b,c and d):

(22) a. *No repitas {eso/lo} de que no quieres venir.*
not repeat   that/it of that don't want to come.
"Don't repeat that stuff about you not wanting to come."

b. *...en eso es lo único que yo creo que ayuda la televisión, de*
in that is the only thing that I think that helps television, of
que por lo menos hay ciertas ideas que se dicen claramente...
that at least there are certain ideas that are said clearly
"That is the only way in which I think television is helpful, in that at least some ideas are clearly stated."
[MC-NLCH, CA-9, woman 50, teacher].

c. *Cuando eso que me aconsejaron de que no me fuera...*
When that that they advised me of that no to go...
[CREA, oral, Venezuela, 1987]

d. *Le dejé eso muy claro de que yo era amiga del hijo de él.*
Him stated that very clear of that I was friend of the son of him
"I stated it very clearly to him that I was a friend of his son's".
[CREA, oral, Venezuela, 1977]

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[14] Schwenter 1999, was the first author to assert that *de* was a marker of evidentiality. He shows a statistical correlation between occurrence of *de* and an increase in the number of third person predicates, in the use of past tense, and in "intervention" effects (occurrence of a constituent between the verb and the embedded clause). Moreover, he shows that these sentences are more frequent in oral texts. If we interpret Schwenter correctly, *de que* complement sentences would be declarative sentences on which the speaker places greater reliance because there is (explicit or implicit) information corroborating their content. We will not discuss these considerations further, but we accept provisionally Schwenter's hypothesis concerning the content of COMP .

Data from coordinate structures also favor the hypothesis that there is an additional COMP node headed by *de*. In these structures *de* can appear in both conjuncts, as in (23a); it may be omitted in the second conjunct, as in (23b), or it can even appear exclusively in the second conjunct, as in (23c). Note also that with putative complex conjunctions (Haegeman 1992:56), like *aunque* and *porque*, this ellipsis is not possible, cf. (23d) and (23e):

(23) a.   *El individuo...debería prepararse...en un medio ambiente de*
          the individual should get prepared...in an environment in a
          manera de que pueda tocar todos los medios ambientales, de
          way of that he can touch all the environments, of that
          que el Estado o la empresa privada permita que el individuo...
          the state of private firm allows that the individual [id.]

     b.   *...debe estar claro de que el pueblo nicaragüense lo que quiere*
          ...must be   clear of that the people Nicaraguan it that wants
          es trabajar, y que rechaza cualquier tipo de asonada
          wants is to work, and that rejects any type of riot
          "It must be clear that what people from Nicaragua want is to
          work and that they are against riots of any kind."
          [CREA La Prensa, 25/06/1997. Nicaragua].

     c.   *No quiere decir que él iba a ganarle al medio ambiente...sino*
          not mean say   that he was to win the environment ...but
          de que él iba a probar
          of that he was going to try [id.].

     d.   **Aunque lo quieras y que insistas en ello, no te lo daré.*
          although you it want and you insist on it, I will not you it give
          "No matter how much you want it and how much you insist. I
          will not give it to you."

     e.   **Porque lo quieres y que insistes en ello, te lo daré.*
          Because you want it and that you insist on it, I will you it give.

The structure we have proposed is also confirmed by extraction data. It appears that "dequeísmo" creates opaque structures. In other words, the presence of *de* induces island effects and no constituent, not even an argument, can be extracted out of the embedded declarative sentence introduced by *de que*:

(24) a.   *¿Qué cosa me dijiste (*de) que habías comprado t?*
          "What thing did you tell me (of) that you had bought?"

     b.   *¿Dónde sabes (*de) que vive t?*
          "Where do you know (of) that he lives?"

The structure proposed in (18) can account for this fact in a straightforward way, since the Spec of CP/PP would create a minimality effect, or a Minimal Link Condition violation. The reason for the ungrammaticality of (24a) and (24b) is that an intervening Spec (the one containing the null pronoun) prevents the Wh element from moving up to the matrix COMP.

Another fact that seems to support the idea that *de* is a head of a constituent above CP is that it is not found in Wh-structures such as comparatives (we do not have examples like **Es más alto de que yo*, "he is taller of than I") or interrogatives (25a). On the other hand, *de* never precedes the interrogative complementizer *si* ("whether") either, (25b). That is, we have *de que* but not *de si* structures.[15] The ungrammaticality of "dequeísta" wh-contexts indicates that *de* appears only when a head *que* is explicitly present.

(25) a.   *Me pregunto (*de) qué ha hecho.*
          I wonder of what has he done. (cf. *Dijo de que lo había
          hecho*)

     b.   *No me dijo (*de) si lo sabía o no.*
          He didn't tell me of whether he knew it or not.

These facts might also constitute indirect evidence for the "evidentiality" of *de*. If this is correct, sentences introduced by *de* should be semantically incompatible with an *if* (or any interrogative) clause, which excludes epistemic commitment (see Adger and Quer 2001).

A proof that the banning of *de* in contexts of wh-movement is due at least partially to s-selection is provided by the presence of *de* preceding relative clauses introduced by *que*, where a resumptive pronoun appears inside the relative. From Rivero (1982) up to Brucart (1999) this relative *que* is analyzed as a complementizer. The resumptive pronoun is bound by a relative operator in Spec, CP containing *que* (cf. (26)).

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[15] This would constitute indirect evidence for the claim that *si* is in Spec, CP in Spanish as Suñer (1991) and others have claimed.

(26) a. *El único sistema de que yo encuentro que (pro) es viable.*
         "The only system of that I think that is viable."
         [Gómez Torrego 1999: 2107]

      b. *Es un tipo de que la   disciplina lo   ha formado.*
          is a guy of that the discipline him has formed."
          "He is a guy who has been educated by discipline."
          [Gómez Torrego 1999: 2107]

These sentences show directly that *de* cannot be the specifier of the COMP
where *que* is located. *De*, we would claim, selects for a CP with a
"declarative" complementizer. Let us examine the details of this proposal.

4. *Two types of complement sentences and the "insertion" of* de

Our proposal claims that "dequeísta" subordinate sentences have a
different type of COMP from that of standard embedded *que* sentences. We
have claimed that merging or insertion of *de* in these sentences goes together
with the creation of another functional node above COMP. More strictly,
de+que is not a syntactic and morphological single unit (Boretti de Macchia
1989) and *de* heads a maximal projection, which is the explicit manifestation
of certain (interpretable) features of COMP.

We propose that in "dequeísta" varieties the features carried by *que* in
Standard Spanish are split in two functional categories. We assume that
COMP is Spanish has the feature composition given in (27) (an extension of
Pesetsky and Torrego 2000's (14)):

(27)   [C, uT/v, {uWh, iDecl}, iEv][16]

This array of features can appear as one single lexical item (*que*) and one
functional projection (C). This is the case of standard Spanish. For
"dequeísta" varieties, we propose that *de* is the realization of some of those
features. We will try to determine tentatively what those features might be. In
Chomsky (1999:6) it is assumed that C is v-complete, in the sense that it
always has a full array of phi-features to legitimate its relation with T. We
assume that *de* also has these (negatively marked) phi-features, plus
selectional features and the interpretable feature Ev. As for the feature Decl,
we tentatively suggest that it might be uninterpretable in C/PP, with the

consequent attraction of (declarative) C. This would explain its
incompatibility with Wh-sentences and sentences headed by *si* ("whether"). [17]

There remain many open questions, however. It is not clear, for example,
what the analysis of "queísta" varieties might be. (Is the CRP the reason for
omission of the preposition?). Another important question is the status of
required *de* in standard Spanish, with pronominal prepositional verbs (28a),
with infinitives (28b) in certain varieties, and in predicative constructions like
those in (28c) and (28c):

(28) a. *No se enteró de que te quedabas* (=(3f))

      b. *No me dejan de ir.*
          They don't let me of to go.

      c. *Lo eligieron de / como presidente.*
          CL elected   of / as   president.
          "They elected him as president."

      d. *La tratan de gran señora.*
          CL treat of great lady.
          "They treat her as a lady."

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[16] Where *Decl* stands for "declarative" and *Ev* satnds for "evidentiality". The *u* and the *i*
preceding these features indicate "uninterpretable" and "interpretable" respectively.

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[17] The evidential nature of *de* might also explain why sentences such as (i), with modal
poder, "can", are unacceptable in with this preposition:
(i)   **Puede de que venga mañana.*

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