

On quotative recomplementation: Between pragmatics and morphosyntax

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Abstract

In Catalan and Spanish **quotative recomplementation** (QRC) constructions, the second complementizer (*que*₂) is used to set 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*₁ ***los invitados*** #(*que*₂) *están sentados en la mesa*). QRC is evidence of the existence of two types of complements of quotative 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*₁ ***los invitados*** (#*que*₂) *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*¹ (Higgins, 1988, cited in Fontana, 1993:164) is a general 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).²

On the one hand, in (1) the second complementizer (*que*₂) is used to set 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 (González i Planas, 2010:ch. 4).

(1) QUOTATIVE RECOMPLEMENTATION

Ha dit *que*₁ **els convidats**, *que*₂ 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 directive 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.

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).

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 and Labelle, 2003), *double que construction* (Paoli, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007), *double-headed clauses* (McCloskey, 2006), and *Complementizer doubling* (Mascarenhas, 2007).

² 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 ACT³

% ... 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 analyze both Catalan and Spanish quotative recomplementation (QRC) in terms of a [+reporter] logophoric feature (i.e., Λ -feature) encoded by morphosyntax.⁴ 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 extraction of 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 §4 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 morphosyntactically analyze both types of complement clauses; and finally, §6 summarizes the most important conclusions.

³ Note that not all speakers accept two instances of *que*. See Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2013:53–54) for other cases of sequences of two *que*.

⁴ We have left aside embedded jussive clauses. For more details, see González i Planas (2010:ch. 4, 2011) and Villa-García (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 different things to several authors, McKay and 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. We often use syntactic tests to determine whether a clause has *de dicto* or *de re* readings.⁵

2.2 *Evidence from clause types*

As was established in 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*, following Brucart’s (1993) terminology.⁶ In this sense,

⁵ 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 one (see §2.3). This happens very clearly in indirect interrogative clauses selected by verbs such as *preguntar* ‘to ask’, which always have a *de dicto* reading from a syntactic point of view (for more details, see the fn. 8).

⁶ In this paper we use the terms *reportative* and *quotative* as Brucart’s *modal* and *discursive*, respectively.

Uriagereka (1988) considers that embedded interrogative clauses headed by *que*⁷ follow the *de dicto* reading, and interrogative clauses without an overt complementizer follow 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 ∅ **quants** anàvem a la festa, ^{OK}però 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. *Quotative configuration*

En Miquel ens va {dir/preguntar⁸} que **quants** aniríem a la festa, #però 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*]

(8) EMBEDDED *YES/NO*-QUESTIONS

a. *Reportative configuration*

En Miquel ens va dir ∅ **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*)

⁷ 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 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*.

⁸ 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, 1993, and 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 ∅ **quants col·legues meus** anaven a la festa.

'Miquel asked me how many colleagues of mine were going to the party.' (*Catalan*)

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

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

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

b. *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*]

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 knows to answer to the question 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. ORIGINAL SOURCE: Miquel said, "**My aunt** will go to the party."

En Miquel ens va dir que **algú de la seva família** aniria a la festa, ^{OK}però no recordo qui (va dir).

'Miquel told us that someone from his family would go to the party, ^{OK}but I do not remember who he said.' (*Catalan*)

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

b. ORIGINAL SOURCE: Miquel said, "**Someone from my family** will go to the party."

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*)

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

(10) EMBEDDED *WH*-EXCLAMATIVE CLAUSES⁹

⁹ 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 Maria's wearing!"' (*Catalan*)
b. Va {dir / exclamar / pensar} *que*_i **quin vestit** que tenia la Maria.
'She/He {said / exclaimed / thought} what a dress Maria's wearing' (*Catalan*)
c. * Va {dir / exclamar / pensar} Ø **quin vestit** que tenia la Maria.

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 Maria's wearing!'

(*Catalan*)

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

b. *Quotative configuration*

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

'Lluís {exclaimed/said}: "What a dress Maria's wearing!"' (*Catalan*)

[^{OK} *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:¹⁰

(12) a. El Quico diu que [un company seu_i [‡ l'ha delatat]]

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

b. [un company seu_i [el Quico diu que ‡ l'ha delatat]]

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

'She/He {said / exclaimed / thought} what a dress Maria's wearing.' (*Catalan*)

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*₂.

¹⁰ 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 to the *de re* / *de dicto* distinction.

reference. This means that Quico has not revealed his name. On the contrary, in (12b) *un 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*; ^{OK} *de re* → The sentence is TRUE]

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

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

[^{OK} *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*)

[^{OK} *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 §3.3.2, 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* distinction¹¹

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

(15) [_v Tothom]_i diu *que*₁ pel que fa a en Josep, (*que*₂) [_∃ un company seu]_i l’ha delatat.

‘Everyone_i says that as for Josep, a colleague of his_i has betrayed him.’ (*Catalan*)

¹¹ This section is the result of an anonymous reviewer’s suggestions. We are indebted to her/him.

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

In (15), the *de re* reading cannot be obtained because if the existential operator dominates the universal operator, then *tothom* ‘everyone’ cannot bind the possessive *seu* ‘their.’ Furthermore, an anonymous reviewer notes that an example like (16) apparently seems to allow two readings (i.e., $\forall > \exists$ and $\exists > \forall$), which, however, is not true as we will soon see:

(16) [\forall Tothom] diu *que*₁ pel que fa a en Josep, (*que*₂) va delatar [\exists algú].

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

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*. Similarly as in indirect interrogative clauses selected by *preguntar* ‘ask,’¹² 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. 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):

(17) a. Pel que fa a en Josep, tothom_i diu: “Un company meu_i l’ha delatat.”

‘As for Josep, everyone_i says: “A colleague of mine_i has betrayed him.”’ (*Catalan*)

b. Pel que fa a en Josep, tothom diu: “Va delatar algú.”

‘As for Josep, 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. Similarly, the samesaying interpretation of (15) and (16) implies that

¹² See also footnotes 5 and 8.

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).

3. Grammatical facts

3.1 Allowing quotative recomplementation¹³

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**/**xiuxiuejar**}: “Etic contenta d’haver-hi vingut.”
 a'. La Maria va {**dir**/**xiuxiuejar**} que a la festa, que estava contenta d’haver-hi anat.
 ‘Maria {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.
 ‘Pau 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 Núria 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.
 ‘Pere thought that he could never say it to Maria.’ (*Catalan*)

By contrast, directive 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 (González i Planas, 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))

¹³ This section has been enriched with comments and suggestions from the three anonymous reviewers.

- b. Nos **pidieron** *que*₁ a tu hermana, (**que*₂) al quirófano *que*_{missive} no la dejáramos pasar.
 ‘They requested that we did not let your sister go into the operating room.’
 (*Spanish*)
- c. Nos **dijeron** *que*₁ a tu hermana, (*que*₂) al quirófano *que*_{missive} no la dejáramos pasar.
 ‘They requested that we did not let your sister go into the operating room.’
 (*Spanish*)

Similarly, the assertive verbs of communication that cannot select 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.¹⁴

- (20) a. La Maria va **insinuar** *que*₁ a l'hospital, (??*que*₂) hi passaven coses estranyes.
 ‘Maria suggested that strange things were happening in the hospital.’ (*Catalan*)
- b. La Maria va **explicar** *que*₁ a l'hospital, (*que*₂) hi passaven coses estranyes.
 ‘Maria 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*₂ 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*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 ets constant**, (**que*₂) sempre aconsegueixes 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*)

¹⁴ Note that these verbs may be used as parentheticals, but not as matrix predicates that select 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*)

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 licenses the reintroduction of elliptic elements.¹⁵

(22) 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*)

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

(23) a. Lamento que ese coche (**que*) no lo compres.

‘I am sorry that you won’t buy that car.’ (*Spanish*, Demonte and Fernández-Soriano, 2009:(50a))

b. Lamento *que*₁ **el cotxe**, (**que*₂) 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,” Joan wailed.’ (*Catalan*)

b. En Joan es va lamentar *que*₁ **el cotxe**, (*que*₂) no se’l podia comprar.

‘Joan regretted that 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 highly unacceptable—see (27).¹⁶

¹⁵ As a matter of fact, (i) is an ambiguous sentence, because it can have either the meaning of hearing the sound that Antonio’s handcuffs made or the same meaning as (22).

(i) Oyó que a Antonio se lo llevaban esposado.

‘She/He heard that Antonio was taken away in handcuffs.’ (≠ [(22)])

‘She/He heard someone said that Antonio was taken away in handcuffs.’ (= [(22)]) (*Spanish*)

¹⁶ In European Portuguese, examples like (27) are perfect with the verb *achar* ‘believe’ (see Mascarenhas, 2007).

- (26) a. Por mi experiencia personal yo lo recomiendo, es barato, efectivo, simple de usar y creo *que*₁ **francamente** *que*₂ 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*)¹⁷

- b. [...] creíamos que sinceramente que era necesario que Aragón tuviera un buen Banco de Sangre [...]

‘We sincerely believed that it was necessary that Aragon had a good blood bank.’ (*Spanish*)¹⁸

- (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 cannot 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 the judgements 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 even for them sandwiched speech-act adverbs are not possible:

- (28) * Sé *que*₁ **francamente**, *que*₂ tenerlo en el botiquín de la casa es lo mejor que se puede hacer.

Intended meaning: ‘I frankly know that 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*₁ **la teva dona** (%*que*₂) no ens ha volgut agafar el telèfon.

‘We know that your wife refused to answer our phone call.’ (*Catalan*)

- b. Sabemos *que*₁ **tu mujer** (%*que*₂) no nos quiso abrir la puerta.

¹⁷ Source: <http://www.ciao.es/Voltaren_Emulgel__Opinion_1076700>.

¹⁸ 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)>.

‘We know that your wife refused to open the door.’ (*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 això, *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*)

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 above). 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. Another specific 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 above), or selected by quotative deverbal nouns (*contra* Iatridou and Kroch, 1992):

(32) a. M’ha deixat anar [DP el [NP rotllo [CP *que* les claus, *que*₂ les tenia a la butxaca]]].

‘She/He told the old story that she/he had the keys in her/his pocket.’ (*Catalan*)

b. [DP L’ [NP explicació [CP *que*₁ al president, *que*₂ 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) * [DP El [NP rumor [CP *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*)

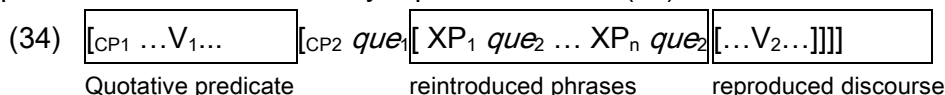
3.2 Interpretation and discourse linkage

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*₂ and its counterpart *que*_{missive} (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 González i Planas (2010), the sentences where quotative recomplementation is present can be schematically represented as in (34):¹⁹



The structure of (34) corresponds to a sentence with a matrix quotative predicate that selects an indirect speech formed by two components:²⁰ 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 and de Vries (2008) for a general discussion). The Catalan oral data in (35) provide 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*₁ **les claus**, *que*₂ 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.’

¹⁹ Note that the iteration of reintroduced phrases is possible with multiple *que*₂ (see §5.3 for more details).

²⁰ Notice that QRC can occur in matrix clauses headed by *que*₁ (see Etxepare, 2010:(51)):

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

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

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*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 at me really outraged: “How dare you 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.

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 dare you 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) in the 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 dare you 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 or expressive content oriented to her/him.²¹

- (41) a. Em va dir *que*₁ **el malparit d'en Pere**, *que*₂ no el suporta.
'She/He told me that she/he cannot stand that son of a bitch, Pere.' (*Catalan*)
b. Me dijo *que*₁ **ese cabrón**, *que*₂ si llueve, *que*₂ no viene.
'She/He told me that if 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.²² 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*₁ sincerament, *que*₂ **el malparit d'en Pere** no el suporta.
'She/He told me that she/he cannot stand that son of a bitch, Pere.' (*Catalan*)
b. Me dijo *que*₁ si llueve, *que*₂ **ese cabrón** no viene.
'She/He told me that if it rains that son of a bitch is not coming.' (*Spanish*)

- (43) La Maria va dir *que*₁ l'examen, *que*₂ **evidentment**, en Pere el va suspendre.
'Maria said that evidently, Pere failed the test.' (*Catalan*)

Rathmann (2012) argues that in QRC structures the quoted clause is semantically factive (or referential, in the sense of Haegeman and Ürögdi, 2010) and low in discourse prominence, while the topic dislocate receives high discourse prominence.²³ She considers

²¹ We would like to express our sincere thanks to an anonymous reviewer for her/his suggestions and data on this issue.

²² In (42) we include other QRC construction for maintaining the quotative interpretation.

²³ 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...'

that sandwiched topics are Referential Anchors²⁴ 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, Pere' in (44) can be interpreted as an expressive content ambiguously oriented to the reporter or to the matrix subject.

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

'Maria said that she sincerely cannot stand that son of a bitch, Pere.' (*Catalan*)

We consider that the expressive 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*₂ 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 and 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.²⁵ The following examples illustrate it:

(45) a. * [_{Subject} *Que*₁ el president, *que*₂ estava imputat] va ser anunciat ahir a la reunió.
'That the president was imputed was announced at the meeting yesterday.'

(*Catalan*)

b. * [_{CLLD} *Que*₁ el president, *que*₂ no venia]_i ens ho_i van dir ahir a la reunió.

We consider that (i) is fine but the CLRD is interpreted as a backgrounded phrase, while a sandwiched CLLD 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 expressive content oriented to the reporter:

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

'My father asked me where I had left the damned keys.'

We understand *les refotudes claus* 'the damned keys' in (ii) as an expressive content oriented to the matrix subject (original source: *On les has deixades, les refotudes claus?* 'Where have you 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 I 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 expressive change.

²⁴ In Rathmann's proposal, Referential Anchors agree with an illocutionary operator that spells out as *que*₂ and eliminates assertive force from the proposition.

²⁵ See Etxepare (2007) for a detailed description on θ -structure and complement selection in Spanish quotative constructions.

'Yesterday it was said at the meeting that the president would not come.'
(*Catalan*)

- c. ?* [_{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*)

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–b) 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

3.3.1 Sandwiched constituents, clause types, and fragments

The sandwiched constituents between homophonous complementizers are usually subjects (46a), CLLDs (46b), temporal adverbs (46c), topic adverbs (46d), causal clauses (46e), temporal adverbial clauses (46f), conditional clauses (46g), speech-act adverbs (46h), *as for* topics (46i), hanging topic left dislocations (46j), connective adverbs (46k), and enunciative adverbs (46l) (for more details, see Keniston, 1937:675; Paoli, 2003:270–276; Pérez Jiménez, 2006:24; Ribeiro and Torres Morais, 2009, and González i Planas, 2010).²⁶

- (46) a. Diu que **la Maria**, que no ha vingut.

'She/He says that Maria 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. El metge diu que **quirúrgicament**, que el problema no té solució.

'The doctor says that the problem has no surgical solution.'
(*Catalan*)

- e. 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*)

- f. Diu que **quan va arribar a l'hotel**, que el director l'esperava a la recepció.

²⁶ Connective and enunciative adverbs are respectively adverbs like Cat. *llavors* / Sp. *entonces* 'then' and Cat. *breument* / Sp. *brevemente* 'briefly'. Regarding topic adverbs, see Mata (2005) for more details.

- ‘She/He says that when she/he arrived at the hotel, the director was waiting for her/him at the reception.’ (*Catalan*)
- g. Em va dir que **si el trucava**, que tot se solucionaria.
 ‘She/He told me that if I called her/him, everything would be resolved.’ (*Catalan*)
- h. 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*)
- i. Et repeteixo que **pel que fa a en Miquel**, que no en vull saber res més.
 ‘I repeat to you that regarding Miquel, I don’t want to know anything else.’ (*Catalan*)
- j. Em vas dir que **la Maria**_i, que no parlaries amb ella_i mai de la vida.
 ‘You told me that you would never talk to Maria.’ (*Catalan*)
- k. Em va dir que **en definitiva**, que estava despatxat.
 ‘She/He said to me that in short, {I / she / he} was fired.’ (*Catalan*)
- l. 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*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 a week before I could still register.’ (*Catalan*)

b. JUSSIVE/OPTATIVE CLAUSES²⁷

²⁷ 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*₁ los chicos, (??*que*₂) a correr.

‘She/He said: “Let’s run, guys!”’ (*Spanish*)

El director ha dit *que*₁ a la sala d'actes, *que*₂ els alumnes castigats, *que*_{missive} hi vagin ara mateix.

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

c. *WH-EXCLAMATIVE CLAUSES*²⁸

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 over the phone!"' (*Catalan*)

d. *WH-QUESTIONS*

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*)

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).²⁹

(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*₁ esas revistas de pacotilla, *que*₂ a la basura.

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

(51) Va dir *que*₁ l'examen, *que*₂ quin pal.

'She/He said to the boys: "Let's run!"' (*Spanish*)

²⁸ 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))

²⁹ We would like to express our sincere thanks to two anonymous reviewers for their comments, suggestions, and data on quoted fragments.

'About the exam she said, what a bore!' (*Catalan*)

Notice that in examples like (51), the sandwiched phrase is reintroduced:³⁰

(52) A: És bona la novel·la?

B: Una meravella!

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

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

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

However, sentences like (54) and (55) are not cases of QRC:³¹

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

'She/He said: "What the heck! I'm 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. Evidence in this sense are Spanish speakers that do not accept QRC constructions (e.g., speakers of Rioplatense dialect and Asturian/Spanish bilingual speakers). They accept sentences like (54) and (55), but use sentences like (56), and there are some that accept (57).

(56) a. Me dijo *que*₁ la novela, una maravilla. [QUOTATIVE COMPLEMENT]

b. Me dijo *que*₁ 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.

3.3.2 Restrictions on negation, movement, and reconstruction

³⁰ 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.

³¹ Grohmann and 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.

'Juan says: "Me wash the dishes?! No way!"' (*Spanish*, Grohmann and Etxepare, 2003:(67), bold is ours)

Iatridou and 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.
 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 gift!’
 (*Catalan*)

Similarly, the matrix negation can indeed be interpreted as negating the content of the reportative clause, but quotative cannot (Rathmann, 2012):³²

- (59) a. No va dir que l'examen {??era/fos} un regal.
 ‘She/He didn’t say that the exam was a gift.’ [wide scope without a corrective reading]
 ‘She/He said that the exam was not a gift.’ [narrow scope]
 b. No va dir *que*₁ l'examen, *que*₂ {era/??fos} un regal...
 ‘She/He didn’t say that the exam was a gift...’ [wide scope with a corrective reading]
 ‘*She/He said that the exam was not a gift...’ [*narrow scope]

In certain languages like Spanish, in which preverbal double negation is ungrammatical,³³ when a negative topic phrase (or CLLD) is found sandwiched between two

³² 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; in 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 and 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 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).

³³ Concretely, double negation in Spanish is ungrammatical with sentential negation, but it is perfect with two preverbal n-words:

- (i) Nadie nunca dijo eso.
 ‘No one ever said that.’

Note that the preverbal double negation is optative in Catalan:

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

que, then the clausal negative particle (*no* ‘not’) becomes mandatory (Martín-González, 1999, 2002).³⁴ See the following examples adapted from Martín-González (2002):³⁵

(60) a. Me dijeron *que*₁ **a ninguno de ellos**_i, *que*₂ Juan ***(no)** los_i invitó.

b. Me dijeron *que*₁ **a ninguno de ellos**_i, (****que***₂) Juan los_i invitó.

‘They said to me that Juan had not invited none 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*₂) induces a locality violation caused by movement across it—i.e., extraction of *wh*-phrases, Contrastive Focus, and CLLDs:³⁶

(61) 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), his judgment)

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))³⁷

(62) [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))

(63) [CFocus LOS LIBROS]_i me dijeron *que*₁ tu madre (****que***₂) había puesto *t*_i encima de la mesa (y no los lapiceros).

³⁴ As noted by an anonymous reviewer, 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*₁ **a nadie**_i *que*₂ Juan no (los_i) invitó.

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

³⁵ An anonymous reviewer considers that (60a) is unacceptable while we consider that it is fine. It is possible that this sort of reintroduced phrases (i.e., a negative topic) is rarely used and some speakers consider it to be ungrammatical or very strange.

³⁶ Villa-García considers that long-distance movement is blocked by a COMP-trace effect (i.e., *que*₂-*t*) in the same way as English *that*-trace effect, cf. (i) with (61).

(i) a. * Who_i do you think that *t*_i won?

b. Who_i do you think *t*_i 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.

³⁷ The % judgement is ours (see §4.1 for more details). In Villa-García’s original example, (61b) is grammatical.

'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. * $\zeta_{[WhP \text{ Cuándo}]_i}$ me dijiste que_1 a Eva que_2 le iban a operar t_i ?

b. $\zeta_{[WhP \text{ Cuándo}]_i}$ me dijiste t_i que_1 a Eva que_2 le iban a operar?

'When did you tell me Eva was going to have surgery?' (*Spanish*, Villa-García, p.c.)

(65) a. * $[_{CFocus \text{ EN AGOSTO}]_i}$ me dijiste que_1 a Eva que_2 la iban a operar t_i (y no en setiembre).

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

b. ? $[_{CFocus \text{ EN AGOSTO}]_i}$ (y no en setiembre) me dijiste t_i que_1 a Eva que_2 la iban a operar.³⁸

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

c. En agosto me dijiste que_1 a Eva que_2 la iban a operar.

'In August you told me that Eva was going to have 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_2 can be never interpreted as the antecedent of an anaphoric element placed above que_2 —as in (66a)—, which the non-sandwiched CLLDs do allow, as in (66b):^{39,40}

(66) a. Me contaron que_1 su_{-ij} coche que_2 todo el mundo_i lo tiene que dejar aquí.

³⁸ 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.

³⁹ 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).

⁴⁰ Some informants noted that (66b) is only acceptable with a Contrastive Topic interpretation or List Interpretation (Benincà and Poletto, 2004:67–70), which is only possible if the CLLD remains in the embedded CP layer (Bianchi and 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_i coche, me contaron que todo el mundo_i lo tiene que dejar aquí.

'They told me that everybody_i has to leave {her/his}_i car here.' (*Spanish*)

b. ^{ok} Su_j coche, me contaron que todo el mundo_i lo tiene que dejar aquí.

'They told me that everybody_i has to leave {her/his}_j car here.' (*Spanish*)

‘They told me that everybody has to leave her/his car here.’ (*Spanish*, Villa-García, p.c.)

b. Me contaron *que*_i su_{ij} 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.)

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**_i (**que*) escuchó que habían hecho comentarios positivos _i.

Intended meaning: ‘She/He told me that she/he heard that they had made 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 and 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]_i que no sabía [cuánto le_i pagaban].

‘She/He said that he didn’t know how much they paid that employee.’ (*Spanish*)

b. Me dijo que [ese paquete]_i que no sabía [quién lo_i 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) [_{CP1} ... [_{CP2} *que* CLLD_i (*que*₂) ... [_{CP3} {*que*/WhP} ... e_i]]]

In (67) it seems that QRC of a CLLD interpreted in the most embedded clause can only appear in the CP₃ domain, but the examples in (68) show that it should appear in the CP₂ 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 appear in CP selected by a quotative verb.

This quotative/reportative asymmetry is evident in indirect interrogative clauses. Note the following contrasts in (70) and (71):

(70) a. * A tu hermano, María nos ha preguntado que dónde le habíamos comprado los pantalones.

b. A tu hermano, María nos ha preguntado dónde le habíamos comprado los pantalones.

‘As for your brother, María has asked where we had bought the trousers for him.’ (*Spanish*)

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

The examples in (70a) and (71a) are ungrammatical because long-distance movement is not possible from quotative complements. On the contrary, the examples in (70b) and (71b) show that reportative complements allow this kind of movement. Naively, we can consider that the interrogative *dónde* ‘where’ in (71a) is a true interrogative and is related to a feature which creates an intervention effect that blocks the long-distance movement of the interrogative *qué* ‘what’, but the example in (70a) cannot be accounted for with this analysis. Consequently, restrictions on long-distance movement from a quotative clause would be explained by another analysis. In the next section we discuss several pieces of evidence against an intervention account, and in section 5 we propose a phasal account for explain restrictions on long-distance movement.

4. Restrictions on long-distance movement

By comparing the properties of sandwiched and non-sandwiched CLLDs (see fn. 39), Villa-García’s (2012c) analysis on Spanish recomplementation proposes that the former are generated *in situ* (i.e., Spec,TopP), while the latter are 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 *que₂* is illicit. To explain these asymmetries, Villa-García argues that there are no lexical differences between both options for Top⁰ (i.e., \emptyset and *que₂*) because *que₂* is the default lexical item for Top⁰ and \emptyset is the result of deleting *que₂* in the Phonetic Form (PF), as a consequence of an island-violation repair (*Rescue by PF Deletion*) when a phrase moves across it. (72) shows a kind of analysis in which movement leads to a violation of locality principles:

- (72) a. * X ... [_{TopP} CLLD [_{Top'} *que₂* [...X...]]]
 b. X ... [_{TopP} CLLD [_{Top'} ~~*que₂*~~ [...X...]]] → delete *que₂* in PF

Notwithstanding the positive aspects of Villa-García’s analysis (see §5.1 for a discussion), 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, *que₂* 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 (73) illustrates that it is actually not:

- (73) {**En Lluís**_i / **Pel que fa a en Lluís**_i / **Francament**}, (**que*₂) tothom n'espera molt d'ell.
 '{Lluís / Regarding Lluís / Frankly}', everyone expects a lot from him.' (*Catalan*)

Given the impossibility of explaining all cases of quotative recomplementation by means of the Villa-García's Rescue-by-PF-Deletion proposal (cf. also fn. 36), 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 \emptyset and *que*₂, and whether this alternation does or does not block long-distance movement does not seem appropriate.

Regarding the first problem, \emptyset 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 in PF after transferring syntactic structures to the interfaces (Harley and 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*₂), *as for* topics (with or without *que*₂), and HTLDs do not allow long-distance movement and whether the embedded clause always has 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 islands⁴¹

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):

- (74) * ¿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)
- (75) ?? 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 (74) is controversial because in literature on Spanish there are some authors who consider that these constructions are

⁴¹ We are indebted to an anonymous reviewer for suggesting this issue.

grammatical.⁴² 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, Villa-García's examples in (61) show that the movement is grammatical and, as noted by an anonymous reviewer, the examples in (74) and (75) are perfect with minimal modifications:⁴³

(76) ¿A quién crees que este premio ya se lo han dado más veces?

'Who do you think that they have already given this prize more times to?' (*Spanish*)

(77) ¿Qui dius que d'aquest tema en parla extensament al seu llibre?

'Who do you say extensively talks about this topic in his/her book?' (*Catalan*)

We agree with reviewer's judgements for (76) and (77), but notice that the CLLDs in (74)–(75) and (76)–(77) have different interpretations: the former force a contrastive interpretation—see the comma intonation in (75)—which cannot be accepted with a long-distance *wh*-movement, and the latter can only be interpreted as Familiar/Given topics.

To explain these asymmetries, we follow Frascarelli's (2007) typology for topics. As she suggest, in the clausal left periphery there may be three different types of CLLDs—Familiar, Contrastive, and Aboutness-shift topics, see (78a)—, which occupy different places in the functional space of the CP layer related with their interpretation—see (78b):

(78) a. A(boutness-shift)-Topic > ... > C(contrastive)-Topic > ... > G(iven)-Topic.⁴⁴

b. [_{ForceP} [_{ShiftP} A-Topic [_{GP} [_{ContrP} C-Topic [_{FocP} [_{FamP} G-Topic [_{FinP} ...

These three types of topics may be characterized as follows (cf. Frascarelli, 2007; Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl, 2007; Bianchi and Frascarelli, 2010):

(79) a. An **Aboutness-Shift Topic** (characterized by the rising L*+H contour in languages like Italian and German) has the property of being newly introduced or reintroduced and of changing the sentence topic (cf. Givón, 1983).

b. A **Contrastive Topic** (marked by a H-pitch) induces alternatives in the discourse with no impact on the Focus value of the sentence and creates oppositional pairs with respect to other Topics. It can never appear together with a Contrastive Focus, which suggests that they compete for the same functional space. That

⁴² Although we agree with Villalba's (2000) and López's (2009) judgments of grammaticality, we found that there are Catalan speakers who accept examples like (75) without any problems.

⁴³ The anonymous reviewer is not convinced that there is (74)–(75) group variation in judgements. We have left aside this question because more research is needed and the topic is out of scope of this paper.

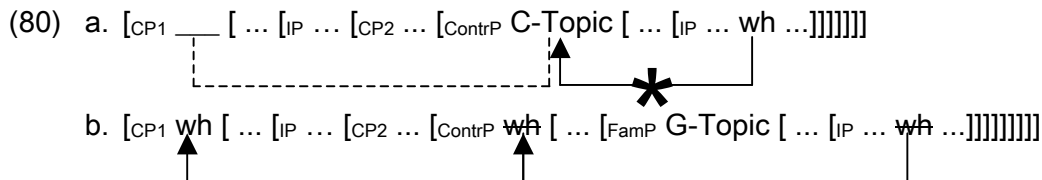
⁴⁴ In Frascarelli's (2007) paper, she uses the term "Familiar Topics" for her G-Topics in subsequent works (e.g., Bianchi and Frascarelli, 2010). Frascarelli (2011) distinguishes two subtypes: the *Aboutness G-Topic*, "for continuity with respect to the current sentence Topic," and the *Familiar G-Topic*, "to resume background information."

said, ContrP is the projection that encodes the [+contrast] feature and can host a topic or a focus in its specifier position.

- c. **Given Topics** (marked with a L*-tone) refer to given information in the discourse. They are anaphoric or discourse-linked constituents which are used for continuity with respect to the current sentence Topic (Aboutness G-Topic), or to resume background information (Familiar G-Topic). Finally, they can be performed as CLLD or CLRD.⁴⁵

This typology permits to explain why there are linguistic varieties that present topic islands and other ones that do not. There are two possible solutions, and we sketch them below.

The first possibility is that the long-distance *wh*-movement is blocked by the presence of a C-Topic in the embedded clause, which competes for the same 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 a CLLD superficially blocks *wh*-extraction to the matrix CP, this effect is due to the fact that the CLLD is always a Contrastive Topic, like in (80a). 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 Given Topics, like in (80b). In (80) we succinctly illustrate the effects of different topic types for *wh*-movement:



The second possibility is related to the scope interaction between the C-Topic and any Focus element. Contrary to the first solution, in which we assume that a *wh*-element and a C-Topic compete for the same functional space, numerous scholars have noted that C-Topics can appear in matrix *wh*-interrogative clauses (e.g., Tomioka, 2010 for Japanese):

- (81) ... Zyaa {Erika-WA/ERika-wa} doko-e itta-no?⁴⁶
 then {Erika-CTOP/Erika-TOP} where went-Q
 ‘... well then, where did Erika go?’ (*Japanese*, Tomioka, 2010:(11))

⁴⁵ 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 *v*P. 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.

⁴⁶ In Japanese Aboutness-shift Topics are marked with the *-wa* particle, Contrastive Topics are marked with the *-WA* particle, and Familiar Topics are scrambled from internal positions to a left-peripheral positions (e.g., see Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa, 2013).

b. # [CLLD/C-Top **Només un problema**] l'han resolt fins i tot els millors estudiants.

'Even the best students solved only one problem.' (*Catalan*)

(85) *fins i tot* 'even' > *només* 'only', *fins i tot* attaches to the object.

CONTEXT: *The exam was too difficult.*

a. # [C-Top **Només un estudiant**] ha resolt fins i tot el problema més fàcil.

b. [CLLD/C-Top **Fins i tot el problema més fàcil**] l'ha resolt només un estudiant.

'Only one student solved even the easiest problem.' (*Catalan*)

In the examples above, the phrase modified by 'even' is left dislocated and is interpreted as a C-Topic. As expected, long-distance movement from the embedded clause is not possible:

(86) a. # [Focus **Només un problema**]_i diuen que [C-Top fins i tot els millors estudiants] han resolt *t*_i.

'They say that even the best students solved only one problem.' (*Catalan*)

b. # [Focus **Només un alumne**]_i diuen que [C-Top fins i tot el problema més fàcil] l'ha resolt *t*_i.

'They say that only one student solved even the easiest problem.' (*Catalan*)

(87) a. # [WhP **Quin problema**]_i diuen que [C-Top fins i tot els millors estudiants] han resolt *t*_i?

'Which problem do they say even the best student solved?' (*Catalan*)

b. # [WhP **Quin alumne**]_i diuen que [C-Top fins i tot el problema més fàcil] l'ha resolt *t*_i?

'Which student do they say solved even the easiest problem?' (*Catalan*)

These data illustrates how the structure of regular C-Topics is, and permits explanation that regular C-Topics (with a covert focus operator) have the same structure.

To conclude, the data in (74)–(75) illustrate linguistic varieties that do not have G-Topics in preverbal position and only admit A- and C-Topics. In these varieties G-Topics only can be related to CLRD positions or other strategies. In contrast, linguistic varieties that admit G-Topics in preverbal position may violate topic islands because this effect is only related to C-Topics. However, the contrast between (74)–(75) and (76)–(77) illustrates that left-dislocated Given Topics are a possible option in varieties that do not accept sentence like (74) and (75) if there is sufficient (contextual) information—cf. *el premio* 'the prize' in (74) vs. *este premio* 'this prize' in (76) and *de Cuba* 'on Cuba' in (75) vs. *d'aquest tema* 'on this topic' in (77).

To sum up, a CLLD interpreted as Contrastive Topic is an intervener for *wh*-movement and creates topic island effects. We can conclude 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.

4.2 Evidence 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). However, according to Faure (2010), a sentence like (88) is highly unacceptable but “[i]t becomes fine with a quotational intonation, as in free indirect speech” (Faure, 2010:fn. 19).

(88) ?? 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:

(89) a. QUOTATIVE COMPLEMENT

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

‘Nicolau has (very) sincerely said to me that he is not satisfied.’ (Catalan)

In (89a) 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 (89b)—, 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 and Etxepare (2003) for Spanish; Yoon (2011) for Korean).

On the other hand, Giorgi (2010) argues that there is a semantic asymmetry between act-of-communication verbs and propositional-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*.

(90) 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 (91) and (92)—with a propositional-attitude verb in the matrix clause—are perfectly grammatical:⁴⁷

- (91) 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/>>)
- (92) 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*. Source: <<https://catalansreaccionem.wordpress.com/2008/12/12/%0Dorgasme-per-la-llengua-catalana-siiiiiiii/>>)
- b. [...] yo creo *que*₁ **francamente** *que*₂ esto fue un ejercicio y una demostración de buen gobierno [...]
 ‘[...] I think that, frankly, this was an exercise and a demonstration of good governance [...].’ (*Spanish*. Source: <<http://www.zetataalk.com/mexico/zeta224.htm>>)
- c. No, credo *che*₁ **francamente** *che*₂ sia solo un modo di tutelare delle lobby.⁴⁸
 ‘No, I frankly think that there is only one way to protect the lobbies.’ (*Italian*. Source: <<https://twitter.com/onclaudes/status/319395617153613824>>)

⁴⁷ An anonymous reviewer considers that, as with factive-emotive verbs (see §3.1), what is at play here is an assertive use of these *belief* predicates, because they are reporting on some agents’ words about their beliefs. In this sense, we understand her/his words on assertiveness of *belief* predicates as the procedure to achieve a quotative meaning.

⁴⁸ Notice that QRC is possible in Italian with an embedded speech-act adverb.

We deem that this type of embedded clause 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:

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

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

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

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

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

A possible information source for the speaker of (93) is a dialogue as shown in (94):

(94) CONTEXT: *A is the speaker of (93) 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.

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

A: En Miquel diu *que*_i **sincerament**, els seus pares no poden venir al casament.

B: Perdona. No t'escoltava.

a. * **Qui**_i diu en Miquel *que*_i **sincerament**, no pot *t*_i venir al casament?

b. **Qui**_i diu en Miquel *que*_i, 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 Evidence from *as for* topics⁴⁹

An *as for* topic is a topic phrase formed by a complex PP that is not θ -selected by the predicate; consider the following complex prepositions: e.g., Cat. *tocant a*, *amb referència a*,

⁴⁹ We are indebted to an anonymous reviewer for noting that *as for* topics and HTLDs have different properties and cannot be confused as is typical in the literature.

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 / in reference to / with respect to / about / on / regarding’. See the example in (96):

(96) **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:

(97) 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 (97g) is partially wrong. We consider that only embedded quotative clauses admit the presence of an *as for* topic. Synchronic and diachronic examples corroborate it:

(98) 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 [...]’ (*16th century, Spanish, Peru*)⁵⁰

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 work.’ (*20th century, Spanish, Spain*)⁵¹

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

‘Finally he said that concerning technology and music he has mixed views [...]’ (*21st century, Spanish, Mexico*)⁵²

⁵⁰ 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.

⁵¹ Source: *ABC*, 26/VI/1955, edición de la mañana, p. 45.

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

- (99) a. En Joan ens va dir *que*₁ [pel que fa al teu regal], (*que*₂) volies **un dels nostres cavalls**, #però no recordo quin.

‘Joan said to us that, regarding your gift, you wanted one of our horses, #but I don’t remember which one.’ (*Catalan*)

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

- b. [Pel que fa al teu regal], en Joan ens va dir *que*₁ volies **un dels nostres cavalls**, ^{OK}però no recordo quin.

‘Regarding your gift, Joan 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* reading in (99a) 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 (99b) 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, (99b) 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):

- (100) a. * **Què**_i ens va dir en Joan *que*₁ [pel que fa al teu regal], (*que*₂) volies *t*?

- b. [Pel que fa al teu regal], **què**_i ens va dir en Joan *que*₁ volies *t*?

‘About your gift, what did Joan say to us (that) you wanted?’ (*Catalan*)

In (100a) 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 (100b) there is no embedded *as for* topic and the complement is a reportative clause, which does allow long-distance movement.

4.4 Evidence 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 (101):

- (101) **La Maria**_i, ningú no vol parlar d’ella_i.

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

⁵² 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/>>.

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

(102) 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, and 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),⁵³
- e. cannot occur in embedded clauses (Cinque (1983); De Cat (2004) for French; Grohmann (2000:§4.1) for German; Krapova and 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)

Similar to what happens with speech-act adverbs and *as for* topics, the assertion in (102e) 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 and 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:⁵⁴

(103) a. En Joan diu *que*₁ [_{HTLD} la Maria]_i, *que*₂ ningú no vol parlar d'ella_i.

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

b. Pedro dice *que*₁ [_{HTLD} el baloncesto]_i, *que*₂ ese deporte_i le gusta.

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

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

(104) a. A la feina tothom diu *que*₁ [_{HTLD} la Maria]_i, *que*₂ algú vol parlar amb ella_i.

[$\forall > \exists \rightarrow$ OK *de dicto*; * $\exists > \forall \rightarrow$ **de re*]

⁵³ 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. [_{HTLD} Farina]_i, en_i vull un quilo. b. [_{CLLD} De farina]_i, en_i vull un quilo.

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

⁵⁴ It seems that embedded HTLDs require a mandatory second complementizer (González i Planas, 2011), but this issue has not been sufficiently studied (cf. Villa-García 2012b:ch. 5, 2012c:fn. 31). See §5.2.

b. [_{HTLD} la Maria]_i, a la feina tothom diu *que*₁ algú vol parlar amb ella_i.

[$\forall > \exists \rightarrow$ ^{OK} *de dicto*; $\exists > \forall \rightarrow$ ^{OK} *de re*]

‘Regarding Maria, at work everyone says that someone wants to talk to her.’

(*Catalan*)

The *de re* reading in (104a) 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 (104b) the absence of an embedded HTLD suggests that the two readings are possible.

Following our arguments, this interpretative asymmetry is consistent with the restrictions on long-distance movement shown by the examples in (105):

(105) a. * **Qui**_i diu en Joan *que*₁ [_{HTLD} la Maria], *que*₂ *t*_i no vol parlar d’ella?

b. [_{HTLD} La Maria], **qui**_i diu en Joan *que*₁ *t*_i no vol parlar d’ella?

‘Regarding Maria, who does Joan say wants to talk about her?’ (*Catalan*)

In (105a) long-distance movement is blocked by the presence of an embedded HTLD, which is only possible in quotative complements. On the contrary, in (105b) there is no embedded HTLD and the complement is a reportative clause, which does allow long-distance movement.

5. A syntactic analysis for QRC

5.1 Previous accounts

Following Rizzi’s (1997) split-CP hypothesis of (106), Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2007) studied QRC in relation to other particular uses of *que*.

(106) [ForceP [TopP* [FocP [TopP* [FinP [...]]]]]]

They propose a unitary account for the different types of *que* illustrated in (107) and (108). They identify two positions for the complementizer *que*: the first one, with a declarative value, in the head of ForceP (*que*₁), and the second one, in the head of FinP (*que*₂).

(107) Dijo *que*₁ a ese tío (*que*₂) no podía ni verlo.

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

(108) a. Preguntó *que*₁ quién había llegado a las tres de la mañana.

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

b. {*Que*₂ se calle Juan / Juan *que*₂ se calle}.

‘Let Juan keep quiet.’

c. Ojalá (*que*₂) llueva café.

‘May it rain coffee.’

d. ¡Qué rico (*que*₂) está!

‘How good this is!’

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

In parallel, Mascarenhas (2007) studied European Portuguese recomplementation in sentences like (107). This author adduces solid evidence that in this type of sentences *que*₂ cannot be the head Fin^0 , and it is placed above FocP , possibly in the head of 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 and Fernández Soriano (2009) also accept the impossibility that *que*₂ is the head of FinP in sentences like (107). But they do not determine where there is really *que*₂, and determine simply that recomplementation “is a reinforcement of the declarative status of the sentence” (Demonte and Fernández Soriano, 2009:46). For this reason these authors suggest that a plausible explanation would be the existence of a DoubledForceP between TopP and FocP , as proposed by Martín-González (2002):

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

All these proposals have better characterized QRC constructions but have failed to determine exactly where *que*₂ is placed. In fact, on three proposals that have been raised (i.e., *que*₂ as Fin^0 , Top^0 , or DoubledForce^0), only the one in which *que*₂ is not placed in 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 and 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*₂ for the same head? Moreover, regarding to DoubledForceP , we wonder what feature this category encodes, what differences there are between DoubledForceP and ForceP , or whether the duplication process is a more general computational resource and what motivates it.

Regarding the lexical choice between \emptyset and *que*₂, Villa-García’s analysis is the only convincing one (see §4). His analysis on Spanish recomplementation offers a number of arguments in favor of analyzing *que*₂ as the head of TopP . He argues that there are no lexical differences between both options for Top^0 (i.e., \emptyset and *que*₂): *que*₂ is the default lexical item for Top^0 and \emptyset 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.

His 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, it is interesting because Villa-García’s analysis may explain both derivations from interpretative properties, which is highly desirable in a cartographic approach. Nevertheless, it does not contribute to explain the differences between high topics and low topics described by Frascarelli’s (2007) hierarchy (see §4.1) and still cannot explain HTLDs, *as for* topics, and speech-act adverbs in embedded clauses (see §4).

5.2 Cartography of quotative recomplementation

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 better delimit 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 Fronted 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 serves to place preverbal adverbs that 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).

(110) ForceP > (A-TopP) > (IntP) > (ContrP)⁵⁵ > (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.

⁵⁵ Contr(astive)P is a non-recursive projection that can accommodate both a Contrastive Topic and a Contrastive Focus (Frascarelli, 2007).

From Cinque's proposal, Mata (2005) studies adverbs of *dictum* in Catalan and Spanish, and proposes that these adverbs occupy different functional projections arranged hierarchically in the split CP:⁵⁶

- (111) a. connective adverb (*conseqüentment*) > enunciative adverb (*breument*) > speech-act adverb (*francament*) > evaluative adverb⁵⁷ (*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.⁵⁸

(112) *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.
- 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*)

(113) HTLD > *as for* topic

- a. **La Maria_i, pel que fa als homes**, ella_i no ha tingut mai xicot.
- b. *? **Pel que fa als homes, la Maria_i**, ella_i no ha tingut mai xicot.
'As for men, Maria has had never a boyfriend.' (*Catalan*)

(114) 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.

⁵⁶ 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.

⁵⁷ Following González i Planas (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*)

⁵⁸ 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).

'Briefly, regarding the work, I don't know anything yet.' (*Catalan*)

(115) Enunciative adverb > HTLD

a. **En resum, la secretària nova**_i, ningú no parla amb ella_i.

b. * **La secretària nova**_i, **en resum**, ningú no parla amb ella_i.

'In summary, as for the new secretary, no one talks to her.' (*Catalan*)

(116) 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*)

As an anonymous reviewer notes,⁵⁹ conditional clauses may appear placed before HTLDs or *as for* topics, both in matrix clauses and in embedded clauses with QRC:⁶⁰

(117) Conditional clause > HTLD

a. **Si plou, la teva germana**, millor que no comptem amb ella.

'If it rains, as for your sister, it will be better that we do not count on her.'
(*Catalan*)

b. Diuen *que*₁ **si plou, *que*₂ la teva germana, *que*₂** millor que no comptem amb ella.

'They say that if it rains, as for your sister, it will be better that we do not count on her.'
(*Catalan*)

(118) Conditional clause > *as for* topic

a. **Si plou, pel que fa als bolets**, no necessàriament tindrem un bon any.

'If it rains, regarding mushrooms, we will not necessarily have a good year.'
(*Catalan*)

b. Diuen *que*₁ **si plou, *que*₂ pel que fa als bolets, *que*₂** no necessàriament tindrem un bon any.

'They say that if it rains, regarding mushrooms, we will not necessarily have a good year.'
(*Catalan*)

This feature is not strange because, as it is well known, the conditional clauses may appear in different internal positions of the clause. However, if we accept that connective and enunciative adverbs and HTLDs are orphans located outside of the clause—see below—, then this sort of conditional clause is also placed outside the clause.

⁵⁹ We are hugely grateful with the anonymous reviewer for giving us these data.

⁶⁰ This sort of conditional clauses is dominated by enunciative adverbs:

(i) **En resum, si plou**, pel que fa als bolets, no necessàriament tindrem un bon any.

'In short, if it rains, regarding mushrooms, we will not necessarily have a good year.' (*Catalan*)

precedence in a discourse must also reflect asymmetric c-command.” For example, the discourse fragment in (121a) has the representation in (121b), where H⁰ is a discourse head:

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

b. [_{HP} [_{CP} *John is no longer here*] [_{H'} H⁰ [_{CP} *He left at noon*]]]

(Cinque, 2008:118)

The structure in (121b) possibly also underlies HTLDs, because discourse fragments do not consist of just concatenations of CPs:

(122) a. La teva germana_i, sempre parlem amb ella_i.

b. [_{HP} [_{DP} *La teva germana*] [_{H'} H⁰ [_{CP} *sempre parlem amb ella*]]]

‘Your sister_i, we always talk to her_i.’

In embedded contexts, H⁰ spells out as *que*. See the following example:

(123) [_{CP} *Diu* [_{SubP} *que* [_{HP} [_{DP} *la teva germana*], [_{H'} [_H *que*] [_{CP} *sempre parla amb ella*]]]]]]]

‘She/He says that your sister_i, she/he always talks to her_i.’

If this suggestion is correct, the hierarchical order Connective adverb > Enunciative adverb > Conditional clause > HTLD should be determined by interface restrictions related to the discursive informativity. More research is needed to determine if HTLDs, some conditional clauses, 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 H⁰, see (124a); or quotative complement may be a discourse fragment formed by two or more elements (headed by H⁰), or a single embedded clause headed by a c⁰, see (124b).

(124) a. [_{CP} *Diu* [_{HP} *que* [_{CP} c⁰ [_{A-TopP} [_{PP} *amb la teva germana*], [_{A-Top'} *que* [_{FinP} *hi parla sempre*]]]]]]]

b. [_{CP} *Diu* [_{SubP} *que* [_{CP} c⁰ [_{A-TopP} [_{PP} *amb la teva germana*], [_{A-Top'} *que* [_{FinP} *hi parla sempre*]]]]]]]

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

If the orphan approach is correct, the cartography in (120) would be modified:

(125) [_{XP} *as for* topic [X⁰ [_{SpeechActP} AdvP [SpeechAct⁰ [_{A-TopP} {CLLD / Scene-setting topic / Conditional clause} [A-Top⁰ [_{CP} ...]]]]]]]]]]

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).⁶³

Villa-García uses the examples in (126) to demonstrate the existence of a Spec-Head agreement. On the one hand, the example (126a) shows that the ellipsis of *que*₂ 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 (126b) shows that jussive *que* does not allow the ellipsis of its complement, so that *que*_{jussive} must also be deleted.⁶⁴

(126) a. 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))

b. Nos ordenó [_{CP} *que*₁ [_{XP} **a tu padre**, [_{YP} [_{Y'} *que*_{jussive} [lo llamáramos]]]], y [_{CP} *que*₁ [_{XP} **a tu madre**, [_{YP} [_{Y'} {^{*}*que*_{jussive} / *que*_{jussive}} [~~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 and Fernández Soriano, 2009, and Gupton, 2010):

(127) Me dijeron *que*₁ a tu hermana, *que*₂ en ese momento, *que*₂ ese chollo de trabajo, *que*₂ 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*₂ is the head of a dedicated projection—e.g., FinP in Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2007) or DoubledForceP in Martín-González (2002), Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2009), and Gupton (2010). On the other hand, Rodríguez Ramalle (2003) and Villa-García (2012b, 2012c) propose that *que*₂ is the instantiation of Top⁰, and consider all sandwiched constructions as specifiers of TopP, in the sense of Rizzi (1997).

⁶³ See Villa-García (2012c) for technical details.

⁶⁴ Note that the example in (126a) allows the occurrence or not of *que*₂ 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*_{jussive} in (126b) 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*_{jussive} can occur in absolute initial position in matrix clauses without an overt specifier.

In 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*₂, but if they are not reintroduced (i.e., they are quoted), the head is \emptyset . This approach can explain sentences like (128), where *que*₂ iteration is not full.

- (128) a. Me dijeron *que*₁ a tu hermana, \emptyset en ese momento, \emptyset ese chollo de trabajo, *que*₂ no se lo querían ofrecer.
 b. Me dijeron *que*₁ a tu hermana, \emptyset en ese momento, *que*₂ ese chollo de trabajo, *que*₂ no se lo querían ofrecer.
 c. Me dijeron *que*₁ a tu hermana, *que*₂ en ese momento, \emptyset ese chollo de trabajo, *que*₂ 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).⁶⁵ In our version of her approach, silent topics are base-generated and deleted—see (129a)—, and overt topics move to the left periphery—see (129b):⁶⁶

(129) *CLLDs in matrix clauses*

- a. [_{TopP} \emptyset CLLD_i [_{Top'} Top⁰→ \emptyset [... [_{IP} ... *pro/a* ...]]]]
 b. [_{TopP} CLLD_i [_{Top'} Top⁰→ \emptyset [... [_{IP} ... \emptyset CLLD_i ...]]]]

In quotative clauses, reintroduced CLLDs are base-generated like silent topics but they are not deleted—(130a)—, and unmarked topics move to the left periphery like overt matrix topics—(130b):

(130) *CLLDs in embedded quotative clauses*

- a. ... [_{SubP} *que*₁ [_{CP} ... [_{TopP} CLLD_i [_{Top'} Top⁰→*que*₂ [... [_{IP} ... *pro/a* ...]]]]]]
 b. ... [_{SubP} *que*₁ [_{CP} ... [_{TopP} CLLD_i [_{Top'} Top⁰→ \emptyset [... [_{IP} ... \emptyset CLLD_i ...]]]]]]

Following our arguments, the head agrees with its specifier and can be materialized as *que*₂ or \emptyset . If we consider that reintroduced phrases can be supplemented by expressive content oriented to the reporter (see §3.2.1), we propose that the agreement relationship involves logophoric features or Λ -features (Sigurðsson, 2004) like ϕ -features for Subject-

⁶⁵ See Frascarelli (2007), Sigurðsson and Maling (2008), and Bianchi (2009) for further discussion. Note that we accept moved CLLD to Spec,A-TopP, *contra* Frascarelli’s (2007) proposal.

⁶⁶ 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).

Verb agreement in TP. At this point, we can conclude that que_2 is the morphological materialization of a [+reporter] Λ -feature and \emptyset is the morphological materialization of a [-reporter] feature.⁶⁷

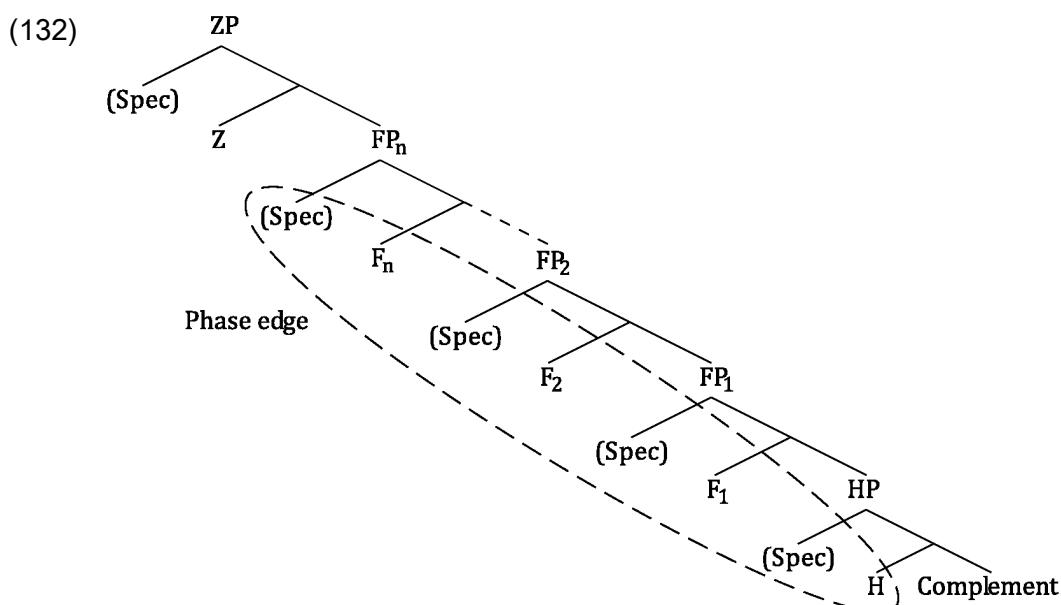
5.4 A sketch for a phase-theoretical analysis

The Phase Theory is based on the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), which is defined as follows:⁶⁸

(131) *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (Chomsky, 2001:14)

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

In (131), H and Z are phasal heads (C, v^* , or D) and the edge of H is its specifier(s).



Following the cartographic restriction of one specifier per phrase, (132) 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.

⁶⁷ Note that our approach explains that Top^0 spells out as \emptyset in (129). 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).

⁶⁸ 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.

- b. *Transfer the complement of the second phase* → $[_{cP} c^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que]] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]}]$
 $[_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*} v^*] [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que]] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]}] [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*} v^*] [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]$
- c. *The derivation is completed successfully.*

However, the presence of a phase head in the quotative embedded clauses means that the complement of cP is transferred when matrix v^* head is merged. This process blocks the movement of WhP outside the embedded cP – CP system. In (135) we show how the sentence derivation fails when the embedded clause is a quotative complement.

- (135) a. *Transfer the complement of the first phase* → $[_{cP} c^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que]] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]}] [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*} v^*] [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]$
- b. *Transfer the complement of the second phase* → $[_{v^*P} v^*] [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{cP} c^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que]] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]}] [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*} v^*] [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]$
- c. $[_{CP} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]}] [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*} v^*] [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{cP} c^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que]] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]}] [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*} v^*] [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]$
- d. *The derivation crashes.*

The derivation in (135) 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:

- (136) a. *Transfer the complement of the first phase* → $[_{cP} c^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que]] [_{C'} C^0_{[iDecl]}] [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*} v^*] [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]$
- b. *Transfer the complement of the second phase* → $[_{v^*P} v^*] [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{cP} c^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que]] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]}] [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*} v^*] [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]$
- c. *Transfer the complement of the third phase* → $[_{cP} c^0 [_{CP} C^0_{[iDecl]}] [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*} v^*] [_{VP} V^0 [_{SubP} Sub^0 [_{cP} c^0 [_{CP} [_{WhP} que]] [_{C'} C^0_{[uWh, EPP]}] [_{TP} T^0 [_{v^*P} DP [_{v^*} v^*] [_{VP} V^0 [_{WhP} que]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]$
- 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 (134)–(136) 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 ν^*P and the embedded cP , e.g. the discourse head H^0 .⁷² But if c^0 (i.e., the head that merges in the top of the Speech Act layer) is a phase head, then H^0 cannot be because the sequence of two phasal heads is not possible (i.e., $*[{}_{\text{Phase1P}} \text{Ph1}^0 [{}_{\text{Phase2P}} \text{Ph2}^0 [\dots]]]$)—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 can display *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. In 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 cP layer is the speech-act tense. At this point, when matrix ν^0 merges, the complement of the embedded 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).^{73,74}

⁷² 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.”

⁷³ The tense of the quotative clause can be adapted (i.e., *consecutio temporum* or sequence of tense) or cannot (i.e., double access reading). It is a most general feature of embedded clauses in Spanish and Catalan, which is not restricted to quotative clauses. In this sense, reportative clauses admit double access reading—see (ib):

(i) ORIGINAL SOURCE: *As for our daughter, the teacher said to us: “She doesn’t want to go to Barcelona.”*

a. La professora ens va dir *que*₁ la nena, *que*₂ no {vol/volia} anar a Barcelona.

‘The teacher said to us that our daughter {does/did} not want to go to Barcelona.’ (*Catalan*)

b. *On* ens va dir la professora que la nena no {vol/volia} anar *t*?

‘Where did the teacher say to us that our daughter {does/did} not want to go to?’ (*Catalan*)

⁷⁴ 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 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 paper.

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_2 . 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 clauses. Specifically we have compared quotative clauses and reportative clauses, and we have determined that the former 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 or expressive content oriented to the reporter.
2. Morphosyntactically, the \emptyset/que_2 alternation in the high area of the quotative \mathcal{CP} layer is the result of a Specifier-Head agreement relationship, which involves a $[\pm\text{reporter}] \wedge$ -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_2 , 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 previous speech, and consequently, it has a *de dicto* reading.
4. HTLDs, *as for* topics, speech-act adverbs, and QRC constructions are only 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 in 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., \mathcal{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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