

ASPECTS OF QUOTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN IBERIAN SPANISH

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1. Introduction¹

In colloquial speech, main clauses in Iberian Spanish can be headed by an overt complementizer (Spitzer 1942; Porroche Ballesteros 1995; García 1996; Etxepare 1998), which does not seem to be linked to any other term:

- (1) a. Oye, el Barça ha ganado la Champions
Listen, the Barcelona has won the Champions League
b. Oye, que el Barça ha ganado la Champions
listen that the Barça has won the Champions League
- (2) a. Si viene mi madre, el tabaco es tuyo
if comes my mother the tobacco is yours
b. Si viene mi madre, que el tabaco es tuyo
if comes my mother that the tobacco is yours

The apparent optionality of the complementizer masks an important semantic difference between the (a) and (b) cases. Consider (1): as a typical declarative sentence, (4a) constitutes an assertion, whose propositional content is that a given soccer team (Barcelona) has won the Champions League. When compared with (1a), (1b) contributes the additional meaning that someone else (who is not the speaker) said (1a), such that the (speaker's) utterance of (1b) constitutes a report of what has been said. (1b) is thus reported speech (Coulmas 1986), unlike (1a), which is an ordinary assertion. The two sentences would be produced in quite different settings: (1a) could be uttered for instance by a person who has been to the finals match, with the purpose of spreading the news. In such a setting, (1b) would be definitely odd. (1b), on the other hand, would be appropriate if I were listening to the radio and

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heard the news that Real Madrid won the Champions League. Then I could chose to report on the news by employing the comp-initial sentence. In that case, I would be implying that I got the news from someone else's saying, as was the case.

Now consider (2). Imagine the following situation: two teenagers are secretly smoking in a room. Suddenly, fearing that his mother could show up and find out, one tells the other (2a): "si viene mi madre, el tabaco es tuyo". By saying that, the speaker asks the other person to act as if the tobacco was his or hers, if mother comes. By saying (2b), the speaker asks something more than just pretense: he or she asks the other person to *say* that the tobacco is his or hers. If the roommate doesn't *say* so, he or she will not be complying with the speaker's request. In both cases, the semantic contribution of the clause initial complementizer is that of adding (or referring to) an explicit speech event.

Taken together, (1)-(2) clearly show that the phenomenon of main clause complementizers in Spanish must be kept separate from clause typing phenomena, where the clause initial Comp marks a sentence as declarative (cf. Gascon, Rohlf's 1977; Campos 1992): the presence of the sentence initial complementizer doesn't *make* a sentence declarative (the sentences in (1) and (2) are all declarative). Despite the apparent "hearsay" interpretation of (1b), it should also be distinguished from evidentiality phenomena, where the assertoric force of the sentence is modified by particles that indicate the source of the information (Givon 1982; Chafe and Nichols 1986; Rooryck 2001a,b; Dendale and Tasmowski 2001): hearsay particles would be decidedly odd in contexts such as (2b), where the assertoric force is not in question, but rather an explicit saying is requested from the hearer. Finally, sentence initial complementizers in Spanish do not have an emphatic function (cf. Arabic *?inna*, Shlonsky 2000). No particular emphatic function is associated to the complementizer *que* in these cases. The presence of the root complementizer in those contexts seems to be related to the presence of a speech eventuality in the logical form of the sentence, which is otherwise absent.

This paper is a preliminary analysis of root complementizer constructions in Spanish. I will defend the view that root complementizer constructions in Spanish involve a speech eventuality which is mapped in the grammatical representation of the sentence. I will suggest that the speech eventuality is represented as an indefinite description contributing an existential quantification over a variable which ranges over utterances, adapting a proposal of Lahiri's (2002) for "quotative" dependents in Spanish. This indefinite description can enter a more complex structure, consisting of the indefinite description plus a light verb. This complex verbal structure is analogous to what in other languages are called "quotative verbs" (see Lord 1993; Frajzingier 1996; Güldemann 2001; Amberber 1996, among many others): it introduces a report and frames constituents which may show properties of direct or semi-direct discourse. The paper is divided as follows: it starts by describing some basic properties of quotative constructions in Spanish (section 2), showing that the underlying speech eventuality has a grammatical representation and that it seems to possess properties of speech act operators, in the sense of Krifka (2001). Section 3 analyses the internal event configuration of the quotative VP. Section 4 discusses how the dependent clause relates to the quotative structure. Section 5 discusses the temporal anchoring of the quotative construction. It is shown that features other than Tense, such as vocatives or locative demonstratives, containing deictic indices, help anchor

the quotative construction in the discourse. In this regard, quotative constructions in Spanish seem to behave as verbal structures in languages which have no grammatical Tense (see Ritter and Wiltschko 2005). Section 6 provides a technical solution to the absence of overt Tense and Person morphology in reduced quotatives.

2. Basic properties of root complementizer constructions

2.1. Adverbial modification and pronominal anaphora

A standard test to determine which kind of underlying abstract object we are dealing with in a given construction is to find out under which semantic context anaphoric reference to that abstract object is possible (Asher 1993; Ormazabal 1995). Consider in this regard the following contrasts:

- (3) a. Si viene mi madre, el tabaco es tuyo, #y rápidamente/educadamente
if comes my mother the tobacco is yours and rapidly/politely
'#If my mother comes, the tobacco is yours, and politely/quickly'
- b. Si viene mi madre, que el tabaco es tuyo, y rápidamente/educadamente
if comes my mother that the tobacco is yours, and rapidly/politely
'If my mother comes, you say that the tobacco is yours, and you say it politely/quickly'

Manner adverbs such as *rápidamente* "rapidly" or *educadamente* "politely" modify events. Whereas in (3a) the sentence cannot be followed by a conjunct that contains an event-modifying adverb, in (3b) that same continuation is possible, under the interpretation that the modified event corresponds to the speech event associated to the complementizer. That is, what must be rapid or polite is the saying that the tobacco is yours. The adverbial modifiers can also precede the complementizer, directly modifying the speech event:

- (4) a. #Si viene mi madre, educadamente/rápidamente el tabaco es tuyo
if comes my mother politely/quickly the tobacco is yours
- b. Si viene mi madre, educadamente/rápidamente que el tabaco es tuyo
if comes my mother politely/quickly that the tobacco is yours

A similar test can be devised with pronominal anaphora:

- (5) a. Si vienen a buscarlo, [está fuera]_i
if they-come to look-after-cl, he-is away
#Pro_i apenas te costará.
barely cl take-an-effort-fut
'(#)If they come after him, he is away. It will barely take you any effort.'
- b. Si vienen a buscarlo, [(tú) que está fuera]_i
if they-come to look-after-cl, (you) that he-is dead long ago
Pro_i apenas te costará.
barely cl take-an-effort-fut
'If they come after him, (you) say_i he is away. It_i will barely take you any effort.'

The null pronoun is the subject of the verb *costar* “take you an effort/cost”. This is a typical insertion context for event denoting anaphors (Petersen 1982). As shown by the oddness of (5a), the pretense main clause can not provide the right type of antecedent. In (5b), the pronoun can refer to the speech event associated to the complementizer, and the sentence is good.

2.2. Lexical content, thematic structure and complement selection

Events typically have participants, and clause initial complementizers in Spanish support the presence of nominal expressions which play a thematic role in the speech event. Consider for instance the following cases:

- (6) a. Tu padre que cuándo vas a ir a visitarle
 your father that when you-are-going to visit him
 “Your father is saying: ‘when are you going to visit me?’”
 b. Si viene mi madre, tú a ella que el tabaco es tuyo
 if comes my mother, you to her that the tobacco is yours
 ‘If my mother comes, you say to her that the tobacco is yours’

In (6a) the nominal expression preceding the complementizer is interpreted as the agent in the speech event. In (6b) we have an agent and a goal. The presence of thematic material in (6) indicates the presence of a tacit verbal structure. This structure must then involve a lexical feature, one on which a verbal scaffolding can be constructed. This lexical feature, I will call [linguistic communication], a term I adopt from Ross’s performative hypothesis (1970). The necessity of invoking such an abstract feature (instead of a more elaborate one, akin to ordinary verbs of saying) is illustrated by cases such as (7), where the understood eventuality is not, strictly speaking, speech-like:

- (7) Etxepare, 100 veces en la pizarra y con buena letra
 Etxepare, 100 times in the blackboard and with good writing
 que no tirarás nada a tus compañeros
 that neg you-will-throw anything to your classmates
 ‘Etxepare write 100 times and with good handwriting that you will not throw anything to your classmates’

This lexical feature, present also in (7), only selects speech act complements, unlike ordinary verbs of saying. Consider in this regard a typical verb of saying such as *decir* “say/tell”:

- (8) a. Pedro ha dicho quién viene
 Pedro has said who is-coming
 ‘Pedro said who is coming’
 b. Pedro ha dicho que quién viene
 Pedro has said that who is-coming
 ‘Pedro said: who is coming?’

As other verbs of speech, such as *preguntar* “ask” and *responder* “answer”, the verb *decir* “say” can take complements of different semantic dimensionality: it can take sets

of propositions, such as interrogative or exclamative *wh*-complements, or it can take utterances or speech act complements (Plann 1982; Brucart 1992; Suñer 1993, Lahiri 2002). In the latter case, the verb introduces a dependent which is interpreted with its own illocutionary force. Note that only dependents of the (8b) type can be understood as questions (as requests for information). This difference is keyed to the presence of the complementizer *que*. Unlike ordinary verbs of saying, the tacit verb of quotative constructions can only select dependents with their own illocutionary force: sentences analogous to (8a) are impossible in the quotative construction:

- (9) a. *Juan, tu padre Ø quién viene
 Juan, your father who comes
 ‘(Intended meaning) Juan, your father is saying who is coming’
 b. Juan, tu padre Ø que quién viene
 Juan, your father that who is-coming
 ‘Juan, your father is saying: who is coming?’

2.3. Quantification over speech eventualities

A straightforward way of checking whether some particular construction involves an underlying eventuality or not is to see whether the purported eventuality can be quantified over (Parsons 1990). Consider the following sentences:

- (10) a. Tú siempre que qué bonito es aquello, ya estoy harto
 You always that how beautiful is that already I-am sick-of-it
 ‘You are always saying: “how beautiful that is” I am sick of it’
 b. Tú siempre que cuándo viene
 You always that when he-is-coming
 ‘You are always saying “when is he coming?”’

In (10a,b) a universal quantifier precedes the complementizer and takes scope over the speech event. The result, as shown in the translations, is a universal quantification over speech events. Not all quantifiers are acceptable in root complementizer structures, though. Negative adverbs, for instance, are out.²

² This constitutes evidence that the tacit speech event is not simply an elided verb *say* or some other verb of communication. Well known elision processes, such as gapping, are insensitive to the nature of the surrounding quantifiers:

- (i) a. Siempre me dices que haga esto pero nunca [me dices] que haga lo otro
 always cl tell that do-subj. this but never cl tell that do-subj. D other
 ‘You always tell me that I should do this, but never [] that I should do that’
 b. Siempre me dices cuándo llegan pero rara vez [me dices] cuántos vienen
 always cl tell when they-arrive but seldom cl tell how-many come
 ‘You always tell me when they are coming but seldom how many they are’

The same happens with quantificational subjects:

- (ii) Todo dios dice cuándo va a venir, pero nadie [e] cuánto tiempo se va a quedar
 everyone says when he/she-is coming, but noone how long he/she-is-going to stay

- (11) a. *Tu nunca que cuántos vienen
 You never that how many come
 ‘You never say “how many are coming?”’
 b. *Tu nunca que qué bonito es
 You never that how beautiful is
 ‘There’s never a saying of the sort “How beautiful it is”’
- (12) a. *Tu rara vez que cuántos vienen
 You seldom that how-many come
 ‘You seldom say “how many are coming?”’
 b. *Tu rara vez que qué bonito es esto
 You seldom that how beautiful is this
 ‘You rarely tell me “how beautiful this is”’

This restriction on negative quantifiers extends to the subject of the quotatives:

- (13) a. Aquí todo dios que cuándo les van a subir el sueldo
 here everyone that when cl they-are-going to raise the salary
 ‘Everyone is saying: “When are they going to give us a raise?”’
 b. *Aquí nadie que cuándo les van a subir el sueldo
 Here noone that when cl they-are-going to raise the salary
 c. *Aquí poca gente que cuándo les van a subir el sueldo
 here few people that when cl they-are-going to raise the salary

Those restrictions on the kind of quantifier that can precede the tacit speech event are reminiscent of the intervention effects that have been observed on split and *in situ* operator constructions (Beck 1996; Honcoop 1998; Pesetsky 2000; Mathieu 2002, among others). Consider for instance the contrast in (14a,b), (apud Beck 1996):

- (14) a. *Was glaubt niemand wer da war?
 What thinks no one who there was
 ‘Who does no one think was there?’
 b. Was glaubt jeder wen Karl gesehen hat?
 What thinks everyone who Karl saw?
 ‘Who does everyone think Karl saw?’

Whereas a split construction cannot have an intervening downward entailing quantifier, it accepts a universal quantifier. This would suggest that we treat the tacit, underlying speech eventuality as a quotative operator, undergoing LF movement across the quantifier (as proposed for split or *in situ* operator constructions in Pesetsky 2000, or Mathieu 2002). This quotative operator would then be similar to the one proposed for quote structures by Collins (1997). There are good reasons however not to proceed that way. When analysed closely, the set of quantifiers which induce intervention effects and those which can not precede quotative *que* are not the same: universal quantifiers are interveners in so called split constructions, but they can precede quotative *que*. The intervention effect of universal quantifiers in split constructions, unlike that of negative quantifiers, is only apparent at the interpretive level (Beck 1996): they disallow the wide scope reading of the *in situ* operator. Take again the contrast between (15a) and (15b):

- (15) a. *Was glaubt niemand wer da war?
 What thinks noone who there was
 ‘Who does no one think was there?’
 b. Was glaubt jeder wen Karl gesehen hat?
 What thinks everyone who Karl saw?
 ‘Who does everyone think Karl saw?’

Beck (1996: 20) credits Pafel (1993) for observing that although grammatical, (15b) lacks a reading in which the *in situ* operator is interpreted as having wide scope. It must be obligatorily interpreted under the scope of the universal quantifier, eliciting a pair-list answer. Given that *in situ* operators obligatorily undergo LF movement to an A' position, Beck is forced to argue that universal quantifiers such as *every*—unlike negative quantifiers such as *no one*—undergo QR to a position that c-commands the LF landing site of the *in situ* operator. This analysis extends to other quantifiers such as *meisten* ‘most’, whose intervention effect is also only apparent at the interpretive level. Other possible quantificational expressions such as indefinites or *only-DP* nominals avoid the intervention effect by adopting a ‘referential’ interpretation, instead of a quantificational one. Beck’s conclusion concerning universal quantifiers is reinforced by Honcoop’s (1998) analysis of intervention effects as an instance of more general restrictions on the construction of discourse referents. The blocking effect of universal quantifiers is then immediately evident in cross-sentential anaphora:

- (16) Todo dios_i tiene un coche. #pro_i es demasiado caro
 everyone has a car it-is too expensive

Unlike the complex array of scope interaction facts that we observe in split and *in situ* operator constructions, the quantificational restrictions in the domain of quotative constructions are disarmingly simple: only the universal quantifier can quantify over the underlying speech event. Other quantifiers which can get around intervention configurations are simply impossible:

- (17) a. *Aquí la mayoría que el Madrid ha ganado la Champions
 here most that the Madrid has won the Champions
 b. *Aquí sólo Juan que el Madrid ha ganado la Champions
 here only Juan that the Madrid has won the Champions
 c. *Aquí algunos que el Madrid ha ganado la Champions
 here some that the Madrid has won the Champions
 d. *Aquí alguien que el Madrid ha ganado la Champions
 here someone that the Madrid has won the Champions
 e. *Aquí muchos que el Madrid ha ganado la Champions
 here many that the Madrid has won the Champions

The special behavior of universal quantifiers vis-à-vis the rest of the quantifiers sets apart the quantificational restrictions on quotative constructions from those observed in any known typology of intervention effects.

If the quantificational restrictions operating in quotative constructions can not be traced back to those noted in standard intervention configurations, what alternative do we have? Krifka (2001, 2003) has recently argued that the illocutionary force

of the sentence is semantically represented by a speech act operator and that speech acts can be quantified over under restrictions which turn out to be identical to the ones operating on quotative constructions. Krifka shows that certain logical operations, such as disjunction or negation, are hardly applicable to speech acts. This is so because according to him the (denotation) domain of speech acts does not constitute a boolean algebra, but at most a semi-lattice. In that domain, certain operations such as conjunction are well defined, whereas disjunction and negation are not. Consider for instance the following assertion (from Krifka 2001: 16):

- (18) Al made the pasta and Bill made the salad
 a. I assert: Al made the pasta and Bill made the salad
 b. I assert: Al made the pasta, and I assert: Bill made the salad

The conjunction operator, as shown in (18a,b), can be interpreted either as conjoining the asserted propositions or as conjoining two acts of assertion. Unlike conjunction, disjunction is only interpreted at the propositional level:

- (19) Al made the pasta or Bill made the salad
 a. I assert: Al made the pasta or Bill made the salad
 b. #I assert: Al made the pasta, or I assert: Bill made the salad

Disjunction at the speech act level amounts to canceling the illocutionary force of the sentence. Speech acts also lack negation as a general operation (20). As Krifka notes, it is not clear what the complement of a speech act could possibly be.

- (20) a. #I don't assert: Al made the pasta
 b. #Noone asserts: Al made the pasta

Quotative constructions, like speech act operators, reject disjunction and accept conjunction:

- (21) Tu padre que se está haciendo tarde y/#o
 your father that cl is getting late and/or
 tu madre que no os espera más
 your mother that neg cl wait-for anymore
 'Your father is saying: "it is getting late" and/??or your mother: "I am not waiting for you anymore"'

Krifka extends his theory of speech acts to the analysis of pair-list readings in question-quantifier interactions. As shown by Chierchia (1993), only (non-negative) universal quantifiers give rise to pair-list interpretations. The pair-list reading induced by universal quantifiers directly follows from a semantic representation where the universal quantifier takes scope over a question act:

- (22) Which dish did every boy make?
 ↔ For every boy x: Which dish did x make?
 ↔ Which dish did Al make, which dish did Bill make, and which dish did Carl make?

If speech act operators participate in scope interactions, then the fact that only universal quantifiers give rise to pair list answers follows from the fact that only uni-

versal quantifiers can take scope over speech acts. And this is so because only universal quantifiers are generalized conjunctions. As Keenan and Faltz (1985) show, the universal quantifier is logically equivalent to a series of conjunctions, unlike the rest of the quantifier types:

- (23) a. Every boy came \leftrightarrow Al came **and** Bill came **and** Carl came...
 b. Some/A boy came \leftrightarrow Al came **or** Bill came **or** Carl came
 c. No boy came \leftrightarrow **Not**: Al came **or** Bill came **or** Carl came
 d. Most boys came \leftrightarrow Al came and Bill came, **or** Al came and Carl came,
or Bill came and Carl came

Quantifiers other than the universal one would amount to logical disjunction of the terms of the partition induced by the question. But the terms of the partition are, as shown, speech acts, and speech acts do not allow disjunction. If this is the right approach to the quantificational and boolean restrictions on the occurrence of quotative constructions, we are led to conclude that the tacit verb of quotative constructions, which supports thematic material and only selects speech act dependents, is akin to Krifka's speech act operators.

2.4. Aspectual auxiliaries

Krifka's insight into the nature of speech act quantification opens the way to account for another intriguing asymmetry in quotative constructions. Quotative constructions can have overt aspectual auxiliaries (frequentative *andar* "walk", locative-be *estar* "to be in a location", and *empezar* "start"), in which case they are inflected with Tense and Agreement features:

- (24) a. Tus padres siempre andan que cuándo iremos a visitarles
 your parents always they-walk that when we-will-go to visit them
 'Your parents are always saying: "when are you coming to visit us?"'
 b. Tu hijo siempre estaba que cuándo podría montarse en el tiovivo
 your son always was that when he-could get in the carroussel
 'Your son was always saying: when will I get in the carroussel?'
 c. El niño empezó en el coche que cuánto faltaba para llegar
 the child started in the car that how long it-would-take to get there
 'The child started saying in the car: "when are we going to get there?"'
 d. Tu padre sigue que cuándo vamos a ir a visitarles
 your father keeps that when we will-go to visit them
 'Your father keeps saying: "when are you coming to visit us?"'

Not all aspectual verbs are allowed in this context, though:

- (25) a. *Tus padres suelen que cuándo vamos a ir a visitarles
 your parents use-to that when we-will go to visit them
 b. *Tus padres terminaron/acabaron que porqué no íbamos a visitarles
 your parents ended up/finished that why neg we-went to visit them
 c. ??El crío va en el coche que cuándo vamos a llegar
 the child goes in the car that when we-will get there

- d. *El niño continúa que cuándo vamos a llegar
the child continues that when we-are-going to et there

The asymmetry suggests, first, that the cases in (24) are not instances of a general process of coercion (one which would raise the type of a *que*-clause —a propositional entity— into a higher semantic type —that of speech acts— under the context [Asp __]). Then, they also show that whatever distinguishes between the possible and the impossible cases does not have to do with the form of an eventual elided constituent: all cases would be good with an overt verb of saying, and in both (24) and (25) we seem to elide either gerunds or infinitives. Rather, the relevant feature seems to be the special habitual/iterative character of the good cases. Both *andar* “walk”, by itself a frequentative aspectual auxiliary, and *estar* “be” and *empezar* “start”, when they are combined with a gerund or an infinitive, support iterative readings. *Terminar* “end up” and *acabar* “finish” don’t. *Ir* “go” and *continuar* “continue” do not license iterative readings of the event they embed: consider in this regard the contrast between *andar/empezar* on the one hand (26) and *ir/continuar* on the other (27).

- (26) a. El niño anda corriendo continuamente
the child walks running continuously
‘The child stops and starts running continuously’
b. El niño empieza a correr continuamente
The boy starts to run continuously
‘The boy stops and starts running once and again’
- (27) a. El niño va corriendo continuamente
the boy goes running continuously
‘Once and again, the boy goes running’
b. El niño continúa corriendo todo el rato
the boy continues running all the time
‘The boy continues running all the time’

Whereas in (26), the aspectual auxiliaries allow (and in the case of *empezar*, force) a discontinuous reading of the event denoted by the lexical verb, this is not the case for *ir* “go” and *continuar* “continue”, where the adverb only modifies the process of running. We could consider iterative aspect as an instance of generalized conjunction at the event level. That is, instead of partitioning a domain of individuals, the aspectual auxiliaries would partition the event domain. Since in this case, partition involves speech eventualities, the same restriction applies.

Ir and *continuar* become better with quotative dependents when they are conjugated with imperfective aspect:

- (28) a. Los niños iban en el coche que cuándo íbamos a llegar
the children went-imp in the car that when we-were-going to get there
‘The children went saying: “when are we going to get there?”’
b. ?Los niños continuaban que cuándo íbamos a llegar
the children continued that when we-were-going to get there
‘The children continued saying: “when are we going to get there?”’

If we take imperfective aspect to be a quasi-universal quantifier (Lenci and Bertinetto 2000) then the contrast between the imperfective cases and the cases in (25) can be put on a par with the previous quantificational restrictions: imperfective aspect, a quasi-universal quantifier, is a generalized conjunction. The account must then be extended to inherently habitual aspectual auxiliaries such as *andar* ‘walk’ and to aspectual periphrases *estar+gerund* and *empezar a* ‘start to’, which license frequentative readings. Although at the present stage this hypothesis remains highly speculative, and further elaboration will be required to properly assess it, the parallel behavior of quantifiers and aspectual auxiliaries vis-à-vis the tacit speech eventuality points towards a common explanation.

2.5. Summary

The speech event contributed by quotative constructions combines aspects of speech act operators, in the sense of Krifka (2001), and of ordinary event denoting expressions such as verbs. The speech event contributed by quotative constructions is akin to speech act operators in that: (i) only selects for speech act dependents (2.1); and (ii) obeys quantificational restrictions typical of speech act operators (2.2). I have also shown how the semantic analysis proposed for the quantificational restrictions can naturally extend to restrictions involving aspectual periphrases (section 2.4). Quotative constructions such as (2a, b), on the other hand, are akin to ordinary verbal constructions in that: (i) they take arguments and modifiers (2.1, 2.2, and next section); and (ii) they do not represent the ongoing speech event, but are always reporting constructions. The verbal structure identified in quotative constructions is reminiscent of performative verbs, in the sense of Ross (1970), in that it combines lexical content and features of illocutionary force. It is not fully performative in a very important regard, however: it does not represent the speaker as he/she utters the sentence. For that reason, it escapes the unwelcome consequences of the performative hypothesis (for those consequences, see Boer and Lycan 1980; Levinson 1983; Etxepare 1998, and references therein).³

3. The syntactic structure of verbal quotatives

3.1. Clause structure

Like full quotative constructions headed by an aspectual verb (see section 2.4), auxiliary-less quotative constructions may have overt subjects, indirect objects and

³ Simplifying: the performative hypothesis holds that the logical form of a sentence like (ia) is (informally) (ib). (ib) contains a performative expression which contributes the illocutionary force of the sentence:

- (i) a. The earth is flat b. (I (ASSERT (the earth is flat)))

The problem with this hypothesis is that if I assert (ia), then the sentence becomes automatically true, by virtue of the logical form in (ib) and the fact that I did assert that the earth is flat. In other words, under a truth-functional approach to meaning, all simple sentences become true when asserted by the speaker. The problem extends to other illocutionary forces too, under that approach.

objects (the clausal dependents (but see section 3.2)), and they admit manner, aspect and agent oriented adverbial modifiers:

- (29) a. Tú rápidamente que el tabaco es tuyo
 you rapidly that the tobacco is yours
 'You say quickly that the tobacco is yours'
 b. Aquí todo dios constantemente que se trabaja demasiado
 here everyone constantly that cl works too much
 'Here everyone is saying constantly that people work too much'
 c. Aquí todo dios de motu propio
 here everyone voluntarily
 que quiere trabajar más, es lo nunca visto!
 that he-wants to work more, is the never seen
 'Here everyone voluntarily that he/she wants to work more, it is un-
 heard-of!'

The adverbial evidence suggests that the tacit verbal structure projects a complex VP. Assuming recent work on the internal syntactic structure of complex events (Harley 1995; Kratzer 1996; Travis 2000; Borer 2005 among many others), the tacit VP would be composed of a light verb *v* and a sister VP:

- (30) ..._[AspP] Asp⁰ [_{vP} DP v⁰ [_{VP} V⁰...CP]]]

For the moment being (we will come back to the internal structure of the *vP* in section 3.2.), we can take *V* to be the locus of the lexical feature [linguistic communication], *v* the locus of agentivity. Indirect objects would occupy the specifier of VP (Larson 1988; Baker 1996).

If we follow Cinque (1999) in the idea that adverbs are (inner) specifiers of functional projections (or alternatively, that different subsets of them are associated to given functional domains (Ernst 2002; Tenny 2000)), we are led to propose further functional structure above the VP. Verbal quotatives admit temporal modifiers:

- (31) a. Tu padre ayer que no quería venir
 your father yesterday that neg he-wanted to-come
 'Your father was saying yesterday that he didn't want to come'
 b. Juan, tu padre hoy que no quiere venir
 Juan, your father today that neg he-wants to-come
 'Juan: your father is saying today that he doesn't want to come'
 c. Ya verás, tu padre mañana que no quiere venir
 you'll see, your father tomorrow that neg he-wants to-come
 'You will see, your father will be saying tomorrow that he does not want to come'

In the three cases, the temporal adverb is understood as modifying the underlying speech eventuality. We amend accordingly the structure in (31) to (32) (see section 4 for a revision):

- (32) [_{TP} T⁰ [_{AspP} Asp⁰ [_{vP} DP v⁰ [_{VP} DP V⁰ [CP]]]]]

It turns out that modifiers of a higher type, such as modal (root or epistemic) or factive adverbs, can not modify the quotative clause:

- (33) a. (Tu padre) *sorprendentemente/*supuestamente/*probablemente/*quizá
 Your father surprisingly/allegedly/probably/perhaps
 (tu padre) que cuándo venís
 everyone that when you-are coming
 ‘Your father surprisingly/allegedly/probably is saying: When are you coming?’

Truth-functional operators are also excluded from quotative constructions:

- (34) a. (*Sí) tu padre (*sí) que cuándo viene
 yes your father yes that when he-is-coming
 ‘Your father does say/says indeed: “when is he coming?”’
 b. (*No) tu padre (*no) que cuándo viene
 neg your father neg that when he-is.coming
 ‘Your father does nor say: “when is he coming?”’

Auxiliary-less quotative constructions therefore, seem to have a reduced clausal structure. They have Tense (phonologically realized with overt aspectual auxiliaries, hidden with temporal and aspectual adverbs), but offer no room for higher syntactic projections belonging to a CP domain (in the sense of Rizzi 1997; also Cinque 1999). The latter is confirmed by the fact that Case-marked topics (35a), question words (35b) and contrastive foci (35c), which must move into the CP-domain (see Torrego 1984, for wh-words; Uriagereka 1995; Laka 1990; Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria 2005; Campos and Zampini 1991, for contrastive foci; Cinque 1977 for Case-marked topics) are out in the quotative clause:

- (35) a. *A Juan, tu padre que están esperando
 to Juan your father that they-are waiting
 ‘To John, your father is saying that they are waiting’
 b. *Quién [] que viene? c. *PEDRO [] que viene
 Who that comes Pedro that comes
 ‘Who says he is coming?’ ‘PEDRO is saying that he is coming’

The ban extends to yes/no questions and exclamatory sentences, when they target the whole quotative construction:

- (36) a. *Tu padre [e] que viene? (sí o no?)
 Your father that he-is-coming (yes or no)
 ‘Is your father saying that he is coming?’
 b. *¡Tu padre [e] que viene!
 Your father that he-is-coming
 ‘Your father says that he is coming!’

Quotative constructions in Spanish thus seem to come in two types: a full one, showing an overt auxiliary; and a minimal one, deprived of any overt morphosyntactic material beyond the event participant. The alternance between the full and the simpler quotative constructions, when approached with a comparative eye, immediately recalls a well known phenomenon in languages which have quotative construc-

tions. Omission of the verbal structure is a characteristic phenomenon and a much discussed issue in those languages (see Güldemann 2001 for an assessment). Consider as an illustration the following simple minimal pair from Mupun (Frajzyngier 1996: 125):

- (37) a. Wu sat ne n-nas mo b. Wu ne n-nas mo
 3M say COMP 1SG-beat 3PL 3M COMP 1SG-beat 3PL
 ‘He said that I beat them’ ‘(lit.) He that I beat them’

It is tempting to treat the Spanish simple quotative structures as cases where part of the verbal structure apparent in the fuller cases is not present. I come back to this issue in section 4.

3.2. Event structure and the quotative verb

In a study concerned with the lexico-conceptual structure of quotative verbs, Amberber (1996) argues that in Amharic, there is strong evidence showing that the quotative verb is intransitive (see also Munro 1982 and De Roeck 1994, for verbs of saying generally). For Amberber, the lexico-conceptual structure of the basic quotative verb *al* ‘say’ is represented as follows:⁴

- (38) [_{Event} GO ([_{Thing}]_A, [_{INNER MANNER}]_A, [_{Path}]_{<A>})]]

According to Amberber, the inner manner corresponds to the manner component of manner of speech verbs (Zwicky 1971) such as *shout*, *mumble*, or *shriek*. This manner component is filled in lexically in those verbs, but syntactically by the quote itself, in more basic verbs of saying like (quotative) *say*. The lexico-conceptual structure of quotative *say* as formulated in (38) could be transparently rendered by the colloquial English quotative construction *go like* (reported by Macaulay 2001) where the manner modifier is overtly marked by the preposition *like*.⁵

- (39) He went like [_{Quotation}]

That verbs of saying and thinking in Spanish can be intransitive becomes visible in pairs such as the following:

- (40) a. Así dijo (él)/Lo dijo b. Así preguntó (él)/Lo preguntó
 thus he-said/Cl he-said thus he-asked/cl he-asked
 ‘He said thus/He said it’ ‘He asked thus/He asked it’
 c. Así respondió (él)/*Lo respondió
 thus he answered/cl he-answered
 ‘He answered thus/He answered it’

⁴ In Amharic, *al* is actually a light predicate which is used to create complex predicates (Amberber 1996b; Appleyard 2001). The light predicate attaches to different lexical bases, among which ideophones (non-derived affixes expressing either a sound or some other manner dimension), in a configuration that Amberber takes to be parallel to quotative constructions.

⁵ For the different uses of *like* including its use as a preposition, see D’Arcy (2005) and references therein. The expression *go like* is one among others framing quotations (cf. *be like*).

- d. Así gritó (él)/?Lo gritó e. Así piensa él/Lo piensa
 thus he-screamed/cl he screamed thus he-thinks/cl he-thinks
 'He screamed thus/??He screamed it' 'He thinks thus/he thinks it'

All verbs of speech can make anaphoric reference to their understood dependent through the manner demonstrative *así*.⁶ *Lo* is also available, but not always (cf. Examples (c) and (d)).⁷ *Lo* and *así* on the other hand, do not make reference to identical elements: *así* anaphorically refers to speech act dependents; whereas *lo* does not seem to be fit for that function.

⁶ It is often cited that we can also ask about the content of a verb of speech by *how*, rather than by *what*:

- (i) a. Cómo has dicho? b. Qué has dicho?
 How have-you said What have-you said?
 'How did you say?' 'What did you say?'

This possibility extends to other verbs of speech:

- (ii) a. Tú cómo preguntaste? b. Cómo respondiste?
 You how asked? How you-answered
 'How did you frame your question?' 'How did you answer?'

Verbs of communication which can frame a quotative dependent but which do not strictly involve speech, are less good with *how*:

- (iii) a. ??Cómo pensaste? b. ??Cómo has escrito?
 How you-thought How you-have written
 'How did you write?'

So the distribution of *así* and of *how* is not identical. Another case where a manner wh-pronoun seems to introduce dependents of verbs of speech is reportive *como* "how":

- (iv) Pedro contó/dijo como de pequeño iban a bañarse al río
 Pedro told how when a child they-went to swim in the river
 'Juan told us) how when he was a child, they went to swim in the river'

Reportive *como* is also good with verbs of thinking, when the dependent is introduced by a preposition:

- (v) Juan pensó *(en) cómo iban a bañarse al río de pequeños
 Juan thought in how they-went to swim-infinitive to the river when children
 'Juan thought of how they used to go swimming to the river'

Manner of speech verbs, however, are not good with reportive *como*:

- (vi) *Juan respondió/gritó como no quería ir al río
 Juan answered/shouted how neg he-wanted go-infinitive to the river
 'Juan answered/shouted how he didn't want to go to the river'

I will leave aside the possible commonalities and differences between anaphoric *así* "thus" and wh-pronoun *cómo* "how". I add, in this regard, that manner demonstratives are a very common source for the grammatical category of complementizer (see for instance Heine and Kuteva 2002: 273-274).

⁷ *Lo* is impossible precisely in those cases where the verb of speech seems to only select for speech act dependents. Plann (1982) suggested that the verbs that select a double complementizer/quotative dependent are the same which can introduce quotations. Interestingly, quotations can not be introduced by clitic *lo*:

- (i) Juan (??lo) dijo: "cuándo venís?"
 Juan cl said: "when are you coming?"

- (41) a. Así dijo él, que cuándo íbamos a reunirnos
 thus he-said he, that when we-would meet
 ‘He said thus, (namely) when we would gather together’
 b. ??Lo dijo él, que cuándo íbamos a reunirnos
 cl he-said he that when we would meet
 ‘He said it, namely when we would gather together’
- (42) a. Que cuándo íbamos a reunirnos, así dijo él
 that when we-would gather, so he said
 ‘When we would finally gather. Thus he said’
 b. ?Que cuándo íbamos a reunirnos, lo dijo él
 that when we-would gather, cl he-said he
 ‘When we would finally gather, he said it’

The choice between *así* and *lo* does not only reflect the nature of the dependent: it is also associated to different aspectual structures. Verbs of saying can denote an aspectually complex eventuality, projecting both a process and a resultant state (in the sense of Pustejovsky 1991; Tenny 1994, 2000; Levin and Rappaport 1998; Borer 2005 and many others). The resultant state, which delimits the complex event, can be explicitly measured by prepositional phrases headed by *hasta* ‘till’ and locative *en* ‘in’:

- (43) a. Juan dijo **hasta la saciedad** que no le gustaba esa solución
 Juan said till exhaustion that neg cl he liked that solution
 ‘Juan said to exhaustion⁸ that he didn’t like that solution’
 b. Juan dijo **en (muy) pocas palabras** que no le gustaba esa solución
 Juan said in very few words that neg cl he-liked that solution
 ‘Juan said in very few words that he didn’t like that solution’
 c. Juan dijo **en parte** que no le gustaba esa solución
 Juan said in part that neg cl like that solution
 ‘Juan said in part that he didn’t like that solution’

PPs like *hasta la saciedad*, *en pocas palabras* and *en parte* are incompatible with a durative adverbial phrase such as *durante horas* ‘for hours’:

- (44) Juan dijo en pocas palabras/en parte que no le gustaba (*durante horas)
 Juan said in few words/in part that neg cl he-liked for hours

⁸ “Exhaustion” here is interpreted not as the subject’s exhaustion (he became exhausted by repeating his discontent), but as the exhaustion of the saying event: no further event of expressing his disagreement can be performed. Unlike other *hasta*-PPs, *hasta la saciedad* here can not be topicalized:

- (i) *Hasta la saciedad, Juan dijo que...
 Till exhaustion, Juan said that...

This should be related to the similar contrast in English:

- (ii) a. He will bore them to death
 b. *To death, he will bore them

Verbs of saying also license restitutive *again*, which according to Tenny (2000) modifies a resultant state. Restitutive *again*, unlike non restitutive *again*, can be informally paraphrased by “two times”. The difference between the two readings of *again* naturally arises with an indefinite object:

- (45) a. Otra vez, Juan dijo algo b. Juan dijo algo otra vez
 again, Juan said something Juan said something again

Whereas (45b) can mean that Juan said one same thing twice; (50a) only means that Juan spoke again.

The possibility of measuring or modifying a resultant state is not indifferent to the *así/lo* alternation: only the presence of a D-clitic *lo* licenses a resultant state that can be measured. Bare *así* complements don't:

- (46) a. (*Así) dijo (*así) hasta la saciedad, que...
 (thus) he-said (thus) to exhaustion, that...
 b. (??Así) dijo (??así) en pocas palabras, que...
 (thus) he-said (thus) in few words, that...
 c. (*Así) escribió otra vez, que...
 (thus) he-wrote again, que...
- (47) a. Lo dijo hasta la saciedad c. Lo dijo otra vez
 cl he-said to exhaustion cl he-said again
 b. Lo dijo en pocas palabras
 cl he-said in few words

If quotative dependents, which are anaphorically referred to by manner demonstratives, are not regular objects but manner dependents, we expect measuring the saying event to be impossible in quotative constructions. The prediction is borne out:

- (48) a. Tu padre dijo hasta la saciedad quién era esa persona
 your father said to exhaustion who was that person
 b. Tu padre dijo (??hasta la saciedad) que quién era esa persona
 your father said to the exhaustion that who was that person
 ‘Your father said to exhaustion: “who is that person?”’
- (49) a. Tu padre dijo en parte/en muy pocas palabras quiénes iban a venir
 your father said in part/in very few words who were coming
 ‘Your father said in part/in very few words who were going to come’
 b. Tu padre dijo (*en parte/en muy pocas palabras) que quienes iban a venir
 ‘your father said in part/in very few words: “who are coming?”’

We can summarize our findings as follows: verbs of speech can denote aspectually complex or simplex events. Complex events contain a resultant state, and have propositional dependents which can only be referred to by a determiner clitic. Simplex events are bare processes, and have quotative dependents which can only be referred to through *así* “thus”, a manner demonstrative.

If the tacit verb of speech is a quotative verb that frames quotative dependents, we expect it to behave as a simplex verb of saying. That this is so is shown by the sharp ungrammaticality of those cases where we try to delimit the speech eventuality:

- (50) a. Ayer tu padre (*en parte) que no pensaba asistir
 yesterday your father in part that neg think attend
 ‘(lit) Yesterday your father that he was not thinking of attending’
 b. Ayer tu padre (*hasta la saciedad) que se aburría
 yesterday your father to exhaustion that cl be-bored
 ‘(lit) Yesterday your father to exhaustion that he was bored’
 c. Ayer tu padre (*en muy pocas palabras) que estaba decepcionado
 yesterday your father in very few words that he-was upset
 ‘(lit) Yesterday your father in very few words that he was upset’

Overt modification of the tacit speech eventuality is otherwise possible. Modifiers of process subevents are perfectly admissible:

- (51) a. Ya verás, tu padre mañana a voz en grito que no quiere ir
 you’ll see, your father tomorrow shouting that neg wants to-go
 ‘(lit) You’ll see, your father tomorrow in a shouting manner that he does not want to go’
 b. (Handing you the phone:)
 Tu padre en vasco/medio afónico que vayamos
 your father in Basque/half-voiceless that we should-go-there
 ‘Your father says in Basque/half-voiceless that we should go there’

The tacit speech eventuality in Spanish quotative constructions is therefore a bare process verb, with no inner resultant state, and with a manner component that is occupied by the quotative dependent. As Amberber (1996) suggests for Amharic quotatives, the quotative verb comes very close to an unergative verb of communication such as *hablar* “speak/talk”. Unergative verbs do not, by themselves, license resultant states (Hale and Keyser 1993; Levin and Rappaport 1998; Tenny 2000; Ritter and Rosen 1998, among many others), do not support measures of the type mentioned,⁹ and use a manner anaphor to refer to their dependent:

- (52) a. *Juan habló en parte c. Juan (*lo) habló así
 Juan spoke in part Juan cl spoke thus
 b. *Juan habló en pocas palabras
 Juan spoke in few words

⁹ Unlike with *decir* “say” or the tacit quotative verb, *hasta la saciedad* can combine with *hablar* “speak”:

- (i) Juan habló hasta la saciedad
 Juan spoke to exhaustion

However, unlike with *decir*, the PP-modifier here is compatible with durative adverbs:

- (ii) Juan habló hasta la saciedad durante horas

This suggests that, despite appearances, the PP does not delimit the event in this case. It should be taken as modifying the process of speaking. In this sense, it just an intensifier, as *a lot* in English “he talked a lot (for hours)”.

4. The quotative dependent

4.1. Manner CP-s

At first glance, the quotative dependent does not appear in the appropriate form to be anaphorically referred to by a manner demonstrative in Spanish: it is not a prepositional, participial, gerundive or adverbial phrase. The unexpected manner reading associated to the clausal dependents, however, is not peculiar to quotative constructions: manner readings of CPs in Spanish are otherwise well-attested in modifying functions (see Alvarez 1999; Demonte and Masullo 1999):

- (53) a. Juan hablaba [que no callaba]
 Juan spoke that neg shut-up-past
 'Juan spoke in such a way as he wouldn't shut up'
 b. Juan llegó a la meta [que no se tenía en pie]
 Juan arrived to the winning-line that neg cl stand up
 'Juan arrived to the winning post in such a way that he would not stand up by himself'
 c. Juan canta [que da gusto]
 Juan sings that it-gives pleasure
 'Juan sings in a very pleasurable way'

The manner-CPs can be taken to modify different parts of the events involved: with unaccusatives, they can modify a resultant state (54); with unergatives, they must modify the process part (55a,b):

- (54) a. Juan llegó a la meta que tuvo que entrar en el botiquín
 Juan arrived to the line that he-had to come inside the first-help box
 'Juan arrived in such a state that he had to come to the first-help box'
 (55) a. *Juan habló que perdió la voz
 Juan spoke that he lost his voice
 'Juan spoke in such a way that he lost his voice'
 b. Juan habló que no calló
 Juan spoke that neg he-shut-up
 'Juan spoke in such a way that he would not shut up'

Since quotative verbs are unergative verbs, sentences corresponding to structures like (55b) should be possible, and they are:

- (56) Tu padre otra vez que no calla
 Your father once again that neg shuts-up
 '(Intended meaning) Your father is talking once again in such a way that he will not shut up'

In (56) the CP-dependent does not express what the subject (your father) says, but how he does it, modifying the process subevent in the speech eventuality.

Another typical occurrence context for CP-clauses is as attributive predicates (Demonte and Masullo 1999):

- (57) a. Tu padre está que no puede más
 your father is that neg he-can more
 'Your father is in such a state that he can't do more'
 b. Tu padre anda que no puede más
 your father walks that neg they-can more
 'Your father is usually in such state that he can't do more'

In this case, the dependents can embed features of (semi-)direct speech:

- (58) Tu padre está/anda que cuándo venís
 your father is/walks that when you-are-coming
 'Your father is saying: "when are you coming?"'

But (58) looks identical to our quotative constructions. It is then natural to ask whether the structure in (58), involving an attributive CP-predicate, and the quotative constructions are the same structure, and whether the relation between the CP and the rest of the clause is identical in both cases. There are reasons to think that it is not, and that both cases, despite their obvious similarities, are not exactly the same structure. As I will show however, there is much to learn from (57) regarding the relation between the CP and the verbal structure in quotative constructions.

4.2. Manner CP-s and quotative dependents

Alvarez (1999), summarizing the traditional descriptive work on the subject, concludes that the structures in (58) are consecutive modifiers from which an antecedent term of degree has been omitted:

- (59) Tu padre está (tan mal/tan cansado) que no puede más
 your father is so bad/so tired that neg he-can more
 'Your father is so ill/tired that he can't do more'

Under this view, *que* is a term of relation, a linker between a degree expression and a proposition. *Que* can also relate a noun and a proposition in a complex degree expression. These are the so-called "consecutive-relatives":

- (60) Me hicieron un recibimiento que para ti lo quisieras
 cl they-did a welcome that for you it you-would-like
 'They made me such a welcome that you would have wanted it for yourself'

Consecutive-relatives form a syntactic constituent, as shown by constituency tests:

- (61) a. [Un recibimiento que para ti lo quisieras], me hicieron
 a welcome that for you it you-would-like, cl they-did
 'They did to me a welcome that you would like it for you'
 b. [lo que me hicieron] fue [un recibimiento que para ti lo quisieras]
 cl that cl they-did was a welcome that for you cl you-would-like
 'What they did to me was a welcome that you would have wanted it for yourself'

I will adopt the traditional view of consecutive predicates as containing a silent degree operator (62a). In the case of consecutive-relatives, the degree operator overtly modifies a noun (62b):

- (62) a. [_{CP} Degree Op_i que [[Clause] t_i]]
 b. [_{CP} [_{DegreeP} Op Degree⁰ [_{DP} un recibimiento]]_i que [[Clause] t_i]]

(62a,b) are null operator constructions, of the sort we find in relative clauses, with the only difference that the operator is not an argument but a predicate. Underlying consecutive constructions there is a predication relation between a clause and a degree, one that tells us that a given proposition (that your father can't do more, in 59), should be interpreted as a degree. This is the classical configuration of complex noun phrase constructions as analyzed by Stowell (1981). Now, the structures in (62) pose an immediate syntactic problem for *que*-clauses as attributive predicates, (as noted by Demonte and Masullo 1999): there is substantial evidence that CP-clauses in Spanish are nominal structures (see recently Picallo 2002). But nominal attributive predicates with *estar/andar* are impossible in Spanish:

- (63) *Tu padre está/anda un loco
 your father is/usually-is a fool

The only way a noun phrase can contribute to an attributive predication is with the support of a preposition:

- (64) Tu padre está/anda como un loco
 Your father is/walks like a fool
 'Your father lately is like crazy'

I will propose that predicational relations like (57) are mediated by a null preposition.

4.3. Evidence for a null aspectual preposition

Let me start with a few observations in this regard. The first observation is related to a special restriction applying to bare consecutive clauses: they are aspectually bound. In the case of unergative predicates, they are bound to modify the process subevent. This is not a general property of fully fledged consecutive clauses, which can modify several types of entities. Consider for instance the following contrast:

- (65) a. *Tu padre habló que fue inoportuno
 your father talked that it-was inappropriate
 'Your father talked in such a way that it was inappropriate'
 b. Tu padre habló tanto que fue inoportuno
 your father talked so much that it-was inappropriate
 'Your father talked so much that it was inappropriate'

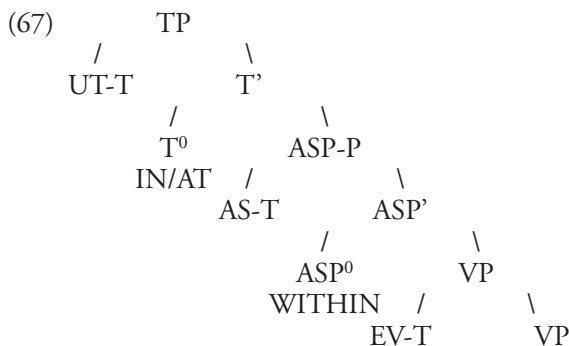
With an overt degree predicate, the consecutive clause can modify the proposition: it is the fact of talking so much which makes it inappropriate. Nothing like that is possible with bare CP-clauses. Clausal attributive predicates therefore seem to

be bound to a subset of the possible modifying possibilities allotted to consecutive clauses. The modifying ability of CP-clauses is strictly linked to an aspectual configuration.

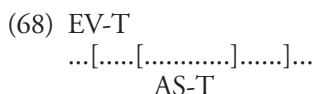
It is very common for aspectual relations to be expressed by topological or spatial notions, and those are typically conveyed (though not only) by adpositions. Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria (2000, 2002, 2004) develop an analysis of aspectual and temporal relations in which tenses and aspects are spatiotemporal predicates (also Stowell 1996; Zagona 2003). Those predicates establish topological relations —of precedence, inclusion and subsequence— between two arguments that denote time intervals. The main ingredients of Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria's topological approach to temporal-aspectual systems are two: a set of given temporal intervals; and a set of relations between them. The temporal intervals are drawn from Klein's system (1994): the Utterance Time (UT-T), the Time of the Assertion (AS-T) (the portion of time about which an assertion is made) and the Event Time (EV-T). Tenses and aspects order those intervals by means of a limited set of relations. Tense orders the temporal intervals denoted by the UT-T and the AS-T, whereas aspect orders the temporal intervals denoted by AS-T and EV-T. As an illustration of how their system works, consider their analysis of the present progressive in English (66):

(66) John is reading *Invisible Man*

The temporal syntax of the present progressive in English consists of the following predicative structure:



The progressive is a spatiotemporal predicate with a meaning akin to *within*. It establishes an inclusion relation between its two arguments: it orders the Assertion Time (the temporal portion of the event time which constitutes the object of assertion) inside the Event Time (the total reading time). It thus focalises a subinterval of the Event Time, as shown in the schema below:



The progressive focalises a phase in the internal temporal structure of the eventuality. The interval so captured, does not include the borders of the eventuality (its

inception and end) and so directly yields the unbound interpretation of the progressive. Finally (67) describes a present eventuality because the utterance time is *in* (not *after* or *before*) the assertion time (the time interval *about* which an assertion is made).

The intervals which are ordered by means of aspectual and temporal heads are semantically structured as the figure and the ground of the relation (Talmy 1983). The specifier of the aspectual or temporal head is mapped as the figure of the topological relation, while the complement of that head is mapped as the ground. Hale (1986) argues that spatiotemporal relations can be uniformly defined in terms of an opposition: the coincidence between the figure and the ground is either central, or non central. A predicate which expresses central coincidence specifies that the situation, the path, the positioning of the figure (F) centrally coincides with the ground (G). A predicate of non-central coincidence specifies that the localisation, path or positioning of F does not centrally coincide with G. The later predicates divide in (at least) two different types: the [-central; +centripete] predicates place the figure before the ground, or indicates that the path F follows goes towards G. The [-central;+centrifuge] predicates indicate that the localisation of F is after G, or that the path followed by F departs or comes from G. Adpositions are the typologically privileged means to express those topological notions, so it is not surprising to find them once and again across languages in the aspectual/temporal realm (see a.o. Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins 1994).

CP-modifiers are strictly aspect-bound. From an aspectual point of view, they could be represented as one of the terms in a binary relation: the one established between the main process event and the event denoted by the modifying clause. In a sentence like (69) the event represented by (not) shutting up takes up the same space occupied by the process event of talking:

- (69) Tu padre habló que no calló
 your father talked that neg he-shut up
 ‘Your father talked in such a way that he would not shut up’

The two eventualities thus seem to be related by a predicate with the properties of central coincidence. Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria (2005) note that prepositions of central coincidence, as the unmarked case in the system, tend to be phonologically unrealized. I conclude that the relevant preposition underlying the relation between the main event and the modifying-clause is an aspectual predicate, realized as a null, central coincidence, preposition. A sentence like (69) therefore, will be syntactically represented as (70), with AST-T representing the assertion time. The *que*-clause, headed by a silent preposition, would modify the assertion time of the talking event:

- (70) ..._[AspP] _[NP] AST-T _[PP] P_{central} _[CP] [Degree P] *que* _[SC] CP (DegreeP)]]] Asp⁰ _[VP] DO¹ [talk]]]

The structure should informally read as: “DO talk in the degree (p), p a proposition”. In (70) I follow Hale and Keyser’s traditional analysis (1993) of the lexical structure of unergative verbs like *talk*. In the case of attributive predicates of aspectual verbs as in (71a), the relevant structure would be (71b):

- (71) a. Tu padre está que no puede más
 your father is that neg he-can more
 ‘Your father is in such a state that he can’t do more’
 b. ..._{[VP} BE [_{PP} *tu padre* P_{central} [_{CP} [Degree P] *que* [_{SC} CP (DegreeP)]]]]]]

With the subject generated in the Spec of the aspectual projection (see Hale and Keyser 2005). BE is spelled out as *estar* ‘to be in a location’ when it selects [+central coincidence] preposition (for the aspectual properties of the *ser/estar* distinction in Spanish, see Schmitt 1996).

The structures in (70-71) immediately account for an important property of bare CP-modifiers: their invariable clause-final position, which follows from being a complement of the silent preposition, which is either the modifier of a low aspectual projection (70), or an attributive predicate (71). They also provide us with structural means to account for another intriguing syntactic property of consecutive clauses: they cannot be conjoined:

- (72) Tu padre habla que no calla (*y que aburre a los demás)
 your father talks that neg shuts-up and that he-bores to the rest
 ‘Your father talks in such a way that he will not shut up and that he bores the rest of the people’

If the merging of the null P with CP is automatically followed by conflation (copying of the phonetic matrix of the selected head, Hale and Keyser 2002), and conflation requires a head-head relation, then we can explain why degree-clauses here can not be conjoined. The coordination of the degree clause under a boolean projection breaks up the head-government configuration between the null preposition and *que* required for conflation, and the null preposition can not be phonologically supported:

- (73)
- | | | |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| | PP | |
| / | | \ |
| P | | BP |
| ∅ | / | \ |
| | CP ₁ | B' |
| | Que... | / |
| | | B |
| | | y |
| | | \ |
| | | CP ₂ |
| | | Que... |

4.4. The quotative dependents

The option of inserting a null aspectual preposition in Spanish also provides a solution for the way in which quotative dependents relate to the verbal structure. Full quotatives would be represented as in (74), with P a silent aspectual preposition with the value [+central coincidence] and BE an auxiliary:

- (74) a. Tu padre está que cuándo vamos
 your father is that when we-are-going
 ‘Your father is saying: “when are you coming?”’
 b. ..._{[VP} BE [_{PP} *tu padre* P_{central} [_{CP} que cuándo vamos]]]

That this option is not purely speculative is shown by the existence of parallel quotative constructions which do present an overt central coincidence preposition:

- (75) a. Tu siempre con que es demasiado tarde para comer
 you always with that it-is too late for lunch
 ‘You always with this story that it is too late for lunch’
 b. Tu siempre con que cuándo vamos
 you always with that when we are going
 ‘You always with this question of when we are going’
 c. Tu siempre con que qué sano es hacer footing
 you always with that how healthy is to do jogging
 ‘You always with this exclamation that how healthy is to go for a jog’
 d. Tú siempre con que no vaya allí
 you always with that neg I-go-subj there
 ‘You always with this order that I should not go there’

Like our simple quotative constructions, *con* necessarily requires a saying as part of the interpretation of its clausal dependent. In order for the utterance of (75a) to be faithful to the facts, the subject to which the utterance makes reference must say (and not just believe or think), that it is too late for lunch. *Con* is impossible with manner modifiers not expressing the content of a speech event:

- (76) Juan hablaba (*con) que no callaba
 Juan spoke with that neg he-shut-up
 ‘Juan spoke in such a way that he would not shut up’

And it shows the same quantificational restrictions as simple quotatives:

- (77) *Tu nunca/rara vez/alguna vez con que cuando voy
 you never/rarely/sometime with that when I-am-going
 ‘You are always with this saying: “when are you going?”’

Unlike simple quotatives, though, this construction cannot represent a punctual speech event: it conveys the idea that the speech eventuality repeats itself very often. Consider the following situation, in which a punctual reading is enforced:

- (78) (Context: Jon has just called suggesting going out for a drink. A holds up the phone and asks his/her partner)
 A: Jon (*con) que si queremos salir a tomar algo. Qué le digo?
 Jon with that if we want to go out for a drink. What should I say
 ‘Jon is asking whether we feel like going out for a drink. What should I say?’

Note that in the absence of an overt aspectual auxiliary, *con que* dependents require modification by a quantifier like *siempre* ‘always’, expressing frequency or habituality. It thus seems that the overt preposition differs from the null one in its aspectual properties: it expresses habitual or frequentative aspect. Let me therefore conclude that the aspectual preposition has two possible realizations: a null one, expressing central coincidence (and operative also in manner-CP constructions), and an overt one, expressing central coincidence and habituality/frequency.

The reduced quotative would be represented as in (79), with an abstract intransitive verb that supports event modification (see section 2):

- (79) a. Tu padre que cuándo vienes
 b. ..._{[VP} Tu padre GO _{[PP} P_{central} _{[CP} que cuándo vamos]]]

(79) adopts Travis' idea that the relevant aspectual head is actually below the higher lexical verb (Travis' inner aspect head, 2006).

4.5. The saying event

We were not explicit about how a saying is expressed in the relevant configurations. This saying must be somehow represented in the syntactic structure of quotative constructions, since it is semantically required by them. As in the case of degree-clauses, I will take *que* to introduce a predication relation: one that relates a CP with, possibly, features of main clauses (semi-direct speech), and a nominal predicate. This nominal predicate is an indefinite description, whose only lexical feature is [linguistic communication], and which is interpreted as an existential quantification over utterances (Lahiri 2002). As in the case of degree-clauses, the result is a complex noun phrase construction, *à la* Stowell (1981):

- (80) ..._{[CP} que _{[SC} CP DP_{LC}]

The predicate raises to Spec of CP:

- (81) ..._{[CP} DP_{LC} que _{[SC} CP (DP_{LC})]

Yielding the complex noun phrase « a saying that CP » (see also Kayne 1994). This is semantically an event description, and as such can enter into aspectual relations via aspectual prepositions. The central coincidence prepositions P_{null} and *con* “with” relate the time of the saying event to a subpart of that time, yielding a reading akin to a progressive:

- (82) ...P_{central} _{[CP} DP_{LC} que _{[SC} CP (DP_{LC})]

This aspectual projection is selected by a copula:

- (83) ..._{[VP} BE _{[PP} Subject P_{central} _{[CP} DP_{LC} que _{[SC} CP (DP_{LC})]]]

The copula may be spelled out as it is (*estar*) or may merge to a higher frequentative aspect head, yielding the aspectual auxiliary verb *andar* “walk”.

Under this view, minimal quotatives are just low aspectual phrases, phrases containing neither Tense nor higher aspectual auxiliaries. Just aspectual PPs:

- (84) a. Tu padre con que cuándo vienes
 b. _{[PP} Tu padre P_{central} _{[CP} DP_{LC} que _{[SC} cuándo vienes (DP_{LC})]]]

5. A note on the anchoring of the quotative construction

An aspect of minimal quotative constructions that becomes manifest to anyone working on these cases is their dependency on discourse particles, vocatives or loca-

tional adverbs. Something like (13a), repeated below, becomes extremely odd without the presence of *aquí* “here”:

- (85) *(Aquí) todo dios que cuándo les van a subir el sueldo
 here everyone that when cl they-are-going to raise the salary
 ‘Everyone is saying: “When are they going to give us a raise?”’

In the same way, discourse particles like *oye* “hey” or vocatives like *Juan* below seem to be necessary in the absence on any overt event participant:

- (86) *(Oye/Juan), que el Barça ha ganado la Champions
 listen that the Barça has won the Champions League
 ‘Hey, there’s a saying that Barça has won the Champions League’

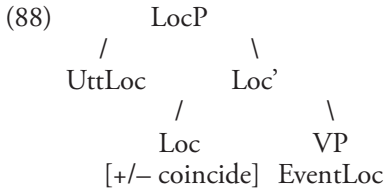
The conditions under which the different options are put into use are not yet clear, but they all seem to be related to the necessity of anchoring the report in the discourse. This anchoring requirement disappears with full fledged quotative constructions containing finite auxiliaries:

- (87) Todo dios anda que cuándo les van a subir el sueldo
 everyone walks that when cl they-are-going to raise the pay
 ‘Everyone is continuously saying: “when are they going to give us a raise?”’

Anchoring particles are therefore obligatory in cases when Tense is absent. Normally, Tense is the means by which an event is anchored to the utterance or some other salient point (the notion of *Anchoring Condition*, Enç 1987). But minimal quotatives may not have Tense (that is, they may contain no Tense morphology or show no temporal adverbial modifiers). How is anchoring effected in those cases? Ritter and Wiltschko (2005) have recently asked that question in the context of languages which seem not to have grammatical Tense. Their answer is that in those languages anchoring proceeds either spatially, via the syntactic category Location, or via speech act participants. The categories involved, as one can see, are very similar to the anchoring elements in the absence of Tense in Spanish quotatives: the vocative and the discourse particle *oye* (literally “listen”) are hearer-oriented elements, and belong in the structure of the utterance, rather than in the reported event¹⁰. On the other hand *aquí* “here” is a locative demonstrative.

Wiltschko and Ritter claim that in languages lacking grammatical Tense, the event is anchored in the utterance by expressing where it happened, instead of when it happened. Anchoring is driven by a category Location, which, following Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria (2000) they take to be a dyadic predicate expressing [+/- central coincidence]. This dyadic predicate combines the utterance location and the event location in a predication relation. A sentence can assert that the event location coincides with the utterance location (the event happens *here*) or that the event does not coincide with the utterance location (the event happens *there*):

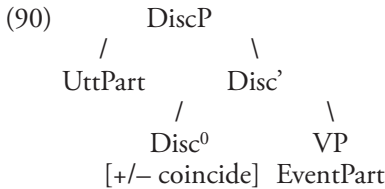
¹⁰ For instance, they are exempt from the truth functional evaluation of the sentence, unlike other addressee oriented elements such as second person pronouns.



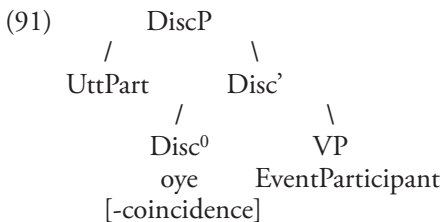
The presence of locative adverbials, like the obligatory *aquí* “here” in (85) signals the presence of a syntactic projection whose function is anchoring the reporting event in the utterance:



Anchoring can also be driven via speech act participants. Wiltschko and Ritter claim that this is the case in Blackfoot. In Blackfoot event anchoring proceeds via participants of the utterance and the event. In this anchoring system, it is asserted who participated in the event with respect to who participated in the utterance. This relation is achieved by means of a different predicate of (non-)coincidence, that they call Discourse. If Discourse is a predicate of coincidence, the event participant is asserted to coincide with the utterance participant (e.g. actor=speaker). If Discourse is a predicate of non-coincidence then the event participant is asserted to not coincide with the utterance participant:



The choice of the anchoring participant in Blackfoot is driven by person morphology and theme marker morphology. The combination of those two morphological parameters gives rise to a rich and complex anchoring system. Spanish does not possess a theme-marker system, and in the cases we are considering, person morphology is absent. The anchoring system therefore must be much simpler. Let me advance the hypothesis that in Spanish, the anchoring speech act participant is always the speaker. *Oye* is the head of the Discourse Phrase. As it does not represent the speaker (it is a hearer oriented particle) it expresses a relation of non-coincidence between the event participants and the speech act participants:



This hypothesis is supported by a peculiar restriction of quotative constructions in Spanish: they don't admit self-reports with first person event participants (that is, cases where the speaker/actor and the utterer are the same person).

- (92) *Juan/oye, yo que cuándo vamos
 Juan/hey I that when we-are-going
 'I say: I am not going'

(92) contrasts sharply with the acceptable complete quotative construction:

- (93) Yo (siempre) estoy que cuándo vamos
 I always am that when we-are-going
 'I am (always) saying: when are we going?'

And with those quotative constructions which show overt temporal modification:

- (94) Ya verás, yo *(mañana) que cuándo vamos
 you'll see, I tomorrow that when we-are-going
 'You'll see, tomorrow I will be saying: 'when we are going?''

In both (93) and (94) anchoring is effected by Tense, and the discourse head does not need to be projected.

6. The absence of Person and Tense morphology in reduced quotatives

Consider the following two types of quotative construction, which I called "full" (95a) and reduced (95b):

- (95) a. Tu padre que cuándo vienes
 Your father that when you-are-coming
 'Your father is saying: "when are you coming?"'
 b. Tu padre está que cuándo vienes
 your father is that when you-are-coming
 'Your father is saying continuously: "when are you coming?"'

(95a) supports Tense modification, but cannot support overt Tense or Person morphology. We may wonder why. At the same time, (95b) but not (95a) can be extended by features typical of the left periphery, such as topic, focus, or sentence adverbial:

- (96) a. TU PADRE está que cuándo viene, no tu madre
 Your father is that when he-is-coming, neg your mother
 'It is your father who is saying: "when is he coming?", not your mother'
 b. En cuanto al coche, tu padre está que cuándo lo va a vender
 as for the car your father is that when cl you-are-going to sell
 'As for the car, your father is saying: "when is he going to sell it?"'
 c. Desgraciadamente, tu padre anda que cuándo se irán
 unfortunately, your father walks that when refl they-will-leave
 'Unfortunately, your father keeps saying: "when are they going to leave?"'

None of that is possible in “reduced” quotative constructions (see section 3). One way of looking at those related restrictions (absence of Tense and Person morphology and absence of left-peripheral projections) is under the following generalization: if the construction has an auxiliary which can independently pick up Tense and Person morphology, we have a full clause; if we don’t have an auxiliary, the embedded quotative verbal structure does not seem able to support such morphology, and all the left periphery disappears. In those cases we are left with bare TPs.

Let us consider again the syntactic structure of reduced quotatives. They would go along the following lines:

(97) ...v_{GO} [_{PP/AspP} P_{Asp} [a saying *que* [[Force P] (a saying)]]]]

P and v are null in Spanish. By conflation (see section 4.3), the null P and the null v will get lexicalized by the complementizer *que*, a nominal category. Now: there is no morphological item in Spanish which would possess the following morphological structure:

(98) *_[INFL] INFL [*que*]

In other words, combining the Tense/Person heads with *que* yields an impossible morphological object in Spanish. I would like to relate this to the otherwise intriguing fact that the absence of such morphology goes hand in hand with the absence of left-peripheral elements. Note that T itself is semantically present, as it supports temporal modification. I would like to claim that the way Spanish circumvents the impossible morphological object in (98) is by not spelling out the whole clause. If morphology is checked independently in a post-syntactic module, as Distributed Morphology wants, then the ungrammaticality of (98) is strictly a morphological phenomenon. The correct configuration of morphological words is checked at Spell Out. If you don’t spell out, then existence of configurations such as (98) depends on strict syntactic motivations, and those, we saw, argue for the underlying presence of sequences of T and lexicalized v/P. Assuming a version of Phases which has C as a strong Phase (Chomsky 2001), the only way of not spelling out (98) is by not ever getting to C (more precisely, the extended C domain), hence the absence of left-peripheral elements in reduced quotatives.

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