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# **Complementizer Deletion in European Spanish:**

A comparison between XVI-XVII century Spanish and current-day Spanish.

**Relatrice**

Ch.ma Prof.ssa Alessandra Giorgi

**Correlatrice**

Ch.ma Prof.ssa Avel·lina Suñer Gratacos

**Laureanda**

Clarissa Facchin  
857055

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*'May the Force be with you'*

*(Star Wars, George Lucas)*

*Otherwise, delete the Complementizer.*

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## List of Corpora

CORDE (*Corpus diacrónico del español*): It is a 250-million-word collection of samples of written Spanish (e.g. novel, newspapers, poems, academic, legal, religious, etc.) from the beginning of the language to 1974.

CODEA (*Corpus de documentos españoles anteriores a 1800*): It collects 2500 documents before 1800. It includes documents of different registers of European Spanish.

CORPES XXI (*Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI*): It includes over 312 million words from a wide range of genres (e.g. spoken, newspapers, fiction, academic) from the 21st century.

Lefebvre el-Derecho: It collects 4.600.000 legal documents of court rulings of Spain.



## Abstract

Este trabajo investiga las condiciones sintácticas que dan lugar a la omisión del complementizador *que* en las oraciones completivas del español peninsular mediante un análisis comparativo de dos fases de la historia de la lengua: el período entre los siglos XVI y XVII, y el siglo XXI. Los objetivos de esta investigación son dos: discutir algunas de las cuestiones planteadas por los estudios ya existentes, y avanzar una propuesta de análisis teórico que permita identificar las semejanzas y las diferencias en la sintaxis de estas estructuras en el español actual y en el español clásico.

La gramática tradicional considera el fenómeno de omisión del complementizador como un recurso arcaico y obsoleto, característico del estilo formal escrito (Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga 2005; Di Tullio 2005; RAE 2009, 2010) y su uso suele estar desacostumbrado en los registros de la lengua que no sean el lenguaje jurídico y administrativo (Gómez Torrego 2006).

A pesar de la escasez literaria sobre el tema, el estudio teórico de la elisión del *que* ha considerado este fenómeno de particular relevancia en el análisis sintáctico (Suñer 1988). Uno de los principales problemas que han surgido tiene que ver con determinar la posición que ocupa en la representación sintáctica el verbo subordinado cuando el *que* se ha omitido. La literatura suele enfatizar dos propiedades características de estas estructuras: (i) la estricta adyacencia entre el verbo principal y el verbo subordinado, que no puede ser interrumpida por ningún elemento léxico excepto los clíticos; (ii) la existencia de una correlación entre la omisión del *que* y la interpretación *irrealis* de la frase complemento (Brovetto 2002; Antonelli 2013).

En virtud de estas observaciones, dicho fenómeno ha recibido dos análisis distintos. Por un lado, se ha propuesto que el requisito de adyacencia se debe a que las frases subordinadas son complementos del Sintagma Flexión (SFL), y no del Sintagma Complementizador (SC). Uno de los defensores de esta propuesta es Brovetto (2002). Por el otro lado, se ha propuesto que, cuando el complementizador no está expresado, el SComp consta de una proyección sincrética de los núcleos Fuerza y Finitud, cuyo núcleo está ocupado por el verbo subordinado que sube a dicha proyección. Este análisis ha sido desarrollado por Antonelli (2013).

El objetivo del presente trabajo es examinar con más detalle las propiedades sintácticas y semánticas del fenómeno de omisión del complementizador. Para ello, intentaré explorar un

aspecto que considero fundamental a la hora de examinar dichos constructos frasales, es decir, la posición del sujeto. Específicamente, argüiré que un análisis que atribuye a estas estructuras los efectos de “verbo segundo” (V2) levanta un interrogante significativo, en cuanto no explica por qué la posición de especificador del sintagma verbal no está disponible para el sujeto. Dicho con otras palabras, argüir que el verbo subordinado sube a una proyección al nivel de C, como se verifica en las lenguas germánicas, no explica por qué los sujetos subordinados no pueden ocupar la posición preverbal, un efecto esperado bajo un análisis de este tipo.

Otro aspecto que quiero abordar en esta tesis está relacionado con el modo verbal de las estructuras aquí analizadas. La observación de que los modos subjuntivo y condicional son típicos de las subordinadas sin *que* ha llevado a la aserción de que existe una correlación entre la omisión del *que* y la interpretación *irrealis* de la frase complemento. Esta explicación trata de dar cuenta de la restricción del fenómeno a ciertas clases verbales, como los verbos de ruego o mandato, los factivos y de pensamiento, por un lado, y su incompatibilidad con los predicados de comunicación, por el otro. Sin embargo, demostraré que esta hipótesis carece de datos exactos, ya que el complementizador se puede omitir también cuando encabeza subordinadas en indicativo, el modo seleccionado por los verbos de actitud proposicional como *creer* y, independientemente del modo verbal que se encuentra en estas estructuras, un análisis basado en la noción *realis / irrealis* para describir el significado transmitido por la completiva no es adecuado desde un punto de vista teórico y empírico.

Considero que la restricción del fenómeno de omisión del complementizador a clases verbales específicas es un dato fundamental y, con el fin de dar cuenta de este hecho, el presente trabajo se propone analizar algunas propiedades relevantes de otro fenómeno lingüístico, ampliamente estudiado en español, conocido como Recomentación, que consta de la repetición del nexo subordinante de la oración completiva después de un sintagma dislocado. A este respecto, argumentaré que existe una conexión entre la posibilidad de algunas clases verbales de omitir el complementizador y la incompatibilidad de estas mismas clases con la recomplementación. Consideraré sobretodo el análisis de González i Planas (2014), quien analiza estas estructuras como estructuras orientadas al enunciado. El enfoque propuesto por González i Planas destaca un hecho crucial para este estudio: la recomplementación está permitida solo si el verbo principal expresa un significado asertivo. Las clases que suelen ser compatibles con el doblaje de *que* son los que se conocen con el nombre de *verba dicendi*, en cambio, los verbos factivos, iussivos y los predicados de pensamiento rechazan dicha estructura, salvo que transmitan al contenido que subordinan una interpretación asertiva.

La hipótesis que avanzo aquí es la siguiente: si la recomplementación es una estructura indexical, entonces se puede suponer que el nexos subordinante que la selecciona es compatible con los elementos indexicales. En consecuencia, el complementizador es responsable de la interpretación del evento subordinado y existen al menos dos tipos de complementizadores *que*, homófonos pero con propiedades y posiciones distintas. De acuerdo con este análisis, el hecho que la omisión del complementizador se limite solo a algunos predicados no es una mera coincidencia, sino que depende de sus propiedades interpretativas y sintácticas. La idea que la omisión del complementizador se debe a las propiedades del *que*, las cuales a su vez son responsables de vehicular una interpretación especial al evento de la frase subordinada, ya ha sido desarrollada por Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) y trabajos posteriores.

A partir de una búsqueda rigurosa de diversas bases de datos, el presente estudio aporta evidencias empíricas bien documentadas de constructos frasales sin el nexos subordinante. La investigación empírica es importante en la medida en que podamos analizar la sintaxis de una muestra de datos auténticos y, al mismo tiempo, determinar su contexto de uso. Los corpora han sido elegidos según criterios que permitieran averiguar diferentes registros de la lengua. Este tipo de investigación ha permitido corroborar dos factores principales: (i) no se puede generalizar que este fenómeno es más abundante en el lenguaje jurídico y administrativo, sino que la frecuencia depende de la clase verbal a la que pertenece el verbo principal, y (ii) la omisión del complementizador se relaciona de forma sistemática con la ausencia del sujeto (lexical o pronominal) en posición preverbal y cuando se establece ciertas relaciones temporales entre la frase principal y subordinada.

Con el objetivo de entender las raíces del fenómeno, ampliaré el análisis al español clásico, la lengua escrita de los siglos XVI y XVII. La decisión de considerar estos siglos en concreto se debe a que, por un lado, es a esta altura del desarrollo de la lengua que las construcciones aquí analizadas empiezan a volverse productivas. En adición a esto, en la literatura (Fontana 1993; Wolfe 2015, entre otros) se ha observado que a partir del siglo XVI la gramática española empieza a perder gradualmente la restricción del verbo segundo.

La ventaja del enfoque diacrónico es proporcionar una perspectiva diferente del fenómeno y permitir determinar el desarrollo sintáctico teniendo en cuenta de la complejidad del mismo. En otras palabras, este método abre a la posibilidad de examinar las propiedades de la omisión del nexos complementizador en una etapa clave del desarrollo histórico de la lengua española, cuya gramática ya no es la de “puro V2”, pero que, al mismo tiempo, sigue siendo capaz de producir estructuras típicas de las lenguas a verbo segundo. Por lo tanto, este hecho nos permite

investigar más de cerca la relación que se halla entre el fenómeno de omisión del complementizador y los patrones del verbo segundo.

# 1. Introduction

An interesting aspect of certain natural languages is that they can omit the subordinating particle introducing a sentential complement clause. The term conventionally used to refer to these phenomena is Complementizer Deletion (CD). Among Romance languages, this property has been formally investigated in several works for Italian (see Poletto 1995; Giorgi and Pianesi 1997; Poletto 2000; Giorgi 2010, among others) which contributed to shed light on the nature and the function of the C layer. It has been noted in the literature (Suñer 1988; Brovotto 2002; Antonelli 2013) that Spanish, to some extents, also allows the omission of the complementizer *que* ‘that’ just like in Italian, see (1), but little is known about the syntactic nature related to such an omission.

- (1) María **rogó** a los periodistas fuese respetada  
*Mary begged to the reporters be-SUBJ-PAST-3SG respected*  
la intimidad de la familia.  
*the intimacy of the family*

‘Mary begged the reporters for the intimacy of the family to be respected.’

(Suñer 1988, ex.16b)

This thesis is devoted to the observation of the conditions that determine the omission of the highest *que* in simple complement clauses. The property of CD is generally defined in normative grammar contexts as an archaic phenomenon restricted to a formal written style (Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga 2005; Di Tullio 2005; RAE 2009, 2010). Prescriptive grammars usually recommend avoiding these structures in registers of the language other than the legal one (Gómez Torrego 2006, among others).

Although the linguistic literature on this issue is poor and sometimes quite controversial, the theoretical research on CD phenomenon considers it of particular relevance to the syntactic analysis (Suñer 1988). This phenomenon has raised an important problem, namely the position of the embedded verb when the complementizer has been omitted. A property shared by clauses lacking the complementizer that has sparked considerable theoretical interest is the adjacency

requirement between the matrix and the embedded verb. As a consequence of such a restriction, no lexical material can intervene between them, except for clitic elements. A second property that is often emphasized is related to the mood of the embedded clause: there exists a correlation between the omission of the complementizer and the *irrealis* meaning conveyed by the embedded clause (Brovetto 2002; Antonelli 2013).

On the basis of these observations, two different lines of research have been pursued. On one hand, the absence of an overt complementizer has led some researchers to argue that these clauses do not manifest a C layer. One proponent of this analysis in Spanish is Brovetto (2002), who argues that the embedded propositions lacking the *que* are IP complements. This view has been challenged by Antonelli (2013), who claims that contrary to sentences where *que* is overt realized, the C heads Force and Fin are syncretically projected in complementizerless clauses.

In order to better capture the several peculiarities of CD phenomenon, other issues must be considered, namely the subject distribution. In my opinion, the biggest question that remains to be answered under a V-to-C analysis is why the specifier position of the verb phrase is not available for a subject, then why the sentence in (2a) is ungrammatical. This issue, as admitted in the literature, “is an important observation that any theory dealing with these facts should account for.” (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 239).

- (2) a. \*Lamento Juan esté enfermo.  
*I.lament Juan be-SUBJ-PRES-3SG sick* (Suñer 1988, ex.33a)
- b. Lamento esté enfermo Juan.  
*I.lament be-SUBJ-PRES-3SG sick Juan*  
 ‘I am sorry that Juan is sick.’ (ibid, ex.32a)

Moreover, I will claim that an analysis based on the notion of *realis / irrealis* adopted by the literature to describe the particular meaning conveyed by the embedded clause without complementizer is not empirically adequate. The explanation of CD based on *realis / irrealis* distinction tries to account for its restriction to certain classes of verbs – factives, jussives and verbs of belief – while it is rejected with verbs of saying.

I consider the restriction among verb classes a crucial fact and in order to account for it, this work analyses some relevant points of another common phenomenon in Spanish, known as Recomplementation, which consists in the recurrence of a non-primary complementizer after a dislocated phrase. In particular, I show that there is a correlation between the possibility of



omitting the complementizer and the rejection of recomplementation *que* in embedded clauses. The literature about this issue is very rich. Here I will mostly consider González i Planas's (2014) analysis of recomplementation as utterance-oriented structures. González i Planas's approach points out a fact that is crucial in my study: recomplementation construals are allowed only when the main verb conveys an assertive meaning. The classes that are generally compatible with the doubling of *que* are the so-called *verba dicendi*, whereas factive, jussives and belief predicates reject it, unless they are interpreted as expressing an assertive meaning.

My claim is that, if recomplementation is an indexical structure, then the high *que* selecting it must be compatible with indexical elements. If my hypothesis is correct, the complementizer is responsible for the interpretation of the embedded event suggesting that there exist at least two instances of complementizers *que*. According to this analysis, the fact that complementizer deletion is restricted only to certain classes of predicates is not a mere coincidence but depends on its interpretative and syntactic properties.

The hypothesis I develop here is in line with the proposal put forward by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) and subsequent works. The idea is that CD effects are due on the one hand to the special properties of the deletable *que*, and on the other hand that, due to these peculiar properties of the complementizer introducing the embedded clause, the latter acquires a special interpretation distinguishing it from the embedded clauses headed by a non-deletable *que*.

Therefore, the purpose of this work is to provide well-documented empirical evidence about European Spanish CD construals taken from different corpora. The empirical research is particularly important in that we can analyse the syntax of authentic data samples and the contexts in which they are produced. The investigation allows me to corroborate that the omission of the complementizer systematically correlates with two factors: (i) a particular type of mood of the embedded verb, and (ii) the absence of overt lexical or pronominal subject in between the main and the complement clause.

To better understand the phenomenon and some of its aspects, I will expand the analysis to classical Spanish between the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, when the phenomenon of CD becomes productive. The decision to consider specifically these two centuries comes from the observation that, according to the literature (Fontana 1993; Wolfe 2015, among others) at that stage of the language Spanish gradually loses the verb-second constraint. The focus on the diachrony of European Spanish has the advantage to provide a different perspective and it allows to determine the syntactic development and the complexity of the phenomenon in question. In other words, it will be possible to examine the properties of complementizer

deletion in a crucial stage of the development of Spanish, which grammar is no longer that of a “pure V2” language, but it is still able to generate structures like those generated in V2 languages. Therefore, it allows us to investigate more closely the relationship between complementizer deletion and the fact that the language exhibits verb-second properties.

The outline of this thesis is as follows: chapter 2 provides the theoretical background, in which some crucial properties regarding the syntax of CD clauses are explained, as well as the overview of the main approaches accounting for this phenomenon. In this chapter I also discuss the problems that these theories raised.

In chapter 3 I propose that CD is best accounted for by hypothesizing the existence of two instances of complementizer *que*, as proposed by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) for Italian CD effects; more specifically, that the omission of the complementizer correlates with a particular temporal interpretation of the embedded event. I show that this consideration is supported by some crucial properties of recomplementation phenomenon, the syntactic counterpart of complementizer deletion.

Chapter 4 and chapter 5 present the results of the quantitative analysis of CD in current-day Spanish and classical Spanish respectively, along with a discussion of the syntactic and semantic properties of these structures. The main aim is to understand whether CD correlates with a non-indexical interpretation of the embedded event, and the degree of main-embedded verb adjacency restriction. Despite some differences on the word order in the two varieties of the language, the syntactic analysis of CD structures will show that there is no evidence for claiming that the embedded verb moves up to the C layer, as it would be expected under a V2 approach, but that it remains in a lower position instead.

In chapter 4 I also consider the distribution of first person subjectless verbal forms of epistemic predicates and, by comparing it with Italian, I propose that there is evidence for claiming that the C layer is responsible for the (non-)indexical interpretation of the embedded event.

In chapter 6 I discuss the main results of my research and a summary of the main problems that this thesis opens up. In chapter 7, I add some closing remarks and, in the appendix, I report the entire corpus of complementizerless clauses I gathered.



## 2. Theoretical background

In this chapter I elucidate the theoretical framework of complementizerless structures in Spanish. A first introductory section is dedicated to a general overview of the Spanish left-periphery and takes into account the distribution of the complementizers, topics and focus. Section 2.2 describes several syntactic properties of complementizer deletion phenomena, in particular the impossibility for the subject to precede the embedded verb. In section 2.3 I will present and discuss some of the main theories that explain the syntactic structure of CD clauses and, finally, in section 2.4, I will point out some of the major problems affecting such analyses.

### 2.1 The structure of the Spanish left-periphery

In this work, I follow the majority of the literature in adopting the highly articulated left periphery of Rizzi (1997, 2001). This approach has been applied in a number of works that I consider here, e.g., Broveto (2002), Antonelli (2013), González i Planas (2010, 2014), Villagarcía (2015). It is hypothesized that the Spanish CP field is enclosed by two complementizer projections: on the left boundary there is the ForceP, responsible for encoding information about the type of clause (i.e., declarative, exclamative, relative etc.) and, on the right boundary FinP expresses the finiteness of the verb and the mood features. If the sentence requires informational structure, the C layer can be enriched by a Focus and a Topic projection. The basic structure of the left periphery assumed here can be split in the following way:

(1) [ForceP [TopP\* [FocP [FinP [IP...]]]]].

As can be seen in (1), the focus and topic positions are found in between force and finiteness. The asterisk indicates that the Topic projection is recursive: in Spanish, as well as in Italian, more than one phrase per clause can be topicalized, as in (2). On the other hand, only one focalized element is allowed, as the ungrammaticality in (3b) attests.

(2) Dice [<sub>ForceP</sub> que [<sub>TopP</sub> **en la universidad** [<sub>TopP</sub> **la sintaxis...** no la odia nadie]]  
*says that in the university the syntax not cl. hates nobody*  
 ‘S/he says that nobody hates the syntax in the university.’ (Villa-García 2015, ex.2)

(3) a. Dice [<sub>ForceP</sub> que [<sub>FocP</sub> A TU PADRE... le cuenta mentiras, (no a María)]]  
*says that to your father cl. tells lies (not to Mary)*  
 ‘S/he says that s/he tells lies to your father, not to Mary.’ (ibid, ex.3a)

b. \*Dice [<sub>ForceP</sub> que [<sub>FocP</sub> A TU PADRE [<sub>FocP</sub> MENTIRAS... le cuenta]]]  
*says that to your father lies cl. tells* (ibid, ex.3b)

In Spanish however, Topic projection cannot follow FocP<sup>1</sup>, but in order to co-occur, the focalized phrase must always follow the topicalized ones (Casielles-Suárez 2003):

(4) a. \*MENTIRAS a sus padres les cuenta siempre.  
*lies to his parents cl. tells always*  
 ‘S/he always tells his parents lies.’ (Casielles-Suárez 2003, ex.51)

b. Dice que a tu padre MENTIRAS le cuenta, (no chistes).  
*says that to your father lies cl. tells (not jokes)*  
 ‘S/he says that s/he tells your father lies, not jokes.’ (Villa-García 2015, ex.4a)

If no fronted elements occur between the two boundaries projections, then only a conflated projection is involved, known as ForceFinitenessPhrase (FFP or CP) (Villa-García 2015).

According to Rizzi (2001), in Hernanz (2012) and Villa-García (2015) is presupposed the existence of an Int(errogative) projection hosting interrogative complementizers such as *si* ‘if’ and *wh*-items, and it is located between TopP and FocP. The structure in (1) can thus be rewritten as (5):

(5) [ForceP [TopP\* [IntP [TopP\* [FocP [FinP [IP...]]]]]]]

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<sup>1</sup> Spanish word order contrasts with Rizzi’s analysis of the relative positions of the Topic and Focus projections. In fact, in the split CP of Rizzi (1997) topics can either precede the focus, follow it, or both.

As it can be noticed, Spanish possesses two complementizers: *que* ‘that’ and *si* ‘if’, where *que* is a subordinating particle carrying assertive features and introducing finite embedded clauses, while *si* introduces indirect questions. According to Rizzi (1997), the choice of the complementizer depends on the properties of the verbal system of the dependent clause. More specifically, the agreement relation between C and I is responsible for the co-occurrence of the higher complementizer *que* and an embedded tensed verb. As for the Italian *che* ‘that’, the complementizer *che* co-occurs with the indicative, subjunctive, and conditional mood. On the other hand, Finiteness projection is involved when an infinitival mood appears in the dependent clause and it is usually expressed by an overt prepositional complementizer, as *di* ‘for’ in Italian (Rizzi 1997: 283-285). As the examples in (6) shows, Spanish lacks this kind of complementizer (Hernanz 2012: 7), which can be rendered with *que* ‘that’ introducing a finite clause, or with no complementizer if it introduces a non-finite clause, as can be seen in (7).

(6) a. Penso **di** dovergli parlare. (Italian)

*I.think of to have-cl<sub>3SG</sub> to speak*

‘I think that I have to speak to him.’

(Rizzi 1997, ex.62)

b. Pienso **que** tengo que hablarle.

*I.think that I.have that to speak-cl<sub>3SG</sub>*

‘I think that I have to speak to him.’

(7) Juan prometió terminar el trabajo pronto..

*Juan promised finish the job soon*

‘Juan promised to finish the job soon.’

(Rodríguez Ramalle 2005, ex.106)

However, the Finiteness projection and the elements competing for this position have been much discussed, particularly in the analysis of recomplementation<sup>2</sup>, a very productive phenomenon in Spanish. The literature about this issue is very rich and it provided evidence for

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<sup>2</sup> See Martín-González (2002); Rodríguez Ramalle (2003); Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2007, 2009); Villagarcía (2012, 2015, 2019); González i Planas (2010, 2014), among others.

a more complex system of complementizers in which more than one instance of *que* exists. I will discuss this point later on.

Finally, some authors (e.g., Haegeman 2006a, 2006b, González i Planas 2010) assume a Sub(ordinating) projection on top of ForceP headed by the subordinating conjunction *que* in embedded clauses.

(8) [SubP [Sub' *que* [Force [Force'...]]]]

In line with Rizzi's (1997) split CP analysis, they distinguish three different functional heads hosting a subordinating particle, Sub, Force and Fin, each specified by different features. The highest projection SubP selects its complement clause independently of its force. The ForceP is a projection related to speaker deixis, and the lower head Fin is responsible for modality<sup>3</sup>. Since the functional layer ForceP is responsible for the anchoring of a proposition to the speaker, it is labelled as Speaker Deixis (SD) (Haegeman 2006b). Her proposal is that ForceP and TopP are licensed by speaker deixis and they cannot project if SD is not projected<sup>4</sup>.

However, in this work I will only discuss the literature placing the higher complementizer *que* in ForceP, given that this is the account adopted by the works on the syntax of Spanish complementizerless clauses.

## 2.2 Complementizer Deletion

The possibility of omitting the complementizer in Spanish embedded clauses has been studied in the last thirty years. This property has been addressed as a unitary phenomenon, making no distinction between the various classes of verbs introducing a complement clause. In this section, I present the studies concerning the primary *que* and its possibility of being omitted, I will point out some issues with respect to the classification of the main predicates allowing such

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<sup>3</sup> This proposal is inspired by the one formulated by Roussou (2000) for Modern Greek.

<sup>4</sup> Haegeman's proposal follows Tenny's (2000) classification of adverbial adjuncts. He identifies six semantic zones distinguished by the 'point of view'. The Topic and Focus projections depend on the speaker-related semantic zone of the SD, reason why they cannot project if SD is not activated.

phenomenon and I will discuss two main proposals: the IP hypothesis (Brovetto 2002) and the V-to-C proposal (Antonelli 2013). Finally, I advance some hypotheses.

### 2.2.1 *Selecting predicates*

In a normative grammar context, Complementizer Deletion (CD) in Spanish is considered an archaic phenomenon, restricted to a formal written style (RAE 2009, 2010; Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga 2005; Di Tullio 2005) and it is not recommended in registers of the language other than the legal and the epistolary ones (Gómez Torrego 2006).

From a linguistic perspective, it does not seem correct to consider CD as a mere resource of the formal written language, given that such a phenomenon seems to have some relevance in the syntactic analysis (Suñer 1988).

The linguistic literature on this issue is quite poor, and the theoretical analysis is far from being exhaustive. It has been assumed that the omission of *que* ‘that’ is allowed in complement clauses of a certain class of verbs, such as *lamentar* ‘to lament’ and *preocuparse* ‘to worry’ (Suñer 1988; Brovetto 2002; Antonelli 2013).

- (9) a. **Lamento** no hayas                      recibido mi carta.  
*I.lament not have-SUBJ-PRES-2SG received my letter*  
‘I lament that you didn’t receive my letter.’                      (Suñer 1988, ex.1b)
- b. Me **alegra** sigais                              mejorando de salud.  
*to.me glad continue-SUBJ-PRES-2PL improving of health*  
‘I am glad that your health is still improving.’                      (Suñer 1988, ex.12a)
- c. Nos **preocupa** hayas                              estado malo.  
*to.us it.worries have-SUBJ-PRES-2SG been sick*  
‘We worried about your being sick.’                              (Antonelli 2013, ex.2)

Based on this definition, it can be inferred that complementizer deletion in Spanish is a property exclusive of factive predicates. However, Suñer (1988) provides a list of verbs admitting it:



- (10) Verbs admitting CD: **preocuparse** (to worry), *alegrarse* (to be glad), *atormentarse* (to agonize), *inquietarse* (to worry), *amargarse* (to get bitter), *entristecerse* (to be sad), *afectarse* (to be touched), *conmoverse* (to be moved), *alterarse* (to get upset), *disgustarse* (to be disgusted), *emocionarse* (to get excited), *enternecerse* (to be touched), **esperar** (to hope), *confiar* (to trust), **mandar** (to command), *exhortar* (to urge), **creer** (to think), **lamentar** (to lament), **sentir** (to be sorry), *suponer* (to suppose), *pedir* (to ask for), *suplicar* (to implore), **rogar** (to beg).

(Suñer 1988, ex.15)

As one can see from the boldface, different classes of verbs are involved other than factive predicates. Moreover, such classes are not homogeneous in their behaviour. For instance, the jussive *rogar* ‘to beg’ admits CD, see (11a), but the verb *querer* ‘to want’ belonging to the same class does not, see (11b). For this reason, jussive predicates should be further divided in two groups: verbs of *ruego-mandato* ‘beg-command’ admitting CD and verbs of *volutariedad* ‘volitional verbs’ rejecting it (Suñer 1988: 223).

- (11) a. María **rogó** a los periodistas fuese respetada  
*Mary begged to the reporters be-SUBJ-PAST-3SG respected*  
 la intimidad de la familia.  
*the intimacy of the family*

‘Mary begged the reporters for the intimacy of the family to be respected.’

(Suñer 1988, ex.16b)

- b. **Quiero** \*(que) te sientas como en tu casa.  
*I.want that cl.2sg feel-SUBJ-PRES-2SG like in your home*

‘I wish you will feel at home.’

(ibid, ex.7)

Giving the impossibility to explain such heterogeneity, Suñer claims that the omission of *que* is a property of certain verbs which is not linked to their semantic feature. Her proposal is that verbs admitting a null complementizer are specified from the lexicon for the feature [O<sub>0</sub> (que) [o...]]. In other words, there exists some verbs that can optionally omit the complementizer and others that cannot depending on the feature they are specified for. However, if it is the case,

then it is not possible to predict which verbs allow CD and which do not and, therefore, the phenomenon cannot be explained from a theoretical point of view.

Brovetto also try to distinguish the verbs admitting CD in classes: propositional attitude verbs, volitional verbs, verb of desire and “*lament* class of verbs” (Brovetto 2002: 34-35). Meanwhile verbs of saying and factive verbs never allow CD. Nevertheless, such classification poses some problems. Firstly, the author assumes verbs like *querer* ‘to want’ to allow CD. Furthermore, she treats as factive verbs such as *admitir* ‘to admit’ and *jurar* ‘to swear’, but this is quite controversial<sup>5</sup>.

Antonelli (2013) does not clarify this point<sup>6</sup>. Note that the three authors base their arguments on Torrego (1983)<sup>7</sup>. Note that Torrego is not concerned with a classification of the verbs admitting CD, but her aim is to describe the syntactic conditions in which the complementizer can be omitted. More specifically, her aim is to give evidence in favour of Chomsky’s (1973) approach of deriving “the unboundedness of wh-movement from successive cyclicity” (Torrego 1983: 561), taking as the main argument a property of complementizerless clauses, i.e., the systematic absence of the subject in embedded pre-verbal position.

### 2.2.2 *The syntax of null complementizer clauses*

Suñer (1988) describes several syntactic properties of the clauses omitting the complementizer. These structures require the matrix verb to be adjacent to the embedded clause, as illustrated in

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<sup>5</sup> See Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971) and Hooper (1975).

<sup>6</sup> However, the examples that he takes into account include factive predicates and verbs such as *esperar* ‘to hope’.

<sup>7</sup> Torrego (1983) refers “verbs such as *lamentar* ‘to lament’ (*alegrarse* ‘to be glad’, *preocuparse* ‘to be worried’, *esperar* ‘to hope’, *sentir* ‘to be sorry’, *convenir* ‘to be convenient’, etc.) and some verbs of saying allow the complementizer *que* of the verb’s tensed sentential complement to be absent” (Torrego, 1983: 561). She does not provide any definition for verbs of saying. However, it is possible to infer from the example she analyses that she refers to verbs of propositional attitude, i.e., *suponer* ‘to suppose’.

(12a), whereas the topicalization of an embedded clause lacking the complementizer is odd ((12b))<sup>8</sup>.

- (12) a. Me alegra muchísimo (que) estéis contentos con vuestro trabajo.  
*cl.1sg glad very much that be-SUBJ-PRES-2PL happy with your job*  
 ‘I am so glad that you are happy with your job.’ (Suñer 1988, ex.18a)
- b. \*(que) estéis contentos con vuestro trabajo me alegra muchísimo.  
*that be-SUBJ-PRES-2PL happy with your job cl.1sg glad very much*  
 (ibid, ex.18b)

From the adjacency requirement follows, according to Suñer, that no lexical material can intervene between the matrix and the embedded verb. She observes, however, that the main-embedded verb linear order is not strict, given that some exceptional elements can intervene in between, i.e., adverbs, adverb phrases, clitics, and negation.

- (13) a. Lamento *enormemente* no hayas salido bien de los exámenes.  
*I.lament greatly not have-SUBJ-PAST-2SG done well in the exams*  
 ‘I lament that the exams didn’t go well for you.’ (Suñer 1988, ex.19a)
- b. Espero *de todo corazón* me perdone usted por mi atrevimiento.  
*I.hope of all heart cl. forgive you(formal) for my boldness*  
 ‘I hope with all my heart that you will forgive my boldness.’ (ibid, ex.19b)
- c. Creíase iba a retirarse el enemigo.  
*think-3SG-INDIC-PAST.cl.3sg was about to withdraw+cl. the enemy*  
 ‘It was believed that the enemy was about to withdraw.’ (Suñer 1988: 225)

Note, however, that the adverbs *enormemente* and *de todo corazón* in (13a) and (13b) are low adverbs internal to the main VP (Cinque 1999) belonging to the main clause, that is they modify

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<sup>8</sup> This condition is required also in Italian, where the embedded clause must occupy the complement position. See Poletto (2001) and Giorgi and Pianesi (1997).

the main verbs *lamento* ‘I lament’ and *espero* ‘I hope’ respectively. The impersonal clitic *se* in (13c) also belongs to the main verb *creer* ‘to think’. Nevertheless, in the next chapter I will show that elements cliticized to the finite embedded verb can intervene between the matrix and the subordinate verb.

An interesting issue in CD structures is the distribution of subjects. In Spanish, a preverbal lexical subject is always impossible (Torrego 1983; Suñer 1988; Brovotto 2002), whether it is stressed or not<sup>9</sup>. When the subjects are overtly realized, they must be postverbal:

- (14) a. \*Lamento Juan esté enfermo.  
*I.lament Juan be-SUBJ-PRES-3SG sick* (Suñer 1988, ex.33a)
- b. \*Lamento JUAN esté enfermo.  
*I.lament JUAN be-SUBJ-PRES-3SG sick* (ibid, ex.31a)
- c. Lamento esté enfermo Juan / JUAN.  
*I.lament be-SUBJ-PRES-3SG sick Juan /JUAN*  
 ‘I am sorry that Juan is sick.’ (ibid, ex.32a)

The same applies to predicates of propositional attitudes, see (15) with *supongo* ‘I suppose’ and *espero* ‘I hope’:

- (15) a. \*Supongo **María** habrá salido bien de los exámenes.  
*I.suppose Maria have-INDIC-FUT-3SG done well from the exams*  
 ‘I suppose that the exams went well for Maria.’ (Torrego 1983, ex.8b)
- b. \*Espero **Javier** sepa conducir.  
*I.hope Javier knows-SUBJ-PRES drive*  
 ‘I hope that Javier can drive.’ (Suñer 1988, ex.33b)

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<sup>9</sup> In this respect, Italian shows an *intra-linguistic microvariation* (Giorgi and Pianesi 1996) since the speakers divide in two groups, independently of their regional background: some of them reject preverbal lexical subject in CD structures, others do not. Instead, a preverbal focus is rejected by both groups.

If the complementizer is overtly expressed, the subjects can precede the embedded verb. This contrast suggests, then, that the unavailability of the preverbal position is a property of complementizerless clauses. On the other hand, the focused phrases are still impossible in that position:

- (16) a. \*Lamento **que** JUAN esté enfermo.  
*I.lament that Juan is-SUBJ-PRES sick*  
 ‘I am sorry that Juan is sick (, and not Javier)’ (Suñer 1988, ex.31a)
- b. \*Espero **que** JAVIER sepa conducir.  
*I.hope that Javier can-SUBJ-PRES drive*  
 ‘I hope that Javier can drive (,and not Juan) (ibid, ex.31b)

In (16) the focus is ungrammatical even when the complementizer is realized. The same applies for the verbs that are supposed to reject CD, as *querer* ‘to want’:

- (17) \*Quiero que JUAN salga de esta habitación.  
*I.want that Juan to go.out-SUBJ-PRES of this room* (Suñer 1988, ex.29a)

Therefore, jussives, factives and verbs of propositional attitude do not allow a focus in post-complementizer position. The distribution of the focus, in this case, seems to be sensitive to other properties rather than the omission of the complementizer. Such a restriction does not apply to verbs of communication, which allow a focus phrase in preverbal position. This contrast has been observed also by Contreras (1976) and Jaeggli (1980):

- (18) Dicen que JUAN viene mañana.  
*they.say that Juan comes tomorrow*  
 ‘They say that Juan is coming (, and not Javier).’ (Jaeggli 1980, ex.4.143)

The different syntactic distribution of fronted arguments is explained in Haegeman (2006b) in terms of full-fledged / reduced CP. Her proposal is that the upper peripheral layer contains speaker-related material (e.g., fronted constituents, speaker-oriented adverbials, independent temporal anchoring), which is associated with a Speaker Deixis (SD) projection. If a clause selects a reduced CP, the embedded left periphery lacks SD projection and, therefore,

topicalizations are not licensed. Given that the interpretation of factive complement clauses is not asserted, nor related to the speaker (Heageman 2006b: 1665), it is plausible to assume that factive predicates select a reduced CP.

Although it might be at first sight rather appealing to extend such a hypothesis to Spanish complementizerless clauses, I argue that it does not withstand the evidence of these structures. In fact, it could explain why complements of factive predicates do not licence focus phrases, i.e., their CP lacks FocP, but many other questions would remain opened, such as the impossibility for *bona fide* subjects to appear in preverbal position, and other restriction I am going to show below.

Another property of CD structures noted in literature concerns the mood of the embedded clauses. According to the prescriptive norms, the omission of *que* is allowed only if it introduces a subjunctive clause (Di Tullio 2005), and only if the embedded verb is in a prospective form (Gómez Torrego 2006). The latter conjecture seems to be true, but I will discuss the empirical evidence in the next chapter. As for the first requirement, generative linguists have shown that, generally, the omission of the complementizer correlates with the presence of the subjunctive mood in the complement clause, see (12) above, but CD is compatible, under certain circumstances, with the indicative and conditional mood, too.

- (19) a. Espero me            perdonará            Usted            por mi atrevimiento.  
*I.hope cl.1sg-DAT forgive-FUT-INDIC-3SG you(Formal) for my boldness*  
 ‘I hope you will excuse my boldness.’ (Suñer 1988, ex.25a)
- b. ¿Quién de ellos supones tú se    atrevería    a jugarte    una mala pasada?  
*who of them suppose you cl.3sg dare-COND-3SG to do-cl.2SG a bad turn*  
 ‘Which one of them, do you suppose, would dare to do you a bad turn?’  
 (ibid, ex.25b)

Brovetto (2002) proposes that CD is allowed when the embedded proposition conveys an *irrealis* meaning. She argues that the omission is typically possible with the subjunctive mood because it is canonically associated to unreality and possibility (Brovetto 2002: 34). Consequently, the future tense and the present conditional are compatible with CD only if they convey such a meaning. Therefore, the acceptability of (19) vanished if the embedded verbal

form shifts to the past tense. In this case, the presence of the complementizer is required for the sentence to be interpreted<sup>10</sup>:

- (20) a. Espero \*(que) me        perdonó Usted        por mi atrevimiento.  
*I.hope that cl.1sg-DAT forgave you(Formal) for my boldness*  
 ‘I hope you forgave my boldness.’ (Suñer 1988, ex. 26a)
- b. ¿Quién de ellos supones tú \*(que) se    atrevió a jugarte    una mala pasada?  
*who of them suppose you    cl.3sg dared to do-cl.2SG a bad turn*  
 ‘Which one of them, do you suppose, dared to do you a bad turn?’  
 (ibid, ex.26b)

However, if we compare the semantic interpretation of (19) with (20), we notice that the *irrealis* analysis is quite controversial. In fact, the sentences in (20) belong to an unreal context as much as their counterparts in (19) do. The example in (20a) means that I have a hope concerning a past event, which I do not know if it has already happened or not. The speaker is expressing a wish, that is desiring something not real to actually happen. The sentence in (20b) is a question hypothesizing that something happened in the past and the speaker is asking about the propositional attitude of his interlocutor with respect to the embedded event. The shifting of the verbal forms from (19) to (20) does not change the real / unreal status of the sentences, which remains unreal. Henceforth, if we assume Brovetto’s analysis as correct, the complementizer should not be mandatory in (20), but this is not what happens.

There is another argument against Brovetto’s view. The notion of *irrealis* adopted by the author to describe the alternation indicative / subjunctive reminds of the true / false dichotomy which can be argued to be inappropriate, particularly if we consider the behaviour of the factive

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<sup>10</sup> However, in the literature it is possible to find some authors that do not agree. Antonelli (2013) claims that CD correlates with the subjunctive mood and rejects the possibility of the indicative to appear in complementizerless clauses. However, the examples he considers are not convincing, firstly because he bases his argument on a sentence involving an embedded past tense such as (20), and secondly because he considers an example with *confesar* ‘to confess’ as main verb which is not supposed to allow CD at all:

- (i) Confieso \*(que) he mentido repetidamente.  
 ‘I confess that I have lied repeatedly.’ (Antonelli 2013, ex.16)

predicates<sup>11</sup>. Differently from Italian that rejects CD with factives<sup>12</sup>, see (21), Spanish allows the omission of *que* with verbs such as *lamentar* ‘to lament’ and *alegrarse* ‘to be happy’.

(21) Gianni rimpiange \*(che) Maria sia partida.  
*Gianni regrets that Maria is-SUBJ-PRES left* (Giorgi 2009: 45)

(22) a. Lamento (que) no estés contenta con tu trabajo.  
*I.lament that not you.be-SUBJ-PRES happy with your job*  
 ‘I lament that you are not happy with your job.’ (Brovetto 2002, ex.1a)

b. Me alegra muchísimo (que) estéis contentos con vuestro trabajo.  
*cl.1sg glad very much that be-SUBJ-PRES-2PL happy with your job*  
 ‘I am so glad that you are happy with your job.’ (Suñer 1988, ex.18a)

The main verbs in (22) select the subjunctive mood, but the truth of the embedded clause is presupposed<sup>13</sup>. If Brovetto’s hypothesis were correct, the omission of *que* should be odd, since it conveys a *realis* meaning, but this is not what happens. From the sentences above, it is possible to conclude that the truth, i.e., the *realis / irrealis* meaning, of a certain proposition is not connected with the possibility of omitting the complementizer.

One last property of CD structure that I point out concerns the wh-extraction. Suñer claims that the absence of *que* blocks the extraction out of the complementizerless clause:

(23) ¿Qué lamentas \*(que) haya hecho Juan?  
*what you.lament that have-SUBJ-PRES-3SG done Juan*  
 ‘What do you regret that Juan did?’ (Suñer 1988, ex.38)

Nevertheless, if it is the case, the example in (19b), repeated here in (24), should be odd.

<sup>11</sup> See Fukushima (1990) for a discussion of the notion of *realis* vs. *irrealis* adopted to describe the properties of Spanish indicative and subjunctive mood.

<sup>12</sup> See Giorgi (2009, 2010).

<sup>13</sup> See Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971) and Hooper (1973).



- (24) ¿Quién de ellos supones tú se atrevería a jugarte una mala pasada?  
*who of them suppose you cl.3sg dare-COND-3SG to do-cl.2SG a bad turn*  
 ‘Which one of them do you suppose would dare to do you a bad turn?’

The impossibility of wh-extraction in (23) may be attributed to the properties of the factives verbs (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1970), rather than the lack of the complementizer since the extraction out of the predicates of propositional attitude dependent does not encounter such problems. I believe, however, that some linguistic data are quite controversial, since Brovotto (2002) refers examples of wh-extraction in factive complementizerless clauses. Here I will not investigate the syntax of interrogative clauses and the wh-extraction, but I leave it for further research.

Based on these observations (and others that I will discuss below) two opposite structures of the C layer have been proposed: Brovotto (2002) argues that such CD structures lack their CP, while Antonelli (2013) claims that ForceP and FinP are syncretically projected. In the section below I discuss both proposals.

### 2.3 Previous analyses of CD clauses

The analyses described in the previous section show that complementizerless structures are characterized by syntactic properties which let us distinguish them from subordinate sentences introduced by an overt complementizer.

In literature, two hypotheses were developed in order to explain the structure of Spanish complementizerless clauses. The first has been put forward by Brovotto (2002), who assumes that the CP is not projected if the complementizer is omitted (Brovotto 2002: 33). In this sense, CD structures are IPs. The second proposal was developed by Antonelli (2013), who analyses the omission of *que* as an effect of a V-to-C movement.

### 2.3.1 The analysis of CD as IP

Brovetto's assumes that, when the complementizer *que* is omitted, the embedded complementizer field is completely absent. Her claim is supported by the fact that no lexical material can occur in between the matrix and the embedded verb in absence of the complementizer.

One of the main points she discussed is related to topicalization. As expected by the syntactic analysis presented in the previous section, there is a complementary distribution between the absence of the complementizer and the topicalization phenomena in the embedded CP.

- (25) a. Lamento **que**, con tu trabajo, no estés contenta.  
*I.lament that, with your job, not be-SUBJ-PRES-2SG happy*  
'I lament that you are not happy with your job.' (Brovetto 2002, ex.9a)
- b. \*Lamento, con tu trabajo, no estés contenta.  
*I.lament with your job not be-SUBJ-PRES-2SG happy* (ibid, ex.9b)
- c. Espero **que**, los problemas causados por el huracán,  
*I.hope that the problems caused by the hurricane*  
se solucionen pronto  
*cl. solve-SUBJ-PRES-3PL soon*  
'I hope that the problems caused by the hurricane will be solved soon.'  
(ibid, ex.10a)
- d. \*Espero, los problemas, causados por el huracán,  
*I.hope the problems caused by the hurricane*  
se solucionen pronto.  
*cl. solve-SUBJ-PRES-3PL soon* (ibid, ex.10b)

Brovetto explains these asymmetries adopting the split-CP hypotheses developed by Rizzi (1997) and claims that the presence of a fronted phrase activates the Focus-Topic field of the embedded clause making, then, the complementizer obligatory. Brovetto assumes that the

complementizer in (25a) and (25c) heads ForceP, and the fronted phrase has moved to TopP to check its topic feature. The result can be illustrated with the following structure:

(26) [ForceP [Force' que [TopicP con tu trabajo [Topic' [IP ... ]]]]

Another argument in favour of her analysis is that, if the topic phrase is spelled out in the C-system of the *main* clause, then the complementizer may be omitted:

- (27) a. Con tu trabajo, lamento (que) no estés contenta.  
*with your job I.lament that not be-SUBJ-PRES-2SG happy* (Brovetto, ex.16a)
- b. Los problemas causados por el huracán, espero (que)  
*the problems caused by the hurricane I.hope that*  
*se solucionen pronto.*  
*cl. solve-SUBJ-PRES-3PL soon* (ibid, ex.1b)

As can be seen in (27), the topicalized elements are hosted in the main CPs and, therefore, given that no XPs have moved to the lower CP, the complementizer field can be absent as a whole, as suggested by the optionality of *que*.

Her proposal is supported by another fact related to the wh-extraction. In fact, she observes that the complementizer can be omitted only if the wh-phrase lands in the C layer of the main clause.

- (28) a. ¿Qué libro lamentas (que) no haya leído?  
*what book you.lament that not have-SUBJ-PRES-3SG read*  
 ‘Which book do you lament that he has not read?’ (Brovetto 2002, ex.17a)
- b. ¿Lamentas \*(que) qué libro no haya leído?  
*you.lament that what book not have-SUBJ-PRES-3SG read*  
 ‘You lament that which book he has not read?’ (ibid, ex.17b)

In the sentence (28a), the wh-constituent is moved from the embedded clause at the beginning of the main one. In this case, the complementizer can be omitted as the lower C-field has not

been activated. This hypothesis can account for the ungrammaticality of (28b): the embedded wh-phrase forces the activation of the C-field in order to land in the specifier of the Focus projection (as assumed by Rizzi, 1997) and, therefore, *que* becomes obligatory. Analogously, then, to what has been proposed for the data involving topicalized phrases, wh-extraction triggers the projection of the C-field and consequently the presence of *que*<sup>14</sup>.

The last argument of Brovotto's hypothesis is related to the interpretation of the preverbal subject in CD structures. Her claim is that in the absence of the embedded C field, a preverbal subject would receive accusative case from the main verb and, to avoid such a configuration, it remains on the right of the embedded verb.

- (29) a. Espero se solucionen pronto los problemas.  
*I.hope cl. solve-SUBJ-PRES-3PL soon the problems*  
 'I hope that the problems will be solved soon.' (Brovotto 2002, ex.22a)
- b. \*Espero los problemas se solucionen pronto.  
*I.hope the problems cl. solve-SUBJ-PRES-3PL soon*  
 'I hope that the problems will be solved soon.' (ibid, ex.22b)

In (29b) the subject of *solucionarse* 'to be solved' raises to the specifier of the IP, the canonical subject position, to check its nominative case feature. However, as there is no CP, that position is adjacent to the main verb, which assigns accusative case to *los problemas* 'the problems'. Hence, the subject remains in a post-verbal position in order to avoid this clash of case features and, according to Zubizarreta (1998), it receives case *in situ*.

To account for the impossibility of a pre-verbal subject in CD constructions, Brovotto states that Spanish pre-verbal subjects bear a topic feature<sup>15</sup>, which triggers the movement of the

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<sup>14</sup> Brovotto claims that this analysis also explains the impossibility of omitting the *que* in relative clauses, see (i). In this case, the C-projection is required since relatives always involve the presence of a silent operator that must move to the CP. Hence, the C-field is projected and so it is its head *que*.

- (i) El atleta \*(que) salte más alto ganará la competencia.  
*the athlete that jump-SUBJ-PRES-3SG more high will.win the competition*  
 'The athlete that jumps the highest will win the competition.' (Brovotto 2002, ex.21)

<sup>15</sup> As proposed in Zubizarreta (1998).

constituent to the left for feature-checking; this movement then requires the activation of the C-field and, hence, the presence of *que*.

If the complementizer *que* can be omitted only in absence of embedded fronted phrases, that is, when the CP is not activated, then the embedded sentence is an IP complement, showing no CP domain. This hypothesis explains why the omission of the complementizer correlates systematically with the absence of a pre-verbal subject.

### 2.3.2 *CD as movement to C*

The analysis of Broveto has been challenged by Antonelli (2013), who claims that complementizerless clauses in Spanish do manifest a C-system. Adopting the split-CP hypotheses developed by Rizzi (1997), he proposes that, contrary to sentences where the complementizer is overtly realized, the heads Force and Fin are syncretically projected in CD clauses. According to his hypothesis, the embedded verb moves to C to occupy the head of the ForceFin projection, similarly to what happens in V2 languages.

One of the arguments supporting such a hypothesis is the distribution of adverbs. Antonelli argues that these elements can only appear on the right of the embedded verb in CD structures<sup>16</sup>:

- (30) Lamento (\*siempre) cante (siempre) Luis.  
*I.lament always sings always Luis*  
'I lament that Luis always sings.' (Antonelli 2013, ex.13)

Antonelli claims, against Broveto (2002), that if the embedded verb in (30) is in the inflectional domain, it should be possible to realize an adverb in pre-verbal position<sup>17</sup>, but this is not what happens. The author takes this evidence as an argument for V-to-C movement, arguing that if

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<sup>16</sup> Antonelli's consideration may apparently contrast with Suñer (1988), who claims that adverbs can occupy the embedded pre-verbal position. However, I have already noted above that the adverbs in (13a) and (13b) belong to the main clause. If those adverbs were embedded, then the sentence would become ungrammatical, as we see in (30).

<sup>17</sup> Cinque (1999).

the verb raises to a position structurally higher than any adverb position, that is, above the domain where adverbs are generated, then the verb will always precede any adverbs.

The second argument in favour of the V-to-C analysis is the distribution of subjects. As already noted in the previous section, only post-verbal subjects are allowed in CD structures. Assuming Brovotto's IP-hypothesis, we could in principle assume that the only available position for subjects is inside the VP since a movement of the subject to the IP would cause a clash in case assignment. However, according to Antonelli, CD structures present at least one more post-verbal position, which the author claims to be the specifier of the IP. See the following examples:

- (31) a. Lamento haya tenido **usted** estos problemas.  
*I.lament have-SUBJ-PRES-3SG(formal) had you(formal) these problems*  
'I lament that you have had these problems.' (Antonelli 2013, ex.27)
- b. Lamento haya **usted** tenido estos problemas.  
*I.lament have-SUBJ-PRES-3SG(formal) you(formal) had these problems*  
'I lament that you have had these problems.' (ibid, ex.26)

In the example (31a), the subject follows both verbal forms, the auxiliary and the lexical verb, whereas in (31b) it appears between them, displaying the subject inversion phenomenon typical of V2 languages. Contrary to what was expected by Brovotto's proposal, Antonelli claims that two post-verbal positions are available for subjects: it can remain inside the VP, as in (31a), or it can move to the IP, as in (31b). This fact is taken as an argument to show that the inflected verb always precedes the subject because it has moved to a higher position, i.e., the C-field<sup>18</sup>.

But why does the verb have to move? According to Antonelli, the trigger of verb movement is feature-checking. More specifically, the author assumes that all the structures omitting the complementizer present two properties. The first is that complements clauses (with or without complementizer) are declarative and, if the clausal type information is encoded in ForceP, then

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<sup>18</sup> Note that, according to some native speaker consultants, the subject inversion in (31b) can be licensed only by the presence of the formal pronouns *usted / ustedes*. The same inversion with the corresponding informal pronouns *tú / vosotros* would give rise to ungrammaticality. This consideration is supported by evidence coming from the linguistic data I gathered. As I will show in chapter 4, the distribution in (31b) is found only with formal pronouns.

a declarative embedded CP is always specified with a sentential feature [+declarative] in ForceP (Antonelli 2013: 19). The second point that he emphasizes is related to the mood of CD complements. He assumes with Broveto (2002) that there is a correlation between the omission of the complementizer and the conveying of an *irrealis* meaning by the embedded subjunctive<sup>19</sup>. Assuming that the clausal type information is encoded in Force and that *irrealis* feature is encoded in Fin, the finite verb moves to C in order to value the features associated to Force and Fin when the complementizer is absent.

The proposal of a syncretic projection ForceFinP comes from an observation of recomplementation structures, see the following example:

- (32) Ordeno **que** estos árboles **que** los talen.  
*I.order that those trees that them cut.*  
'I order to cut those trees.' (Antonelli 2013, ex.18)

In (32) two different complementizers appears in the C-field: the higher is merged in ForceP to value clausal type features and the lower in FinP to value the *irrealis* features (Demonte and Soriano 2009; Villa-García 2012, 2015) and the split between the two projections is caused by a fronted phrase in TopP. Consequently, when the complementizers are absent, Force and Fin constitute a syncretic projection and trigger the verb movement to its head. In this way, the inflected verb can check the features associated to Force and Fin.

Therefore, the fact that the omission of the complementizer correlates with the absence of pre-verbal material follows not because these structures do not manifest their CP, but because it is projected syncretically, leaving no room for the activation of the entire set of CP projections.

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<sup>19</sup> Recall that he draws this conclusion basing on a controversial argument, see the footnote 10.

## 2.4 Some problems

Here, I address some problems faced by the two proposals described in the previous sections, involving the syntactic and semantic properties and the data taken into account.

### 2.4.1 Semantic problems

The first big problem has to do with feature-checking. As I discussed above, according to Antonelli the movement of the embedded verb to the C domain is due to check the clausal type information [+declarative] associated to Force, and *irrealis* feature associated to Fin<sup>20</sup>. I claim that a unification of complementizer deletion with V2 based on this set of assumption may raise some questions.

I have already discussed in the section 2.2.2 that the notion of *realis / irrealis* adopted to describe the alternation indicative / subjunctive is not appropriate to explain CD clauses. It cannot be said that they give rise to an *irrealis* context, whatever this means, given that the omission of *que* is allowed also in factive complements, a category of verbs which, by definition, presupposes the truth of its complement, whether the main clause is negated or not (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971; Hooper 1975; Field 1997).

Concerning the sentential [+declarative] feature the verb must check in ForceP, I follow Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) and Giorgi (2010) in claiming that an embedded clause does not have an autonomous illocutionary force from a semantic point of view. Consider the following example:

- (33) Juan dijo que los burros vuelan.  
*Juan said-3SG that the donkeys fly-3PL*  
'Juan said that donkeys can fly.'

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<sup>20</sup> The proposal by Antonelli (2013) is in some way similar to the one by Poletto (1995, 2000) for Italian CD, who claims that the verb movement to C is triggered by a [-realis] feature that needs to be checked by the complementizer or by the verb that moves to C.



If we say that the subordinate clause in (33) has declarative meaning, then it should have the same meaning of (34):

- (34) Los burros vuelan. Juan lo ha dicho.  
*the donkeys fly-3PL Juan cl. has said*  
'Donkeys fly. Juan said so.'

It is obvious that the sentence in (34) is not the equivalent of the sentence in (33), and it would not be even in Italian or English. Therefore, we cannot accept the feature driven approach by Antonelli, nor the notion of *irrealis* adopted by Brovotto.

#### 2.4.2 More problems

Several problems can be found in every account of Spanish CD structures. I will present some of them, in particular the syntactic problems related to the V-to-C proposal.

The first problem I take into account is related to adverb distribution. Antonelli takes the linear order illustrated in (30) as an evidence for claiming that the inflected verb has moved to a high position inside the C domain. Note that the same distribution has been observed in Italian CD clauses, too. In fact, the assimilation of Italian CD to V2 phenomenon were already proposed by Poletto (1995, 2000). One of her main arguments is provided by adverb positions: she shows that in Italian the verb moves higher than the epistemic adverbs of Cinque's (1995) hierarchy, that is, to a higher position with respect to the head of EpistMod projection<sup>21</sup>:

- (35) a. Credo che sicuramente lo faccia.  
*I.think that surely cl. he.does*  
'I think that he surely does.' (Poletto 1995, ex.16a)

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<sup>21</sup> Following Cinque's (1995) analysis, the higher portion of IP can be illustrated with this structure:

- (i) CP EvalModP EpistModP TP MoodP RootModP TP2

b. \*Credo sicuramente lo faccia.  
*I.think surely cl. he.does* (ibid, ex.18a)

c. Credo lo faccia **sicuramente**.  
*I.think cl. he.does surely*  
 ‘I think that he does it surely.’ (ibid, ex.18b)

At first glance, from the linear order observed in (30) and (35) it would appear to be quite plausible to pursue a V-to-C analysis. Note, however, that the examples provided by Antonelli only involve low adverbs of Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy. In fact, *sempre* ‘always’ belongs to the FPs corresponding to the V domain and, as such, it does not provide a good test for establishing if the inflected verb has raised to C, given that in principle it can have stopped above the VP but below the CP. The relevant question is whether the low adverb *sempre* can move from its base generated position to higher positions, and how far it can occur from the VP. Therefore, this problem is left open, as it implies an analysis of the raising of Spanish adverbs that cannot be given here. For now, I limit myself only to pointing out that Antonelli’s claim cannot be accepted as an evidence that the embedded verb is inside the C domain.

The other problem I consider regards the subject position. In my opinion, there is a bigger question that remains to be answered under a V-to-C hypothesis of Spanish CD phenomena, which is why the specifier position of ForceFin projection is not available for subjects. Poletto (1995, 2000) partially solves this problem for Italian, although the distribution of subjects is quite different with respect to the Spanish one. In fact, the prediction of the analysis of Italian CD as V-to-C turns out to be correct since, differently from Spanish, CD structures allows a preverbal subject. See the following examples:

(36) a. Credo Gianni arrivi stasera  
*I.think John arrive-SUBJ-PRES tonight*  
 ‘I think that Gianni will arrive tonight.’ (Poletto 2000, ex. 52a)

b. Credevo nessuno arrivasse in tempo  
*I.thought nobody arrive-SUBJ-PAST in time*  
 ‘I thought that nobody would arrive in time.’ (ibid, ex. 52b)

Poletto considers the possibility of having a pre-verbal subject as an argument in favour of the rise of the verb to a C projection whose specifier is available for its subject. This is what a V-to-C hypothesis predicts, given that in V2 languages the preverbal position can be filled by a subject or an object. See the German examples in (37).

(37) a. Ich glaube **Maria** hat den Hans gesehen.

*I think Maria has DET. Hans seen*

‘I think that Maria saw Hans.’

b. Ich glaube **die Birne** hat sie gegessen.

*I think the pear has she eaten*

‘I think that she ate the pear.’

Nevertheless, Giorgi and Pianesi (1996, 1997) show that speaker’s judgments with respect to the subject position diverge, and they split into two groups: one group accepts a lexical subject, and the other group rejects it. Consequently, for the latter group the sentences in (36) are ungrammatical, analogously to the cases we discussed for Spanish.

Therefore, we have to be more careful in the analysis of CD in Spanish, since neither adverbials, nor lexical subjects can precede the embedded verb if the complementizer has been omitted (Torrego 1983)<sup>22</sup>. If we consider Antonelli’s proposal as correct, the impossibility for the subject to reach the specifier of ForceFinP should be explained assuming that the preverbal subject in Spanish is specified with a topic feature (as proposed by Brovotto 2002). If it is true the hypothesis that the subject is forced to remain in a lower position because, bearing it a topic feature, its movement would activate the whole CP, we predict that a quantified subject can instead raise to SpecForceFin. In fact, quantified subjects cannot be topicalized (Rizzi 1997) and then, they can be considered as *bona fide* subjects. As (38) show, this prediction is not borne out, given that a quantified subject cannot precede the verb in CD structures neither:

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<sup>22</sup> Recall that Torrego aims at providing evidence in favour of Chomsky’s (1973) theory of successive cyclicity and bounding nodes. The author observed that CD is impossible if the complement clause is embedded in a multiple-S’ structure, that is, when an extraction, for instance, a wh-extraction, takes place from the complement clause. According to Torrego, the obligatoriness of *que* can be explained by assuming that the movement leaves a trace in Comp forcing *que* to be present. By contrast, when the movement can skip a S’-cycle, *que* is optional.

- (38) Me parece \*(que) algunos aspectos podrían mejorarse  
*cl. seems that certain aspects could-3PL improve+cl.*  
 ‘It seems to me that certain aspects could be improved.’ (Brovetto 2002, ex.8a)

Given that quantifiers cannot be topicalized, the ungrammaticality of (38) shows that the specifier of the projection where the verb moves to is unavailable also for *bona fide* subjects.

Moreover, why CD does not trigger enclisis? Note that no scholars dealt with this issue; the problem is raised only by Antonelli, who points out that the raising of the verb to C should trigger enclisis, but this is not what happens in Spanish, see (39). The question remains to be answered, though.

- (39) Rogamos **nos** llame urgentemente.  
*we.request us call-SUBJ-PRES-2SG urgently*  
 ‘Please call us urgently.’ (Antonelli 2013, ex.28)

Finally, the two proposals cannot explain whether the omission of *que* is an optional operation and whether the clauses with an overt complementizer show the same “illocutionary force” as the clauses lacking it.

Given that the V-to-C analysis is not convincing, I will follow the approach of Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) and Giorgi (2010) for explaining Spanish CD. In particular, I propose that in Spanish, as well as in Italian, there exist two complementizers *que* lexicalized by means of the same word, but occupying two different positions in the structure and having different properties. This hypothesis can explain how it is possible for an embedded clause to delete its complementizer and why the preverbal position is unavailable for the embedded subject.



### 3. The absence of the speaker: a proposal

As illustrated in chapter 2, in Spanish the complementizer can be omitted in finite complement clauses selected by certain classes of predicates, i.e., factives, jussives and verbs of belief. However, the approaches to complementizer deletion phenomena do not explain why the omission of *que* is restricted only to such classes. In order to account for the properties of CD, this chapter analyses some relevant points of another common phenomenon in Spanish and Catalan, known as Recplementation, which consists in the recurrence of a non-primary complementizer after a dislocated phrase. In particular, I will consider González i Planas's (2014) analysis of recplementation as indexical structures and its classification of verbs rejecting recplementation. These observations strongly suggest that the complementizer is involved in such phenomenon, especially given the fact that the rejection of recplementation parallels with predicates allowing CD. I will argue in fact that CD phenomena – as well as recplementation phenomena – can be explained by hypothesizing the existence of two instances of complementizers, as theorized for Italian by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) and subsequent works.

#### 3.1 Recplementation

Recplementation is a very productive phenomenon in Spanish which involves at least one left-dislocated constituent sandwiched between two overt complementizers (Villa-García 2015)<sup>23</sup>. It is found in indicative embedded clauses and the second *que* can be optionally

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<sup>23</sup> Complementizer doubling has been also studied in other languages: in Ligurian and Piemontese (Paoli 2003, 2004), in Portuguese (Mascarenhas 2007), in Catalan and Ibero-Romance languages (González i Planas 2010), in old and modern Italo-Romance languages (Munaro 2018), in English (Villa-García 2019) among others. However, according to Villa-García (2012), non-primary *ques* do not act in the same way in all the languages in which they are attested.

omitted. According to the literature (Rodríguez-Ramalle 2003; Demonte and Fernández-Soriano 2009; Villa-García 2012; González i Planas 2010), the higher complementizer is assumed to be in ForceP, whereas the non-primary complementizer is argued to head TopP:

(1) [ForceP [Force' *que* [TopP LEFT DISLOCATE [Top' *que* ...]]]]

The main arguments in favour of this hypothesis come from the observation that foci and wh-items can only follow the recomplementation *que*, but never precede it<sup>24</sup>. See the following examples.

(2) a. Me dijeron **que** a tu primo, **que** SÓLO DOS COCHES

*cl. said-3PL that to your cousin that only two cars*

le robaron (,no tres).

*cl. stole-3PL not three*

'They told me that it was only two cars that your cousin got stolen, not three.'

(Villa-García 2015, ex. 54a)

b. \*Me dijeron **que** SÓLO DOS COCHES, **que** le robaron a tu primo

*cl. said-3PL that only two cars that cl. stole-3PL to your cousin*

(, no tres).

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<sup>24</sup> The proposal of the recomplementation *que* as head of TopP (Demonte and Soriano 2009, Villa-García 2012, 2015) starts from Aboh's (2006) studies on creole languages as Saramaccan and Gungbe. He shows that those languages possess different complementizers dedicated to different functions, e.g., interrogative, topic, focus. These markers encoding C- type features are the lexical realisation of left-peripheral heads. Consider the example in (i).

(i) Ún kánbió ní ósó éhè yà òrgán wé mí ní zè è yì ná?

*Isg ask if horse Dem Top chief Foc 1pl that take 3sg go give*

'I asked if, as for this horse, we should give it to the CHIEF?'

(Aboh 2006, ex. 53a)

The complementizer system in Gungbe exhibits a high *ní* marking the interrogative status of the sentence, a topic marker *yà*, a focus marker *wé* and a low *ní* marking the deontic modality. The complete structure of Gungbe's left periphery would be the following:

(ii) [ForceP [Force' ní [TopP [Top' yà [FocP [Foc' wé [FinP ní ]]]]]]]

*not three*

(ibid, ex.54b)

(3) a. Me preguntaron **que** mi madre, **que** cuándo se jubilará.

*cl. asked-3PL that my mother that when cl. retire*

‘They asked me when my mother will retire.’

(ibid, ex. 57a)

b. \*Me preguntaron **que** cuándo **que** se jubilará mi madre.

*cl. asked-3PL that when that cl. retire my mother*

(ibid, ex. 57b)

An interesting issue regarding recomplementation phenomena is related to selection restrictions of the matrix verb. The class that is generally compatible with recomplementation is the so-called *verba dicendi*, while factive and volitional predicates reject it.

(4) a. María **explicó** que en el hospital, que pasan cosas raras.

*Mary explained-3PL that in the hospital that happen-3PL things strange*

‘Mary explained that to the hospital that strange things happen.’

(González i Planas 2014, ex. 20b)

b. \***Odio** que a Avilés, que nunca vengán los de Gijón.

*I.hate that to Avilés that never come-SUBJ-PRES-3PL the of Gijón*

‘I hate that people from Gijón never come to Avilés.’ (Villa-García 2015, ex. 61)

González i Planas (2014) has recently proposed for Spanish and Catalan that recomplementation occurs under quotative verbs, that is those verbs that can introduce a direct speech. The author shows that such a phenomenon is not a property specific of verbs of saying, but it has to do with the speech act instantiated by the superordinate verb. In fact, factive predicates can also select recomplementation, but only when the matrix verb conveys an assertive meaning, that is, when the predicate selects the indicative mood. In this sense recomplementation fits systematically in indicative contexts. See the contrast below.

(5) a. El Joan es **va lamentar** que el cotxe que no se’l podia comprar.

*the Joan cl. goes regret that the car that not cl.’cl. can-INDIC-IMPERF-3SG buy*

‘John regretted that he couldn’t buy the car.’ (Catalan)



(González i Planas 2014, ex. 24b)

b. **Lamento** que ese coche (\*que) no lo compres.

*I.lament that this car that not cl. buy-SUBJ-PRES-2SG*

‘I am sorry that you won’t buy that car.’ (ibid, ex. 23a)

On the contrary, jussive predicates like *rogar* ‘to beg’, *pedir* ‘to request’, *esperar* ‘to expect’, select the subjunctive mood and cannot introduce a direct speech and, therefore, they are incompatible with recomplementation structures, see (6). According to Villa-García (2012, 2015), predicates introducing desiderative / exhortative clauses in subjunctive mood select another kind of non-primary *que* which is mandatory and occupies the head Fin.

(6) Nos pidieron **que** a tu hermana, (\***que**) al quirófano **que** no  
*cl. requested-3PL that to your sister that to+the surgery that not*  
la dejáramos pasar.

*cl. let-SUBJ-PAST-1PL pass*

‘They requested that we did not let your sister go into the operating room.’

(González i Planas 2014, ex. 19b)

Coherently to González i Planas’s proposal, predicates of propositional attitude like *pensar* ‘to think’ allow recomplementation only if they are interpreted as quoting-thoughts, see (7a) and (7b). It is interesting to note that the first person singular of the epistemic verb *creer* ‘to think’ can select recomplementation only if the dislocated phrase is a speech-act-adverb like *francamente*, see (8), while clitic left dislocations are highly rejected, as shown in (9).

(7) a. En Pere va **pensar**: “No li ho podré dir mai”

‘Pere thought: “I could never say it to Maria.” (Catalan)

b. En Pere va **pensar** que a la Maria que no li ho podria dir mai.

*the Pere goes think that to the Maria that not cl. cl. could say never*

‘Pere thought that he could never say it to Maria.’ (Catalan)

(González i Planas 2014, ex. 18d-d’)

(8) Por mi experiencia personal yo lo recomiendo, es barato, efectivo, simple de usar y **creo** que *francamente* que tenerlo en el botiquín de la casa es lo mejor que se puede hacer.

‘From my personal experience I recommend it: it is cheap, effective, simple to use, and I think frankly, to have it in the medicine cabinet of your home is the best thing you can do.’ (González i Planas 2014, ex.26a)

(9) **Crec** que *a la feina* (\*que) hi haurà molts canvis.

*I think that to the work that cl. will have many changes*

‘I believe that there will be many changes in my workplace.’ (Catalan) (ibid, ex.27a)

Therefore, following González i Planas (2014), only those predicates conveying an assertive meaning admit recomplementation. Crucially for the present dissertation, verbs *rejecting* recomplementation, i.e., propositional attitude, jussive and factive predicates, *allow* the omission of the higher complementizer in simple complement clauses. The question that must be considered at this point is which are the properties of recomplementation that prevent some predicates from selecting it. In the next section I will answer to this question, considering one more crucial aspect of recomplementation *que*, namely the fact that it marks dislocations as phrases oriented to the speaker.

### 3.1.1 On the indexicality of the recomplementation *que*

Here I summarize three of the main properties of recomplementation<sup>25</sup>. As noted by Villa-García (2010, 2012, 2015) and González i Planas (2014), these structures exhibit locality effect, i.e., they block long distance movement and enable the reconstruction of the phrase inserted between the two *ques*. The island effects in recomplementation structures have been attributed to the second *que*, giving that the wh-extraction and reconstruction effects are only possible

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<sup>25</sup> Some of them are usually used to distinguish recomplementation *que* from jussive *que*. However, I will not investigate here the difference between the two phenomena. See Villa-García (2010, 2012, 2015) for a complete discussion.

when it is absent, as shown in the examples below. On the basis of these evidence, González i Planas claims that the doubled *que* constitutes a phase.

- (10) \*¿Quién<sub>i</sub> me dijiste que a tu madre, **que** la va a llamar *t<sub>i</sub>*?  
*who cl. said-2SG that to your mother that cl. goes to call*  
 (Villa-García 2015, ex.75a)
- (11) \*LOS LIBROS<sub>i</sub> me dijeron que tu madre **que** había puesto *t<sub>i</sub>* encima  
*the books cl. said-3PL that your mother that had put on*  
 de la mesa (, no los lapiceros).  
*of the table (, not the pens)* (González i Planas 2014, ex.63)
- (12) a. Dice que en su<sup>\*i/j</sup> hijo, **que** todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> tiene que confiar.  
*says that in his son that all the world has that trust*  
 ‘S/he says that everybody has to trust his/their (=somebody else’s) son.’  
 (Villa-García 2015, ex.76a)
- b. Dice que en su<sub>i/j</sub> hijo todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> tiene que confiar.  
*says that in his son all the world has that trust*  
 ‘S/he says that everybody has to trust his/their son.’ (ibid, ex. 76b)

The sandwiched phrase in (12a) cannot be interpreted as the antecedent of an anaphoric element placed above the doubled *que*, unless it is not realized, as in (12b). Moreover, the phrase moved to the matrix left periphery in recomplementation structures can only be an element of the matrix clause, but not of the embedded one:

- (13) ¿Cuándo<sub>i</sub> me dijiste *t<sub>i</sub>* que a Eva que le iban a operar?  
*when cl. said-2SG that to Eva that cl. GO-INDIC-IMPERF-3PL to operate*  
 ‘When did you tell me Eva was going to have surgery?’  
 (González i Planas 2015, ex. 64b)
- (14) EN AGOSTO<sub>i</sub> (, no en setiembre) me dijiste *t<sub>i</sub>* que a Eva que  
*in august (not in September) cl. said-2SG that to Eva that*

le iban a operar.

*cl. go-INDIC-IMPERF-3PL to operate*

‘You told me that Eva was going to have surgery in August, not in September.’

(*ibid*, ex. 65b)

The second property of these constructions is that they can license ellipsis of its complement, as shown in (15)<sup>26</sup>. This possibility has been considered supporting evidence for an analysis whereby the projection headed by the secondary *que* hosts the dislocated phrase in its specifier (Villa-García 2015). The assumption of this analysis is that a functional head can license ellipsis of its complement only if it undergoes a Spec-head agreement process with its specifier<sup>27</sup>.

- (15) Me dijeron que si llueve, que no vienen a la fiesta, y que [si nieva,  
*cl. said-3PL that if rains that not come-3PL to the party and that if snows*  
[**que no vienen — a la fiesta**]] tampoco.

*that not come-3PL to the party neither*

‘They told me that they would not come to the party if it rains or snows.’

(Villa-García 2015, ex.90)

The last property that I want to illustrate is the possibility for recomplementation *que* to iterate, see (16). The literature has seen this as an argument for an analysis of the secondary *que* as the instantiation of the head Top, and of the sandwiched phrases as specifiers of the topic projections (Rodríguez Ramalle 2003; Villa-García 2012, 2015).

- (16) Dijo que el dinero, **que** a Juan, **que** se lo mandaban por correo.

*said-3SG that the money that to Juan that cl. cl. were.sending for mail*

‘S/he said they were sending Juan the money through the mail.’

(Villa-García 2015, ex.223)

With these properties in mind, in the section below I will propose an analysis of recomplementation structures as an instance of parentheticals. The advantages of an analysis

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<sup>26</sup> This property was first noted in Villa-García (2010).

<sup>27</sup> See Villa-García (2015) for a detailed analysis of ellipsis in recomplementation structures.

considering the sandwiched CLLD as a parenthetical are twofold. On one side, it could constitute additional evidence in favour of the indexicality of recomplementation construals, which in turn can explain the possibility for some predicates – but not for others – to select recomplementation. This fact would provide a very strong argument in favour of my hypothesis that complementizer deletion depends on the properties of the complementizer *que*.

On the other, such an analysis could explain the optionality of the secondary *que*, which has been a hotly debated topic in the literature on recomplementation phenomena.

### 3.1.2 Sandwiched CLLDs as parentheticals

The sandwiched constituent of a recomplementation structure can only be a Clitic Left Dislocated (CLLD) which is directly merged between the two complementizers *que* (Villa-García 2015). Consider the following example:

- (17) Susi dice que a los alumnos, (que) les van a dar regalos.  
*Susi says that to the students that cl. go-3PL to give presents*  
 ‘Susi says that they are going to give the students presents.’

(Villa-García 2015, ex. 23)

As I discussed above, it has been assumed that CLLD occupies the specifier of a topic projection which head is realized by the complementizer *que*. Note, however, that the CLLD *a los alumnos* of the sentence in (17) is followed by a comma that separates it from the second complementizer. By observing the spectrogram of these structures, Villa-García argues that recomplementation is associated to an intonational break which is marked by a comma in written language. This property of CLLD has already been observed by Giorgi (2015) who analyses left dislocate as an instance of parenthetical. Summarizing, she argues that they share with parentheticals a special intonation known as *comma intonation*, which projects a constituent KP located on the left of the CP. It is projected by what she labels “prosody-oriented heads” and CLLDs occupy the positions created by such heads. This proposal explains the unmoved status of CLLD: prosodic-oriented heads are associated to phonological content and not to the lexical one, meaning that they only trigger phonological operations. For this reason, the phrases they projected are not permeable by syntactic items since there is no edge licencing

the extraction<sup>28</sup>. Analogously to parentheticals, recomplementation structures exhibit island effects which have been attributed to the second *que* (Villa- García 2012, 2015).

However, here I suggest that the islandhood is not to be attributed exclusively to the complementizer. Consider the following contrast:

- (18) a. \*¿Quién me dijiste que a tu madre, **que** la va a llamar?  
*who cl. said that to your mother that cl. goes to call*  
(Villa-García 2015, ex.75a)
- b. ¿Quién me dijiste que a tu madre la va a llamar?  
*who cl. said that to your mother cl. goes to call*  
'Who did you tell me is going to phone your mother?' (ibid, ex.75b)

Notice that the CLLDs in (18a) and in (18b) have different configurations: the former is followed by a comma and it is associated to a pause, while the latter do not. As I already noticed, this observation is confirmed by the analysis made with the spectrogram reported in Villa-García (2015: 21-22) which shows clearly that when the secondary *que* is absent, the pause is absent too. Then we can say that in (18a) the speaker makes a pause after the CLLD, while in (18b) s/he does not. I suggest, therefore, that the island effects in (18a) must be attributed to a different interpretation of the left dislocate *a tu madre*, as an instance of parenthetical. If it were the case, then it can also explain the optional omission of the secondary *que*<sup>29</sup>.

Consider some more aspects of parenthetical construals. Following Giorgi's analysis, parentheticals show backtracking effects, that is, the same fragment can both precede and follow the parenthetical. See for instance the following example.

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<sup>28</sup> This analysis starts from Selkirk's (2005) observation that parentheticals must be associated with a comma feature to receive the correct prosodic intonation. Giorgi's (2015) proposal, therefore, can be considered the translation of Selkirk's in syntactic terms: the assignation of the comma intonation is not just a feature, but a head K projecting a full phrase.

<sup>29</sup> An issue that must be further investigated is what triggers the absence of the secondary *que* and whether it is attributed the same meaning to (18a) and (18b) or not. In this light, the presence of a second *que* in recomplementation structures is not yet clear.

- (19) But **I believe that if** at this stage, and it isn't too late because it's only what six months since your brother died, **I believe that if** you can bear...

(Giorgi 2015, ex.31)

The presence of the same fragment on both sides of the parenthetical suggests that it may be considered as an elliptical structure in which part of the sentence is not pronounced. In this light, the unmoved status of CLLDs follows from the ellipsis (total or partial) of one of the fragments that sandwiches it, typically the one on the right. If it were the case for CLLDs in Spanish recomplementation, then the secondary *que* is a dubbing of the higher one and not a topic head. Although I am aware that this issue, though intuitive, requires further studies, let me explore here the possibility of a different analysis.

Note that for some of the native speakers consulted, the sentence in (20a) is the equivalent of the one in (20b).

- (20) a. Susi dice que a los alumnos, que les van a dar regalos.

*Susi says that to the students that cl. go-3PL to give presents*

'Susi says that they are going to give the students presents.'

(Villa-García 2015, ex.23)

- b. **Susi dice que** a los alumnos, **Susi dice que** les van a dar regalos.

*Susi says that to the students Susi says that cl. go-3PL to give presents*

'Susi says that, to the student, Susi says that they are going to give them presents.'

This observation strongly suggests the hypothesis that the doubled *que* in (20a) is the high *que* selected by a quotative verb and repeated on the right of the CLLD. We can check this hypothesis by comparing recomplementation *que* with jussive recomplementation *que*. Consider the following sentences:

- (21) a. Dice que a tu boda, que no le apetece ir.

*says that to your wedding that not cl. feel.like go*

'S/he says that s/he does not feel like attending your wedding.'

(Villa-García 2015, ex.179)

- b. Dice que si llueve, que venga Mercedes.  
*says that if rains that come-SUBJ-PRES-3SG Mercedes*  
 ‘S/he demands that Mercedes come (here) if it rains.’ (ibid, ex.30b)

According to the literature, the secondary *que* in (21a) heads TopP and the secondary *que* in (21b) heads FinP. The difference between the sentence in (21a) and the sentence in (21b) is the interpretation of the main verb: in (21a) *decir* ‘to say’ conveys an assertive meaning and it selects recomplementation; when *decir* conveys a jussive meaning, as in (21b), it selects subjunctive and it is compatible only with jussive recomplementation, as I mentioned above in (6). Interestingly, jussive recomplementation is compatible with the overt realization of the two left-peripheral heads, even if no left-peripheral material occurs, see (22). On the other hand, recomplementation requires at least one dislocated phrase to its left, see (23).

- (22) Dice **que que** se vaya si quiere.  
*says that that cl. go if wants*  
 ‘S/he orders that s/he go away if s/he wants to.’ (Villa-García 2015, ex.161)

- (23) \*Pedro dice **que que** no van a venir con ella.  
*Pedro says that that not go-3PL to come with her* (ex.154b)

I interpret these data as evidence for claiming that the *que-que* sequence in (22) is possible because there are two different complementizers, whereas it is rejected in (23) because it is the same high quotative complementizer repeated.

The analysis of CLLDs as an instance of parenthetical is further supported by the fact that the secondary *que* can occur in various positions inside the clause, as I showed in (16), while jussive *que* cannot, see (24). In addition to that, the secondary *que* in recomplementation constructions can be preceded by the so-called commentator *pues* ‘well’ which presents the clause as informatively valuable comment with respect to the discourse that precedes it (Zorraquino and Portolés 1999). Consider the contrast between (25a) and (25b).

- (24) \*A tu madre, **que** a la fiesta, **que** la traigan.  
*ACC your mother that to the party that cl. bring-SUBJ-PRES-3PL*



- (25) a. Dice *que* a tu boda, **pues que** no le apetece ir.  
*says that to your wedding well that not cl. feel-like go*  
'S/he says that, well, s/he does not feel like attending your wedding.'  
(ex.179)

- b. \*Dice *que* a tu boda **pues** no le apetece ir.  
*Says that to your wedding well not cl. feel-like go* (ex.181)

First, note that in (25a) the comma, and so the realization of the pause, must precede *pues*. Second, observe that *pues* must be mandatorily followed by the second *que*, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical. In other words, *pues* can only occur in a recomplementation structure as an expression helping the speaker to go back to the sentence preceding the intonational break. This fact could be taken as an additional argument for the parenthetical status of recomplementation. However, I stress that this issue, though intuitive, must be left for further research.

The last property that I want to point out is that parentheticals exhibit indexical properties. Giorgi (2015) claims that the K-layer hosting parentheticals is located on the left of the left periphery and this position assigns to parentheticals an indexical interpretation. Such an analysis for Spanish recomplementation has already been developed by González i Planas (2014), who argues that the left dislocate in recomplementation exhibits speaker-related features. Consider the following examples:

- (26) Me dijo **que ese cabrón que** si llueve que no viene.  
*cl. said-3SG that this bastard that if rains that not comes*  
'S/he told me that if it rains that son of a bitch is not coming.'  
(González i Planas 2015, ex.41b)

The same phrase cannot be oriented to the speaker if the secondary *que* precedes it:

- (27) Me dijo **que** si llueve **que ese cabrón** no viene.  
*cl. said-3SG that if it rains that this bastard not comes*

‘S/he told me that if it rains that son of a bitch is not coming.’

(González i Planas 2015, ex.42b)

The epithet *ese cabrón* in (27) cannot be interpreted as a content related to the speaker, but it can only be oriented to the matrix subject. Therefore, González i Planas claims that the secondary *que* carries the feature [+reporter] which relates the content of the embedded clause to the speaker.

Now recall that only some verbs can select recomplementation, i.e., quotative verbs, and that recomplementation phenomenon fits systematically in indicative contexts. An argument in favour of its incompatibility with subjunctive mood is given by factive predicates, which can select recomplementation only if they convey an assertive meaning, that is, when they select the indicative. Moreover, I have underlined that the only constituent that can be sandwiched between the two *ques* is a CLLD and, in line with Giorgi (2015), I hypothesized that they share some properties with parentheticals. Independently of my proposal, it has been shown by González i Planas (2014) that these structures present indexical properties and, therefore, it can be assumed that the high complementizer licensing recomplementation exhibits indexical properties too.

I have also noticed that predicates allowing CD reject recomplementation, i.e., factive and jussive verbs and predicates of propositional attitude. Therefore, based on these considerations, it is possible to hypothesize that the complementizer *que* selected by verbs rejecting recomplementation is a different instance of *que* since it does not license indexical elements. If it were the case, both complementizer deletion in complement clauses and the (in)compatibility with recomplementation depend on the properties of the higher *que*.

At this point the question is the following: what are the properties licensing CD? Below I will consider Giorgi’s (2010) theory of complementizer deletion in Italian and then I will formulate my proposal.

## 3.2 Complementizer Deletion and the Sequence of Tense

### 3.2.1 CD and the speaker projection

Giorgi (2010) distinguishes two instances of complementizers *che* ‘that’ in Italian, occupying different positions in the syntactic tree: MoodP and CP. The complementizer heading the higher position in C bears the feature  $\Sigma$ , which points to the speaker’s temporal coordinate, whereas the complementizer in MoodP lacks such a feature. The properties of the higher *che* forces the interpretation in which the embedded event is located with respect to the superordinate event *and* the utterance time, namely, to the speaker’s coordinate. This process of double evaluation is defined by Giorgi (2010) as Double Access Reading (DAR). Consider the following sentence:

- (28) a. Gianni ha detto che Maria ha telefonato.  
*Gianni has said that Maria has called*  
‘Gianni said that Maria has called.’ (Giorgi 2010, ex.74)

The calling event in (28) is located once respect to the superordinate event and once with respect to the utterance time. Therefore, the embedded past *ha telefonato* ‘called’ is a past with respect to the main event *ha detto* ‘said’ and with respect to the utterance.

By contrast, when the DAR is absent, the embedded event is perceived as simultaneous to the main one and such an interpretation correlates with the sequence of tense known as *consecution temporum et modorum*.

- (29) Gianni credeva (che) Maria dormisse.  
*Gianni believed that Maria sleep-SUBJ-PRES-3SG*  
‘Gianni believed that Maria slept.’ (Giorgi 2010, ex.84)

In (29) the temporal relation between the embedded event and the event of the main clause is simultaneity, where the state of sleeping is taken to hold at the time of Gianni’s believing. According to Giorgi (2010), the Italian complementizer *che* can be optionally omitted only

when the DAR is not enforced or, in other words, when the embedded event is not located with respect to the utterance event. In DAR contexts, as the one in (28), the omission of the complementizer is never allowed.

Italian verbs selecting  $che_{\Sigma}$  are verbs of communication, which usually select the indicative mood. On the other hand, the complementizer lacking  $\Sigma$  is selected by attitude predicates, such as *credere* ‘to believe’ and *sperare* ‘to hope’, and they usually select the subjunctive mood (Giorgi 2010). However, as I have already noted, what is relevant for the deletion of the complementizer is the temporal interpretation of the embedded clause with respect to the temporal (and spatial) location of the speaker, which goes beyond the simple alternation indicative / subjunctive. In fact, some attitude predicates such as *ipotizzare* ‘to hypothesize’ may work as verbs of communication and, in this case, they select the higher complementizer. Observe the contrast below.

- (30) a. Gianni ha ipotizzato (che) fosse incinta.  
*Gianni has hypothesized that WAS-SUBJ-PRES pregnant*  
 ‘Gianni hypothesized that she was pregnant.’ (Giorgi 2010, ex.76)
- b. Gianni ha ipotizzato \*(che) sia incinta.  
*Gianni has hypothesized that IS-SUBJ-PRES pregnant*  
 ‘Gianni hypothesized that she is pregnant.’ (ibid, ex.77)

The difference between the two sentences is that the sequence of tense in (30b) is anomalous, the DAR is enforced, and CD is impossible. The speaker is reporting a communication made by Gianni in a hypothetical way and the sentence means that the pregnancy of Maria holds both at the time of the saying and at the utterance time. By contrast, the example in (30a) follows the normal sequence of tense, so that the embedded event is interpreted here as simultaneous of the main one and CD is possible.

The hypothesis I develop in the present work is that this analysis could apply to Spanish. González i Planas (2014) shows that recomplementation is available with predicates working as verbs of communication. As I have noticed above, the recomplementation involves speaker-oriented material in the embedded CP. I have also observed that verbs of communication reject the omission of the high *que*. At this point, I suggest that these predicates select a different instance of complementizer *que* with respect to the predicates compatible with CD. More

specifically, I hypothesize that CD is allowed when the complementizer introducing the embedded clause lacks the feature  $\Sigma$  pointing to the temporal speaker's coordinate.

If this reasoning is correct, I expect that CD occurs in context showing a normal sequence of tense, i.e., when the tense of the embedded verbal form matches that of the main one. This fact can intuitively explain the contrast between (19) and (20) presented in the previous chapter, which I repeat in (31) for simplicity, and so why sentences like (31b) are considered ungrammatical by Suñer (1988) and Brovotto (2002).

- (31) a. Espero me            perdone            Usted            por mi atrevimiento  
*I.hope cl.1sg-DAT forgive-SUBJ-PRES-3SG you(Formal) for my boldness*  
 'I hope you will excuse my boldness.'
- b. Espero \*(que) me            perdonó Usted            por mi atrevimiento.  
*I.hope that cl.1sg-DAT forgave you(Formal) for my boldness*  
 'I hope you forgave my boldness.'

In (31a), an embedded present subjunctive appears under a main present tense, so that the sequence of tense is normal, and CD is possible. In (31b) an embedded past subjunctive appears under a main present tense giving rise to an anomalous sequence of tense. Therefore, the impossibility of the complementizer to be omitted in (31b) must be attributed to the DAR effects.

However, I will develop this hypothesis in the next chapter, where I examine authentic data samples from different Spanish corpora.

### 3.2.2 Mood Phrase in Spanish

Spanish sequence of tense phenomenon has been widely discussed in the literature (Picallo 1984; Suñer and Padilla Rivera 1987, 1990; Suñer 1990; Quer 1998, 2006; Laca 2010b; Guajardo 2017 among others) and the proposal of a Mood projection in the spirit of Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) and Giorgi (2010) has already emerged occasionally (Kempchinsky 1998; Terzi 1997 among others). Here I will summarize the points which I consider relevant to the discussion at hand.

The tense properties of subjunctive have largely dominated the research on mood. The observation that the subjunctive is subject to sequence of tense restrictions – referred to in the Spanish literature as *Concordantia Temporum* – has led to consider the embedded tense as temporally dependent upon the matrix one. The data in (32) illustrate the sequence of tense with the jussive predicate *querer* ‘to want’ and the lack of temporal restrictions for predicates as *pensar* ‘to think’, which selects an indicative complement clause.

- (32) a. Quiero que Juan me llame / \*llamara.  
*I.want that Juan cl. calls-SUBJ-3SG call-SUBJ-PAST-3SG*  
 ‘I want Juan to call me.’ (Guajardo 2017, ex1)
- b. Quería que Juan me \*llame / llamara.  
*I.wanted that Juan cl. calls-SUBJ-3SG call-SUBJ-PAST-3SG*  
 ‘I wanted Juan to call me.’ (ibid, ex.2)
- c. Pienso que Juan me llama / llamó.  
*I.think that Juan cl. calls called-3SG*  
 ‘I think Juan is calling me / called me.’ (ibid, ex.3)

One of the major hypotheses on this issue was advanced by Picallo (1984) who argues that subjunctive forms are defective, in that they do not have an independent temporal interpretation, but their morphological tense oppositions [ $\pm$ Past] rely on the tense specification of the matrix clause. In contrast to its indicative counterpart, which is specified by the features [+Tense, +Agr], Picallo characterizes subjunctive Infl with the features [-Tense, +Agr]. The idea is similar to subsequent proposals developed by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) and Giorgi (2010) that the subjunctive realizes an agreement relation with the superordinate form.

The prediction of the defective-tense analysis is therefore that the tense of the subjunctive is always anaphoric on the tense of the matrix, and that only the patterns in (33) should be found.

- (33) a. - PAST<sub>matrix</sub> - PAST<sub>subj</sub>  
 b. + PAST<sub>matrix</sub> + PAST<sub>subj</sub>

However, the violation of the sequence of tense in subjunctive clauses is possible. Picallo’s hypothesis has been challenged by many authors (Suñer and Padilla Rivera 1987, 1990; Suñer

1990; Quer 2006; Laca 2010b) arguing that the sequence of tense in subjunctives context differs only minimally from the tense configuration in indicative contexts, in that the subjunctive forms are not exclusively anaphoric or ‘bound’ tenses. It has been argued that the sequence [+PAST, -PAST] is possible when it gives rise to DAR effects, whereas the past form of the configuration [-PAST, +PAST] can be licensed by the semantic properties of the past subjunctive. However, even in clauses with a normal sequence of tense, a sentence such as (34) is ambiguous, and the illness can be interpreted both as preceding and as simultaneous with respect to the utterance event.

- (34) José negó / lamentó que María estuviera enferma.  
*José denied lamented that Mary was-SUBJ-3SG ill*  
 ‘José denied / regretted that María was sick.’ (Suñer 1990, ex. 29)

The embedded eventuality in (34) can be doubly evaluated, with respect to the matrix predicate and with respect to the utterance time, or it can be temporally located only with respect to the main event. In order to account for the different interpretations, Suñer proposes that the location of the embedded event is realized in two ways: either by means of Comp or it can be directly bound by the tense of the matrix. The two possible configurations she proposed are as follow:

- (35) a. [Comp<sub>0</sub> [J [PAS<sub>i</sub> [negar / lamentar [Comp<sub>i</sub> [M [PAS<sub>k</sub> [estar enferma  
 b. [Comp<sub>0</sub> [J [PAS<sub>i</sub> [negar / lamentar [M [PAS<sub>i</sub> [estar enferma

In the structure in (35a), the main Comp, specified by index *0*, denotes the time of the utterance – which is referred to in Suñer (1990) as *momento de la comunicación* (MOC). It differs from the time of the saying, which is located in the past, before the utterance. The embedded Comp shares the same temporal index *i* with the tense of the superordinate clause. Since the embedded event denotes a temporal interval preceding the one specified by Comp, the interpretative result is that Mary’s illness precedes the utterance.

The simultaneous interpretation of the embedded event with the superordinate one is licensed by the lack of the temporal coordinates in Comp (Suñer 1990: 93). The structure in (35b) shows that the embedded eventuality is directly anchored to the main one and, since they share the same temporal index, the two events are interpreted as simultaneous.

This hypothesis is very similar to the one proposed by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) and Giorgi (2010). The only difference is that Suñer seems to attribute a different index to the complementizers, whereas the subsequent analyses argue for different instances of complementizers, having different properties and projecting two different projections.

Kempchinsky (1998) treated the subjunctive complementizer in a similar way. The core of her proposal is that jussives verbs select a special complementizer with operator-like properties:

- (36) Quiero [<sub>MP</sub> OP [<sub>M</sub> que [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T</sub> viva] [<sub>VP</sub> tv aquí]  
 ‘I want that she lives here.’ (Kempchinsky 1998, ex.5)

Along similar lines as Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), she proposes a Mood phrase projection characterized by a modal operator in its specifier which must be identified by Spec-Head agreement (Kempchinsky 1998: 146). However, Kempchinsky suggests, in order to account for the obviation facts of subjunctive clauses dependent on certain matrix predicates (e.g., *querer* ‘to want’), that jussives complements are headed by MoodP but not Comp.

My proposal is a development of the one by Kempchinsky (1998). As in Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) and subsequent works, I claim that the temporal interpretation of the sentence is represented in the syntax and that MoodP is selected when there is no DAR, independently from the distribution of indicative / subjunctive with the class of verbs. This proposal may explain why the complementizer can be omitted in some contexts and why the preverbal position is not available for the embedded subject.

### 3.3 Conclusion

Summarizing so far, in Spanish the omission of *que* is allowed with predicates rejecting recomplementation. The hypothesis that I have made in this chapter is that the possibility of omitting the complementizer can be explained by means of the properties of *que*. Following Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) and Giorgi (2010), I proposed that CD in Spanish requires a special *que* which anchors the embedded event with respect to the main one and *not* to the utterance. I observed that there seems to be a correlation between the (im)possibility of omitting the complementizer and the temporal interpretation of the embedded clause. I claim that this fact



suggests that verbs of communication select a complementizer carrying speaker-oriented features preventing its deletion, whereas attitude predicates such as *creer* ‘to think’ and factive verbs as *lamentar* ‘to lament’ select a different *que* lacking the speaker’s coordinate.

To support this hypothesis, I have considered the phenomenon of recomplementation. In particular, I have shown that predicates admitting the deletion of the complementizer systematically reject recomplementation. Assuming Gonzalez i Planas’s (2014) analysis of recomplementation as indexical structures, I have suggested that the high *que* encodes the speaker’s temporal coordinate and, therefore, both complementizer deletion and the (in)compatibility with recomplementation depend on the properties of *que*.

Finally, I have observed that the proposal of a Mood position for the subjunctive complementizer has already been considered by Kempchinsky (1998). My proposal, however, differs from Kempchinsky’s, in that I claim MoodP is involved whenever the anchoring conditions are not enforced, namely, when there is no DAR. If this reasoning is correct, we expect the complementizerless contexts to be immune from DAR effects.

In the next chapter I will examine authentic data samples taken from different corpora, in order to analyse the syntactic properties of CD clauses and verify my hypothesis.



#### 4. On the syntax of CD in current-day Spanish

The purpose of this chapter, and more generally of this work, is to provide well-documented empirical evidence about complementizer deletion in Spanish and some facts that have far gone unnoticed in the literature. Here I examine authentic data samples mainly taken from the *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI* (CORPES XXI) in order to investigate the conditions that determine the deletion of the high *que* in simple complement clauses in today's language and the contexts in which it is produced. Three semantic groups of predicates without complementizer are analysed: (i) attitude predicates (*creer* 'to think / to believe', *pensar* 'to think', *imaginarse* 'to suppose', *esperar* 'to hope'); (ii) factive predicates (*lamentar* 'to lament', *alegrarse* 'to be happy', *sentir* 'to be sorry'); (iii) jussive verbs (*rogar* 'to beg').

The omission of *que*, as generally pointed out in the literature, is accepted by many speakers in almost formulaic expressions, as for instance in formal requests and in the legal language. In this respect, I will show that CD phenomenon is also found in informal contexts and in the oral language, too. However, in order to determine the degree of influence the context has on the production of CD, I examine additional data taken from the Lefebvre el-Derecho corpus, which collects legal documents of rulings of Spain. The hypothesis, drawn on the basis of the assumptions given by the literature, is that CD sample taken from this corpus should present a much higher percentage.

Moreover, the property I try to account for in this chapter is that complementizer deletion in Spanish is possible under certain semantic and syntactic circumstances, namely, when there is non-indexical interpretation of the embedded event, and when no XPs intervene between the main and the embedded verb.

In this chapter I also propose that first person subjectless verbal forms of epistemic predicates are epistemic items standing in the specifier of the Mod<sub>epistemic</sub> projection of Cinque (1999) and that, unlike the Italian *credo* 'I believe / I think' analysed in Giorgi (2010), they do not move to a higher position of the C-layer. The argument comes from the observation that CD does not behave in a homogeneous way, but it is influenced by the person verbal forms of the main predicate. This hypothesis would also explain the impossibility for the XPs to precede the embedded verb.

Finally, I will claim that the class of factive verbs must be kept separate from the analysis of CD in Spanish. In this respect, I will point out that this class of predicates shows a number of major differences in omitting the *que*, i.e. anomalies in the sequence of tense, a very small percentage of omission of the complementizer compared to the other two classes of predicates, and the contexts in which CD is found. These properties will lead me to claim that the phenomenon of complementizer deletion with factive predicates may be affected by other factors, which might be found under a deeper investigation of CD in an older stage of the language.

## 4.1 The data

### 4.1.1 Sample, methodology and terminology

In this work I limit the discussion to European/Iberian/Castilian Spanish, although the phenomenon under consideration is also found in other varieties of Spanish (see Brovotto 2002; Yoon 2015). The data were collected by querying two different corpora: CORPES XXI (*Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI*) and Lefebvre El-Derecho corpus. The latter has been chosen in order to establish the degree of influence the formal context has on the production of CD.

The construals I considered are the ones where the sentence is a clausal complement of the verb. The sample I analyse is composed by sentences introducing a complementizerless clause and it was obtained by searching complement clauses of the first and third person singular present tense form of eight verbs: *creer* ‘to think / to believe’, *pensar* ‘to think’, *imaginarse* ‘to suppose’, *esperar* ‘to hope’, *rogar* ‘to beg’, *lamentar* ‘to lament’, *alegrarse* ‘to be happy’, *sentir* ‘to be sorry’. The decision of considering the first and the third persons comes from the hypothesis that, due to independent properties of these forms, a matrix verb in the first person gives much better results. Differently from third persons in fact, first person forms can be used as parentheticals (Hooper 1975; Giorgi and Pianesi 1996, 1997). As I will show below, CD with the first person exhibits a higher percentage rather than with the third. This observation will

lead me to develop a different analysis of the first person subjectless verbal forms in CD contexts<sup>30</sup>.

A total number of 48.800 sentences were collected, among which the ones showing CD phenomenon were filtered out, resulting a total number of 196 clauses lacking the high *que*. It has also been considered a little sample of CD clauses of the first and the third person singular imperfect indicative form of two verbs: *creer* ‘to believe / to think’ and *imaginarse* ‘to suppose’. The only aim was to check the sequence of tense between the main and the embedded clause. A total amount of 7 clauses with CD was obtained from a sample of 2900 clauses. These data are not included in the tables that I will show in the next section because for the quantitative analysis of CD phenomenon I considered only main present tense verbal forms.

In this chapter, I focus on data from the language of the XXIst century, which I refer to with the label current-day Spanish, while in chapter 5 I will compare these data with classical / Golden Age Spanish, namely, the written language from the XVIth to the end of the XVIIth century. There is no agreement about the periodization of the different stages of the historical development of Spanish: the label Modern Spanish is frequently used by authors to refer to today’s language, while the label Old Spanish often encloses the whole period from the XIIth century to the end of the XVIIth century (Fontana 1983, 1987; Villa-García 2012, 2015 among others). The labels I use here are taken from Lapesa (1980) and Cano Aguilar (2004)<sup>31</sup>:

- *Español Medieval* ‘Medieval Spanish’: the written language between the XIIth century, when the earliest Castilian texts were attested, to the end of the XVth century.
- *Español Clásico* ‘Classical Spanish’ (o *Español del Siglo de Oro* ‘Golden Age Spanish’): the written language between the XVIth century to the end of the XVIIth century.
- *Español Moderno* ‘Modern Spanish’: the written language of the XVIIIth, XIXth and XXth centuries.
- *Español Actual* ‘Current-day Spanish’: the language of the XXIst century.

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<sup>30</sup> For the same reasons, one might expect to find similar results with first person plural forms. However, I will not investigate these data here.

<sup>31</sup> The English translation is mine.

Among the clauses obtained, the ones belonging to the poetic genre written in formal verse were not filtered out.

#### 4.1.2 *Quantitative overview*

Table 4.1 shows that a small percentage (0.40%) of complement clauses omits the complementizer in current-day Spanish. This quantitative data from the sample may be supported by Suñer's (1988) observation that CD cases are rarely attested in the language of the XXIth century. It may also explain why prescriptive grammar defines CD as an obsolete phenomenon mainly belonging to a formal written register. On one hand it is true that, in this sample, CD phenomenon amounts to about 0.40% of the data, which can be considered an amount denoting a rare frequency of CD (although this number may be due to the size of the sample). But, on the other hand, we cannot say that the phenomenon under consideration only belongs to a formal written register, given that it has also been attested in spoken language and in informal written contexts, such as in blog internet pages and face-to-face interviews. It would be more appropriate to say that the frequency of CD and the contexts in which it occurs depend on the type of the verb found in the main sentence. It has been observed, in fact, that the percentage of CD under factive is – slightly – higher in the sample taken from Lefebvre el-Derecho corpus than in the sample taken from CORPES XXI corpus. Interestingly, the omission of the complementizer under propositional attitude and jussive predicates is mostly attested in the CORPES XXI, rather than in Lefebvre el-Derecho corpus. It allows us to generalize that the omission of *que* actually occurs regularly in formal contexts with factive verbs, as *lamentar* 'to lament'. Other classes of predicates, such as propositional attitude and jussives – *creer* 'to think / to believe' and *rogar* 'to beg' respectively – are not restricted to the most conservative registers of the language, but they appear to allow the omission of *que* regardless of whether the register is formal, informal, written, or oral<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> This generalization follows from the observation of the data I collected. Note, however, that Yoon's (2015) study on complementizerless clauses concludes that factive predicates, as well as attitude predicates, allow the omission of the complementizer regardless the degree of formality of the register. This fact may be true for some linguistic varieties of Spanish in Latin America, since most of the data he collected from the corpora do not belong to European Spanish. In addition to that, Yoon's analysis of CD includes the investigation of the so-called *floated*

**Table 4.1:** The distribution of CD in main 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular present tense in current-day Spanish.

Current-day Spanish			
Class of verbs	CD cases	Totals	Frequencies
Propositional attitude	135	40.000	0.33%
Factive	5	7.200	0.07%
Jussive	56	1.600	3.50%
<b>Totals</b>	196	48.800	0.40%

As can be seen in Table 4.1, factive predicates is the class that less allows the omission of *que* (0.07%) compared with attitude predicates and jussive verbs. These data can actually denote a rare omission of the complementizer which may lead, under a deeper analysis, to consider CD phenomenon as obsolete. In chapter 2, I pointed out that CD was defined by the literature as a property of complement clauses of a certain class of verbs, such as *lamentar* ‘to lament’ and *preocuparse* ‘to worry (Torrego 1983; Suñer 1988; Broveto 2002; Antonelli 2013), a definition that is rather misleading since it can be inferred that such a phenomenon is a property exclusive of factive predicates. However, the definition of CD as an obsolete phenomenon may probably refer to the behaviour of this class of predicates.

Table 4.2 shows the quantitative distribution of CD with respect to a main first and a third person singular present tense.

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*parentheticals*, that is the cases in which the main verb is interpreted as a parenthetical. In this sense, Yoon (2015) claims that CD is found also with verbs of saying, such as *decir* ‘to say’ and *confesar* ‘to confess’. Nonetheless, I remark that the present dissertation does not consider parenthetical structures, but it focuses on the cases of CD found in simple complement clauses of European Spanish.

**Table 4.1:** The comparison between CD in clauses dependent upon a 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal form.

Class of verbs	1 <sup>st</sup> person singular			3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular		
	CD cases	Totals	Freq.	CD cases	Totals	Freq.
Propositional attitude	83	20.000	0,41%	52	20.000	0,26%
Factive	2	3.600	0,06%	3	3.600	0,08%
Jussive	48	800	6%	8	800	1%
<b>Totals</b>	133	24.400	0,55%	63	24.400	0,26%

The percentages show that the omission of *que* in clauses dependent upon a third person singular verbal form decreases compared to a first person, precisely from 0,55% to 0,26%. Nevertheless, the percentage (0,26%) of CD with a third person includes the third person singular impersonal form of most of the predicates investigated, namely *creer* ‘to think / to believe’, *pensar* ‘to think’, *imaginar* ‘to suppose’, *esperar* ‘to hope’, *rogar* ‘to beg’. Among the 63 CD cases with a main third person verbal form, there are 39 impersonal forms: 3 of them are jussive verbs and the other 36 are attitude predicates. Therefore, if we remove the impersonal cases, table 4.2 will give the following results:

**Table 4.3:** CD in clauses dependent upon a *real* 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular verbal form.

3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular			
Class of verbs	CD cases	Totals	Freq.
Propositional attitude	16	16.200	0,10%
Factive	3	2.916	0,10%
Jussive	5	648	0,77%
<b>Totals</b>	24	19.764	0,12%

In order to determine the data in table 4.3, I selected a sample of 100 clauses from which I observed that the genuine third person singular forms amount to about 81% of the data, whereas the impersonal forms to 19%. The totals in table 4.3 were obtained from these percentages.

As can be observed, the percentage of CD with a third person has decreased from 0,26% to 0,12%, and then, the contrast between the first and the third person becomes more evident: the omission of *que* varies from 0,55% with a first person singular to 0,12% with a third person singular. Hence, it can be said that CD is more than four times more frequent with the first



person subject of the main verb than with a third one and this contrast becomes more evident if we consider attitude predicates and jussives. This contrast will lead me to claim that subjectless first person verbal forms of epistemic predicates, such as *creo* ‘I think / I believe’, must be analysed as epistemic items in a Modifier projection in the C-layer (§ 4.4).

## 4.2 The syntax

So far it has been observed that the omission of the complementizer in Spanish exhibits a very low frequency. The aim of this section, and more generally of this chapter, is to study the syntax of CD in Spanish in order to establish whether it is a case of V-to-C movement or it should be considered as a different phenomenon.

Therefore, here I analyse the data sample I gathered. Recall that, as discussed in chapter 2, a preverbal subject in CD structures is never acceptable. Moreover, I noticed that the omission of *que* seems to be related to a special sequence of tense, given that the deletion of the complementizer occurs in contexts where the Latin-like *consecutio* is respected. Based on these observations, the hypothesis that I argued for is that there is a correlation in Spanish, as well as in Italian, between the absence of the complementizer and the temporal interpretation of the embedded clause with respect to the main one.

Hence, the analysis of CD structures that I provide here focuses on two main aspects. Firstly, I will observe the distribution of the subjects and, more generally, of the lexical material in pre- and postverbal positions. Then, I will examine the sequence of tense and the temporal interpretation of the embedded clauses.

### 4.2.1 *The distribution of subjects*

In current-day Spanish, the embedded preverbal position is available for the subject when the complementizer is overtly expressed, see (1). By contrast, I have no direct evidence for a subject occupying the preverbal position in a complementizerless clause from the corpus investigated. In (2) I report some cases in which the subject is realized and occurs on the right of the verb.

- (1) a. Creo que Carmen ya está más que acostumbrada a verme  
*I think that Carmen already is more than used to see+me*  
 junto a la ventana a esta hora...  
*together to the window at this hour*  
 ‘I think that Carmen is more than used to seeing me at the window at this time.’  
 (Novel: *Mac y su contratiempo*, Vila-Matas, 2017. CORPES XXI)
- b. ...y espero que nosotros mismos nos estemos dando cuenta de que...  
*and I hope that we ourselves cl. are-SUBJ-1PL noticing of that*  
 ‘and I hope that we are noticing it ourselves...’ (Interview:  
 PRESEGAL: *SCOM\_H23\_006*, 2007. CORPES XXI)
- c. Cree el ladrón que todos son de su condición.  
*thinks the thief that all are of him condition*  
 ‘The thief believes that everybody is of their condition.’ (News: “García Albiol reclama a Sirera y Fernández Díaz que formen una candidatura conjunta”. *El País.com*, 2008. CORPES XXI)
- (2) a. ...les ruego Ø la tomen ustedes la tienen usted en  
*cl. I.beg cl. take-SUBJ-PRES-3PL you(formal) cl. keep you(formal) in*  
 la documentación...  
*the documentation*  
 ‘I beg you to take it, you have it on the documents.’ (Academic speech:  
 CORALES: *Presentación del Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, 2001. CORPES XXI).
- b. ...les ruego Ø sean preguntas si es posible...  
*cl. I.beg be-SUBJ-PRES-3PL questions if it.is possible*  
 ‘I beg you for them to be questions if it is possible’ (Debate: CORALES: *Mesa redonda sobre "La radio en español", en el II Congreso Internacional de la Lengua Española*, 2001. CORPES XXI)

The cases in (2) show that the subject is not found on the left of the embedded verb, but only on the right of it. However, the majority of the cases (171 in 196) present a null embedded subject, which is not surprising given that Spanish is a pro-drop language<sup>33</sup>.

(3) a. ...no creo Ø podamos imaginar cuánta audacia era necesaria...  
*not I.think can-SUBJ-PRES-1PL imagine how.much audacity was necessary*  
 ‘I don’t think we could imagine how much bravery would be necessary.’ (News: “Silvia I.D. Smith / Cielo Sur”, *info.astro*, 2003. CORPES XXI)

b. ...Matilla piensa Ø sea una copia del cuadro de Velázquez...  
*Matilla thinks is-SUBJ-PRES-3SG one copy of+the painting of Velázquez*  
 ‘Matilla thinks that it is a copy of Velázquez’s painting.’ (Book: *Estudios sobre Velázquez*, Morán Turina, 2006. CORPES XXI)

c. Bueno, espero me Ø comprendáis.  
*well I.hope cl. understand-SUBJ-PRES-2PL*  
 ‘Well, I hope that you will understand me.’ (Book: *El tranquilizante. Situaciones II (teatro breve)*, Martínez Ballesteros, 2002. CORPES XXI)

The position of the subject in (2) must not be confused with the right-dislocated subject. Ordóñez (2000) distinguishes between VSO and VOS order in Spanish. Summarizing a bit, he argues that Spanish, unlike Italian, exhibits a wider distribution of subjects in post-verbal position. The VS order occurs frequently, and the post-verbal subjects do not necessarily get main sentence stress. Post-verbal subjects in VOS order are instead always focused. Ordóñez

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<sup>33</sup> Note that the examples in (3) contain an embedded subjunctive verbal form and the null subjects cannot be coreferent with the main subject. In fact, this is what we expect in subjunctive complement clause (Giorgi 2010: 44). However, a null subject is also possible if the embedded clause is an indicative or conditional one. In this case, there is no ban:

- (i) No lo diría de un animal, pro<sub>i</sub> creo no lo pro<sub>ij</sub> diría de ninguna otra criatura viviente...  
 ‘I wouldn’t say it about an animal, I think that I wouldn’t say it about any other living creatures.’  
 (Novel: *Invitación a un asesinato*, Posadas, 2010. Corpes)
- (ii) ...él<sub>i</sub> cree pro<sub>ij</sub> podría ser el amor de su<sub>ij</sub> vida.  
 ‘He thinks that he could be the love of his life.’ (Novel: *Historias Bélicas*, Paz Pasamar, 2004. Corpes)

proposes that Spanish has an extra inflectional projection that he calls Neutral Phrase (NeutP) located between the TP and the VP. Therefore, the VSO is a product of a head movement of the verb to T and the movement of the subjects to the specifier of the NeutP. However, it is not sufficient to prove that we are not dealing with a V to C movement.

It is well known that the so-called subject inversion between the auxiliary and the past participle correlates with verb second phenomenon. To test this property, we should investigate a verbal form composed of an auxiliary plus a participle, e.g. a present perfect, appearing in the embedded clause but, as I will analyse in the next section, CD is possible only if the embedded verb is inflected for present, future or conditional in clauses dependent upon a propositional attitude. By contrast, an embedded present perfect is possible with factive predicates and, in this case, the subject can be found on the right of the auxiliary.

(4) Lamento hayan Vdes. decidido, unilateralmente, sin  
*I.lament have-SUBJ-PRES-3PL you(formal) decided unilaterally without*  
 contar con nuestra aprobación.  
*count+on with our approval*

‘I lament that you have decided unilaterally without considering our approval.’ (Legal document: EDJ 2006/3950 STS (Civil) de 1 febrero de 2006. Lefebvre el-Derecho)

Examples of this type are analysed by Antonelli (2013) as movement of the embedded verb to C, also assumed for Germanic V2. However, by the analysis of the sequence of tense that I present in the next section, I will claim that the analysis of factive dependent clauses must be kept separate from predicates of belief, since they exhibit different properties in establishing the sequence of tense between the matrix and the embedded clause, and also with respect to the contexts in which they omit the complementizer.

Turning back to the distribution of the lexical material, what I point out here is that among the sample of 196 complementizerless clauses, constituents appearing between the main and the embedded clause are never found. Only clitic elements, i.e., clitic pronouns and negation, occur in that position. In this respect, note that the deletion of *que* never triggers enclisis, a phenomenon that might be expected if it is a case of V2, but these structures always exhibit proclisis. This fact has already been observed by Antonelli (2013) and it is a strong argument against the V2 hypothesis. Some of the cases are the following:

(5) a. Espero **te** guste                      este archivo que te mando.

*I.hope cl. like-SUBJ-PRES-2SG this file      that cl. I.send*

‘I hope that you will like the file I am sending you.’ (News: “Un virus informático muy dañino infecta a miles de empresas y usuarios en España.”, *El País.com*, 2001.

CORPES XXI)

b. Su madre ruega **le** den                      la colocación.

*her mother begs cl. give-SUBJ-PRES-3PL the placement*

‘His/her mother is begging to get the placement.’ (Novel: *La pasión según las fieras*, Royuela, 2003. CORPES XXI)

(6) a. Espero **no** os parezcan                      demasiado malas.

*I.hope not cl. seem-SUBJ-PRES-3PL too              bad*

‘I hope you will not find them too bad.’ (Blog: “Viaje a Munich y Dachau 2007”, Redondo, José Miguel, *El rincón de Sele*, 2007-03-27. CORPES XXI)

b. ...y por ello le ruego **no** vuelva                      a importunarme más.

*and for it cl. I.beg not returns-SUBJ to bother+me further*

‘And because of that I beg of you to not bother me again.’ (Novel: *Principiantes. Inventario de comienzos sin final feliz*, Alberro, 2004. CORPES XXI)

These results were expected if we assume the claim made by Brovotto (2002) that no constituent can precede the embedded verb if the complementizer has been omitted. The results are also in line with Suñer’s (1988) analysis of this phenomenon stating that the preverbal position is available for clitic elements.

Another property that can be observed is the distribution of adverbs. The corpus I have collected contains a total of 7 complementizerless clauses with an embedded adverb and in none of them it is found in preverbal position. Such a result apparently contrasts with Suñer (1988) who states that adverbs may be found in that position. As I have already discussed in chapter 2, however, the adverbs she considers belong to the matrix clause (I report in (7) one of the examples I discussed in chapter 2 for an easier comparison), whereas the sentences I collected contain adverbs modifying the embedded verb.

(7) Espero *de todo corazón* me perdone usted por mi atrevimiento.  
*I.hope of all heart cl. forgive you(formal) for my boldness*  
 ‘I hope with all my heart that you will forgive my boldness.’ (Suñer 1988, ex. 19b)

(8) a. ...para que reciban a los que se espera sean **pronto** sus  
*for that receive-SUBJ-3PL to the that cl. hopes are-SUBJ-3PL soon their*  
 nuevos vecinos...  
*new neighbours*  
 ‘So that they will welcome those that it is hope that will be soon their neighbours.’  
 (News: “El oso mete la pata en Os Ancares”, *elpais.com*, 2006. CORPES XXI)

b. Les ruego salgan **inmediatamente** y solucionen sus diferencias...  
*cl. I.beg leave-SUBJ-3PL immediately and solve-SUBJ-3PL their differences*  
 ‘I beg that you go out immediately and you solve your differences.’ (Novel: *El adivino oriental*, Sáez Echevarría, 2003. CORPES XXI)

c. ...siguen cometiendo actos delictivos que espero resolverá **debidamente**  
*keep-3PL committing actions criminal that I.hope solves-FUT adequately*  
 la justicia...  
*the justice*  
 ‘They keep committing criminal actions that I hope justice will solve adequately.’  
 (Legal document: EDJ 2017/446765 STSJ (Social) de 30 noviembre de 2017. Lefebvre el-Derecho)

The examples in (8) show that embedded adverbs occur on the right of the verb. This data may prove what assumed in Antonelli (2013), that an adverb modifying the embedded verb is never found on its left. Note that if the complementizer is expressed, the preverbal position is available for adverbs.

(9) Nos ruega que **nunca** le contemos nada de nuestra vida privada...  
*cl. begs that never cl. tell-SUBJ-1PL anything of our life private*  
 ‘S/he begs that we never explain to him anything about our private lives.’ (Novel: *La jaula de los gorilas*, Muñoz Avia, 2011. CORPES XXI)

At first glance, from the distribution of adverbs in complementizerless clauses it would appear to be plausible to pursue a V-to-C analysis. However, the examples in (8), as well as those provided by Antonelli (2013), involve low adverbs corresponding to the V domain. As such, it does not provide evidence for establishing if the verb has moved to C. As I have already observed in chapter 2, though, the distribution of adverbs in Spanish requires further research analysing how far low adverbs can occur from their base generated position to a higher one. For now, I leave this issue open.

We can conclude that the data from the corpora corroborate that embedded constituents cannot move to a position preceding the embedded verb in Spanish CD structures. Therefore, it does not seem to be obvious that this phenomenon should be accounted for as an instance of V-to-C movement, in that it is not clear at all why the specifier of the projection hosting the embedded verb is not available for a moved XP. In addition to that, a V2 analysis does not explain why the omission of the complementizer never triggers enclisis.

#### 4.2.2 *The Sequence of Tense*

The omission of *que* is found both in indicative clauses and in subjunctive ones. In this respect, Spanish differs from Italian, where CD is only possible with the subjunctive mood (Giorgi 2010). However, this contrast can be considered a crosslinguistic difference in mood choice (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997), given that Spanish belief predicates select the subjunctive only if the matrix verb is negated, otherwise they require the indicative mood. Among the predicates selecting the subjunctive, there are factive and jussive verbs, i.e. *lamentar* ‘to lament’, *sentir* ‘to be sorry’ and *rogar* ‘to beg’, see (10). On the contrary, attitude predicates select the indicative, except for verbs of desire as *esperar* ‘to hope’, see (11).

- (10) Le ruego firme        esta comunicación    a los meros efectos de recibo...  
*cl. I.beg sign-SUBJ-3SG this communication to the mere effects of reception*  
 ‘I beg of you to sign this communication to the mere effects of reception.’  
 (Legal document: EDJ 2015/437371 STS (Civil) de 10 mayo de 2015. Lefebvre el-Derecho)

- (11) a. ... creo llevamos / un año y pocos debíamos llevar y  
*I.think spend-1PL a year and bit should-IMPERF-1PL spend and*  
 y bueno / no algo más...  
*and well not something more*  
 ‘I think that we have been together for one year and something, it should be and well, no, a bit more.’ (Oral interview: PRESEGAL: SCOM\_M22\_034, 2010. CORPES XXI)
- b. Desde la noche del domingo tenéis acceso a las mejores  
*from the night of+the Sunday have-2PL access to the best*  
 fotografías [...] que espero no os parezcan demasiado malas.  
*pictures that I.hope not cl. seem-SUBJ-3PL too bad*  
 ‘From Sunday night you have access to the best pictures that I hope they won’t seem too bad to you.’ (Blog: “Viaje a Munich y Dachau 2007”, Redondo, *elrincondesele.com*, 2007. CORPES XXI)

In the sentences in (10) and (11), the main simple present selects an embedded clause with a simple present tense, (indicative or subjunctive). In general, it has been noticed that CD is licensed only with simple verbal forms and, more specifically, when the tense of the embedded form matches that of the main one (with the only exception of factive predicates which I will consider separately in the next section). From the interpretative point of view, the sentence in (11a) means that the main subject has a belief concerning the duration of a relationship and, analogously, the sentence in (11b) expresses a hope concerning the judgments of some pictures. Put differently, the embedded event is not asserted, given that both complement clauses express the content of the main propositional attitude. Notice also that the temporal (and spatial) location of the two embedded events is not specified, but their interpretation is simultaneity with respect to the main events. The same is true for the sentence in (10), where the content of the order is expressed by the present subjunctive *firme* ‘sign’ and there are no indexical modifiers locating the signing event in time (or space).

These examples provide additional evidence in favour of the idea hypothesized in chapter 3 that when an embedded event is interpreted as simultaneous to the main one and it is not located with respect to the utterance, namely, when the embedded eventuality is not doubly evaluated, the complementizer can be omitted. By contrast, when in the embedded clause indexical



modifiers anchor the embedded context at the interface to the speaker, the complementizer *que* is overtly expressed, see the examples below.

- (12) a. Se ruega a los espectadores que esta noche se comporten  
*cl. begs to the guests that this night cl. behave-SUBJ-3PL*  
con corrección...  
*with correction*  
'It is asked from the guests that tonight they behave correctly.' (Novel: *Este domingo no hay cine*, Salom, 2002. CORPES XXI)
- b. Ruego a los dioses que no sea sepultado **en este lugar**.  
*I.beg to the gods that not is-SUBJ-3SG buried in this place*  
'I pray to the gods that he is not entombed in this place.' (Novel: *Las dos muertes de Sócrates*, García Valiño, 2003. CORPES XXI)

The difference between (10) and (12) is the presence of the temporal modifier *esta noche* 'tonight' in (12a), and the spatial modifier *este lugar* 'this place' in (12b), which locates the embedded event in the near future with respect to both the main and the utterance time. Given that these elements force a double evaluation of the embedded eventuality, once with respect to the superordinate and once with respect to the speaker, the complementizer cannot be deleted. The omission of *que* is also found when the embedded verb is inflected for simple future or conditional<sup>34</sup>. Consider first the cases with an embedded conditional. For the example in (14), I report the entire context in order to make easier the interpretation of the verbal form.

- (13) Johan, casado con Esther, se enamora de Marianne, mujer que  
*Johan married with Esther cl. loves of Marianne woman that*  
él cree podría ser el amor de su vida.  
*he thinks could be the love of his life*  
'Johan, married to Esther, falls in love with Marianne, whom he thinks could be the love of his life.' (Novel: *Historias Bélicas*, Paz Pasamar, 2004. CORPES XXI)

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<sup>34</sup> The same is true for Italian. See Poletto (1995, 2000).

(14) -Me alegro de que esté muerta- dijo Kardam Kovatchev alzando la barbilla al tiempo que me miraba derechito a los ojos -No lo diría de un animal, **creo no lo diría** de ninguna otra criatura viviente, pero no me importa decirlo de tu hermana, yo soy así.

'I am glad that she is dead- said Kardam Kovatchev raising his chin while he looked me right in the eyes -I wouldn't say it about an animal, I think that I wouldn't say it about any other living creatures, but I don't mind saying it about your sister, that the way I am.' (Novel: *Invitación a un asesinato*, Posadas, 2010. CORPES XXI)

In both sentences, the subject expresses a doubtful attitude toward the content of the embedded clause. In (13), the feeling is associated with an explicit modal verb, *podría* 'she could', while in (14) the event of saying, appearing in the present conditional mood, is associated to an if-clause which is taken for granted<sup>35</sup>. The temporal interpretation of both examples is a present one, in that the modality in (13) and the condition in (14) are both understood as holding now. Therefore, as also noted by Giorgi (2010) for Italian, the embedded content associated with the conditional morphology has the same temporal properties as the indicative present tense. Hence, being temporally a present tense, the examples in (13) and (14) are in line with the hypothesis I proposed, given that the interpretation of the conditional is matching the one of the main sentence, namely, the present tense of indicative. In addition to that, a conditional verbal form is always associated to a modal meaning (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997) and it does not enforce the DAR<sup>36</sup>.

As I mentioned above, complementizer deletion is also possible with a future tense. Consider the following example:

(15) Crisanto entra exultante en lo que cree será su nueva vida.  
*Crisanto enters elated in the that he.thinks will+be his new life*  
'Crisanto elatedly enters what he thinks will be his new life.' (Book: *Operación*, Onetti, 2012. CORPES XXI)

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<sup>35</sup> The conditional verbal form is licensed by an explicit modal verb or by the if-clause. For a complete analysis of the semantics of conditional mood and its temporal interpretation, see Giorgi and Pianesi (1997).

<sup>36</sup> See also Giorgi (2010) for the discussion on the future-in-the-past.

The embedded future in (15) does not express the temporal value of future, but the sentence is interpreted as modalized, in that it can be treated as equivalent to the modal form “Crisanto entra exultante en lo que cree *podría* ser su nueva vida” (Crisanto elatedly enters what he thinks might be his new life). Let me stress again that we are dealing with a case of crosslinguistic variation in mood choice. Unlike Italian, in fact, belief predicates in Spanish require the subjunctive only if they are negated, otherwise they require the indicative. Therefore, it may be plausible to assume that the deletion of the complementizer correlates with the absence of a double evaluation of the complement clause.

Another argument in favour of my hypothesis is provided by clauses depending on a past. It has been noticed that the normal sequence of tense is respected when the main verb is a past form. Consider the following examples:

- (16) a. Llevados en colgantes o en otros amuletos, se creía podían  
*brought in pendants or in others charms cl. thought-3SG CAN-IMPERF-3PL*  
 dar protección contra los espíritus malignos.  
*give protection against the spirits evil*  
 ‘Brought as pendants or other charms it was believed that they could protect against evil spirits.’ (Novel: *Los comedores de tiza*, Aibar, 2004. CORPES XXI)
- b. Y añade Antonio Pigafetta: “recompensa que creía le era debida  
*and adds Antonio Pigafetta reward that thought cl. was owed*  
 por ser el primero que abrazaba la religión cristiana.”  
*for be the first that embrace-IMPERF-3SG the religion christian*  
 ‘And Antonio Pigafetta adds: “reward that he thought was owed to him due to being the first to embrace Christian religion”.’  
 (News: “La introducción del cristianismo por Magallanes en la Isla del Cebú (Filipinas) II” *Odiseo Revista de Historia*, 2002. CORPES XXI)
- c. El chamán curaba cantando y chupando [...] las substancias que se pensaba  
*the chaman healed singing and sucking the substancies that cl. thought*  
 eran venenosas y causaban la enfermedad.

*were poisonous and caused.<sub>3PL</sub> the sickness*

‘The Chaman healed by singing and sucking the substances that were thought to be poisonous and responsible for the sickness.’ (News: “Los Hare” *ucm.es/arqueoweb*, 2001. CORPES XXI)

In the complementizerless clauses in (16), an imperfect indicative verbal form undergoes a main imperfect indicative, showing that the Latin-like *consecutio* is maintained also in past dependencies. It can be taken as an argument showing that Spanish CD phenomenon has similar properties to the Italian, in that it is possible when the embedded event is interpreted as expressing simultaneity with the main one.

Hence, I conclude that we are dealing with a non-indexical complementizer deletion phenomenon as the Italian. It can be deduced from two properties I analysed so far, namely, complementizer deletion is possible:

- If there is an agreement relation between the embedded clause and the superordinate one, namely, when the Latin like *consecutio temporum et modorum* is respected.
- If there are no constituents preceding the embedded verb, namely, when the main and the embedded verb are adjacent.

The only exception of this framework are factive predicates.

### 4.3 The case of factive predicates

The deletion of *que* in clauses dependent upon a factive predicate differs in relevant ways from the contexts I have analysed so far for attitude and jussive verbs. Among the 5 clauses without complementizer of the sample I gathered, only 2 have a simple verbal form and, in only one of these two cases, the tense of the embedded form matches that of the main one. I report here both sentences.

- (17) ...me voy a la Ópera y a Dios, que siento no veas  
*cl. I.go to the opera and to god that I.regret not watch-SUBJ-PRES-2SG*  
conmigo estas diversiones...

*with+me these diversions*

‘I go to the Opera and to God, what I am sorry you do not participate with me to such diversions.’ (Academic book: *Arte del siglo XIX*, Lacarra, 2013. CORPES XXI)

(18) Me alegra le placieran a usted las cartas de mi amigo...

*cl. glad cl. appreciated to you the letters of my friend*

‘I am glad that you appreciated my friend’s letters.’ (Academic book: *La verdad está en el límite. El cálculo infinitesimal*, Durán Guardado, 2011. CORPES XXI)

In the example (17), the main present *siento* ‘I am sorry’ selects a complementizerless clause with the present subjunctive *beas* ‘you attend’. Nonetheless, the example in (18) exhibits an anomalous sequence of tense since the past subjunctive *placieran* ‘you appreciated’ is dependent on the present tense *me alegra* ‘I am glad’.

Moreover, among the 5 CD clauses, 3 show an embedded present perfect dependent on a simple present. I report here the three examples.

(19) a. Lamento hayan Vdes. decidido, unilateralmente,

*I.lament have-SUBJ-PRES-3PL you(formal) decided unilaterally*

sin contar con nuestra aprobación.

*without count with our approval*

‘I lament that you have decided unilaterally without considering our approval.’

(Legal document: EDJ 2006/3950 STS (Civil) de 1 febrero de 2006. Lefebvre el-Derecho)

b. ...pese a las enormes carencias probatorias, lamenta la recurrente

*despite to the enormous lacking probationary laments the appellant*

no se haya estimado suficiente por...

*not cl. has-SUBJ considered enough for*

‘Despite the enormous lack of evidence, the appellant laments it hasn’t been

considered enough for...’ (Legal document: EDJ 2010/214253 SAP de 19

febrero 2010. Lefebvre el-Derecho)

c. ...el recurrente lamenta no haya sido debitamente valorada  
*the appellant laments not has-SUBJ been adequately assessed*  
por la sentencia...  
*for the sentence*

‘The appellant laments that it has not been adequately assessed by the sentence.’ (Legal document: EDJ 2013/199203 STS (Contencioso) de 8 octubre 2013. Lefebvre el-Derecho)

As I have already mentioned in the previous section, the examples in (19) show that the present *lamentolamenta* ‘I lament / s/he laments’ can select an embedded clause without complementizer with a present perfect. In addition to that, the sentence (19a) exhibits an instance of subject inversion, where the subject occurs between the auxiliary and the past participle. As stated by Poletto (2014), the subject inversion correlates with the V2 property. However, I have not obtained enough data to determine if it can be assimilated to V2 as in Antonelli (2013). In fact, investigating if it is an instance of V2 means looking for examples where the inversion in (19a) is possible with all types of subjects, e.g., pronouns, definite DPs, bare quantifiers, and quantified expressions. On the contrary, it seems here that the subject inversion in (19a) can be licenced by the presence of the formal pronoun *ustedes*, which exhibits a different distribution with respect to other personal pronouns (Fernández Soriano 1999, among others). To clarify this point, however, more studies are necessary and a much deeper analysis on the corpora must be done.

The point I want to stress here is the consideration that complementizer deletion with factive verbs differs crucially from the other classes of predicates. First, notice that the examples (17) and (18) are citations of documents belonging to the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries. Therefore, the properties of these structures cannot be assimilated to the analysis of the current-day Spanish CD. Second, if we consider the three remaining examples in (19), a clear observation emerges: they all belong to a formal register of the legal language.

Hence, the anomalies in the sequence of tense, together with the small percentage (0,07%) of omission in factive-dependant clauses and the contexts in which they are found, lead me to claim that the phenomenon of complementizer deletion with factive predicates may be affected by other factors, for which a different analysis must be proposed. In this respect, in chapter 5 I will try to sketch an alternative hypothesis of these peculiar structures by comparing CD

phenomenon in the Spanish language of the XXIst century to the period between the XVth and the XVIIth century.

#### 4.4 Is *creo* an epistemic head or a parenthetical?

##### 4.4.1 On the epistemic heads in Italian

In this section I discuss a possible analysis for the subjectless first person verbal form expressing an epistemic meaning. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 above show that CD is four times more frequent with the first person present tense of attitude predicates than with the third person, suggesting that we may be dealing with two different phenomena of CD.

Giorgi (2010 §3.2) analyses these verbal forms in Italian as heads expressing an epistemic value and moving to the left-most modifier position in the C-layer. The trigger of the movement is the first person features of the verbs which are compatible with the projection containing the speaker's coordinates<sup>37</sup>. In Italian, the syntax of *credo* 'I think / I believe' CD sentences exhibits some differences with respect to the 'ordinary' complementizerless clauses. One of these is the possibility for the subject to appear between the main and the embedded verb:

- (20) a. \*Gianni crede Luisa abbia telefonato.  
*Gianni believes Luisa has-SUBJ called*  
'Gianni believes that Luisa called.' (Giorgi 2010, ex. 6)
- b. Credo Luisa abbia telefonato.  
*I.think Luisa has-SUBJ called*  
'I believe that Luisa called.' (ibid, ex.7)

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<sup>37</sup> In Giorgi's analysis, the left-most position in the C-layer contains the speaker's coordinates. This is the position occupied by the complementizer with  $\Sigma$  feature selected by the verbs of saying. See the discussion in chapter 3 §3.2 and in Giorgi (2010 §2.4).

Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) observe that Italian speakers are divided in two groups regarding the acceptability of the sentence in (20a). For one group the preverbal subject gives rise to an unacceptable sentence, whereas for the other group it does not. What is relevant for the analysis of *credo* as an epistemic head is that the preverbal subject in (20b) is accepted by both groups of speakers without yielding any *intra-linguistic microvariation* (Giorgi 2010: 67). The difference in the interpretation of (20a) and (20b) is that by means of the former, the speaker is attributing to Gianni an epistemic state concerning the calling event, whereas by means of the latter the speaker is telling that ‘perhaps’ Luisa called, that is, the calling event is asserted with a low degree of certainty as it is qualified by means of *credo*.

Another piece of evidence in favour of the analysis of *credo* as an epistemic head is given by the distribution of topic and focus. Consider the following contrast:

- (21) a. \*Mario crede A PARIGI sia andata (non a Londra).  
*Mario believes to Paris is-SUBJ gone not to London*  
 ‘Mario believes to Paris she went, (not to London).’ (Giorgi 2010, ex.14)
- b. \*Mario crede a Parigi, ci sia andata il mese scorso.  
*Mario believes to Paris cl. is-SUBJ gone the month last*  
 ‘Mario believes to Paris she went last month.’ (ibid, ex.15)
- (22) a. Credo A PARIGI sia andata (non a Londra)  
*I.think to Paris is-SUBJ gone not to London*  
 ‘I believe to Paris she went (not to London).’ (ibid, ex. 16)
- b. Credo a Parigi ci sia andata il mese scorso.  
*I.think to Paris cl. is-SUBJ gone the month last*  
 ‘I believe to Paris she went last month.’ (ibid, ex. 17)

The examples in (21) show that the presence of focus and topic in CD structures give rise to an unacceptable sentence. By contrast, the left-peripheral elements are grammatical in (22).

Summarizing then, the omission of *che* ‘that’ in clauses following the first person verbal form of an epistemic predicate does not exhibit the same syntactic properties that are observed in ‘ordinary’ complementizerless clauses. This evidence leads the analysis of *credo* verbs-like as epistemic heads.



The difference in the frequency of CD observed in Spanish between the first and the third person verbal form of attitude predicates tempts to say that Giorgi's analysis for Italian may apply to Spanish, too. Nevertheless, I will show that Spanish scenario appears to be quite different from the Italian one and it makes the analysis of attitude predicates as epistemic heads more complex.

If Spanish *creo* 'I believe / I think' is an epistemic head as the Italian *credo* is, then we should observe a contrast in the distribution of the lexical material, but we do not. As I noticed in chapter 2 and I analysed in the present chapter, the embedded preverbal position of a complementizerless clauses is never occupied by any kind of element. Therefore, I cannot pursue this analysis basing it on the distribution of subjects, topics, and focus. Nevertheless, this fact does not exclude that the subjectless first person verbal form of attitude predicates is located in an epistemic projection. Before discussing the structural position that I propose for the Spanish *creo*, it is necessary to distinguish it from its parenthetical counterpart.

#### 4.4.2 *Creo is not a parenthetical*

Complementizerless clauses introduced by attitude predicates exhibit some properties showing that such structures are to be considered as parentheticals. The most striking peculiarity that distinguishes Spanish CD phenomenon from the Italian one is that in most of the clauses dependent upon an attitude predicate, a constituent has been extracted out of the embedded clause.

- (23) a. El Estrecho me separará de esta tierra [...] a la que, dada mi edad, no creo  
podré volver.  
'The Strait will keep me away from this land to which, given my age, I don't  
think I will be able to go back to.' (Novel: *Historias Bélicas*, Paz Pasamar,  
2004. CORPES XXI)
- b. ...miedos que imagino son compartidos por una mujer...  
*fears that I imagine are shared for a woman*  
'Fears that I believe are shared by a woman.' (News: "Álbum de viaje que

retrata el interior de la mujer”, Relación, *artezblai.com/arte*, 2001. CORPES XXI)

The extraction of the constituent out of the complement clause gives rise to a relative clause. Notice that the class of verbs we are considering is also known as *bridge verbs*, the predicates of which can be used as parentheticals. Therefore, one could conclude that CD structures are an instance of parenthetical, particularly if we consider that in a sentence like the ones in (23) the presence of the subjectless first person verbal form does not block the binding of the relative phrase. For instance, the bridge verb in (23b) can in fact be deleted without affecting the syntax of the sentences, see (24), or it can be substituted by an epistemic adverb such as *probablemente* ‘probably’, see (25).

(24) ...miedos que son compartidos por una mujer...  
‘Fears that are shared by a woman.’

(25) ...miedos que probablemente son compartidos por una mujer...  
‘Fears that probably are shared by a woman.’

The sentences in (24) and (25) have the same meaning of (23) with the only difference that they express a different degree of certainty. Despite this evidence pointing to conclude that CD structures may be treated as parentheticals, such an analysis would let unnoticed some important facts.

The first one is that CD often occurs with subjunctive clauses such as, for instance, when the main attitude predicate is negated, as in (26), and when it triggers the subjunctive mood, such as *esperar* ‘to hope’, see (27).

(26) ...navegantes con naves que no creo podamos imaginar cuanta  
*sailors with ships that not I.think can-SUBJ-1PL imagine how+much*  
audacia era necesaria...  
*bravery was necessary*  
‘Sailors with ships that I don’t believe we could imagine how much bravery was necessary.’ (News: “Silvia I.D. Smith / Cielo Sur”, *info.astro*, 2003. CORPES XXI)

- (27) ...en un sentido que espero sea entendido por todos...  
*in a sense that I.hope is-SUBJ understood for everyone*  
 ‘In a sense that I hope will be understood by everyone.’ (Autobiography: *Casa del olivo. Autobiografía (1949-2003)*, Castilla del Pino, 2004. CORPES XXI)

As it is expected from subjunctive complement clauses, the main attitude predicates in (26) and (27) cannot be omitted without giving rise to an ungrammatical sentence:

- (28) ...\*navegantes con naves que no podemos imaginar cuanta  
*sailors with ships that not can-SUBJ-1PL imagine how+much*  
 audacia era necesaria...  
*bravery was necessary*

- (29) ...\*en un sentido que sea entendido por todos...  
*in a sense that is-SUBJ understood for everybody*

The ungrammaticality confirms that the complementizerless clauses depends on the attitude verbs and that it is not used as a parenthetical. This fact emerges more clearly in Italian where attitude predicates usually select the subjunctive. As discussed in Giorgi (2010 §3.4), the difference between the main predicate *credo* ‘I think / I believe’ selecting a complementizerless clause and the parenthetical one is that the latter triggers the subjunctive, whereas the former does not.

- (30) Maria (credo) è (credo) andata (credo) a Parigi (credo).  
*Maria I.think is I-think gone I.think to Paris I.think*  
 ‘Maria (I believe) has (I believe) gone (I believe) to Paris (I believe).’  
 (Giorgi 2010, ex. 63)

- (31) \*Maria (credo) **sia** (credo) andata (credo) a Parigi (credo).  
*Maria I.think is-SUBJ I-think gone I.think to Paris I.think*  
 ‘Maria (I believe) has (I believe) gone (I believe) to Paris (I believe).’  
 (Giorgi 2010, ex. 65)

The contrast between (30) and (31) also shows that the parenthetical *credo* can occupy different positions inside the clause, but it cannot when it selects the subjunctive mood. The same is true for the Spanish *creo*: the parenthetical *creo* can be found in the middle of the clause, as in (32a), or at the end of it, as in (32b), but such movements are not possible when *creo* is selecting a complementizerless clause.

- (32) a. Les tengo que reportar un evento que, creo yo, denota un cambio importante...  
 ‘I have to report an event to them that, I think, denotes an important change...’  
 (Yoon 2015, ex. 22a)
- b. El fútbol me gusta demasiado, creo.  
 ‘I like soccer too much, I think.’ (ibid, ex.22b)
- (33) a. ...\*navegantes con naves que, no creo, podamos imaginar cuanta  
*sailors with ships that not I.think can-SUBJ-1PL imagine how+much*  
*audacia era necesaria*  
*bravery was necessary*
- b. \*podamos imaginar cuanta audacia era necesaria, no creo.  
*can-SUBJ-1PL imagine how+much bravery was necessary not I.think*

As it can be noticed, another important difference between the two instances of *creo* is that the parenthetical one requires a pause before and after it, usually marked in written language with two commas. By contrast, when *creo* selects a complementizerless clause, it is associated to a flat intonation. Therefore, it can be concluded that CD structures cannot be analysed as an instance of parenthetical.

#### 4.4.3 *The structural position of creo: a proposal*

In this section I will try to determine the position of the epistemic item *creo* in the structure. As I noticed above, attitude predicates can be substituted by an epistemic adverb such as *posiblemente* ‘probably’ without changing the meaning of the clause.

(34) Creo llevamos / un año y poco juntos.  
 ‘I think that we have been together for one year and something.’  
 (Oral interview: PRESEGAL: SCOM\_M22\_034, 2010. CORPES XXI)

(35) Posiblemente llevamos / un año y poco juntos.  
 ‘It is possible that we have been together for one year and something.’

Both the epistemic adverb and the verb modify the embedded predicate *llevamos* qualifying the duration of the relationship with the same degree of uncertainty or, in other words, both *creo* and *posiblemente* specify the epistemic status of the speaker with respect to the sentence that follows.

According to Cinque (2004), left-peripheral adverbs are located in a Mod(ifier) position in the C-layer, lower than FocP. Therefore, if *creo* works as an epistemic adverb, then it should appear in the same projection as *posiblemente*, i.e., in ModP, and they should exhibit the same distribution with respect to the focus.

Consider the following sentences where the epistemic adverb / verb is combined with a focused phrase<sup>38</sup>:

(36) \*Posiblemente LA MARIHUANA reduce la iniciativa e  
*Possibly the marijuana reduces the initiative and*  
*insistencia del joven...*  
*persistence of+the young* (adapted from RAE §30.111)

(37) \*Creo JAVIER sepa conducir.  
*I.think Javier knows-SUBJ-PRES drive*

These sentences show that the focus cannot follow the epistemic items. This result observed with the epistemic verb *creo* was predictable once recalled that, as discussed above, no lexical material can precede the embedded verb when the complementizer is absent. Therefore, *posiblemente* and *creo* show the same distribution with respect to the focus, suggesting that they also occupy the same position.

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<sup>38</sup> This data has been elicited from native-speaker consultants.

The distribution of the epistemic items with respect to the focus differs if we compare it in Italian and Spanish. In fact, while the Italian *credo* ‘I think / I believe’ can be followed by a focus phrase, as mentioned in (22), the adverb *probabilmente* ‘probably’ can only follow a focus, but not precede it.

(38) a. <sup>??</sup>Probabilmente A PARIGI Paolo è già stato (non a Londra).  
*Probably to Paris Paolo has already been not to London*  
 (Giorgi 2010, ex.34)

b. A PARIGI probabilmente Paolo è già stato (non a Londra).  
*To Paris probably Paolo has already gone not to London*  
 (ibid, ex.37)

(39) Credo A PARIGI Maria sia andata (non a Londra).  
*I.believe to Paris Maria is-SUBJ gone not to London* (ibid, ex.35)

Giorgi (2010) explains the difference observed for *credo* in Italian by means of the raising of the epistemic verb from the original ModP position to a higher one, where the speaker’s coordinate is represented.

The proposal I will argue for in this section is that the epistemic verb *creo* does not rise in Spanish as high as the Italian *credo* does, but it remains in ModP. The idea is that *creo*, as well as the epistemic adverbs, occupy the specifier position of the Modifier epistemic projection assumed by Cinque (1999) and that the embedded verb rises to its head to check the feature “modality”, which I argue it is associated to the overt verbal morphology.

An argument in favour of this hypothesis is the variation in mood choice that we observe in Spanish. Unlike Italian, where the adverb *probabilmente* always selects the indicative, whereas the epistemic verb *credo* always selects the subjunctive, Spanish exhibits some peculiar differences in mood choice. Both *creo* and *posiblemente* can accept both moods, the indicative or the subjunctive, depending on the degree of certainty.

(40) a. Originan una alteración en la comercialización de la carne [...] y posiblemente **afectan** a la coloración del músculo.  
 ‘They originate an alteration in commercialization of the meat and possibly affect the coloration of the muscle.’ (RAE, §30.11k)  
 b. [...] alguna modificación de última hora que posiblemente **afecte** al número

de parcelas sujetas a convenios...

‘Some last-minute modifications that possibly affect the number of land plots subjected to agreements.’ (ibid)

- (41) a. Creo **existe**.  
‘I believe it exists.’  
b. Creo **exista**.  
‘I believe it to exist.’

For the epistemic modal head, Cinque (1999) claims that the speaker’s commitment to the truth is a default value which must be otherwise explicitly denied, e.g., by means of probably, presumably, etc., if the speaker does not commit himself to it. Here I propose that the embedded (indicative or subjunctive) verb in Spanish carries a feature “modality” and that is what the adverb in the specifier of the  $\text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}}$  projection agrees with. Consequently, the embedded verb moves to the head of  $\text{ModP}$  to value its feature and the epistemic adverb / verb in its specifier is an operator necessary to promote the interpretation of the mood of the embedded verb. This idea would explain why no lexical material can intervene between *creo* and the embedded predicate: the embedded verb raises to a projection the specifier of which is filled by the epistemic item.

#### 4.5 Conclusion

The study of the corpora I gathered shows that only a small percentage (0.40%) of subordinate clauses omits the complementizer and that, among the three semantic groups of predicates investigated, factive predicates are the class that less allows the omission of *que* (0.07%).

We have seen that such omission is not only restricted to formulaic expressions, as claimed in normative grammar contexts (Di Tullio 2005; Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga 2005; RAE 2009, 2010;), but on the contrary, it is also attested in spoken language and informal written contexts, such as in blog internet pages and face-to-face interviews. I claimed that it is more appropriate to say that the frequency of CD and the contexts in which it occurs depend on the type of the verb found in the main sentence. In fact, I have shown that the omission of *que* actually occurs

regularly in formal contexts in clauses embedded under factive verbs, such as *lamentar* ‘to lament’, but other classes of predicates, i.e. propositional attitude and jussives, appear to allow the omission of *que* regardless of the degree of formality of the register.

Moreover, I have shown that the syntactic properties of CD clauses do not provide evidence of V2 movement. This is due to the following reasons:

- (a) No XP preceding the embedded verb is observed. If the subject is realised, it is always found in postverbal position.
- (b) Only clitic elements can interrupt the sequence main-embedded verb.
- (c) CD never triggers enclisis.

I have also claimed that complementizer deletion in Spanish has the same properties it exhibits in Italian, according to Giorgi’s (2010) analysis, in that it is attested:

- (a) only with simple verbal forms and, more specifically, in clauses where the tense of the embedded verb matches that of the main one, that is when the sentence exhibits the Latin-like *consecution*.
- (b) in clauses where there are no temporal locutions providing the temporal location of the embedded eventuality. The temporal interpretation of the embedded eventuality is always simultaneity with respect to the main one when the complementizer is omitted.

The investigation allowed me to check also the importance of another fact which I claim to be important with respect to the possibility of omitting the complementizer, namely the person verbal form of the main predicate. In fact, clauses dependent upon a first person singular verbal form present a percentage of CD four times higher compared to the third person, especially with propositional attitude predicates. In order to account for this fact, I have proposed an analysis of first person subjectless verbal forms of epistemic predicates as epistemic items standing in the specifier of the  $\text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}}$  projection of Cinque (1999). This hypothesis would also explain the impossibility for the XPs to precede the embedded verb.

To conclude this section, it can be claimed that we are dealing with a non-indexical complementizer deletion phenomenon as the Italian one, with the peculiarity for Spanish that factive predicates also allow the deletion of the complementizer. However, in this respect I have pointed out that this class of predicates show a number of major differences in omitting the *que*, for which a different analysis must be proposed. In the following chapter I will try to sketch an



alternative hypothesis of these peculiar structures by comparing CD phenomenon in current-day Spanish with classical Spanish, in order to establish whether complementizer deletion in factive-dependant structures can be considered a reminiscence of an older phenomenon.



## 5. On the syntax of CD in classical Spanish

In this chapter I am going to analyse the structure of complementizerless clauses in the Spanish language of the XVIth and the XVIIth centuries by examining authentic data samples mainly taken from the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE). The decision to consider specifically these two centuries comes from the observation that complementizer deletion becomes productive at this point of the development of the language while, at the same time, Spanish is losing the V2 constraint.

So far I have shown that the syntactic properties of the omission of the complementizer in current-day Spanish does not provide evidence of V-to-C movement, but that such a phenomenon can be related to Italian complementizer deletion as theorized by Giorgi (2010), given that the omission of *que* is found when the double access reading is not enforced.

Here I will show that it is possible to generalize that classical Spanish complementizerless clauses do not exhibit V2 effects either, and I will present empirical and quantitative arguments in favour of the hypothesis that the embedded verb does not move out of the inflectional domain.

Note that the analysis of Spanish as a V2 language is a hotly debated issue that has found no agreement among authors. Here I will consider Fontana's (1993) proposal of Old Spanish as a V-to-I language and I will claim that, independently of whether at this point of the development of the language Spanish exhibits a V2 grammar or not, complementizerless construals in classical Spanish are not a case of V2 intended as an obligatory verb movement to a higher projection, the specifier of which is available as a landing site for an XP. On the contrary, assuming Wolfe (2015), it seems plausible to hypothesize the existence of two instances of complementizer *que*, a higher one triggering V2 effects, and a lower one blocking them.

Finally, I will compare these peculiar structures to complementizerless clauses under factive predicates observed in current-day Spanish. I will claim that the latter cannot be assimilated to the analysis proposed here for CD, nor analysed as a residual V2.

## 5.1 The data

### 5.1.1 Sample and methodology

The data were collected by querying two different corpora: CORDE (*Corpus Diacrónico del Español*) and CODEA (*Corpus de Documentos Españoles Anteriores a 1800*). The aim of combining these two corpora is to establish whether the use of these contruals is more profuse in the legal language, given that CORDE corpus captures a variety of different texts and registers, whereas CODEA corpus mainly contains legal texts.

The methodology adopted here is the same of the one used in chapter 4 for current-day Spanish, in that the contexts I considered are the ones where the sentence is a clausal complement of the verb. The sample I analyse was obtained by searching complement clauses of the first and third person singular present tense form of eight verbs: *creer* ‘to think / to believe’, *pensar* ‘to think’, *imaginarse* ‘to suppose’, *esperar* ‘to hope’, *rogar* ‘to beg’, *lamentar* ‘to lament’, *alegrarse* ‘to be happy’, *sentir* ‘to be sorry’. A total number of 9.494 sentences were collected, among which the ones showing CD phenomenon were filtered out, resulting a total number of 755 clauses lacking the high *que*.

In this chapter, I focus on data from the language of the XVIth and the XVIIth centuries, which I refer to with the label classical Spanish. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, there is no agreement about the periodization of the different stages of the historical development of Spanish. The labels classical Spanish and Golden Age Spanish are generally used by scholars of historical linguistics, such as Lapesa (1980) and Cano Aguilar (2004). Other linguists (Fontana 1993, 1997) adopt the label Old Spanish enclosing the whole period ranging from the XIIth century to the end of the XVIIth century, arguing that the lack of an agreement about the periodization of the language based on linguistic criteria prevents a more specific classification. However, I consider more relevant to narrow down to a restricted stage of the language and focus on classical Spanish, because according to what I observed, it is when complementizer deletion becomes productive.

As a consequence of the diachronic study of language, the observations made in the present chapter are based exclusively on evidence from written texts. Differently from the current-day

Spanish sample in fact, the sentences of classical Spanish have been collected from written corpora and they mainly belong to the literary and legal language. Among the clauses obtained, the ones belonging to the poetic genre written in formal verse has been taken out of the sample.

### 5.1.2 Quantitative overview

Table 5.1 shows that 7,54% of complement clauses omits the complementizer in classical Spanish. If we compare the percentage of CD in classical Spanish with the percentage in current-day Spanish (0,40%), we can observe that the omission of the complementizer is twenty times more frequent during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries compared with the XXIst century.

**Table 5.1:** The distribution of CD in main 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular present tense in classical Spanish.

<b>Classical Spanish</b>			
<b>Class of verbs</b>	<b>CD cases</b>	<b>Totals</b>	<b>Frequencies</b>
Propositional attitude	564	8.029	7,02%
Factive	4	448	0,9%
Jussive	148	1.017	14,55%
<b>Totals</b>	716	9.494	7,54%

As we observed for current-day Spanish, factive predicates still show a lower frequency (0,90%) compared with attitude predicates and jussive verbs. Nevertheless, classical Spanish omits the complementizer with this class of verbs sixteen times more frequently than current-day Spanish. The omission of *que* appears typically, but not exclusively, in the formal register of the legal language, regardless of the verb class.

Table 5.2 shows the quantitative distribution of CD with respect to a main first and a third person singular present tense.

**Table 5.2:** The comparison between CD in clauses dependent upon a 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal form.

Class of verbs	1 <sup>st</sup> person singular			3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular		
	CD cases	Totals	Freq.	CD cases	Totals	Freq.
Propositional attitude	385	6.107	6,30%	179	1.922	9,31%
Factive	1	235	0,42%	3	213	1,41%
Jussive	132	906	14,57%	16	111	14,41%
<b>Totals</b>	518	7.248	7,15%	198	2.246	8,81%

Contrary to what we observed in current-day Spanish, the omission of *que* in clauses dependent upon a third person singular verbal form is 1% higher than a first person. Nevertheless, the percentage (8,81%) of CD with a third person includes the third person singular impersonal form of most of the predicates investigated, namely *creer* ‘to think / to believe’, *pensar* ‘to think’, *esperar* ‘to hope’, *rogar* ‘to beg’, *sentir* ‘to be sorry’. Among the complementizerless clauses of a main third person verbal form, it is found that 146/198 are impersonal forms. Of these, one case occurs with jussive and factive verbs, whereas the other 144 are attitude predicates. If we remove the impersonal cases, we will have the following results:

**Table 5.3:** CD in clauses dependent upon a *real* 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular verbal form.

3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular			
Class of verbs	CD cases	Totals	Freq.
Propositional attitude	35	1518	2,30%
Factive	2	168	1,2%
Jussive	15	87	17,24%
<b>Totals</b>	52	1.773	2,93%

In order to determine the data in table 5.3, I selected a sample of 100 clauses from which I observed that the genuine third person singular forms amount to about 79% of the data, whereas the impersonal forms to 21%. The totals in table 5.3 were obtained from these percentages.

As can be noticed, the percentage of CD with a third person has sharply decreased from 8,81% to 2,93% and then, the omission of *que* varies from 7,15% with a first person singular to 2,93% with a third person singular. Hence, it can be said that CD in classical Spanish is much more frequent with the first person subject of the main verb than with a third one, contrasting

with current-day Spanish, where such a difference is lower. Notice also that this change mostly affects attitude predicates, which is the class that has most cases of impersonal forms.

Summarizing, the phenomenon of complementizer deletion generally shows a low frequency. However, if we compare the two stages of the language, we will notice two important facts:

- a) The omission of *que* is much higher in classical Spanish than in current-day Spanish.
- b) The omission of *que* with a first person main verb is always higher than with a third one, and the contrast is stronger in classical Spanish.

It seems at first sight that the phenomenon of complementizer deletion is far more irregular than what we observed in chapter 4 and it therefore appears impossible to account for a verb second analysis. The quantitative study has confirmed what we stated in the previous chapter, namely that CD seems to be strongly affected both by the class of verbs and by the person verbal forms. Therefore, the hypothesis I argue for here is fundamentally the same: complementizer deletion phenomena are due to a specific interpretation assigned to the embedded sentence with respect to the main one.

## 5.2 The syntax

The quantitative analysis has shown that the frequency of complementizer deletion is not homogeneous, but it varies depending on the person of the main verb and on the verb type: attitude predicates show the greatest variation between the first and the third person main verb. This might suggest that the phenomenon under consideration is not related to the V2 pattern. If the omission of *que* does not imply a V-to-C movement of the embedded verb, then the syntactic distribution we expect should be like the one observed in current-day Spanish: we may not find XPs preceding the embedded verb, but we should observe that clitics appear in proclisis and the sequence of tense follows the Latin-like *consecutio*.

In this section I examine the syntax of the complementizerless clauses of the sample I gathered and compare it with the analysis of current-day Spanish discussed in the previous chapter. In particular, I will first focus on the distribution of the subjects and the adverbs in pre-

and postverbal position and then I will examine the sequence of tense and the temporal interpretation of the embedded clauses.

### 5.2.1 *The distribution of pre-verbal subjects*

The analysis provided in chapter 4 has shown that complementizer deletion in current-day Spanish only allows clitic elements to precede the embedded verb and it prevents any XPs from moving to the specifier of the embedded verb projection. However, in the case of classical Spanish clitics are not the only elements that can appear in preverbal position, but preverbal XPs are attested too. Consider the following example:

- (1) ...que no pienso **el ausencia** me dará libertad, ni la quiero...  
*that not I.think the absence cl. gives-FUT freedom nor cl. I.want*  
'that I don't think the absence will give me freedom, nor I want it.' (Letter: "Carta a Don Pedro de Castro y Nero, canónigo de Ávila", Santa Teresa de Jesús, 1581.  
CORDE)

The sentence in (1) displays a complementizerless structure of the "Germanic type", i.e., the DP *el ausencia* 'the absence' has accessed to a position between the main verb *pienso* 'I think' and the embedded one. Leaving aside for now the position of clitics, one might hypothesize that the verb moves to the head of the CP and the constituent preceding the verb has moved into SpecCP. Before considering this option, it is necessary to mention Fontana's (1993, 1997) study of the word order configurations found in Old Spanish texts. He argues that Spanish language between the XIIth and the XIVth centuries was a verb-second language, by virtue of V-to-I movement like Yiddish and Icelandic, and it gradually loses such a property during the XVth and the XVIth centuries.

The main argument provided by Fontana (1993) in favour of the movement to I is constituted by the fact that V2 patterns are not restricted to root environments, as in German, but they also occur in embedded contexts, as in Icelandic. Notice however that, irrespective of the exact projection which the inflected verb moves to, Fontana's relativizes the notion of V2, in that it does not require the finite verb to be in absolute second position in the clause. Rather, he claims that in order to be useful as a descriptive term, V2 phenomenon must be intended as an



obligatory verb movement to a higher projection (the IP or the CP, depending on the group of languages), the specifier of which is available as a landing site for any type of constituent (Fontana 1993: 126).

The examples in (2) and (3) from Fontana (1993) illustrate the possible word order in Old Spanish root and embedded clauses, respectively.

(2) Este logar mostro dios a abraam.

*this place showed God to Abraham*

‘God showed Abraham this place.’

(Fontana 1993, ex.16b)

(3) E diz que dalli adelante fue el Regno de los godos

*and say that from+there forward was the kingdom of the goths*

*et de los Sueuos destroydo...*

*and of the Schwabian devastated*

‘And they say that the Goth and Schwabian kingdoms remained in ruins.’ (ibid, ex.29)

Data such as (2) and (3) are two of the examples taken from Fontana to indicate that a wide range of constituents, preceding the inflected verb in Old Spanish land in a specifier position, namely the specifier of the projection which the verb has moved to. These examples show that objects and adverbial expressions can also appear in preverbal position and, when this happens, the subject must follow the tensed verb.

Fontana’s (1993) analysis points out another important fact: though the syntax of Spanish in the XVth and XVIth centuries is no longer that of a “pure V2” language, the grammar is still able to generate structures like those generated in V2 languages which would be unacceptable in current-day Spanish.

Hence, one might easily explain the word order in (1) by means of Fontana’s hypothesis, but now I show that the distribution in (1) is not sufficient to prove that it is the same phenomenon assumed for Icelandic (or Germanic) V2, where the inflected verb raises to a higher projection and the subject moves to its specifier. I provide here four arguments in favour of the hypothesis that complementizerless construals in classical Spanish are not a case of verb second in the sense of Fontana (1993, 1997).

The first piece of evidence is constituted by the possibility for more than one constituent to intervene between the main and the embedded verb.

- (4) a. Dexémoslos, pues pienso nuestra represión poco les aprovechará.  
*leave-SUBJ-1PL+cl. since I.think our repression little cl. benefits-FUT*  
 ‘Leave them, for I think our repression will benefit them little.’ (Romance: *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras*, Anónimo, c1535. CORDE)
- b. ...y porque creo vuestra señoría en todo me hará más merced  
*and because I.think your highness in all cl. does-FUT more mercy*  
 de la que yo merezco...  
*of the that I deserve*  
 ‘and because I think your lordship will do me better than I deserve.’ (Report: “Carta de relación del licenciado Armengol al concejo real”, el licenciado Armengol, 1557.CODEA)

As it can be observed, in the sentences in (4) the preverbal subjects *nuestra represión* and *vuestra señoría* are both immediately followed by an adverb, which in turn is followed by the embedded verb. If the structures in (4) involve V2 patterns in the sense that the inflected verb moves to a higher position and its specifier hosts an XP, then we should assume that the specifier position is filled by the adverb, which immediately precedes the verb, and we should explain where the subject moves to.

Moreover, the sentences in (4) show an additional piece of evidence that may help to understand where the verb is located. The adverbs *poco* and *en todo* are measure adverbs and, following the analysis provided by Cinque (1999), measure adverbs are “lower” adverbs located in a pre-VP position. This fact is crucial to prove that the inflected verb does not move higher than the V-domain.

The second piece of evidence for assuming that the verb remains in a lower position is the distribution of quantified subjects.

- (5) a. ...que, creo **todos** los hombres deben ser más amigos de mujeres...  
*that I.think all the men must-3PL be more friends of women*  
 ‘that, I think that all men should be friendlier to women.’ (Autobiography: *Libro de la vida*, Santa Teresa de Jesús, 1562-1566. CORDE)

b. ...no creo **nadie** negará cómo importante es para ellas...

*not I.think anybody denies-FUT how important is for them*

‘I don’t believe anybody will deny how important it is for them.’ (Book: *Refranes o proverbios en romance*, Núñez, 1549. CORDE)

If we consider the examples in (5) together with the ones in (4), we clearly see that VP modifying adverbials and quantifiers like *todos* ‘everyone’ and *nadie* ‘nobody’ can intervene between the main and the embedded verb, signalling that the verb of the complementizerless clause has not raised from its base generated position.

The third argument in favour of a low position of the inflected verb is given by the distribution of clitic elements. It is well known that the distribution of enclisis and proclisis of clitics helps us to discriminate between a position of the verb inside the CP domain and a lower one. According to the Tobler-Mussafia law, enclisis is found when the verb comes in first position of the clause, while proclisis occurs when a constituent precedes the verb. Hence, the proclisis in the sentences in (1) and (4) are correctly predicted, given that the verb is preceded by a constituent. I report here some more examples of this type.

(6) a. ...y fuera de vos, que no sois del arte,

*and out of you(formal) that not are(formal) of+the art*

creo pocos **las** ignoran.

*I.think few cl. ignore-3PL*

‘and other than you, that is somebody not from the art, I believe few ignore them.’

(Essay: “Fiel desengaño contra la ociosidad y los juegos”, Luque Fajardo, 1603.

CORDE)

b. ...espero ciertamente **la** ha de dexar por vn Capelo...

*I.hope certainly cl. has of leave for a Capelo*

‘I hope that she certainly shall leave him for a Capelo.’ (Translation of Marcilio

Ficino’s pestilence treaty, 1598. CORDE)

c. ...porque cierto pienso gran bien **me** será ocurrido.

*because indeed I.think great good cl. is.FUT happened*

‘because indeed I think that great boon will be bestowed upon me.’ (Romance: *Polindo*, Anónimo, 1526. CORDE)

However, in the database of classical Spanish there are no cases of enclisis when the embedded verb is supposed to be in first position of the complementizerless clause. Actually, the number of cases with a clitic preceding the embedded verb is consistent. I report here some of them.

(7) a. ...si miráis bien en esto, creo lo hallaréis casi siempre verdadero.  
*if look-2PL carefully in this I.think cl. find-FUT-2PL quite always true*  
‘if you look carefully on this, I think you will always find it true.’ (Linguistic book: “Diálogo de la lengua”, Valdés, 1535-1536. CORDE)

b. ...y espera se le siga algún interés...  
*and hopes cl. cl. follows-SUBJ some interest*  
‘and I hope it will be followed by some interest.’ (Written document: “Documentos sobre música en la catedral de Sigüenza”, Anónimo, 1600. CORDE)

c. Y os ruego me escriváis, porque en vuestra ausencia  
*and cl. I.beg cl. write-SUBJ-2PL because in your absence*  
vuestras cartas me serán de descanso.  
*your letters cl. are-FUT-3PL of rest*  
‘and I beg you to write me, because in your absence your letters will be my rest.’  
(Romance: *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, 1517. CORDE)

The last argument is supported by a quantitative observation: most of the examples I gathered are characterized by the adjacency between the main and the embedded verb, as illustrated by the following examples:

(8) a. ...y imagino han dado esta traza de llevarle desta manera...  
*and I.imagine have-3PL given this skill of carry-cl. of+this way*  
‘and I imagine they have given the skill of carrying you this way.’ (Romance: *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, Cervantes Saavedra, 1605. CORDE)

b. ...más bien creo avrá cavalleros que abaxen

*more better I.think have-FUT-3PL knights that decrease-SUBJ-3PL*

tu gran sobervia.

*your great pride*

‘I rather think there will be knights to decrease your great pride.’ (Romance: *Palmerín de Olivia*, Anónimo, 1511. CORDE)

c. Hablando con hombres sentidos de mi edad, pienso he leído mucho, pero...

*talking with men sound of my age I.think have-1SG read a lot but*

‘Talking with sound men of my age, I think I have read a lot but.’ (Romance: *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, Guevara, 1528. CORDE)

Summarizing what I have observed so far: a) more than one constituent can intervene between the main and the embedded verb; b) the predicate of the complementizerless clause can be preceded by pre-VP adverbs and / or quantified subjects; c) the movement of an XP to the specifier position is not necessary for omitting the complementizer; d) complementizer deletion never triggers enclisis. These observations point to the conclusion that the embedded verb does not move up to the C domain when the complementizer *que* is absent and that it possibly does not move from the VP at all<sup>39</sup>.

Notice also that, coherently with what has been stated by Fontana (1993), the evidence presented here attest that classical Spanish has lost the verb second property. In this respect, I want to point out one last argument in favour of the view that complementizerless clauses in classical Spanish does not exhibit a V2 syntax. It can be deduced from Wolfe (2015).

If on the one hand Fontana (1993) states that Old Spanish lost the V2 property from the XIVth century, on the other Wolfe (2015) claims that (at least) Later Old Spanish is not a symmetrical V2 language. He convincingly shows that the typical correlates traditionally associated with the V2 property in complement clauses, such as for instance the XP-V-S order, are generally not found and, if they are attested, they are allowed with predicates selecting a

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<sup>39</sup> As I stated for current-day Spanish, the distribution of adverbs requires further research in order to establish how far low adverbs can move from their base generated position.

complementizer lexicalizing a high position within the embedded left periphery (Wolfe 2015: §3.2). Summarizing his proposal: the Old Spanish complementizer *que* lexicalize two distinct positions in the C field, i.e. Force and Fin. The embedded clauses featuring V2 effects can be identified as C<sub>Force</sub>P complements, where the complementizer heads Force. In this case, the CP projections are available for the raising of the verb. On the other hand, non-V2 complements can be identified as C<sub>Fin</sub>P complements, where the complementizer heads Fin. In this case then, it blocks the possibility for the verb and the XPs to move to the C domain<sup>40</sup>.

The two opposite views, namely Fontana (1993) and Wolfe (2015), are complementary and both can be used in favour of the analysis developed here for three reasons:

- 1) This work considers the Spanish language of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, that is the period of time when, according with both authors, Spanish is supposed to lose V2 properties;
- 2) Complementizer deletion becomes productive with the loss of V2<sup>41</sup> which may indicate that complementizerless clauses do not combine with V2 patterns;
- 3) Complementizer deletion is allowed with predicates selecting complements which, according to Wolfe, does not feature V2 effects, i.e., the predicates selecting a lower complementizer.

Therefore, classical Spanish seems to fit into the hypothesis pursued here, that CD is allowed when the complementizer introducing the embedded clause lacks the speaker-related features. If this reasoning is correct, I expect that the embedded tense in CD contexts does not obey to the DAR effects. Therefore, we should observe a “normal” sequence of tense where the tense of the embedded verbal form matches that of the main one. However, I will show in the next section that the classical Spanish scenario is much more complex than what has been observed until now.

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<sup>40</sup> This proposal is similar to the clause-type asymmetries in Heageman (2006, 2012). See also Poletto (2019) for a similar analysis on the nature of V2 in Old Italian.

<sup>41</sup> See Poletto (2014, 2019) for a similar discussion in Old Italian.

### 5.2.2 The Sequence of Tense

Apparently, classical Spanish sequence of tense in CD structures exhibits the same properties of current-day variety. In fact, the omission of *que* is found both in indicative clauses and in subjunctive ones, as it was observed in current-day Spanish.

- (9) a. ...Faustina te ruega se los embíes a otro camino.

*Faustina cl. begs cl. cl. send-SUBJ-2SG to another path*

‘Faustina begs you to send them to another path.’ (Romance: *Reloj de príncipes*, Guevara, 1529-1531. CORDE)

- b. ...me alegro mucho me adviertan faltas...

*cl. am.glad very cl. inform-SUBJ-3PL mistakes*

‘I am really happy that you point me out the mistakes.’ (Días geniales o lútricos, Caro, 1626. CORDE)

- (10) ...por consecuencia clara, imagino se infiere de la dos premisas...

*for consequence clear I.imagine cl. infers of the two premises*

‘as clear consequence i imagine it is inferred from the two premises.’ (Book: *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, Cobo, 1653. CORDE)

In the sentences in (9) and (10), the main simple present selects an embedded clause with a simple present tense, (indicative or subjunctive). Moreover, the omission of *que* is also found when the embedded verb is inflected for simple future or conditional.

- (11) Prevenga las armas, que imagino serán necesarias.

*prepare-SUBJ-3SG the weapons that I.imagine are-FUT-3PL necessary*

‘Prepare the weapons for I imagine they will be necessary.’ (Romance: *Cigarrales de Toledo*, Tirso de Molina, 1624. CORDE)

- (12) Y en esta misma materia pienso sería de importancia

*and in this same matter I.think is-COND of importance*

consultar labradores viejos...

*consult tillers old*

‘and in this same matter I think it will be of importance to consult old tillers.’

(Academic book: *Libro de la peste*, Mercado, 1599. CORDE)

However, CD in classical Spanish is not restricted to simple verbal forms of indicative, subjunctive and conditional present tense, but it allows a wider range of tenses than the language of the XXIst century. Therefore, the tense of the embedded form does not always match that of the main one. Consider for instance the following sentences.

- (13) a. ¡Bien merecido está en mí el castigo que  
*well deserved is in me the punishment that*  
espero pues **podiera** conocer a su tía...  
*I.hope then could know to your(formal) aunt*

‘Well deserved it is on me the punishment for then I hope you could meet your aunt.’ (Romance: *Las harpías en Madrid*, Castillo Solórzano, 1631. CORDE)

- b. ...aunque creo **entró** en la fundición algo de oro, porque...  
*although I.think came in the foundry some of gold because*

‘although I believe that some gold came into the foundry, because...’ (Letter: Cartas de relación, Cortés, 1519-1526. CORDE)

The examples in (13) exhibit an anomalous sequence of tense. In fact, an embedded past, e.g., the subjunctive *podiera* ‘could’ in (13a) and the indicative *entró* ‘came into’ in (13b), appears when the main verbal form is a present tense.

Another verbal form possible to find is the present perfect of indicative. I report here two examples:

- (14) a. Y creo le **aya** ya **tomado** un castillo de los mejores  
*and I.think cl. has already taken a castle of the best*  
y más fuertes...  
*and most strong*



‘And I think that s/he will have by now taken one of the best and strongest castles.’ (Romance: *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, 1517. CORDE)

b. ...para cuyo remedio por nuestro altos dioses  
*for which solution for our high gods*  
pienso **fuystes** a tal tiempo **embiado**.

*I.think were-2SG at that time sent*

‘to the solution of which I believe you were timely sent by our high gods.’

(Romance: *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, 1547. CORDE)

The sentences in (14) show that a main simple present can select a present perfect in its complementizerless clause. However, these examples are not only displaying an anomalous sequence of tense, but they are also providing an evidence on the syntactic distribution which can be considered as a relevant counter-example to the generalization that classical Spanish complementizerless clauses do not exhibit V2 effects. The sentence in (14a) is particularly telling in this regard as the adverb *ya* ‘already’, which is defined as a low adverb and taken to occupy a position inside the IP (Cinque 1999), is found after the auxiliary and before the past participle. This fact may suggest that the auxiliary *aya* has moved to a higher position than the IP.

However, before drawing any conclusion, consider also the following sentence showing a similar distribution:

(15) ... y el soldán, pienso le aurá **ya** ynbiado a requerir  
*and the sultan I.think cl. has-FUT already sent to require*  
para esta guerra pues tiene necesidad de todos sus valedores.  
*for this war because has need of all his supporters*

‘and the sultan, I think will have already sent for him for this war because he has need of all his supporters.’ (Romance: *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, 1547. CORDE)

The sentence in (15) is especially interesting, given that the adverb *ya* ‘already’ is occupying the position between the auxiliary and the past participle, as it was observed in (14). Again, it

should represent a further evidence in favour of the raising of the auxiliary. Nevertheless, if these structures are instances of V-to-C movement, then we should find enclisis when clitics occur. But as (14a) and (15) clearly show, the clitic *le* is found in proclisis. This fact suggests that complementizerless clauses cannot be attributed to a “pure” V2 system.

In addition to that, the distribution of the embedded verb with respect to low adverbs is not sufficient for claiming that a V-to-C movement takes place. Identifying the exact position of the embedded verb also requires an analysis of the distribution of the higher adverbs contained in the IP, but I have no direct evidence for this in the corpus investigated.

Therefore, if we put together what we have observed so far, we notice that the empirical evidence is quite complex. On one hand, the sequence of tense found in complementizerless clauses and the distribution of adverbs with respect to auxiliaries suggest that we are not dealing with a non-indexical CD phenomenon, but that it may be attributed to V2 effects, at least in the sense of Fontana (1993), i.e., the verb targets the IP position. But, on the other hand, the distribution of subjects and proclisis provide strong evidence in favour of a low position of the embedded verb suggesting that it remains inside the V domain. It has also been observed that the verb second constraint can be violated, given that more than one constituent can intervene between the main and the embedded verb. In addition to that, CD does not require a movement of an XP to a specifier position, but the embedded verb can appear in first position of the complementizerless clause without ever trigger enclisis. Hence, classical Spanish CD structures cannot be considered as a V2 effect either.

To conclude, I suggest that the complexity of this situation is not surprising, given that V2 is gradually lost at this point of the development of the Spanish language. Nevertheless, I claim that CD phenomenon is independent from V2 requirements and it starts out with the loss of verb second property. Although the grammar of XVIth and XVIIth centuries is still able to generate structures like those generated in a V2 language, the peculiar properties observed for complementizerless clauses are not to be attributed to a residual V2.

### **5.3 The issue of factive predicates**

In chapter 4 I showed that the syntax of complementizerless clauses dependent upon a factive predicate differs crucially from the analysis I provided for current-day Spanish CD. In fact, the

omission of *que* with this class of predicates is also possible when the DAR is enforced, given that it is found in embedded clauses containing a present perfect or a past tense.

In addition to that, I reported one case of subject inversion, showing that the subject may appear between the auxiliary and the past participle. I repeat here the example for simplicity.

- (16) Lamento **hayan** Vdes. **decidido**, unilateralmente  
*I.lament have-SUBJ-PRES-3PL you(formal) decided unilaterally*  
sin contar con nuestra aprobación  
*without count with our approval*  
'I lament that you have decided unilaterally without considering our approval.'  
(Legal document: EDJ 2006/3950 STS (Civil) de 1 febrero de 2006. Lefebvre el-Derecho)

The examples of CD with factive predicates found in current-day Spanish belong to a formal register of the legal language, as the one reported in (16), or they are citations of documents belonging to the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries (see chapter 4). I strongly think that it is not a mere coincidence, but the fact that its usage is restricted to the more conservative registers of the language is due to its obsolete nature, which would also explain the low percentage of CD attested with this class of predicates.

As I discussed in chapter 4, the syntax of (16) mirrors the characteristic verb-subject inversion found in V2 languages. However, the sample I gathered contains a single example of an auxiliary followed by a subject, which is not enough to generalize that Spanish CD triggers V-to-C movement, especially if we consider that the inversion here is allowed with *ustedes*, a pronoun presenting a peculiar distribution, distinguishing it from *tú*<sup>42</sup>.

Moreover, in order to state that (16) is a V2 effect, we should prove that the subject inversion is possible with all types of subjects, e.g., definite DPs, bare quantifiers, and quantified expressions, and not only with pronouns, and we should also find examples where the subject inversion occurs in contexts with a fronted XP, as in V2 languages.

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<sup>42</sup> As I have already noted in the previous chapter, further research is required in order to better understand why the subject inversion is easily allowed with the formal pronouns *usted / ustedes*, while it is rejected with the second person *tú*.

In a similar way, the distribution of the adverb *ya* ‘already’ observed in (14) and (15) may also be perceived at first sight as a result of the verb movement to C, but I have not enough data to state that it actually moves higher than the IP. As I claimed in the previous section, an analysis of the distribution of the higher adverbs contained in the IP is also required since the presence of the low pre-VP adverb *ya* is not sufficient for claiming that the auxiliary reaches the highest domain of the structure.

The similarities with the syntactic properties of CD in classical Spanish point to the conclusion that complementizerless clauses dependent upon a factive predicate in current-day Spanish cannot be characterized in terms of verb-movement to C. Nevertheless, these structures cannot be assimilated to the analysis proposed for current-day Spanish either. The point I stress here is the consideration that factive complementizerless clauses can be characterized as a historical residue of an older stage of the language. The advantage of this analysis is that it can explain three facts:

- 1) why the relative frequency of CD with this class of predicates is rather low;
- 2) why the literature perceives these forms as highly literate and reminiscent of the older age of the language;
- 3) why CD with this class of predicates is found only in the formal registers of the language.

## 5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that complementizer deletion in classical Spanish is more consistent in comparison to current-day Spanish. Among the three groups of predicates investigated, factive predicates still show a lower frequency in omitting the *que* but, compared to the XXIst century, classical Spanish shows a much higher percentage with this class too.

The quantitative findings have also highlighted a great variation between the first person and third person verbal forms of the main predicate in omitting the complementizer, suggesting that CD phenomenon is not homogeneous, excluding the hypothesis that it belongs to a V2 grammar. The analysis was supported by some empirical evidence coming from the syntactical observation of the data:

- a) more than one constituent can intervene between the main and the embedded verb;

- b) the predicate of the complementizerless clause can be preceded by pre-VP adverbs and / or quantified subjects;
- c) the movement of an XP to the specifier position is not necessary for omitting the complementizer;
- d) complementizer deletion never triggers enclisis.

However, contrary to what has been observed for current-day Spanish, the deletion of *que* in its earliest stages occurs also when the DAR is enforced, given that it is found when an embedded past tense and present perfect appear when the main verbal form is a present tense. Although Fontana (1993) and Wolfe (2015) points out that the syntax of Spanish in the XVIth century is still able to generate structures typical of V2 languages, I claim that CD phenomenon is independent from V2 requirements, and that the syntactic differences of complementizerless clauses that has been observed are *not* to be attributed to cases of a residual V-to-C movement of medieval Spanish.

Finally, I have pointed out that complementizerless structures dependent upon a factive predicate in current-day Spanish display similar properties to classical Spanish CD, in that the omission of *que* is allowed also when the Latin-like *consecutio* is not respected. I have been unable to find enough data to generalize that it is a productive V-to-C movement and I have also claimed that for an in-depth discussion further study is required.

For now, I limit myself to defining these structures as restricted to the formal registers of the language as a consequence of its obsolete nature, which would explain why they are not productive anymore. Moreover, given that CD was defined by the literature as a property of complement clauses of a certain class of verbs, such as *lamentar* ‘to lament’ and *preocuparse* ‘to worry’, namely a definition that focuses on factive predicates, my hypothesis may explain why the omission of *que* is generally pointed out as a phenomenon accepted by many speakers in almost formulaic expressions, as for instance in formal requests and in the legal language.



## 6. Final remarks on the diachronic and synchronic issue of CD in Spanish

In what follows I summarize the main results of my study and discuss the general research perspective that has emerged from the present investigation into the complementizerless clauses structures of the two stages of the Spanish language I have considered.

### 6.1 Diachronic scenario: some general properties

The first result I would like to point out has to do with the distribution of the lexical material observed in CD structures. From the data analysed in chapter 4 and chapter 5, we can say that there is a strict adjacency requirement between the matrix and the embedded verb, with the only exception of clitic elements. Therefore, when the subject is overtly realized, it appears on the right of the verb.

(1) ...les ruego sean preguntas si es posible...

*cl. I.beg be-SUBJ-PRES-3PL questions if it.is possible*

‘I beg you for them to be questions if it is possible’ (Debate: CORALES: *Mesa redonda sobre “La radio en español”, en el II Congreso Internacional de la Lengua Española, 2001. CORPES XXI*)

This distribution is found systematically in current-day Spanish, though in the majority of the sentences the subject is not realized. However, for classical Spanish a more complex picture must be sketched, given that there are examples attesting that one or more constituents can intervene between the main and the embedded verb. Although the word order XP-V-(S) is a prototypical case of V2, a fronted XP is not required when the complementizer has been omitted, even in factive dependent clauses showing the subject inversion of the Germanic type, between the auxiliary and the past participle. In addition to that, in classical Spanish there are

S-XP-V orders without strict verb-subject adjacency, which are impossible in a V2 grammar. Crucially, CD phenomenon cannot be due to a residual V2 syntax since it would require a strict verb-subject adjacency, which is not the case in Spanish complementizerless clauses.

Further evidence in favour of this perspective is offered by the fact that the embedded predicate can be preceded by pre-VP adverbs and / or quantified subjects. As such, it does not provide evidence for establishing if the verb has moved to C. As I observed, however, the distribution of adverbs in Spanish requires further research analysing how far low adverbs can occur from their base generated position to a higher one.

I also analysed the sequence of tense found in complementizerless clauses. The result that has emerged is that CD structures exhibit an agreement relation between the embedded clause and the superordinate one. In other words, the omission of *que* correlates with the Latin-like *consecutio temporum et modorum*.

- (2) Llevados en colgantes o en otros amuletos, se creía podían  
*brought in pendants or in others charms cl. thought-3SG can-IMPERF-3PL*  
dar protección contra los espíritus malignos.  
*give protection against the spirits evil*  
'Brought as pendants or other charms it was believed that they could protect against evil spirits.' (Novel: *Los comedores de tiza*, Aibar, 2004. CORPES XXI)

Again, in Classical Spanish a more complex picture emerges since the tense of the embedded form does not always match that of the main one, giving rise to an anomalous sequence of tense. This fact suggests that, at this stage of the language, CD is an indexical phenomenon, given that the deletion of *que* occurs also when the DAR is enforced.

## 6.2 Towards an explanation

In order to account for the observations above, I have considered Fontana's (1993) and Wolfe's (2015) proposals that although the syntax of Spanish in the XVth and XVIth centuries is no longer that of a "pure V2" language, the grammar is still able to generate structures like those generated in V2 languages. This does not mean that we are dealing with a V-to-C movement



since the data examined in this work point to the conclusion that the embedded verb does not move up to the C domain, independently from the temporal interpretation of embedded complementizerless clauses in Classical Spanish. It is important to stress here that the typical correlates traditionally associated with V2 properties in complement clauses, if attested, they are found with predicates selecting a complementizer lexicalizing a high position within the embedded left periphery (Wolfe 2015). As I pointed out above, neither a fronted XP nor the strict verb-subject adjacency are required when the complementizer has been omitted and, therefore, the XP-V-S order is not a property of CD. This fact suggests that the complementizer lexicalizes a lower position, which Wolfe (2015) identifies with FinP.

This means that classical Spanish fits into the hypothesis pursued here, that CD can be explained by hypothesizing the existence of two instances of complementizers: a higher non-deletable complementizer endowed with the speaker's coordinate, and a lower deletable one lacking such features. This becomes particularly evident in current-day Spanish where the omission of *que* is impossible as long as the higher verb is interpreted as a predicate of communication. To support this analysis, a similar restriction has been observed in recomplementation construals: the complementizer can be doubled only with verbs of saying. Such a distribution, together with the indexical properties pointed out by Gonzalez i Planas's (2014), strongly suggests that the (in)compatibility with recomplementation depends on the properties of the C-layer, which in turn must be compatible with indexical structures. Therefore, the deletion phenomena can be explained by means of the same hypothesis: some predicates, i.e., verbs of communication, select a complementizer endowed with speaker's coordinates making the *que*-deletion impossible.

Nevertheless, I am aware that this proposal, though intuitive, should be strengthened by further empirical research. Therefore, I conclude this thesis with some open questions, leaving space for future investigations. As I have already noted, the lack of a pure indexical reading of the embedded eventuality in current-day Spanish has been confirmed by data such as the attested spontaneous examples provided in chapter 4, with the only exception of factive predicates. CD in classical Spanish, however, seems to be allowed also when the embedded event is located with respect to the speaker's coordinate. In order to better understand these facts and before we can have the ultimate solution to the problem regarding the properties of CD, it should be thoroughly analysed in all its evolution, from the oldest to the modern stage, considering the intermediates periods of the language. This would allow us to observe the

chronological development of such a phenomenon and establish whether the theory we are using are able to accommodate the data.

The other area that has been left unexplored here is the issue of the distribution of clitics, including the negation, both in the diachronic and synchronic investigation. The point I stressed is that the embedded verb occupying the first position in the subordinate clauses never triggers enclisis. This analysis, however, sheds light on a problem left open, namely where is the exact position of clitics, and which is their position with respect to negation. It is fundamental that we take this issue into account since to find the exact position of preverbal clitics also means to contribute to cast more light on the cross-linguistic syntactic properties of these elements. The literature about clitics and negation is very rich and further investigation is required.



## 7. Conclusions

The issue I have addressed in this thesis revolves around the possibility of omitting the complementizer in Spanish language. I started thinking about these structures when I was studying complementizer deletion phenomenon in Italian, and then, during my stay in Spain where I have been exposed to some Spanish examples that seem to allow for the deletion of *que*. I was led to investigate such a phenomenon by two facts: on one hand, the similarities between the classes of predicates allowing CD in Italian and those attested in Spanish, and, on the other, the judgements given by Spanish native speakers and traditional grammars in relation to CD contexts. In contrast with the grammaticality judgements of the former, Spanish Complementizer Deletion has been addressed by normative grammars as an archaic phenomenon which nowadays is not recommended in registers of the language other than the legal one. Traditionally, CD has received relatively little attention in Spanish syntax literature and opposite analyses have been proposed.

However, in the present work a different analysis has been advanced, focusing on empirical data taken from several corpora. I have shown that things are not as the theories expect: there are several cases of CD from different types of contexts, and these are found both diachronically and synchronically. In this thesis, I focused particular on two stages of the Spanish language, namely, classical Spanish and current-day Spanish and I showed that the two periods share several properties. Nevertheless, the analysis developed here opens up new questions which require a deeper investigation of the intermediate stages of the Spanish language.

Independently of the structural analysis I propose in this work, I hope that the results of my analysis might have cast light on the way the syntax and the context interact, the relation between which is crucial in the encoding of context-linked values.



## Appendix 1: Classical Spanish Corpus

1. Y por aquí creo podrá ser rremediado este tan gran fuego ynferral, como en este rreyno está ençendido. *Crónica de Enrique IV*, Enríquez del Castillo, Diego, 1481-1502, CORDE.
2. Bien creo vuestras altezas serán avisados de la muerte del maestre justicier Conde de Adorno... Correspondencia del Gran Capitán [Cartas del Gran Capitán], Hernández de Córdoba y Aguilar, Gonzalo (El Gran Capitán), 1497-1512, CORDE.
3. ...e de quanto V. A. pueden ser servidos por ello, tambien creo lo saben;... Correspondencia del Gran Capitán [Cartas del Gran Capitán], Hernández de Córdoba y Aguilar, Gonzalo (El Gran Capitán), 1497-1512, CORDE.
4. ...agora entienden en esto: no me creo les aprovechará. Correspondencia del Gran Capitán [Cartas del Gran Capitán], Hernández de Córdoba y Aguilar, Gonzalo (El Gran Capitán), 1497-1512, CORDE.
5. ...me envió á decir que habia escrito á V. AA. que á mi causa se perdia aquella provincia; que pues lo dice, creo debe ser cierto. Correspondencia del Gran Capitán [Cartas del Gran Capitán], Hernández de Córdoba y Aguilar, Gonzalo (El Gran Capitán), 1497-1512, CORDE.
6. Tristán dixo que no dexaría la batalla con Morlot: -Que creo ayudará Dios al derecho. *Tristán de Leonís*, Anónimo, 1501, CORDE.
7. Álo vencido un cavallero que trahe unas armas blancas, e creo sea Lançarote, e por eso vo enpós d'él. *Tristán de Leonís*, Anónimo, 1501, CORDE.
8. ...y si de otra manera fuere, el señor en quien yo creo avrá piedad de mi ánima. *Las sergas del virtuoso caballero Esplandián*, Rodríguez de Montalvo, Garci, 1504, CORDE.
9. ...por lo que en lo passado he visto, creo no me dirás sino aquello que cierto es. *Las sergas del virtuoso caballero Esplandián*, Rodríguez de Montalvo, Garci, 1504, CORDE.
10. ...mas bien creo avrá cavalleros que abaxen tu gran sobervia. *Palmerín de Olivia*, Anónimo, 1511, CORDE.
11. ...aquel Dios en quien yo creo me fizo venir para estorvar que no ofendas su santa fe... *Lisuarte de Grecia*, Silva, Feliciano de, 1514, CORDE.
12. ...os digo que en ninguna guisa dexaré la batalla, que Dios creo me ayudará, pues en su servicio esta jornada he fecho. *Lisuarte de Grecia*, Silva, Feliciano de, 1514, CORDE.
13. ...a la cual con la muy poca que yo trayo creo me sabría dar tan buen recaudo que vos, señor, fuéssedes bien satisfecho... *Floriseo*, Bernal, Fernando, 1516, CORDE.
14. ...acordé de os lo hacer saber, no para otra cosa, sino porque creo habréis placer, para que... *Carta del Rey Don Carlos al Consejo Real* [Documentos relativos a Cisneros], Anónimo, 1516, CORDE.
15. ...y avn mas bien creo avra el dadose mas priesa en embiar ynformaçiones a su proposito y fechos por el... Carta de Doña María de Aragón, Duquesa de Medina Sidonia, al Cardenal Cisneros, Aragón, María de, 1516, CORDE.

16. Pues vosotros, caros amigos y vasallos, [...], creo no me procuraréis muger que no sea la que para mi estado... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
17. Amiga y hermana mía, Gostança, bien creo sabes que como las buenas fortunas comunicadas dan mayor gloria... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
18. ...y descubrirete la causa d'esta pena mía tan grande que sólo con la muerte creo á de ser remediada. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
19. Y si algún día uviédeses mirado a las señales qu'el sobrado amor que hos tiene le hazían descubrir a los miradores, bien creo lo oviérades conocido... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
20. Atribulada y penada vida será la mía, que ciertamente yo creo él está enamorado de otra muger. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
21. Mas no creo fuese herido así como mi compañero. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
22. ...se llama Arderique, del cual me an dicho tales cosas que bien creo no ay cavallero en todas estas partes que osase... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
23. Así, mi señor y hermano, yo os encomiendo a Dios, que creo ésta será la postrera vez que nos veremos. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
24. Ca por razón de las bodas del conde, no creo sean así presto partidos, ni ayan podido venir. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
25. ...la causa por qué yo vos hize llamar es ésta: ya creo avéis sabido cómo nuestra hija la teníamos por muerta... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
26. Y creo le aya ya tomado un castillo de los mejores y más fuertes que el rey Héctor tenía en su tierra. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
27. ...porque es cavallero tan esforçado como en gran parte se puede hallar; ni creo otro cavallero pudiédeses aver que para semejante caso tanto valga... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
28. Y no creo sean personas humanas, sino diablos o otra cosa encantada... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
29. Señor, vós sabréis que oy de mañana [...], según creo avéis sabido, no la han hallado en su cámara, ni en todo el palacio. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
30. Mas yo creo esto sea vengança de Dios... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
31. Ca vós tenéis mil y quinientos de cavallo vuestros, sin los de la tierra que se pueden hazer muy buena gente, y creo tengan todos gana de serviros muy bien y n'os faltarán... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.

32. ...los avemos echado de nuestra tierra y señoría, tan quebrantados y con tanta pérdida que no creo tengan gana de tornar otra vez contra nosotros... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
33. ...están muy ciertos y leales en el servicio de vuestra alteza y creo lo estarán siempre por ser libres de la tiranía de aquél... Cartas de relación, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
34. Todos éstos han sido y son [...], muy ciertos vasallos de vuestra majestad y muy obedientes a lo que yo en su real nombre les he requerido y dicho y creo lo serán de aquí adelante. Cartas de relación, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
35. Llevaba siempre delante de sí un señor de aquellos con tres varas delgadas altas, que creo se hacía porque... Cartas de relación, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
36. Seguimoslos por toda la ciudad [...], y seguimos el alcance hasta legua y media más, en que creo se escaparon pocos de aquellos que allí quedaron. Cartas de relación, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
37. que si no fuéramos bien armados se aprovecharan harto de nosotros y aun creo no escapara ninguno. Cartas de relación, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
38. ...no me detendré en dar de ello particular cuenta a vuestra majestad, mas de remitirme a la que ellos enviarán; que creo será tal que por ella vuestra alteza conozca la solicitud y vigilancia que... Cartas de relación, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
39. Con ellas envió asimismo una culebrina de plata, que entró en la fundición de ella veinticuatro quintales y dos arrobas, aunque creo entró en la fundición algo de oro, porque... Cartas de relación, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
40. ...y sería tan gran daño, que no creo aprovecharía ninguna otra predicación que se les hiciese... Cartas de relación, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
41. ...por los dichos años no están rematados; creo subirán más. Cartas de relación, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
42. Y certifico a vuestra majestad que no creo habrá nadie que sepa decir en manera... Cartas de relación, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
43. ...creo que ellos quedan de tal manera espantados, porque nunca han sabido de quién lo supe, que no creo se tornarán a revolver... Cartas de relación, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
44. Y si vuestra majestad fuere servido que yo entienda en esta negociación, [...], creo será de ello muy servido y ofrezco que si como he dicho no fuere... Cartas de relación, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
45. Ya creo vuestra señoría sabe que... Cartas privadas, 1520, CODEA.
46. Las galeras estan aquí por falta de dineros que no pueden cobrar lo que les fue librado, ni creo son cumplidos los plazos... Carta del contador Juan López de Recalde al Obispo de Burgos, López de Recalde, Juan, 1521, CORDE.
47. La péñula de oro que me envió rescebí, y así creo rescebiréis, señor, el Marco Aurelio... Epístolas familiares, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1521-1543, CORDE.
48. ...aunque están mal con vuestro exceso, todavía creo os aprovechará algo mi ruego... Epístolas familiares, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1521-1543, CORDE.



49. ...y esto de mandarme á mi despachase estos navíos no creo procedió tanto del interese que á S. M. se le seguía... Carta que escribió Hernan Cortés a Sebastian Caboto y le remitió con Alvaro de Saavedra, Cortés, Hernando, 1527, CORDE.
50. ...y a lo que yo creo corre más de ciento leguas. Apologética historia sumaria, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527-1550, CORDE.
51. El árbol en que nace son una pencas luengas, de la naturaleza de las zabilas de Castilla de que creo hacen el acíbar... Apologética historia sumaria, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527-1550, CORDE.
52. ...muy pocas hasta agora se han hallado ni creo se hallarán. Apologética historia sumaria, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527-1550, CORDE.
53. ...dentro de los cuales metía unas piedras chequitas de piedra negra, y creo eran de la piedra de que hacen las navajas. Apologética historia sumaria, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527-1550, CORDE.
54. No creo nos podremos con razón maravilliar que estas gentes nombrasen sus días con nombres bestiales... Apologética historia sumaria, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527-1550, CORDE.
55. ...y en griego se dice migale y en latín mus araneus; en nuestro castellano creo llamamos musgaños... Apologética historia sumaria, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527-1550, CORDE.
56. ...hojas de una yerba espinosa [...], que según creo es alguna especie de hortigas. Apologética historia sumaria, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527-1550, CORDE.
57. ...y era sobrino de un mayordomo mayor que tenía el duque dicho, que creo se llamaba Romero... *Historia de las Indias*, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527-1561, CORDE.
58. ...aunque no sean tan buenas como las de allá, las cuales también creo se darían acá si se plantasen porque veo... *Historia de las Indias*, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527-1561, CORDE.
59. Traxo el navío un Diego de Saucedo, criado del Almirante, que creo tenía en esta ciudad para cobrar sus rentas... *Historia de las Indias*, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527-1561, CORDE.
60. De los barcos o bateles que salieron a socorrellos o de los \* que habían salido a pescar, creo fue uno o dos los que se perdieron... *Historia de las Indias*, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527-1561, CORDE.
61. No creo me engaño en las historias, que quando Roma en su prosperidad más triumphava... *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1528, CORDE.
62. ...y estaba allí una beata de Lara, el coño puto y el ojo ladrón, que creo hizo pasto a cuantos brunetes van por el mar océano. *La Lozana Andaluza*, Delicado, Francisco, 1528, CORDE.
63. ...que aunque todo lo que se ha tomado no creo vale tanto como la galera y artillería y otras cosas que... Carta escrita al Emperador por Hernando de Bustamante y Diego de Salinas, Bustamante, Hernando de, 1529, CORDE.
64. No creo os será nuevo el marido decir á la muger... Carta de las setenta y dos necedades, Anónimo, 1530, CORDE.

65. ...topandose con ellos que creo no hara mirando el seruiçio... Carta de Francisco Pizarro y de los oficiales reales al cabildo de Panamá, Pizarro, Francisco, 1534, CORDE.
66. ...tanto que creo escribe de noche lo que haze de día... *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535-1536, CORDE.
67. Yo no me acuerdo sino de solo uno, el qual creo se le aya pegado de la religión... *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535-1536, CORDE.
68. Verdaderamente creo sea assí como dezís; nunca avía mirado en ello. *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535-1536, CORDE.
69. ...siempre la uso, y creo cierto hazen lo mesmo los que scriven con cuidado. *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535-1536, CORDE.
70. ...porque la tengo por mejor; creo hazen assí los más. *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535-1536, CORDE.
71. En la verdad creo sea assí, aunque no fuesse sino porque el visitar tiene... *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535-1536, CORDE.
72. ...la qual creo se ha metido allí por inadvertencia. *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535-1536, CORDE.
73. De la mesma manera creo aya acontecido en daño y año, y en algunos otros... *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535-1536, CORDE.
74. ...y, si miráis bien en esto, creo lo hallaréis casi siempre verdadero. *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535-1536, CORDE.
75. ...y assí a arriscar como a apriscar, que también me contenta, creo avemos desechado porque... *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535-1536, CORDE.
76. ...pero, si avéis romançado alguna cosa latina o italiana, bien creo avréis también hallado otros muchos vocablos... *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535-1536, CORDE.
77. Bien, pero muro no creo sea puro castellano. *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535-1536, CORDE.
78. E creo yo fue tan rrecto e christianísimo el Almirante que... *Batallas y quinquagenas*, Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo, 1535-1552, CORDE.
79. ...otras obras pías e grandes [línea y media ilegibles] se proçede, que creo será vna de las mejores casas que avrá en España. *Batallas y quinquagenas*, Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo, 1535-1552, CORDE.
80. ...lleuó Dios a su gloria al Sereníssimo señor Duque de Calabria, \* que creo le seruistes vn tiempo e antes al rrey Federique de Nápoles... *Batallas y quinquagenas*, Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo, 1535-1552, CORDE.
81. ...e sería a tan grand daño, que no creo aprovecharía ninguna otra predicación que se les hiciese... *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo, 1535-1557, CORDE.
82. ...y a una ciudad cabeça d'ella que agora creo se llama Ragusa... *Tratado de Re Militari*, Salazar, Diego de, 1536, CORDE.
83. ...y creo soy limpio del / original peccado Rebocando e... Primer testamento [Documentos relacionados con Francisco Pizarro], Anónimo, 1537, CORDE.

84. Para lo qual provar, porque creo no quedaréys descontentos, de sólo el exemplo del solo... *Veneris tribunal*, Escrivá, Luis, 1537, CORDE.
85. ...y creo era el Sr. Duque del Infantazgo assi es que yo dixé... Cortes de Toledo 1538, Anónimo, 1538-1539, CORDE.
86. ...pero creo irá el señor don Duarte y otros. *Epistolario*, Granada, Fray Luis de, 1538-1589, CORDE.
87. ...por muchos años - creo fueron más de veinte- nunca metió... *Epistolario*, Granada, Fray Luis de, 1538-1589, CORDE.
88. También creo servirá para los que están firmes en la fe... *Epistolario*, Granada, Fray Luis de, 1538-1589, CORDE.
89. ...he hallado de mi pobre juizio sentençia que creo todos aprobareis... *El Scholástico*, Villalón, Cristóbal de, 1539, CORDE.
90. ...y otras muchas ay latinas de que escriuen vuestros historiadores que creo haureis leído... *El Scholástico*, Villalón, Cristóbal de, 1539, CORDE.
91. ...porque creo será cosa agradable. *Silva de varia lección*, Mejía, Pedro, 1540-1550, CORDE.
92. ...y aun también creo lo está ya el que lo lee... *Silva de varia lección*, Mejía, Pedro, 1540-1550, CORDE.
93. Aunque bien creo desto no gustarán comúnmente todos... *Silva de varia lección*, Mejía, Pedro, 1540-1550, CORDE.
94. ...porque, en la verdad, no creo formó naturaleza animal que más al natural tenga ymágenes... *Silva de varia lección*, Mejía, Pedro, 1540-1550, CORDE.
95. ...aunque sea virtud, creo no hablaba Nuestro Señor cuando esto decía? *Deliberación en la causa de los pobres*, Soto, Fray Domingo de, 1543, CORDE.
96. ...y no creo había quien diga lo contrario sino fuere algún hidalgo portugués... Cartas y relaciones: recibimiento que se hizo en Salamanca a la princesa doña M<sup>a</sup> de Portugal, Anónimo, 1543, CORDE.
97. Bien creo no faltará quien defienda mi parte y la contraria... Diálogo de los pajes, Hermosilla, Diego, 1545, CORDE.
98. ...que aunque atenuando creo os la diré. Diálogo de los pajes, Hermosilla, Diego, 1545, CORDE.
99. ...que para mi descanso no creo se podrían hallar otros semejantes... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
100. Alto y poderoso señor, bien creo no deué tener noticia de nosotros... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
101. Bien creo tendréys conocido, cauallero... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
102. No hemos sabido cosa alguna [...], mas como eran tantas no creo se perderían. *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
103. ...la qual no creo yo me querrá dar tanto pesar... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
104. Hasta agora, señor cauallero, bien creo no auréys sabido la causa de mi venida... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.

105. Bien creo te son notorios, como quien... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
106. ...aunque de mí creo tendrá poca necesidad... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
107. ...lo fueron sus enemigos y si la muerte, lo qual yo no creo nos sobreuiere, poniendo... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
108. ...que se apareje, que ya creo se leuanta y estará en dispusición de caminar. *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
109. ...mas aun creo de todo punto el esfuerço y fuerzas me fallecerán... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
110. ...a cuya hermosura no creo aya en el mundo quien le yguale... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
111. ...bien creo aurás entendido las palabras de aquel cauallero... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
112. ...y aun agora creo os quisiérades partir sin ser conocido. *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
113. ...el cauallero aún no es muerto ni aun creo destas heridas se le seguirá peligro pues... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
114. ...aunque vuestra visitación es tan tarde que creo será por demás. *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
115. ...quiero ver si cumplís vuestra palabra, que yo creo no la quebrará vn tal cauallero como vos. *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
116. ...es el príncipe don Belianís de Grecia, que en estas partes creo pocas vezes auréys oýdo dezir... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
117. ...que aunque mucho enojo dél teníades creo os ouiera ya pesado si le vuiérades dado... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
118. ...y por esto creo deue de ser vn cauallero de quien marauillas... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
119. Ya creo ternás conocida, alto e muy poderoso señor, la causa de mi venida... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
120. Esforçados caualleros, ya creo tendréys conocido la grande offensa quel Cauallero... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
121. ...con aquel tan animoso rey Sarpe, con cuyos tan notables hechos y soberanas hazañas, no creo sean agenas de tu noticia. *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
122. ...cuyas hazañas con valerosidad y alteza de linaje, de ti creo serán bien conocidas... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
123. se las lleuó presas, [...], creo passarán por la cruel muerte en vengança de su hijo... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
124. ...pues creo estáys tan harta de mis cartas... *Proceso de cartas de amores*, Segura, Juan de, 1548, CORDE.

125. ...si a vna puerta no me arrimara estos cansados güesos míos, bien creo no huuiera lugar de acabar de secutar... *Proceso de cartas de amores*, Segura, Juan de, 1548, CORDE.
126. ...en manos de la qual me encomiendo como quien creo ha de ser la llaue de todo mi remedio... *Proceso de cartas de amores*, Segura, Juan de, 1548, CORDE.
127. ...más con obras que con palabras sé ayando mostrar, bien creo de vuestra merced no será atribuydo a poco amor. *Proceso de cartas de amores*, Segura, Juan de, 1548, CORDE.
128. ...con que creo gran deleyte sentiréys, y aliuiio muy grande para vuestro mal. *Proceso de cartas de amores*, Segura, Juan de, 1548, CORDE.
129. ...¿cómo piensas alabarle por todas sus obras, las cuales, [...] creo no cabrían los libros que de ellas se escribiesen? *Seis tratados muy devotos y útiles para cualquier fiel cristiano*, San Francisco de Borja, 1548, CORDE.
130. ...no creo nadie negará quán importante es para ellas el saber... *Refranes o proverbios en romance*, Núñez, Hernán, 1549, CORDE.
131. ...por tiempo creo no habrá extranjero que quiera contratar en aquel Reyno. *Crónica del Rey Henrico Octavo de Inglaterra*, Anónimo, 1549-1554, CORDE.
132. Sin falta, uno de los juicios que yo más temo y creo es de temer, es el del pueblo y comunidad... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
133. No creo saldrá tan malo el mío, que es calzado del buen pie... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
134. ...y porque creo sé mejor comprar y hacer cuentas con las mesoneras... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
135. No creo os engañaréis, que siempre lo oí decir así... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
136. Perdóneme Su Señoría, que yo creo que no tiene razón, por más que él vele, ni creo hay animal que se sustente sin dormir. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
137. Así lo haré, y creo será menester, según es tarde. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
138. Yo, aunque soy rudo, creo acertaría a formarle... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
139. No creo me tenéis por tan malicioso. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
140. Pero yo sé una tan extraña que creo no se podrá entender. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
141. Ésta creo yo querríades vos cada día, porque... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
142. Esas autoridades no creo se pusieron en ese sentido, ni los teólogos lo admitirán en él. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
143. Y aun si todas los guardasen, no creo habría quien no se casase, y andarían... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.

144. También creo estuvieron aquí algunos días aquellos caballeros lasos... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
145. Algo cara les podrá costar la gracia, que creo saldrán con poca gloria de la burla... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
146. ...que soy amigo de brevedad, como julio César, que no creo predicó hoy media hora. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
147. Aunque, por conservar la memoria de aquel buen conde don Pedro Anzules, [...], creo ha de conservar Dios aquel templo... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
148. Pasad con Dios y salidme a recibir a la puerta, que de otra suerte no creo hallaré a quien preguntar. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
149. Escusado es hallar por aquí camino real, porque, después que se perdió el rey Ordoño de León [...], nunca creo aporta por aquí rey ni roque. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
150. En eso yo creo tenéis razón, porque... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
151. A durar mucho mi pleito, yo creo me habría de acaecer lo mismo... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
152. Con todos esos favores y loas, creo yo ganan más ellos con la república... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
153. ...que el evangelio de hoy creo ha de ser Confiteor tibi... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
154. Pues a fe que lo han bien menester las desta casa, que creo andan bien cansadas y trabajadas. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
155. ...que así hicieron otras de mi tierra, y creo volverían antes que acabase. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
156. ...y tan olvidados de todos que creo os pudieran cortar las bolsas sin sentir. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
157. ...yo creo podemos hablar despacio mientras se enjuga. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
158. ...aunque creo nos hicieran más si fuéramos mercaderes ricos y nos conocieran por tales. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
159. Antes creo se debe de decir todos los días del año en esta villa... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
160. Antes creo deben entrar muchos malos, como dijo el otro. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
161. ...y la demos un buen lugar entrellas, que otro de más provecho no creo se le podemos hacer. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
162. Para vos conmigo ni para mí con vos no creo son menester... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.

163. Para no ser dellos no creo es menester avisaros... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
164. No creo medrarán mucho nuestros criados con las sobras. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
165. Ellos se lo tienen a cargo, que creo están por dejar de almorzar... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
166. ...con lo que por este camino me habéis dicho, que creo llegará tarde el desengaño... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
167. ...y con el ayuda de vuestras mercedes creo me será atribuida... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
168. La cual primeramente con el favor del conde mi señor, [...], y con el ayuda de vuestras mercedes creo me será atribuida... *Coloquios matrimoniales*, Luján, Pedro de, 1550, CORDE.
169. ...sino porque creo habréis placer, para que... *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V*, Santa Cruz, Alonso de, 1550, CORDE.
170. Allende de esto diréis al Rey vuestro amo que creo no ha sido avisado de cierta cosa... *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V*, Santa Cruz, Alonso de, 1550, CORDE.
171. ...para el tiempo que ase creo podrá suplir lo demás que le falta... *Cartas privadas*, Isabel Manrique, 1550, CODEA.
172. En lo que v. md. me avisa de lo que de acá se escribió sobre la relacion de frey Juan [...], creo lo escribiría mi hermano Villela... *Carta de Bernardo Villena de Aldana, maestre e Campo del tercio de Ungri, para Pedro Barrantes Maldo, Aldana, Bernardo de*, 1551, CORDE.
173. ...y el mayor traidor que creo sea en todo el universo, y... *Los amores de Clareo y Florisea y los trabajos de la sin ventura Isea*, Núñez de Reinoso, Alonso, 1552, CORDE.
174. Bien creo abrás visto que, quando alguno... *Espejo del pecador*, Dueñas, Juan de, 1553, CORDE.
175. ...vn español, que creo fue el primero que murió peleando en el campo. *Segunda parte de la Crónica general de las Indias*, López de Gómara, Francisco, 1553, CORDE.
176. ...hasta la isla de Perlas, que assí creo la llamó Fortún Ximénez... *Segunda parte de la Crónica general de las Indias*, López de Gómara, Francisco, 1553, CORDE.
177. ...hauía ciertas charcas y manantiales, que creo llamauan México... *Segunda parte de la Crónica general de las Indias*, López de Gómara, Francisco, 1553, CORDE.
178. No creo vuestras mercedes tendrán noticia verdadera del reino... *Las guerras civiles peruanas*, Cieza de León, Pedro, 1553-1584, CORDE.
179. ...unas raíces amargas, que yo creo tienen por nombre arracaches... *Las guerras civiles peruanas*, Cieza de León, Pedro, 1553-1584, CORDE.
180. ...ya creo habéis entendido la mucha gente quel tirano tiene... *Las guerras civiles peruanas*, Cieza de León, Pedro, 1553-1584, CORDE.
181. ...los árboles, los cuales yo creo no deben de ser manzanillos... *Las guerras civiles peruanas*, Cieza de León, Pedro, 1553-1584, CORDE.

182. Y en ser largas, no creo lo fue más la en que Hércules fue engendrado. *Florinea*, Rodríguez Florián, Juan, 1554, CORDE.
183. ...y según la prissa que llevan ya creo questarán cerca de la mar. *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
184. ...que no creo fuera para él tan dolorosa la muerte... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
185. ...aunque yo creo havréis plazer de conocer al rey Oliverio... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
186. Mi señora, yo bien creo tenéis de mí bien conosciado el grande amor... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
187. Y lo que vimos en ellos, creo serán muy presto en esta tierra. *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
188. Ya creo tendréis en la memoria la estraña y arrebatada pérdida de aquel enamorado... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
189. Bien creo sabrás, o avrás oído dezir, las grandes contiendas y batallas... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
190. ...que según sus grandes hechos, creo lo havrás oído dezir. *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
191. ...adonde creo he hallado la muerte, si la saña en vos... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
192. ...para la quietud grande d'este pueblo creo sería buen aviso que todos los que a este mi negocio tocasen... Informes y relaciones, El licenciado Armengol, 1557, CODEA.
193. ...ni creo vuestra alteza le embiaría comisión para hazerlas, pues... Informes y relaciones, El licenciado Lara de Buiza, 1557, CODEA.
194. ...y porque creo vuestra señoría en todo me hará más merced de la que yo merezco... Informes y relaciones, El licenciado Armengol, 1557, CODEA.
195. ...le ayudava a tenerme amor ver esto en mí, que creo todos los hombres deben ser más amigos de mujeres que... *Libro de la vida*, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1562-1566, CORDE.
196. ...y creo a nadie no le parecerá mal. Carta al P. Jerónimo Gracián en Sevilla, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1575, CORDE.
197. ...eçepto de las cathedrales, que creo todas están erezidas como esta... Carta del arzobispo de Mexico D. Pedro de Moya y Contreras al Presidente de los Reales Consejos de I, Moya y Contreras, Pedro, 1575, CORDE.
198. De éstas, por la bondad del Señor, creo hay muchas en el mundo: son muy deseosas de no ofender... *Las moradas del castillo interior*, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1577, CORDE.
199. ...que no creo fueran perezosos estos mis hermanos. Carta al P. Jerónimo Gracián, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1578, CORDE.
200. Creo irá a dar a V.S. las buenas pascuas... Cartas privadas, Isabel Enríquez, 1581, CODEA.



201. ...aunque creo, según está de parte de don Pedro, no aprovechará cosa. Cartas privadas, Violante Osorio, 1581, CODEA.
202. ...y si viniere a propósito lo que creo escribirá el señor Antonio Gallardo, se podría tratar d'ello. Actas y declaraciones, Licenciado Maleda, 1590, CODEA.
203. Yo bivo de la manera que creo me creerán cuantos me oyeren. Cartas privadas, Juana de Aguinaga, 1591, CODEA.
204. ...me porné luego en camino, y creo será en pasando los Reyes y será vuestra señoría... Informes y relaciones, Licenciado Núñez de la Torre, 1603, CODEA.
205. ...y fuera de vos, que no sois del arte, creo pocos las ignoran. Fiel desengaño contra la ociosidad y los juegos, Luque Fajardo, Francisco de, 1603, CORDE.
206. Y creo alguna de éstos no cabe en tierra de cristianos. *Vida y trabajos*, Pasamonte, Jerónimo de, 1605, CORDE.
207. ...porque me precio de eso como creo Vuestra Señoría lo entiende así. Cartas privadas, Mosén Lorenzo López, 1608, CODEA.
208. ...y tan recebida que creo pocos se escapan de creerla. Tratado de las supersticiones y costumbres gentílicas, Ruiz de Alarcón, Hernando, 1629, CORDE.
209. ...aunque no les emportaba creo se acordarán para decirlo. Actas y declaraciones, Agustina de Sossa, 1691, CODEA.
210. ...estaba á seis millas de Taranto, en que se cree ha mas de seis dias está sobre él... Carta a los Reyes Católicos, Conchillos, Juan de, 1501, CORDE.
211. ...porque \* en el otro que se cree no llevó ninguna, que todas se le perdieron, según creo. *Historia de las Indias*, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527, CORDE.
212. ...y tambien se nos ha dicho en secreto que se cree le quiere dar una hija suya por muger. Documentos notariales, Bustamante, Hernando de, 1529, CORDE.
213. ...será por muy justas causas, y que cree no puede nadie dezir con verdad haber hallado acogida. Documentos notariales, Anónimo, 1532, CORDE.
214. ...que son los de Venezuela, que no cree se les quitará oyéndole a él. *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo, 1535, CORDE.
215. ...merecedor de esta cathólica fee todo lo que tiene y cree puede provar por razones. *Suma de Filosofía natural*, Fuentes, Alonso de, 1547, CORDE.
216. ...también se cree llevaban grandísima cantidad de oro. *Crónica de la Nueva España*, Cervantes de Salazar, Francisco, 1560, CORDE.
217. ...hasta hoy nunca ha parecido, ni se cree parecerá. *Crónica de la Nueva España*, Cervantes de Salazar, Francisco, 1560, CORDE.
218. Por qué se cree se retiró el rey e hizo vida de monje desde que... Anales de la corona de Aragón, Zurita, Jerónimo, 1562, CORDE.
219. ...orden para que se junten en las barrancas [...], y que cree estarán juntos esperando para cuando fuésemos... *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, 1568, CORDE.
220. ...y se cree le informaron como no devían. Carta a Felipe II, Simancas, Diego, 1573, CORDE.

221. Maestro Gracián en que me dice que son venidas [...], y que cree está ya en Toledo. Carta a Juan de Ovalle, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1577, CORDE.
222. ...se hundió un bajel suyo, y se cree otros llevarían algún daño. Documentos notariales, Anónimo, 1582, CORDE.
223. ...pero la nave iba de manera que se cree no habrá podido escapar. Documentos notariales, Anónimo, 1582, CORDE.
224. ...los suyos me parece serán más de 1200 muertos, [...], y en los nuestros se cree no lleguen á 700. Documentos notariales, Anónimo, 1582, CORDE.
225. Antonio mucha gente principal de Francia, y que cree se perdieron la mayor parte de ella el día de la batalla. Documentos notariales, Anónimo, 1582, CORDE.
226. ...aunque algunos dellos se cree son de personas particulares. Documentos notariales, Anónimo, 1583, CORDE.
227. E de padecer estos trabajos, hambres, fríos, cansancios, [...], se cree les vienen las pestilencias y enfermedades... Relación de los señores de la Nueva España, Zurita, Alonso de, 1585, CORDE.
228. ...hasta que llegase cierta ocasión, que se cree se ofrecerá con mucha brevedad, no me parece... *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reino de la China*, González de Mendoza, Fray Juan, 1585, CORDE.
229. Las cuales se cree entendieron por la predicación del bienaventurado Apóstol Santo Tomás... *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reino de la China*, González de Mendoza, Fray Juan, 1585, CORDE.
230. ...al cual se cree proveerán el arzobispado de Toledo que está vaco... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
231. ...y así se cree no tardará mucho en salir... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
232. ...se cree no vivirá... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
233. ...y se cree será muy relevante... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
234. ...se cree no saldrá con ella. Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
235. ...se cree no pasará de este mes... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
236. ...se cree será menos de dos dias... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
237. ...se ha huido sin saberse el camino que haya tomado, mas de que se cree habrá ido á Flandes... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
238. ...á la fortaleza de Simancas, donde se cree quedará recluso en la sentencia de revista por incorregible. Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.

239. ...el duque de Sesa, el cual se cree no servirá acá el oficio de mayordomo mayor de la Reina... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
240. ...del año antes se cree será tu abundante como se podía esperar. Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
241. ...y se cree lo darán por aya á la condesa de Salinas. Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
242. ...y se cree los condenarán en alguna pena de dineros. Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
243. ...lo cual se cree se hará yendo á tener Córtes á Aragon... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
244. ...y se cree estarán allí todo el mes que viene... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
245. ...y por estar aquí el cardenal de Toledo se cree irá á hacerlo... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
246. ...y se cree pasará adelante en su privanza... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
247. ...y el patriarcado de las Indias se cree se dará á quien fuere Presidente... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
248. ...y así se cree lo darán al arzobispo de Santiago... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
249. ...si bien se cree llegarán el mes que viene... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
250. ...y así se cree se dará licencia con mucha dificultad. Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
251. ...y se cree proveerán las galeras de Sicilia en el conde de Elda... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
252. ...y se cree le harán merced de alguna buena encomienda... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
253. ...y tambien se cree se casará el marqués de Villanueva... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.

254. ...hasta su vuelta que se cree tardará seis ó siete meses. Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
255. ...por lo cual y otras consideraciones se cree se hará mudanza en la provision... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
256. ...y tambien se cree dejará despachado al embajador del Emperador... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
257. ...antes de Setiembre no se cree podran partir con la Reina. Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
258. ...en lo de la pretension de Monferrat se cree no se hablará mas. Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
259. ...y así se cree mandarán repeler del proceso la peticion que... Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
260. ...antes se cree guardó la pureza virginal todo el curso de su vida. Tercera parte de la Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo, Sigüenza, Fray José, 1605, CORDE.
261. Assi se cree le costò la vida... Tercera parte de la Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo, Sigüenza, Fray José, 1605, CORDE.
262. ...a los cercados se le quita el agua o se cree se rendirán por hambre... *Sumario de la milicia antigua y moderna*, Rojas, Cristóbal de, 1607, CORDE.
263. En la librería de Florencia, dice Correas, se cree hay epístolas suyas. *Epicteto y Phocílides*, Quevedo y Villegas, Francisco de, 1609, CORDE.
264. ...y porque se cree fué tomado de los contrarios... *Historia y descripción de la antigüedad y descendencia de la Casa de Córdoba*, Fernández de Córdoba, Francisco (Abad de Rute), 1625, CORDE.
265. ...pero se cree serán el 12. Cartas de algunos padres de la Compañía de Jesús, González, Sebastián, 1634, CORDE.
266. ...se cree la ha vendido y levantado algun testimonio... Copia de la carta que el licenciado D. Francisco Vallejo de la Cueva, Vallejo de la Cueva, Francisco, 1635, CORDE.
267. ...y se cree volverá luego á su oficio... Cartas de algunos padres de la Compañía de Jesús, González, Sebastián, 1636, CORDE.
268. Esta invasión se cree ha de divertir mucho los progresos... Avisos de 1639, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1639, CORDE.
269. ...i se cree tendrá algún buen efeto esta Determinación. Avisos de 1640, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1640, CORDE.
270. También se cree havrá Toros en el Retiro... Avisos de 1640, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1640, CORDE.

271. Otrosí se cree esperan de Olanda gran socorro... Avisos de 1640, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1640, CORDE.
272. ...de quien no se cree hará cosa fea. Avisos de 1640, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1640, CORDE.
273. ...i se cree ha de ser esto parte... Avisos de 1641, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1641, CORDE.
274. ...i se cree estará ya en Camino. Avisos de 1643, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1643, CORDE.
275. ...i se cree serán pocas... Avisos de 1644, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1644, CORDE.
276. ...i se cree ocupará el oficio el Señor Don Antonio de Aragón. Avisos de 1644, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1644, CORDE.
277. ...i se cree está sin culpa. Avisos de 1644, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1644, CORDE.
278. Y se cree le han hecho Ayo i Mayordomo Mayor de Su Alteça el Príncipe Nuestro Señor. Avisos de 1644, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1644, CORDE.
279. ...y se cree es este animal... *Arte de Ballestería y Montería*, Martínez de Espinar, Alonso, 1644, CORDE.
280. ...y se cree habrá padecido martyrio... *Tratados jurídicos*, Solórzano y Pereira, Juan de, 1648, CORDE.
281. ...se vá reduciendo la Isla California, que se cree será la mayor del Mundo... *Tratados jurídicos*, Solórzano y Pereira, Juan de, 1648, CORDE.
282. ...tal se cree serán y estarán los miembros... *Constituciones de la Capilla de Santa María Magdalena*, de Corral de Almaguer, Anónimo, 1653, CORDE.
283. ...y se cree no irá á Roma nadie... *Prensa*, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
284. ...37 navíos ingleses, que se cree son los de Blac... *Prensa*, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
285. ...y que se cree esperarán los otros 60 navíos... *Prensa*, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
286. ...si bien se cree echará la fuerza contra el Estado de Milan... *Prensa*, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
287. ...se cree tendrá ajuste... *Prensa*, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
288. ...y se cree no saldrá de allí... *Prensa*, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
289. ...y se cree no hiciera poco... *Prensa*, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
290. Con que se cree durarán muchos días... *Prensa*, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
291. ...y se cree viene en las de Cicilia... *Prensa*, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
292. ...se cree está la flota en Cartagena... *Prensa*, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
293. ...donde se cree la envían para emplearla... *Prensa*, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.

294. ...se cree los han de mandar salir... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
295. ...y que se cree no lo aceptará... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
296. ...y se cree no pasará este tributo adelante más que en la Rioja... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
297. ...cree será imposible resolverse cosa ninguna... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
298. ...de donde se cree habrá ya ido al final en abonanzando. Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
299. ...y algunos Padres de la Compañía que se cree habrá ya martirizado... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
300. ...y se cree se levantarán muchos contra él... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
301. ...y se cree tomará el Rey la décima de todo lo redituable. Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
302. ...donde se cree irá Aitona. Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
303. ...y se cree hará lo mismo de todo lo redituable... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
304. ...con que se cree romperán. Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
305. Con que se cree parará en la hora indubitamente. Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
306. ...se cree se aquietará todo... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
307. ...y se cree mudará el Francés de intento... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
308. ...y que se cree es el que está en el Retiro. Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
309. ...y se cree hará el Vicario lo mismo de Diamante... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
310. ...con que se cree no dejará de venir. Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
311. ...y se cree será acá lo mismo en llegando Boneli... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
312. ...y se cree no pararán hasta echarle las temporalidades... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
313. ...y se cree hay contra él alguna conspiracion secreta... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
314. ...y que se cree había despachado á Londres... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
315. ...y se cree alongarán los estanques hasta Atocha... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
316. ...y que se cree pasó desde allí á Gravelingas... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.

317. ...y se cree hará poco ó nada. Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
318. ...que se cree es el parto de la Reina... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
319. ...y se cree durará más... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
320. ...y se cree son el Conde de Castriello y el Marqués de Caracena. Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
321. ...y se cree se lo remitirá luego... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
322. ...y se cree será Medina de las Torres. Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
323. ...que se cree se afondó... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
324. ...que se cree serán como el año pasado... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
325. ...y se cree no habrá Emperador tan presto. Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
326. ...y que se cree cortará muchas cabezas... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
327. ...y se cree lo hará... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654, CORDE.
328. ...como se cree lo harán por llegar a merecer estos oficios... Real cédula al virrey y audiencia de México, Anónimo, 1690, CORDE.
329. ...se cree les tocará mas parte de los Diezmos. Compendio bulario índico, Tobar, Baltasar de, 1695, CORDE.
330. ...a quien se cree le dieron veneno en un convite... *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, San Agustín, Fray Gaspar de, 1698, CORDE.
331. ...me imagino me ha de aprovechar bien poco. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, 1605, CORDE.
332. ...y imagino han dado esta traza de llevalle desta manera... . *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, 1605, CORDE.
333. ...imagino me confesaréis habréis por ventura andado... *El pasajero*, Suárez de Figueroa, Cristóbal, 1617, CORDE.
334. ...que imagino serán necesarias. *Cigarrales de Toledo*, Tirso de Molina (Fray Gabriel Téllez), 1624, CORDE.
335. ...que imagino han hecho con vos en mi abono. *Cigarrales de Toledo*, Tirso de Molina (Fray Gabriel Téllez), 1624, CORDE.
336. ...fiaba de la voluntad que imagino me tenías que... *Cigarrales de Toledo*, Tirso de Molina (Fray Gabriel Téllez), 1624, CORDE.
337. ...y tales como imagino serán las del retablo. *Epistolario*, Góngora y Argote, Luis de, 1613-1626, CORDE.
338. ...Señor Marqués de Valparaíso que imagino es su heredero. Avisos de 1639, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1639, CORDE.

339. ...por consecuencia clara imagino se infiere de las dos premisas... *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, Cobo, Bernabé, 1653, CORDE.
340. ...voy guiando mi discurso imagino es el más cierto y seguro... *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, Cobo, Bernabé, 1653, CORDE.
341. ...darme el pago que él se imagina se me debe? Viaje del Parnaso, Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, 1614, CORDE.
342. ...si el hombre imagina algunas enfermedades incurre en ellas y... *Apologética historia sumaria*, Casas, Fray Bartolomé de las, 1527, CORDE.
343. ...que imagina le son de provecho para... *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, Cobo, Bernabé, 1653, CORDE.
344. ...pienso no erraría. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, Corde.
345. ...sin lo cual no pienso me podría bien suceder nada. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
346. ...yo pienso la recibimos... *Reglas*, Nebrija, Antonio de, 1517, CORDE.
347. ... pienso harán mucho fruto... *Cartas de relación*, Cortés, Hernán, 1519-1526, CORDE.
348. ...menos pienso perdonarán la tuya a do los ofenden. *Epístolas familiares*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1521, CORDE.
349. ...porque en el mover de vuestro cuerpo pienso os conozco. *Polindo*, Anónimo, 1526, CORDE.
350. ...e bien pienso creeréis mi voluntad... *Polindo*, Anónimo, 1526, CORDE.
351. ...porque cierto pienso gran bien me será ocurrido. *Polindo*, Anónimo, 1526, CORDE.
352. ...ninguno pienso se podría hallar a quien... *Los Naufragios*, Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar, 1527, CORDE.
353. Hablando con hombres sentidos de mi edad, pienso he leído mucho. *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1528, CORDE.
354. ...y pienso terné muchos me favorezcan en ella... *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1528, CORDE.
355. ...y es que pienso son tan iustos mis dioses... *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1528, CORDE.
356. ...y pienso se la hurtaron de la huerta. *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1528, CORDE.
357. ...pienso será moço esforçado... *Reloj de príncipes*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1529, CORDE.
358. ...ni pienso avrá en el mundo como tú... *Reloj de príncipes*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1529, CORDE.
359. ...no pienso se perdera nada. *Colloquio de Erasmo*, Mejía, Luis, 1532, CORDE.



360. ...pues pienso nuestra reprehensión poco les aprovechará. *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras*, Anónimo, 1535, CORDE.
361. ...pienso debía ser especie de calcidonia... *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo, 1535, CORDE.
362. ...pienso me faltará herraje... *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo, 1535, CORDE.
363. ...digo que pienso pudo ser que... *Diálogo de la lengua*, Valdés, Juan de, 1535, CORDE.
364. ...ya pienso tendrás de mí conocido... *Tercera parte de la tragicomedia de Celestina*, Gómez de Toledo, Gaspar, 1536, CORDE.
365. Así pienso hará a vuestra reverencia. *Epistolario*, Granada, Fray Luis de, 1538-1589, Corde.
366. ...pienso holgarán de las leer. *Silva de varia lección*, Mejía, Pedro, 1540, CORDE.
367. ...no pienso la cerraré yo a persona alguna. *Diálogo espiritual*, Montemayor, Jorge de, 1543, CORDE.
368. ...no pienso va tan fuera de propósito... *Deliberación en la causa de los pobres*, Soto, Fray Domingo de, 1543, CORDE.
369. ...lo cual todo pienso sucedió por... *Diálogo de los pajes*, Herosilla, Diego, 1545, CORDE.
370. ...no pienso os desagradará el que sigue... *Diálogo de los pajes*, Herosilla, Diego, 1545, CORDE.
371. ...antes pienso le sirvió no poco ser estimado... *Diálogo de los pajes*, Herosilla, Diego, 1545, CORDE.
372. ...en el vniuerso pienso no recibe ygual... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
373. ...por nuestros altos dioses pienso fuystes a tal tiempo embiado. *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
374. ...tanta necessidad que pienso será menester gran parte de vuestro esfuerço... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
375. ...que en el mundo pienso se hallara cauallero que... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
376. ...y allí pienso le hallaremos. *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
377. ...ni yo pienso auemos gozado del vencimiento de la batalla... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
378. ...en la batalla de oy no pienso auréys tenido menos trabajo que los caualleros. *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
379. ...pienso con más razón tendrás de mí alguna sospecha... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
380. ...pienso deue ser de alto linage... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, Corde.

381. ...por la qual pienso se os deue alcançar parte... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
382. ...con ayuda del Alto Señor pienso libraremos a don Clarineo. *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
383. ...lo que en vn tal cauallero como vos pienso no puede caber... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
384. ...por los venideros pienso serán creýdas... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
385. ...yo pienso no nos vuiera sido la aduersa Fortuna... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
386. ...pienso le aurá ya ynbiado a requerir para... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
387. ...tanta ventura que pienso an de ser parte... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
388. ...la vuestra merced a dicho que pienso no podría ser parte... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
389. ...pienso ninguna conversación familiar ni materia se podrá ofrecer... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
390. ...creo y pienso serán provechosos... *Coloquios matrimoniales*, Luján, Pedro de, 1550, CORDE.
391. ...yo pienso debes allá tener... *Peregrinación de la vida del hombre*, Hernández de Villaumbrales, Pedro, 1552, CORDE.
392. ...y aun pienso se ha de ir para ti a la cama... *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Anónimo, 1554, CORDE.
393. ...y pienso guardó mejor... *La primera parte de la Historia natural de las Indias*, López de Gómara, Francisco 1554, CORDE.
394. ...que pienso fueron de los que primero sembraron. *La primera parte de la Historia natural de las Indias*, López de Gómara, Francisco 1554, CORDE.
395. ...pienso tenían muertos más de treinta mil atunes... *Segunda parte del Lazarillo de Tormes*, Anónimo, 1555, CORDE.
396. ...en sólo doblones pienso me trajeron más de quinientos mil. *Segunda parte del Lazarillo de Tormes*, Anónimo, 1555, CORDE.
397. ...aunque pienso ha sido medio que... *Relaciones espirituales*, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1560, CORDE.
398. ...que sin falta pienso será... Carta a don Lorenzo de Cepeda, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1561, CORDE.
399. ...yo pienso será para ir hacia abajo... *Libro de la vida*, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1562, CORDE.
400. ...pienso lo deve el Señor de hacer. *Libro de la vida*, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1562, CORDE.
401. ...y pienso ternás por bueno lo que... *El Patrañuelo*, Timoneda, Juan de, 1566, CORDE.

402. El martes que viene pienso nos iremos cierto. Carta al maestro Gaspar Daza en Ávila, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1568, CORDE.
403. ...que pienso se ha de servir mucho Su Majestad en ello. Carta a D.<sup>a</sup> Luisa de la Cerda, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1568, CORDE.
404. ...aún su oración sola pienso sería oída de Su Majestad... *Libro de las fundaciones*, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1573, CORDE.
405. Algunas veces pienso hacéis semejantes mercedes a los que... *Libro de las fundaciones*, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1573, CORDE.
406. ...no pienso ha de cansarse. Carta a Felipe II, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1575, CORDE.
407. ...pienso se perdieron. Carta a la M. María de San José, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1576, CORDE.
408. ...ansí pienso no habrá otro semejante. Carta a la M. María de San José, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1576, CORDE.
409. ...porque pienso lo escribiré a Vuestra Paternidad... Carta al P. Jerónimo Gracián en Sevilla, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1576, CORDE.
410. Y ansí pienso nos ha de acaecer en estas tempestades... Carta a don Teutonio de Braganza, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1578, CORDE.
411. ...yo pienso estará en Alcalá. Carta a Roque de Huerta, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1579, CORDE.
412. ...porque pienso le ha dado Nuestro Señor... Carta a doña Inés Nieto, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1579, CORDE.
413. ...porque pienso estaré aquí poco. Carta a don Pedro de Casademonte en Medina, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1580, CORDE.
414. ...pienso me mandarán ir allá... Carta a la M. María de San José, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1580, CORDE.
415. ...de manera que pienso, si esto no se ordena de manera que no me agan padecer tanto, será necesario dar... Cartas cortesananas privadas, Mendoza, María de, 1580, CODEA.
416. ...no pienso el ausencia me dará libertad... Carta a don Pedro de Castro y Nero, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1581, CORDE.
417. Con todo, pienso ha de ir aquella casa adelante... Carta al P. Jerónimo Gracián, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1581, CORDE.
418. No pienso he hecho poco en traer conmigo a Asunción. Carta a doña Catalina de Tolosa en Burgos, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1582, CORDE.
419. ...que pienso se olgará de que sean ya efetuados. Ana de Jesús. Cartas 1590-1621, Jesús, Ana de, 1590, CORDE.
420. ...pienso se podrá hazer... Ana de Jesús. Cartas 1590-1621, Jesús, Ana de, 1590, CORDE.
421. ...y ansí pienso bendrá esto con siguridad por la bía que digo. Ana de Jesús. Cartas 1590-1621, Jesús, Ana de, 1590, CORDE.

422. ...que pienso me ayuda con sus santos sacrificios. Ana de Jesús. Cartas 1590-1621, Jesús, Ana de, 1590, CORDE.
423. ...yo pienso está dicho antes de agora. *Filosofía antigua poética*, López Pinciano, Alonso, 1596, CORDE.
424. ...porque pienso ha de ser tal... *Filosofía antigua poética*, López Pinciano, Alonso, 1596, CORDE.
425. ...que pienso se confesará luego... *De las consideraciones sobre todos los evangelios de la Cuaresma*, Cabrera, Fray Alonso de, 1598, CORDE.
426. ...las cuales pienso hacen más enfermedades pestilentes y esporádicas que no peste. *Libro de la peste*, Mercado, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
427. ...no pienso será más necesaria ni más útil que... *Libro de la peste*, Mercado, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
428. Y en esta misma materia pienso sería de importancia consultar labradores viejos... *Libro de la peste*, Mercado, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
429. Téngola por tan singular, que pienso será el uso de ella una de las principales causas de preservación... *Libro de la peste*, Mercado, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
430. Yo pienso se halla, entre los autores, diferencia entre la longitud de... *Tratado de la esencia, causa y curación de los bubones y carbuncos pestilentes*, Escobar, Manuel de, 1600, CORDE.
431. ...de donde pienso se llaman agora los Melenaques... *Segunda parte de la Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, Sigüenza, Fray José, 1600, CORDE.
432. Pienso se me an perdido muchas cartas... Cartas privadas, López, Mosén Lorenzo, 1608, CODEA.
433. ...y pienso no á sido mía la culpa... Cartas privadas, López, Mosén Lorenzo, 1608, CODEA.
434. ...este año pienso no quedará de los medios de la hassienda provecho... Cartas privadas, López, Mosén Lorenzo, 1608, CODEA.
435. ...pienso estará clara y con pago... Cartas privadas, López, Mosén Lorenzo, 1608, CODEA.
436. También pienso no deve Vuestra Señoría saber... Cartas privadas, López, Mosén Lorenzo, 1608, CODEA.
437. ...pienso no serán menester... Cartas privadas, López, Mosén Lorenzo, 1608, CODEA.
438. ...una señora que pienso llaman doña Beatriz Velón... Actas y declaraciones, Andrade, Antonio, 1655, CODEA.
439. ...pienso usará esto todo el tiempo... Cartas privadas, autor desconocido, fecha desconocida, CODEA.
440. ...va tras la caça que piensa se le ha de yr... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
441. ...y que así piensa le podrán absolver... *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.

442. ...cada una piensa fuera parte para serlo. *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano*, Arce de Otárola, Juan de, 1550, CORDE.
443. ...qu'él piensa puede andar poco... *Regimiento de navegación*, Medina, Pedro de, 1556, Corde.
444. ...la parte que piensa le ha de venir de ciertas telas... Carta de Juan de Peñalosa, Anónimo, 1563, CORDE.
445. ...y les envía a decir que [...] piensa no quedará ninguno de nosotros a vida... *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, 1568, CORDE.
446. ...que piensa es una beata melencólica... Carta a la M. María de San José, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1577, CORDE.
447. ...no sé cómo piensa Vuestra Señoría ha de ser secreta cosa semejante. Carta a don Teutonio de Braganza, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1578, CORDE.
448. ...si Vuestra Paternidad piensa ha de acabar más con ella... Carta al P. Jerónimo Gracián, , Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1579, CORDE.
449. ...cada vez que piensa ha de ser. Carta al licenciado don Dionisio Ruiz de la Peña, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1581, CORDE.
450. ...piensa la tiene por gastadora. Carta al P. Jerónimo Gracián, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1582, CORDE.
451. ...el vulgo piensa son de otras lenguas... *De la antigua lengua, poblaciones y comarcas de las Españas*, Poza, Andrés de, 1587, CORDE.
452. ...en que se piensa se gastarán 100.000 ducados... Prensa, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
453. ...que piensa será á los 8 de este mes que viene... Prensa, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599, CORDE.
454. ...donde piensa la tradición fue sepultado... *Razón de Corte*, Jerez, Juan, 1601, CORDE.
455. ...dizen que se piensa alla otra cosa... *Tercera parte de la Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo*, Sigüenza, Fray José, 1605, CORDE.
456. ...y es tal que quien la vee primero, piensa no ay mas que pedir. *Tercera parte de la Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo*, Sigüenza, Fray José, 1605, CORDE.
457. ...que piensa fué en el coro... Documentos notariales, Anónimo, 1610, CORDE.
458. ...piensa era del monasterio que llaman de Adentro. Documentos notariales, Anónimo, 1610, CORDE.
459. ...que piensa sabe mas que Bartulo ni Baldo. *Diálogos familiares en lengua española*, Luna, Juan de, 1619, CORDE.
460. ...mas él, de su parecer, piensa son los columpios... *Días geniales o lúdricos*, Caro, Rodrigo, 1626, CORDE.
461. ...toda la demás gente y bajas se piensa los tragó la mar... Cartas y relaciones, Almansa y Mendoza, Andrés de, 1626, CORDE.
462. Y aquel piensa es una traslación muy garrida entre cerros... *Perinola*, Quevedo y Villegas, Francisco de, 1632, CORDE.

463. ...es público y se piensa le darán una admonicion. Prensa, Vilches, Francisco de, 1634, CORDE.
464. ...y se piensa harán lo mismo otros muchos... Prensa, Clemente, Claudio, 1635, CORDE.
465. ...que se piensa tendrá presto buen efecto. Prensa, Clemente, Claudio, 1635, CORDE.
466. ...que se piensa le han muerto en Sierra Morena... Avisos de 1640, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1640, CORDE.
467. ...a quien piensa las deja concertadas... *Arte de Ballestería y Montería*, Martínez de Espinar, Alonso, 1644, CORDE.
468. ...gente que por su oficio piensa es obligada al daño común... *Historia de los movimientos, separación y guerra de Cataluña*, Melo, Francisco Manuel de, 1645, CORDE.
469. ...y aun se piensa no motiven el entrarse uno de ellos... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
470. ...que es lo más con que se piensa le han de premiar... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, Corde.
471. ...y que se piensa quiere dar tambien libertad de conciencia... Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
472. ...y que se piensa lo habrá tomado. Prensa, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
473. ...en que espero hará señalado servicio á Dios, y á mí mucha merced... Documentos notariales, Caro, Juan, 1519, CORDE.
474. ...y espero vendrá presto... *Las guerras civiles peruanas*, Cieza de León, Pedro, 1553, CORDE.
475. Que yo espero será tal qual siempre... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
476. ...que espero no será más... *Crónica de la Nueva España*, Cervantes de Salazar, Francisco, 1560, CORDE.
477. ...porque en Ti espero no sea confundida mi esperanza... *Exclamaciones del alma a Dios*, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1569, CORDE.
478. ...doña Águeda de Paz, que espero meterá paz en mi guerra y mirará mi negocio... *Cartas*, Salazar, Eugenio de, 1570, CORDE.
479. Y espero irá la casa muy adelante. *Libro de las fundaciones*, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada) 1573, CORDE.
480. ...yo espero en Dios no se averná vuestra merced... Carta a D. Pedro de la Banda, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1573, CORDE.
481. ...y espero en Nuestro Señor le dará a vuestra merced... Carta a D. Pedro de la Banda, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1573, CORDE.

482. ...yo espero en Dios verná presto... Carta a D. Pedro de la Banda, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1573, CORDE.
483. ...que espero se seguirá buen efecto... Carta a Bernardino de Mendoza, Zayas, Gabriel de, 1578, CORDE.
484. Con todo, espero en Dios lo ha de hacer bien. Carta a la M. María de San José, priora de Sevilla, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1580, CORDE.
485. ...á sido hart<o> temeraria espero en Dios á de quedar d'ella bueno... Cartas privadas, Duquesa de Huéscar, 1581, CODEA.
486. ...mas espero en Nuestro Señor no será parte para... Carta a doña Catalina de Tolosa en Burgos, Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada), 1582, CORDE.
487. ...una commisión que espero le á de ser de mucha reputación... Carta, Bartolomé Castillo, 1592, CODEA.
488. ...sino que espero no me ha de faltar en alcançarme... *Fructus sanctorum y quinta parte del Flossanctorum*, Villegas, Alonso de, 1594, CORDE.
489. ...de cuya santidad espero será para singular beneficio... *Vida y hechos de Pío V*, Fuenmayor, Antonio de, 1595, CORDE.
490. ...yo espero acabéys esta parte con mucho... *Filosofía antigua poética*, López Pinciano, Alonso, 1596, CORDE.
491. Y teniendo -como espero tendrán-, por ejemplo... *Amparo de pobres*, Pérez de Herrera, Cristóbal, 1598, CORDE.
492. ...y así espero lo será para acabarle... *Amparo de pobres*, Pérez de Herrera, Cristóbal, 1598, CORDE.
493. ...en la cual los prelados espero se han de señalar con gran celo... *Amparo de pobres*, Pérez de Herrera, Cristóbal, 1598, CORDE.
494. ...y espero en Dios habrá de frutificar en vos de manera... *Amparo de pobres*, Pérez de Herrera, Cristóbal, 1598, CORDE.
495. ...espero en Nuestro Señor se fabricará dentro dél... *Amparo de pobres*, Pérez de Herrera, Cristóbal, 1598, CORDE.
496. ...espero en Dios verá V. M.,... *Amparo de pobres*, Pérez de Herrera, Cristóbal, 1598, CORDE.
497. ...como le ha dado Dios esta mithra, espero ciertamente la ha de dexar por vn Capelo... *Traducción del Tratado de la peste de Marsilio Ficino*, Anónimo, 1598, CORDE.
498. ...y, así, espero lo remediará Dios por medio... *Libro de la peste*, Mercado Luis, 1599, CORDE.
499. ...y aunque tiene toda la gente en tierra, [...], espero ha de haber buen suceso. Relación de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1599-1614, CORDE.
500. ...como espero lo sera debaxo del amparo... *Libro de exercicios de la gineta*, Vargas Machuca, Bernardo, 1600, CORDE.
501. ...que espero mirará quién es y... *El celoso*, Velásquez de Velasco, Diego Alfonso, 1602, CORDE.

502. ...principio de la que espero tendréis en lo que resta. *Fiel desengaño contra la ociosidad y los juegos*, Luque Fajardo, Francisco de, 1603, CORDE.
503. Espero en Nuestro Señor se á 9 de servir mucho de ella... Carta, El prior de León, 1603, CODEA.
504. ...que con él espero se ha de hacer... *Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones australes*, Anónimo, 1605, CORDE.
505. Yo espero en nuestro buen Jesús nos ha de dar conocimiento... *La regla de la orden de la Santísima Trinidad*, San Juan Bautista de la Concepción (Juan García Gómez), 1606, CORDE.
506. ...como espero se hará con el auxilio divino y... *Sumario de la milicia antigua y moderna*, Rojas, Cristóbal de, 1607, CORDE.
507. ...no espero yo ha de ser menos... Memoria de los orígenes en la descalcez trinitaria, San Juan Bautista de la Concepción (Juan García López), 1607, CORDE.
508. ...con que espero se harán más curiosos los maestros... *Discurso en que trata de la artillería con un tratado de fortificación*, Lechuga, Cristóbal, 1611, CORDE.
509. ...y así espero sucederá al general de la... *Discurso en que trata de la artillería con un tratado de fortificación*, Lechuga, Cristóbal, 1611, CORDE.
510. ...como espero lo tendrá... *Discurso en que trata de la artillería con un tratado de fortificación*, Lechuga, Cristóbal, 1611, CORDE.
511. ...que espero divertirán la instancia del confesor. *Epistolario*, Góngora y Argote, Luis de, 1613-1626, CORDE.
512. ...y espero en Dios se despacharán luego... *Epistolario*, Góngora y Argote, Luis de, 1613-1626, CORDE.
513. ...del rigor con que espero ha de tratar su honestidad mi atrevimiento... *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Fernández de Avellaneda, Alonso 1614, CORDE.
514. ...cuyos habitadores espero os serán agradables. *El pasajero*, Suárez de Figueroa, Cristóbal, 1617, CORDE.
515. ...el estado sacerdotal que espero en Dios se a de ber con sus letras... Documentos notariales, Anónimo, 1618, CORDE.
516. ...y aplauso con que espero será recebido en su monarquía... *Historia de Felipe II, rey de España*, Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis, 1619, CORDE.
517. De esto espero proseguirá v. m. con igual gusto... *Historia de las virtudes y propiedades del tabaco, y de los modos de tomarle para las partes intríns*, Castro, Juan de, 1620, CORDE.
518. Y debajo de vuestra sombra divina espero será amparada esta obrilla... *Uso de los anteojos para todo género de vistas*, Daza de Valdés, Benito, 1623, CORDE.
519. ...en la providencia divina espero no sucederá como... *El curial del Parnaso*, Reyes, Matías de los, 1624, CORDE.
520. ...de quien espero será admitido... *El curial del Parnaso*, Reyes, Matías de los, 1624, CORDE.
521. ...espero se despidan corridos... *Cigarrales de Toledo*, Tirso de Molina (Fray Gabriel Téllez), 1624, CORDE.



522. ...yo con la que espero me ha de dar el cielo... *Jornadas alegres*, Castillo Solórzano, Alonso de, 1626, CORDE.
523. Señor, espero serà agradable a la piedad... Política de Dios, gobierno de Cristo, Quevedo y Villegas, Francisco de, 1626, CORDE.
524. ...espero pues pudiera conocer a su tía... *Las harpías en Madrid*, Castillo Solórzano, Alonso de, 1631, CORDE.
525. ...si no fuera que espero lo ha de saber... *El culto sevillano*, Robles, Juan de, 1631, CORDE.
526. ...espero aprobarán estas medidas... Diálogo entre un Bizcaýno y un Montañés sobre la fábrica de navíos, Cano, Tomé, 1631, CORDE.
527. ...de V. M. espero la dará paso desembarazado a Su real... Execración contra los judíos, Quevedo y Villegas, Francisco de, 1633, CORDE.
528. ...i espero hemos de tener por mano... Avisos de 1642, Pellicer de Ossau Salas i Tovar, José, 1642, CORDE.
529. ...de modo que espero empezarán a obrar esta semana. Carta de 4 de octubre de 1643 entre Felipe IV y Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, Ágreda, Sor María de Jesús de, 1643, CORDE.
530. ...y espero no la negará Dios... Carta de 16 de agosto de 1643 entre Felipe IV y Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, Ágreda, Sor María de Jesús de, 1643, CORDE.
531. Muy poderoso espero ha de ser para todo... Carta de 18 de noviembre de 1644 entre Felipe IV y Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, Ágreda, Sor María de Jesús de, 1644, CORDE.
532. ...espero en Dios le deberá muy buen retorno... Carta de 18 de noviembre de 1644 entre Felipe IV y Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, Ágreda, Sor María de Jesús de, 1644, CORDE.
533. ...ni espero me deban los otros... *Historia de los movimientos, separación y guerra de Cataluña*, Melo, Francisco Manuel de, 1645, CORDE.
534. ...de cuya misericordia espero se ha de doler de todos nosotros... Carta de 6 de noviembre de 1645 entre Felipe IV y Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, Felipe IV, 1645, CORDE.
535. ...y espero le han de haber aprovechado... Carta de 10 de octubre de 1646 entre Felipe IV y Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, Felipe IV, 1646, CORDE.
536. Y comenzando el mio, que espero ha de ser provechoso... Tratados jurídicos: Política indiana, Solórzano y Pereira, Juan de, 1648, CORDE.
537. ...y de la vuestra espero me ayudaréis con vuestras oraciones... Carta de 5 de diciembre de 1649 entre Felipe IV y Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, Felipe IV, 1649, CORDE.
538. ...espero me ha de ser de gran aprovechamiento. Carta de 26 de febrero de 1650 entre Felipe IV y Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, Felipe IV, 1650, CORDE.
539. ...yo espero habrá bien que contar... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
540. ...Leonor mi hija espero no habrá cosa diferente... Documentos notariales, Ayala, Juan de, 1658, CORDE.

541. ...en que no espero se me quiera atropellar indebidamente. Carta al Cardenal Aragón, Austria, Juan de, 1669, CORDE.
542. Espero en Dios te lo pagará muy colmado. Carta privada de Apolonia de Zubiete a su hijo Diego Pérez de Arandía, 1674, CODEA.
543. ...muy presto se espera vengaréis la muerte... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
544. Sabrá Vuestra Magestad que espera es un cuerpo redondo... *Suma de geografía que trata de todas las partidas y provincias del mundo*, Fernández de Enciso, Martín, 1519, CORDE.
545. ...de lo que se espera trae risa... Traducción de *El cortesano de Baltasar de Castiglione*, Boscán, Juan, 1534, CORDE.
546. ...como se espera saldrá de tu vientre... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros, segunda parte*, Sierra, Pedro de la, 1580, CORDE.
547. ...y se espera abrá muchos más... Documentos notariales, Anónimo, 1583, CORDE.
548. ...esta santa junta se espera os ha de hacer... *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V*, Santa Cruz, Alonso de, 1550, CORDE.
549. ...y espera hará a esta dicha Sta. Iglesia... Documentos sobre música en la catedral de Sigüenza, Anónimo, 1600, CORDE.
550. ...y espera se le siga algún interés... Documentos sobre música en la catedral de Sigüenza, Anónimo, 1600, CORDE.
551. ...en aquel que se espera tienen los que aquí... Sigüenza, Fray José, Tercera parte de la Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo, 1605, CORDE.
552. Si alguno os dirigiese versos (que se espera tendréis muchos que se acuerden de... *Jornadas alegres*, Castillo Solórzano, Alonso de, 1626, CORDE.
553. ...plata de Indias se espera venga á Madrid... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
554. ...si se hacen, se espera sean más en nuestro favor... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
555. ...y se espera le den muy presto licencia de... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
556. ...que se espera lleguen primero los de allá. Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
557. ...y el lunes se espera llegue Francisco de Medina... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
558. ...con que se espera se volverán á poner... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
559. ...en lo que se espera haya de venir... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
560. ...y espera cada día rompa el Francés... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.

561. ...con que se espera le ayudará á Dios contra sus enemigos... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
562. ...que se espera ha de ser solemnísimo... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
563. ...y tambien se espera le den dinero... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
564. ...y en todo Febrero se espera tendremos Emperador... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
565. ...me alegro mucho me adviertan faltas... *Días geniales o lúdricos*, Caro, Rodrigo, 1626, CORDE.
566. ...en que se siente se haya dilatado tanto el usar... Tratados jurídicos, Política indiana, Solórzano y Pereira, Juan de, 1648, CORDE.
567. ... y el de Liche siente se haya de cubrir... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
568. ...y el de Pastrana siente se dilate tanto el llegar á... Avisos. Tomos I, II, III y IV, Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 1654-1658, CORDE.
569. ...que le ruego no se entremeta mas... Documentos notariales, Anónimo, 1500, CORDE.
570. ...por vuestra gran bondad e gentileza vos ruego me queráys prestar... Traducción de *Tirante el Blanco de Joanot Martorell*, Anónimo, 1511, CORDE.
571. ...por que os ruego me digáys sus hazañas... Traducción de *Tirante el Blanco de Joanot Martorell*, Anónimo, 1511, CORDE.
572. ...os ruego me hagáys dos mercedes... Traducción de *Tirante el Blanco de Joanot Martorell*, Anónimo, 1511, CORDE.
573. ...os ruego me queráys descubrir... Traducción de *Tirante el Blanco de Joanot Martorell*, Anónimo, 1511, CORDE.
574. Por que te ruego te quieras contentar... Traducción de *Tirante el Blanco de Joanot Martorell*, Anónimo, 1511, CORDE.
575. Por que os ruego queráys contemplar... Traducción de *Tirante el Blanco de Joanot Martorell*, Anónimo, 1511, CORDE.
576. ...te ruego me quieras dezir quién... Traducción de *Tirante el Blanco de Joanot Martorell*, Anónimo, 1511, CORDE.
577. ...yo te ruego te apartes de dañar... *Floriseo*, Bernal, Fernando, 1516, CORDE.
578. E sin esto, te ruego no quieras usar... *Floriseo*, Bernal, Fernando, 1516, CORDE.
579. ...lo cual os ruego ayáis por bueno porque... *Floriseo*, Bernal, Fernando, 1516, CORDE.
580. ...por mi ruego tomáis muy justa... *Floriseo*, Bernal, Fernando, 1516, CORDE.
581. Entretanto yo vos ruego ayáis paciencia... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
582. Por donde vos ruego queráis mirar... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
583. ...yo vos ruego por merced no me la queráis negar. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
584. ...yo os ruego no dudéis en ello... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.

585. ...por que os ruego me digáis la verdad. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
586. ...antes vos ruego estéis siempre firme... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
587. ...yo hos ruego me perdonéis... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
588. ...y'os ruego queráis muy bien... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
589. ...yo os ruego queráis esforçaros... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
590. ...por que vos ruego me esperéis unos cinco o seis días... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
591. ...yo te ruego corramos dos carreras... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
592. Yo vos ruego me lo queráis dezir. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
593. ...vos mucho ruego no queráis poner la vida en tan gran peligro... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
594. Y os ruego me escriváis... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
595. Señor, yo vos ruego no me queráis matar. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
596. Por que vos mucho ruego me digáis por... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
597. Yo te ruego no quieras mirar mis... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
598. Yo ruego a Nuestro Señor Dios vos quiera guardar... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
599. Yo os mucho ruego me aconsejéis lo... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
600. Y esto te ruego hagas muy presto y no te tardes. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
601. ...y'os mucho ruego penséis mejor en ello. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
602. Por que vos mucho ruego me queráis dar el condado... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
603. ...y por tanto hos mucho ruego mudéis de propósito... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
604. ...yo os mucho ruego me queráis dar consejo... *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
605. Mas yo os mucho ruego por vosotros sea secreto y no sea publicado. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
606. ...por que vos ruego lo fagáis luego venir. *Libro del esforzado caballero Arderique*, Molina, Juan de, 1517, CORDE.
607. ...por amor de Dios os ruego no me atagéis a lo que dixere... Epístolas familiares, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1521-1543, CORDE.
608. Mucho, señor, os ruego no os acontezca otra semejante desgracia... Epístolas familiares, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1521-1543, CORDE.

609. Yo te ruego me digas algo... *Muestra de la lengua castellana en el nascimiento de Hercules o Comedia de Amphitrio*, Pérez de Oliva, Fernán, 1525, CORDE.
610. Os ruego me digáis la cuita... *Polindo*, Anónimo, 1526, CORDE.
611. Por lo cual os ruego de mí tengáis misericordia... *Polindo*, Anónimo, 1526, CORDE.
612. Por lo cual os ruego os consoléis... *Polindo*, Anónimo, 1526, CORDE.
613. Por lo cual os ruego me otorguéis la vida... *Polindo*, Anónimo, 1526, CORDE.
614. ...por lo cual os ruego me dexéis mi camino ir... *Polindo*, Anónimo, 1526, CORDE.
615. ...os ruego me deis gracia para... *Polindo*, Anónimo, 1526, CORDE.
616. ...yo te ruego no me tengas más suspenso. *Lumbre del alma*, Cazalla, Juan de, 1528, CORDE.
617. ...y que la ruego yo me escriba y tenga especial cuidado... Carta de Luis Ramírez á su padre, Ramírez, Luis, 1528, CORDE.
618. Mucho hos ruego no seáis cobdiçiosos... *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1528, CORDE.
619. ...y a los dioses ruego te den la salud... *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1528, CORDE.
620. Mucho te ruego no me descubras... *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1528, CORDE.
621. Por tanto, os ruego me digáis vuestra intención. *La Lozana Andaluza*, Delicado, Francisco, 1528, CORDE.
622. ...ahora te ruego me digas alguno... *La venganza de Agamenón*, Pérez de Oliva, Fernán, 1528, CORDE.
623. ...sino solamente os ruego entendáys bien... *Reloj de príncipes*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1529, CORDE.
624. Mucho te ruego me vengas a ver... *Reloj de príncipes*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1529, CORDE.
625. ...por Jesú Crucificado te ruego me des el agua del Baptismo... *Reloj de príncipes*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1529, CORDE.
626. ...gran dios Júpiter, ruego os sea muy acepto el sacrificio... *Reloj de príncipes*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1529, CORDE.
627. ...mucho os ruego os tratéys como buenos hermanos... *Reloj de príncipes*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1529, CORDE.
628. ...el qual ruego no hizieran si desterraran algún filósofo... *Reloj de príncipes*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1529, CORDE.
629. ...las cosas te ruego seas muy cuydadoso... *Reloj de príncipes*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1529, CORDE.
630. por eso yo te ruego no me encubras las causas de tu venida. *Diálogo de la dignidad del hombre*, Pérez de Oliva, Fernán, 1530, CORDE.
631. ...mas vna cosa te ruego nos digas... *Colloquio de Erasmo*, Virués, Alonso de, 1532, CORDE.
632. Allende de esto, te ruego me digas... *Colloquio de Erasmo*, Virués, Alonso de, 1532, CORDE.
633. Mi[cillo] Yo te ruego me lo cuentes... *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras*, Anónimo, 1535, CORDE.
634. ...yo te ruego mucho me vengas a ver... *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo, 1535, CORDE.

635. ...que lleno os ruego saludéys... *Tercera parte de la tragicomedia de Celestina*, Gómez de Toledo, Gaspar, 1536 CORDE.
636. ...y en tal caso le amonesto y ruego sepa mejor... *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1539, CORDE.
637. ...pero yo te ruego me digas algunas cosas... *Diálogo espiritual*, Montemayor, Jorge de, 1543, CORDE.
638. ...a verdadero cristiano te ruego me digas el camino... *Diálogo espiritual*, Montemayor, Jorge de, 1543, CORDE.
639. ...por tanto vos ruego me digáys qué... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
640. ...todavía os ruego tengáys por bien de me contar... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
641. ...y agora vos ruego me deys licencia... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
642. Por los dioses, os ruego no hagáys tal cosa... *Belianís de Grecia*, Fernández, Jerónimo, 1547, CORDE.
643. ...le ruego me declare qué... *Suma de Filosofía natural*, Fuentes, Alonso de, 1547, CORDE.
644. Lo qual os ruego me perdonéys y prosigamos nuestra passada materia... *Suma de Filosofía natural*, Fuentes, Alonso de, 1547, CORDE.
645. ...yo os ruego esteis alegres... *Crónica del Rey Henrico Octavo de Inglaterra*, Anónimo, 1549, CORDE.
646. ...yo la ruego me perdone si... *Crónica del Rey Henrico Octavo de Inglaterra*, Anónimo, 1549, CORDE.
647. ...y yo te ruego rueges á Dios por... *Crónica del Rey Henrico Octavo de Inglaterra*, Anónimo, 1549, CORDE.
648. ...yo os ruego humildemente me dejéis hacer... *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V*, Santa Cruz, Alonso de, 1550, CORDE.
649. ...después de besarles los pies le ruego quiera tomar todo á bien... *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V*, Santa Cruz, Alonso de, 1550, CORDE.
650. ...pero yo os ruego me contéis la causa... *Peregrinación de la vida del hombre*, Hernández de Villaubrales, Pedro, 1552, CORDE.
651. ...y asimesmo te ruego nos digas cuál... *Peregrinación de la vida del hombre*, Hernández de Villaubrales, Pedro, 1552, CORDE.
652. E a los que viven en el tiempo presente, [...], ruego sea ante sus acatamientos recibida... *Las guerras civiles peruanas*, Cieza de León, Pedro, 1553, CORDE.
653. ...os ruego con toda voluntad queráis hacerlo así... *Las guerras civiles peruanas*, Cieza de León, Pedro, 1553, CORDE.
654. ...todas las cosas te ruego me digas... *El Cróton de Cristóforo Gnofoso*, Villalón, Cristóbal de, 1553, CORDE.
655. ...te ruego me digas la dispusiçión del lugar. *El Cróton de Cristóforo Gnofoso*, Villalón, Cristóbal de, 1553, CORDE.
656. ...por lo qual te ruego no te sea pesadumbre... *El Cróton de Cristóforo Gnofoso*, Villalón, Cristóbal de, 1553, CORDE.
657. Agora te ruego me prestes [tu] atenciõn. *El Cróton de Cristóforo Gnofoso*, Villalón, Cristóbal de, 1553, CORDE.
658. Sólo te ruego no me quieras desamparar... *El Cróton de Cristóforo Gnofoso*, Villalón, Cristóbal de, 1553, CORDE.

659. Y así os ruego no me tengáys a mal... Comedia llamada Florinea, Rodríguez Florián, Juan, 1554, CORDE.
660. ...en tal amor te ruego me ames... Comedia llamada Florinea, Rodríguez Florián, Juan, 1554, CORDE.
661. ... os ruego sea de vos festejado... *Segunda parte del Lazarillo de Tormes*, Anónimo, 1555, CORDE.
662. ...te ruego quieras tener ánimo y... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
663. Mas mucho os ruego me digáis quién sois... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
664. Por tanto, te ruego me digas quién eres... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
665. ...yo os ruego mucho me desengañéis del engaño... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
666. ...mucho os ruego no lo queráis saber... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*, Ortúñez de Calahorra, Diego, 1555, CORDE.
667. ...te ruego acetes lo que te pido. *Endecálogo contra "Antoniana Margarita"*, Sosa, Francisco de, 1556, CORDE.
668. ...y a los presentes ruego sean testigos. Documentos notariales, Hurtado, Alonso Pérez, 1557, CODEA.
669. Á lo menos te ruego quieras con devoción pasar... *Manual de diversas oraciones y espirituales ejercicios*, Granada, Fray Luis de, 1559, CORDE.
670. ...sólo os ruego hagáis todos lo que... *Crónica de la Nueva España*, Cervantes de Salazar, Francisco, 1560, CORDE.
671. ...os pido perdón y ruego me tengáis por amigo... *Diálogo de la verdadera honra militar*, Urrea, Jerónimo de, 1566, CORDE.
672. ...os ruego me dedes vuestra bendicion... *Primera parte del libro del invencible caballero don Clarisel de las Flores*, Urrea, Jerónimo de, 1574, CORDE.
673. ...y al dicho Diego de Guzmán, ruego lo tenga por bien... Documentos notariales, Cepeda, Lorenzo de, 1578, CORDE.
674. A vós os ruego le digáis de mi parte... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros, segunda parte*, Sierra, Pedro de la, 1580, CORDE.
675. ...te ruego no uses de piedad conmigo. *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros, segunda parte*, Sierra, Pedro de la, 1580, CORDE.
676. ...os ruego perdonéis mi ira... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros, segunda parte*, Sierra, Pedro de la, 1580, CORDE.
677. ...te ruego alces la visera del yelmo... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros, segunda parte*, Sierra, Pedro de la, 1580, CORDE.
678. Entretanto, os ruego me aguardéis entre... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros, segunda parte*, Sierra, Pedro de la, 1580, CORDE.
679. A vós invoco y ruego os seáis de mi parte. *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros, segunda parte*, Sierra, Pedro de la, 1580, CORDE.
680. Cavallero, por los dioses os ruego me recojáis en vuestra... *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros, segunda parte*, Sierra, Pedro de la, 1580, CORDE.
681. ...de que ruego a Nuestro Señor guarde y acreziente vida y estado de la iluxtrísima... Cartas privadas, Duquesa de Huéscar, 1581, CODEA.
682. ...y así te ruego no la tengas... *El Pastor de Fílida*, Gálvez de Montalvo, Luis, 1582, CORDE.

683. Sólo os ruego seáis servidas de llevar... *La Galatea*, Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, 1585, CORDE.
684. ...te ruego me la declares... *La Galatea*, Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, 1585, CORDE.
685. ...yo te ruego hayas dolor en mí... *Philosophía secreta de la gentilidad*, Pérez de Moya, Juan, 1585, CORDE.
686. ...os ruego me digáys qué... *La historia de Rosián de Castilla*, Romero de Cepeda, Joaquín, 1586, CORDE.
687. ...y os ruego , señor Vgo, prosigáys en la cosa... *Filosofía antigua poética*, López Pinciano, Alonso, 1596, CORDE.
688. Yo os ruego , pues le tenéys por vezino, os aprouechéys de sus razones... *Filosofía antigua poética*, López Pinciano, Alonso, 1596, CORDE.
689. ...ruego a los que lo leyeren lo atribuyan a buena parte... *Traducción de los libros de Historia natural de los animales de Plinio*, Huerta, Jerónimo de, 1599, CORDE.
690. A los lectores e oidores ruego me perdonen e suplan las faltas... *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V*, Sandoval, Fray Prudencio de, 1604, CORDE.
691. Ruego a su Magestad se les conserve muchos años... *Cartas privadas*, López, Mosén Lorenzo, 1608, CODEA.
692. ...os ruego una y mil veces me deis la muerte... *Noches de invierno*, Eslava, Antonio de, 1609, CORDE.
693. ...os ruego paséis adelante... *El pasajero*, Suárez de Figueroa, Cristóbal, 1617, CORDE.
694. ...al cual os ruego tratéis con el secreto... *Historias peregrinas y ejemplares*, Céspedes y Meneses, Gonzalo de, 1623, CORDE.
695. ...que te ruego cierres con la llave... *La Cintia de Aranjuez*, Corral, Gabriel del, 1629, CORDE.
696. ...porque te ruego no te dejes engañar tan fácilmente... *La mojiganga del gusto*, Sanz del Castillo, Andrés, 1641, CORDE.
697. Y ruego a vuestra excelencia no se desconsuele en su soledad. *Cartas privadas*, Jesús, Sor María de, 1649, CODEA.
698. ...te ruego no te anieblen estás nubes oscuras... *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura*, Martínez, Jusepe, 1673, CORDE.
699. ...y ruego les busque y visite de mi parte... *Cartas privadas*, Boyer, Fray Octavio, 1678, CODEA.
700. Solo ruego a vuestras reverencias manden a los que... *Cartas privadas*, Florinda Joán, 1690, CODEA.
701. ...y dize que te ruega le quieras embiar a dezir... *Traducción de Tirante el Blanco de Joanot Martorell*, Anónimo, 1511, CORDE.
702. ...os ruega salgáis a esta su ciudad e que allí os conocerá... *Floriseo*, Bernal, Fernando, 1516, CORDE.
703. ...que os ruega os apartéis d'ella e toméis por muger una su sobrina... *Floriseo*, Bernal, Fernando, 1516, CORDE.
704. ...porque él os ruega secretamente le vaya a ver... *Carajicomedia*, Anónimo, 1519, CORDE.
705. Faustina te ruega se los embíes a otro camino. *Reloj de príncipes*, Guevara, Fray Antonio de, 1529, CORDE.
706. ...loqual os Ruega muy encargadamente questo sea muybie<n> considerado... *Informes y relaciones*, Anónimo, 1542, CODEA.



707. ...en que me ruega os escriba quedeis con él... *Crónica del Rey Henrico Octavo de Ingalaterra*, Anónimo, 1549, CORDE.
708. ...y le ruega le cuente como auia... *Diálogos de la vida del soldado*, Núñez Alba, Diego, 1552, CORDE.
709. ...de la que se ruega no le quebraré los braços ni descorcharé... Comedia llamada Florinea, Rodríguez Florián, Juan, 1554, CORDE.
710. ...y ruega lo respectéis... *Crónica de la Nueva España*, Cervantes de Salazar, Francisco, 1560, CORDE.
711. ...y le ruega lo perdone y sea su amigo. *Diálogo de la verdadera honra militar*, Urrea, Jerónimo de, 1566, CORDE.
712. ...te ruega le pidas perdón... Sermón: *Modo de predicar y modus concionandi*, Estella, Fray Diego de, 1570, CORDE.
713. ...les ruega mucho passen como... *Tercera parte de la Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo*, Sigüenza, Fray José, 1605, CORDE.
714. ...les ruega se hospeden en su tabernaculo... *Tercera parte de la Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo*, Sigüenza, Fray José, 1605, CORDE.
715. ...y le ruega vaya a cenar esta noche... *Discurso de mi vida*, Contreras, Alonso de, 1630, CORDE.
716. Su autor te ruega no mires a la corteza... *Aventuras del Bachiller Trapaza*, Castillo Solórzano, Alonso de, 1637, CORDE.

## Appendix 2: Current-day Spanish Corpus

1. Creo sería más correcto que hubiera dicho “de los nacionalistas de este pueblo”... “Claridad, sr. Vicario”, *El Diario Vasco*, San Sebastián: Sociedad Vascongada de Publicaciones, 2001, CORPES XXI.
2. ...y que creo conoce mucha gente por... *Los bolos. Recuerdos y Reflexiones*, Cabello, Modesto, 2001, CORPES XXI.
3. ...una espectacularidad que, a mi juicio, creo le falta... *Los bolos. Recuerdos y Reflexiones*, Cabello, Modesto, 2001, CORPES XXI.
4. ...lo que no creo sea bueno para el escaso... *Dios se ha ido*, García Sánchez, Javier, 2003, CORPES XXI.
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140. Me alegra le placieran a usted las cartas de mi amigo... *La verdad está en el límite. El cálculo infinitesimal*, Durán Guardado, Antonio J., 2011, CORPES XXI.
141. Le ruego me disculpe. *El pasamanos*, Pedrero, Paloma, 2001, CORPES XXI.
142. ...y te ruego les reiteres mi invitación... “*Un relato irrelevante*”. *El ruido de las miradas*, Criado, Ana, 2001, CORPES XXI.
143. En primer lugar le ruego suprimamos el tratamiento. “*El honor de la patria*”. *Cuadros de amor y humor, al fresco*, Alonso de Santos, José Luis, 2001, CORPES XXI.
144. Le ruego me responda con toda sinceridad. *La sombra del viento*, Ruiz Zafón, Carlos, 2001, CORPES XXI.
145. ...hiciéramos / una fotocopia les ruego la tomen ustedes la tienen ustedes en la documentación... CORALES: Presentación del Diccionario de la Real Academia Española, 11/10/01, 2001, CORPES XXI.
146. ...por favor / les ruego sean preguntas si es posible no... CORALES: Mesa redonda sobre "La radio en español", en el II Congreso Internacional de la Lengua Española, 17/10/01, 2001, CORPES XXI.
147. ...por lo que le ruego me disculpe // prefiero no hacer... Rueda de prensa del Consejo de Ministros del Gobierno Español, 2001, CORPES XXI.

148. ...y señor Rodríguez Zapatero le ruego concluya por favor... CORALES: *Debate sobre el Estado de la Nación: intervención de Rodríguez Zapatero*, 15/07/02, Onda Cero, 2002, CORPES XXI.
149. ...señorías / les ruego guarden silencio a ambos lados... CORALES: *Debate sobre el Estado de la Nación: intervención de Rodríguez Zapatero*, 15/07/02, Onda Cero, 2002, CORPES XXI.
150. Le ruego procedan a efectuar las correcciones oportunas... Legal document: EDJ 2002/26620 STS (Social) de 30 mayo de 2002, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
151. Les ruego salgan inmediatamente y solucionen sus diferencias... *El adivino oriental*, Sáez Echevarría, Carlos, 2003, CORPES XXI.
152. ...y ruego no se tenga en cuenta la expresión en sentido... *Dios se ha ido*, García Sánchez, Javier, 2003, CORPES XXI.
153. ...y por ello le ruego no vuelva a importunarme más... *Principiantes. Inventario de comienzos sin final feliz*, Albero, Miguel, 2004, CORPES XXI.
154. Le ruego me deje pasar. *El sonido de tu boca*, Alvear, Inmaculada, 2004, CORPES XXI.
155. Ruego me permitan la licencia ¿poética? de utilizar... “¿profesionales fantasmas?”, Canut, Pedro J.: blogespierre. e-derecho y sociedad del conocimiento, 2005, CORPES XXI.
156. ...en consecuencia ruego inserten los términos... “FALLO GRAVE DE SEGURIDAD EN LA AEAT”. Canut, Pedro J.: blogespierre. e-derecho y sociedad del conocimiento, 2005, CORPES XXI.
157. Manolo, te ruego descifres lo que está... *El precio de una sombra*, Rupérez, Javier, 2005, CORPES XXI.
158. ...les ruego hagan el favor de no... *Observación en torno al concepto de la serendipia*, Menchero, Juan, 2005, CORPES XXI.
159. ...a fin de cubrir nuevos gastos ocasionados, ruego se sirva hacerme nueva provisión de fondos... Legal document: EDJ 2006/319118 STS (Penal) de 30 noviembre de 2006, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
160. Ruego disculpen la omisión de razones... “La ópera prima del señor Poe” *javicrespo.blogspot.com.es*, 2006, CORPES XXI.
161. ...le ruego me disculpe... *Palabras bajo el mar*, Trías de Bes, Fernando, 2006, Corpes XXI.
162. Le ruego me escuche un minuto más antes... “No tiene por qué enterarse”. *Letralia*, Hernández Pérez, Pablo, 2007, CORPES XXI.
163. Le ruego se marche cuanto antes. “*El mejor trabajo de Elsa*”. *Teatro Promoción Resad 2006*, Díez, Mar, 2007, CORPES XXI.
164. Una vez más le ruego se abstenga de seguir remitiéndome... Legal document: EDJ 2007/199896 STS (Militar) de 2 octubre de 2007, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
165. ...ruego me lo confirme ustedes tal acto... Legal document: EDJ 2007/230154 STS (Social) de 12 noviembre de 2007, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
166. ...os ruego lo hagáis extensible al resto de... *La cena*, Boadella, Albert, 2008, CORPES XXI.

167. ...ruego bendigas e intercedas por... *Dentro de la tierra*, Bezerra, Paco, 2008, CORPES XXI.
168. ...buenos días // ruego disculpen el retraso... Rueda de prensa del Consejo de Ministros del Gobierno Español, 2008, CORPES XXI.
169. Así que la ruego se sirva dar instrucciones... "*Mediocritas. El inspector*". *Cuando leas esta carta, yo habré muerto*, García Simón, Agustín, 2009, CORPES XXI.
170. Le ruego tenga en consideración mis trastornos... *Ser o no ser*, Lafuente García, Antonio, 2009, CORPES XXI.
171. Ruego me firme el duplicado de esta comunicación... Legal document: EDJ 2009/32348 STS (Social) de 9 febrero de 2009, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
172. En todo caso, les ruego me comuniquen la forma de... Legal document: EDJ 2010/254046 STS (Social) de 24 noviembre de 2010, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
173. ...le ruego se ponga en contacto conmigo... *Invitación a un asesinato*, Posadas, Carmen, 2010, CORPES XXI.
174. ...cuya copia le ruego se sirva firmar en señal de recibí... Legal document: EDJ 2011/333402 STS (Social) de 27 diciembre de 2011, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
175. Te ruego me firmes el duplicado de la presente a los solos... Legal document: EDJ 2011/15505 STC (Primera) de 28 febrero de 2011, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
176. ...por eso le ruego le exima del castigo y me deje a mí cumplirlo a solas. *El valle de las sombras*, Tristante, Jerónimo, 2011, CORPES XXI.
177. ...la adjudicación del puesto, ruego me sean notificados los siguientes extremos referidos... Legal document: EDJ 2012/435402 STS (Civil) de 21 abril de 2012, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
178. Le ruego me disculpe, señor. *El sueño de la ciudad*, Vidal, Andrés, 2012, CORPES XXI.
179. Les ruego acepten mi agradecimiento. *El sueño de la ciudad*, Vidal, Andrés, 2012, CORPES XXI.
180. Les ruego acepten sus disculpas... *El asesino hipocondríaco*, Muñoz Rengel, Juan Jacinto, 2012, CORPES XXI.
181. Le ruego se ponga en contacto... *La ciudad oscura*, Rojano, Antonio, 2013, CORPES XXI.
182. Por todo lo anterior, ruego deje sin efecto alguno el escrito que... Legal document: EDJ 2014/611314 STS (Civil) de 4 mayo de 2014, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
183. Le ruego firme el recibí de esta comunicación, haciendo constar... Legal document: EDJ 2014/228379 STS (Social) de 20 noviembre de 2014, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
184. Le ruego firme esta comunicación a los meros efectos de recibo... Legal document: EDJ 2015/437371 STS (Civil) de 10 mayo de 2015, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
185. Le ruego tome asiento. *Sustancia negra. La increíble aventura de Insecto Palo*, Hernández, Julián, 2015, CORPES XXI.
186. Te lo ruego, Marga, no empecemos con misterios. *La mediadora*, Sánchez Adalid, Jesús, 2015, CORPES XXI.

187. ...que obligue en sentido contrario, le ruego nos la haga llegar. Legal document: EDJ 2019/85604 STS (Civil) de 12 marzo de 2019, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
188. Atendiendo a todo lo anterior, [...], ruego considere el presente escrito como QUEJA... Legal document: EDJ 2019/53531 STS (Civil) de 10 febrero de 2019, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
189. por el que se ruego se tenga por personada a la... Legal document: EDJ 2000/37195 STC (Pleno) de 16 noviembre de 2000, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
190. Oficina zona Noroeste en la que ruego comuniquen a vuelta de fax, los gastos... Legal document: EDJ 2001/31154 STS (Social) de 29 junio de 2001, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
191. El señor Collbató le ruego le disculpe... *La sombra del viento*, Ruiz Zafón, Carlos, 2001, CORPES XXI.
192. Su madre ruego le den colocación para... *La pasión según las fieras*, Royuela, Fernando, 2003, CORPES XXI.
193. ...le ruego lo tenga al tanto de... *El Quijote antes del cinema*, Villanueva, Darío, 2008, CORPES XXI.
194. ...la cual se ruego sea entregada en mano a los funcionarios de esta unidad... Legal document: EDJ 2013/89566 STS (Penal) de 22 mayo de 2013, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
195. ...por lo que le ruego se abstengan de continuar con la presentación... Legal document: EDJ 2017/215958 STS (Social) de 28 septiembre de 2017, Lefebvre el-Derecho.
196. ...comprobada la factura y siendo de conformidad se ruego se pague por transferencia con... Legal document: EDJ 2018/55954 STS (Penal) de 8 mayo de 2018, Lefebvre el-Derecho.



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