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## A sentence mood account for Spanish verum

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This article argues in favor of the idea that verum can result from focus marking on sentence mood. The empirical base are verum strategies in Spanish, English and German. It is shown that all of them result from stress on sentence mood, even though the strategies to express verum in the three languages appear unrelated on a superficial level: German and English rely on stress on a finite verb, Spanish inserts a particle. In the article, a semantic and syntactic account complete each other. The semantic approach is a revised version of Lohnstein's sentence mood theory of verum focus. The effect of verum in different sentence moods is derived by the function each mood has and the alternatives that focus on them generates. The syntactic analysis is modeled in a cartographic framework (Rizzi 1997 et seq.) and motivates a projection in the lower section of the left periphery dedicated to sentence mood. A focus feature in this projection results in the verum interpretation of the proposition. The principal argument developed in this article is that the superficial differences across languages and clause types result from the fact that the focused mood feature is checked in different configurations.

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## 1 Introduction

This article deals with a particle based verum strategy in Spanish that will be compared to the semantically equivalent strategies in German and English. All three languages have a variety of different ways to achieve an effect akin to verum. The empirical focus of this article is on the three strategies that are given in (1). The reason that these are chosen is because they can be shown to result from stress on sentence mood. It is possible that in other strategies the verum effect arises for different reasons and warrant a different analysis. In the English strategy in (1-a), verum is expressed through stress on an auxiliary. In the German strategy, it is expressed through stress on the finite verb (1-b). Finally, in the Spanish strategy relevant here, a particle is inserted (1-c).

- (1) A: I don't know whether John is coming to the party or not.
- a. *English*<sup>1</sup>  
B: He **IS** coming.
  - b. *German*  
B: Er **KOMMT**.  
he comes
  - c. *Spanish*  
B: Sí (que) viene.  
PART QUE comes

In the Spanish verum construction, *sí* can be followed by *que*. I indicate this throughout this article by placing *que* in parenthesis. This should not be taken to mean that *que* is optional. On the contrary, the presence of *que* does have an effect on the interpretation of verum sentences: See Kocher (2022) who analyzes *que* as an expression that attributes a commitment to *p* to the hearer. In verum sentences this commitment attribution results in an emphatic insistence of the speaker that the hearer is (also) committed to *p*. In recent work, Villa-García & Rodríguez (2020a; b) argue that there are actually three constructions in Spanish that superficially look alike: There are the two verum-variants, *sí que* and the *que*-less counterpart *sí*  $\emptyset$ , which are able to co-occur with sentence negation. Additionally, there is a third construction which, according to the authors, is a bare *sí* that is never followed by *que* and that functions as a marker of emphatic affirmation. It differs from verum-*sí* in particular because it cannot be combined with sentence negation. The present article only deals with the former two constructions.

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<sup>1</sup> The English example requires progressive rather than simple present tense for the intended meaning. The English simple present tense differs from its Spanish and German equivalents in that it gives rise to a habitual reading. Stative events easily lend themselves to this reading but it is harder to accommodate such a reading for dynamic events like *coming to a party* in (1) without additional adverbial modification.

The theoretical aim of the present article is to corroborate Lohnstein's sentence mood theory of verum focus and to show that it can account not only for verb-stress verum in German and English, which Lohnstein based his theory on, but also for particle verum in Spanish.

In a nutshell, the proposal is the following: Verum focus is focus on sentence mood. There is a projection in the lower section of the left periphery dedicated to sentence moods that is labeled MoodP. Focus on mood is represented by a focus feature on the mood feature. The superficial differences in the expression of verum in the three languages result from independent parametric differences that condition verb movement. In German declaratives, the finite verb reaches MoodP, so the focus feature is expressed directly as stress on the verb. In English, the lexical verb remains in VP. The sentence mood feature is inherited by TP where an auxiliary is stressed. In Spanish, neither finite lexical nor auxiliary verbs reach the left peripheral MoodP in a declarative, nor is the feature inherited by TP, therefore the particle *sí* is introduced in SpecMoodP where focus is then realized. Crucial evidence for my proposal comes from verum in certain non-declarative sentence types, in which the ungrammaticality of Spanish *sí* follows from the fact that MoodP is occupied, hindering the merger of *sí*.

The article is organized as follows: Section 2 presents the notion of verum. Section 2.1 marks out the empirical base. Section 3 lays out my revised version of the sentence mood theory of verum focus. Section 4 relates this theory to Rizzi (1997)'s cartographic approach. Section 4.1 deals with verb movement. In section 4.2 I present my analysis of verum focus in declaratives, and in section 4.3 I present my analysis for verum focus in interrogatives and imperatives. In section 4.4, I extend the analysis to embedded verum focused declaratives. Finally, in section 5, I conclude.

## 2 On verum

This section presents a descriptive approach toward what is usually meant with the term *verum*. It also illustrates the pragmatic felicity conditions that govern its use. The conception of verum as focus on sentence mood, that is at the core of this article, is developed in detail in section 3.

Höhle (1992) describes the meaning of verum as *emphasizing the expression of truth of a proposition*. An intuitive paraphrase of the verum focus strategy in (2) would therefore be 'It is true that John is coming to the party'.

- (2) John IS coming to the party.  
 ~'It is true that John is coming to the party.'

There are certain pragmatic requirements that have to be met in order to felicitously utter a verum focused proposition. A common insight in the literature is that verum focus is only felicitous if the

proposition  $p$ , and its negation  $not\ p$  constitute a question under discussion (cf. Ginzburg 1996; Roberts 1996; Engdahl 2006). This means that, in order to felicitously utter *John is coming to the party.*, whether he is coming or not needs to be a question that the interlocutors are currently trying to resolve. Gutzmann et al. (2020) show that an even stronger requirement must be met: There either needs to be a conflict between salient alternatives ( $p$  or  $not\ p$  for a declarative) or the verum sentence needs to constitute the final settlement of a question (regarding salient alternatives). The first case is illustrated in (3). Speaker A puts the question whether  $p$  or  $not\ p$  on the table, which renders speaker B's verum focus reply felicitous.

- (3) A: I don't know whether John is coming to the party or not.  
B: He IS coming.

The scenario of a final settling of a question is illustrated in (4). A committee of four people decide on a Mars mission that requires a unanimous vote. Only in the case when all the previous votes were positive, verum is licensed in the last vote.

- (4) D: Let's vote. Should we start a Mars mission or should we not start a Mars mission?  
A: We start a Mars mission. / # We DO start a Mars mission.  
B: We start a Mars mission. / # We DO start a Mars mission.  
C: We start a Mars mission. / # We DO start a Mars mission.  
D: Alright, we DO start a Mars mission.  
(Gutzmann et al. 2020: 14: ex 34)

Conversely, verum is infelicitous in out-of-the-blue contexts like the one in (5), where whether John is coming or not is unlikely to be a question under discussion.

- (5) Have you heard the news? #John IS coming.

Gutzmann (2012) and Gutzmann et al. (2020) furthermore show that it is actually not sufficient for the proposition and its negation to be a question under discussion, since the propositional content of the verum-sentence also needs to be given. In (6), John's activities are introduced as a question under discussion. For the sake of the present example, consider that the set of salient activities include John's coming to the party and his not-coming to the party. This means that whether  $p$  or  $not\ p$  constitutes a question under discussion in the context, but crucially,  $p$  is not given. B's verum focus response to A's question is infelicitous. The declarative with the same propositional content, yet without verum focus, is felicitous.

- (6) A: What is John doing?  
B: #He IS coming.  
B': He's coming.

The data in (3)–(6) illustrate the English verum strategy. In (7) and (8) I show that German and Spanish verum are felicitous and infelicitous in much the same contexts. Therefore, all of them, in fact, qualify as verum strategies.

(7) a. *German*

A: Ich frage mich, ob Hans auch zur Feier kommt. B: Er KOMMT.

I ask myself whether Hans too to-the party comes he comes

‘A: I wonder whether Hans will come to the party. B: He WILL come.’

b. Hast du schon gehört? #Hans KOMMT zur Feier.

have you already heard Hans comes to-the party

‘Have you heard the news? #John IS coming.’

c. A: Was macht Hans? B: #Er KOMMT. B’: Er kommt.

what does Hans he comes he comes

‘A: What is Hans doing? B: #He IS coming. B’: He’s coming.’

(8) a. *Spanish*

A: Me pregunto si Juan viene a la fiesta. B: Sí (que) viene.

myself ask whether Juan comes to the party PART QUE comes

‘A: I wonder whether Juan will come to the party. B: He WILL come.’

b. ¿Te has enterado? #Juan sí (que) viene.

CL.2SG have found out Juan PART QUE comes

‘Have you heard the news? #John IS coming.’

c. A: ¿Qué hace Juan? B: #Sí (que) viene. B’: Viene.

what does Juan PART QUE comes comes

‘A: What is Juan doing? B: #He IS coming. B’: He’s coming.’

In (7-a) and (8-a), the verum focused sentence is felicitously uttered in a context where its propositional content and its negation are given and they are questions under discussion. In (7-b), (8-b) the same sentence is infelicitous in an out-of-the-blue context. Finally, (7-c) and (8-c) show that the verum focused sentence is infelicitous when its propositional content is not given.

## 2.1 The empirical base

The empirical base of the present investigation are the verum strategies in Spanish, English and German illustrated in (1). The three languages also possess other strategies that can result in an interpretation similar to verum focus for instance relying on adverbs such as English *really*, German *wirklich* or Spanish *de verdad*. For Spanish, furthermore a left peripheral use of *bien (que)* ‘well (that)’ (Hernanz 2007) and a syntactic fronting strategy by which not the fronted expression but the whole proposition is contrastively focused (Escandell-Vidal & Leonetti 2009a),

have been described as giving rise to emphatic polarity or verum. Although a comparison of the precise meaning would certainly be interesting, these alternative strategies are not part of the empirical base of the present article. But see Kocher (2023) for a comparison of different strategies in Spanish. The reason I focus on the ones presented in (1) is that in these strategies verum focus can be shown to result from focus on sentence mood. In the other cases, the verum interpretation might arise for different reasons.

In German declaratives, verum focus is marked through prosodic stress on the finite verb (Höhle 1992; Lohnstein 2016) (cf. (9-a) and (9-b)).

(9) a. *German*

A: Ich frage mich, ob Hans auch zur Feier kommt. B: Er KOMMT.  
 I ask myself whether Hans too to-the party comes he comes  
 ‘A: I wonder whether Hans will come to the party. B: He WILL come.’

- b. A: Ich frage mich, ob Hans auch zur Feier gekommen ist.  
 I ask myself whether Hans too to-the party come is  
 B: Er IST gekommen.  
 He is come  
 ‘A: I wonder whether Hans has come to the party. B: He HAS come.’

Superficially, the German strategy is ambiguous: In addition to verum focus, it can also be interpreted as focus on the lexical verb, compare (9-a) to (10-a), or as focus on TAM, compare (10-b) to (9-b).

(10) a. *German*

A: Schlägt Hans den Hund? B: Nein, er STREICHELt ihn.  
 hits Hans the dog no he pets it  
 ‘A: Does Hans hit the dog? B: No, he PETS it.

- b. A: Wird Hans zur Feier kommen? B: Er IST gekommen.  
 will Hans to-the party come he is come  
 ‘A: Will Hans come to the party? B: He HAS come.

In English declaratives, verum focus is expressed by stressing an auxiliary verb. In analytic tenses like in (11-b), the corresponding auxiliary is stressed. In synthetic tenses, the auxiliary *do* is inserted and stressed (11).

- (11) a. A: I wonder whether John eats meat.  
 B: He DOES eat meat.  
 b. A: I wonder whether John will come to the party.  
 B: He HAS come already.

In English, only TAM focus is syncretic with verum focus. Focus on the lexical verb is expressed through stress on the verb itself (cf. the translations of (10)).

In Spanish, irrespective of whether the tense is synthetic (12-a) or analytic (12-b), the particle *sí* can be used to express verum focus (Batllori & Hernanz 2008; Escandell-Vidal & Leonetti 2009a, 2009b; Escandell-Vidal 2011; Kocher 2017; 2019; 2022; 2023; Villa-García & Rodríguez 2020a; b). The particle can be followed by the complementizer *que*. The pragmatic function of *que* is described in detail in Kocher (2022). Again, in this article I am only interested in the Spanish strategy that is associated with a verum meaning. A recent analysis of *sí* as a marker of emphatic affirmation can be found in Villa-García & Rodríguez (2020b).

(12) a. *Spanish*

A: Me pregunto si Juan viene a la fiesta. B: Sí (que) viene.  
 myself ask whether Juan comes to the party PART QUE comes  
 ‘A: I wonder whether Juan will come to the party. B: He WILL come.’

- b. A: Me pregunto si Juan ha venido a la fiesta. B: Sí (que)  
 myself ask whether Juan has come to the party PART QUE  
 ha venido.  
 has come  
 ‘A: I wonder whether Juan has come to the party. B: He HAS come.’

In Spanish, neither focus on the lexical verb (13-a) nor TAM focus (13-b) is syncretic with verum focus. Both are realized as stress directly on the lexical or auxiliary verb.

(13) a. *Spanish*

A: ¿Pega al perro? B: No, lo ACARICIA.  
 hits DOM-the dog no it pets  
 ‘A: Does he hit the dog? B: No, he PETS it.’

- b. A: ¿Llegará Juan a la fiesta? B: HA llegado.  
 will-come Juan to the party has come  
 ‘A: Will Juan come to the party? B: He HAS come.’

For the present proposal, the behavior of verum focus in non-declarative clause types is of central interest. Verum focus in polar question is illustrated in (14). In English, just as in declaratives, there is stress on an auxiliary (14-a). Similarly, in German in (14-b), stress falls on the finite verb. The same happens in *wh*-questions: English and German, just as in a declarative, respectively stress an auxiliary (15-a) or (15-b) the finite verb.

(14) A: Charles is writing a book. B: No, Charles is not writing a book.

a. *English*

C: So IS Charles writing a book?

b. *German*

C: Was den nun? SCHREIBT Karl ein Buch?  
 what MOD.PART now writes Karl a book  
 (Gutzmann 2012: 31: ex 91)

c. *Spanish*

C: ¿Entonces qué? ¿Sí (\*que) escribe un libro?  
 then what PART QUE writes a book

(15) A: Charles lives in Seville. B: That's not true. He lives in Granada.

a. *English*

C: So where DOES Charles live?

b. *German*

C: Was den nun? Wo WOHNT Karl?  
 what MOD.PART now where lives Karl

c. *Spanish*

C: ¿Entonces qué? ¿Dónde vive (de verdad)? / #¿Dónde sí vive?  
 then what where lives really where PART lives

The case is more complex in Spanish: While *sí*, but not *sí que*, is attested in polar questions to express verum (15-c), the same is not true for Spanish wh-questions. In these, verum is either left unmarked or a lexical strategy with the adverbial *de verdad* is used (14-c).

The fact that *sí* in polar questions cannot be combined with *que* can be explained straightforwardly from the pragmatic function of *que* Kocher (2022): It is used to attribute a commitment to the proposition to the hearer. The effect of *que* in polar questions is that the speaker is biased to expect an affirmative answer from the hearer. In verum focused polar questions, however, there is no speaker bias. On the contrary, the speaker does not express their expectation of one answer over the other. Rather, they are confronted with incompatible information and press the interlocutors to give the true answer and possibly to support their commitment to *p* with further evidence.

In Spanish wh-questions, verum is not expressed by *sí*. It will be argued that this is due to the fact that the position *sí* would be merged in, is occupied by the wh-operator (see section 4.3). There are, however, cases where *sí* follows the wh-expression in wh-questions. These are not verum focused wh-questions. They are rather cases where a contrast is established between alternative expressions. It usually appears in a context where the same wh-expression followed by the negative particle *no* is given.

(16) a. ¿Qué sí y qué no cabe en el mundo Kujo?  
 what PART and what not fits in the world Kujo  
 'What does and what doesn't fit into Kujo's world?' (CdE)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Corpus del Español, <https://www.corpusdelespanol.org/>.

- b. ¿Qué no debe hacer ante la picadura de alacrán? [ ... ] ¿Qué  
 what not should do in view of the sting of scorpion what  
 sí debemos hacer ante la picadura de un alacrán?  
 PART should do in view of the sting of a scorpion  
 ‘What should I not do in the case of a scorpion sting? What should we do in case of  
 a scorpion sting?’ (CdE)

The alternatives that positively satisfy the proposition are not given in the previous context but only follow once the question has been asked. This is different from the *verum*-context in (15), where alternative answers are already given and the speaker presses the interlocutors to give the true answer, in other words the speaker presses the interlocutors to commit to one of the given alternatives and potentially provide support for it.

*Sí (que)* can also be found in echoic questions like (17) (cf. also Villa-García & Rodríguez 2020a; b).

(17) *Spanish*

- A: Sí que viene Juan. B: No te he entendido: ¿Quién sí que viene?  
 PART QUE comes Juan not CL have understood who PART QUE comes  
 ‘A: Juan IS coming. B: I haven’t understood (what you said): Who IS coming?’

Finally, *verum* focus in imperatives is illustrated in (18). Spanish does not permit *sí (que)* (18-c) while German and English stress the imperative verb.

- (18) A: John, please grab a chair. B: (*no reaction*) A: Darling, would you please grab a chair?  
 B: (*no reaction*)

a. *English*

A: GRAB a chair at once!

b. *German*

A: Jetzt NIMM dir endlich den Stuhl!  
 now GRAB yourself finally the chair  
 (Gutzmann 2012: 31, ex 93)

c. *Spanish*

A: ¡Cógete una silla de una vez! / \*¡Sí (que) cógete una silla de una vez!  
 grab-CL a chair at once PART QUE grab a chair at once

This brief presentation of the empirical base shows that German and English make use of roughly the same strategy irrespective of the clause type. The case is different in Spanish: The *sí (que)*-strategy is only grammatical in declaratives and polar questions and ungrammatical in *wh*-questions and imperatives. In section 4, I review these facts again and show how they follow from the analyses I develop in this article.

### 3 A (revised) sentence mood theory of verum focus

The theoretical backdrop to the analyses I present in section 4 is a revised version of Lohnstein's (2016) sentence mood theory of verum focus. Before going into the details of the theory, I would like to briefly address the terminological issue of distinguishing *sentence mood* and *clause type*. The two terms are often used interchangeably as they are closely related concepts. However, while clause types are grammatically defined classes of sentences (declarative, imperative, interrogative), sentence moods (also declarative, imperative, interrogative), according to Portner (2017), tell us how clause types are used to perform conversational functions. Clause type and sentence mood often coincide, for instance in English there are three clause types and three sentence moods. In languages that have a more finely grained mood distinction, this is however not the case (see for instance Sadock & Zwicky 1985; König & Siemund 2007). Therefore, clause type and sentence mood cannot always be identified with one another.

- (19) a. *Italian*  
 Mi chiedo se ci siano corsi d'inglese.  
 me ask if there are.SUBJ courses of English  
 'I wonder whether there are English courses.' (Portner 2017: 5: ex 1)
- b. Ci sono corsi d'inglese?  
 there are courses of English  
 'Are there English courses?'

The clause type of the embedded sentence in (19-a) is interrogative, but its subjunctive verbal mood means that it cannot be used as a root sentence to ask a question. This means it does not have an interrogative sentence mood because it cannot perform the conversational function of an interrogative. In other words, (19-a) does not add *Are there English courses?* to the top of the stack of questions under discussion. Although an interlocutor might answer the embedded question (*I think so.*, *There are.*), they cannot use the simple answer particles (*yes/no*) in this context. A felicitous context, however, would also be one where the interlocutor does not answer the embedded question at all (*That would be useful.*; *What makes you wonder?*). The clause type of the main sentence in (19-b) is interrogative because it has the grammatical properties of an Italian polar question expressed through word order and intonation. Contrary to the embedded sentence in (19-a), it also has the sentence mood of an interrogative because it can perform the dedicated conversational function of asking a question. It is added to the stack of questions under discussion and a cooperative interlocutor will do their best to resolve the question by answering it.

The approach to verum focus that is adopted here differs from most others proposed in the literature in that it does not assume that there is a verum operator responsible for the interpretation. Gutzmann (2012) and Gutzmann et al. (2020) broadly distinguish two types of analyses of verum based on their theoretical conceptions. The focus accent thesis assumes that

verum is a silent operator that is always present and can be focused (Höhle 1992; Büring 2006). The lexical operator thesis assumes that verum is a conversational operator (Romero & Han 2004; Romero 2005; Lai 2012; Gutzmann & Castroviejo 2011; Gutzmann et al. 2020). The operator is only present if verum is realized and is otherwise absent. As stated above, in Lohnstein’s sentence mood theory of verum focus, no dedicated verum operator is assumed. The verum interpretation results from focus on a sentence mood feature.<sup>3</sup>

In **Table 1** the central properties of prominent versions of the focus accent and the lexical operator theses are compared to the (revised) sentence mood theory of verum focus.

verum meaning contributed	<i>FAT</i> : stressed verum operator	<i>LOT</i> : conversational operator	<i>SMT</i> : by-product of focus on mood feature
focus	yes	no	yes
in every sentence	yes	no	yes
non-declaratives	no	no	yes
embedded contexts	no	no	yes

**Table 1:** Comparison of the focus accent thesis by Höhle (1992) (*FAT*), the lexical operator thesis by Gutzmann et al. (2020) (*LOT*) and the (revised) sentence mood theory (*SMT*).

The central difference between the three accounts is how verum is conceptualized: In the focus accent thesis by Höhle (1992), verum is a silent predicate of truth. In the lexical operator thesis by Gutzmann et al. (2020), the meaning of the conversational operator is a type of use conditional meaning that licenses verum in a context where the speaker wants to prevent a downgrading of the current question under discussion with  $\neg p$ . In my revised sentence mood theory of verum focus, the verum meaning results from the function associated with each sentence mood. For declaratives it results in a stressed commitment to  $p$ . The three accounts take different positions with respect to focus. In the focus accent thesis and the sentence mood theory verum is focus, in the lexical operator thesis it is not. The accounts furthermore differ in their assumptions about the presence of the operator. In the focus accent thesis a verum operator is present in every sentence. The verum meaning arises when this operator is focused. In the lexical operator thesis, not every sentence contains a verum operator. The operator is only present when verum is realized. In the sentence mood theory verum is a result of focus on a sentence mood feature.

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<sup>3</sup> As one anonymous reviewer rightly pointed out, by assuming that verum is merely a by-product in the present analysis, the question arises whether verum as such exists properly or not. This is, to the best of my knowledge, not a question that is discussed in the literature on verum so far. I believe, however, that the field is reaching a point where this question will become more important. In this article I do not bring in a definitive argument for or against the existence of verum. More modestly, I try to make a case that one way of achieving a verum effect is through stressing sentence mood.

The feature is present in every sentence, however, it does not have a dedicated verum meaning. The verum effect is a by-product. Finally, the accounts differ in their empirical base. While the focus accent and lexical operator theses draw their evidence from verum in declaratives, the sentence mood theory of verum focus has the advantage of broader empirical coverage. Cases of verum in interrogatives, imperatives and embedded contexts are mentioned in Höhle (1992) and Gutzmann et al. (2020), but neither of them can straightforwardly explain the pragmatic effect of verum in non-declarative sentences, nor do they account for the syntactic restrictions of verum focus in different clause types and in embedded contexts. In turn, as will become clear shortly, these empirical data are at the center of the sentence mood theory of verum focus.

Although I argue in favor of the sentence mood theory of verum focus, I want to emphasize again that I maintain that focus on sentence mood might be only one way to achieve a verum effect. In principle, the different conceptions of verum I sketched above can co-exist and can each be best equipped to account for a subset of empirical phenomena. See also Gutzmann et al. (2020) and Lohnstein (2016) for a deeper comparison of the different accounts.

For my account, I adopt Lohnstein's core assumptions: I thus consider verum meaning to result from focus on sentence mood and focus, in the sense of Krifka (2008), to function to reduce alternatives. I also adopt the assumption that the relevant salient alternatives when sentence mood is focused are derived from the function of the speech act, i.e. the corresponding clause type in a discourse situation.<sup>4</sup> In my revised version of the theory, the functions of the sentence moods are different from the original version. Lohnstein's theory is built on a mental conception of commitments. In recent speech-act theory, however, the social obligations that are involved in commitments are granted more importance than mental attitudes or judgments. My revision thus constitutes a reformulation of the functions as commitments in this sense. By revising the theory in this way, it is not only brought in accordance with the newest insights from research on speech acts, it also solves an issue of overgeneralization the original theory faces: According to Lohnstein

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<sup>4</sup> An anonymous reviewer pointed out that there are similarities with an account by Escandell-Vidal & Leonetti (2009a). They investigate a fronting strategy in Spanish which they call *verum focus fronting*, that is not triggered by focus on the fronted expression but focus on the whole proposition. The strategy they describe shares properties with the *sí-verum*-strategy. The account they propose also builds on a similar understanding of focus. However, there are important differences that suggest that what Escandell-Vidal & Leonetti (2009a) are dealing with is better characterized as polarity focus rather than verum focus. In their analysis, the relevant focus alternatives for verum-focus-fronted declaratives are  $p$  and  $\neg p$ . Focus on the positive version of the proposition gives rise to an emphasis on its truth. This is different from what is understood to be verum in the present article, which does not result from a contrast between versions of a proposition with opposite polarity but rather from a contrast on the commitment or not to a proposition, irrespective of its polarity. Escandell-Vidal & Leonetti's verum focus fronting strategy is furthermore incompatible with sentence negation. This is not expected for verum and accordingly, the *sí-verum*-strategy is compatible with sentence negation. The incompatibility with sentence negation in Escandell-Vidal & Leonetti's construction can be explained straightforwardly if what is really focused is the polarity of the proposition.

(2016), the function of a declarative is to express a belief. Thus, the relevant alternatives that are focused are *believe p* and *not believe p*. A problem that follows from this definition is that it wrongly predicts that a verum focused declarative is felicitous in a context where whether or not the interlocutors believe *p* is under discussion.<sup>5</sup>

(20) A: I am so unsure. Will Mary come to the party? Jane believes that she will come. What do you believe?

B: #Mary WILL come to the party, even though there is a big chance that she will not come.

As stated above, I adopt a social rather than a mental conception of commitment. In previous theories, a commitment to a proposition translated to believing that the proposition is true. In more recent theories, this conception is given up in favor of social norms (cf. Brandom 1983; 1994; 2000 Kibble 2006a; b; Geurts 2019; Shapiro 2020, among others). Proponents of this new conception of commitment propose that what is important for asserting a proposition is not so much whether or not the speaker believes *p*, but the social obligations towards the interlocutors that arise. In line with Brandom (1983; 1994; 2000), I assume that by asserting *p* a speaker expresses their commitment towards *p*. Expressing a commitment consists of two parts: The first part, which is important in the present context, is the responsibility to justify *p*. A speaker takes up a responsibility to show that they are entitled to the commitment, in other words that they are required to defend *p* if challenged or if unable, to retract their assertion of *p* (a similar idea can be found in Kibble 2006b). The second part is the authority over *p*. The speaker authorizes further assertions and the commitments they express. These can either be inferential or communicational, in the sense that a hearer, when challenged for their assertion of *p*, can pass justificational responsibility to the original asserter of *p* (cf. also Shapiro 2020).

The expression of a belief of *p* still plays a role in assertions, since speakers take up a commitment to *p*, meaning they take up responsibility to justify it and license further assertions, mostly in cases when they believe that *p* is true. A belief of *p*, however, is not a precondition for expressing a commitment to *p*. There are examples when a belief of *p* on the part of the speaker is not relevant. Geurts (2019) discusses cases of performative speech acts.

(21) I find the defendant guilty of armed robbery. (Geurts 2019: 14: ex7)

When (21) is uttered by a judge it does not really matter whether or not they privately believes that the defendant is guilty. What is important is that the judge is committed to act on *p*, meaning in accordance with the truth of *p*.

An anonymous reviewer suggested that the mental conception presented in Lohnstein (2016) could still be maintained by adopting Frege's notion of judgment which is defined as an attitude

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<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers for pointing out this issue.

towards  $p$ . For declaratives the attitude is either a belief of  $p$  or it is unmarked. Associating assertions with an unmarked judgment is very close to what I have in mind here. By separating belief from assertion, it allows us to maintain that a belief of  $p$  does not have to be a precondition to assert  $p$ , i.e. commit to it in my sense. This makes it possible to deal with cases like (21) and to also treat propositions that express doubt or low epistemic certainty as assertions. Finally, the conception of an unmarked judgment makes it possible to assume that the order of belief and assertion can be inverted: By asserting  $p$  the speaker commits to it and (the ascription of a) belief of  $p$  might come about by way of an inference. This brief discussion goes to show that Frege's judgment is, in principle, compatible with the theory I develop here. However, the social conception of commitment is still better suited to account for verum. If we assumed that verum focus were stressing a judgment in Frege's sense, we would be faced with two problems: If the judgment is a belief of  $p$ , the focus alternatives are the same that Lohnstein (2016) proposed, namely *believe  $p$*  and *not believe  $p$* , provoking the issue of overgeneralization discussed around example (20). If, in turn, the judgment is unmarked, it is not clear what the focus alternatives would constitute. I therefore stand with my choice to think of commitments in social rather than mental terms.

Based on the reconception of commitments, I propose to redefine the functions of the sentence moods and their verum focused alternatives as summarized in **Table 2**.

<i>sentence mood</i>	<i>function</i>	<i>alternatives</i>
declarative	committed to $p$	committed to $p$ , not committed $p$
polar interrogative	make hearer express commitment to $p$ , not $p$	hearers' commitment to $p$ , hearers' commitment to not $p$
wh-interrogative	make hearer express commitment to one of $n$ alternative answers	hearers' commitment to one of $n$ alternative answers
imperative	make hearer behave in accordance with commitment to $p$	$n$ alternative behaviors

**Table 2:** Sentence Moods with their corresponding functions and verum focused alternatives in the new conception.

The function of a declarative related to the assertive illocutionary force, is to express a commitment towards  $p$ .

- (22) A: I don't know whether John will come to the party or not.  
B: He WILL come.

In (22), speaker A establishes whether John will come to the party as a question under discussion by putting the two alternatives on the table. Speaker B uses verum focus to reduce the alternatives

so that only the alternative “John will come”, which corresponds to the alternative B is committed to, is presented as true (cf. Lohnstein 2016: 17–18). By stressing their commitment, speaker B emphasizes that they takes up the responsibility to justify *p*.

Directives, such as questions and commands, are different from assertions. They do not commit the speakers to *p*, but rather they commit them to a goal that can usually only be realized by the addressee (Geurts 2019). The discourse function of polar questions has traditionally been said to be giving a true answer out of two possible alternatives (cf. for instance Karttunen 1977; Groenendijk & Stokhof 1985). In my conception, their function is to make an addressee express their commitment towards one of the two possible alternatives. This is the goal the speaker commits to. The speaker who utters the polar question is not in a position to judge whether the proposition expressed is true or false. In the present system, the effect of verum focus in a polar question is to demand that the addressee(s) justify their (previously expressed) commitment to *p* or not *p* in fulfillment of the function of the sentence mood.

- (23) A: Charles is writing a book.  
 B: No, Charles is not writing a book.  
 C: So is Charles writing a book?  
 (translation of Gutzmann 2012: 31: ex 91)

In (23), speaker C, who utters the verum focused polar question, does not know whether Charles is writing a book or not. The alternatives provided by speaker A and B are contradictory. In a discourse situation, like the one sketched in (23), verum focused polar questions are often used to put an end to a discussion. The effect of verum in this context is that speaker C presses speakers A and B to justify their commitment. Speaker C would not be satisfied if speakers A and B merely restated their commitments without further justification. In fact, by using verum focus, speaker C calls them out to take up the responsibility to defend *p* or not *p* by providing evidence in favor.

- (24) A: He is, he sent me a draft.  
 B: What he sent you is not his draft but John’s. Charles pretends he wrote it. John told me all about it.

A possible continuation to the conversation in (23) could be (24), where speaker A and B each present a justification for why they are committed to either *p* or not *p*.

The function of a wh-question is to make a hearer commit to one of *n* possible alternatives.<sup>6</sup> Once again, the speaker who utters the verum focused wh-question does not know the true

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<sup>6</sup> Stress on the auxiliary in wh-questions is not restricted to verum, it can also express dictum focus (cf. Creswell 2000). Dictum focus serves to mark that the question is being re-asked as in the example below.

(i) A: I was wondering how much food to buy for tonight. Who’s coming to the party? B: Good question. Who is coming to the party? (Creswell 2000: 71: ex 17)

answer. Verum focus is used to stress the function of the mood of wh-questions and demand the true answer from the addressee(s).

- (25) A: Charles lives in Seville.  
 B: That's not true. He lives in Granada.  
 C: So where DOES Charles live?

In (25), speaker C does not know where Charles lives. A and B propose contradicting alternatives, which do not help C in finding the true answer. Speaker C wants to settle the discussion, the effect of verum focusing the wh-question is that speaker C presses their interlocutors to provide justification for their expressed commitment. Speaker C requires more than just a repetition of the interlocutors' commitments to find the true answer. Speaker C asks them to give their reasons and defend their commitment. A possible continuation of (25) is given in (26).

- (26) A: Well, I assumed it was Seville when he told me he lived in big city in Andalusia, but actually he never mentioned the name of the city.  
 B: Yeah, he meant Granada. I visited him there last month.

Finally, with imperatives the speaker is again committed to a goal that only the addressee can realize. Their function is to make the hearer behave in accordance with the truth of *p*, in other words, make the addressee do whatever the corresponding proposition expresses. Imperatives do not have truth values so there are no propositional alternatives that can be focused. I adopt the idea from Lohnstein (2016) that the relevant alternatives are the possible alternative behaviors of the addressee. A verum focused imperative, therefore, seeks to reduce the addressee's behavior to the one expressed by the imperative.

- (27) A: John, please grab a chair.  
 B: *(no reaction)*  
 A: Darling, would you please grab a chair?  
 B: *(no reaction)*  
 A: GRAB a chair at once! (translation of Gutzmann 2012: 31: ex 93)

In (27), the speaker makes use of verum focus in order to put an end to the addressee's lack of reaction or hesitation by demanding that they fulfill the action expressed by the imperative.

The revised sentence mood theory of verum focus can also explain the other pragmatic properties of verum focused sentences. The infelicitousness of verum in out-of-the-blue contexts in (28-a) (repeated from (5)) or as answers to general questions in (28-b) (repeated from (6)) follows straight forwardly in this theory. Verum is considered a type of focus, thus the relevant focus alternatives need to be salient. This condition is not met in an out-of-the-blue or general-question context.

- (28) a. Have you heard the news? #John IS coming.  
 b. A: What is John doing?  
 B: #He IS coming.  
 B': He's coming.

The licensing of *verum* in a final settling of a questions can also be explained. The *verum* effect in declaratives, in the present theory, results from stressing the commitment to *p*. Thereby a speaker stresses that they are in a place to justify and defend *p*. In turn, this means that *verum* is not going to be used, if a speaker cannot or does not want to take up this responsibility.

- (29) D: Let's vote. Should we start a Mars mission or should we not start a Mars mission?  
 A: We start a Mars mission. / # We DO start a Mars mission.  
 B: We start a Mars mission. / # We DO start a Mars mission.  
 C: We start a Mars mission. / # We DO start a Mars mission.  
 D: Alright, we DO start a Mars mission.  
 (Gutzmann et al. 2020: 14: ex 34)

In the example in (29) (repeated from (4)), when asked for a vote, A, B and C express a preference. They are actually not asked to commit to the Mars mission taking place, but to state what they think is best. They all vote in favor, which means that they commit to act on *p*, meaning to act in accordance with the truth of *p*, should all involved parties take up the commitment. In fact, since a unanimous vote is required, neither A, B nor C are in a place to commit to the Mars mission taking place. D, contrary to A,B and C, does not state their preferences, they stress their commitment to *p*. Only speaker D is in a position to commit to *p* and even to stress their commitment, because all four parties voted in favor and therefore speaker D can justify the joint commitment.

#### 4 The syntax of *verum* focus

The sentence mood theory of *verum* focus functions as a conceptual backdrop to the syntactic analyses that I develop in the following sections. The analyses are formulated within a cartographic framework. The approach is based on the idea that the left periphery of a clause is split into a number of hierarchically ordered functional projections mediating the interface between syntax, pragmatics and information structure. In accordance with Lohnstein (2016), I assume that the left periphery contains a projection dedicated to sentence mood termed (*sentence*) *MoodP*. In previous syntactic analyses of *verum* focus and similar polarity related phenomena, it has often been proposed that there is a projection in the same area of the left periphery dedicated to polarity (see Laka 1990; Martins 2006; Hernanz 2007; Batllori & Hernanz 2008; Rodríguez Molina 2014; Villa-García & Rodríguez 2020b). Since the present analysis is grounded in the idea that the interpretive effect of *verum* results from focusing sentence mood, a dedicated projection for *verum* becomes obsolete.

The structure in (30) gives the full extension of the functional heads proposed by Rizzi with the addition of the proposed MoodP in the lower section of the left periphery and SubP as the highest projection.

- (30) [ SubP [ TopP [ IntP [ TopP [ FocP [ ModP [ TopP [ MoodP [ TopP [ FinP [ TP]]]]]]]]]]]  
(Rizzi 1997; 2001; 2004; 2013; Lohnstein 2016; Kocher 2022)

A position dedicated to clause typing was part of the original structure developed in Rizzi (1997) as the highest projection, ForceP. In more recent analyses, ForceP, or decompositions thereof, has been re-purposed as projections mediating the link between clause types and illocutionary force and also other aspect of pragmatics (Coniglio & Zegrean 2010; Corr 2016; Speas & Tenny 2003). While the line of research concerned with the syntactic representation of pragmatics is certainly interesting, it has also met criticism (cf. for instance Gärtner & Steinbach 2006; Kocher 2022). I take a more cautious approach here, since I believe that the principles that govern pragmatics are to a large part inherent to this area of grammar and are therefore difficult to map onto syntactic structure and mechanisms. In accordance with Haegeman (2006) and Kocher (2022), I assume that the highest functional head in the left periphery is associated with a traditionally syntactic function, namely that of clausal subordination. The projection is accordingly labeled SubP in the structure in (30). Motivation and discussion can be found in Haegeman (2006) and Kocher (2022).

While Rizzi placed the original clause typing projection ForceP at the top left edge of the periphery, MoodP is placed in the lower right area of the functional field. I adopt this position because new evidence has shown that clause typing shows reflexes lower in the left periphery. Notably, Haegeman (2004; 2006) independently proposed a restructured left periphery, with a projection responsible for clause typing (named ForceP in her proposal) coinciding with the position I assume for MoodP. See Kocher (2022) for further empirical evidence for the precise position of MoodP within the functional field.

Versions of the cartographic approach have been widely adopted to account for word order in Romance languages. It is a particularly useful tool to analyze languages of this family because they exhibit a rich left peripheral structure, providing solid motivation for an extensive functional field like the one in (30). Other languages, however, seem to make do with a less elaborate structure. A conclusion one can draw from these differences is that not all languages project all heads of the functional field. There also appear to be language-internal differences with respect to whether all heads are projected in certain clause types or configurations. Haegeman (2004; 2006) notes differences in size between various adverbial clauses. de Cuba & MacDonald (2013) discuss differences in size between factive and non-factive complements. Concerning the languages at the center of the present article, empirical facts suggests that Romance CPs are larger than Germanic CPs (cf. Roberts 2001). Although the precise size and structure of the German and English CP will not be mapped out here, the contrast between (31) and (32) illustrate that there

is in fact a difference in the availability of structural positions. The examples in (31) show that a left dislocated topic is grammatical in a main declarative in all three languages.<sup>7</sup>

- (31) a. *English*  
A: Who brought the beer and the wine? B: The beer I brought, the wine's Mary's.
- b. *German*  
A: Wer hat das Bier und den Wein mitgebracht? B: Das Bier hab ich  
who has the beer and the wine brought the beer have I  
mitgebracht. Der Wein ist von Maria.  
brought The wine is from Maria
- c. *Spanish*  
A: ¿Quién ha traído la cerveza y el vino? B: La cerveza la  
who has brought the beer and the wine the beer CL.FSG  
he traído yo, el vino es de María.  
have brought I the wine is from María

The facts are different in embedded contexts: While Spanish and English permit a topic below the complementizer (32-a), (32-c), the same word order is ungrammatical in German (32-b) (but see section 4.4 for a closer look into this issue).

- (32) a. *English*  
John said that the beer, he has brought.
- b. *German*  
\*Hans hat gesagt, dass das Bier er mitgebracht hat.  
Hans has said that the beer he brought has
- c. *Spanish*  
Juan dijo que la cerveza la ha traído.  
Juan said that the beer CL.FSG has brought

While the precise architecture of the functional field in each of the languages is left to be determined in future research, these contrasts support the assumption that the German left periphery is more reduced than the Spanish and English one.

#### 4.1 Parametric differences in verb movement

It has been observed in the literature that there are parametric differences in the position a verb reaches in German, English and Romance declaratives (cf. Emonds 1976; Belletti 1990; Williams

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<sup>7</sup> We are not dealing with absolutely parallel structures here. One obvious difference is that Spanish, other than German and English, requires a resumptive pronoun when the dislocated topic is an internal argument of the verb. Whether we are dealing with the same type of topicalization is presently not a central concern. All that is important for the purpose of the argument is that the dislocated phrase occupies a position in the left periphery.

1994; den Besten 1983; Suñer 1994; Benedicto 1998; Ordóñez 1998; Toribio 2000; Roberts 2001, Goodall 2002; Zagona 2002; Truckenbrodt 2006; Schifano 2018). The examples in (33)–(34) illustrate this by comparing the word order of finite verbs and functional adverbs in the three languages. The diagnostic employed here goes back to Emonds (1976) and Pollock (1989) and is based on the assumption that the position of the adverbs in the periphery of the VP is fixed cross-linguistically (for a proposal of a universal hierarchy of modifiers see Cinque 1999). The contrast between (33-a) and (33-b) shows that in English, the finite verb follows the VP adverb and cannot precede it. This has been taken to suggest that the verb remains in  $V^0$ .

- (33) a. John often [ <sub>$v_0$</sub>  kisses] Mary.  
 (Pollock 1989: 367: 4c, analysis by myself)
- b. \*John kisses often Mary.  
 (Pollock 1989: 367: 4c)

In Spanish, the opposite pattern emerges. The only grammatical order is the one where the finite verb precedes the VP adverb in (34-b). The reverse order is ungrammatical (34-a). This indicates that the verb moves to  $T^0$  in Spanish.

- (34) a. *Spanish*  
 \*Juan frecuentemente besa a María.  
 Juan often kisses DOM María  
 (Lorenzo González 1995: 28: ex 20c)
- b. Juan [ <sub>$T_0$</sub>  besa] frecuentemente a María [ <sub>$v_0$</sub>  t].  
 Juan kisses often DOM María  
 (Lorenzo González 1995: 28: ex 20d, analysis by myself)

German superficially shows the same pattern as Spanish: The order where the VP adverb precedes the verb in (35-a) is ungrammatical and the order where the VP adverb follows the verb in (35-b) is grammatical. The example in (35-c) illustrates that German is a V2 language. The word order restrictions show that in a declarative the finite verb necessarily occupies the second position of the sentence. It is assumed for German that the finite verbs moves even higher than TP to a position in the CP. In line with Lohnstein (2016), I identify this projection with  $Mood^0$ .

- (35) a. *German*  
 \*Hans oft küsst Maria.  
 Hans often kisses Maria
- b. Hans [ <sub>$Mood^0$</sub>  küsst] Maria oft [ <sub>$v_0$</sub>  t].  
 Hans kisses Maria often

- c. In letzter Zeit (\*Hans) (\*oft) [<sub>Mood0</sub> küsst] (\*oft) Hans Maria (oft).  
 lately Hans often kisses often Hans Maria often  
 ‘Lately, Hans often kisses Maria.’

The core argument of this section is that the projection hosting the mood feature is occupied by different material in the various sentence moods and languages. The variation we observe is the result of the fact that focus on mood, giving rise to *verum*, is expressed on different things. This section presents a formalization of the empirical data from Spanish, German and English relying on existing accounts on verbal movement and feature inheritance. The aim is not to develop a new theoretical motivation for verbal movement, rather the more modest goal is to systematize the empirical data and find a formal way to describe them. I am fully aware that further research is pending to motivate certain aspects of the analysis.

There are various options to model head movement and its triggering factors. A comprehensive overview of the main conceptual alternatives and their merits can be found in Dékány (2018). For the present analyses, I adopt the reprojection approach developed in Biberauer & Roberts (2010) and Roberts (2010). In this account complex heads are externally merged in their inflected forms. Certain formal features on these complex heads require to be checked in a structurally higher position. This provokes movement of the head out of its position and internal merge of it as the sister of the previous phrase. The moved head projects the label of the new syntactic phrase. Biberauer & Roberts (2010) propose that in Romance varieties that have rich tense inflection such as Spanish, the finite verb carries a tense feature that provokes reprojection of a TP. In English, the verb lacks rich tense inflection and its unvalued tense feature cannot project. Head movement from V-to-T does not take place. The tense feature on the verb is valued through AGREE, which in their accounts is defined as a mechanism that copies feature values from a probe, T in our case, to a c-commanded goal, V, with a matching unvalued feature. Biberauer & Roberts (2010) argue that there is agreement between T and V even in cases when T is filled by an auxiliary. This is based on the data in (36) which show that the verb in V is non-finite.

- (36) a. John **has** eaten  
 b. John **is** eating  
 c. John **was** eaten  
 d. John **must** eat- $\emptyset$   
 e. For John **to** eat- $\emptyset$ -... (Biberauer & Roberts 2010: 270: ex 6)

In German, a V2 language that also lacks rich tense inflection, the finite verb surfaces in a C-position. Just as in English, German’s poor tense inflection means that V does not carry a tense feature. Reprojection of TP and V-to-T movement do not take place. Instead, according to Biberauer & Roberts (2010) the German verb does not pass through T but moves directly to a

C-position. This contrasts with English and Spanish declaratives, where the verb does not reach a C-position. It reprojects T in Spanish, and remains in V in English.<sup>8</sup>

A second central ingredient to analyze the parametric differences in verb positions is Ouali's system of feature inheritance. He distinguishes between three logical options of how features can be inherited by a head: KEEP (the head retains the features), SHARE (the head copies features to another head) and DONATE (the head passes features to another head without keeping a copy). Biberauer & Roberts 2010 propose C DONATES  $\phi$ - and tense features to T in Romance and English and KEEPS them in German.

In order to formalize my ideas within this system, I have to add some additional assumptions. I am of course aware that some of these assumptions are in need of more empirical proof. As I stated at the beginning of this section, as a first step, the goal is to find a formal description relying on existing tools from the theoretical literature. More elaboration and proof should follow in the future.

With this caveat in place, I make the following assumptions: I assume that there is a third important feature involved, namely mood. I also assume that the C-head in Biberauer & Roberts (2010) and Ouali (2008) can be identified with Mood. I furthermore assume that it is possible to DONATE only a subset of the features and KEEP the rest. This possibility has also been explored in Biberauer & Roberts (2010: 291–293) for Welsh. Finally, I assume that feature inherence can differ between clause types. What I propose for German, English and Spanish is presented in **Table 3**, leaving out  $\phi$  features for simplicity.

	<b>declarative</b>	<b>interrogative</b>	<b>imperative</b>
German	KEEPS tense, mood	KEEPS tense, mood	KEEPS tense, mood
English	DONATES tense, mood	KEEPS tense, mood	DONATES tense, mood
Spanish	KEEPS mood, DONATES tense	KEEPS mood DONATES tense	KEEPS tense, mood

**Table 3:** Feature inherence between Mood and T in German, Spanish and English.

In the present approach, every clause contains a mood feature (in MoodP). This picks up a traditional idea maintained in the literature (cf. for instance Baker 1970; Rizzi 1990; Cheng 1991; Rivero & Terzi 1995, Han 1998). The alternative view, that clauses are not typed by an abstract feature but through a combination of grammatical properties is maintained for instance by Altmann (1987), Brandt et al. (1992); Lohnstein (2000); Truckenbrodt (2006); Sode & Truckenbrodt (2018). It is also a prominent position in construction grammar (cf. Michaelis & Lambrecht 1996; Kathol 2000; Ginzburg & Sag 2000).

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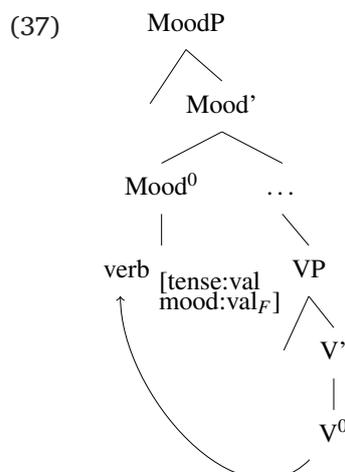
<sup>8</sup> For simplicity and because it is not central to the discussion here, I will not reference vP in this article.

There are differences across languages and across clause types in terms of whether the mood feature is KEPT in Mood or DONATED to T. In all German clause types, Mood KEEPS the mood and tense feature, triggering movement of the finite verb to this position. In English declaratives and imperatives, the sentence mood features along with the tense features are DONATED to T. In declaratives, T AGREES with V and values its unvalued features. In imperatives, the finite verbs moves to T. In English interrogatives, in contrast, Mood KEEPS the mood and tense feature and the finite verb moves there. In Spanish, Mood KEEPS the sentence mood feature in all clause types. In imperatives the tense feature is also KEPT by Mood resulting in head movement of the finite verb to this position. In Spanish declaratives and interrogatives, however, the tense feature is DONATED to T where the finite verb moves and is valued with its tense feature. Altogether, these patterns support the argument presented in Biberauer & Roberts (2010) that head movement is triggered by tense rather than  $\phi$  (or mood) features. Building on the typology in **Table 3**, in the following sections I show how verum focused declaratives (4.2), imperative and interrogatives (4.3) are derived.

The mood feature is different from the tense feature, whose behavior and inheritance, according to Biberauer & Roberts (2010) has to do the richness and poverty of the tense morphology of a given language. None of the three languages have a distinct morphological form for the different sentence moods declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. Only imperatives are distinguished morphologically. The mood feature impacts the structural properties that are used to encode the sentence moods. Therefore, rightly, English declaratives and interrogatives have a different configuration since their structural properties are in fact very different.

## 4.2 Analysis of verum focused declaratives

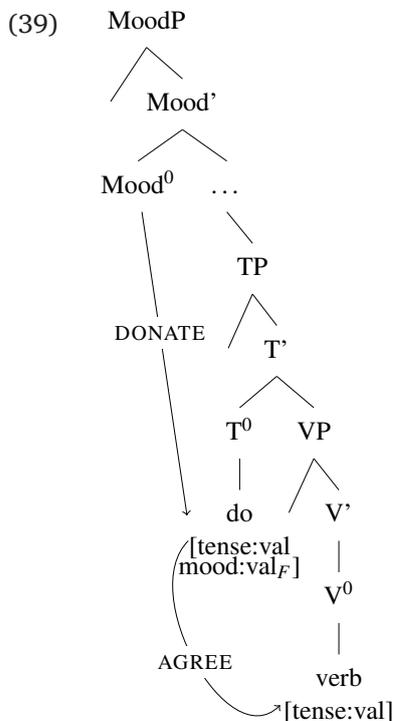
For verum focus in declaratives I propose the following analyses. In German, Mood KEEPS the tense and the mood feature and attracts the verb to this position. Focus on mood is expressed through prosodic stress on the finite verb. A simplified scheme of the derivation is found in (37).



In synthetic tenses the finite verb moves from V to Mood (cf. Biberauer & Roberts 2010), in analytic tenses the auxiliary moves from T to Mood. The mood and tense feature are valued in Mood. As explained at length in the previous sections, I take *verum* to result from focus on the sentence mood feature. Thus, if the feature is focused it is realized as prosodic stress on whatever checks the mood feature, which is a lexical verb in (38-a) and an auxiliary in (38-b).<sup>9</sup>

- (38) a. [MoodP Hans<sub>i</sub> [Mood' [Mood<sup>0</sup> KOMMT<sub>j</sub> [<sub>j</sub>[mood:val<sub>F</sub>, tense:val]]] [... [VP t<sub>i</sub> [V' [V<sup>0</sup> t<sub>j</sub> ]]]]]]  
 b. [MoodP Hans<sub>i</sub> [Mood' [Mood<sup>0</sup> IST<sub>j</sub> [<sub>j</sub>[mood:val<sub>F</sub>, tense:val]]] [... [TP t<sub>i</sub> [T' [VP t<sub>i</sub> [V' [V<sup>0</sup> gekommen ]]] [T<sup>0</sup> t<sub>j</sub> ] ]]]]]

In English, Mood DONATES tense and mood features to T. The finite lexical verb remains in the VP. Its unvalued features are valued via AGREE between T and V.

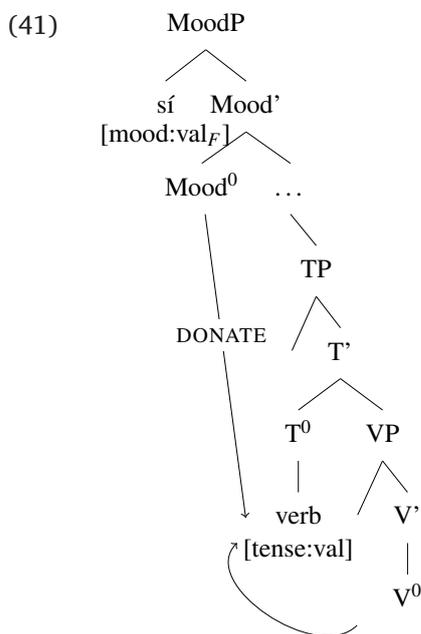


In analytic tenses, an auxiliary is merged in TP where focus on mood is expressed through stress on this auxiliary. In synthetic tenses, 'do' is merged in T triggered by the focus feature on mood. Biberauer & Roberts (2010: 272), despite not using the term *verum*, suggests that English overt *do* is triggered by an additional feature they call [+ Affect] that results in a special discourse effect. I propose what they call [+ Affect] is in fact a focused mood feature.

<sup>9</sup> The structures in this and the following section are simplified in aspects that are not pertinent to the arguments presented here. For ease of exposition, I assume head final TPs and VPs for German.

- (40) a. [MoodP [Mood' [Mood<sup>0</sup> ] [... [TP John<sub>i</sub> [T' [T<sup>0</sup> does<sub>[mood:val\_F, tense: val]</sub> ] [VP t<sub>i</sub> [V' [V<sup>0</sup> come<sub>[tense: val]</sub> ]]]]]]]]]  
 b. [MoodP [Mood' [Mood<sup>0</sup> ] [... [TP John<sub>i</sub> [T' [T<sup>0</sup> has<sub>[mood:val\_F, tense: val]</sub> ] [VP t<sub>i</sub> [V' [V<sup>0</sup> come<sub>[tense: val]</sub> ]]]]]]]]]

In Spanish declaratives, tense (and  $\phi$ ) features are DONATED to T, but mood features are KEPT in Mood. The Spanish finite verb moves from V to T in synthetic tenses and is merged directly in T in analytic tenses. Crucially it does not move beyond this position. The particle *sí* is merged directly in the specifier of MoodP.



- (42) a. [TopP Juan<sub>i</sub> [Top' [Top<sup>0</sup> ] [MoodP sí<sub>[mood:val\_F]</sub> [Mood' [Mood<sup>0</sup> ] [... [TP t<sub>i</sub> [T' [T<sup>0</sup> viene<sub>[tense:val]</sub> ] [VP t<sub>i</sub> [V' [V<sup>0</sup> t<sub>j</sub> ]]]]]]]]]]]  
 b. [TopP Juan<sub>i</sub> [Top' [Top<sup>0</sup> ] [MoodP sí<sub>[mood:val\_F]</sub> [Mood' [Mood<sup>0</sup> ] [... [TP t<sub>i</sub> [T' [T<sup>0</sup> ha<sub>[tense:val]</sub> ] [VP t<sub>i</sub> [V' [V<sup>0</sup> venido ]]]]]]]]]]]

There are reasons to believe that Spanish developed the particle-based strategy because of a restriction on the verb movement, offering further support for the underlying relation between the Spanish particle based and German and English verb-based *verum* strategies. The empirical point in favor is the fact that the first attestation of *sí* (*que*) coincides with the loss of V2 in Old Spanish (cf. Fontana 1993 on Old Spanish V2, and Rodríguez Molina 2014 and Kocher 2017 on the history of *sí que*). In other words, the need to merge *sí* in MoodP to check the focus feature only arose after verb movement to the left periphery was no longer available. A link between the emergence of the particle and the loss of V2 also extends to other Romance varieties: Ledgeway

(2008) proposes that Old Neapolitan *sí* was merged in the CP to satisfy a V2 requirement. In the context of the present argumentation, the loss of V2 in Old Spanish might constitute the parametric shift between a system akin to the one we find in modern German where tense features triggering head movement are KEPT by Mood and the system of modern Spanish where these tense features are DONATED to T.<sup>10</sup>

To summarize, the analyses I propose for *verum* focused declaratives boil down to the following: German Mood KEEPS tense and mood features, which triggers head movement of the verb to this position. The focus feature, which gives rise to the *verum* interpretation, is expressed on the element that carries the mood feature, i.e. the finite verb. In English declaratives tense and mood features are DONATED to T. Focus is realized as prosodic stress and needs lexical material to be expressed on. This is why, in the absence of an auxiliary required by the tense, ‘do’ is inserted in T. In Spanish declaratives there is no movement of the finite verb to Mood either. While the tense feature is DONATED to T, the mood feature remains in Mood in this clause type. The focus feature on mood in MoodP triggers the merger of *sí* in the specifier of MoodP.

### 4.3 Analysis of *verum* focused interrogatives and imperatives

In the present section, I look at the strategies the three languages use to express *verum* focus in non-declarative clause types and show how I account for them. This section provides crucial evidence for the link between *verum* focus and sentence mood. The interesting empirical observation is that German and English use a similar strategy as in declaratives, while in Spanish the *sí* (*que*) strategy is not available in imperatives and *wh*-interrogatives.

*Verum* focus in polar questions, as illustrated in section (18), is a device to press the interlocutor to provide a true answer out of the two salient alternatives. Similarly, *verum* focus in *wh*-questions is used as a means to press the interlocutor for a true answer out of *n* salient alternatives. German employs the same strategy in *wh*- (43-a) and polar questions (43-b) as in declaratives: It stresses the finite verb.

(43) a. *German*

A:	Karl	wohnt	in	Sevilla.	B:	Das	stimmt	doch	gar	nicht.	Er	wohnt	
	Karl	lives	in	Sevilla		that	be-right	MOD.PART	at	all	not	he	lives
	in	Granada.	C:	Was	denn	nun?	Wo	WOHNT	Karl?				
	in	Granada		what	MOD.PART	now	where	lives	Karl				

---

<sup>10</sup> Whether Old Spanish verbs moved from V to C/Mood directly or whether they passed through T cannot be answered here. The need of a stage where verbs pass through T on their way to the left periphery in order to develop V-to-T might not be necessary in any case. There is evidence that progressing directly from a German-style V-to-Mood to a Spanish-style V-to-T is possible. Biberauer & Roberts (2010) analyze Old English V2 as V-to-C/Mood. When V2 was lost English passed through a short phase where verbs were moved from V-to-T.

- b. A: Karl schreibt ein Buch. B: Nein, Karl schreibt kein Buch.  
 Karl writes a book no Karl writes no book  
 C: Was denn nun? SCHREIBT Karl ein Buch?  
 what MOD.PART now writes Karl a book  
 ‘A: Karl is writing a book. B: No, Karl isn’t writing a book. C: Tell me now: IS Karl writing a book?’ (Gutzmann 2012: 31, ex 91)

In English verum focused interrogatives, just as in declaratives, there is stress on *do* in synthetic tenses and on the auxiliary in analytic tenses (cf. (44) repeated from (23) and (45-a) repeated from (25)).

- (44) A: Charles is writing a book.  
 B: No, Charles is not writing a book.  
 C: So IS Charles writing a book?

Notably, *do* is also present in subject questions that do not require the auxiliary in a neutral, non-verum focused context (*Who lives in Seville?*) (cf. (45-b)). In my proposal, this is expected because, just as in declaratives, *do* is triggered by a focus feature on mood.

- (45a) a. A: Charles lives in Seville.  
 B: That’s not true. He lives in Granada.  
 C: So where DOES Charles live?  
 b. A: Charles lives in Seville.  
 B: That’s not true. John lives there.  
 C: So who DOES live in Seville?

In Spanish polar questions, verum can be expressed with the particle *sí* but not with *sí que* (cf. (46-a)). As has been explained in section 2.1, this is because *que* is used in polar questions to express a speaker bias, which is not compatible with the effect of verum in polar questions. In the contexts that elicit a verum interpretation of a wh-question, speakers resort to lexical strategies, employing for instance the adverbial *de verdad* ‘really’ (46-b).<sup>11</sup>

- (46) a. *Spanish*  
 A: Carlos escribe un libro. B: Que no! Carlos no escribe ningún libro.  
 Carlos writes a book QUE no Carlos not writes no book  
 C: ¿Entonces qué? ¿Sí (\*que) escribe un libro?  
 then what PART QUE writes a book

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<sup>11</sup> There also appear to be prosodic patterns that distinguish a neutral question from a verum-focused one. These patterns, to the best of my knowledge, have not yet been studied in great detail. Therefore, presently, I cannot offer systematic conclusions on the basis of the prosodic expression of verum focus in Spanish interrogatives. What could prove to be an interesting starting point for a future investigation is the fact that in some varieties of Spanish, there is an emphasis on the finite verb in polar questions, comparable to what we find in German and English (Maria del Mar Vanrell, 2018, p.c.).

- b. A: Carlos vive en Sevilla. B: No es verdad: Vive en Granada.  
 Carlos lives in Seville not is truth lives in Granada  
 C: ¿Entonces qué? ¿Dónde vive (de verdad)? / #¿Dónde sí vive?  
 then what where lives really where PART lives

Imperatives express the speaker's demand to make the propositional content of the imperative a fact. Verum focus in imperatives is licensed when the speaker insists on their demand that the addressee should do whatever the proposition expresses and rejects an alternative behavior, defined as any salient behavior that differs from the one requested by the speaker. In contexts like these, German once again stresses the finite verb (47).

(47) *German*

Jan, bitte, nimm den Stuhl. (*no reaction*) Liebling, würdest du dir bitte  
 Jan please grab a chair darling would you yourself please  
 den Stuhl nehmen? (*no reaction*) Jetzt NIMM dir endlich den Stuhl!  
 the chair grab now grab yourself finally the chair  
 (Gutzmann 2012: 31, ex 93)

In the parallel context in English, there is also stress on the finite imperative verb ((48) repeated from (27)). So in English verum focused imperatives, different from what we find in declaratives or interrogatives, *do* is not inserted.

- (48) John, please grab a chair. (*no reaction*) Darling would you please grab a chair? (*no reaction*) GRAB a chair at once!

There is another version of an English imperative featuring *do*. It is however not licensed in a context such as that illustrated in (48). It typically appears in contexts where the addressee is hesitant about which behavior is required of him or when the speaker wants to signal politeness. The contexts also differ from those that elicit verum focus in that the proposition does not have to be given.

- (49) [Winston Churchill at his first audience with the new queen Elisabeth II unsure about the etiquette required by the occasion:]  
 Queen: Do sit down, Prime Minister. [The Crown 2016 S01E03 – Windsor]

In Spanish imperatives, just as in *wh*-questions, *sí* (*que*) is not an option (50).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Once again, there are prosodic differences between the neutral imperative at the beginning of the fragment and the verum marked imperative at the end. A systematic investigation is pending, in order to draw any serious conclusions. The difference might amount to a high vs. low nuclear accent on the last word of the sentence (Maria del Mar Vanrell, 2018, p.c.). See also Escandell-Vidal (2011).

(50) *Spanish*

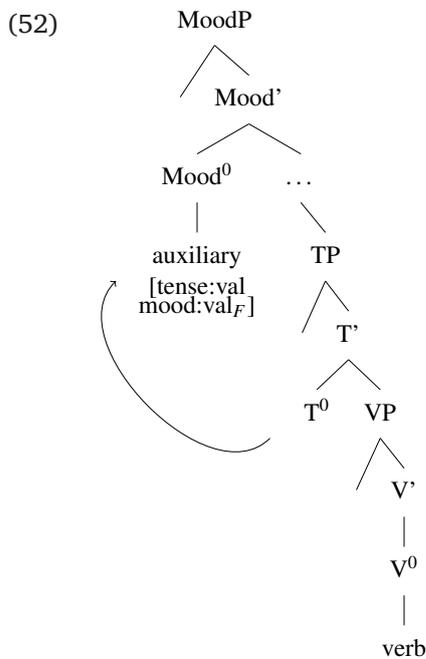
Juan, por favor, cógete una silla. (*no reaction*) Cariño, ¿te podrías coger una silla?  
 Juan please grab-CL a chair darling CL could grab a chair  
 (*no reaction*) ¡Cógete una silla de una vez! / \*¡Sí (que) cógete una silla de una vez!  
 grab-CL a chair at once PART QUE grab a chair at once

The empirical facts outlined above are compatible with the following analyses of verum focus in non-declarative clause types. In German, it appears that in all unembedded sentences irrespective of their clause type, the finite verb moves to Mood where the focus feature is expressed. In my account, this means that Mood **KEEPS** all relevant features in all clause types in German, so the structure in (38) also holds true for interrogatives and imperative.

In English interrogatives there is movement of the auxiliary from T to Mood. This means that the verb moves to a higher position than in a declarative. This high structural position of the auxiliary in English questions finds support in the fact that (neutral) polar questions are verb initial (51-a)<sup>13</sup> and wh-questions (51-b) do not permit an intervening subject between the wh-pronoun and the verb. Neither would be expected if the auxiliary remained in T.

- (51) a. \*Charles does live in Seville?
- b. \*Where Charles does live?

In my account, Mood in interrogatives is different from Mood in declaratives in English: It **KEEPS** its features. The focus feature is realized as prosodic stress on the auxiliary that occupies Mood (cf. (52)).




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<sup>13</sup> The word order in (51-a) is grammatical only in a rhetorical or confirmation question.

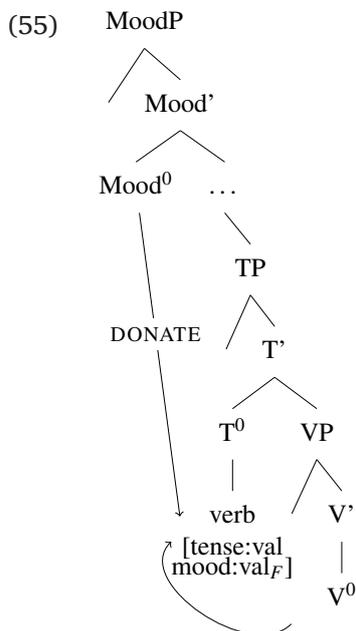
In imperatives, no auxiliary is merged. There is evidence that the lexical verb also moves higher than in declaratives in this clause type. This is illustrated by the word order contrasts in (53). In the declarative in (53-a), the adverb *often* precedes the verb and in the imperative in (53-b), it follows the verb.

- (53) a. You often call me.  
b. Call me often!

I propose that the lexical verb moves to T in imperatives (see also Han 2000) and does not remain in V as in declaratives. The sentence mood feature and the focus feature, if present, are DONATED to T. This explains why *do*-insertion does not take place in imperatives.

- (54) a. You call me often!  
b. Nobody move! (Han 2000: 277: ex 8b)  
c. \*Move nobody!

Motivation for locating the finite verb in T rather than Mood stems from examples like (54-a) and (54-b) contrasting with (54-c). They show that if a subject is realized in English imperatives, it precedes the verb (cf. (55)).

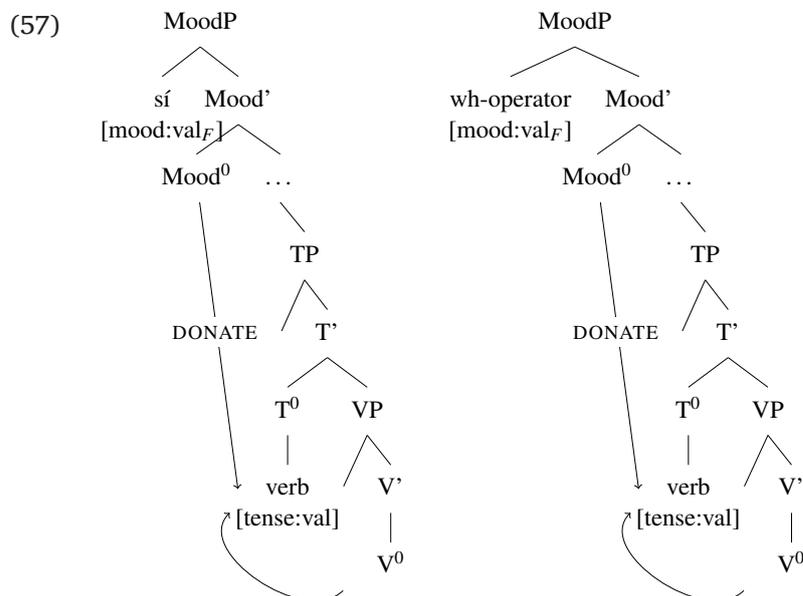


In Spanish, the strategy employed in declaratives is only grammatical in polar questions, but not in *wh*-questions nor imperatives. I suggest that this is the case because Mood is not empty but occupied in Spanish imperatives and *wh*-interrogatives, which makes the merger of the particle impossible. For *wh*-interrogatives, I propose that Mood is occupied by the *wh*-operator (cf. also for instance Rizzi 2001 and Prieto & Rigau 2007 for an operator account of interrogatives).

The word order of Spanish interrogatives differs from declaratives: There is subject-verb inversion which is obligatory in *wh*-questions and optional in polar questions. This could be taken to suggest that the verb itself occupies Mood. In spite of this, my analysis does not assume movement of the verb to the left periphery in interrogatives (contra Torrego 1984 and Rizzi 1996). In line with Suñer (1994); Belletti (2004) and Cardinaletti (2007) I assume that the verb remains in T (cf. (57)). One of the arguments against T-to-Mood movement put forward in the literature is related to TP peripheral adverbs in interrogatives. Just as in declaratives, adverbs like *todavía* ‘still’ tend to precede the finite verb, suggesting that the verb remains in TP in polar (56-b) and *wh*-questions (56-a).<sup>14</sup>

- (56) a. *Spanish*  
 ¿Qué idioma todavía estudia Pepita en su tiempo libre?  
 which language still studies Pepita in her time free  
 ‘Which language does Pepita still study in her free time?’  
 (Suñer 1994: 354, ex. 21c)
- b. ¿Todavía estudia Pepita ruso en su tiempo libre?  
 still studies Pepita Russian in her time free  
 ‘Does Pepita still study Russian in her free time?’

Notably, in English, only the order in which the verb precedes the adverb is grammatical (cf. the translation of the examples in (56)). This fact again supports the analysis of English *do* in Mood.



<sup>14</sup> The reverse order, i.e. the verb preceding the adverb which would be expected if the verb moved to Mood, is not completely ungrammatical in Spanish. Native speakers gave varying judgments. The expected order, with the adverb preceding the finite verb, is roughly three times as frequent as the reverse order in the corpus data (CdE). This along with its preference among native speakers, supports that it is the unmarked order. It is possible that the more marked word order is motivated by information structure.

The properties of Spanish (verum focused) interrogatives are captured by the analyses in (57). The finite verb moves from V to T and the sentence mood feature is checked by the wh-operator in Mood in the wh-question and expressed on *sí* in the polar question.

The properties of Spanish imperatives support an analysis that assumes T-to-Mood movement of the imperative verb. The verb precedes high adverbs like *todavía*. The reverse order is ungrammatical (58-a) vs. (58-b). As stated above, this contrasts with the orders we find in unmarked declaratives (58-c) and interrogatives (58-d) where *todavía* precedes the verb.<sup>15</sup>

- (58) a. *Spanish*  
 ¡Escucha todavía!  
 listen still  
 ‘Listen some more!’ (CdE)
- b. \*¡Todavía escucha!  
 listen still
- c. Juan todavía escucha la misma canción.  
 Juan still listens the same song  
 ‘Juan is still listening to the same song.’
- d. ¿Todavía escucha la misma canción?  
 still listen the same song  
 ‘Is he still listening to the same song?’

Another strong argument in favor of the T-to-Mood movement of imperative verbs is the postverbal position of clitic pronouns, illustrated in (59-a) and (59-b).

- (59) a. *Spanish*  
 ¡Lámame!  
 call-me  
 ‘Call me!’
- b. \*¡Me llama!  
 me call

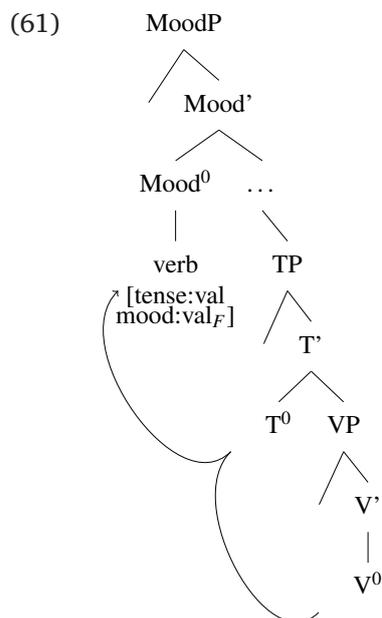
In interrogatives (60-a) (vs. (60-b)), just as in declaratives, clitics are preverbal. This once again supports the idea that in these clause types finite verbs remain in T.

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<sup>15</sup> It is possible to find examples where a TP-peripheral adverb precedes the imperative verb. Some adverbs simply show a higher degree of syntactic mobility and allow fronting to the left periphery with an effect on its pragmatics. As has been pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, *¡Ahora escucha!* is perfectly acceptable, however, very likely this is a case of fronting. The reverse order (*¡Escucha ahora!*) is also grammatical.

- (60) a. *Spanish*  
 ¿Me llamas?  
 me call  
 ‘Will you call me?’
- b. \*¿Llamas me?  
 call me

The analysis I assume is given in (61). The finite verb moves from V to T to Mood.



**Table 4** summarizes positions the finite verb occupies in the three languages in the different clause types. Based on these distributional contrasts, the present section has provided further evidence in favor of the sentence mood theory of verum focus. I showed that it offers an adequate analysis for verum focus in non-declarative clause types in the three languages. The underlying principle is the same in all contexts: A focused mood feature gives rise to a verum interpretation. The superficial differences are explained by independent properties that condition verb movement.

<i>clause type</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Spanish</i>
declarative	Mood <sup>0</sup>	V <sup>0</sup>	T <sup>0</sup>
interrogative	Mood <sup>0</sup>	Mood <sup>0</sup>	T <sup>0</sup>
imperative	Mood <sup>0</sup>	T <sup>0</sup>	Mood <sup>0</sup>

**Table 4:** Position of the finite verb in different clause types.



- b. Jetzt frage ich, [PP aus WELchen Artikeln] Hans vorgelesen hat.  
 now ask I out.of which articles Hans read has  
 ‘Now I ask myself, which article Hans DID read (parts of) (to someone).’

In English embedded clauses, the same strategy is employed as in unembedded declaratives: An (inserted) auxiliary is stressed (65).

- (65) a. A: John said that he wouldn’t come, right?  
 B: No, no. On the contrary: John said that he WOULD come.
- b. A: Are those the articles that John didn’t read yet?  
 B: No, no! Those are the articles that John DID read. The ones in the pile over there are the ones he didn’t read.

Verum in Spanish embedded clauses is also expressed through the same means as in unembedded declaratives. Notably, in these cases, *sí* (*que*) is preceded by another instance of the complementizer (66).

- (66) a. *Spanish*  
 A: Juan ha dicho que no viene, ¿verdad? B: No no! Al contrario: Ha  
 Juan has said that not comes truth no no on the contrary has  
 dicho que sí que viene.  
 said that PART QUE comes
- b. A: ¿Son estos los artículos que Juan todavía no ha leído?  
 are those the articles that Juan still not has read  
 B: No, no. Estos son los artículos que sí que ha leído. Los de la  
 no no those are the articles that PART QUE has read those of the  
 pila de ahí no los ha leído todavía.  
 pile of there not CL has read still

I propose the same analyses for embedded declaratives as for their unembedded counterparts. This means that the locus of the sentence-mood features is again MoodP, and focus on these features gives rise to the verum interpretation. In English, tense and focused mood are DONATED from Mood to T where the auxiliary is merged. The complementizer is merged in a higher position at the upper edge of the left periphery in SubP (67).

- (67) [ ... [SubP [Sub’ [Sub<sup>0</sup> that ] [ ... [MoodP [Mood’ [Mood<sup>0</sup> ] ... [TP he<sub>i</sub> [T’ [T<sup>0</sup> does<sub>[mood:val,F]</sub> tense: val] ] [VP t<sub>i</sub> [V’ [V<sup>0</sup> come ]]]]]]]]]]]

In Spanish, the mood feature is KEPT by Mood, the focus feature triggers the merger of *sí*. The low complementizer is merged in Fin and moves to Mood (see Kocher 2022 for a detailed motivation and analysis). The high complementizer is merged in SubP (68).

- (68) [ ... [SubP [Sub' [Sub<sup>0</sup> que ] [ ... [MoodP sí<sub>[mood:val,F]</sub> [Mood' [Mood<sup>0</sup> que<sub>i</sub> ] [ ... [FinP  
[Fin' [Fin<sup>0</sup> t<sub>i</sub> [TP [T' [T<sup>0</sup> viene<sub>j[tense:val]</sub> ] [VP pro [V' [V<sup>0</sup> t<sub>j</sub> ]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

In German, the verb remains in V but the complementizer is merged in Mood. The complementizer checks the sentence mood feature (cf. also Roussou 2000 and Bayer 2004 on arguments for complementizers as clause typers) and the focus feature on the sentence mood feature is expressed as prosodic stress on the complementizer (68). Although this is not a central concern and requires further investigation, for the purposes of this analysis, I assume that the finite verb remains in V and its tense feature is valued via AGREE.

- (69) [ ... [MoodP [Mood' [Mood<sup>0</sup> dass<sub>[mood:val,F]</sub> ] [ ... [VP er [V' [V<sup>0</sup> kommt<sub>[tense:val]</sub> ]]]]]]]]]

As stated above, the data in (63) suggest that the complementizer in embedded declaratives in German occupies the same projection the finite verb occupies in unembedded sentences. In English and in Spanish, the same strategies are used as in unembedded declaratives. The embedding complementizer, therefore, occupies a higher position than MoodP. This suggests that the two languages have a richer left periphery than German. This conclusion is also supported by the data in (70).

- (70) John's brother and sister recently each moved to a different place. John only had time to help one of them moving. A and B discuss who John helped:

a. *English*

A: John said that his sister, he didn't help, right? B: No, no: He said that his sister, he DID help. He didn't have time for his brother, though.

b. *German*

A: \*Hans hat doch gesagt, dass seiner Schwester er nicht geholfen hat, oder?  
Hans has MOD.PART said that his sister he not helped has or  
B: Nein, nein: \*Er hat gesagt DASSseiner Schwester er geholfen hat. Für seinen  
no no he has said that his sister he helped has for his  
Bruder hatte er allerdings keine Zeit.  
brother had he though no time

c. *Spanish*

A: Juan dijo que a su hermana no le ayudó, ¿verdad?  
Juan said that DOM his sister not CL helped truth  
B: No, no: Dijo que a su hermana sí que ayudó. Pero no tenía  
no no said that DOM su hermana PART QUE helped but not had  
tiempo para su hermano.  
time for his brother

In English (70-a) and Spanish (70-c) a topic below the complementizer is grammatical in embedded declaratives with and without verum focus. This supports my conclusion that, in English, the complementizer is not merged in Mood but in Sub. The data indicate that in English there is a least one TopP sandwiched between these two projections.

In Spanish, the space between the embedding complementizer and the verum particle permits even more intervening material. This is illustrated by the corpus data in (71). In (71-a) there is a clitic left dislocated topic that targets a TopP between embedding *que* and *sí que*. In (71-b), there is a fronted adverb, which is generally analyzed as a focus in FocP (Rizzi 2013) and a topicalized subject in TopP. In (71-c) an evidential modifier analyzed in ModP surfaces between the high complementizer and the verum particle.

(71) a. *Spanish*

Y espero que [TopP esto<sub>i</sub>] sí que lo<sub>i</sub> entiendas.  
 and hope that this PART QUE CL understand  
 ‘And I hope that this you do understand.’ (CdE)

- b. Pienso que [FocP ahora] [TopP las familias] sí que se comunican  
 think that now the families PART QUE CL communicate  
 mejor que antes.  
 better than before  
 ‘I think that nowadays families do communicate in a better way.’ (CdE)

- c. Es como si estamos discutiendo si hay monstruos marinos (en  
 is like if are discussing whether there are monsters marine in  
 sentido mitológico), y tú propones resolver el debate decidiendo que  
 sense mythological and you propose resolve the debate saying that  
 llamemos monstruos marinos a los tiburones, que [ModP claramente]  
 call monsters marine DOM the sharks that clearly  
 sí que existen.  
 PART QUE exists  
 ‘It’s like we are discussing whether sea monster exists (in a mythological sense)  
 and you propose to end the debate by calling sharks sea monsters who clearly do  
 exist.’ (CdE)

German appears to be more restricted with respect to permitting topics below the complementizer in embedded declaratives with and without verum focus. The equivalent structures that are grammatical in Spanish and English, are ungrammatical in German (70-a). The issue, however, could also be related to the subject pronoun: The version without verum focus in (70-b), i.e. the question posed by A, improves if *er* ‘he’ is made more prominent through focus stress in (72).

(72) *German*

- A: ?Hans hat doch gesagt, dass seiner Schwester ER nicht geholfen hat, oder?  
 Hans has MOD.PART said that his sister he not helped has or  
 B: Nein, er hat gesagt, dass ihr ihre MUTTER nicht geholfen hat.  
 no he has said that herher mother not helped has  
 ‘A: Hans said that his sister, HE didn’t help, right? B: No, no: He said that his sister, HIS MOTHER didn’t help.

Both version with and without *verum focus* improve even more if the subject pronoun *er* is replaced by a prosodically heavier phrase (73).

- (73) John's brother and sister recently each moved to a different place. A and B discuss who of them had help moving:

*German*

A: Hans hat nichts davon erzählt, dass seiner Schwester jemand geholfen hat, oder?  
Hans has nothing about said that his sister someone helped has or

B: Doch, doch: Tasächlich hat er gesagt, DASS seiner Schwester  
MOD.PART MOD.PART in fact has he said that his sister  
jemand geholfen hat. Aber sein Bruder hat den Umzug alleine gemacht.  
someone helped has but his brother has the move alone made

'A: Hans has said nothing about whether his sister, anyone helped, right? B: No, he did:  
In fact he said that his sister, someone did help. His brother moved on his own.'

Further research is necessary to shed light into this peculiar restriction and to determine how the left periphery of German is structured precisely. For the present discussion, it is important to highlight that these facts do not go against my claim that the German embedding complementizer is merged in MoodP. The fact that a topic can surface below the complementizer in contexts as (73), does not contradict the assumption of a relatively low merge position of the complementizer in German compared to Spanish and English. For one thing, in the cartographic structure I posit that is given in (62), there is a TopP below MoodP. The existence of such a position in German can furthermore be corroborated by the findings in Frey (2004). Based on data like (74-b), the author independently shows that German has a position to host topics that is lower than the projection that hosts the finite verb and the embedding complementizer.

In German, topics are often moved above the finite verb to a left peripheral called the prefield in the German linguistic tradition (74-a).

- (74) *German*

I tell you something about Paul.

a. Den Paul<sub>topic</sub> wird nächstes Jahr eine vornehme Frau heiraten.  
the.ACC Paul will next year a fine lady marry  
'Paul, a fine lady will marry him next year.' (Frey 2004: 25: 50a)

b. Bald wird den Paul<sub>topic</sub> erfreulicherweise eine vornehme Dame heiraten.  
soon will the.ACC Paul fortunately a fine lady marry  
'Soon a fine lady will fortunately marry Paul.' (Frey 2004: 7: 8a)

The interesting case in the present context is given in (74-b). Here, the sentence topic, namely the object of the verb, *Paul*, surfaces below and not above the finite verb. It still occupies a relatively high position, which is evident from the fact that it precedes a sentential adverb. According to

Frey (2004) the neutral base position of German sentential adverbs is higher than any argument or adverbial position. Frey (2004) does not map the position of the intermediate topic in (74-b) in a cartographic structure like the one in (62). Still, it is worth noting that the structure does have a low TopP that it could correspond to.

To conclude, the behavior of verum focus in embedded declaratives provides support for the left peripheral position of Mood. This is particularly clear when considering the Spanish examples in (66). Furthermore, the data suggest again that there are discrepancies in the size of the left periphery in the three languages investigated and compared here (see also the discussion around the examples in (32) in section 4).

## 5 Conclusion

This article supports the sentence mood theory of verum focus, arguing in favor of the assumption that verum focus results from focus marking on sentence mood (Lohnstein 2016). While Lohnstein (2016) focuses on German (and English), where a verb is stressed in verum sentences, the present article shows that the Spanish particle based strategy can be accounted for in much the same way. My analyses build on Ouali (2008)'s feature inherence typology and Biberauer & Roberts (2010) and Roberts (2010) reprojection account. Ultimately, thereby, I provide support for them. Further support is also found for Biberauer & Roberts's assumption that head movement is triggered by tense rather than  $\phi$  features. In my analyses I assume a sentence Mood projection in the left periphery. The idea that verum is stress on sentence mood is formalized as a focus feature on the sentence mood feature. I argued that the surface differences result from (independent) parametric differences in verb movement. As a result, different material ends up carrying the focused mood feature in the different languages and clause types, giving rise to different surface expression of verum.

The proposal I presented in this article is grounded in the idea that every sentence contains a mood feature. The structures remained vague as to whether the value of this feature encodes a particular mood related to a concrete clause type or not. Although this is not developed in this article, it does not mean that the alternative view, that clauses are typed through structural properties, is rejected out-of-hand. Although more comparative research is called for, the pattern we find in the languages I investigated, which are summarized in 3 and 4, could actually be taken to suggest that both mechanisms are necessary: In German, the mood feature is always checked by the verb, suggesting that there are three distinct values. In Spanish, on the contrary, mood morphology is rich. Only in imperatives the feature is checked by the verb. Declaratives and interrogatives have the same structural properties with respect to where the features are checked, and the verbs also have the same mood morphology. This could mean that the mood feature only differentiates two values in Spanish. In English, each clause type has a different structural set up, and the finite verb occupies a different position in each of them. Mood, however, is always

checked by the finite verb along with tense. This could mean that the clause type is marked doubly in this language: through the mood feature and the structure.

The central aim of this article was to show that the Spanish, the English and the German *verum* strategies I investigated all result from stress on sentence mood. While I hope I could answer many questions that might have arisen along the course of this article, some questions are left unanswered and certainly require further investigation. There are still some puzzles left to solve with regard to how *verum* is expressed in Spanish: There is need for an explanation why focus on mood is expressed by *sí* in Spanish, the particle otherwise used to express an affirmative answer. Furthermore, one needs to address why there is no requirement to express the focus on mood as prosodic stress in non-declaratives in Spanish. Other open questions pertain to verb movement: For instance, it should be explained what motivates the movement of the imperative verb to T in English and why it does not remain in V and agrees with T, as in declaratives. Finally, I adopt the idea from Biberauer & Roberts (2010) that T is not projected in German declaratives, but with regard to imperatives and interrogatives, it is not immediately clear whether it is projected in these clause types or not.

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## Abbreviations

ACC = accusative, CL = clitic, DOM = differential object marking, F = feminine, MOD.PART = modal particle, PART = particle, SG = singular, SUBJ = subjunctive. I glossed *que* as QUE.

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## Competing interests

The author has no competing interests to declare.

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