

# On quotative recomplementation: Between pragmatics and morphosyntax

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## Abstract

In Catalan and Spanish **quotative recomplementation** (QRC) constructions, the second complementizer (*que*<sub>2</sub>) is used to set the boundaries between the reproduced discourse and the clausal elements that were implicit in the original discourse, which must be reintroduced in the new communicative situation, since they are not shared by the interlocutor (e.g., *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 of the existence of two types of complements of assertive verbs: QUOTATIVE COMPLEMENTS (with a *de dicto* interpretation) and REPORTATIVE COMPLEMENTS (with a *de re* interpretation; e.g., *Están sentados en la mesa* → *Ha dicho que*<sub>1</sub> ***los invitados*** *(#que*<sub>2</sub>) *ya están colocados*). 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—, *as for* topics, or HTLDs. On the contrary, reportative complements may be a summary of the original discourse and they lack 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. We conclude that quotative CP is a phase and reportative CP is not.

## Keywords

Indirect Speech; *de re* / *de dicto* distinction; Complementizer doubling; Phases; Catalan; Spanish.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 A previous note on recomplementation

*Recomplementation*<sup>1</sup> (Higgins, 1988, cited in Fontana, 1993, 164) is a cover term for two distinct phenomena related to embedded clauses in the Ibero-Romance languages: Quotative recomplementation (QRC) —see (1)— and embedded jussive clauses —see (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 into the new communicative situation because they are not shared by the interlocutor (AUTHOR, 2010, ch. 4).

### (1) QUOTATIVE RECOMPLEMENTATION

Ha dit *que*<sub>1</sub> **els convidats**, *que*<sub>2</sub> estan asseguts a taula.

‘She/He has said that the guests are sitting at the table.’ (*Catalan*)

### (2) ORIGINAL SPEECH FOR (1)

A: Què fan els convidats?

B: Estan asseguts a taula.

‘A: What are the guests doing? / B: They are sitting at the table.’ (*Catalan*)

On the other hand, the example in (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.

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).

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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), *double-headed clauses* (McCloskey, 2006), and *Complementizer doubling* (Mascarenhas, 2007).

<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, 2012), or Gascon enunciative particle *que* (Pusch, 2000, among others).

(5) QUOTED JUSSIVE SPEECH ACT<sup>3</sup>

% [...] 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 she/he tells me not to come over if I keep on being late.’ (*Catalan*)

## 1.2 Objectives and organization of the article

The aim of this paper is to analyse both Catalan and Spanish quotative recomplementation (QRC) in terms of a [+reporter] logophoric feature (i.e.,  $\Lambda$ -feature) encoded by morphosyntax.<sup>4</sup> We consider that there are several pieces of evidence for the existence of two types of complement clauses for quotative verbs —i.e., **quotative complements** (embedded speech acts or clauses with a *de dicto* interpretation) and **reportative complements** (reported events or clauses with a *de re* interpretation). Specifically, we extend Uriagereka’s (1988) analysis of embedded *wh*-interrogative clauses to all complement clauses selected by quotative verbs.

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 which do not permit to extract syntactic components from the embedded CP. More specifically, the impossibility of extraction is explained by the fact that the 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 the matrix CP. In this sense, the study of the QRC and the placement patterns of speech-act adverbs, *as for* topics, and the hanging topic left dislocations (HTLDs) in embedded contexts allow us to show that the asymmetries between both interpretations can be explained by structural (i.e., syntactic) differences.

The organization of the article is as follows: In § 2 we provide evidence of the relationship between the complement clause type (i.e., quotative or reportative) and the *de dicto* / *de re* distinction on the interpretation of nouns’ reference in embedded contexts; in § 3 we present the most remarkable grammatical facts regarding QRC; in § 3 we relate long-distance movement restrictions in QRC constructions to the interpretative facts presented in § 2, and the presence of a speech-act adverb, an *as for* topic, or a HTLD in the embedded CP area; in § 5 we analyze morphosyntactically both types of complement clauses, and finally, § 6 summarizes the most important conclusions.

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<sup>3</sup> Note that not all speakers accept the sequence of two *que*. See Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2013, 53–54) for other cases of sequences of two *que*.

<sup>4</sup> We have left aside embedded jussive clauses. For more details, see AUTHOR (2010, ch. 4; 2011) and Villagarcía (2012a; 2012b).

## 2. *De re* and *de dicto* readings

### 2.1 *The de re / de dicto distinction*

*Opacity verbs* 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 divergent things to several authors, McKay & Nelson (2010) distinguish three different conceptions of this distinction:

(6) THE THREE 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 (6a) and (6b), which are relevant for our purposes. Specifically, we consider that the *de dicto* reading is related to the samesaying interpretation which characterizes quotative clauses and does not permit substitution of co-designating terms *salva veritate*. Therefore, the *de re / de dicto* distinction that interests us is basically the semantic one. Anyway, we often use syntactic tests to determine whether a clause has *de dicto* or *de re* readings.<sup>5</sup>

### 2.2 *Evidences from clause types*

Since Plann's (1982) influential paper, it is well known that in Spanish (and also in Catalan) interrogative embedded clauses selected by a quotative verb have two interpretations: *modal* and *discursive* ones, following Brucart's (1993) terminology.<sup>6</sup> In this sense, Uriagereka (1988) considers that embedded interrogative clauses headed by *que*<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> To get a samesaying interpretation (Etxepare, 2010), an operator should have syntactic and semantic *de dicto* readings. When this does not occur, the semantic *de re* reading is the prevailing (see § 2.3). This happens very clearly in indirect interrogative clauses selected by verbs such as *preguntar* 'ask', which always have a *de dicto* reading from a syntactic point of view (for more details, see the fn. 8).

<sup>6</sup> In this paper we use the terms *reportative* and *quotative* as Brucart's *modal* and *discursive*, respectively.

<sup>7</sup> The complementizer *que* 'that' in (7b), (8b), (9b), and (10b) is associated with a quotative interpretation. Similarly as in a matrix quotative sentence headed by *que*, the complementizer is usually analyzed as a quotative

follow the *de dicto* reading and interrogative without an overt complementizer follow instead the *de re* reading. This asymmetry is shown in the subordinate clauses of the following examples:

(7) EMBEDDED *WH*-QUESTIONS

a. *Reportative configuration*

En Miquel ens va dir Ø **quants** anàvem a la festa, <sup>OK</sup>però no me'n recordo, de quants va dir.

'Michael said to us how many people were going to the party, <sup>OK</sup>but I do not remember how many he said.' (*Catalan*)

[\* *de dicto*, <sup>OK</sup> *de re*]

b. *Quotative configuration*

En Miquel ens va {dir/preguntar<sup>8</sup>} que **quants** aniríem a la festa, #però no me'n recordo, de quants va dir.

'Michael asked us how many people were going to the party, #but I do not remember how many he said.' (*Catalan*)

[<sup>OK</sup> *de dicto*, \* *de re*]

(8) EMBEDDED *YES/NO*-QUESTIONS

a. *Reportative configuration*

En Miquel ens va dir Ø **si** la seva família podria venir a la festa, {#però no recordo què li vaig contestar / <sup>OK</sup>però no recordo què ens va dir}.

'Michael told us whether his family could go to the party, {#but I do not remember what I answered / <sup>OK</sup>I do not remember what he said to us}.' (*Catalan*)

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particle (Lahiri, 2002), which has other properties that the subordinator *que* does not have. See Etxepare (2010) for an analysis of matrix quotative sentences headed by *que*.

<sup>8</sup> An anonymous reviewer notes that «the alleged contrastive parallel in (7) [and (8)] is quite imperfect, because with *preguntar* ['ask'] in both (a) and (b) one only gets the question interpretation (*de dicto*, according to the line of argumentation by the author), the only one which surfaces with quotative *que*». This observation has been widely discussed in the literature (see e.g., Suñer, 1991 and 1993; Lahiri, 2002), but it is only partially true, because these sentences show an asymmetry between their syntactic and semantic interpretations. The embedded clause in (i), with a syntactically *de dicto* reading, does not have a samesaying interpretation, because it has a semantically *de re* reading (it does not permit substitution of WhP *salva veritate*). Note how the example in (i) can correspond to the example in (ii) as original speech:

- (i) En Miquel em va preguntar Ø **quants col·legues meus** anaven a la festa, #pero no me'n recordo, de quants va dir.

'Michael asked me how many colleagues of mine were going to the party, #but I do not remember how many he said.' (*Catalan*)

- (ii) Ei, drogo, **quants arplegats com tu** vindran a la festa?

'Hey, idler, how many incompetent people as you will come to the party?' (*Catalan*)

[\* *de dicto*; <sup>OK</sup> *de re*]

b. *Quotative configuration*

En Miquel ens va {dir/preguntar} que **si** la seva família podria venir a la festa, {<sup>OK</sup>però no recordo què li vaig contestar / #però no recordo què ens va dir}.

‘Michael asked us if his family could go to the party, {<sup>OK</sup>but I do not remember what I answered / #I do not remember what he said to us}.’ (*Catalan*)

[<sup>OK</sup> *de dicto*; \* *de re*]

*De dicto* / *de re* contrasts in (7) and (8) refer to the reference of *quants* ‘how many (people)’ and *si la seva família podria venir a la festa* ‘whether his family could go to the party’ respectively. In (7b) Miquel —the original speaker of the quoted sentence— does not know the number of people going to the party, so there is no reference to it. Similarly, in (8b) he does not know if his family has (or does not have) permission to attend to the party, where the interrogative *si* ‘if’ is a truth-value operator. By contrast, in (7a) he does know the reference of *quants* and in (8a) he does know the truth-value (*yes* or *no*) of *si*. This asymmetry is also valid for indefinites and quantifiers (Quine, 1956) —see (9)— and embedded exclamative —see (10):

(9) DECLARATIVE CLAUSES WITH INDEFINITE PRONOUNS OR QUANTIFIERS

a. En Miquel ens va dir que **algú** de la seva família aniria a la festa, <sup>OK</sup>però no recordo qui (va dir).

‘Miquel told us that someone from his family would go to the party, <sup>OK</sup>but I do not remember who he said.’ (*Catalan*)

[\* *de dicto*; <sup>OK</sup> *de re*]

b. En Miquel ens va dir que **algú** de la seva família aniria a la festa, #però no recordo qui (va dir).

‘Miquel told us that someone from his family would go to the party, #but I do not remember who he said.’ (*Catalan*)

[<sup>OK</sup> *de dicto*; \* *de re*]

(10) EMBEDDED *WH*-EXCLAMATIVE CLAUSES<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Embedded *wh*-exclamative clauses with a *de re* reading (i.e., indirect exclamative clauses) cannot be selected by quotative verbs (Villalba, 2002, 2313). Cf. the following Catalan examples with (10a):

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

a. *Reportative configuration*

No {saps / et creuràs / diries mai} Ø **quin vestit** que té la Maria!

'You {don't know / will not believe / can't say} what a dress Mary's wearing!'

(*Catalan*)

[\* *de dicto*, <sup>OK</sup> *de re*]

b. *Quotative configuration*

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

'Lluís {exclaimed/said}: «What a dress Mary's wearing!»' (*Catalan*)

[<sup>OK</sup> *de dicto*, \* *de re*]

This *de re* / *de dicto* distinction has been named «syntactically *de re* / *de dicto*» (see § 2.1). In examples (7)–(10) *wh*-phrases, interrogative *si* 'if/whether', and the indefinite *algú* 'someone' are free variables, which have one reference in (a) versions (*de re* interpretation) and have no reference in (b) versions (*de dicto* interpretation). This property cannot be applied to declarative clauses —except for cases like (9). In this sense, Brucart (1993, 98, fn. 28) considers that the interpretative and structural asymmetries in (7)–(10) are not possible in embedded declarative clauses.

Against Brucart's intuition, we consider that the same asymmetries affecting interrogative and exclamative clauses also exist in declarative ones. See the following example adapted from Quer (2002, 322, (69)):

(11) El Quico diu que un company seu l'ha delatat.

'Quico says that a colleague (of his) has betrayed him.' (*Catalan*)

Following Quer, an example like (11) is ambiguous because the phrase *un company seu* 'a colleague (of his)' works as an operator and has two logical representations:<sup>10</sup>

(12) a. El Quico diu que [un company seu<sub>i</sub> [‡ l'ha delatat]]

[<sup>OK</sup> *de dicto*, \* *de re*]

b. [un company seu<sub>i</sub> [el Quico diu que ‡ l'ha delatat]]

[\* *de dicto*, <sup>OK</sup> *de re*]

The truth conditions for (12a) and (12b) are different. (12a) is interpreted in the sense that Quico says the proposition <*un company meu m'ha delatat*> 'a colleague of mine has betrayed me'. This example has a *de dicto* interpretation because *un company meu* has no reference. This means that Quico has not revealed his name. On the contrary, in (12b) *un*

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Note that exclamative clauses in Catalan have a mandatory low complementizer *que* between the *wh*-phrase and the verb, which is in a lower position than *que*<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>10</sup> An anonymous reviewer considers that the binding facts are more subtle so that we can obtain the intended reading. In order to avoid this problem, she/he proposes to substitute the proper name for a quantifier. In § 2.3 we analyze the operator scope interaction in relation with the *de re* / *de dicto* distinction.

*company meu* does have a reference because the sentence is interpreted in the sense that Quico mentions the informer's name, but it is not revealed in the reported clause. Thus both interpretations of (12) are related to the «semantically *de re* / *de dicto*» distinction (see § 2.1) because (12b) permits the substitution of the co-designating terms *salva veritate*, while (12a) does not. Cf. also (13) and (14):

(13) CONTEXT: *Quico is sure that the informer is Josep, a colleague of his. He says: «Josep has betrayed me.»*

a. El Quico diu que **un company seu** l'ha delatat.

'Quico says that a colleague (of his) has betrayed him.' (*Catalan*)

[\* *de dicto*; <sup>OK</sup> *de re* → The sentence is TRUE]

b. El Quico diu que **en Josep** l'ha delatat.

'Quico says that Josep has betrayed him.' (*Catalan*)

[<sup>OK</sup> *de dicto*; \* *de re* → The sentence is TRUE]

(14) CONTEXT: *Quico is sure that the informer is a colleague, but he does not know or suspect that it is Josep. He says: «A colleague has betrayed me.»*

a. El Quico diu que **un company seu** l'ha delatat.

'Quico says that a colleague (of his) has betrayed him.' (*Catalan*)

[<sup>OK</sup> *de dicto*; \* *de re* → The sentence is TRUE]

b. # El Quico diu que **en Josep** l'ha delatat.

'Quico says that Josep has betrayed him.' (*Catalan*)

[\* *de dicto*; \* *de re* → The sentence is FALSE]

As we will see in § 3.3.3, QRC brings about locality restrictions affecting movement from the embedded CP to the matrix CP (Villa-García, 2012c). However, in this paper we will show that locality restrictions on movement can be generalized to all quotative clauses —i.e., with the *de dicto* reading. By contrast, in agreement with Quer's analysis, reportative clauses —i.e., with the *de re* reading— admit long-distance movement of *wh*-phrases, contrastive focus, and CLLDs, because these phrases have a matrix scope.

### 2.3 The operator scope interaction and the *de re* / *de dicto* distinction

Regarding the operator scope interaction, it seems obvious that a quantifier may bind a pronoun in a quotative clause:

(15) [<sub>V</sub> Tothom]<sub>i</sub> diu *que*<sub>1</sub> pel que fa a en Josep, (*que*<sub>2</sub>) [<sub>∃</sub> un company seu]<sub>i</sub> l'ha delatat.

'Everyone<sub>i</sub> says that as for Joseph, a colleague of his<sub>i</sub> has betrayed.' (*Catalan*)

( $\forall > \exists$ ; \* $\exists > \forall$ )

In (15), the *de re* reading cannot be obtained because if the existential operator dominates the universal operator, then *tothom* 'everyone' can bind the possessive *seu* 'their'. Furthermore, an example like (16) apparently seems to allow two readings:



(16) [<sub>V</sub> Tothom] diu *que*<sub>1</sub> pel que fa a en Josep, (*que*<sub>2</sub>) va delatar [<sub>∃</sub> algú].

‘Everyone says that as for Joseph, he betrayed someone.’ (*Catalan*)

( $\forall > \exists$ ;  $\exists > \forall$ )

If we consider the distributive reading ( $\forall > \exists$ ) in (16), with a syntactically *de dicto* reading, then the quote reference is a set of utterances like *Mary says: «He betrayed John»*, *Emilie says: «He betrayed Xavier»*, *Francis says: «He betrayed Peter»*, etc. However, if we consider a non-distributive reading ( $\exists > \forall$ ), in which there is a specific individual that everyone identifies with the betrayed person, then the referent is a set of utterances like *Mary says: «He betrayed John»*, *Emilie says: «He betrayed John»*, *Francis says: «He betrayed John»*, etc. If the second reading is correct, then we have a counterexample to the analysis proposed in the previous sections, because it has a syntactically *de re* reading.

We consider, however, that the above analysis of the examples in (15) and (16) has a conceptual problem, because it is based only on a syntactically *de dicto* / *de re* distinction and it does not provide semantic distinction, which is based on the substitution of co-designating terms *salva veritate*.<sup>11</sup> See the example in (17) in direct speech:

(17) a. Pel que fa a en Josep, tothom<sub>i</sub> diu: «Un company meu<sub>i</sub> l’ha delatat.»

‘As for Joseph, everyone<sub>i</sub> says: «A colleague of mine<sub>i</sub> has betrayed him.»’  
(*Catalan*)

b. Pel que fa a en Josep, tothom diu: «Va delatar algú.»

‘As for Joseph, everyone says: «He betrayed someone.»’ (*Catalan*)

The example in (17a) involves a set of utterances like *Mary says: «A colleague of mine has betrayed him»*, *Emilie says: «A colleague of mine has betrayed him»*, *Francis says: «A colleague of mine has betrayed him»*, etc.; and (17b) involves a set of utterances like *Mary says: «He betrayed someone»*, *Emilie says: «He betrayed someone»*, *Francis says: «He betrayed someone»*, etc. To sum up, if we want to achieve a samesaying interpretation for (15) and (16), the existential operator cannot be replaced *salva veritate*, i.e., *Mary says: «A colleague of mine has betrayed him»* for the example in (15), and *Mary says: «He betrayed someone»*, for the example in (16).

Similarly as in indirect interrogative clauses selected by *preguntar* ‘ask’, the syntactically *de dicto* reading is compatible with the semantically *de re* one. If that is the case, the samesaying interpretation is not possible and the embedded clause is a reportative one, with a shortest CP layer than a quotative clause. According to our hypothesis, the embedded clauses in (15) and (16) —with an *as for* topic with or without QRC— can only be interpreted as equivalent examples in indirect speech of the examples in (17).

<sup>11</sup> See also footnotes 5 and 8.

### 3. Grammatical facts

#### 3.1 Allowing quotative recomplementation

The verbs that allow QRC in embedded clauses are *quotative verbs*. We use the term «quotative verb» to refer to verbs that can be used to introduce a direct discourse. They are saying-verbs like Cat. *dir* / Sp. *decir* ‘say’, manner of speaking-verbs like Cat. *xiuxiuejar* / Sp. *susurrar* ‘whisper’, saying-verbs that select a concrete clause type like *preguntar* ‘ask’ or *exclamar* ‘exclaim’, and quoting-thought verbs like *pensar* ‘think’:

- (18) a. La Maria va {**dir**/**xiuxiujar**}: «Etic contenta d’haver-hi vingut.»  
a'. La Maria va {**dir**/**xiuxiujar**} que a la festa, que estava contenta d’haver-hi anat.  
‘Mary {said/whispered} that she was happy to have gone to the party.’ (*Catalan*)  
b. En Pau va **preguntar**: «Hi vindreu amb mi?»  
b'. En Pau va **preguntar** que a la festa, que si hi aniríem amb ell.  
‘Paul asked if we would go with him to the party.’ (*Catalan*)  
c. Els teus germans van **exclamar**: «Quina casa que t’has comprat!»  
c'. Els teus germans van **exclamar** que la Núria, que quina casa que s’havia comprat.  
‘Your brothers exclaimed what a house Nuria had bought.’ (*Catalan*)  
d. En Pere va **pensar**: «No li ho podré dir mai.»  
d'. En Pere va **pensar** que a la Maria, que no li ho podria dir mai.  
‘Peter thought that he could never say it to Mary.’ (*Catalan*)

By contrast, conative volitive verbs (Cat. *demanar* / Sp. *pedir* ‘request/require’, Cat. *pregar* / Sp. *rogar* ‘request’, *esperar* ‘expect’, *suplicar* ‘supplicate’, *ordenar* ‘order’, etc.) can only select jussive/optative clauses, and they do not admit an embedded direct discourse (Rivero, 1994; Lahiri, 2002, 271) or QRC constructions in the embedded complement (AUTHOR, 2010; Villa-García, 2012a). Note the contrast between the following examples:

- (19) a. ??Pidió a los niños: {«¡Escuchadme!» / «¡A escucharme!»}  
Intended meaning: ‘She/He requested of the children that they listen to him.’  
(*Spanish*, Lahiri, 2002, 271, (69a))  
b. Nos **pidieron** *que*<sub>1</sub> a tu hermana, (\**que*<sub>2</sub>) al quirófano *que*<sub>jussive</sub> no la dejáramos pasar.  
‘They requested us that we did not let your sister go into the operating room.’  
(*Spanish*)  
c. Nos **dijeron** *que*<sub>1</sub> a tu hermana, (*que*<sub>2</sub>) al quirófano *que*<sub>jussive</sub> no la dejáramos pasar.  
‘They requested us that we did not let your sister go into the operating room.’  
(*Spanish*)

Similarly, the assertive verbs of communication that cannot select a direct speech (e.g., Cat. *rumorejar* / Sp. *rumorear* ‘rumor’, *insinuar* ‘hint/suggest’, *divulgar* ‘divulgate’) do not accept QRC constructions. But there are some verbs with a meaning closer to *say*—e.g., Cat. *explicar* / Sp. *contar* ‘tell/narrate’ and *comentar* ‘comment’—, which can accept QRC in declarative clauses.<sup>12</sup>

- (20) a. La Maria va **insinuar** *que*<sub>1</sub> a l'hospital, (*??que*<sub>2</sub>) hi passaven coses estranyes.  
 ‘Mary suggested that strange things were happening in the hospital.’ (*Catalan*)  
 b. La Maria va **explicar** *que*<sub>1</sub> a l'hospital, (*que*<sub>2</sub>) hi passaven coses estranyes.  
 ‘Mary explained that strange things were happening in the hospital.’ (*Catalan*)

Other types of verbs, such as perceptive and evidential ones, cannot select complement clauses with QRC. The relationship between the presence of *que*<sub>2</sub> and the quotative interpretation of the embedded clause explains why QRC is ungrammatical in verbs other than «quotative» ones. Since the matrix verbs in (21) cannot refer to previous speech acts, the embedded clauses never require the reintroduction of elliptic elements that were not present in the original situation (see § 3.2).

- (21) 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 ets constant**, (*\*que*<sub>2</sub>) sempre aconseguixes el que et proposes.  
 ‘During my career, I have found out that people always get what they wish if they are patient and constant.’ (*Catalan*)

However, some verbs, such as Cat. *escoltar* / Sp. *oir~escuchar* ‘listen’, do allow QRC constructions, which may be explained by the elision of a saying verb that legitimizes the reintroduction of elliptic elements.<sup>13</sup>

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

<sup>12</sup> Note that these verbs may be used as parentheticals, but not as matrix predicates that select a direct discourse:

- (i) a. ?? El noi va explicar: «No sé què ha passat.»  
 b. —No sé què ha passat —va explicar el noi.  
 ‘«I do not know what happened», the boy said.’ (*Catalan*)

<sup>13</sup> As a matter of fact, (i) is an ambiguous sentence, because it can have either the meaning of hearing the sound that Anthony’s handcuffs made or the same meaning as (22).

- (i) Oyó que a Antonio se lo llevaban esposado.  
 ‘She/He heard that Anthony was taken away in handcuffs.’ (≠ [(22)] )  
 ‘She/He heard someone said that Anthony was taken away in handcuffs.’ (= [(22)] ) (*Spanish*)

Following Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2009, 46–47), factive-emotive verbs do not accept QRC structures in their complement clauses —see (23)—, but they can be possible with an assertive meaning of the matrix verb —see (24)—, when the embedded verb is in indicative mood:

- (23) a. Lamento que ese coche (\*que) no lo compres.  
 ‘I am sorry that you won’t buy that car.’ (*Spanish*, Demonte & Fernández-Soriano, 2009, (50a))  
 b. Lamento *que*<sub>1</sub> **el cotxe**, (\**que*<sub>2</sub>) no te’l puguis comprar.  
 ‘I regret that you cannot buy the car.’ (*Catalan*)
- (24) a. En Joan es va lamentar: «No me’l puc comprar.»  
 ‘«I cannot buy it», John wailed.’ (*Catalan*)  
 b. En Joan es va lamentar *que*<sub>1</sub> **el cotxe**, (*que*<sub>2</sub>) no se’l podia comprar.  
 ‘John regretted that she/he couldn’t buy the car.’ (*Catalan*)

Another case is verbs like Cat. *creure* / Sp. *creer* ‘believe’ and *saber* ‘know’, which cannot select direct discourse. In Catalan and Spanish *creure/creer* ‘believe’ has a meaning closer to *pensar* ‘think’ when used in first person singular (Posio, 2013):

- (25) a. {Crec/Penso} que és veritat. (*Catalan*)  
 b. {Creo/Pienso} que es verdad. (*Spanish*)  
 ‘I believe/think it is true.’

Recomplementation in *believe*-complements appears mainly in first person singular; it is possible in first person plural —Cat. *creiem* / Sp. *creemos*—, and marginally in other persons —see § 4.2 for more details. In *believe*-complements the sandwiched element can only be a speech-act adverb —see (26)—, because sandwiched CLLDs and conditionals are very bad —see (27).<sup>14</sup>

- (26) a. Por mi experiencia personal yo lo recomiendo, es barato, efectivo, simple de usar y creo *que*<sub>1</sub> **francamente** *que*<sub>2</sub> tenerlo en el botiquín de la casa es lo mejor que se puede hacer.  
 ‘From my personal experience I recommend it: It is cheap, effective, simple to use, and I think that frankly, to have it in the medicine cabinet of your home is the best thing you can do.’ (*Spanish*)<sup>15</sup>  
 b. [...] creíamos que sinceramente que era necesario que Aragón tuviera un buen Banco de Sangre [...]  
 ‘We believed that sincerely, it was necessary that Aragon had a good blood bank.’ (*Spanish*)<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> In European Portuguese, examples like (27) are perfect with the verb *achar* ‘believe’ (see Mascarenhas, 2007).

<sup>15</sup> Source: <[http://www.ciao.es/Voltaren\\_Emulgel\\_\\_Opinion\\_1076700](http://www.ciao.es/Voltaren_Emulgel__Opinion_1076700)>.

- (27) a. Crec que a la feina, (??que) hi haurà molts canvis.  
 'I believe that there will be many changes in my workplace.' (*Catalan*)  
 b. Crec que si pago la setmana vinent, (??que) encara em podré matricular.  
 'I believe that if I pay it next week I will still be able to register.' (*Catalan*)

For reasons of space, we may not analyze these cases here, but the reader can see Giorgi (2010) for a syntactic analysis of *credo* 'I think' in Italian, and Posio (2013) for a pragmatic description of *creo* and *acho* 'I think' in Spanish and Portuguese.

On the other hand, Mascarenhas (2007) claims that recomplementation in Portuguese is possible in clauses selected by semifactive predicates like *saber* 'know'. We do not accept it for Catalan and Spanish because semifactive verbs are not *opacity verbs* and they do not give rise to a *de re / de dicto* distinction (see § 2). Yet, there are speakers that use *saber* with a meaning closer to *pensar* 'think', but sandwiched speech-act adverbs are not possible:

- (28) \* Sé *que<sub>1</sub> francamente, que<sub>2</sub>* tenerlo en el botiquín de la casa es lo mejor que se puede hacer.  
 'I know that frankly, to have it in the medicine cabinet of your home is the best thing you can do.' (*Spanish*)

Nevertheless, there are some Catalan and Spanish speakers that accept examples like (29), which are ill-formed for us.

- (29) 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 refused to answer our phone call.' (*Catalan*)  
 b. Sabemos *que<sub>1</sub> tu mujer (%que<sub>2</sub>)* no nos quiso abrir la puerta.  
 'We know that your wife refused to open the door and let us in.' (*Spanish*)

We agree with an anonymous reviewer that examples in (29) sound fine if a discourse particle is included after the left dislocation —see (30)—, but it should be noted that these particles are usually used with a complementizer in matrix contexts —see (31):

- (30) a. Sabem *que la teva dona*, doncs, *que* no ens ha volgut agafar el telèfon.  
 'We know it, so your wife refused to answer our phone call.' (*Catalan*)  
 b. Sabemos *que tu mujer*, pues eso, *que* no nos quiso abrir la puerta.  
 'We know your wife, so she refused to open the door and let us in.' (*Spanish*)

- (31) A: ¿Qué te pasa?  
 B: Pues eso, que me repito.  
 'A: What is wrong with you? / B: That is exactly what is wrong: I am repeating myself.' (*Spanish*)

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<sup>16</sup> Source:

<[http://bases.cortesaragon.es/bases/NdocumenVIII.nsf/a3dda4c18f885906c1256c860041ef49/97bf5448dc79daa2c12579ca00384f84/\\$FILE/05-02-08%20Sanidad%20B.pdf](http://bases.cortesaragon.es/bases/NdocumenVIII.nsf/a3dda4c18f885906c1256c860041ef49/97bf5448dc79daa2c12579ca00384f84/$FILE/05-02-08%20Sanidad%20B.pdf)>.

A possible solution for this asymmetry is that examples in (29) are used with a meaning of *saber* closer to *pensar* ‘think’, similarly as *comentar* ‘comment’ has a meaning closer to *dir/decir* ‘say’ (see before). Examples in (30) are different because they are accepted by speakers that do not accept (29), and their second *que* cannot be an instance of QRC, because it appears in matrix clauses. Other analysis is needed, but it is out of scope of this paper.

Finally, clauses that allow QRC are completive clauses selected by a matrix quotative verb (see before), or selected by quotative deverbal nouns (*contra* Iatridou & Kroch, 1992):

- (32) a. M’ha deixat anar [<sub>DP</sub> el [<sub>NP</sub> rotllo [<sub>CP</sub> que les claus, *que*<sub>2</sub> les tenia a la butxaca]]].  
 ‘She/He told the old story that she/he had the keys in her/his pocket.’ (*Catalan*)
- b. [<sub>DP</sub> L’ [<sub>NP</sub> explicació [<sub>CP</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> al president, *que*<sub>2</sub> se l’ha imputat injustament]]] no farà canviar l’opinió dels nostres clients.  
 ‘The explanation that the president has been unfairly imputed will not change the opinion of our clients.’ (*Catalan*)

But in sentence like (33), the noun *rumor* inherits the argument structure of the verb *rumorejar* ‘rumor’, which cannot select a direct discourse, so its ungrammaticality is expected.

- (33) \* [<sub>DP</sub> El [<sub>NP</sub> rumor [<sub>CP</sub> *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 damage the company.’ (*Catalan*)

### 3.2 Interpretation and discourse linkage

The main problem concerning previous studies on recomplementation is that they do not take into consideration both the pragmatic and discursive contexts in which it occurs (see § 5.1 for an overview). This means that, for example, they do not properly distinguish between the functional particle *que*<sub>2</sub> and its counterpart *que*<sub>quessive</sub> (see § 1.1). Thus, in this section we will summarize pragmatic and discursive contexts in which QRC appears.

#### 3.2.1 Sandwiched phrases are oriented to the reporter

Following AUTHOR (2010), the sentences where quotative recomplementation is present can be schematically represented as in (34):<sup>17</sup>

- (34) 

[ <sub>CP1</sub> ... V <sub>1</sub> ...]
--

 [<sub>CP2</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub>

XP <sub>1</sub> <i>que</i> <sub>2</sub> ... XP <sub>n</sub> <i>que</i> <sub>2</sub>
---

 [... V<sub>2</sub> ...]]]
- Quotative predicate                      reintroduced phrases                      reproduced discourse

The structure of (34) corresponds to a sentence with a matrix quotative predicate that selects an indirect speech formed by two components:<sup>18</sup> The first one is a sequence of

<sup>17</sup> Note that the iteration of reintroduced phrases is possible with multiple *que*<sub>2</sub> (see § 5.3 for more details).

<sup>18</sup> Notice that QRC can occur in matrix clauses headed by *que*<sub>1</sub> (see Etxepare, 2010, (51)):

- (i) **Que** si ella iba a morirse... **que** entonces **que** prefería ir al hospital.

phrases reintroduced in the complement clause because it is not lexically realized in the original speech act, and therefore it is inserted between two complementizers; the second one corresponds to the elements lexically realized in the original speech, modified to suit the grammatical forms of indirect speech (see Villalba (2002) for Catalan and de Vries (2008) for a general discussion). The Catalan oral data in (35) provide an evidence to confirm our interpretative analysis of QRC.

(35) 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 never lose them! I have them in my pocket, where they are to be.’

[*The daughter goes into the room*]

DAUGHTER: Mare, què són tants crits?

‘Mother, why so much shouting?’

MOTHER: Res, filla. Ja saps com és el teu pare. M’ha deixat anar *que*<sub>1</sub> **les claus**, *que*<sub>2</sub> ell 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 said that) he has them in his pocket, where they are to be.’

The last mother’s intervention in the example shows how the sandwiched topic between two *que* did not appear in the original father’s speech, because it was implicit in the context. By contrast, when the mother reproduces the father’s intervention, she necessarily introduces the elliptic elements ignored by the daughter in the new communicative situation.

The following Spanish example captures the interpretative nuances of QRC:

(36) 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 at me really 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! You all knew it, didn’t you?»’ (*Spanish*, De la Mota Gorriz, 1995, (237))

In (36) the speaker reproduces a dialogue with Rosa, which we reconstruct in (37).

(37) CONTEXT: *A [= speaker of (36)] and B [= Rosa] talk about reports that B has commanded to write to the department where A works.*

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‘He was told that if she was going to die then he preferred to go to the hospital.’ (*Spanish*)

A: A Madrid, ¿cuándo hay que mandarlos?

‘When must we 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! You all knew it, didn’t you?’

An anonymous reviewer suggests that a perfect context for (37A) would be the following, which contains a dislocated element:

(38) Los informes, a Madrid, ¿cuándo hay que mandarlos?

‘When we must send the reports to Madrid?’ (*Spanish*)

The problem of (38) as original context is that (36) contains the echoic construction *cómo que* ‘what do you mean’, which selects a reproduced proposition. If (38) is the original context, the expected response would have to be (39), with all dislocations in the scope of *cómo que*.

(39) ¡¿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! You all knew it, didn’t you?’

The example in (36) does not reflect properly the reproduced speech for (39). The reason thereof is that the DP *los informes* cannot be placed between two *que* particles in indirect speech if it was explicitly present in the original sentence.

Note that quotative clauses can quote a sentence with a dislocated element, and can or cannot reintroduce other dislocations:

(40) a. **Los informes**, ¿cuándo hay que mandárselos?

‘When must we send the reports to him?’ (*Spanish*)

b. Me {dijo/preguntó} que (**al jefe**, que) **los informes**, ¿cuándo hay que mandárselos?

‘She/He asked me when we must send the reports {to him / to the boss}?’ (*Spanish*)

Another interesting aspect about sandwiched phrases concerns their pragmatic status. Since they are referents implicit in the matrix subject’s act of speaking, the reintroduction is a process dependent on the reporter, who can supplement the implicit referents by emotive content oriented to her/him.

(41) a. Em va dir *que*<sub>1</sub> **el malparit d’en Pere**, *que*<sub>2</sub> no el suporta.

‘She/He told me that she/he cannot stand that son of a bitch of Peter.’ (*Catalan*)

b. Me dijo *que*<sub>1</sub> **ese cabrón**, *que*<sub>2</sub> si llueve, *que*<sub>2</sub> no viene.



‘She/He told me that it rains that son of a bitch is not coming.’ (*Spanish*)

Note that the same phrases cannot be oriented to the reporter in (42) if they are not sandwiched between two complementizers.<sup>19</sup> It similarly occurs with evidential adverbs (Rathmann, 2012), which can only be oriented to the matrix subject —the original speaker— when the clause has a quotative interpretation, see (43).

(42) a. Em va dir *que*<sub>1</sub> sincerament, *que*<sub>2</sub> **el malparit d'en Pere** no el suporta.

‘She/He told me that she/he cannot stand that son of a bitch of Peter.’ (*Catalan*)

b. Me dijo *que*<sub>1</sub> si llueve, *que*<sub>2</sub> **ese cabrón** no viene.

‘She/He told me that it rains that son of a bitch is not coming.’ (*Spanish*)

(43) La Maria va dir *que*<sub>1</sub> l'examen, *que*<sub>2</sub> **evidentment**, en Pere el va suspendre.

‘Mary said that evidently, Peter failed the test.’ (*Catalan*)

Rathmann (2012) argues that in QRC structures the quoted clause is semantically factive (or referential, in the sense of Haegemann & Ürögdi, 2010) and low in discourse prominence, while the topic dislocate receives high discourse prominence.<sup>20</sup> She considers that sandwiched topics are Referential Anchors<sup>21</sup> that change the Seat of Knowledge from the reporter to the matrix subject. Her prediction is fine but is not entirely correct, because she attributes the change of the Seat of Knowledge to the presence of QRC. Following Rathmann’s hypothesis, the phrase *el malparit d'en Pere* ‘that son of a bitch of Peter’ in (44) can be interpreted as an emotive content ambiguously oriented to the reporter or to the matrix subject.

(44) La Maria va dir *que*<sub>1</sub> sincerament, **el malparit d'en Pere**(,) no el suporta.

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<sup>19</sup> In (42) we include other QRC construction for maintaining the quotative interpretation.

<sup>20</sup> An anonymous reviewer suggests that in Catalan it is possible to reintroduce a phrase using a CLRD (according to Villalba, 2011):

(i) Res, filla. Ja saps com és el teu pare. M’ha deixat anar que no les perd mai, **les claus**...

‘Nothing, daughter. You know what your father is like. He has told me that he never loses the keys...’

We consider that (i) is fine but the CLRD is interpreted as a backgrounded phrase, while a sandwiched CLRD is prominent in the clause, cf. the example in (35). We do not discard that CLRDs can be reintroduced phrases in a quotative clause, but we are not sure that a CLRD would can be an emotive content oriented to the reporter:

(ii) El pare em va preguntar que on les havia deixades, **les refotudes claus**.

‘My father asked me where he had left the damned keys.’

We understand *les refotudes claus* ‘the damned keys’ in (ii) as an emotive content oriented to the matrix subject (original source: *On les he deixades, les refotudes claus?* ‘Where have I left the damned keys?’), which cannot be oriented to the reporter (cf. *El pare em va preguntar que les refotudes claus, que on les havia deixades* ‘My father asked me where he had left the damned keys’). At this point, we provisionally propose that QRC is a strategy to mark dislocations as phrases oriented to the reporter (see § 5.3 for a formal analysis). This orientation to the reporter legitimates pragmatically the reintroduction of phrases and the emotive change.

<sup>21</sup> In Rathmann’s proposal, Referential Anchors agree with an illocutionary operator that spells out as *que*<sub>2</sub> and eliminates assertive force from the proposition.

‘Mary said that sincerely, she cannot stand that son of a bitch of Peter.’ (*Catalan*)

We consider that the emotive content in (44) can only be oriented to the matrix subject, and no change of the seat of knowledge is needed, because the quotative status of the clause is the only explanation of its properties. Finally, the presence of *que*<sub>2</sub> is an agreement marker that indicates reporter’s Seat of Knowledge in relation to the sandwiched phrase. See § 5.3 for an analysis based on a specifier-head agreement.

### 3.2.2 Informational status of the complement clause

Iatridou & Kroch (1992) claim that quotative clauses are completive clauses selected by the matrix verb of the sentence, so quotative clauses cannot be the subject of the sentence (i.e., the subject of a passive sentence), and cannot form part of adjunct clauses. Similarly, quotative clauses cannot be dislocated.<sup>22</sup> The following examples illustrate it:

- (45) a. \* [Subject *Que*<sub>1</sub> el president, *que*<sub>2</sub> estava imputat] va ser anunciat ahir a la reunió.  
‘That the president was imputed was announced at the meeting yesterday.’  
(*Catalan*)
- b. \* [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.  
‘Yesterday it was said at the meeting that the president would not come.’  
(*Catalan*)
- c. ?\* [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 shareholders’ approval.’ (*Catalan*)

These generalizations can be explained by the informational status of the quotative clause (or the adjunct clause where it is embedded). Quotative clauses are always the focus of the sentence, and the ungrammaticality of the examples in (45a)–(45b) is explained because they are interpreted as topics. The example in (45c) is more acceptable because the embedded clause is the focus of the adjunct.

### 3.3 Syntactic properties

#### 3.3.2 Sandwiched constituents, clause types, and fragments

The sandwiched constituents between homophonous complementizers are usually subjects (46a), CLLDs (46b), temporal adverbs (46c), causal clauses (46d), temporal adverbial clauses (46e), conditional clauses (46f), speech-act adverbs (46g), *as for* topics (46h), hanging topic left dislocations (46i), connective adverbs (46j), and enunciative adverbs

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<sup>22</sup> See Etxepare (2007) for a detailed description on  $\theta$ -structure and complement selection in Spanish quotative constructions.

(46k) (for more details, see Keniston, 1937, 675; Paoli, 2003, 270–276; Ribeiro & Torres Morais, 2009; AUTHOR, 2010).<sup>23</sup>

- (46) a. Diu que **la Maria**, que no ha vingut.  
           ‘She/He says that Mary has not come.’ (*Catalan*)
- b. Diu que **a la teva germana**, que no li podrà donar feina.  
           ‘She/He says that she/he cannot employ your sister.’ (*Catalan*)
- c. Diu que **ahir**, que no hi havia ningú.  
           ‘She/He says that there was no one yesterday.’ (*Catalan*)
- d. Diu que **perquè tothom estigui content**, que farà dos menús diferents.  
           ‘She/He says that she/he will cook two different menus so that everyone is happy.’ (*Catalan*)
- e. Diu que **quan va arribar a l’hotel**, que el director l’esperava a la recepció.  
           ‘She/He says that when she/he arrived at the hotel, the director was waiting for her/him at the reception.’ (*Catalan*)
- f. Em va dir que **si el trucava**, que tot es solucionaria.  
           ‘She/He told me that if I called her/him, everything would solve.’ (*Catalan*)
- g. Els va dir que **sincerament**, que no volia parlar amb ningú.  
           ‘She/He told them that honestly, she/he did not want to talk to anyone.’ (*Catalan*)
- h. Et repeteixo que **pel que fa a en Miquel**, que no en vull saber res més.  
           ‘I repeat to you that regarding Michael, I don’t want to know anything else.’ (*Catalan*)
- i. Em vas dir que **la Maria<sub>i</sub>**, que no parlaries amb ella<sub>i</sub> mai de la vida.  
           ‘You told me that you would never talk to Mary.’ (*Catalan*)
- j. Em va dir que **en definitiva**, que estava despatxat.  
           ‘She/He said to me that in short, {I / she / he} was fired.’ (*Catalan*)
- k. Em va dir que **en poques paraules**, que ja era hora que em comencés a prendre la vida seriosament.  
           ‘She/He told me that in a nutshell, it was about time I started to take life seriously.’ (*Catalan*)

Also, we observe that different clause (sub)types can be embedded in quotative complements. See the examples in (47):

- (47) a. DECLARATIVE CLAUSES  
           La secretària em va dir *que<sub>1</sub>* si pagava l’import abans d’una setmana, *que<sub>2</sub>* encara em podia matricular.

<sup>23</sup> Connective and enunciative adverbs are respectively adverbs like Cat. *llavors* / Sp. *entonces* ‘then’ and Cat. *breument* / Sp. *brevemente* ‘briefly’.

‘The secretary told me that if I paid the amount a week before I could still register.’ (*Catalan*)

b. JUSSIVE/OPTATIVE CLAUSES<sup>24</sup>

El director ha dit *que*<sub>1</sub> a la sala d’actes, *que*<sub>2</sub> els alumnes castigats, *que*<sub>jussive</sub> hi vagin ara mateix.

‘The headmaster said that the punished students should go to the assembly hall immediately.’ (*Catalan*)

c. *WH*-EXCLAMATIVE CLAUSES<sup>25</sup>

L’Emma diu *que*<sub>1</sub> el crèdit, *que*<sub>2</sub> quina sort que te’l van donar per telèfon.

‘Emma says: «How lucky they gave you the credit over the phone!»’ (*Catalan*)

d. *WH*-QUESTIONS

La mare {diu/pregunta} *que*<sub>1</sub> demà, *que*<sub>2</sub> qui vindrà amb vosaltres.

‘My mother is asking who is coming with you tomorrow.’ (*Catalan*)

e. *YES/NO*-QUESTIONS

La mare {diu/pregunta} *que*<sub>1</sub> demà, *que*<sub>2</sub> si pot venir amb vosaltres.

‘My mother is asking if she can come with you tomorrow.’ (*Catalan*)

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<sup>24</sup> In Spanish and Catalan, jussive/optative clauses have the same morphosyntactic structure and they are the only subtype of directive clauses that can be embedded. Note that imperative verbs cannot be embedded in indirect speech:

- (i) a. Sempre et dic: «**Escolta** els consells de ton pare!»  
‘I always say to you: «Listen to your father’s advice!»’ (*Catalan*, direct speech)
- b. Sempre et dic que {**\*escolta** / **escoltis**} els consells de ton pare.  
‘I always say to you that you must listen to your father’s advice.’ (*Catalan*, indirect speech)

Moreover, *a* ‘to’ / *sin* ‘without’ + infinitive constructions used as direct commands can be embedded with a quotative interpretation (Rivero, 1994), but to our ear they are not fine with QRC:

- (ii) a. ¡A correr!  
‘Let’s run! / Run!’ (*Spanish*)
- b. Dijo *que*<sub>1</sub> los chicos, (??*que*<sub>2</sub>) a correr.  
‘She/He said: «Let’s run guys!»’ (*Spanish*)  
‘She/He said to the boys: «Let’s run!»’ (*Spanish*)

<sup>25</sup> An anonymous reviewer considers that QRC is not always fine when it is an exclamative. To our ear they are fine, and examples in Spanish and Catalan have been widely collected by De la Mota (1995):

- (i) a. L’oncle deia que a la presó de la ciutat, que **i tant** que no hauria volgut anar-hi.  
‘My uncle said: «I absolutely would not have wanted to go to the city jail!»’ (*Catalan*, De la Mota, 1995, (223b))
- b. Dice que las revistas, que **qué rápido** que las mandaron.  
‘She/He says: «How quickly they sent the magazines!»’ (*Spanish*, De la Mota, 1995, (222e))
- c. Dice que a tu hermana, que **vaya regalos** que le hacía su novio.  
‘She/He says: «Your sister, what gifts her boyfriend made her!»’ (*Spanish*, De la Mota, 1995, (222a))

On the other hand, fragments can be quoted in indirect speech —cf. (48) with (49)—, and they can host QRC constructions, like the examples in (50) and (51).

(48) A: Em deixes el cotxe?

B: Una merda!

‘A: Can you lend me the car? / B: Piss off!’ (*Catalan*)

(49) Li vaig preguntar (que) si em deixava el cotxe i em va dir que una merda.

‘I asked her/him if she/he would lend me the car and she/he told me to piss off.’  
(*Catalan*)

(50) Dijo *que*<sub>1</sub> esas revistas de pacotilla, *que*<sub>2</sub> a la basura.

‘She/He was like those trashy magazines (should go) into the rubbish bin.’ (*Spanish*)

(51) Va dir *que*<sub>1</sub> l’examen, *que*<sub>2</sub> quin pal.

‘She/He was like what a bore, the exam!’ (*Catalan*)

Notice that in examples like (51), the sandwiched phrase is reintroduced:<sup>26</sup>

(52) A: És bona la novel·la?

B: Una meravella!

‘A: Is the novel good? / B: Marvelous!’ (*Catalan*)

(53) Va dir *que*<sub>1</sub> la novel·la, *que*<sub>2</sub> una meravella.

‘She/He told me that the novel is marvelous.’ (*Catalan*)

However, sentences like (54) and (55) are not cases of QRC:<sup>27</sup>

(54) Dijo que qué diantres, que se iba.

‘She/He said what the heck, that she/he was leaving.’ (*Spanish*)

ORIGINAL SOURCE: *¡Qué diantres! ¡Me voy!* ‘What the heck! I’m leaving.’

(55) Dijo que sí hombre, que se iba.

‘She/He said no way, that she/he was leaving.’ (*Spanish*)

ORIGINAL SOURCE: *¡Sí hombre! ¡Me voy!* ‘No way, I’m leaving.’

These sentences are quoted discourses formed by juxtaposed sentences, cf. their original sources. Evidences in this sense are Spanish speakers that do not accept QRC constructions (e.g., speakers of Rioplatense dialect and Asturian/Spanish bilingual

<sup>26</sup> An anonymous reviewer considers that examples like (51) and (53) are ungrammatical. Discrepancies are notorious with another reviewer and our informants who do consider it well formed.

<sup>27</sup> Grohmann & Etxepare (2003) notice that Root Infinitive can occur as topics in more complex constructions like (i). They consider (i) as a «Double Comp» structure, but we believe that it is a case of juxtaposed clauses like (54) and (55).

(i) Juan dice que **él fregar los platos** que ni por el forro.

‘John says: «Me wash the dishes?! No way!»’ (*Spanish*, Grohmann & Etxepare, 2003, (67), bold is ours)

speakers). They accept sentence like (54) and (55), but use sentences like (56), and there are some ones that accept (57).

- (56) a. Me dijo *que*<sub>1</sub> la novela, una maravilla. [QUOTATIVE COMPLEMENT]  
 b. Me dijo *que*<sub>1</sub> la novela era una maravilla. [REPORTATIVE COMPLEMENT]  
 ‘She/He told me that the novel was marvelous.’ (*Spanish*)

- (57) % Dijo que qué diantres y que se iba.  
 ‘She/He said what the heck, that she/he was leaving.’ (*Spanish*)

If we assume that linear precedence in a discourse must also reflect asymmetric c-command (see Cinque, 2008), in indirect speech quotative verbs can select not only sentences but also a discourse formed by more than one sentence or fragment. This idea will be developed in § 5.2.

### 3.3.3 Restrictions on negation, movement, and reconstruction

Iatridou & Kroch (1992) claim that recomplementation is incompatible with main clause negation. As noted by an anonymous reviewer, this affirmation is in principle correct, «unless there is a metalinguistic or corrective reading, whereby negation takes scope over the quote itself», a property that is shared with direct quotes. The examples in (58) illustrate this symmetry:

- (58) a. No va dir que l’examen, que quin pal, sinó que quin regal.  
 ‘She/He wasn’t like what a bore, the exam!, but rather what a present!’  
 b. Sobre l’examen no va dir: «Quin pal!», sinó «Quin regal!»  
 ‘Regarding the exam, she/he didn’t say: «what a bore!», but rather «what a present!»’

Similarly, the matrix negation can indeed be interpreted as negating the content of the reportative clause, but quotative cannot (Rathmann, 2012):<sup>28</sup>

- (59) a. No va dir que l’examen {??era/fos} un regal.  
 ‘She/He didn’t say that the exam was a present.’ [wide scope without a corrective reading]

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<sup>28</sup> To our ear, in Catalan the indicative embedded verb *era* ‘it was’ is used with an assertive interpretation and only admits a narrow scope of the negation; by contrast, its subjunctive counterpart *fos* ‘it was’ also admits a non-assertive interpretation and allows the wide scope of the negation.

Note that the subjunctive in quotative clauses is related to an optative/jussive reading. QRC is not sensitive to the verbal mood of the embedded clause, so it can be found in both indicative and subjunctive clauses (Paoli, 2003, 276–277; Ribeiro & Torres Morais, 2009). As shown by AUTHOR (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 § 5.3) depending on the matrix predicate class and the mood of the embedded verb (see § 1.1 for a description).

‘She/He said that the exam was not a present.’ [narrow scope]

b. No va dir *que*<sub>1</sub> l’examen, *que*<sub>2</sub> {era/??fos} un regal...

‘She/He didn’t say that the exam was a present...’ [wide scope with a corrective reading]

‘\*She/He said that the exam was not a present...’ [\*narrow scope]

In certain languages like Spanish, in which preverbal double negation is ungrammatical,<sup>29</sup> when a negative topic phrase (or CLLD) is found 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):<sup>30</sup>

(60) 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 hadn’t invited any of them.’ (*Spanish*)

b. Me dijeron *que*<sub>1</sub> **a ninguno de ellos**<sub>i</sub>, (\**que*<sub>2</sub>) Juan los<sub>i</sub> invitó.

‘They said to me that John hadn’t invited any of them.’ (*Spanish*)

Villa-García (2012b) relates this property with locality restrictions on movement (see his 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 —i.e., extraction of *wh*-phrases, Contrastive Focus, and CLLDs:<sup>31</sup>

(61) a. \* ¿Quién<sub>i</sub> me dijiste *que*<sub>1</sub> a tu madre *que*<sub>2</sub> la va a llamar *t*?

‘Who did you tell me is going to phone your mother?’ (*Spanish*, Villa-García, 2012c, (75), his judgment)

b. % ¿Quién<sub>i</sub> me dijiste *que*<sub>1</sub> a tu madre la va a llamar *t*?

<sup>29</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.’

<sup>30</sup> Sentences like (i) are not possible because negative polarity items —*nadie* in the example— cannot be topics. Therefore, the informational status of the reintroduced phrases is essential.

(i) \* Me dijeron *que*<sub>1</sub> **a nadie**<sub>i</sub>, *que*<sub>2</sub> Juan no (los<sub>i</sub>) invitó.

‘They said to me that John didn’t invited anybody.’

<sup>31</sup> Villa-García considers that long-distance movement is blocked by a COMP-trace effect (i.e. *que*<sub>2</sub>-*t*) in the same way as English *that*-trace effect, cf. (i) with (61).

(i) a. \* Who<sub>i</sub> do you think that *t* won? b. Who<sub>i</sub> do you think *t* won?

(Villa-García, 2012c, (73))

An anonymous reviewer notes: «the parallelism with *that*-*t* effect is totally unwarranted and misleading, for the complementizer and the trace are not adjacent in any case». Regarding this topic, we refer the reader to Villa-García’s (2012c) article for a theoretical discussion of his proposal. Yet, his data description is correct (see below in this section for some discrepancies), but we believe that these data can be well explained from syntax, without having to resort to Rescue-by-PF-Deletion operations (see § 4). Furthermore, the same reviewer suggests that restrictions on movement can be cases of topic-islands (Rochemont, 1989). We analyze this possibility in § 4.1.

‘Who did you tell me is going to phone your mother?’ (*Spanish*, Villa-García, 2012c, (75))<sup>32</sup>

- (62) [<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 your mother had put the books on the table.’ (*Spanish*, adapted from Villa-García, 2012c, (63b) and (64b))

- (63) [<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 books on the table, (not the pens).’ (*Spanish*)

This means that in sentences containing a clause with QRC, the phrase moved to matrix CP can only be an element of the matrix clause, as in (64) and (65).

- (64) a. \*  $\zeta$ <sub>[WhP Cuándo]<sub>i</sub></sub> me dijiste *que*<sub>1</sub> a Eva *que*<sub>2</sub> le iban a operar *t*<sub>i</sub>?  
b.  $\zeta$ <sub>[WhP Cuándo]<sub>i</sub></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.)

- (65) a. \* [<sub>CFocus</sub> EN AGOSTO]<sub>i</sub> me dijiste *que*<sub>1</sub> a Eva *que*<sub>2</sub> la iban a operar *t*<sub>i</sub> (y no en setiembre).

Intended meaning: ‘You told me that Eva was going to get surgery IN AUGUST (not in September).’ (*Spanish*)

- b. ? [<sub>CFocus</sub> EN AGOSTO]<sub>i</sub> (y no en setiembre) me dijiste *t*<sub>i</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> a Eva *que*<sub>2</sub> la iban a operar.<sup>33</sup>

Intended meaning: ‘You told me that Eva was going to get surgery IN AUGUST (not in September).’ (*Spanish*)

- c. En agosto me dijiste *que*<sub>1</sub> a Eva *que*<sub>2</sub> la iban a operar.

‘In August you told me that Eva was going to get surgery.’ (*Spanish*)

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> can be never interpreted as the antecedent of an anaphoric element placed above *que*<sub>2</sub> —as in (66a)—, which the non-sandwiched CLLDs do allow, as in (66b):<sup>34, 35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The % judgement is ours (see § 4.1 for more details). In Villa-García’s original example, (61b) is grammatical.

<sup>33</sup> The presence of a matrix Contrastive Focus makes the informational status of the embedded clause not so obvious, which leads to the fact that the sentence is not quite well formed. As mentioned in § 3.2.2, the embedded clause that contains QRC must necessarily be the focus of the sentence.

<sup>34</sup> According to Villa-García’s (2012c) analysis, the properties of (60a) and (66a) support Cinque’s (1990) hypothesis that CLLDs are base-generated in the left periphery; however, the properties of (60b) and (66b) only support an  $\bar{A}$ -movement account for CLLD (see López, 2009, among others).



- (66) 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 her/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 her/his car here.’ (*Spanish*, Villa-García, p.c.)

Villa-García (2012c) claims that 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 another embedded CP. The example in (67) illustrates this property:

- (67) Dijo *que* **sobre el artículo**<sub>i</sub> (\**que*) escuchó que habían hecho comentarios positivos <sub>i</sub>.

Intended meaning: ‘She/He told me that she/he heard that they had made very positive comments about the paper.’ (*Spanish*, Villa-García, 2012c, (26a–b))

Although we agree with the grammaticality judgments of (67), we believe that Villa-García’s generalization is too strong. For example, Demonte & Fernández Soriano (2009, 44–45) claim that the topics sandwiched between two *que* can violate interrogative islands. The examples in (68) are counterexamples to Villa-García’s generalization:

- (68) a. Dijo que [a ese empleado]<sub>i</sub> que no sabía [cuánto le<sub>i</sub> pagaban].  
 ‘She/He said that he didn’t know how much they paid that employee.’ (*Spanish*)
- b. Me dijo que [ese paquete]<sub>i</sub> que no sabía [quién lo<sub>i</sub> había traído].  
 ‘He told me that he didn’t know who had brought that parcel.’ (*Spanish*)

The examples in (67) and (68), with the structure of (69), have an embedded predicate that selects a clause as complement.

- (69) [<sub>CP1</sub> ... [<sub>CP2</sub> *que* CLLD<sub>i</sub> (*que*<sub>2</sub>) ... [<sub>CP3</sub> {*que*/WhP} ... e<sub>i</sub> ]]]

In (67) it seems that QRC of a CLLD interpreted in the most embedded clause can only appear in CP<sub>3</sub> domain, but the examples in (68) show that it should appear in the CP<sub>2</sub> domain. The difference between (67) and (68) is that the verb *escuchar* ‘listen’ in (67) is interpreted as quotative and *saber* ‘know’ is not. Therefore the reintroduced CLLD may only

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<sup>35</sup> Some informants noted us that (66b) is only acceptable with a Contrastive Topic interpretation or List Interpretation (Benincà & Poletto, 2004, 67–70), which is only possible if the CLLD remains in the embedded CP layer (Bianchi & Frascarelli, 2010). This agrees with the judgment of (i), where it is found that the extraction of CLLD does not allow the binding of the possessive with its antecedent that remains in the embedded one:

- (i) a. ?\* Su<sub>i</sub> coche, me contaron que todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> lo tiene que dejar aquí.  
 ‘They told me that everybody<sub>i</sub> has to leave {her/his}<sub>i</sub> car here.’ (*Spanish*)
- b. <sup>ok</sup> Su<sub>j</sub> coche, me contaron que todo el mundo<sub>i</sub> lo tiene que dejar aquí.  
 ‘They told me that everybody<sub>i</sub> has to leave {her/his}<sub>j</sub> car here.’ (*Spanish*)

appear in CP selected by a quotative verb. This difference is clearer in (70), where the quotative interpretation of *preguntar* ‘ask’ does not permit the CLLD movement (option without *que<sub>2</sub>*) nor the CLLD reintroduction (option with *que<sub>2</sub>*):

- (70) \* Dijo que [a ese empleado]<sub>i</sub> (*que<sub>2</sub>*) me preguntaras que [cuánto le<sub>i</sub> pagaban].  
 ‘She/He ordered that you asked me how much they paid that employee.’  
 (*Spanish*)

Note the following contrast in (71). The interrogative *dónde* ‘where’ in (71a) is a true interrotative and is related to a [+contrast] feature, which blocks the long-distance movement of the interrogative *qué* ‘what’. By contrast, in (71b) *dónde* is not a true interrogative, it is a free variable without a [+contrast] feature —see § 4.1—, and the movement of *qué* is allowed because there are no intervention effects.

- (71) a. \* ¿Qué preguntó María que dónde habíamos comprado?  
 b. ¿Qué preguntó María dónde habíamos comprado?  
 ‘What did Mary ask where we had bought?’ (*Spanish*)

#### 4. Restrictions on long-distance movement

Given the impossibility to explain all cases of quotative recomplementation by means of the Villa-García’s Rescue-by-PF-Deletion proposal (cf. fn. 31), other alternatives should be explored so as to explain the locality violations caused by the presence of *que<sub>2</sub>*. However, it seems that the evidence 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 whether this alternation blocks or not long-distance movement does not seem appropriate.

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

As for the second problem, in the following sections we will discuss why speech-act adverbs (with or without *que<sub>2</sub>*), *as for* topics (with or without *que<sub>2</sub>*), and HTLDs do not allow long-distance movement and whether the embedded clause has always a *de dicto* reading in such cases. First, however, we rule out the appropriateness of analyzing movement restrictions in QRC constructions as topic island effects caused by CLLDs in embedded contexts.

##### 4.1 Sandwiched CLLDs are not topic islands

There is the possibility that restrictions on long-distance movement from embedded CP to matrix CP are caused by a topic-island effect, which blocks the movement when a CLLD is

present in the embedded CP (see Villalba (2000) and López (2009) for Catalan, Goodall (2001) for Spanish, Rochemont (1989) for Italian and English, among others):

(72) \* ¿A quién crees que el premio se lo dieron?

‘Who do you think that the prize they gave to?’ (*Spanish*, Goodall, 2001, (21), his judgements)

(73) ?? Qui creus que, de Cuba, en parla al seu llibre?

‘Who do you believe talks about Cuba in his/her book?’ (*Catalan*, Villalba, 2000, 188, (12a), his judgements)

Goodall (2001, fn. 12) admits that the example in (72) is controversial because in literature on Spanish there are some authors who consider that these constructions are grammatical. In this sense, his judgments of grammaticality are based on the informants that he consulted, who reject the movement if there is a CLLD in the embedded clause. By contrast, the examples in (61) show that Villa-García considers that the movement is grammatical. Furthermore, the example in (73) fits both our judgments of grammaticality as Villalba’s (2000) and López’s (2009) ones. However, we found that there are Catalan speakers who accept it without any problems.

Our hypothesis is that topic island effects and long-distance movement restrictions related to QRC are independent phenomena, because QRC is used by speakers who accept topic-island violations and by speakers who do not. For this reason, the two phenomena cannot be the same phenomenon.

Following Frascarelli (2007), in the clausal left periphery there may be three different types of CLLDs, which occupy different places in the functional space of the CP layer: A(boutness-shift)-Topic > ... > C(contrastive)-Topic > ... > G(iven)-Topic.<sup>36</sup> According to our opinion, this classification permits to explain why there are linguistic varieties that present topic islands and other ones that do not.

Concretly, this asymmetry is related to the presence of G-Topics in the left periphery. Varieties that do not have G-Topics in preverbal position only admit A- and C-Topics, and G-Topics only can be related to CLRD positions.<sup>37</sup> But varieties that admit G-Topics in preverbal position may violate topic islands because this effect is only related to C-Topics. The movement is blocked by the presence of a C-Topic, which competes for the same

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<sup>36</sup> In Frascarelli’s (2007) paper, she uses the term «Familiar Topics» for her G-Topics in subsequent works (e.g. Bianchi & Frascarelli, 2010). Frascarelli (2011) distinguishes two subtypes: the *Aboutness G-Topic*, «for continuity with respect to the current sentence Topic», and the *Familiar G-Topic*, «to resume background information».

<sup>37</sup> Frascarelli (2007) proposes that CLRD are G-Topics located in the left periphery with the remnant movement of the IP to Spec,G(round)P. Furthermore, authors such as Villalba (2000) and López (2009) propose that CLRDs are topics derived internally in the periphery of the *vP*. For reasons of space, in this article we will stay agnostic about what is the best solution, but we accept that the G-Topics can be performed as CLLDs or CLRDs.

structural space with Contrastive Focus and WhP, because they all share the [+contrast] feature (see López, 2009). Therefore a C-Topic always creates a topic island by intervention effects; so in varieties where superficially a CLLD blocks phrase extraction to the matrix CP, this effect is due to the fact that the CLLD is always a C-Topic. By contrast, in varieties in which it seems superficially that there are no topic-island effects, this is because in these cases the CLLDs are G-Topics.<sup>38</sup>

#### 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 are immediately dominated by an *as for* topic or a HTLD in matrix clauses (see § 5.2 for a complete cartography). However, some authors consider that their presence in an embedded clause is ungrammatical (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 (74) is highly unacceptable but «[i]t becomes fine with a quotational intonation, as in free indirect speech» (Faure, 2010, fn. 19).

(74) ?? 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 examples corroborate it:

(75) a. QUOTATIVE COMPLEMENT

En Nicolau m'ha dit *que*<sub>1</sub> (\*molt/\*ben) **sincerament**, (*que*<sub>2</sub>) no està content.

'Nicolau has said to me that (\*very) sincerely he is not satisfied.' (*Catalan*)

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.' (*Catalan*)

In (75a) 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—as in (75b)—, it is a manner adverb that may be modified by a quantifier.

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 (2013, § 5.3) for English; Fernández Rubiera (2010, 302–303) for Asturian; Giorgi (2010, 73) for Italian; Etxepare (1996) and Grohmann & Etxepare (2003) for Spanish; Yoon (2011) for Korean).

<sup>38</sup> Note that varieties that apparently accept topic-island violations also they have C-Topics. When this happens it creates a topic island that does not permit to extract elements from the embedded clause:

(i) \*? ¿**Quién** crees que [<sub>C-Top</sub> las acelgas] se las ha comido y que [<sub>C-Top</sub> las patatas] las ha dejado?  
'Who do you think has eaten the chard and has left the potatoes?' (*Spanish*)

On the other hand, Giorgi (2010) argues that there is a semantic asymmetry between act-of-communication verbs and prepositional-attitude verbs, which explains what context can accept embedded speech-act adverbs. She considers that embedded speech-act adverbs are ungrammatical when the matrix verb is a propositional attitude like *believe*, but they are grammatical when the matrix verb is an act of communication like *say*:

- (76) a. \* Luisa credeva che **francamente** si fosse comportato male.  
           ‘Luisa believed that frankly he had misbehaved.’ (*Italian*, Giorgi, 2010, 72, (20))
- b. Mario disse a tutti che **francamente** era stanco di ascoltare sciocchezze.  
           ‘Mario told everybody that frankly he was tired of hearing silly things.’ (*Italian*, Giorgi, 2010, 73, (27))

*Contra* Giorgi (2010), Catalan, Spanish, and Italian sentences like (77) and (78) —with a prepositional-attitude verb in the matrix clause— are perfectly grammatical:

- (77) 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*)
- c. E peraltro credo che, **francamente**, sia poco importante essere di destra o di sinistra per apprezzare il significato profondo che ha questa poesia.  
           ‘However, I think that frankly, it is not very important to be right-wing or left-wing to appreciate the profound significance of this poem.’ (*Italian*. Source: <<http://tramedipensieri.wordpress.com/2013/03/19/chi-dice/>>)
- (78) 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.  
           ‘Once said that, I sincerely believe that summing helps achieve goals — sometimes common to all ones and sometimes by consensus— for the good of everyone.’ (*Catalan*. Source: <<https://catalansreaccionem.wordpress.com/2008/12/12/%0Dorgasme-per-la-llengua-catalana-siiiiiii/>>>)
- 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*. Source: <<http://www.zetataalk.com/mexico/zeta224.htm>>)

c. No, credo *che*<sub>1</sub> **francamente** *che*<sub>2</sub> sia solo un modo di tutelare delle lobby.<sup>39</sup>

‘No, I frankly think that there is only one way to protect the lobbies.’ (*Italian*).

Source: <<https://twitter.com/onclauda/status/319395617153613824>>)

We deem that this type of embedded clauses consists of quoted thoughts (see § 3.1). In this sense, thoughts can be considered speech acts and *believe* can be regarded as a quotative verb. Consider the following examples:

(79) CONTEXT: *Quico knows that the informer is Josep but he has not revealed his name.*

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

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

[<sup>OK</sup> *de dicto*; \* *de re* → The sentence is TRUE]

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

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

[\* *de dicto*; \* *de re* → The sentence is FALSE]

A possible information source for the speaker of (79) is a dialogue as (80):

(80) CONTEXT: *A is the speaker of (79) and B is Quico.*

A: Quico, què creus que passa?

‘Quico, what do you think is happening?’ (*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.

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

(81) CONTEXT: *A and B are speaking about the wedding day.*

A: En Miquel diu *que*<sub>1</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> **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: Michel says that sincerely his parents cannot come to the wedding. / B: Sorry, I wasn’t listening. Who does Michel say (\*that sincerely) cannot come to the wedding?’ (*Catalan*)

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<sup>39</sup> Notice that QRC is possible in Italian with an embedded speech-act adverb.

### 4.3 Evidences from *as for* topics

An *as for* topic is a topic phrase formed by 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. ‘as for / about / on / regarding’. See the example in (82):

(82) **Pel que fa a París**, ens va agradar molt visitar la Torre Eiffel.

‘Regarding Paris, we really enjoyed visiting the Eiffel Tower.’ (*Catalan*)

The distinctive formal properties of *as for* topics are the following:

(83) In *as for* topic, the dislocated element:

- a. must be a PP (see above for complex PP in Catalan and Spanish),
- b. has to precede CLLDs,
- c. has to precede speech-act adverbs (*contra* Rodríguez-Ramalle, 2005),
- d. does not require a correlate within the sentence (Villalba, 2000),
- e. can be separated from its resumptive by an island boundary,
- f. can have a resumptive clitic or a resumptive strong pronoun,
- g. cannot occur in embedded clauses (Rodríguez Ramalle (2005, 546) for Spanish),
- h. is unique in the sentence (*as for* topic cannot be iterated),

Similarly to what happens to speech-act adverbs, the assertion in (83g) is partially wrong. We consider that only embedded quotative clauses admit the presence of an *as for* topic. Synchronic and diachronic examples corroborate it:

(84) a. Dijo que **acerca de lo que dijo al principio de la audiencia de esta mañana**, porque es punto importante, quiere declarar cómo pasó [...]

‘He said that about what he had said at the beginning of this morning’s audit, because it is an important issue, he wants to declare how it happened [...]’ (16<sup>th</sup> century, Spanish, Peru)<sup>40</sup>

b. [...] y dijo que **acerca de esto** el Ministerio realiza cuanto puede, teniendo en cuenta lo costosas que resultan esta clase de obras.

‘[...] and he also added that the Ministry does its best, given the high prices of this type of works.’ (20<sup>th</sup> century, Spanish, Spain)<sup>41</sup>

c. Por último dijo que **acerca de la tecnología y la música** tiene opiniones encontradas [...]

<sup>40</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>41</sup> Source: *ABC*, 26/VI/1955, edición de la mañana, p. 45.

‘Finally he said that concerning technology and music he has mixed views [...]’  
(21<sup>st</sup> century, Spanish, Mexico)<sup>42</sup>

As it occurs with the other phenomena analyzed in this paper, embedded *as for* topics necessarily involve a *de dicto* reading:

- (85) a. En Joan ens va dir *que*<sub>1</sub> [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)

[<sup>OK</sup> *de dicto*, \* *de re*]

- b. [Pel que fa al teu regal], en Joan ens va dir *que*<sub>1</sub> volies **un dels nostres cavalls**, <sup>OK</sup>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*, <sup>OK</sup> *de re*]

The *de re* reading in (85a) is not possible because the presence of an embedded *as for* topic implies that the speaker quotes a sentence that she/he remembers entirely. On the contrary, in (85b) the absence of an embedded *as for* topic suggests that the speaker does not remember entirely the original sentence and she/he cannot quote it, but she/he can make a statement on it. Furthermore, (85b) can have a *de dicto* reading without the coordinated clause *però no recordo quin* ‘but I don’t remember which one’.

Following our argumentative line, this interpretative asymmetry is consistent with the restrictions on long-distance movement shown by the examples in (86):

- (86) a. \* **Què**<sub>i</sub> ens va dir en Joan *que*<sub>1</sub> [pel que fa al teu regal], (*que*<sub>2</sub>) volies *t*<sub>i</sub>?

‘\*What did John say to us that about your present, you wanted?’ (Catalan)

- b. [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 (86a) long-distance movement is blocked by the presence of an embedded *as for* topic, which is only possible in quotative clauses. On the contrary, in (86b) there is no embedded *as for* topic and the complement is a reportative clause, which does allow long-distance movement.

#### 4.4 Evidences from HTLDs

A hanging topic left dislocation (HTLD) is the higher topic phrase in a clause formed by a DP (without Case marks). See the example in (87):

- (87) **La Maria**<sub>i</sub>, ningú no vol parlar d’ella<sub>i</sub>.

<sup>42</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/>>.



‘Regarding Mary, nobody wants to talk about her.’ (*Catalan*)

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

(88) In HTLD, the dislocated element:

- a. must be a NP/DP (Cinque, 1983),
- b. has to precede CLLDs (Cinque, 1977; Benincà, 2001; Delais-Roussarie, Doetjes, & Sleeman, 2004),
- c. can be separated from its resumptive by an island boundary (Cinque, 1977),
- d. cannot have a resumptive clitic and can have a resumptive strong pronoun (Cinque, 1983),<sup>43</sup>
- e. 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; Sturgeon (2006, ch. 3) for Czech),
- f. is unique in the sentence (HTLD cannot be iterated) (Cinque, 1983),
- g. is separated from the clause by a longer pause than in CLLD.

(Adapted from De Cat, 2007, 107)

Similarly to what happens with speech-act adverbs and *as for* topics, the assertion in (88e) is partially wrong. In agreement with other authors (De Cat (2007, § 4.3.6) for French; Fernández Rubiera (2009, 111; 2010, 303–304) for Asturian; Fernández Rubiera (2011, (5)–(8)) and Grohmann & Etxepare (2003) for Spanish; Gutiérrez-Bravo (2011) for Yucatec Maya), we consider that embedded quotative clauses admit the presence of a HTLD. The examples corroborate it:<sup>44</sup>

(89) a. En Joan diu *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>HTLD</sub> la Maria]<sub>i</sub>, *que*<sub>2</sub> ningú no vol parlar d’ella<sub>i</sub>.

‘Regarding Mary, John says that nobody wants to talk about her.’ (*Catalan*)

b. Pedro dice *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>HTLD</sub> el baloncesto]<sub>i</sub>, *que*<sub>2</sub> ese deporte<sub>i</sub> le gusta.

‘As for basketball, Peter says that he likes that sport.’ (Grohmann & Etxepare, 2003, (25b), our translation)

As it occurs with *as for* topics and other phenomena analyzed in this paper, embedded HTLDs necessarily involve a *de dicto* interpretation:

(90) a. A la feina tothom diu *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>HTLD</sub> la Maria]<sub>i</sub>, *que*<sub>2</sub> algú vol parlar amb ella<sub>i</sub>.

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<sup>43</sup> López (2009) offers examples of HTLDs with a resumptive clitic and without a resumptive strong pronoun. In Catalan, our judgements are OK for clauses with a partitive clitic:

(i) a. [<sub>HTLD</sub> Farina]<sub>i</sub>, en<sub>i</sub> vull un quilo.                      b. [<sub>CLLD</sub> De farina]<sub>i</sub>, en<sub>i</sub> vull un quilo.

‘I want a kilogram of flour.’ (*Catalan*)

<sup>44</sup> It seems that embedded HTLDs require a mandatory second complementizer (AUTHOR, 2011), but this issue has not been sufficiently studied (cf. Villa-García 2012b, ch. 5; 2012c, fn. 31).

b. [HTLD la Maria]<sub>i</sub>, a la feina tothom diu *que*<sub>1</sub> algú vol parlar amb ella<sub>i</sub>.

'Regarding Mary, at work everyone says that someone wants to talk to her.'

The *de re* interpretation in (90a) is not possible because the presence of an embedded HTLD implies that *algú* ‘someone’ does not scope over the universal operator. On the contrary, in (90b) the absence of an embedded HTLD suggests that the two readings are possible.

(91) a. \* **Qui<sub>i</sub>** diu en Joan *que<sub>1</sub>* [<sub>HTLD</sub> la Maria], *que<sub>2</sub>* *t<sub>i</sub>* no vol parlar d'ella?

'Regarding Mary, who does John say want to talk about her.' (*Catalan*)

## 5. A syntactic analysis for QRC

Following Rizzi's (1997) split-CP hypothesis of (92), Demonte & Fernández Soriano (2007) studied QRC in relation to other particular uses of *que*.

They propose a unitary account for the different types of *que* illustrated in (93) and (94). They identify two positions for the complementizer *que*: the first one, with a declarative value, in the head of ForceP (*que*<sub>1</sub>), and the second one, in the head of FinP (*que*<sub>2</sub>).

'She/He said that she/he could not stand that guy.' (*Spanish*, adapted from Demonte & Fernández Soriano, 2009, (42a))

'She/He asked me who had arrived at 3 o'clock in the morning.'

‘Let John keep quiet.’

‘May it rain coffee.’

34

'How good this is!'

(*Spanish*, adapted from Demonte & Fernández Soriano, 2007, (1b)–(1e))

In parallel, Mascarenhas (2007) studied European Portuguese recomplementation in sentences like (93). This author adduces solid evidences that in this type of sentences *que*<sub>2</sub> cannot be the head  $\text{Fin}^0$ , and it is placed above  $\text{FocP}$ , possibly in the head of  $\text{TopP}$ . This analysis coincides with other ones such as Paoli (2003; 2004; 2005; 2007), Rodríguez Ramalle (2003), Ribeiro (2010), and Villa-García (2012a; 2012b; 2012c).

In a subsequent article, Demonte & Fernández Soriano (2009) also realize the impossibility that *que*<sub>2</sub> is the head of  $\text{FinP}$  in sentences like (93). But they do not determine where there is really *que*<sub>2</sub>, and determine simply that recomplementation «is a reinforcement of the declarative status of the sentence» (Demonte & Fernández Soriano, 2009, 46). For this reason these authors suggest that a plausible explanation would be the existence of a  $\text{DoubledForceP}$  between  $\text{TopP}$  and  $\text{FocP}$ , as proposed by Martín-González (2002):

(95)  $\text{ForceP}(\text{TopP})(\text{DoubledForceP})(\text{FocP})\text{FinP}$

All these proposals have better characterized QRC constructions but have failed to determine exactly where *que*<sub>2</sub> is placed. In fact, on three proposals that have been raised (i.e., *que*<sub>2</sub> as  $\text{Fin}^0$ ,  $\text{Top}^0$ , or  $\text{DoubledForce}^0$ ), only the one that *que*<sub>2</sub> is not placed in  $\text{Fin}^0$  has been demonstrated (see Villa-García, 2012c). Regarding the other two hypotheses, we can only say that they are *ad hoc* proposals that are not motivated by reasoning based on a proper analysis of the interpretative properties of QRC, necessary condition within the cartographic framework, in which each functional head must match one formal feature (Cinque & Rizzi, 2010).

Notwithstanding the above, these two proposals are potentially correct, but they force us to ask what is the difference in the lexical choice between  $\emptyset$  and *que*<sub>2</sub> for the same head. Moreover, regarding to  $\text{DoubledForceP}$ , we wonder what feature this category encodes, what differences there are between  $\text{DoubledForceP}$  and  $\text{ForceP}$ , or whether the duplication process is a more general computational resource and what motivates it.

Regarding the lexical choice between  $\emptyset$  and *que*<sub>2</sub>, the only convincing analysis is Villa-García's one. His analysis on Spanish recomplementation offers a number of arguments in favour of analyzing *que*<sub>2</sub> as the head of  $\text{TopP}$ . By comparing the properties of sandwiched and non-sandwiched CLLDs (see fn. 34), he proposes that the first type is generated *in situ* (i.e.  $\text{Spec,TopP}$ ), while the latter is the result of the movement from internal positions within the 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. To explain these asymmetries, Villa-García argues that there are no lexical differences between both options for  $\text{Top}^0$  (i.e.,  $\emptyset$  and *que*<sub>2</sub>): *que*<sub>2</sub> is the default lexical item for  $\text{Top}^0$  and  $\emptyset$  is the

result of deleting *que*<sub>2</sub> in the Phonetic Form (PF), as a consequence of an island-violation repair (*Rescue by PF Deletion*) when a phrase moves across it. (96) shows a kind of analysis in which movement leads to a violation of locality principles and (97) shows how island violations are repaired and how the presence of *que*<sub>2</sub> is legitimated.

- (96) a. \* X ... [<sub>TopP</sub> CLLD [<sub>Top'</sub> *que*<sub>2</sub> [...X...]]]  
 b. \* [<sub>TopP</sub> CLLD [<sub>Top'</sub> *que*<sub>2</sub> [...CLLD...]]]  
 (97) a. X ... [<sub>TopP</sub> CLLD [<sub>Top'</sub> ~~*que*<sub>2</sub>~~ [...X...]]] → delete *que*<sub>2</sub> in PF  
 b. [<sub>TopP</sub> CLLD [<sub>Top'</sub> ~~*que*<sub>2</sub>~~ [...CLLD...]]] → delete *que*<sub>2</sub> in PF  
 c. [<sub>TopP</sub> CLLD<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Top'</sub> *que*<sub>2</sub> [...*pro*...]]]

This analysis is compatible with the interpretative properties of QRC constructions described in § 3.2, because it seems logical and plausible that reintroduced —originally elliptical— CLLDs are inserted directly in the CP layer and are co-referent with a *pro* located in the IP domain. Furthermore, it 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, (97) is interesting because it may explain both derivations from interpretative properties, which is highly desirable in a cartographic approach.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, it does not contribute to explain the differences between high topics and low topics described by Frascarelli's (2007) hierarchy.

## 5.2 Cartography of quotative complementation

In this paper, we assume the hypothesis that CP splits into different functional projections related to illocutionary force, the information structure, and various types of operators and adverbs with clausal scope. From Rizzi's (1997; 2001; 2004) and Frascarelli's (2007) cartographies, we propose a unitary cartography that allows us to delimit better the studied phenomenon.

On the one hand, Rizzi (1997) proposes that the CP is decomposed into ForceP and Fin(iteness)P, which encode two functional categories: illocutionary force and the [ $\pm$ finite] feature of the verb, respectively. In addition, between these two projections, there may be Foc(us)P —where Contrastive Focus and *wh*-phrases move—, and Top(ic)P —a recursive projection which hosts CLLDs. His original proposal has been modified with two additions: Int(errogative)P (Rizzi, 2001) and Mod(ifier)P (Rizzi, 2004). ModP has been proposed to

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<sup>45</sup> Notwithstanding the positive aspects of Villa-García's analysis, it cannot still explain HTLDs, *as for* topics, and speech-act adverbs in embedded clauses, because they are not moved phrases —they are base generated, though. In addition, *que*<sub>2</sub> is not mandatory for speech-act adverbs and *as for* topics. If Rescue-by-PF-Deletion analysis is correct, then the second complementizer would be required and should be present in matrix clauses. The example in (i) illustrates that it is actually not:

- (i) {**En Lluís**<sub>i</sub> / **Pel que fa a en Lluís**<sub>i</sub> / **Francament**}, (\**que*<sub>2</sub>) tothom n'espera molt d'elli.  
 '[Louis / Regarding Louis / Frankly], everyone expects a lot from him.' (*Catalan*)

place preverbal adverbs that it cannot be placed in FocP or TopP projections; while IntP serves to place non-argumental interrogative phrases/words like Cat. *per què* / Sp. *por qué* ‘why’ or *si* ‘if/whether’. On the other hand, Frascarelli (2007) identifies three types of topics — Aboutness-shift Topics, Contrastive Topics, and Given Topics (see § 4.1 for more details)—, which are connected with the different topic positions identified by Rizzi, so that the unified structure is in (98).

(98) ForceP > (A-TopP) > (IntP) > (ContrP)<sup>46</sup> > (ModP) > (G-TopP) > FinP

Furthermore, Cinque (1999) notices that there is a universal hierarchy in the order of adverbs, which suggests that it is the manifestation of the functional structure of the clause. From Cinque’s proposal, Mata (2005) studies adverbs of *dictum* in Catalan and Spanish, and she proposes that these adverbs occupy different functional projections arranged hierarchically in the split CP:<sup>47</sup>

(99) a. connective adverb (*conseqüentment*) > enunciative adverb (*breument*) > speech-act adverb (*francament*) > evaluative adverb<sup>48</sup> (*afortunadament*) > central adverbial clause (*si plou*) > evidential adverb (*evidentment*) > epistemic adverb (*probablement*) > topic adverb (*políticament*)

b. ([SubP *que*] ... [ConnectiveP *conseqüentment* [EnunciativeP *breument* [SpeechActP *francament* [ShiftP [IntP [ContrP/FocP *per descomptat* [ModP-evaluative *afortunadament* [XP *si plou* [ModP-evidential *evidentment* [ModP-epistemic *probablement* [FamP *políticament* [ForceP [FinitenessP ...

However, Mata’s hierarchy is still insufficient for our purposes because it does not include HTLD and *as for* topics. Below we present several pieces of evidence for an extended cartography that includes this element.<sup>49</sup>

(100) *As for* topic > Speech-act adverb

a. **Pel que fa a París, sincerament**, no sé què és més bonic, si la Torre Eiffel o Notre Dame.

<sup>46</sup> Contr(ative)P is a non-recursive projection that can accommodate both a Contrastive Topic and a Contrastive Focus (Frascarelli, 2007).

<sup>47</sup> Note that Mata accepts Haegeman’s (2004) proposal that Rizzi’s (1997) ForceP splits in a high Sub(ordinator)P and a low ForceP: SubP > ... > ForceP > FinP > IP.

<sup>48</sup> Following AUTHOR (2010), Evaluative ModP accommodates evaluative adverbs (*afortunadament* ‘fortunately’) and echoic evidential adverbs (Cat. *esclar que*, *evidentment que* ‘of course’), because they compete for the same functional space:

(i) (\*Afortunadament) Esclar que (\*afortunadament) vindré demà.  
‘Of course I will come tomorrow.’ (Catalan)

<sup>49</sup> We use the following methodology to define a cartography: «[I]f in minimal pair 1, A dominates/precedes B, and a minimal pair 2, B dominates/precedes C, then the structure A > B > C is said to underline both sets of examples, even if no single example containing A, B, and C may occur» (Boeckx, 2008, 128).

- b. ?? **Sincerament, pel que fa a París**, no sé què és més bonic, si la Torre Eiffel o Notre Dame.

‘As for Paris, I honestly do not know which is more beautiful, whether the Eiffel Tower or Notre Dame.’ (*Catalan*)

(101) HTLD > *as for* topic

- a. **La Maria<sub>i</sub>, pel que fa als homes**, ella<sub>i</sub> no ha tingut mai xicot.  
 b. \*? **Pel que fa als homes, la Maria<sub>i</sub>**, ella<sub>i</sub> no ha tingut mai xicot.  
 ‘As for men, Maria has had never a boyfriend.’ (*Catalan*)

(102) Enunciative adverb > *as for* topic

- a. **Breument, pel que fa a la feina**, encara no en sé res.  
 b. \* **Pel que fa a la feina, breument**, encara no en sé res.  
 ‘Briefly, regarding the work, I don’t know anything yet.’ (*Catalan*)

(103) Enunciative adverb > HTLD

- a. **En resum, la secretària nova<sub>i</sub>**, ningú no parla amb ella<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. \* **La secretària nova<sub>i</sub>, en resum**, ningú no parla amb ella<sub>i</sub>.  
 ‘In summary, as for the new secretary, no one talks to her.’ (*Catalan*)

(104) Connective adverb > HTLD

- a. **Així doncs, la secretària nova**, ¿algú parla amb ella?  
 b. \* **La secretària nova, així doncs**, ¿algú parla amb ella?  
 ‘So, as for the new secretary, does anyone speak to her?’ (*Catalan*)

Our cartographic analysis reveals that the elements mentioned in § 3.3.2, which can appear in QRC positions, are located in the high area of the CP layer (AUTHOR 2010). The hierarchy shown in (105) summarizes it:<sup>50</sup>

- (105) ... *que*<sub>1</sub> > Connective adverb \*(*que*<sub>2</sub>) > Enunciative adverb \*(*que*<sub>2</sub>) > HTLD \*(*que*<sub>2</sub>) > *as for* topics (*que*<sub>2</sub>) > Speech-act adverb (*que*<sub>2</sub>) > Aboutness-shift topic, Scene-setting topics, and conditional clauses (*que*<sub>2</sub>) > {Cat. *per què* ~ Sp. *por qué* / *si*} > {Contrastive topic / Contrastive focus} > Evaluative adverb > Central adverbial clause > Evidential adverb > Epistemic adverb > Familiar topics > Interrogative or exclamative WhP ...

<sup>50</sup> Benincà (2001) proposes that HTLDs are placed in the specifier of a functional projection that encodes a feature that allows linking with the previous discourse —i.e., *Discourse Phrase* (DiscP). Although Munaro (2005) claims that counterfactual conditional clauses and optative conditional clauses are placed in the specifier of a functional projection that this author calls *Hypothetical Phrase*, and concessive conditional clauses do it in the specifier of a projection that he calls *Concessive Phrase*, for convenience we consider that they are dislocated elements like CLLDs and Scene-setting Topics, and we do not distinguish between them. We do not know any cartographic works about *as for* topics, and provisionally we place them in the specifier of an indeterminate XP.

(106) [<sub>ConnectiveP</sub> AdvP [ Connective<sup>0</sup> [<sub>EnunciativeP</sub> AdvP [ Enunciative<sup>0</sup> [<sub>DiscP</sub> HTLD [ Disc<sup>0</sup> [<sub>XP</sub> *as for topic* [ X<sup>0</sup> [<sub>SpeechActP</sub> AdvP [ SpeechAct<sup>0</sup> [<sub>A-TopP</sub> {CLLD / Scene-setting topic / Conditional clause} [ A-Top<sup>0</sup> [<sub>CP</sub> ... ]]]]]]]]]]]]

In previous sections, we claimed that HTLDs, enunciative adverbs, and connective adverbs require a mandatory *que*<sub>2</sub> in embedded contexts.<sup>51</sup> Several authors (see Shaer & Frey, 2005; López, 2009) have proposed that HTLDs are orphans and they are not part of the clausal structure. If true, connective and enunciative adverbs should be orphans too, because they dominate HTLDs —see before.

(107) a. John is no longer here. He left at noon.

(Cinque 2008, 118)

(108) a. La teva germa<sub>i</sub>, sempre parlem amb ella<sub>i</sub>.

'Your sister<sub>i</sub>, we always talk to her<sub>i</sub>.'

(109) [<sub>CP</sub> *Diu* [<sub>SubP</sub> *que* [<sub>HP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> *la teva germana*], [<sub>H'</sub> *H*<sup>0</sup> *que* [<sub>CP</sub> *sempre parla amb ella*]]]]]

If this suggestion is correct, the hierarchical order Connective adverb > Enunciative adverb > HTLD should be determined by interface restrictions related to the discursive

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informativity. More research is needed to determine if HTLDs, enunciative adverbs, and connective adverbs are orphans or clausal-integrated, but it is clear that fragments and juxtaposed clauses are independent elements of a discourse, which may be selected by a matrix quotative verb. At this point, we have two possibilities: quotative complements are always discourse fragments, and a single embedded clause is headed by  $H^0$ , see (110a); or quotative complement may be a discourse fragment formed by two or more elements (headed by  $H^0$ ), or a single embedded clause headed by a  $c^0$ , see (110b).

(110) a. [<sub>CP</sub> *Diu* [<sub>HP</sub> *que* [<sub>CP</sub>  $c^0$  [<sub>A-TopP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> *amb la teva germana*], [<sub>A-Top'</sub> *que* [<sub>FinP</sub> *hi parla sempre*]]]]]]

b. [<sub>CP</sub> *Diu* [<sub>SubP</sub> *que* [<sub>CP</sub>  $c^0$  [<sub>A-TopP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> *amb la teva germana*], [<sub>A-Top'</sub> *que* [<sub>FinP</sub> *hi parla sempre*]]]]]]

‘She/He says that she/he always talks to your sister.’

If the orphan approach for HTLD is correct, the cartography in (106) would be modified:

(111) [<sub>XP</sub> *as for topic* [<sub>X<sup>0</sup></sub> [<sub>SpeechActP</sub> *AdvP* [<sub>SpeechAct<sup>0</sup></sub> [<sub>A-TopP</sub> {CLLD / Scene-setting topic / Conditional clause} [<sub>A-Top<sup>0</sup></sub> [<sub>CP</sub> ... ]]]]]]]]]

### 5.3 Specifier-head agreement

As for the morphological nature of QRC constructions, following Paoli (2007, 1075), Villa-García has proposed that they show an agreement relationship between the sandwiched phrase and the second complementizer —i.e., a specifier-head agreement. Villa-García (2012c) attempts to prove this hypothesis by means of the complement ellipsis test (Boškovic, 2008, among others). The complement ellipsis of a functional projection is only possible if it undergoes a specifier-head agreement (Boškovic, 2008).<sup>52</sup>

Villa-García uses the examples in (112) to demonstrate the existence of a Spec-Head agreement. On the one hand, the example (112a) shows that the ellipsis of *que*<sub>2</sub> complement is possible when the complement consists of two coordinated clauses, because there is a Spec-Head agreement. On the other hand, the example in (112b) shows that jussive *que* does not allow the ellipsis of its complement, so that *que*<sub>jussive</sub> must also be deleted.<sup>53</sup>

(112) a. Me dijeron [<sub>CP</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TopP</sub> *si llueve*, [<sub>Top'</sub> *que*<sub>2</sub> [*no vienen a la fiesta*]]]], y [<sub>CP</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TopP</sub> *si nieva*, [<sub>Top'</sub> (*que*<sub>2</sub>) [~~no vienen a la fiesta~~ tampoco]]]].

<sup>52</sup> See Villa-García (2012c) for technical details.

<sup>53</sup> Note that the example in (112a) allows the occurrence or not of *que*<sub>2</sub> in the second set of the coordination. This is because the conditional clause *si nieva* ‘if it snows’ can be reintroduced or not, so it can set two different agreement relationships with its head. By contrast, the *que*<sub>jussive</sub> in (112b) must be necessarily deleted in the ellipsis formation, because there is no specifier, which establishes an agreement relationship. This phenomenon is consistent with the fact that *que*<sub>jussive</sub> can occur in absolute initial position in matrix clauses without an overt specifier.



‘They told me that they will not come to the party if it rains or snows.’ (*Spanish*, adapted from Villa-García, 2012c, (41a–b))

- b. Nos ordenó [<sub>CP</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TopP</sub> **a tu padre**, [<sub>YP</sub> [<sub>Y'</sub> *que*<sub>jussive</sub> [ lo llamáramos]]]]], y [<sub>CP</sub> *que*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TopP</sub> **a tu madre**, [<sub>YP</sub> [<sub>Y'</sub> {*\*que*<sub>jussive</sub> / ~~*que*<sub>jussive</sub>~~} [ ~~la llamáramos~~ también]]]]].

‘She/He ordered us to call your father, and also your mother.’ (*Spanish*, adapted from Villa-García, 2012c, (48))

Nevertheless, the main evidence of the Spec-Head agreement is the iteration of reintroduced phrases into the left periphery (*contra* Demonte & Fernández Soriano, 2009, and Gupton, 2010):

- (113) Me dijeron *que*<sub>1</sub> a tu hermana, *que*<sub>2</sub> en ese momento, *que*<sub>2</sub> ese chollo de trabajo, *que*<sub>2</sub> no se lo querían ofrecer.

‘They told me that to your sister, at that time, that good job, they didn’t want to offer.’ (*Spanish*)

These data invalidate proposals that consider *que*<sub>2</sub> is the head of a dedicated projection —e.g., FinP in Demonte & Fernández Soriano (2007) or DoubledForceP in Martín-González (2002), Demonte & Fernández Soriano (2009), and Gupton (2010). On the other hand, Rodríguez-Ramalle (2003) and Villa-García (2012b, 2012c) propose that *que*<sub>2</sub> is the instantiation of Top<sup>0</sup>, and consider all sandwiched constructions as specifiers of TopP, in the sense of Rizzi (1997).

By contrast, we propose that different sandwiched phrases occupy dedicated positions in the left periphery of the embedded clause (see § 5.2). They are situated in the specifier of their projection and establish an agreement relationship with their head. If they are reintroduced phrases, the head is *que*<sub>2</sub>, but if they are not reintroduced (i.e., they are quoted), the head is ∅. This approach can explain sentences like (114), where *que*<sub>2</sub> iteration is not full.

- (114) a. Me dijeron *que*<sub>1</sub> a tu hermana, ∅ en ese momento, ∅ ese chollo de trabajo, *que*<sub>2</sub> no se lo querían ofrecer.  
 b. Me dijeron *que*<sub>1</sub> a tu hermana, ∅ en ese momento, *que*<sub>2</sub> ese chollo de trabajo, *que*<sub>2</sub> no se lo querían ofrecer.  
 c. Me dijeron *que*<sub>1</sub> a tu hermana, *que*<sub>2</sub> en ese momento, ∅ ese chollo de trabajo, *que*<sub>2</sub> no se lo querían ofrecer.

‘They told me that to your sister, at that time, that good job, they didn’t want to offer.’ (*Spanish*)

If a reintroduced CLLD is generated *in situ*, its derivation should be very close to silent topics proposed by Frascarelli (2007).<sup>54</sup> In our version of her approach, silent topics are base-generated and deleted —see (115a)—, and overt topics move to the left periphery —see (115b):<sup>55</sup>

(115) *CLLDs in matrix clauses*

- a.  $[_{TopP} \text{CLLD}_i [_{Top'} \boxed{\text{Top}^0 \rightarrow \emptyset} [... [_{IP} \dots \text{pro/e}_i \dots]]]]$   
b.  $[_{TopP} \text{CLLD}_i [_{Top'} \boxed{\text{Top}^0 \rightarrow \emptyset} [... [_{IP} \dots \text{CLLD}_i \dots]]]]$

In quotative clauses, reintroduced CLLDs are base-generated like silent topics but they are not deleted —(116a)—, and unmarked topics move to the left periphery like overt matrix topics —(116b):

(116) *CLLDs in embedded quotative clauses*

- a.  $\dots [_{SubP} \text{que}_1 [_{cP} \dots [_{TopP} \text{CLLD}_i [_{Top'} \boxed{\text{Top}^0 \rightarrow \text{que}_2} [... [_{IP} \dots \text{pro/e}_i \dots]]]]]]$   
b.  $\dots [_{SubP} \text{que}_1 [_{cP} \dots [_{TopP} \text{CLLD}_i [_{Top'} \boxed{\text{Top}^0 \rightarrow \emptyset} [... [_{IP} \dots \text{CLLD}_i \dots]]]]]]$

Following our arguments, the head agrees with its specifier and can be materialized as *que*<sub>2</sub> or  $\emptyset$ . If we consider that reintroduced phrases can be supplemented by emotive content oriented to the reporter (see § 3.2.1), we propose that the agreement relationship involves logophoric features or  $\Lambda$ -features (Sigurðsson, 2004) like  $\phi$ -features for Subject-Verb agreement in TP. At this point, we can conclude that *que*<sub>2</sub> is the morphological materialization of a [+reporter]  $\Lambda$ -feature and  $\emptyset$  is the morphological materialization of a [–reporter] feature.<sup>56</sup>

#### 5.4 A sketch for a phase-theoretical analysis

The Phase Theory is based on the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), which is defined as follows:<sup>57</sup>

(117) *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (Chomsky, 2001, 14, (11))

The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

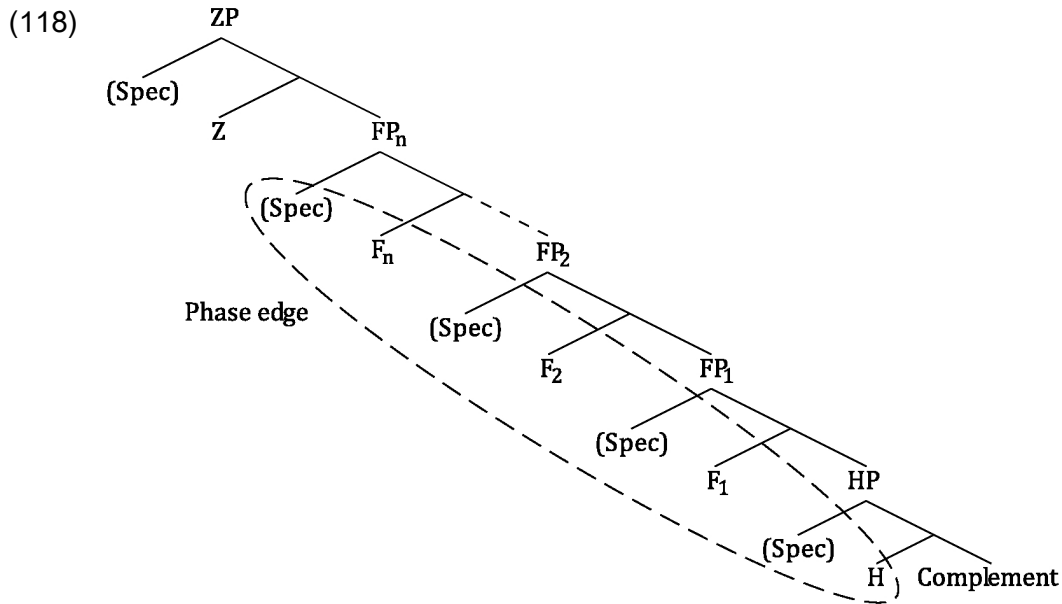
In (117), H and Z are phasal heads (C,  $\nu^*$ , or D) and the edge of H is its specifier(s).

<sup>54</sup> See Frascarelli (2007), Sigurðsson & Maling (2008), and Bianchi (2009) for further discussion. Note that we accept moved CLLD to Spec,A-TopP, *contra* Frascarelli's (2007) proposal.

<sup>55</sup> Here we do not discuss why CLLDs move to dedicated projections in the CP layer. To explain it, two approaches have been proposed in the literature: a system based on a Probe-Goal relationship and a system based on Criteria. For a «Topic Criterion» see Frascarelli (2007).

<sup>56</sup> Note that our approach explains that  $\text{Top}^0$  spells out as  $\emptyset$  in (115). It is valid for other proposals on topics/CLLDs, like all topics are base-generated (e.g., Cinque, 1990) or all topics are moved (e.g., López, 2009).

<sup>57</sup> There are two versions for PIC, the strong one (Chomsky, 2000, 108) and the weak one (Chomsky, 2001, 14). See Gallego (2010, ch. 2) for a discussion.



Following the cartographic restriction of one specifier per phrase, (118) permits a non-phasal head checking to keep its uninterpretable features in the domain of its phase complement (Krivochen 2010, 2). Thus, we consider that the edge of a phase corresponds to all functional heads and their specifiers that are merged after H until another phasal head (Z) does it. 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 (Z) is merged, the complement of the lower phase is transferred to the interfaces and only the functional space between Z and H —i.e., the edge of H— remains available for the operations in the new phase, since it becomes the complement.

According to the analysed data in previous sections, quotative complements are different from reportative complements because the first ones have a full CP layer and do not allow long-distance movement, while the second ones have a defective CP —no *as for* topics, nor speech-act adverbs, nor aboutness-shift topics— and allow long-distance movement.<sup>58</sup> In (119), the possibility of extracting a WhP from the complement clause shows it.

- (119) a. Què<sub>i</sub> va dir en Joan que volia (sincerament) *t*<sub>i</sub>?  
 'What did John say he (sincerely) wanted?' (*Catalan*)
- b. Pel que fa al seu aniversari, què<sub>i</sub> va dir en Joan que volia *t*<sub>i</sub>?  
 'As for his birthday, what did John say he wanted?' (*Catalan*)
- c. \* Què<sub>i</sub> va dir en Joan que, sincerament, (que<sub>2</sub>) volia *t*<sub>i</sub>?  
 'What did John say sincerely that he wanted?' (*Catalan*)

<sup>58</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. Following De Cuba (2007), we consider that the full CP includes an extra *cP* layer.

- 'As for his birthday, what did John say he wanted?' (*Catalan*)

Locality effects are related to a full CP —there are empirical data—, but we need to explain what there is in a full CP that blocks long-distance movement. Following previous proposals, the long-distance movement is blocked because there are intervention effects —caused by an operator— or because the content that must be moved is spelled out before when a phase head is merged. Haegeman (2012) uses the operator intervention to explain the defective status of CP in factive complements, which are weak islands for long-distance extraction, but reportative complements allow it without restrictions. Therefore, the only possibility is that movement from a quotative clause is blocked because the embedded clause is spelled out, which means that there is a phase head in its left periphery.<sup>59</sup> If the assumption that there is a phasal head in CP layer is correct, then, by comparing the cartographic differences between quotative and reportative complements, we can only attribute this status to a head located in the *CP* layer.<sup>60</sup>

As shown in (120), the lack of the phasal head  $c^0$  in the left periphery of the reportative complement clause allows a WhP to move cyclically to the left periphery of the matrix clause.

- (120) a. *Transfer* the complement of first phase → [<sub>VP</sub> V<sup>0</sup> [<sub>SubP</sub> Sub<sup>0</sup> [<sub>CP</sub> [WhP] *que*] ] C']  
C<sup>0</sup><sub>[uWh, EPP]</sub> [TP T<sup>0</sup> [<sub>VP</sub> DP [<sub>VP</sub> V<sup>0</sup> [<sub>VP</sub> V<sup>0</sup> [<sub>WhP</sub> *que*] ]]]]]]]]  
b. *Transfer* the complement of the second phase → [<sub>cP</sub> c<sup>0</sup> [<sub>CP</sub> [WhP] *que*] ] C' C<sup>0</sup><sub>[uWh, EPP]</sub>  
[TP T<sup>0</sup> [<sub>VP</sub> DP [<sub>VP</sub> V<sup>0</sup> [<sub>SubP</sub> Sub<sup>0</sup> [<sub>CP</sub> [WhP] *que*] ] C' C<sup>0</sup><sub>[uWh, EPP]</sub> [TP T<sup>0</sup> [<sub>VP</sub> DP [<sub>VP</sub> V<sup>0</sup> [<sub>WhP</sub> *que*] ]]]]]]]]]]  
c. *The derivation is completed successfully.*

However, the presence of a phase head in the quotative embedded clauses means that the complement of  $\mathcal{CP}$  is transferred when matrix  $\nu^*$  head is merged. This process blocks the movement of WhP outside the embedded  $\mathcal{CP}$ –CP system. In (121) we show how the sentence derivation fails when the embedded clause is a quotative complement.

- [illegible]

<sup>59</sup> An alternative is Krifka's (s.d.) proposal that quotative clauses have a speech act operator, which blocks long-distance movement.

<sup>60</sup> We use CP and *c*P here for ease of exposition. In other words, *c*P splits in different functional projections — see (106) or (111) —, and one of them is a phase head.

d. *The derivation crashes.*

The derivation in (121) crashes because the matrix  $C^0$  cannot delete its uninterpretable features. But if a head in the CP layer encodes a declarative feature, then the derivation converges without problems:

- (122) a. *Transfer* the complement of the first phase  $\rightarrow [{}_{cP} c^0 [{}_{CP} [{}_{WhP} que] [{}_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [{}_{TP} T^0 [{}_{VP} DP [{}_{VP} V^0 [{}_{WhP} que]]]]]]]$
- b. *Transfer* the complement of the second phase  $\rightarrow [{}_{VP} V^0 [{}_{SubP} Sub^0 [{}_{cP} c^0 [{}_{CP} [{}_{WhP} que] [{}_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [{}_{TP} T^0 [{}_{VP} DP [{}_{VP} V^0 [{}_{WhP} que]]]]]]]]]$
- c. *Transfer* the complement of the third phase  $\rightarrow [{}_{cP} c^0 [{}_{CP} C^0_{[iDecl]} [{}_{TP} T^0 [{}_{VP} DP [{}_{VP} V^0 [{}_{SubP} Sub^0 [{}_{cP} c^0 [{}_{CP} [{}_{WhP} que] [{}_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]} [{}_{TP} T^0 [{}_{VP} DP [{}_{VP} V^0 [{}_{WhP} que]]]]]]]]]]]]]$
- d. *The derivation is completed successfully.*

Locality effects do not explain the phasal status of the  $cP$ , it is its phasal status that explains why movement is not allowed. The derivations in (120)–(122) illustrate that the movement is blocked with a mechanical application of the PIC, which means that the lack of a phase head allows the long-distance movement and locality effects are a result of the PIC. Finally, if the quotative left periphery is bigger than the reportative one, and the intervention effects are connected with a full  $cP$ –CP system, then we can conclude that a phase head is located in the quotative  $cP$ .

From a technical point of view, there is an apparent problem: the elements that constitute the  $cP$  layer are likely to be part of syntactic operations until it merges  $v^*$ , and the Spec, $cP$  could be a target to further operations after the transfer of the complement of  $cP$ , which means that the quotative complement is not completely opaque. A possible solution is the intervention of a phasal head between the matrix  $v^*P$  and the embedded  $cP$ , e.g. the discourse head  $H^0$ .<sup>61</sup> But if  $c^0$  (i.e., the head that merges in the top of the  $cP$  layer) is a phase head, then  $H^0$  cannot be because the sequence of two phasal heads is not possible (i.e.,  $*[{}_{Phase1P} Ph1^0 [{}_{Phase2P} Ph2^0 [ \dots ]]]$ ) —see Gallego (2009, 148) for a theoretical discussion.

We consider that there is no problem, because the quotative complements in indirect speech cannot be completely opaque. The main difference between direct and indirect discourses is that the first one has its own tense operator in the speech-act layer, while the second one displays *consecutio temporum* (or Sequence of Tense) between the embedded clause and the matrix clause. In indirect discourse, the embedded speech-act tense is the same as the matrix event tense, because the embedded clause has no deictic coordinates.

<sup>61</sup> Cinque (2008, 119) assumes that H «blocks every ‘Sentence Grammar’ relation between its specifier and complement (internal Merge, Agree, Binding, etc.), despite the asymmetric c-command relation existing between the two under the extension of the LCA to Discourse Grammar».

By contrast, in direct discourse, the value for the embedded speech-act tense is ‘now’, like in the original uttering. This asymmetry is the reason why in indirect discourse there is a relationship between the matrix and embedded verbal tenses. We consider that the top projection in the  $\mathcal{CP}$  layer is the speech-act tense. At this point, when matrix  $\nu^0$  merges the complement of the embedded  $\mathcal{CP}$  is transferred to the interfaces and all lexical elements in the quotative complements become opaque. Yet, the anaphoric speech-act tense of the quotative complement is available for a control operation, in which the matrix event Tense is the controller (Sigurðsson, 2013).<sup>62</sup>

Summarizing, the presence of a phasal head in the highest area of the embedded  $\mathcal{CP}$  layer can successfully derive the locality restrictions of quotative complements and thus those which may appear with *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 into a matrix-CP position.

## 6. Conclusions

In this paper we have analyzed quotative recomplementation as a construction that is only possible in quotative complements. Specifically we have compared quotative clauses and reportative clauses, and we have determined that the first ones have a full CP with an extra phasal  $\mathcal{CP}$  layer, which explains their syntactic properties. Below we will summarize the most important conclusions:

1. Pragmatically, quotative recomplementation is a syntactic strategy for reintroducing phrases that were not lexically realized in the original speech. These reintroduced phrases may have emotive content oriented to the reporter.
2. Morphosyntactically, the  $\emptyset$ /*que*<sub>2</sub> alternation in the high area of the quotative  $\mathcal{CP}$  layer is the result of a Specifier-Head agreement relationship, which involves a [ $\pm$ reporter]  $\Lambda$ -feature. When the head is  $\emptyset$ , the specifier has a [ $-\text{reporter}$ ] feature because it was lexically realized in the original speech and the substitution *salva veritate* is not feasible. When the head is *que*<sub>2</sub> the specifier has a [ $+\text{reporter}$ ] feature and it 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.

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<sup>62</sup> A good explanation for *consecutio temporum* in embedded quotative clauses is Khomitsevich’s (2007) proposal for languages like English and Dutch. She claims that Sequence of Tense «is obtained by means of an Agree relation between the T heads of the embedded and the embedding clause; this relation is interpreted as a binding relation» (p. 123), whose relation is mediated for an embedded C head with an uninterpretable and unvalued Tense feature. In our proposal, her C head is our  $\mathcal{C}^0$ , which encodes the interpretable but unvalued speech-act-tense feature (Sigurðsson, 2013). Yet, this topic needs more research and it is out of scope in this sketch.

4. HTLDs, *as for* topics, speech-act adverbs, and QRC constructions are just possible in quotative clauses. Their absence in an embedded declarative clause brings about ambiguity and, consequently, the clause can be interpreted as either quotative or reportative.
5. Quotative clauses have a more complex CP layer than reportative clauses. This property explains the differences on restrictions on long-distance movement existing between both types of complement clauses. In quotative clauses long-distance movement is blocked because their structure contains a phasal head (i.e.,  $c^0$ ); while in the reportative clauses long-distance movement is possible because their CP layer is defective and it is not a phase.

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