

# On quotative recomplementation: Between pragmatics and morphosyntax

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## Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyse the Catalan and Spanish QUOTATIVE RECOMPLEMENTATION (QRC) in terms of pragmatic features encoded by morphosyntax. In QRC constructions, the second complementizer (*que*<sub>2</sub>) is used to set the boundaries between a reproduced discourse and the clausal elements that were implicit in the original discourse, which must be reintroduced in the new communicative situation because they are not shared by the interlocutor (e.g. Sp. *Están sentados en la mesa* → *Ha dicho que*<sub>1</sub> ***los invitados*** *#(que*<sub>2</sub>) *están sentados en la mesa*). QRC is an evidence for the existence of two types of complements for assertive verbs: QUOTATIVE COMPLEMENTS (embedded speech acts with a *de dicto* interpretation) and REPORTATIVE COMPLEMENTS (speech events that are stated, with a *de re* interpretation; e.g. Sp. *Están sentados en la mesa* → *Ha dicho que*<sub>1</sub> ***los invitados*** (*#que*<sub>2</sub>) *ya están en su sitio*). Quotative complements have the same propositional structure as the original sentence and can include some elements such as speech act adverbs—which are oriented to the original speaker (i.e. the matrix clause subject)—, Hanging Topics, or discourse connectors. On the contrary, reportative complements may be a summary of the original discourse and they have not such elements oriented to the original speaker or the previous discourse. Besides, reportative complements allow long-distance movement from the embedded CP to the matrix CP.

**Keywords:** Indirect Speech; Quotation; *de re* / *de dicto* distinction; Complementization; Complementizer Doubling; Morphosyntax-Pragmatics Interface; Catalan; Spanish.

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 A previous note on recomplementation

*Recomplementation* (Higgins, 1988 cited in Fontana, 1993, 164) —or *Complementizer doubling* (Mascarenhas, 2007)—<sup>1</sup> is a cover term for two distinct phenomena related with embedded clauses in the Ibero-Romance languages (Uriagereka, 1995): **Quotative recomplementation** (QRC) —e.g. (1)— and **embedded jussive clauses** —e.g. (3).<sup>2</sup>

On the one hand, in (1) the second complementizer (*que*<sub>2</sub>) is used to set the boundaries between a reproduced discourse and the clausal elements that were implicit in the original speech (see (2)), which must be reintroduced in the new communicative situation because they are not shared by the interlocutor (González i Planas, 2010, ch. 4).

- (1) QUOTATIVE RECOMPLEMENTATION  
Ha dit *que*<sub>1</sub> **els convidats**, *que*<sub>2</sub> estan asseguts a taula.  
‘He/She has said that the guests are seated at the table.’ (*Catalan*)
- (2) ORIGINAL SPEECH FOR (1)
  - A. Què fan els convidats?  
‘What are the guests doing?’ (*Catalan*)
  - B. Estan asseguts a taula.  
‘They are seated at the table.’ (*Catalan*)

On the other hand, the example (3) corresponds to an embedded jussive clause with a conative matrix verb, in which a prominent element appears on the left periphery between the subordinating particle *que*<sub>1</sub> and the obligatory jussive particle *que*<sub>jussive</sub> —cf. matrix clauses like (4), where the particle *que*<sub>jussive</sub> is mandatory.

- (3) EMBEDDED JUSSIVE CLAUSE  
Ha ordenat *que*<sub>1</sub> els convidats (*que*<sub>jussive</sub>) s’asseguin a taula.  
‘He/She ordered that the guests sit at the table.’ (*Catalan*)
- (4) MATRIX JUSSIVE CLAUSE
  - a. Els convidats, \*(*que*<sub>jussive</sub>) s’asseguin a taula.  
‘Let the guests sit at the table.’ (*Catalan*)
  - b. *Que*<sub>jussive</sub> els convidats s’asseguin a taula.  
‘Let the guests sit at the table.’ (*Catalan*)

Finally, QRC and jussive *que* can appear in the same clause (see (5)).

- (5) QUOTED JUSSIVE SPEECH ACT  
... i em diu *que*<sub>1</sub> si he de continuar arribant tard, *que*<sub>2</sub>, *que*<sub>jussive</sub> no vingui més.  
‘... and he/she tells me not to come over if I continue getting late.’

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<sup>1</sup>Other terms that have been used are: *que pleonástico* (Menéndez Pidal, 1908 cited in García Cornejo, 2006), *subordonnée à double complémentateur* (Wanner, 1998), *intrusive QUE* (Roehrs & Labelle, 2003), *double que construction* (Paoli, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007), and *double-headed clauses* (McCloskey, 2006).

<sup>2</sup>Complementizer doubling structures studied in this paper are different from Ligurian and Piedmontese *che* doubling (Paoli, 2003), Picard second *que* clauses (Dagnac, 2011), or the Gascon enunciative particle *que* (Pusch, 2000, among others). However, it should also be noted that recomplementation structures apparently similar to the Ibero-Romance ones have been documented in Walloon (Remacle, 1960), but they have not been sufficiently described.

## 1.2 Objectives and organization of the article

The aim of this paper is to analyse Catalan and Spanish quotative recomplementation (QRC) in terms of pragmatic features encoded by morphosyntax (within the cartography of syntactic structures approach).<sup>3</sup> We consider that there are evidences for the existence of two types of complements for assertive verbs, i.e. **quotative complements** (embedded speech acts or clauses with *de dicto* interpretation) and **reportative complements** (reported events or clauses with *de re* interpretation).

We argue that the differences between the two complement types can be explained by the truncation of the reportative CP layer. This asymmetry explains the locality restrictions of quotative complements that prevent extracting syntactic components outside the embedded CP. Specifically, the impossibility of extraction is explained by the fact that CP of quotative complements is a (strong) phase. By contrast, reportative embedded clauses have a defective CP that is not a phase, so that when matrix  $v^*$  —a phase head— is merged, no syntactic components located in the embedded CP are transferred to the interfaces, allowing the cyclic movement to matrix CP. In this sense, the study of QRC and the placement patterns of speech act adverbs and hanging topic left dislocations (HTLD) in embedded contexts allows us to show that the asymmetries between the two interpretations is explained by structural (i.e. syntactic) differences.

The organization of the article is as follows: In § 2 we present the most characteristic grammatical (semantic, pragmatic, and morphosyntactic) facts on QRC; in § 3 we provide evidences for a relationship between the complement clause type (i.e. quotative vs. reportative) and the *de dicto* / *de re* distinction on the interpretation of nouns' reference in embedded contexts; in § 4 we relate long-distance movement restrictions in QRC constructions to the interpretative facts presented in § 3, and the presence of a HTLD or a speech act adverb in the embedded CP area; in § 5 we analyze syntactically the two types of complement clauses and propose a phase-theoretical account based in the truncation or not of the CP layer; and finally, § 6 summarizes the most important conclusions.

## 2 Grammatical facts

### 2.1 Semantics of the matrix verb

Only assertive verbs can select complement clauses with recomplementation structures. Assertive verbs are a type of bridge verbs and they allow WhP extraction from the complement clause to merge it in the left periphery of the matrix clause, as illustrated in (6).

- (6) What<sub>i</sub> did you {say / think / \*quip / \*whisper} [ that Bill saw  $t_i$ ]

However, this property is blocked in the sentences that select clauses with QRC constructions (see § 2.3.3).

This group of verbs includes verbs that have until now called strong assertive (Cat. *comentar* 'to comment', *dir* 'to say', *preguntar* 'to ask', etc.; Sp. *asegurar* 'to assert', *comentar* 'to comment', *decir* 'to say', *exclamar* 'to exclaim', *preguntar* 'to ask', *prometer*

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<sup>3</sup>We leave aside the embedded jussive clauses. For more details, see [González i Planas \(2010, ch. 4\)](#) and [Villa-García \(2012a, 2012b\)](#).

‘to promise’, etc.) and weak assertive (Cat. *creure* ‘to believe’, *pensar* ‘to think’, etc.; Sp. *creer* ‘to believe’, *pensar* ‘to think’, etc.).<sup>4</sup>

Syntactic behavior of assertive verbs is opposed to factive-emotive verbs, which also select complement clauses but they do not allow the WhP extraction from an indirect interrogative clause, as illustrated by the following examples.

- (7) a. En Joan lamenta que la Maria vulgui un gos.  
           ‘John regrets that Mary wants a dog.’ (*Catalan*)  
       b. \*En Joan lamenta què<sub>i</sub> vulgui la Maria *t<sub>i</sub>*.  
           ‘\*John regrets what does Mary want.’ (*Catalan*)  
       c. \*Què<sub>i</sub> lamenta en Joan que la Maria vulgui *t<sub>i</sub>*?  
           ‘\*What does John regret that Mary wants?’ (*Catalan*)  
       d. Què és el que vol la Maria que lamenta en Joan?  
           ‘What does Mary want that John regrets?’ (*Catalan*)

Finally, factive-emotive verbs do not accept QRC structures in their complement clauses:

- (8) \*Lamento *que<sub>1</sub>* **el cotxe**, *que<sub>2</sub>* no te’l puguís comprar.  
       ‘I regret that you cannot buy the car.’ (*Catalan*)

Other types of verbs such as perceptive and evidential ones cannot select complement clauses with QRC:

- (9) a. He vist *que<sub>1</sub>* **la teva mare** (\**que<sub>2</sub>*) té molta feina.  
           ‘I saw that your mother has a lot of work.’ (*Catalan*)  
       b. Durant la meua vida professional he comprovat *que<sub>1</sub>* **si tens paciència i ets constant**, (\**que<sub>2</sub>*) sempre aconsegueixes el que et proposes.  
           ‘During my career, I have found that people always get what they propose if they are patient and constant.’ (*Catalan*)

The relationship between the presence of *que<sub>2</sub>* and the quotative interpretation of the embedded clause explains why QRC is agrammatical in verbs other than assertive verbs. Since the matrix verbs of (9a) and (9b) cannot refer to previous speech acts, the embedded clauses cannot ever require the reintroduction of elliptic elements that were not present in the original situation (see § 2.2). However, verbs such as Cat. *escollar* / Sp. *oir*~*escuchar* ‘listen’ allow QRC constructions, which may be explained by the elision of an assertive (saying) verb that legitimizes the reintroduction of elliptic elements.<sup>5</sup>

- (10) Oyó (decir (al policía)) *que<sub>1</sub>* **a Antonio**, *que<sub>2</sub>* se lo llevaban esposado.  
       ‘He/She heard (the policeman said) that Antonio was taken away in handcuffs.’  
       (*Spanish*)

<sup>4</sup>By contrast, conative volitive verbs (Cat. *demanar* ‘to request / to require’, *esperar* ‘to expect’, etc.; Sp. *pedir* ‘to request / to require’, *rogar* ‘to request’, *suplicar* ‘to supplicate’, *ordenar* ‘to order’, etc.) only can select jussive clauses as complements. See the following example:

- (i) Espero *que<sub>1</sub>* **a la teva germana** *que<sub>jussive</sub>* li agradi la cançó. Em faria molt feliç.  
       ‘I hope that your sister likes the song. I would be very happy.’ (*Catalan*)

<sup>5</sup>Thanks to Paco Fernández-Rubiera for drawing my attention to these examples.

Actually, (11) is an ambiguous sentence, because it can have the meaning of hearing the sound that made Antonio’s handcuffs or the same meaning of (10):

- (11) # Oyó que a Antonio se lo llevaban esposado.  
 ‘He/She heard that Antonio was taken away in handcuffs.’ ( $\neq \llbracket(10)\rrbracket$ )  
 ‘He/She heard someone said that Antonio was taken away in handcuffs.’ (=  $\llbracket(10)\rrbracket$ ) (*Spanish*)

On the other hand, Mascarenhas (2007) claims that recomplementation in Portuguese is possible in clauses selected by semifactive predicates like *saber* ‘to know’. In previous works (González i Planas, 2010, 2011), in order to match Mascarenhas’ data, we had considered that semifactive verbs could also be considered as quotative predicates and that they select clauses with QRC. At this time, we do not accept it for two reasons: (a) in Catalan and Spanish QRC constructions with semifactive verbs are ill-formed —see (12)—; (b) semifactive verbs are not *opacity verbs* and they do not give rise to a *de re / de dicto* distinction (see § 3).

- (12) a. ?? Sabem *que*<sub>1</sub> **la teva dona**, *que*<sub>2</sub> no ens ha volgut agafar el telèfon.  
 ‘We know that your wife doesn’t want to pick up the phone to us.’ (*Catalan*)  
 b. ?? Sabemos *que*<sub>1</sub> **tu mujer**, *que*<sub>2</sub> no nos quiso abrir la puerta.  
 ‘We know that your wife did not want to open the door to us.’ (*Spanish*)

## 2.2 Interpretation and discourse linkage

The main problem of previous studies on recomplementation is that they do not consider the pragmatic and discursive contexts in which it appears. This means that they do not differentiate properly the functional particles *que*<sub>2</sub> and *que*<sub>jussive</sub> (see § 1.1). Thus, in this section we summarize González i Planas’ (2010) analysis on pragmatic and discursive contexts in which QRC appears.

The sentences where quotative recomplementation is present can be schematically represented as in (13):

- (13)  $\underbrace{[CP_1 \dots V_1 \dots]}_{\text{quotative predicate}} [CP_2 \text{ } que_1 \underbrace{[XP_1 \text{ } que_2 \dots XP_n \text{ } que_2]}_{\text{reintroduced phrases}} \underbrace{[\dots V_2 \dots]}_{\text{reproduced discourse}} ] ] ]$

The structure of (13) corresponds to a sentence with a matrix quotative predicate that selects an indirect speech formed by two components:<sup>6</sup> The first is a sequence of phrases reintroduced in the complement clause because they were not lexically realized in the original speech act, and therefore they are inserted between two complementizers; the second corresponds to the elements lexically realized in the original speech, modified to suit the grammatical form of indirect speech (see Villalba (2002) for Catalan). The following example can capture the interpretative nuances of QRC:

- (14) Rosa me espetó muy indignada *que*<sub>1</sub> **los informes**, *que*<sub>2</sub> cómo que a Madrid cuándo hay que mandarlos. «¿Cuándo va a ser?» —me dijo— «¡El lunes! Será que no lo sabía nadie, ¿no?»  
 ‘Rosa snapped me very outraged: «How come you (dare) ask me when you must send the reports to Madrid?» «When will it be?» —she said to me— «On Monday! Doesn’t anyone know? Isn’t it?»’ (*Spanish*, De la Mota Gorriz, 1995, (237))

<sup>6</sup>NB: Quotative recomplementation can occur in matrix clauses headed by *que*<sub>1</sub> (see Etxepare, 2010).

The interpretation of (14) is that the speaker reproduces a dialogue with Rosa, which we reconstruct in (15).

(15) CONTEXT: A [= speaker of (14)] and B [= *Rosa*] talk about reports that B has commanded to write to the department where A works.

- A. A Madrid, ¿cuándo hay que mandarlos?  
‘When we must send them to Madrid?’
- B. ¿Cómo que a Madrid cuándo hay que mandarlos?! ¿Cuándo va a ser? ¡El lunes! Será que no lo sabía nadie, ¿no?  
‘How come you (dare) ask me when you must send them to Madrid? When will it be? On Monday! Doesn’t anyone know? Isn’t it?’
- B' . # ¿Cómo que los informes, a Madrid cuándo hay que mandarlos?! ¿Cuándo va a ser? ¡El lunes! Será que no lo sabía nadie, ¿no?  
‘How come you (dare) ask me when you must send the reports to Madrid? When will it be? On Monday! Doesn’t anyone know? Isn’t it?’
- B'' . # ¿Cómo que a Madrid cuándo hay que mandarlos, los informes?! ¿Cuándo va a ser? ¡El lunes! Será que no lo sabía nadie, ¿no?  
‘How come you (dare) ask me when you must send the reports to Madrid? When will it be? On Monday! Doesn’t anyone know? Isn’t it?’

The example (14) is not adequate as reproduced speech for (16B') and (16B'') options in the original context. The reason is that *los informes* cannot appear inserted between two *que* particles in indirect speech if it appeared explicitly in the original sentence. The Catalan oral data in (16) are a new evidence that confirms our interpretative analysis of QRC.

- (16) SON: Les claus del cotxe, on són?  
‘Where are the car keys?’
- MOTHER: El teu pare les deu haver tornades a perdre!  
Your father must have lost them again!
- FATHER: [*shouting*] Jo no les perdo mai! Les tinc a la butxaca que és on han de ser.  
‘I do not ever lose them! I have them in my pocket, where they should be.’  
[*The daughter goes into the room*]
- DAUGHTER: Mare, què són tants crits?  
‘Mother, why are so many shouts?’
- MOTHER: Res, filla. Ja saps com és el teu pare. M’ha deixat anar *que*<sub>1</sub> **les claus**, *que*<sub>2</sub> no les perd mai... que les té a la butxaca, que és on han de ser.  
‘Nothing, daughter. You know how your father is. He has told me that he never loses the keys... (he has told that) he has them in the pocket, where they should be.’

The above example shows how the sandwiched topic between two *que* in the last mother’s intervention did not appear in the original father’s speech because it was part of the context and it was implied. By contrast, when the mother reproduces the father’s intervention, she necessarily introduces the elliptic elements that are not shared by the daughter in the new communicative situation.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>QRC is a grammatical strategy that facilitates Grice’s cooperative principle. Specifically, it con-



## 2.3 Syntactic properties

Previous studies have revealed several properties that show the syntactic status of recomplementation. The following sections summarize the most significant ones.

### 2.3.1 $\Theta$ -selection

Quotative clauses are completive clauses selected by the matrix verb of the sentence, so quotative clauses cannot be noun complements, adjunct clauses, or subject of the sentence (Iatridou & Kroch, 1992), which means that they cannot be the subject of a passive sentence. Similarly, quotative clauses cannot be dislocated.<sup>8</sup> The following examples illustrate it:

- (17) a. \* [DP El rumor [Noun complement *que*<sub>1</sub> el president, *que*<sub>2</sub> està imputat]] farà molt mal a l'empresa  
'The rumor that the president is imputed will hurt a lot the company.'  
(Catalan)
- b. ?\* [Adjunct Dient *que*<sub>1</sub> el president, *que*<sub>2</sub> està imputat] no aconseguirem el vist-i-plau dels accionistes.  
'Saying that the president is imputed, we will not get the approval of shareholders.'  
(Catalan)
- c. \* [Subject *Que*<sub>1</sub> el president, *que*<sub>2</sub> està imputat] va ser anunciat ahir a la reunió.  
'That the president is imputed was announced yesterday at the meeting.'  
(Catalan)
- d. \* [CLLD *Que*<sub>1</sub> el president, *que*<sub>2</sub> no venia]<sub>i</sub> ens ho<sub>i</sub> van dir ahir a la reunió.  
'They said yesterday at the meeting that the president did not come.'  
(Catalan)

### 2.3.2 Cartography of quotative recomplementation

The sandwiched constituents between homophonous complementizers are usually causal clauses (Paoli, 2003, 270–276), temporal adverbs (Paoli, 2003, 270–276; Ribeiro & Torres Morais, 2009), adverbial clauses (Keniston, 1937, 675), conditional clauses (Paoli, 2003, 270–276; Ribeiro & Torres Morais, 2009), and subjects or CLLD (Keniston, 675, 1937, 675; Paoli, 2003, 270–276).<sup>9</sup> González i Planas' (2010) cartographic analysis reveals that

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tributes to the **quantity** and **manner** maxims, because the speaker does not say too little and she avoids ambiguity. We leave aside it in this paper.

<sup>8</sup>See Etxepare (2007) for a detailed description on  $\theta$ -structure and complement selection in Spanish quotative constructions.

<sup>9</sup>Ribeiro & Torres Morais (2009) and Gupton (2010) consider that Contrastive Topics (a type of CLLD) may occur between two complementizers. The fact that Gupton considers sandwiched Contrastive Topics acceptable does not necessarily mean that it is grammatical in all models of analysis. That is, the superficial difference between an Aboutness-shift Topic and a Contrastive Topic is prosodic. After Spell-Out, the phonological component applies the matching rules between syntax and prosody, so phrases located in [Spec,A-TopP] receive a L\*+H tone, while the phrases located in [Spec,Contr(ative)P] receive a H\* tone (Frascarelli, 2007). However, the morphology of words and the syntactic order allow to interpret the meaning correctly. By this we mean that the ContrP  $\succ$  *que*<sub>2</sub> hierarchy is necessarily agrammatical according to our cartographic analysis (based on Frascarelli, 2007), although a hearer can accept it; on the contrary, it is perfectly grammatical in the analysis proposed by Gupton (2010) because these two types of topics do not differ in the syntactic component. We believe that it is not possible because an elliptical element with contrastive value cannot be introduced in a quotative clause. So any contrastive

the elements mentioned above can appear in QRC positions as well as hanging topic left dislocations, speech act adverbs, connector adverbs, and enunciative adverbs.<sup>10</sup> The hierarchy in (18) summarizes it.<sup>11</sup>

- (18) ...  $que_1$   $\succ$  Connector adverb ( $que_2$ )  $\succ$  Enunciative adverb ( $que_2$ )  $\succ$  HTLD ( $que_2$ )  $\succ$  Speech act adverb ( $que_2$ )  $\succ$  Concessive clause ( $que_2$ )  $\succ$  Hypothetical clause ( $que_2$ )  $\succ$  Aboutness-shift topic and/or Scene-setting topics ( $que_2$ )  $\succ$  {*per què~por qué / si*}  $\succ$  {Contrastive topic / Contrastive focus}  $\succ$  Evaluative adverb  $\succ$  Central adverbial clause  $\succ$  Evidential adverb  $\succ$  Epistemic adverb  $\succ$  Familiar topics  $\succ$  Interrogative or exclamative WhP ...

Given (18), we observe that different clause types can be embedded in quotative complements. See the examples in (19):

- (19) a. DECLARATIVE CLAUSES  
La secretària em va dir  $que_1$  si pagava l'import abans d'una setmana,  $que_2$  encara em podia matricular.  
'The secretary told me that if I paid the amount before a week I could still register.' (*Catalan*)
- b. JUSSIVE CLAUSES<sup>12</sup>  
El director ha dit  $que_1$  a la sala d'actes,  $que_2$  els alumnes castigats  $que_{jussive}$  hi vagin ara mateix.  
'The principal says that the punished students should go to the assembly hall immediately.' (*Catalan*)
- c. EXCLAMATIVE CLAUSES  
L'Emma diu  $que_1$  el crèdit,  $que_2$  quina sort que te'l van donar per telèfon.  
'Emma says: «How lucky they gave you the credit by phone!»' (*Catalan*)
- d. WH-INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES  
La mare {diu / pregunta}  $que_1$  demà,  $que_2$  qui vindrà amb vosaltres.  
'My mother is asking who will come with you tomorrow.' (*Catalan*)
- e. YES/NO-QUESTIONS  
La mare {diu / pregunta}  $que_1$  demà,  $que_2$  si pot venir amb vosaltres.  
'My mother asks if she can come with you tomorrow.' (*Catalan*)

These different clause types have in common the high area of the CP layer, where the sandwiched phrases appear. The cartography of this high area is the following:

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element must be necessarily explicit, since the contrast is given by the original speaker (see [González i Planas, 2011](#), § 4.3.4).

<sup>10</sup>Connector and enunciative adverbs are respectively adverbs like Cat. *llavors* / Sp. *entonces* 'then' and Cat. *breument* / Sp. *brevemente* 'briefly'.

<sup>11</sup>We follow [Mata \(2005\)](#) for connector and enunciative adverbs as the higher elements in the top of CP area. We assume that HTLDs precede speech act adverbs, so they are placed in the specifier of a functional projection that encodes a feature that allows linking with the previous discourse, i.e. *Discourse Phrase* ([Benincà, 2001](#)). We also accept [Munaro's \(2005\)](#) proposal, according to which contrafactive conditional clauses and optative conditional clauses are placed in the specifier of a functional projection that this author calls *Hypothetical Phrase*, while concessive conditional clauses do it in the specifier of a projection that he calls *Concessive Phrase*. On the other hand, Aboutness-shift Topics are one of the three types of topics identified by [Frascarelli \(2007\)](#). For convenience, we do not distinguish between Aboutness-shift Topics and Scene-setting Topics.

<sup>12</sup>We consider that jussive clauses are an autonomous clause type different than declarative, interrogative, or exclamative ones.



- (20) [SubP Sub<sup>0</sup> [ConnectorP AdvP [ Connector<sup>0</sup> [EnunciativeP AdvP [ Enunciative<sup>0</sup> [DiscourseP HTLD [ Disc<sup>0</sup> [SpeechActP AdvP [ SpeechAct<sup>0</sup> [ConcessiveP Concessive Adverbial Clause [ Conc<sup>0</sup> [HypotheticalP Hypothetical Adverbial Clause [ Hyp<sup>0</sup> [A-TopP Aboutness-shift Topic [ A-Top<sup>0</sup> .....]

### 2.3.3 Locality restrictions on negation and movement

In languages like Spanish in which preverbal double negation is agrammatical,<sup>13</sup> if the negative phrase appears sandwiched between two *que*, then the clausal negative particle (*no* ‘not’) becomes mandatory (Martín-González, 1999, 2002). See the following examples adapted from Martín-González (2002):

- (21) a. Me dijeron *que*<sub>1</sub> **a ninguno de ellos**<sub>*i*</sub>, *que*<sub>2</sub> Juan \*(no) los<sub>*i*</sub> invitó.  
‘They said to me that John didn’t invite any of them.’ (*Spanish*)  
b. Me dijeron *que*<sub>1</sub> **a ninguno de ellos**<sub>*i*</sub>, Juan los<sub>*i*</sub> invitó.  
‘They said to me that John didn’t invite any of them.’ (*Spanish*)

This property is related with locality restrictions on movement (see Villa-García (2012b, ch. 5) for a unitary analysis). In this sense, Villa-García (2012c) has shown that the presence of a second complementizer (*que*<sub>2</sub>) induces a locality violation caused by movement across it. The long-distance movement (i.e. extraction of *wh*-phrases —the most significant property of the bridge verbs—, Contrastive Focus, and CLLD) is blocked by the COMP-trace effect (i.e. *que*<sub>2</sub>-t) like English *that*-trace effect, cf. (22) with (23).

- (22) a. \*Who<sub>*i*</sub> do you think that *t*<sub>*i*</sub> won?  
b. Who<sub>*i*</sub> do you think *t*<sub>*i*</sub> won?  
(Villa-García, 2012c, (73))  
(23) a. \*¿Quién<sub>*i*</sub> me dijiste *que*<sub>1</sub> a tu madre *que*<sub>2</sub> la va a llamar *t*<sub>*i*</sub>?  
‘Who did you tell me is going to phone your mother?’  
b. ¿Quién<sub>*i*</sub> me dijiste *que*<sub>1</sub> a tu madre la va a llamar *t*<sub>*i*</sub>?  
‘Who did you tell me is going to phone your mother?’  
(*Spanish*, Villa-García, 2012c, (75))

This means that in *wh*-interrogative sentences containing a quotative clause with QRC, the phrase moved to matrix CP can be only an element of the matrix clause, as in (24).

- (24) a. \*¿[WhP Cuándo]<sub>*i*</sub> me dijiste *que*<sub>1</sub> a Eva *que*<sub>2</sub> le iban a operar *t*<sub>*i*</sub>?  
‘When did you tell me Eva was going to get surgery?’ (*Spanish*, Villa-García, p.c.)  
b. ¿[WhP Cuándo]<sub>*i*</sub> me dijiste *t*<sub>*i*</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> a Eva *que*<sub>2</sub> le iban a operar?  
‘When did you tell me Eva was going to get surgery?’ (*Spanish*, Villa-García, p.c.)

The following examples illustrate the ungrammaticality of long-distance extraction of CLLDed phrases and Contrastive Focus.

<sup>13</sup>Note that the preverbal double negation is optative in Catalan:

- (i) Ningú (no) m’ho ha dit mai, que fos bonica.  
‘Nobody has ever told me that {I/she} was beautiful.’

- (25) [<sub>CLLD</sub> Encima de la mesa]<sub>i</sub> me dijeron *que*<sub>1</sub> tu madre (\**que*<sub>2</sub>) había puesto los libros *t<sub>i</sub>*.  
 ‘They told me that your mother had put the books on top of the table.’ (*Spanish*, adapted from [Villa-García, 2012c](#), (63b) and (64b))
- (26) [<sub>CFocus</sub> LOS LIBROS]<sub>i</sub> me dijeron *que*<sub>1</sub> tu madre (\**que*<sub>2</sub>) había puesto *t<sub>i</sub>* encima de la mesa(, y no los lapiceros).  
 ‘They told me that your mother had put THE BOOKS on top of the table (not the pens). (*Spanish*)’

A phrase sandwiched between homophonous complementizers must be generated in the CP layer where it is interpreted, so that it cannot be the result of a long-distance movement from an other embedded CP. Example (27) illustrates this property:

- (27) Dijo *que* **sobre el artículo**<sub>i</sub> (\**que*) escuchó que habían hecho comentarios positivos *t<sub>i</sub>*.  
 ‘S/he told me that s/he heard that the paper had received positive comments.’ (*Spanish*, [Villa-García, 2012c](#), (26a–b))

The other violation of locality that occurs in QRC constructions refers to the inability to reconstruct the phrase inserted between two *que*. Specifically, a phrase placed in a position c-commanded by *que*<sub>2</sub> cannot be never interpreted as the antecedent of an anaphoric element placed above *que*<sub>2</sub> —as in (28a)—, which the non-sandwiched CLLDs do allow, as in (28b):<sup>14</sup>

- (28) a. Me contaron *que*<sub>1</sub> su<sub>i/j</sub> coche *que*<sub>2</sub> todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> lo tiene que dejar aquí.  
 ‘They told me that everybody has to leave his car here.’ (*Spanish*, [Villa-García, p.c.](#))
- b. Me contaron *que*<sub>1</sub> su<sub>i/j</sub> coche todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> lo tiene que dejar aquí.  
 ‘They told me that everybody has to leave his car here.’ (*Spanish*, [Villa-García, p.c.](#))

## 2.4 Morphological properties

### 2.4.1 Verbal mood in the embedded clause

Complementizer doubling is not sensitive to the verbal mood of the embedded clause, so both it can appear in indicative and subjunctive clauses ([Paoli, 2003](#), 276–277; [Ribeiro & Torres Morais, 2009](#)). As shown by [González i Planas \(2010\)](#) and [Villa-García \(2012a\)](#), this feature is true if *que*<sub>2</sub> is not confused with *que*<sub>jussive</sub>, because the second complementizer may have a different nature (see § 2.4.2) depending on the matrix predicate class and the mood of the embedded verb (see §§ 1.1 and 2.3.2 for a description).

### 2.4.2 Specifier-head agreement

On the morphological nature of QRC constructions, [Paoli \(2007, 1075\)](#) has proposed that they are an agreement relationship between the sandwiched phrase and the second complementizer, i.e. a specifier-head agreement. Following [Bošković \(2008\)](#), among others,

<sup>14</sup>According to [Villa-García’s \(2012c\)](#) analysis, the properties of (21a) and (28a) support [Cinque’s \(1990\)](#) hypothesis that CLLD are base-generated in the left periphery; however, the properties of (21b) and (28b) only support an  $\bar{A}$ -movement account for CLLD (see [López, 2009](#), among other).

Villa-García (2012c) has shown this hypothesis with the complement ellipsis test. The complement ellipsis of a functional projection is only possible if they undergo specifier-head agreement (Bošković, 2008). The examples in (29) show that property, so grammatical examples are those in which there is an agreement relationship between the specifier and the head of the projection containing an ellided complement. Conversely, agrammatical examples are those where there is no specifier, so the lack of specifier-head agreement does not allow the complement ellipsis.

- (29) a. John liked Mary and [<sub>IP</sub> Peter<sub>i</sub> [<sub>I'</sub> did ~~*t<sub>i</sub>*~~ like Mary]] too.  
 b. John's talk about history was interesting but [<sub>DP</sub> Bill [<sub>D'</sub> 's ~~talk about history~~]] was boring.  
 c. \*A single student came to the class because [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>D'</sub> the student]] thought that it was important.  
 d. John met someone but I don't know [<sub>CP</sub> who<sub>i</sub> [<sub>C'</sub> C John met ~~*t<sub>i</sub>*~~]].  
 e. \*John believes that Peter met someone but I don't think [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C'</sub> that Peter met someone]].

(Bošković, 2008, (5))

As for QRC, the example in (30) shows that the ellipsis of *que*<sub>2</sub> complement is possible in coordinated clauses, which shows that a specifier-head agreement exists.<sup>15</sup>

- (30) Me dijeron [<sub>CP</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>XP</sub> **si llueve**, [<sub>X'</sub> *que*<sub>2</sub> [ no vienen a la fiesta]]]],  
 y [<sub>CP</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>XP</sub> **si nieva**, [<sub>X'</sub> *que*<sub>2</sub> [ ~~no vienen a la fiesta~~ tampoco]]]].  
 'They told me that they will not come to the party if it rains or snows.' (Spanish, adapted from Villa-García, 2012c, (41a–b))

In conclusion, *que*<sub>2</sub> is the morphological materialization of a specifier-head agreement that involves pragmatic features (see §§ 2.2 and 3).

### 3 De re and de dicto interpretations

#### 3.1 The de re / de dicto distinction

Assertive verbs are *propositional attitude verbs* or *opacity verbs*, because they create linguistic environments that do not permit substitution of co-designating singular terms *salva veritate* and they give rise to a *de re* / *de dicto* distinction. Since the *de re* / *de dicto* distinction has meant different things to different authors, McKay & Nelson (2010) distinguish three different conceptions of this distinction:

<sup>15</sup>On the other hand, the examples in (i) show that the jussive *que* does not allow ellipsis of its complement, and *que*<sub>jussive</sub> must also be deleted.

- (i) a. \*Dice [<sub>CP</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>XP</sub> **a tu padre**, [<sub>YP</sub> [<sub>Y'</sub> *que*<sub>jussive</sub> lo llamen]]]],  
 y [<sub>CP</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>XP</sub> **a tu madre**, [<sub>YP</sub> [<sub>Y'</sub> *que*<sub>jussive</sub> ~~la llamen~~ también]]]].  
 'S/he is ordering that they call your father, and also your mother.'  
 b. Dice [<sub>CP</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>XP</sub> **a tu padre**, [<sub>YP</sub> [<sub>Y'</sub> *que*<sub>jussive</sub> lo llamen]]]],  
 y [<sub>CP</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>XP</sub> **a tu madre**, [<sub>YP</sub> [<sub>Y'</sub> ~~*que*<sub>jussive</sub> la llamen~~ también]]]].  
 'S/he is ordering that they call your father, and also your mother.'  
 (Spanish, adapted from Villa-García, 2012c, (48))

This phenomenon is consistent with the properties of jussive clauses described in § 1.1; specifically, the fact that *que*<sub>jussive</sub> can occur in absolute initial position in matrix clauses without an over specifier.

(31) THE TREE CONCEPTIONS OF THE *de re* / *de dicto* DISTINCTION

a. *Syntactically de re* / *de dicto*

A sentence is *syntactically de re* just in case it contains a pronoun or free variable within the scope of an opacity verb that is anaphoric on or bound by a singular term or quantifier outside the scope of that verb. Otherwise, it is *syntactically de dicto*.

b. *Semantically de re* / *de dicto*

A sentence is *semantically de re* just in case it permits substitution of co-designating terms *salva veritate*. Otherwise, it is *semantically de dicto*.

c. *Metaphysically de re* / *de dicto*

An attribution is *metaphysically de re* with respect to an object **o** just in case it directly attributes a property to **o**.

In this paper we only focus on the distinctions in (31a) and (31b), which are relevant for our purposes.

### 3.2 Evidences from clause types

Since Plann’s (1982) influential paper, it is well known that in Spanish (and Catalan) interrogative embedded clauses selected by an assertive verb have two interpretations: *modal* and *discursive* ones, following Brucart’s (1993) terminology.<sup>16</sup> In this sense, Uriagereka (1988) proposes that quotative embedded clauses has a *de dicto* interpretation. Specifically, he considers that embedded *wh*-interrogative clauses headed by *que*<sup>17</sup> has *de dicto* interpretation and *wh*-interrogative without an over complementizer has *de re* interpretation. This asymmetry is shown in the subordinate clauses of following examples:

(32) EMBEDDED WH-QUESTIONS

a. *Modal/reportative configuration*

En Miquel ens va dir  $\emptyset$  **quants** anàvem a la festa, ✓pero no em recordo de quants va dir.

‘Miquel said to us how many will go to the party, ✓but I do not remember how many he said.’ (Catalan)

[✗ *de dicto*; ✓ *de re*]

b. *Discursive/quotative configuration*

En Miquel ens va {dir/preguntar} que **quants** aniríem a la festa, #pero no me’n recordo, de quants va dir.

‘Miquel asked to us how many will go to the party, #but I do not remember how many he said.’ (Catalan)

[✓ *de dicto*; ✗ *de re*]

*De dicto* / *de re* contrast in (32) refers to the reference of *quants* ‘how many’. In (32b) Miquel —the original speaker of the quoted sentence— does not know the number

<sup>16</sup>In this paper we use the terms *reportative* and *quotative* as Brucart’s *modal* and *discursive*, respectively. We believe that our terminology describes better the interpretation of the two configurations, but what is important is that modal/reportative configurations have *de re* interpretation and discursive/quotative configurations have *de dicto* interpretation.

<sup>17</sup>The complementizer (*que* ‘that’) in (32b), (33b), (34b), and (35b) is a quotative particle with different properties than subordinator *que* selected by predicates other than assertive verbs. See Etxepare’s (2010) analysis for matrix quotative sentences headed by *que*.

of people who go to the party, so that there is not a reference. By contrast, in (32a) he knows the reference. This asymmetry is also valid for indefinites and quantifiers (Quine, 1956) —see (33)—, embedded *yes/no*-questions —see (34)—, and embedded exclamative —see (35):

(33) DECLARATIVE CLAUSES WITH INDEFINITE PRONOUNS OR QUANTIFIERS

- a. En Miquel ens va dir que **algú** de la seva família aniria a la festa, {#però no ens va dir qui / ✓però no recordo qui (va dir)}.  
 ‘Miquel told us that someone from his family would go to the party, {#but he did not say who / ✓but I do not remember who he said.}.’ (*Catalan*)  
 [✗ *de dicto*; ✓ *de re*]
- b. En Miquel ens va dir que **algú** de la seva família aniria a la festa, {✓però no ens va dir qui / #però no recordo qui (va dir)}.  
 ‘Miquel told us that someone from his family would go to the party, {✓but he did not say who / #but I do not remember who he said.}.’ (*Catalan*)  
 [✓ *de dicto*; ✗ *de re*]

(34) EMBEDDED YES/NO-QUESTIONS

- a. *Modal/reportative configuration*  
 En Miquel ens va dir ∅ **si** la seva família podia anar a la festa, {#però no recordo què li vaig contestar / ✓però no recordo què ens va dir}.  
 ‘Miquel said to us if his family could go to the party, {#but I do not remember what I answered / ✓I do not remember what he said to us}.’ (*Catalan*)  
 [✗ *de dicto*; ✓ *de re*]
- b. *Discursive/quotative configuration*  
 En Miquel ens va {dir/preguntar} que **si** la seva família podia anar a la festa, {✓però no recordo què li vaig contestar / #però no recordo què ens va dir}.  
 ‘Miquel asked us if his family could go to the party, {✓but I do not remember what I answered / #I do not remember what he said to us}.’ (*Catalan*)  
 [✓ *de dicto*; ✗ *de re*]

(35) EMBEDDED WH-EXCLAMATIVE CLAUSES<sup>18</sup>

- a. *Modal/reportative configuration*  
 No saps ∅ **quin vestit** que té la Maria!  
 ‘You don’t know what dress Mary has!’ (*Catalan*)  
 [✗ *de dicto*; ✓ *de re*]

<sup>18</sup>Embedded *wh*-exclamative clauses with a *de re* interpretation (i.e. *indirect exclamative clauses*) cannot be selected by assertive verbs (Villalba, 2002, 2313). Cf. the following Catalan examples with (35a):

- (i) a. Va {dir / exclamar / pensar}: «**Quin vestit** que té la Maria!»  
 ‘She/He {said / exclaimed / thought}: «What dress Mary has!»’ (*Catalan*)
- b. Va {dir / exclamar / pensar} *que*<sub>1</sub> **quin vestit** que tenia la Maria.  
 ‘She/He {said / exclaimed / thought} what dress Mary has.’ (*Catalan*)
- c. \* Va {dir / exclamar / pensar} ∅ **quin vestit** que tenia la Maria.  
 ‘She/He {said / exclaimed / thought} what dress Mary has.’ (*Catalan*)

Note that exclamative clauses in Catalan have a mandatory low complementizer *que* between the *wh*-phrase and the verb, but in Spanish it is optative. See González i Planas (2010, ch. 3) for a discussion.

b. *Discursive/quotative configuration*

En Lluís va {exclamar/dir} que **quin vestit** que tenia la Maria.

‘Lluís {said/exclaimed}: «What dress Mary has!»’ (*Catalan*)

[✓ *de dicto*; ✗ *de re*]

This *de re* / *de dicto* distinction has been named «syntactically *de re* / *de dicto*» (see § 3.1). In these cases there is a free variable<sup>19</sup> without a reference for *de dicto* interpretation and with a reference for *de re* interpretation, but it cannot be applied to declarative clauses —with exception for cases like (33). In this sense, Brucart (1993, 98, fn. 28) considers that the interpretative and structural asymmetries in (32)–(35) are not possible in embedded declarative clauses.

*Contra* Brucart’s intuition, we consider that the same asymmetries for interrogative and exclamative clauses exist for declarative ones. See the following exemple adapted from Quer (2002, 322, (69)):

(36) El Quico {creu/diu} que un company seu l’ha delatat.

‘Quico {believes/says} that a colleague (of his) has betrayed him.’ (*Catalan*)

[✓ *de dicto*; ✓ *de re*]

Following Quer, an exemple like (36) is ambiguous because the phrase *un company seu* ‘a colleague (of his)’ works as an operator and it has two logical representations:

(37) a. El Quico {creu/diu} que [un company seu<sub>i</sub> [*t<sub>i</sub>* l’ha delatat]]

[✓ *de dicto*; ✗ *de re*]

b. [un company seu<sub>i</sub> [el Quico {creu/diu} que *t<sub>i</sub>* l’ha delatat]]

[✗ *de dicto*; ✓ *de re*]

The true conditions for (37a) and (37b) are different. (37a) is interpreted in the sense that Quico believes or has said the proposition  $\langle \text{un company meu m’ha delatat} \rangle$  ‘a colleague of mine has betrayed me’. This examples has a *de dicto* interpretation because *un company meu* has not a reference. This means that Quico has not identified the informer (for *creure* ‘to believe’) or has not revealed his name (for *dir* ‘to say’). On the contrary, in (37b) *un company meu* has a reference because the sentence is interpreted in the sense that Quico knows or has said the informer’s name, but it is not revealed in the reported clause. Thus, the two interpretations of (37) are related with the «semantically *de re* / *de dicto*» distinction (see § 3.1) because (37b) permits substitution of co-designating terms *salva veritate* and (37a) does not. Cf. (38) and (39):

(38) CONTEXT: *Quico knows that the informer is Josep.*

a. El Quico creu que **un company seu** l’ha delatat.

‘Quico believes that a colleague (of his) has betrayed him.’ (*Catalan*)

[✗ *de dicto*; ✓ *de re* ⇒ The sentence is TRUE]

b. El Quico creu que **en Josep** l’ha delatat.

‘Quico believes that Josep has betrayed him.’ (*Catalan*)

[✓ *de dicto*; ✗ *de re* ⇒ The sentence is TRUE]

(39) CONTEXT: *Quico does not know that the informer is Josep.*

<sup>19</sup>Note that interrogative *si* ‘if’ is a true-value operator.



- a. El Quico creu que **un company seu** l’ha delatat.  
 ‘Quico believes that a colleague (of his) has betrayed him.’ (*Catalan*)  
 [✓ *de dicto*; ✗ *de re* ⇒ The sentence is TRUE]
- b. # El Quico creu que **en Josep** l’ha delatat.  
 ‘Quico believes that Josep has betrayed him.’ (*Catalan*)  
 [✗ *de dicto*; ✗ *de re* ⇒ The sentence is FALSE]

As we have seen above (§ 2.3.3), QRC induces the locality restrictions affecting the movement from embedded CP to matrix CP (Villa-García, 2012c). However, in this paper we show that locality restrictions on movement can be generalized to all quotative clauses —i.e. with the *de dicto* interpretation. By contrast, in agreement with Quer’s analysis, reportative clauses admits the long-distance movement of *wh*-phrases, contrastive focus, and CLLDs because these phrases has a matrix scope.

In the following sections, we relate the *de re* / *de dicto* distinction with the CP-layer structure of quotative and reportative clauses and locality restrictions on long-distance movement.

## 4 Restrictions on long-distance movement

### 4.1 Villa-García’s hypothesis on recomplementation

Among all proposed syntactic analysis on recomplementation (see González i Planas (2011) for discussion), the only convincing analysis is Villa-García’s (2012b, 2012c), which investigates Spanish recomplementation and offers a number of arguments in favor of analyzing *que*<sub>2</sub> as the head of TopP (our A-TopP). From the comparison of properties between sandwiched CLLDs and non-sandwiched ones (see fn. 14), he proposes that the first are generated *in situ* (i.e. [Spec,TopP]), while the latter are the result of movement from internal positions of IP area.

Specifically, the differences between base-generated and moved CLLDs are related to locality-of-movement effects, so any movement operation across *que*<sub>2</sub> is illicit (see § 2.3.3). To explain these asymmetries, Villa-García argues that there is no lexical differences between the two options for Top<sup>0</sup> (i.e.  $\emptyset$  and *que*<sub>2</sub>): *que*<sub>2</sub> is the default lexical item for Top<sup>0</sup> and  $\emptyset$  is the result to deleting *que*<sub>2</sub> in Phonetic Form (PF) as effect of an island violation repair (*Rescue by PF Deletion*) when a phrase moves across it. (40) shows the analysis for movement involving a violation of the locality principles and (41) shows how island violations are repaired and how the presence of *que*<sub>2</sub> is legitimated.

- (40) a. \* X ... [TopP CLLD [Top' *que*<sub>2</sub> [ ... X ... ]]]  
 b. \* [TopP CLLD [Top' *que*<sub>2</sub> [ ...  $\emptyset$ LLD ... ]]]
- (41) a. X ... [TopP CLLD [Top' ~~*que*<sub>2</sub>~~ [ ... X ... ]]]  
 b. [TopP CLLD [Top' ~~*que*<sub>2</sub>~~ [ ...  $\emptyset$ LLD ... ]]]  
 c. [TopP CLLD<sub>i</sub> [Top' *que*<sub>2</sub> [ ... *pro*<sub>i</sub> ... ]]]

This analysis is compatible with interpretative properties of QRC constructions that we have described in § 2.2, because it seems logical and plausible that reintroduced —originally elliptical— CLLDs are inserted directly in CP layer and are coreferent with a *pro* located in IP domain. It also makes sense that non-reintroduced CLLDs are generated with the rest of the clause and are subsequently moved to the left periphery to meet the

requirements of the Information Structure. In other words, (41) is interesting because it explains both derivations from interpretative properties, which is highly desirable in a cartographic syntactic approach.

Notwithstanding the positive aspects of Villa-García’s analysis, it cannot explain HTLDs and speech act adverbs in embedded clauses because they are not moved phrases—they are base generated. In addition, *que*<sub>2</sub> is not mandatory for speech act adverbs and prepositional HTLDs.<sup>20</sup> If Rescue-by-PF-Deletion analysis is correct, then the second complementizer would be required and should appear in matrix clauses.<sup>21</sup> The following examples illustrate that it is not:

- (42) a. M’han dit que, **pel que fa a en Lluís**, (que) tothom n’espera molt d’ell.  
‘They have said to me that regarding Lluís, everyone expects a lot of him.’  
(*Catalan*)
- b. **Pel que fa a en Lluís**, (\*que) tothom n’espera molt d’ell.  
‘Regarding Lluís, everyone expects a lot of him.’ (*Catalan*)
- c. Em va dir que **francament**, (que) no en sabia res.  
‘She/He said to me that frankly, she/he did not know anything.’ (*Catalan*)
- d. **Francament**, (\*que) no en sé res.  
‘Frankly, I do not know anything.’ (*Catalan*)

Given the impossibility of Rescue-by-PF-Deletion theory to explain all cases of quotative recomplementation, it should explore other alternatives that allow to explain the locality violations caused by the presence of *que*<sub>2</sub>. However, it seems that evidences provided by Villa-García can ensure that the hypothesis on the existence of two different mechanisms for the derivation of CLLDs (and conditional clauses) is correct. On the other hand, the mechanism proposed to explain the alternation between  $\emptyset$  and *que*<sub>2</sub>, and who this alternation blocks or not long-distance movement do not seem appropriate.

Regarding the first problem,  $\emptyset$  as a deleted *que*<sub>2</sub> in PF implies that the lexical items are inserted in the syntactic derivation. This approach is contrary to Distributed Morphology, which argues that lexical items are inserted at PF after transferring syntactic structures to the interfaces (Harley & Noyer, 1999). However, we leave aside this issue in this study.

As for the second problem, in the following sections we discuss why HTLDs and speech act adverbs (with or without *que*<sub>2</sub>) do not allow long-distance movement and who the embedded clause has always a *de dicto* interpretation in these cases.

## 4.2 Evidences from speech act adverbs

Speech act adverbs are located in the most prominent position in Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy, so that they appear immediately dominated by a HTLD (DiscP) in matrix clauses. However, some authors consider that their presence in an embedded clause is not grammatical (see Cinque (1999, 2004); Faure (2010) for French; van Gelderen (2001) for English; Mizuno (2010, 10–11) for Japanese; Torner (2005, 151) for Spanish). But, according to Faure (2010), a sentence like (43) is highly unacceptable but «[i]t becomes fine with a quotational intonation, as in free indirect speech» (Faure, 2010, fn. 19).

<sup>20</sup>Following González i Planas (2011), it seems that embedded non-prepositional HTLDs require a mandatory second complementizer, but this issue has not been sufficiently studied (Cf. Villa-García 2012b, ch. 5, 2012c, fn. 31).

<sup>21</sup>Note that we may consider that CLLDs are always moved in matrix clauses but HTLDs and speech act adverbs are not.

- (43) ?? Nicolas me dit que franchement il n'est pas content.  
 'Nicolas says to me that frankly he is not satisfied.' (*French*, Faure, 2010, (80))

In fact, Faure's statement reinforces our hypothesis that there is a structural difference between reportative and quotative configurations. The following Catalan examples corroborate it:

- (44) a. QUOTATIVE COMPLEMENT  
 En Nicolau m'ha dit *que*<sub>1</sub> (\*molt/\*ben) **sincerament**, no està content.  
 'Nicolau has said to me that (\*very) sincerely he is not satisfied.'  
 b. REPORTATIVE COMPLEMENT  
 En Nicolau m'ha dit (molt/ben) **sincerament** *que*<sub>1</sub> no està content.  
 'Nicolau has (very) sincerely said to me that he is not satisfied.'

The adverb *sincerament* 'sincerely' in the embedded CP is a speech act adverb located in [Spec,SpeechActP], but when it is located in matrix IP/VP area, it is a manner adverb that may be modified by a quantifier.

In Catalan and Spanish, sentences like (44) —with a strong assertive verb in the matrix clause— are perfectly grammatical and always have a quotative interpretation. The agrammaticality appears when the matrix verb is weak assertive like Cat. *creure* / Sp. *creer* 'to believe' (see Faure (2010) and Giorgi (2010) for a discussion):

- (45) \* Luisa credeva che **francamente** si fosse comportato male.  
 'Luisa believed that frankly he had misbehaved.' (*Italian*, Giorgi, 2010, 72, (20))

Judgements for its counterparts in Catalan and Spanish are similar:

- (46) a. ?\* La Lluïsa creia que **sincerament**, s'havia comportat malament.  
 'Lluïsa believed that sincerely he had misbehaved.' (*Catalan*)  
 b. ?\* Luisa creía que **francamente**, se había comportado mal.  
 'Luisa believed that frankly he had misbehaved.' (*Spanish*)

But, if the speech act adverb appears sandwiched between two *que*, then the sentence with weak assertive verb is perfectly grammatical:

- (47) a. Dit això, crec *que*<sub>1</sub> **sincerament**, *que*<sub>2</sub> sumar ajuda a aconseguir objectius de vegades comuns i de vegades consensuats pel bé de tots.  
 'That said, I sincerely believe that the sum helps achieve goals —sometimes common to all ones and sometimes by consensus— for the good of everyone.'  
 (*Catalan*. Internet datum)  
 b. [...] yo creo *que*<sub>1</sub> **francamente** *que*<sub>2</sub> esto fue un ejercicio y una demostración de buen gobierno [...]  
 '[...] I frankly think that this was an exercise and a demonstration of good governance [...]' (*Spanish*. Internet datum)

These data are in accordance with different authors who claim that speech act adverbs can be embedded (ter Beek (2008) for Dutch; Bowles (2010) and van Gelderen (2012) for English; Giorgi (2010, 73) for Italian; Grohmann & Etxepare (2003) for Spanish). But Giorgi (2010) argues that there is a semantic asymmetry between strong and weak assertive verbs that explains what context can accept embedded speech act adverbs. Consider the following quotation:

The unavailability of an embedded reading might easily follow from the consideration that speech act adverbs must establish a relation between the speech act and its agent. Therefore, it cannot be acceptable in clauses dependent upon a propositional attitude, such as fearing, believing, etc., as it makes no sense to attribute to somebody a frank attitude in believing, fearing, etc., something. On the contrary, this is naturally possible with an act of communication:

- (27) Mario disse a tutti che francamente era stanco di ascoltare sciocchezze  
 Mario told everybody that frankly he was tired of hearing silly things

In sentence (27) the adverb *frankly* can be attributed to the subject *Mario* as well, given that he is the agent of a speech act. Concluding, *francamente* never appears in embedded contexts, unless they express speech acts.

(Giorgi, 2010, 73)

If Giorgi is right, why are there grammatical sentences like (47) in Catalan and Spanish? We consider that these type of embedded clauses are quoted thoughts; since beliefs originally cannot be modified by speech act or discourse adverbs because they are not part of a speech, but when they are verbalized the speaker can reintroduce all elements that are not present in the original thought via quotative recomplementation (see § 2.2). In this sense, thoughts can be considered speech acts and weak assertive verbs as quotative. Consider the following examples:

- (48) CONTEXT: *Quico knows that the informer is Josep but he has not revealed his name.*
- a. El Quico creu que **francament**, que **un company seu** l’ha delatat.  
 ‘Quico has said frankly that he believes that a colleague (of his) has betrayed him.’ (*Catalan*)  
 [✓ *de dicto*; ✗ *de re* ⇒ The sentence is TRUE]
- b. # El Quico creu que **francament**, que **en Josep** l’ha delatat.  
 ‘Quico has said frankly that he believes that Josep has betrayed him.’ (*Catalan*)  
 [✗ *de dicto*; ✗ *de re* ⇒ The sentence is FALSE]

A possible information source for the speaker of (48) is a dialogue as (49):

- (49) CONTEXT: *A is the speaker of (48) and B is Quico.*
- A. Quico, què creus que passa?  
 ‘Quico, what do you think happens?’ (*Catalan*)
- B. Que **un company meu** m’ha delatat.  
 ‘(I believe that) a colleague (of mine) has betrayed me.’ (*Catalan*)

Given the previous examples, speech act adverbs can appear in embedded contexts provided that the subordinate clause is interpreted as an indirect quotation. The presence of *que*<sub>2</sub> is always mandatory when the matrix verb is weak assertive, because beliefs and thoughts are not originally speech acts and their discursive modification is only possible when they are quoted.

On the other hand, embedded speech act adverbs block long-distance movement to matrix clause. The following example provides the relationship between a full embedded CP layer (e.g. with a speech act adverb) and restrictions on long-distance movement.

- (50) CONTEXT: *A and B are speaking about the wedding day.*
- A. En Miquel diu *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>Spec,SAcTP</sub> sincerament], els seus pares no poden venir al casament.
- B. Perdona. No t'escoltava.
- a. \***Qui**<sub>i</sub> diu en Miquel *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>Spec,SAcTP</sub> sincerament], no pot *t*<sub>i</sub> venir al casament?
- b. **Qui**<sub>i</sub> diu en Miquel *que*<sub>1</sub> no pot *t*<sub>i</sub> venir al casament?
- ‘A: Miquel says that sincerely his parents cannot come to the wedding.’  
‘B: I’m sorry. I’m not listening to you. Who does Miquel say (\*that sincerely) cannot come to the wedding?’ (*Catalan*)

### 4.3 Evidences from HTLD

A hanging topic left dislocation (HTLD) is the higher topic phrase in a clause. It can be formed by a DP (without Case marks) or a complex PP that is not  $\theta$ -selected by the predicate (consider the following complex prepositions, e.g. Cat. *tocant a*, *amb referència a*, *pel que fa a*, *respecte a*, *quant a*, *a propòsit de*, *amb relació a*, *referent a*, etc. / Sp. *acerca de*, *con referencia a*, *con respecto a*, *en cuanto a*, *a propósito de*, *en relación con/a*, *referente a*, etc. ‘about / on / regarding’). See the exemple in (51):

- (51) (**En referència a**) **la Maria**<sub>i</sub>, ningú no vol parlar d’ella<sub>i</sub>.  
‘Regarding Mary, nobody wants to talk about her.’ (*Catalan*)

On the distinctive formal properties of HTLD, different authors have collected the following:

- (52) In HTLD, the dislocated element:
- must be a NP/DP (or a PP)<sup>22</sup> (Cinque, 1983),
  - has to precede CLLD (Cinque, 1977; Benincà, 2001; Delais-Roussarie, Doetjes, & Sleeman, 2004),
  - can be separated from its resumptive by an island boundary (Cinque, 1977),
  - can have a non-clitic resumptive (Cinque, 1983),
  - cannot occur in embedded clauses (Cinque (1983); De Cat (2004) for French; Grohmann (2000, § 4.1) for German; Krapova & Cinque (2008) for Bulgarian; Legate (2001) for Warlpiri; Rodríguez Ramalle (2005, 546) for Spanish; Sturgeon (2006, ch. 3) for Czech),
  - is unique in the sentence (HTLD cannot be iterated) (Cinque, 1983),
  - is separated from the clause by a longer pause than is the case in CLLD.

(Adapted from De Cat, 2007, 107)

Similarly as with speech act adverbs, the assertion in (52e) is partially incorrect. In agreement with other authors (De Cat (2007, § 4.3.6) for French; Fernández Rubiera (2009, 111) for Asturian; Grohmann & Etxepare (2003) for Spanish; Gutiérrez-Bravo (2011) for Yucatec Maya), we consider that only embedded quotative clauses admit the presence of a HTLD. Synchronic and diachronic examples corroborate it:

<sup>22</sup>See above for complex PP in Catalan and Spanish.

- (53) a. Dijo que **acerca de lo que dijo al principio del audiencia de esta mañana**, porque es punto importante, quiere declarar cómo pasó, dando conjeturas o indicios humanos para que se entienda que es aquel el sentido de la figura del casamiento de doña María Dávalos.  
‘He said that about what he said at the beginning of the audience of this morning, because it is an important issue, he wants to declare how it happened, giving conjectures or human evidences so that you understand that it is that one the meaning of the figure of the marriage of Mrs. María Dávalos.’ (16<sup>th</sup> century, Spanish, Peru)<sup>23</sup>
- b. Se refirió después el ministro de Obras Públicas a la necesidad de un circuito pirenaico, en análoga forma al francés, para el desarrollo del turismo, y dijo que **acerca de esto** el Ministerio realiza cuanto puede, teniendo en cuenta lo costosas que resultan esta clase de obras.  
‘Then the Minister of Public Construction referred to the need of a Pyrenean circuit for tourism development, analogously to French one.’ (20<sup>th</sup> century, Spanish, Spain)<sup>24</sup>
- c. Por último dijo que **acerca de la tecnología y la música** tiene opiniones encontradas, debido que por un lado desea que los jóvenes sigan teniendo acceso a la música, pero que al mismo tiempo se generara algún tipo de ganancia para el compositor o intérprete de la canción.  
‘Finally he said that about technology and music he has mixed views, because on the one hand he wants that young people continues having access to music, but on the other hand he wants that it is possible to generate some kind of return for the composer and performer of the song.’ (21<sup>th</sup> century, Spanish, Mexico)<sup>25</sup>

As the other phenomena analyzed in this paper, embedded HTLDs necessarily involve a *de dicto* interpretation:

- (54) a. En Joan ens va dir *que*<sub>1</sub> [HTLD pel que fa al teu regal], (*que*<sub>2</sub>) volies **un dels nostres cavalls**, #però no recordo quin.  
‘John said to us that regarding your present, you wanted one of our horses, #but I don’t remember which one.’ (Catalan)  
[✓ *de dicto*; ✗ *de re*]
- b. [HTLD Pel que fa al teu regal], en Joan ens va dir *que*<sub>1</sub> volies **un dels nostres cavalls**, ✓però no recordo quin.  
‘Regarding your present John said to us (that) you wanted one of our horses, but I don’t remember which one.’ (Catalan)  
[✗ *de dicto*; ✓ *de re*]

The *de re* interpretation in (54a) is not possible because the presence of an embedded HTLD implies that the speaker quotes a sentence that (s)he remembers entirely. On the

<sup>23</sup>Source: Francisco de la Cruz, *Inquisición, Actas II-1: Del mito bíblico a la utopía indiana y andina (¿Papa emperador de Israel y de las Indias y del universo mundo?)*. Edited by Vidal Abril Castelló and Miguel J. Abril Stoffels, p. 1249. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1996.

<sup>24</sup>Source: ABC, 26/v/1955, edición de la mañana, p. 45.

<sup>25</sup>Source: «Benny cierra gira en Cumbre Tajín y prepara disco y celebración por 30 años de carrera.» *Código Informativo*, 21/III/2012. URL: <<http://codigoinformativo.com/>>.



contrary, in (54b) the absence of an embedded HTLD allows that the speaker does not remember entirely the original sentence and (s)he cannot quote it but (s)he can make a statement on it. In the other hand, (54b) can have a *de dicto* interpretation without the coordinated clause *però no recordo quin* ‘but I don’t remember which one.’<sup>26</sup>

Following our argumentative line, this interpretative asymmetry is in accordance with restrictions on long-distance movement shown by the examples in (55):

- (55) a. \***Què**<sub>i</sub> ens va dir en Joan *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>HTLD</sub> pel que fa al teu regal], volies *t*<sub>i</sub>?  
 ‘\*What did John say to us that about your present, you wanted?’ (*Catalan*)  
 b. [<sub>HTLD</sub> Pel que fa al teu regal], **què**<sub>i</sub> ens va dir en Joan *que*<sub>1</sub> volies *t*<sub>i</sub>?  
 ‘About your present, what did John say to us (that) you wanted?’ (*Catalan*)

In (55a) the long-distance movement is blocked by the presence of an embedded HTLD, which only is possible in quotative clauses. On the contrary, in (55b) there is not an embedded HTLD and the complement can be interpreted as a reportative clause, which allows long-distance movement.

## 5 Quotative CP is a phase

### 5.1 A note on Phase Theory

The most important theoretical innovation of Phase Theory is the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), which easily explains many observations about the limitations in long-distance extraction/movement of clausal components. According to Chomsky (2001), the PIC is defined as follows:

- (56) *Phase Impenetrability Condition*

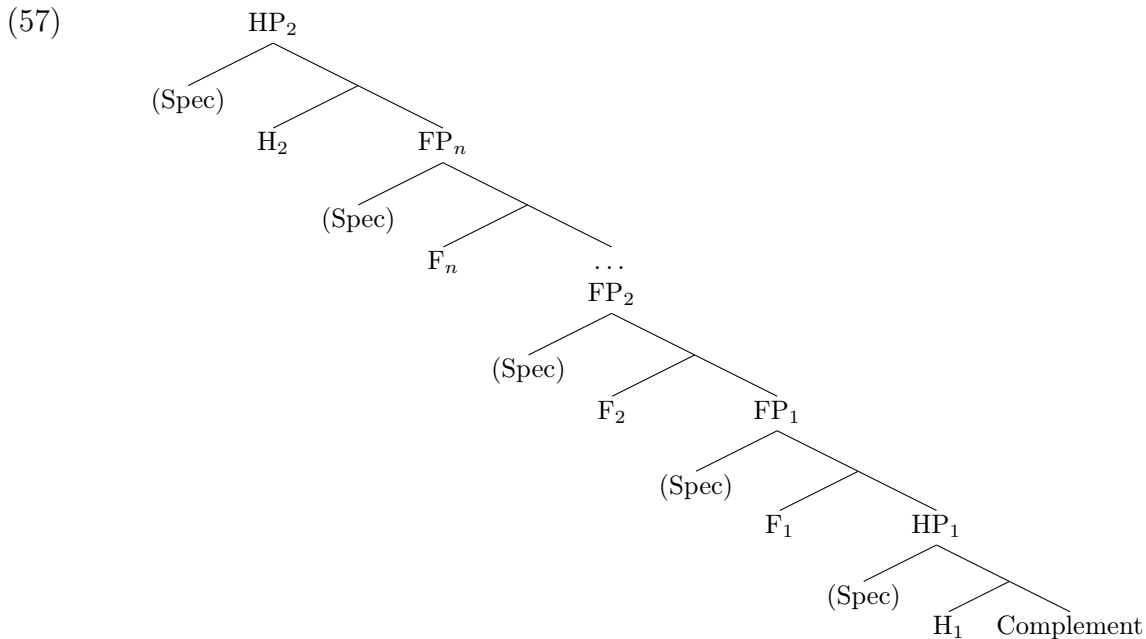
In a phase  $\alpha$  with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside  $\alpha$ , only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

where H is the phasal head (C,  $v^*$ , or D) and the edge is its specifier(s).

However, a controversial aspect is the number of specifiers that can be placed at the edge of a phase. In the (non-cartographic) minimalist approaches, which allow multiple specifiers and adjuncts in one phrase, more than one syntactic component can be extracted from a phase domain due to the possibility that there are more than one specifier in the edge of HP. But if we accept Kayne’s (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA), whereby one specifier per phrase is only possible, to achieve the same results we shall change the *edge*’s concept and consider that the edge of a phase is all functional heads and their specifiers that are merged after  $H_1$  and until another phasal head ( $H_2$ ) does it.

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<sup>26</sup>We note that the *de dicto* / *de re* distinction proposed here remembers the [ $\pm$ conviction] feature proposed by Fernández Rubiera (2009, 2011) for Asturian and Spanish.



The functional heads located at the phase edge may operate with elements located in the complement of the same phase without any restriction. Finally, when another phasal head ( $H_2$ ) is merged, the complement of the lower phase is transferred to the interfaces and only the functional space between  $H_2$  and  $H_1$  —i.e. the edge of  $H_1$ — remains available for the operations in the new phase, since it becomes the complement. Thus our *phase edge* concept fits perfectly with LCA and Cartographic Project principles, and it keeps the advantages of models with multiple specifiers.

## 5.2 Our analysis

Our hypothesis is that the quotative complements are different from reportative complements because the first ones have a full CP layer, while the second ones have a defective CP without Discourse Phrase (DiscP) and Speech Act Phrase (SAP) projections.<sup>27</sup>

These structural differences explain the locality restrictions imposed by the quotative configuration. Specifically, quotative CP layer has a phase head, while reportative CP layer has not. In (58), the possibility of extracting a WhP from the complement clause shows it.

- (58)
- a. Què<sub>i</sub> va dir en Joan que volia (sincerament)  $t_i$ ?  
‘What John said he (sincerely) wanted?’ (*Catalan*)
  - b. Pel que fa al seu aniversari, què<sub>i</sub> va dir en Joan que volia  $t_i$ ?  
‘About his birthday, what John said he wanted?’ (*Catalan*)
  - c. \* Què<sub>i</sub> va dir en Joan que, sincerament, volia  $t_i$ ?  
‘What John said sincerely that he wanted?’ (*Catalan*)
  - d. \* Què<sub>i</sub> va dir en Joan que, pel que fa al seu aniversari, volia  $t_i$ ?  
‘About his birthday, what John said he wanted?’ (*Catalan*)

If it is correct that there is a phasal head in CP layer, then from the comparison of the cartographic differences between quotative and reportative complements, we only may

<sup>27</sup>If this is true, Haegeman’s (2004, 2006) truncation hypothesis for factive and volitive complements may be extended to reportative complements. Therefore, there would be various degrees of truncation, one for each type of complement.

As shown in (59), the lack of the phase head  $\text{Disc}^0$  in the left periphery of the reportative complement clause allows that a WhP moves cyclically to the left periphery of the matrix clause.

- However, the presence of a phase head in the quotative embedded clauses means that the complement of DiscP is transferred when matrix  $v^*$  head is merged. This process

blocks the movement of WhP outside the embedded CP layer. In (60) we show how the sentence derivation fails when the embedded clause is a quotative complement.

- (60)
- a.  $Merge (V, WhP) \longrightarrow [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]$
  - b.  $Merge (v^*, SV) \longrightarrow [_{v^*P} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]$
  - c.  $Merge (DP, v^*P) \longrightarrow [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]$
  - d.  $Merge (T, v^*P) \longrightarrow [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]$
  - e.  $Merge (C, TP) \longrightarrow [_{CP} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]]]$
  - f.  $Move\ WhP \longrightarrow [_{CP} [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]]]$
  - g.  $Merge (Discourse, CP) \longrightarrow [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]]]$
  - h.  $Transfer\ the\ complement\ of\ the\ first\ phase \longrightarrow [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]]]]]$
  - i.  $Merge (Sub, DiscP) \longrightarrow [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]]]]]$
  - j.  $Merge (V, SubP) \longrightarrow [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]]]]]]]$
  - k.  $Merge (v^*, SV) \longrightarrow [_{Sv} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]]]]]]]$
  - l.  $Transfer\ the\ complement\ of\ the\ second\ phase \longrightarrow [_{v^*P} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]]]]]]]$
  - m.  $Merge (DP, v^*P) \longrightarrow [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]]]]]]]$
  - n.  $Merge (T, v^*P) \longrightarrow [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]]]]]]]$
  - o.  $Merge (C, TP) \longrightarrow [_{CP} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]]]]]]]$
  - p. *The derivation crashes.*

The derivation of (60) crashes because matrix  $C^0$  cannot delete its uninterpretable features. But if a head in the CP layer encodes a declarative feature—that does not require check *wh*-features—, then the derivation converges without problems:

- (61)
- a.  $Merge (V, WhP) \longrightarrow [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]$
  - b.  $Merge (v^*, VP) \longrightarrow [_{v^*P} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]$
  - c.  $Merge (DP, v^*P) \longrightarrow [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]$
  - d.  $Merge (T, v^*P) \longrightarrow [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^{*'} v^{*0}} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} qu\grave{e}]]]]]$

- e. *Merge* (C, TP)  $\longrightarrow$   $[_{CP} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que\grave{e}]]]]]]]$
- f. *Move* WhP  $\longrightarrow$   $[_{CP} [_{WhP} que\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que\grave{e}]]]]]]]$
- g. *Merge* (Discourse, CP)  $\longrightarrow$   $[_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que\grave{e}]]]]]]]$
- h. *Transfer* the complement of the first phase  $\longrightarrow$   $[_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que\grave{e}]]]]]]]$
- i. *Merge* (Sub, DiscP)  $\longrightarrow$   $[_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que\grave{e}]]]]]]]$
- j. *Merge* (V, SubP)  $\longrightarrow$   $[_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que\grave{e}]]]]]]]$
- k. *Merge* ( $v^*$ , VP)  $\longrightarrow$   $[_{Sv} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que\grave{e}]]]]]]]$
- l. *Transfer* the complement of the second phase  $\longrightarrow$   $[_{Sv} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que\grave{e}]]]]]]]$
- m. *Merge* (DP,  $v^*P$ )  $\longrightarrow$   $[_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que\grave{e}]]]]]]]]]$
- n. *Merge* (T,  $v^*P$ )  $\longrightarrow$   $[_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que\grave{e}]]]]]]]]]$
- o. *Merge* (C, TP)  $\longrightarrow$   $[_{CP} C^0_{[iDecl]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{DiscP} Disc^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que\grave{e}] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*'} v^{*0} [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que\grave{e}]]]]]]]]]$
- p. *The derivation is completed successfully.*

Summarizing, the presence of a phase head in the highest area of the embedded CP layer (i.e.  $Disc^0$ , by hypothesis) can successfully derive the locality restrictions of quotative complements and thus those which may appear *que*<sub>2</sub>. Moreover, the truncation approach (Haegeman, 2004, 2006) applied to reportative complements helps explain why they allow the cyclic movement of syntactic objects from an embedded-VP position to a matrix-CP position.

## 6 Conclusions

In this paper we have analyzed quotative recomplementation as a construction only possible in quotative clauses. Specifically we have compared quotative clauses and reportative clauses and we have determined that the first ones have a full and phasal CP, which explains their syntactic properties. Below we summarize the most important conclusions:

1. Pragmatically, quotative recomplementation is a syntactic strategy for reintroducing phrases that was not lexically realized in the original speech. It facilitates Grice's cooperative principle because the introduced elliptic elements are not shared by the hearer.
2. Morphosyntactically, the  $\emptyset$ /*que*<sub>2</sub> alternation in the high area of the quotative CP layer is the result of a Spec-Head agreement relationship. When the head is  $\emptyset$ , the specifier was lexically realized in the original speech and cannot permit substitution *salva veritate*, and when the head is *que*<sub>2</sub> the specifier is a reintroduced phrase, i.e. non-lexically realized in the original speech.
3. An indirect quotative clause «copies» the propositional structure of a sentence from a previous speech, and consequently it has a *de dicto* interpretation. Thus if the speaker does not remember any propositional element of the original sentence, (s)he needs to ask about elements of its, or (s)he summarizes it the clause has a *de re* interpretation and only can be interpreted as a statement, i.e. a reportative clause.
4. HTLDs, speech act adverbs, and QRC constructions only are possible in quotative clauses. Their absence in an embedded declarative clause implies that the clause is ambiguous and it can be interpreted as quotative or as reportative.
5. Quotative clauses have a more complex CP layer than reportative clauses. This property explains differences on restrictions on long-distance movement between the two types of complement clauses. In quotative clauses the long-distance movement is blocked because their CP layer contains a phasal head, while reportative CP layer is defective and is not a phase.

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