On quotative recomplementation: Between pragmatics and morphosyntax

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyse both Catalan and Spanish **quotative recomplementation** (QRC) in terms of pragmatic features encoded by morphosyntax. In QRC constructions, the second complementizer (*que₂*) 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. Sp. *Están sentados en la mesa → Ha dicho que₁* **los invitados** #(*que₂*) *están sentados en la mesa*). QRC is an evidence of the existence of two types of complements of assertive verbs: QUOTATIVE COMPLEMENTS (embedded speech acts with a *de dicto* interpretation) and REPORTATIVE COMPLEMENTS (speech events that are stated, with a *de re* interpretation; e.g. Sp. *Están sentados en la mesa → Ha dicho que₁* **los invitados** (#*que₂*) *ya están en su sitio*). Quotative complements have the same propositional structure as the original sentence and can include some elements such as speech act adverbs —which are oriented to the original speaker (i.e. the matrix clause subject)—, Hanging Topics, or discourse connectors. On the contrary, reportative complements may be a summary of the original discourse and they 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.

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

1. Introduction

1.1. A previous note on recomplementation

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

On the one hand, in (1) the second complementizer (*que₂*) is used to set the boundaries between a reproduced discourse and the clausal elements that were implicit in the original speech (see (2)), which must be reintroduced in the new communicative situation because they are not shared by the interlocutor (González i Planas, 2010, ch. 4).

(1)   QUOTATIVE RECOMPLEMENTATION
        Ha dit *que₁* **els convidats**, *que₂* estan asseguts a taula.
        'He/She has said that the guests are seated at the table.' (*Catalan*)

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

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

(2) ORIGINAL SPEECH FOR (1)
    A. Què fan els convidats?
       'What are the guests doing?' (*Catalan*)
    B. Estan asseguts a taula.
       'They are seated at the table.' (*Catalan*)

On the other hand, example (3) corresponds to an embedded jussive clause with a conative matrix verb, in which a prominent element appears on the left periphery between the subordinating particle que_1 and the obligatory jussive particle $que_{jussive}$ —cf. matrix clauses like (4), where the particle $que_{jussive}$ is mandatory.

(3) EMBEDDED JUSSIVE CLAUSE
    Ha ordenat que_1 els convidats ($que_{jussive}$) s'asseguin a taula.
    'He/She ordered that the guests sit at the table.' (*Catalan*)

(4) MATRIX JUSSIVE CLAUSE
    a. Els convidats, *($que_{jussive}$) s'asseguin a taula.
       'Let the guests sit at the table.' (*Catalan*)
    b. $Que_{jussive}$ els convidats s'asseguin a taula.
       'Let the guests sit at the table.' (*Catalan*)

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

(5) QUOTED JUSSIVE SPEECH ACT
    … i em diu que_1 si he de continuar arribant tard, que_2, $que_{jussive}$ 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 pragmatic features encoded by morphosyntax (within the cartography of syntactic structures approach).[3] We consider that there are several pieces of evidence for the existence of two types of complements for assertive 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 assertive verbs. Exemple (6) shows that *wh*-interrogative without an overt complementizer follow instead the *de re* interpretation and *wh*-interrogative clauses headed by que_1 follow the *de dicto* interpretation:

(6) a. *DE RE* INTERPRETATION
      En Miquel ens va dir Ø **quants** anàvem a la festa, [OK]pero no me'n recordo, de quants va dir.
      'Miquel said to us how many people were going to the party, [OK]but I do not remember how many he said.' (*Catalan*)
    b. *DE DICTO* INTERPRETATION
      En Miquel ens va {dir/preguntar} que **quants** aniríem a la festa, #pero no me'n recordo, de quants va dir.
      'Miquel asked us how many people were going to the party, #but I do not remember how many he said.' (*Catalan*)

We argue that the differences between the two complement types can be explained by the truncation of the reportative CP layer. This asymmetry explains the locality restrictions of quotative complements that prevent extracting syntactic components from the embedded CP. More specifically, the impossibility of extraction is explained by the fact that the CP of quotative

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[3] We have left aside embedded jussive clauses. For more details, see González i Planas (2010, ch. 4, 2011) and Villa-García (2012a, 2012b).

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 and the hanging topic left dislocations (HTLD) in embedded contexts allows 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 present the most remarkable grammatical (semantic, pragmatic, and morphosyntactic) facts regarding QRC; in § 3 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 § 4 we relate long-distance movement restrictions in QRC constructions to the interpretative facts presented in § 3, and the presence of a HTLD or a speech act adverb in the embedded CP area; in § 5 we analyze syntactically both types of complement clauses and propose a phase-theoretical account based in the truncation or not of the CP layer; and finally, § 6 summarizes the most important conclusions.

2. Grammatical facts

2.1. Semantics of the matrix verb

Only assertive verbs can select complement clauses with recomplementation structures. Assertive verbs are a type of bridge verbs allowing WhP extraction from the completive clause in order to merge it on the left periphery of the matrix clause, as illustrated in (7).

(7)　$[_{CP1}$ What$_i$ did you {say / think / *quip / *whisper} $[_{CP2}$ that Bill saw t_i]]

However, this property gets blocked in sentences selecting clauses with QRC constructions (see § 2.3.3).

This group includes verbs that have been called strong assertive up to now (Cat. *comentar* 'to comment', *dir* 'to say', *preguntar* 'to ask', etc.; Sp. *asegurar* 'to assert', *comentar* 'to comment', *decir* 'to say', *exclamar* 'to exclaim', *preguntar* 'to ask', *prometer* 'to promise', etc.) and weak assertive (Cat. *creure* 'to believe', *pensar* 'to think', etc.; Sp. *creer* 'to believe', *pensar* 'to think', etc.).[4]

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

(8)　a.　En Joan lamenta que la Maria vulgui un gos.
　　　　'John regrets that Mary wants a dog.' (*Catalan*)
　　b. *　En Joan lamenta què$_i$ vulgui la Maria t_i.
　　　　'*John regrets what does Mary want.' (*Catalan*)
　　c. *　Què$_i$ lamenta en Joan que la Maria vulgui t_i?
　　　　'*What does John regret that Mary wants?' (*Catalan*)
　　d.　Què és el que vol la Maria que lamenta en Joan?
　　　　'What does Mary want that John regrets?' (*Catalan*)

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

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

(i)　Espero *que*$_1$ **a la teva germana** *que*$_{jussive}$ li agradi la cançó. Em faria molt feliç.
　　'I hope that your sister will like the song. I would be very happy.' (*Catalan*)

(9)   *   Lamento *que*₁ **el cotxe**, *que*₂ no te'l puguis comprar.
            'I regret that you cannot buy the car.' (*Catalan*)

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

(10) a.   He vist *que*₁ **la teva mare** (**que*₂) té molta feina.
            'I saw that your mother has a lot of work.' (*Catalan*)
      b.   Durant la meva vida professional he comprovat *que*₁ **si tens paciència i ets constant**, (**que*₂) sempre aconsegueixes el que et proposes.
            'During my career, I have found that people always get what they wish if they are patient and constant.' (*Catalan*)

The relationship between the presence of *que*₂ and the quotative interpretation of the embedded clause explains why QRC is ungrammatical in verbs other than assertive ones. Since the matrix verbs of (10a) and (10b) 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 § 2.2). However, some verbs, such as Cat. *escoltar* / Sp. *oir~escuchar* 'listen', do allow QRC constructions, which may be explained by the elision of an assertive (saying) verb that legitimizes the reintroduction of elliptic elements.[5]

(11)   Oyó (decir (al policía)) *que*₁ **a Antonio**, *que*₂ se lo llevaban esposado.
        'She/He heard (the policeman say) that Antonio was taken away in handcuffs.' (*Spanish*)

As a matter of fact, (12) is an ambiguous sentence, because it can have either the meaning of hearing the sound that made Antonio's handcuffs or the same meaning like (11):

(12)   #   Oyó que a Antonio se lo llevaban esposado.
            'She/He heard that Antonio was taken away in handcuffs.'
            (≠⟦(11)⟧)
            'She/He heard someone said that Antonio was taken away in handcuffs.' (=⟦(11)⟧)
            (*Spanish*)

On the other hand, Mascarenhas (2007) claims that recomplementation in Portuguese is possible in clauses selected by semifactive predicates like *saber* 'to know'. In previous works (González i Planas, 2010, 2011), in order to match Mascarenhas' data, it was considered that semifactive verbs could also be regarded as quotative predicates and that they select clauses with QRC. At this time, we do not accept it for two reasons: (a) in Catalan and Spanish QRC constructions with semifactive verbs are ill-formed —see (13)—; (b) semifactive verbs are not *opacity verbs* and they do not give rise to a *de re / de dicto* distinction (see § 3).

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

2.2. Interpretation and discourse linkage

The main problem concerning previous studies on recomplementation is that they do not take into consideration both the pragmatic and discursive contexts in which it occurs. This means that they do not properly distinguish between the functional particle *que*₂ and its counterpart *que*ⱼᵤₛₛᵢᵥₑ (see § 1.1). Thus, in this section we will summarize González i Planas' (2010) description on the pragmatic and discursive contexts in which QRC appears.

The sentences where quotative recomplementation is present can be schematically represented as in (14):

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[5] Thanks to Paco Fernández-Rubiera for turning my attention to these examples.

(14) [CP1 ...V1... [CP2 *que*1 [XP1 *que*2 ... XPn *que*2 [...V2...]]]]
     quotative   reintroduced phrases   reproduced
     predicate   discourse

The structure of (14) corresponds to a sentence with a matrix quotative predicate that selects an indirect speech formed by two components:[6] The first one is a sequence of 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). The following example can capture the interpretative nuances of QRC:

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

In (15) the speaker reproduces a dialogue with Rosa, which we reconstruct in (16).

(16) CONTEXT: *A [= speaker of (15)] and B [= Rosa] talk about reports that B has commanded to write to the department where A works.*
A. A Madrid, ¿cuándo hay que mandarlos?
   'When we must send them to Madrid?'
B. ¡¿Cómo que a Madrid cuándo hay que mandarlos?! ¿Cuándo va a ser? ¡El lunes! Será que no lo sabía nadie, ¿no?
   'How come you (dare) ask me when you must send them to Madrid? When will it be? On Monday! You all knew it, didn't you?'
B'. # ¡¿Cómo que los informes, a Madrid cuándo hay que mandarlos?! ¿Cuándo va a ser? ¡El lunes! Será que no lo sabía nadie, ¿no?
   'How come you (dare) ask me when you must send the reports to Madrid? When will it be? On Monday! You all knew it, didn't you?'
B''. # ¡¿Cómo que a Madrid cuándo hay que mandarlos, los informes?! ¿Cuándo va a ser? ¡El lunes! Será que no lo sabía nadie, ¿no?
   'How come you (dare) ask me when you must send the reports to Madrid? When will it be? On Monday! You all knew it, didn't you?'

Example (15) does not reflect properly the reproduced speech for (16B') and (16B'') options in the original context. 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. The Catalan oral data in (17) provide new evidence to confirm our interpretative analysis of QRC.

(17) 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*1 **les claus**, *que*2 no les perd mai… que les té a la butxaca, que és on han de ser.

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[6] NB: Quotative recomplementation can occur in matrix clauses headed by *que*1 (see Etxepare, 2010).

'Nothing, daughter. You know how your father is. He has told me that he never loses the keys… (he has told that) he has them in the pocket, where they are to be.'

The above example —in the last mother's intervention— 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.[7]

2.3. Syntactic properties

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

2.3.1. Θ-selection

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

(18) a. * [$_{DP}$ El rumor [$_{Noun\ complement}$ *que*$_1$ el president, *que*$_2$ està imputat]] farà molt mal a l'empresa.
          'The rumor that the president is imputed will damage the company.' (*Catalan*)
     b. ?* [$_{Adjunct}$ Dient *que*$_1$ el president, *que*$_2$ està imputat] no aconseguirem el vist-i-plau dels accionistes.
          'Saying that the president is imputed, we will not get the shareholders' approval.' (*Catalan*)
     c. * [$_{Subject}$ *Que*$_1$ el president, *que*$_2$ està imputat] va ser anunciat ahir a la reunió.
          'That the president is imputed was announced at the meeting yesterday.' (*Catalan*)
     d. * [$_{CLLD}$ *Que*$_1$ el president, *que*$_2$ no venia] ens ho$_i$ van dir ahir a la reunió.
          'Yesterday it was said at the meeting that the president would not come..' (*Catalan*)

2.3.2. Cartography of quotative recomplementation

The nature of sandwiched constituents between homophonous complementizers is usually causal clauses (Paoli, 2003, 270–276), temporal adverbs (Paoli, 2003, 270–276; Ribeiro & Torres Morais, 2009), adverbial clauses (Keniston, 1937, 675), conditional clauses (Paoli, 2003, 270–276; Ribeiro & Torres Morais, 2009), and preverbal subjects and CLLDs (Keniston, 675, 1937, 675; Paoli, 2003, 270–276).[9] González i Planas' (2010) cartographic analysis reveals that

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[7] QRC is a grammatical strategy that facilitates Grice's cooperative principle. Specifically, it contributes to the **quantity** and **manner** maxims, because the speaker does not say too little and so (s)he avoids ambiguity We leave this question aside for further research.

[8] See Etxepare (2007) for a detailed description on θ-structure and complement selection in Spanish quotative constructions.

[9] Ribeiro & Torres Morais (2009) and Gupton (2010) consider that Contrastive Topics (a type of CLLDs) may occur between two complementizers. The fact that Gupton considers sandwiched Contrastive Topics acceptable does not necessarily mean that it is grammatical in all models of analysis. That is, the superficial difference between an Aboutness-shift Topic and a Contrastive Topic is prosodic. After Spell-Out, the phonological component applies the matching rules between syntax and prosody, so phrases located in [Spec,A-TopP] receive a L*+H tone, while the phrases located in [Spec,Contr(astive)P] receive a H* tone (Frascarelli, 2007). However, the morphology of words and the syntactic order allow to interpret the meaning correctly. Actually we mean that the ContrP > *que*$_2$ hierarchy is necessarily ungrammatical according to our cartographic analysis (based on Frascarelli's (2007) topic hierarchy), although a hearer can accept it; on the contrary, it is perfectly grammatical in the analysis proposed by Gupton (2010)

the elements mentioned above can appear in QRC positions as well as hanging topic left dislocations, speech act adverbs, connector adverbs, and enunciative adverbs.[10] The hierarchy shown in (19) summarizes it:[11]

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

Given (19), we observe that different clause types can be embedded in quotative complements. See the examples in (20):

(20) a. DECLARATIVE CLAUSES
La secretària em va dir que_1 si pagava l'import abans d'una setmana, que_2 encara em podia matricular.
'The secretary told me that if I paid the amount before a week I could still register.' (*Catalan*)

b. JUSSIVE CLAUSES[12]
El director ha dit que_1 a la sala d'actes, que_2 els alumnes castigats $que_{jussive}$ hi vagin ara mateix.
'The headmaster says that the punished students should go to the assembly hall immediately.' (*Catalan*)

c. EXCLAMATIVE CLAUSES
L'Emma diu que_1 el crèdit, que_2 quina sort que te'l van donar per telèfon.
'Emma says: «How lucky they gave you the credit by phone!»' (*Catalan*)

d. *WH*-INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES
La mare {diu/pregunta} que_1 demà, que_2 qui vindrà amb vosaltres.
'My mother is asking who is coming with you tomorrow.' (*Catalan*)

e. *YES/NO*-QUESTIONS
La mare {diu/pregunta} que_1 demà, que_2 si pot venir amb vosaltres.
'My mother is asking if she can come with you tomorrow.' (*Catalan*)

These different clause types have in common the highest area of the CP layer, where the sandwiched phrases appear. The cartography of such highest area is the following:[13]

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because these two types of topics do not differ in the syntactic component. We believe that it is not possible because an elliptical element with contrastive value cannot be introduced in a quotative clause. So any contrastive element must be necessarily explicit, since the contrast is given by the original speaker (see González i Planas, 2011, § 4.3.4).

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

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

[12] We consider that jussive clauses are an autonomous clause type different from declarative, interrogative, or exclamative ones.

(21) [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{ConnectorP}$ AdvP [Connector^0 [$_{EnunciativeP}$ AdvP [Enunciative^0 [$_{DiscourseP}$ HTLD
[Disc^0 [$_{SpeechActP}$ AdvP [SpeechAct^0 [$_{ConcessiveP}$ Concessive Adverbial Clause [Conc^0
[$_{HypotheticalP}$ Hypothetical Adverbial Clause [Hyp^0 [$_{A-TopP}$ CLLD [A-Top^0 ....

2.3.3. Locality restrictions on negation and movement

In certain languages like Spanish, in which preverbal double negation is ungrammatical,[14] when a negative phrase 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):

(22) a. Me dijeron *que*$_1$ **a ninguno de ellos**$_i$, *que*$_2$ <u>Juan</u> *(**no**) los$_i$ invitó.
'They said to me that John hadn't invited any of them.' (*Spanish*)
b. Me dijeron *que*$_1$ **a ninguno de ellos**$_i$, <u>Juan</u> los$_i$ invitó.
'They said to me that John hadn't invited any of them.' (*Spanish*)

This property is related to locality restrictions on movement (see Villa-García (2012b, ch. 5) for a unitary analysis). In this sense, Villa-García (2012c) has shown that the presence of a second complementizer (*que*$_2$) induces a locality violation caused by movement across it. Long-distance movement (i.e. extraction of *wh*-phrases —the most significant property of the so-called bridge verbs—, Contrastive Focus, and CLLDs) is blocked by the COMP-trace effect (i.e. *que*$_2$-t) in the same way as English *that*-trace effect, cf. (23) with (24).

(23) a. *   Who$_i$ do you think that t_i won?
b.   Who$_i$ do you think t_i won?

(Villa-García, 2012c, (73))

(24) a. *   ¿Quién$_i$ me dijiste *que*$_1$ a tu madre *que*$_2$ la va a llamar t_i?
'Who did you tell me is going to phone your mother?' (*Spanish*, Villa-García, 2012c, (75))
b.   ¿Quién$_i$ me dijiste *que*$_1$ a tu madre la va a llamar t_i?
'Who did you tell me is going to phone your mother?' (*Spanish*, Villa-García, 2012c, (75))

This means that in *wh*-interrogative sentences containing a quotative clause with QRC, the phrase moved to matrix CP can be only an element of the matrix clause, as in (25).

(25) a. *   ¿[$_{WhP}$ Cuándo]$_i$ me dijiste *que*$_1$ a Eva *que*$_2$ le iban a operar t_i?
'When did you tell me Eva was going to get surgery?' (*Spanish*, Villa-García, p.c.)
b.   ¿[$_{WhP}$ Cuándo]$_i$ me dijiste t_i *que*$_1$ a Eva *que*$_2$ le iban a operar?
'When did you tell me Eva was going to get surgery?' (*Spanish*, Villa-García, p.c.)

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

(26) [$_{CLLD}$ Encima de la mesa]$_i$ me dijeron *que*$_1$ tu madre (*que$_2$) había puesto los libros t_i.
'They told me your mother had put the books on the table.' (*Spanish*, adapted from Villa-García, 2012c, (63b) and (64b))

(27) [$_{CFocus}$ LOS LIBROS]$_i$ me dijeron *que*$_1$ tu madre (*que$_2$) había puesto t_i encima de la mesa (y no los lapiceros).

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[13] Note that we accept Haegeman's proposal that Rizzi's (1997) ForceP splits in a high Subordinator Phrase and a low Force Phrase (e.g., see Haegeman 2004).

[14] 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.'

'They told me that your mother had put THE BOOKS books on the table, (not the pens).' (*Spanish*)

A phrase sandwiched between homophonous complementizers must be generated in the CP layer, where it is interpreted, so that it cannot be the result of a long-distance movement from another embedded CP. Example (28) illustrates this property:

(28) Dijo *que* **sobre el artículo**$_i$ (*que) escuchó que habían hecho comentarios positivos t_i. 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))

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*$_2$ can be never interpreted as the antecedent of an anaphoric element placed above *que*$_2$ —as in (29a)—, which the non-sandwiched CLLDs do allow, as in (29b):[15]

(29) a. Me contaron *que*$_1$ su$_{*i/j}$ coche *que*$_2$ todo el mundo$_i$ 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*$_1$ su$_{i/j}$ coche todo el mundo$_i$ lo tiene que dejar aquí.
'They told me that everybody has to leave her/his car here.' (*Spanish*, Villa-García, p.c.)

2.4. Morphological properties

2.4.1. Verbal mood in embedded clauses

Complementizer doubling 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 González i Planas (2010) and Villa-García (2012a), this feature is true if *que*$_2$ is not confused with *que*$_{jussive}$, because the second complementizer might have a different nature (see § 2.4.2) depending on the matrix predicate class and the mood of the embedded verb (see §§ 1.1 and 2.3.2 for a description).

2.4.2. Specifier-head agreement

As for the morphological nature of QRC constructions, Paoli (2007, 1075) has proposed that they show an agreement relationship between the sandwiched phrase and the second complementizer, i.e. a specifier-head agreement. Following Boškovic (2008) among others, Villa-García (2012c) has proved this hypothesis by means of the complement ellipsis test. The complement ellipsis of a functional projection is only possible if it undergoes a specifier-head agreement (Boškovic, 2008). The examples in (30) show that property; therefore grammatical examples are those in which there is an agreement relationship between the specifier and the head of the projection containing an elided complement. Conversely, ungrammatical examples are those where there is no specifier, so the lack of specifier-head agreement does not allow for complement ellipsis.

(30) a. John liked Mary and [$_{IP}$ Peter$_i$ [$_{I'}$ did t_i ~~like Mary~~]] too.
 b. John's talk about history was interesting but [$_{DP}$ Bill [$_{D'}$'s ~~talk about history~~]] was boring.
 c. * A single student came to the class because [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ the ~~student~~]] thought that it was important.
 d. John met someone but I don't know [$_{CP}$ who$_i$ [$_{C'}$ C ~~John met~~ t_i]].

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[15] According to Villa-García's (2012c) analysis, the properties of (22a) and (29a) support Cinque's (1990) hypothesis that CLLDs are base-generated in the left periphery; however, the properties of (22b) and (29b) only support an A'-movement account for CLLD (see López, 2009, among other).

e. * John believes that Peter met someone but I don't think [CP [C' that Peter met someone]].

<div align="right">(Boškovic, 2008, (5))</div>

As for QRC, the exemple in (31) shows that the ellipsis of *que*₂ complement is possible when the complement consists of two coordinated clauses, which demonstrates the existence of a specifier-head agreement.[16]

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

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

3. *De re* and *de dicto* interpretations

3.1. The de re / de dicto distinction

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

(32) 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 (32a) and (32b), which are relevant for our purposes.

3.2. Evidences from clause types

Since Plann's (1982) influential paper, it is well known that in Spanish (and also in Catalan) interrogative embedded clauses selected by an assertive verb have two interpretations: *modal*

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[16] On the other hand, the examples in (i) show that jussive *que* does not allow the ellipsis of its complement, so that *que*jussive must also be deleted.

(i) a. * Dice [CP *que*₁ [XP **a tu padre**, [YP [Y' *que*jussive lo llamen]]]], y [CP *que*₁ [XP **a tu madre**, [YP [Y' *que*jussive ~~la llamen~~ también]]]].
'She/He is ordering them to call your father, and also your mother.'

b. Dice [CP *que*₁ [XP **a tu padre**, [YP [Y' *que*jussive lo llamen]]]], y [CP *que*₁ [XP **a tu madre**, [YP [Y' ~~*que*jussive la llamen~~ también]]]].
'She/He is ordering them to call your father, and also your mother.'

<div align="right">(*Spanish*, adapted from Villa-García, 2012c, (48))</div>

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

and *discursive*, following Brucart's (1993) terminology.[17] In this sense, Uriagereka (1988) proposes that quotative embedded clauses have a *de dicto* interpretation. Specifically, he considers that embedded *wh*-interrogative clauses headed by *que*[18] follow the *de dicto* interpretation and *wh*-interrogative without an overt complementizer follow instead the *de re* interpretation. This asymmetry is shown in the subordinate clauses of the following examples:

(33) EMBEDDED *WH*-QUESTIONS
   a. *Modal/reportative configuration*
      En Miquel ens va dir Ø **quants** anàvem a la festa, [OK]pero no me'n recordo, de quants va dir.
      'Miquel said to us how many people were going to the party, [OK]but I do not remember how many he said.' (*Catalan*)

      [* *de dicto*; [OK] *de re*]

   b. *Discursive/quotative configuration*
      En Miquel ens va {dir/preguntar} que **quants** aniríem a la festa, #pero no me'n recordo, de quants va dir.
      'Miquel asked us how many people were going to the party, #but I do not remember how many he said.' (*Catalan*)

      [[OK] *de dicto*; * *de re*]

De dicto / de re contrast in (33) refers to the reference of *quants* 'how many (people)'. In (33b) Miquel —the original speaker of the quoted sentence— does not know the number of people going to the party, so that there is no reference of it. By contrast, in (33a) he does know the reference. This asymmetry is also valid for indefinites and quantifiers (Quine, 1956) —see (34)—, embedded *yes/no*-questions —see (35)—, and embedded exclamative —see (36):

(34) DECLARATIVE CLAUSES WITH INDEFINITE PRONOUNS OR QUANTIFIERS
   a. En Miquel ens va dir que **algú** de la seva família aniria a la festa, {#però no ens va dir qui / [OK]però no recordo qui (va dir)}.
      'Miquel told us that someone from his family would go to the party, {#but he did not say who it was / [OK]but I do not remember who he said.}.' (*Catalan*)

      [* *de dicto*; [OK] *de re*]

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

      [[OK] *de dicto*; * *de re*]

(35) EMBEDDED *YES/NO*-QUESTIONS
   a. *Modal/reportative configuration*
      En Miquel ens va dir Ø **si** la seva família podria venir a la festa, {#però no recordo què li vaig contestar / [OK]però no recordo què ens va dir}.
      'Miquel told us whether his family could go to the party, {#but I do not remember what I answered / [OK]I do not remember what he said to us}.' (*Catalan*)

      [* *de dicto*; [OK] *de re*]

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[17] In this paper we use the terms *reportative* and *quotative* as Brucart's *modal* and *discursive*, respectively. We believe that our terminology describes better the interpretation of both configurations, but what is important is that modal/reportative configurations follow the *de re* interpretation, while discursive/quotative configurations follow the *de dicto* interpretation.

[18] The complementizer (*que* 'that') in (33b), (34b), (35b), and (36b) is associated with a quotative interpretation; similarly as in a matrix quotative sentence headed by *que,* the complementizer is usually analyzed as a quotative particle with properties other than subordinator *que* selected by predicates not being assertive verbs. See Etxepare (2010) for an analysis of matrix quotative sentences headed by *que*.

      b. *Discursive/quotative configuration*
        En Miquel ens va {dir/preguntar} que **si** la seva família podria venir a la festa, {^{OK}però no recordo què li vaig contestar / #però no recordo què ens va dir}.
        'Miquel asked us if his family could go to the party, {^{OK}but I do not remember what I answered / #I do not remember what he said to us}.' (*Catalan*)

[^{OK} *de dicto*; * *de re*]

(36)   Eᴍʙᴇᴅᴅᴇᴅ *ᴡʜ*-ᴇxᴄʟᴀᴍᴀᴛɪᴠᴇ ᴄʟᴀᴜsᴇs[19]
      a. *Modal/reportative configuration*
        No saps Ø **quin vestit** que té la Maria!
        'You can't guess what a dress Mary's wearing! ' (*Catalan*)

[* *de dicto*; ^{OK} *de re*]

      b. *Discursive/quotative configuration*
        En Lluís va {exclamar/dir} que **quin vestit** que tenia la Maria.
        'Lluís {said/exclaimed}: «What a dress Mary's wearing!»' (*Catalan*)

[^{OK} *de dicto*; * *de re*]

This *de re / de dicto* distinction has been named «syntactically *de re / de dicto*» (see § 3.1). In the previous cases there is a free variable[20] without any reference to the *de dicto* interpretation and with one reference to the *de re* interpretation, but it cannot be applied to declarative clauses — except for cases like (34). In this sense, Brucart (1993, 98, fn. 28) considers that the interpretative and structural asymmetries in (33)–(36) 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)):

(37)   El Quico {creu/diu} que un company seu l'ha delatat.
       'Quico {believes/says} that a colleague (of his) has betrayed him.' (*Catalan*)

Following Quer, an example like (37) is ambiguous because the phrase *un company seu* 'a colleague (of his)' works as an operator and has two logical representations:

(38) a. El Quico {creu/diu} que [un company seu$_i$ l'ha delatat]]

[^{OK} *de dicto*; * *de re*]

      b. [un company seu$_i$ [el Quico {creu/diu} que l'ha delatat]]

[* *de dicto*; ^{OK} *de re*]

The true conditions for (38a) and (38b) are different. (38a) is interpreted in the sense that Quico believes or 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 identified the informer (for *creure* 'to believe') or has not revealed his name (for *dir* 'to say'). On the contrary, in (38b) *un company meu* does have a

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[19] Embedded *wh*-exclamative clauses with a *de re* interpretation (i.e. indirect exclamative clauses) cannot be selected by assertive verbs (Villalba, 2002, 2313). Cf. the following Catalan examples with (36a):

(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*$_1$ **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*)

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

[20] Note that interrogative *si* 'if' is a true-value operator.

reference because the sentence is interpreted in the sense that Quico knows or mentions the informer's name, but it is not revealed in the reported clause. Thus both interpretations of (38) are related with the «semantically *de re / de dicto*» distinction (see § 3.1) because (38b) permits the substitution of the co-designating terms *salva veritate*, while (38a) does not. Cf. also (39) and (40):

(39) CONTEXT: *Quico knows that the informer is Josep.*
    a. El Quico creu que **un company seu** l'ha delatat.
       'Quico believes that a colleague (of his) has betrayed him.' (*Catalan*)

                   [* *de dicto*; OK *de re* → The sentence is TRUE]
    b. El Quico creu que **en Josep** l'ha delatat.
       'Quico believes that Josep has betrayed him.' (*Catalan*)

                   [OK *de dicto*; * *de re* → The sentence is TRUE]

(40) CONTEXT: *Quico does not know that the informer is Josep.*
    a.   El Quico creu que **un company seu** l'ha delatat.
       'Quico believes that a colleague (of his) has betrayed him.' (*Catalan*)

                   [OK *de dicto*; * *de re* → The sentence is TRUE]
    b. # El Quico creu que **en Josep** l'ha delatat.
       'Quico believes that Josep has betrayed him.' (*Catalan*)

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

As we have seen above (§ 2.3.3), QRC 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* interpretation. By contrast, in agreement with Quer's analysis, reportative clauses admit long-distance movement of *wh*-phrases, contrastive focus, and CLLDs, because these phrases have a matrix scope.

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

4. Restrictions on long-distance movement

4.1. Villa-García's hypothesis on recomplementation

Among all the proposed syntactic analyses on recomplementation (see González i Planas

(2011) for discussion), the only convincing analysis is Villa-García's (2012b, 2012c), which investigates Spanish recomplementation and offers a number of arguments in favour of analyzing que_2 as the head of TopP (our A-TopP). From the comparison between the properties of sandwiched CLLDs and the ones of non-sandwiched (see fn. 15), he proposes that the first type is generated *in situ* (i.e. [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_2 is illicit (see § 2.3.3). To explain these asymmetries, Villa-García argues that there are no lexical differences between both options for Top^0 (i.e. Ø and que_2): que_2 is the default lexical item for Top^0 and Ø is the result of deleting que_2 in the Phonetic Form (PF), as a consequence of an island violation repair (*Rescue by PF Deletion*) when a phrase moves across it. (41) shows a kind of analysis in which movement leads to a violation of locality principles and (42) shows how island violations are repaired and how the presence of que_2 is legitimated.

(41) a. * X … [$_{TopP}$ CLLD [$_{Top'}$ que_2 […~~X~~…]]]
    b. * [$_{TopP}$ CLLD [Top' que_2 […~~CLLD~~…]]]

(42) a.   X … [$_{TopP}$ CLLD [$_{Top'}$ ~~que_2~~ […~~X~~…]]]

b. $[_{\text{TopP}}$ CLLD $[_{\text{Top'}}$ *que*$_2$ [...~~CLLD~~...]]]
c. $[_{\text{TopP}}$ CLLD$_i$ $[_{\text{Top'}}$ *que*$_2$ [...*pro*$_i$...]]]

This analysis is compatible with the interpretative properties of QRC constructions we have described in § 2.2, 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, (42) is interesting because it explains both derivations from interpretative properties, which is highly desirable in a cartographic syntactic approach.

Notwithstanding the positive aspects of Villa-García's analysis, it cannot still explain HTLDs and speech act adverbs in embedded clauses, because they are not moved phrases —they are base generated, though. In addition, *que*$_2$ is not mandatory for speech act adverbs and prepositional HTLDs.[21] If Rescue-by-PF-Deletion analysis is correct, then the second complementizer would be required and should be present in matrix clauses.[22] The following examples illustrate that actually it is not:

(43)   a.   M'han dit *que*$_1$, **pel que fa a en Lluís**, (*que*$_2$) tothom n'espera molt d'ell.
              'They have said to me that regarding Lluís, everyone expects a lot of him.' (*Catalan*)
       b.   **Pel que fa a en Lluís**, (*que$_2$) tothom n'espera molt d'ell.
              'Regarding Lluís, everyone expects a lot of him.' (*Catalan*)
       c.   Em va dir *que*$_1$ **francament**, (*que*$_2$) no en sabia res.
              'She/He said to me that frankly, she/he did not know anything.' (*Catalan*)
       d.   **Francament**, (*que$_2$) no en sé res.
              'Frankly, I do not know anything.' (*Catalan*)

Given the impossibility to explain all cases of quotative recomplementation by means of the Rescue-by-PF-Deletion theory, other alternatives should be explored so as to explain the locality violations caused by the presence of *que*$_2$. 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 Ø and *que*$_2$, and whether this alternation blocks or not long-distance movement does not seem appropriate.

Regarding the first problem, Ø as a deleted *que*$_2$ 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 at 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 HTLDs and speech act adverbs (with or without *que*$_2$) do not allow long-distance movement and whether the embedded clause has always a *de dicto* interpretation in such cases.

4.2. Evidences from speech act adverbs

Speech act adverbs are located in the most prominent position in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy, so that they are immediately dominated by a HTLD (DiscP) in matrix clauses. However, some authors consider that their presence in an embedded clause is not grammatical (see Cinque (1999, 2004); Faure (2010) for French; van Gelderen (2001) for English; Mizuno (2010, 10–11)

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

[22] Note that we may consider that CLLDs are always moved in matrix clauses but HTLDs and speech act adverbs are not.

for Japanese; Torner (2005, 151) for Spanish). But, according to Faure (2010), a sentence like (44) is highly unacceptable but «[i]t becomes fine with a quotational intonation, as in free indirect speech» (Faure, 2010, fn. 19).

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

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

(45) a. QUOTATIVE COMPLEMENT
En Nicolau m'ha dit *que*$_1$ (*molt/*ben) **sincerament**, no està content.
'Nicolau has said to me that (*very) sincerely he is not satisfied.'
b. REPORTATIVE COMPLEMENT
En Nicolau m'ha dit (molt/ben) **sincerament** *que*$_1$ no està content.
'Nicolau has (very) sincerely said to me that he is not satisfied.'

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

In Catalan and Spanish, sentences like (45) —with a strong assertive verb in the matrix clause— are perfectly grammatical and always have a quotative interpretation. The ungrammaticality comes up when the matrix verb is weak assertive one like Cat. *creure* / Sp. *creer* 'to believe' (see Faure (2010) and Giorgi (2010) for further discussion):

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

Judgements for its counterparts in Catalan and Spanish are similar:

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

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

(48) a. Dit això, crec *que*$_1$ **sincerament**, *que*$_2$ 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*)[23]
b. [...] yo creo *que*$_1$ **francamente** *que*$_2$ 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*)[24]

These data are in accordance with different authors who claim that speech act adverbs can be embedded (ter Beek (2008) for Dutch; Bowles (2010) and van Gelderen (2012) for English; Fernández Rubiera (2010, 302–303) for Asturian; Giorgi (2010, 73) for Italian; Grohmann & Etxepare (2003) for Spanish; Yoon (2011) for Korean). But Giorgi (2010) argues that there is a semantic asymmetry between strong and weak assertive verbs that explains what context can accept embedded speech act adverbs. Consider the following quotation:

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[23] Source: <https://catalansreaccionem.wordpress.com/2008/12/12/%0Dorgasme-per-la-llengua-catalana-siiiiiiii/>

[24] Source: <http://www.zetatalk.com/mexico/zeta224.htm>

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

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

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

(Giorgi, 2010, 73)

If Giorgi is right, why are there grammatical sentences like (48) in Catalan and Spanish? We deem that this type of embedded clauses consists of quoted thoughts, given that beliefs cannot be modified originally by speech act or discourse adverbs because they are not part of the speech, but when they are verbalized, the speaker can reintroduce all elements that are not present in the original thought via quotative recomplementation (see § 2.2). In this sense, thoughts can be considered speech acts and weak assertive verbs can be regarded as quotative. Consider the following examples:

(49) CONTEXT: *Quico knows that the informer is Josep but he has not revealed his name.*
      a.   El Quico creu que **francament**, que **un company seu** l'ha delatat.
              'Quico believes that frankly a colleague (of his) has betrayed him.' (*Catalan*)
                                                [^{OK} *de dicto*; * *de re* → The sentence is TRUE]
      b. # El Quico creu que **francament**, que **en Josep** l'ha delatat.
              '#Quico believes that frankly Josep has betrayed him.' (*Catalan*)
                                                [* *de dicto*; * *de re* → The sentence is FALSE]

A possible information source for the speaker of (49) is a dialogue as (50):

(50) CONTEXT: *A is the speaker of (49) 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. The presence of *que$_2$* is always mandatory when the matrix verb is weakly assertive, because beliefs and thoughts are not originally speech acts and their discursive modification is only possible when they are quoted.

On the other hand, embedded speech act adverbs block long-distance movement to 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.

(51) CONTEXT: *A and B are speaking about the wedding day.*
      A: En Miquel diu *que$_1$* [$_{Spec,SActP}$ **sincerament**], els seus pares no poden venir al casament.
      B: Perdona. No t'escoltava.
          a. * **Qui$_i$** diu en Miquel *que$_1$* [$_{Spec,SActP}$ **sincerament**], no pot *t$_i$* venir al casament?
          b.   **Qui$_i$** diu en Miquel *que$_1$* no pot *t$_i$* venir al casament?
      'A: Miquel says that sincerely his parents cannot come to the wedding.'
      'B: Sorry, I wasn't listening. Who does Miquel say (*that sincerely) cannot come to the wedding?' (*Catalan*)

4.3. Evidences from HTLDs

A hanging topic left dislocation (HTLD) is the higher topic phrase in a clause. It can be formed by a DP (without Case marks) or a complex PP that is not θ-selected by the predicate (consider the following complex prepositions, e.g. Cat. *tocant a*, *amb referència a*, *pel que fa a*, *respecte a*, *quant a*, *a propòsit de*, *amb relació a*, *referent a*, etc. / Sp. *acerca de*, *con referencia a*, *con respecto a*, *en cuanto a*, *a propósito de*, *en relación con/a*, *referente a*, etc. 'about / on / regarding'). See the example in (52):

(52) (**En referència a**) **la Maria**ᵢ, ningú no vol parlar d'ellaᵢ.
'Regarding Mary, nobody wants to talk about her.' (*Catalan*)

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

(53) In HTLD, the dislocated element:
   a. must be a NP/DP (or a PP)[25] (Cinque, 1983),
   b. has to precede CLLD (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),
   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; Rodríguez Ramalle (2005, 546) for Spanish; 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, the assertion in (53e) is partially wrong. In agreement with other authors (De Cat (2007, § 4.3.6) for French; Fernández Rubiera (2009, 111 and 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 only embedded quotative clauses admit the presence of a HTLD. Synchronic and diachronic examples corroborate it:

(54) a. Dijo que **acerca de lo que dijo al principio de la audiencia de esta mañana**, porque es punto importante, quiere declarar cómo pasó, dando conjeturas o indicios humanos para que se entienda que es aquel el sentido de la figura del casamiento de doña María Dávalos.
   'He said that about what he had said at the beginning of this morning's audit, because it is an important issue, he wants to declare how it happened, making conjectures or human evidences for you to understand that it is that one the meaning of the figure of the marriage of Mrs. María Dávalos.' (*16th century, Spanish, Peru*)[26]
   b. Se refirió después el ministro de Obras Públicas a la necesidad de un circuito pirenaico, en análoga forma al francés, para el desarrollo del turismo, y dijo que **acerca de esto** el Ministerio realiza cuanto puede, teniendo en cuenta lo costosas que resultan esta clase de obras.

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[25] See above for complex PP in Catalan and Spanish.

[26] 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.

'Then the Minister of Public Construction referred to the need of a Pyrenean circuit for tourism development, analogously to his French colleague, in order to launch the development of tourism; and he also added that the Ministry does its best, given the high prices of this type of works.' (*20th century, Spanish, Spain*)[27]

c. Por último dijo que **acerca de la tecnología y la música** tiene opiniones encontradas, debido que por un lado desea que los jóvenes sigan teniendo acceso a la música, pero que al mismo tiempo se generara algún tipo de ganancia para el compositor o intérprete de la canción.
'Finally he said that concerning technology and music he has mixed views, because on the one hand, he wants young people to keep having access to music, but on the other hand, to make it possible to generate some kind of revenue for the composer or the performer of the song.' (*21st century, Spanish, Mexico*)[28]

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

(55) a. En Joan ens va dir *que*₁ [HTLD pel que fa al teu regal], (*que*₂) 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*)

[OK *de dicto*; * *de re*]

b. [HTLD Pel que fa al teu regal], en Joan ens va dir *que*₁ volies **un dels nostres cavalls**, OKperò 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*; OK *de re*]

The *de re* interpretation in (55a) is not possible because the presence of an embedded HTLD implies that the speaker quotes a sentence that (s)he remembers entirely. On the contrary, in (55b) the absence of an embedded HTLD suggests that the speaker does not remember entirely the original sentence and (s)he cannot quote it, but (s)he can make a statement on it. Furthermore, (55b) can have a *de dicto* interpretation without the coordinated clause *però no recordo quin* 'but I don't remember wich one.'[29]

Following our argumentative line, this interpretative asymmetry is consistent with the restrictions on long-distance movement shown by the examples in (56):

(56) a. * **Què**ᵢ ens va dir en Joan *que*₁ [HTLD pel que fa al teu regal], volies *t*ᵢ?
'*What did John say to us that about your present, you wanted?' (*Catalan*)

b.   [HTLD Pel que fa al teu regal], **què**ᵢ ens va dir en Joan *que*₁ volies *t*ᵢ?
'About your present, what did John say to us (that) you wanted?' (*Catalan*)

In (56a) long-distance movement is blocked by the presence of an embedded HTLD, which is only possible in quotative clauses. On the contrary, in (56b) there is no embedded HTLD and the complement is a reportative clause, which does allow long-distance movement.

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[27] Source: *ABC*, 26/V/1955, edición de la mañana, p. 45.

[28] 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/>.

[29] We note that the *de dicto* / *de re* distinction proposed here remembers the [±conviction] feature proposed by Fernández Rubiera (2009, 2011) for both Asturian and Spanish.

5. Quotative CP is a phase

5.1 Some notes on the Phase Theory

The most important theoretical innovation of the Phase Theory is the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), which easily explains many observations about the limitations in long-distance extraction/movement of clausal components. It can be defined as follows:[30]

(57) a. *Phase Impenetrability Condition* [strong version] (Chomsky, 2000, 108)
In a phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.
b. *Phase Impenetrability Condition* [weak version] (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.

where H and Z are phasal heads (C, v^*, or D) and the edge of H is its specifier(s).

(58)
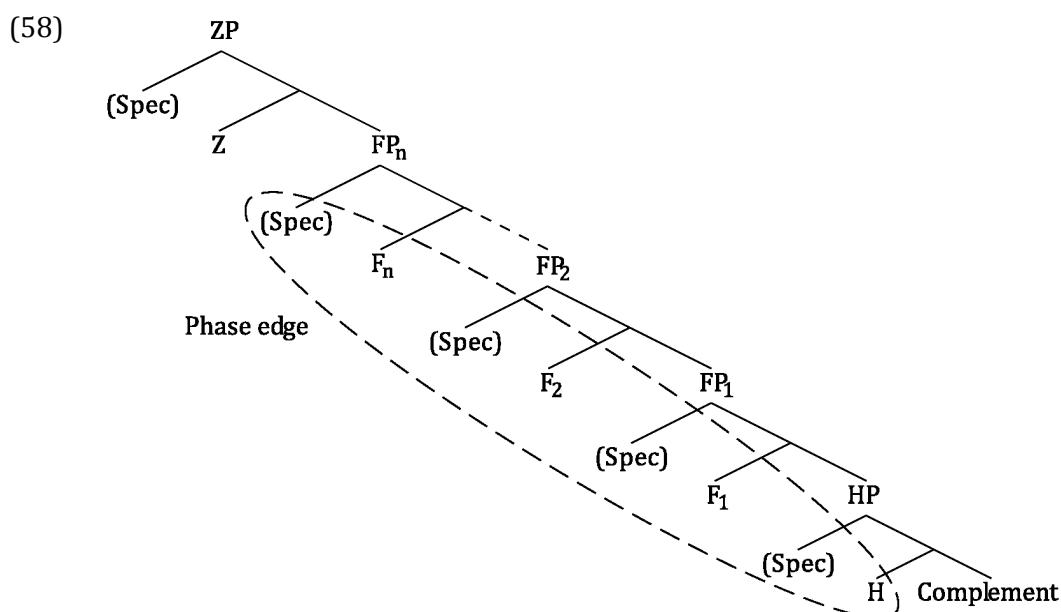
Following the cartographic restriction of one specifier per phrase, in (58) we use the weak version (57b), because it permits a non-phasal head checking to keep its uninterpretable features in the domain of its phase complement (Krivochen 2010, 2). Thus, we consider that the edge of a phase corresponds 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.

5.2. Our analysis

According to the hypothesis we put forward here, quotative complements are different from reportative complements because the first ones have a full CP layer, while the second ones have a defective CP without Discourse Phrase (DiscP) and Speech Act Phrase (SAP) projections.[31]

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[30] There are two versions for PIC, the strong and the weak ones. See Gallego (2010, ch. 2) for a discussion.

These structural differences explain the locality restrictions imposed by the quotative configuration. Specifically, quotative CP layer has a phase head, while reportative CP layer has not. In (59), the possibility of extracting a WhP from the complement clause shows it.

(59) a.   Què$_i$ va dir en Joan que volia (sincerament) t_i?
          'What did John say he (sincerely) wanted?' (*Catalan*)
     b.   Pel que fa al seu aniversari, què$_i$ va dir en Joan que volia t_i?
          'About his birthday, what did John say he wanted?' (*Catalan*)
     c. * Què$_i$ va dir en Joan que, sincerament, volia t_i?
          'What did John say sincerely that he wanted?' (*Catalan*)
     d. * Què$_i$ va dir en Joan que, pel que fa al seu aniversari, volia t_i?
          'About his birthday, what did John say he wanted?' (*Catalan*)

If it is correct that there is a phasal head in CP layer, then from the comparison of the cartographic differences between quotative and reportative complements, we only may attribute this status to Discourse or Speech Act heads. Along with our hypothesis, we assume that $Disc^0$ is the phasal head.

As shown in (60), the lack of the phasal head $Disc^0$ in the left periphery of the reportative complement clause allows a WhP to move cyclically to the left periphery of the matrix clause.[32]

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

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[31] 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.

[32] We use CP here for ease of exposition.

However, the presence of a phase head in the quotative embedded clauses means that the complement of DiscP is transferred when matrix $v*$ head is merged. This process blocks the movement of WhP outside the embedded CP layer. In (61) we show how the sentence derivation fails when the embedded clause is a quotative complement.

(61)
a. *Merge* (V, WhP) → [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]

b. *Merge* ($v*$, SV) → [$_{v*P}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]

c. *Merge* (DP, $v*$P) → [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]

d. *Merge* (T, $v*$P) → [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]

e. *Merge* (C, TP) → [$_{CP}$ C$^0_{[uWh, EPP]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]

f. *Move* WhP → [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]

g. *Merge* (Discourse, CP) → [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]

h. *Transfer* the complement of the first phase → [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]

i. *Merge* (Sub, DiscP) → [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]]

j. *Merge* (V, SubP) → [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]]]

k. *Merge* ($v*$, SV) → [$_{v*P}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]]]]

l. *Transfer* the complement of the second phase → [$_{v*P}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]]]]

m. *Merge* (DP, $v*$P) → [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]]]]]

n. *Merge* (T, $v*$P) → [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]]]]]]

o. *Merge* (C, TP) → [$_{CP}$ C$^0_{[uWh, EPP]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

p. *The derivation crashes.*

The derivation of (61) crashes because matrix C^0 cannot delete its uninterpretable features. But if a head in the CP layer encodes a declarative feature —that does not require checking *wh*-features—, then the derivation converges without problems:

(62)
a. *Merge* (V, WhP) → [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]

b. *Merge* ($v*$, SV) → [$_{v*P}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]

c. *Merge* (DP, $v*$P) → [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]

d. *Merge* (T, $v*$P) → [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]

e. *Merge* (C, TP) → [$_{CP}$ C$^0_{[uWh, EPP]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]

f. *Move* WhP → [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]

g. *Merge* (Discourse, CP) → [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]

h. *Transfer* the complement of the first phase → [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]

i. *Merge* (Sub, DiscP) → [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]]

j. *Merge* (V, SubP) → [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]]]

k. *Merge* ($v*$, SV) → [$_{v*P}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]]]]

l. *Transfer* the complement of the second phase → [$_{v*P}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[\text{uWh, EPP}]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]]]]

m. *Merge* (DP, $v*$P) → [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{SubP}$ Sub^0 [$_{DiscP}$ Disc^0 [$_{CP}$ [$_{WhP}$ *què*] [$_{C'}$ C$^0_{[uWh, EPP]}$ [$_{TP}$ T^0 [$_{v*P}$ DP [$_{v*'}$ $v*^0$ [$_{VP}$ V^0 [$_{WhP}$ *què*]]]]]]]]]]]]

n. *Merge* $(T, v\text{*}P) \rightarrow$ $[_{TP}\ T^0\ [_{v\text{*}P}\ DP\ [_{v\text{*}'}\ v\text{*}^0\ [_{VP}\ V^0\ [_{SubP}\ Sub^0\ [_{DiscP}\ Disc^0\ [_{CP}\ [_{WhP}\ \textit{què}]\ [_{C'}\ C^0_{[uWh,\ EPP]}\ [_{TP}\ T^0\ [_{v\text{*}P}\ DP\ [_{v\text{*}'}\ v\text{*}^0\ [_{VP}\ V^0\ [_{WhP}\ \textbf{\textit{què}}]]]]]]]]]]]]]$

o. *Merge* $(C, TP) \rightarrow$ $[_{CP}\ C^0_{[iDecl]}\ [_{TP}\ T^0\ [_{v\text{*}P}\ DP\ [_{v\text{*}'}\ v\text{*}^0\ [_{VP}\ V^0\ [_{SubP}\ Sub^0\ [_{DiscP}\ Disc^0\ [_{CP}\ [_{WhP}\ \textit{què}]\ [_{C'}\ C^0_{[uWh,\ EPP]}\ [_{TP}\ T^0\ [_{v\text{*}P}\ DP\ [_{v\text{*}'}\ v\text{*}^0\ [_{VP}\ V^0\ [_{WhP}\ \textbf{\textit{què}}]]]]]]]]]]]]]]$

p. *The derivation is completed successfully*.

Summarizing, the presence of a phase head in the highest area of the embedded CP layer (i.e. $Disc^0$, by hypothesis) can successfully derive the locality restrictions of quotative complements and thus those which may appear with *que₂*. 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 which is only possible in quotative clauses. Specifically we have compared quotative clauses and reportative clauses, and we have determined that the first ones have a full and phasal CP, which explains their syntactic properties. Below we 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. It facilitates Grice's cooperative principle because the introduced elliptic elements are not shared by the hearer.

2. Morphosyntactically, the Ø/*que₂* alternation in the high area of the quotative CP layer is the result of a Spec-Head agreement relationship. When the head is Ø, the specifier was lexically realized in the original speech and the substitution *salva veritate* is not feasible; when the head is *que₂* the specifier is a reintroduced phrase, i.e. non-lexically realized in the original speech.

3. An indirect quotative clause «copies» the propositional structure of a sentence from a previous speech, and consequently it has a *de dicto* interpretation. Thus if the speaker does not remember any propositional element of the original sentence, (s)he needs to ask about elements of its, or (s)he summarizes it, the clause has a *de re* interpretation and can only be interpreted as a statement, i.e. a reportative clause.

4. HTLDs, 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 quotative or as 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 CP layer contains a phasal head; 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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