Truncation in the Spanish left-periphery: fragment answers and recomplementation

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1. Introduction. In this paper, we discuss the contrast between two classes of predicates: those that can embed fragment answers and those that cannot. We show that these predicate classes differ not only in the general the availability of fragment answers but also in the availability of the complementizer *que* in certain constructions as well as the availability of the phenomenon known as *recomplementation*, as discussed by Villa-García (2012) and Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2009) among others. We propose that the syntactic differences between the two classes of predicates arise because these predicates select different types of clausal complements. Specifically, we claim that the complements to predicates that do not allow fragment answers or recomplementation have a truncated left periphery. The lack of structural positions in these complements rules out fragment answers and recomplementation. For expository purposes we illustrate how these phenomena might be handled under a cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997), where a truncated left periphery lacks the projections ForceP and TopP. However, this does entail that a derivational approach could not handle these facts in a similar way. Nevertheless, space constraints prevent us from illustrating a full contrastive cartographic vs. non-cartographic approach to these phenomena.

2. Data patterns. In this section we present the relevant observations on embedding in Spanish.

FIRST OBSERVATION. In response to a *wh*-question like (1), some predicates can embed fragment answers, as in (2a), and some cannot, as in (2b).

(1) ¿Quién robó las joyas?
     Who stole the jewels?

(2) a. Me dijeron/pienso   que   tu   hijo.
         Me they.said/I.think that   your son
         "They told me/I think that your son (did it)."
     b. *Lamento/se   que   tu   hijo.
         I.regret/I.know   that your son
         "I regret/I know that your son (did it)."

Fragment answer embedding predicates include those given in (3) and non-fragment answer embedding predicates include those given in (4). Traditionally the predicates in (3) have been called *non-factive* and those in (4) *factive*. However, we follow current work (de Cuba & Ürögdi 2009, Haegeman & Ürögdi 2010, de Cuba & MacDonald 2013) in classifying the "typical" clausal complements of the predicates in (3) as *non-referential* and the "typical" clausal complements of the predicates in (4) as *referential* ("typical" to be discussed below).

(3) **Non-referential clausal complement taking predicates:** *decir* "say", *pensar* "think", *creer* "believe", *suponer* "suppose", *imaginarse* "imagine", *sospechar* "suspect", among others.

(4) **Referential clausal complement taking predicates:** *lamentar* "regret", *saber* "know", *odiar* "hate", *sentirlo* "be sorry", *explicar* "explain", desagradar *"displease"* among others.

SECOND OBSERVATION. When one of the predicates in (3) embeds a fragment answer, the complementizer *que* must be present, as shown in (6).

(5)   ¿Quién robó   las joyas?
      Who   stole   the jewels?

(6)   a. Me dijeron *(que) tu   hijo.
          me told   *(that) your son
          "They told me your son (did)."
      b. Pienso *(que) tu   hijo.
          think   *(that) your son
          "I think your son (did)."

THIRD OBSERVATION. Some predicates allow recomplementation, which is syntactically characterized by Villa-Garcia (2012) as a left-dislocated constituent sandwiched between two occurrences of *que*, as in (7).

(7)   Susi dice **que** a los alumnos **(que)** les   van a   dar   regalos.
      Susi say   that to the students (that) them go to give gifts
      "Susi says that they will give gifts to the students." (Villa-Garcia 2012:258)

Also note in (7) that predicates like *decir* "say" that allow recomplementation also allow embedded fragment answers. (8) shows that the predicates in (4), which do not allow fragment answers, also do not allow recomplementation.

(8)   Lamento **que** ese   coche (***que)** no lo compres.
      regret   that that car   that not it buy
      "I am sorry that you won't but that car." (Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2009:47)

FOURTH OBSERVATION. With recomplementation, *wh*-words can only appear under the right-most *que*, as illustrated in (9).

(9)   a. Me preguntó **que** mi madre **que** cuándo podría venir.
          me ask   that my mother that when   could come
          "S/he asked when my mother could come."
      b. *Me preguntó **que** cuándo **que** mi madre podría venir.
          me ask   that when   that my mother could come
          "S/he asked when my mother could come." (Villa-Garcia 2012:267)

This is reminiscent of Suñer's (1991) indirect questions, where some predicates can embed a sequence of *que* + *wh*-word, as in (10a) and some cannot, as in (10b).

(10) a. Dije **que** a quién   habían detenido.
          said that to whom had   arrested
          "I asked who they had arrested." (Suñer 1991:289)

b. Juana no sabía **(*que)** <u>cuándo</u> visitaría sus abuelos.
   Juana not know that when visit her grandparents
   Juana didn't know when her grandparents would visit." (Suñer 1991:284)

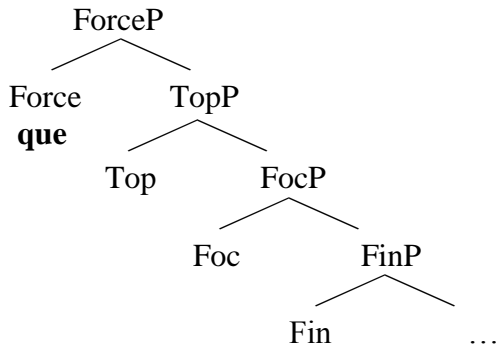Summary of Observations

- The set of predicates in (3) allows embedded fragment answers (requiring *que*), recomplementation and the sequence *que* + *wh*-word in the complement.

- The set of predicates in (4) **does not** allow embedded fragment answers, recomplementation or the sequence *que* + *wh*-word in the complement.

In the next section we offer a unified analysis to account for these patterns within a cartographic approach to the left-periphery.

3. Proposal. In the spirit of de Cuba & Ürögdi 2009 and de Cuba & MacDonald 2013, we claim that there are two types of clausal complements, non-referential and referential, and that non-referential complements are structurally more complex than referential complements. We propose the structures in (11), where non-referential complements consist of Force, TopP, FocP, and FinP, and referential of only FocP and FinP.

(11) a. **Non-referential complement:** embedded fragment answers, recomplementation, *que* + *wh*-word

```
          ForceP
         /      \
     Force      TopP
      que       /    \
            Top      FocP
                    /    \
                 Foc     FinP
                        /    \
                     Fin      …
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b. **Referential complement:** no embedded fragment answers, no recomplementation, no *que* + *wh*-word

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        FocP
       /    \
    Foc     FinP
           /    \
        Fin      …
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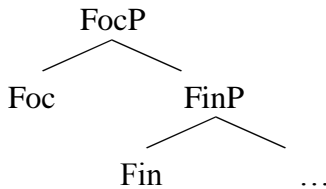
Following de Cuba & Ürögdi 2009 and de Cuba & MacDonald 2013, we claim that clausal complement taking predicates *typically* to take one or the other. The predicates in (3) usually take non-referential complements and the predicates in (4) referential complements. However, some predicates can take either complement, in which case their complements can be either referential or non-referential; thus the use of "tend", "typically" and "usually". We leave aside the details of the selection properties of these predicate for lack of space and simply refer the reader to the discussion in de Cuba & Ürögdi 2009 and de Cuba & MacDonald 2013.

Our proposal accounts for the data in section 2 in the following way. First, we propose that the *que* in embedded fragment answers (in (2) and (6)), the highest *que* in recomplementation structures (in (7) and (9a)) and the *que* in the *que* + *wh*-word sequence (in (10a)) are the same *que*. This *que* heads a Rizzi-style (1997) ForceP, as in (11a). Second, we follow Villa-Garcia (2012), in claiming that the rightmost occurrence of *que* in recomplementation (in (7) and (9a)) heads TopP, while the left-most occurrence heads ForceP. Having the rightmost *que* appear in TopP can help explain the following two facts. First, as noted by Escribano (1991), there can be multiple occurrences of the left-dislocated constituent, something typical of topics, as in (12).

(12) Dijo <u>que</u> el dinero, <u>que</u> a Juan, <u>que</u> se   lo mandaban por correo.
      Said *que* the money, *que* to Juan *que* him it sent   by mail
      "S/he said they were sending John the money through the mail." (Villa-García 2012:266)

Second, *wh*-items can only appear below the right-most *que* in indirect questions, as shown in (9) above. This follows if we assume the *wh*-word in (9a) is in FocP. In sum, we claim that the complements to the predicates in (4) lack ForceP and TopP. If the *que* of embedded fragment answers heads ForceP and the recursive lower *que* in recomplementation heads TopP, then we correctly predict that these phenomena will be ruled out under the predicates in (4).

A question remains regarding (8). If the complement to predicates like *lamentar* is truncated, then where in the left-periphery are the left-dislocated *ese coche* and the grammatical *que* in (8) located? One possibility is that there is a lower topic position available, as proposed by a number of authors (Zubizarreta 1998, Ordóñez & Treviño 1999, Jiménez–Fernández & Miyagawa 2013, among others). For us this position would be below FinP, which is headed by the grammatical *que* in (8). This possibility follows if, as Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010) have proposed, topics that appear in factive complements in Spanish and Italian are G(iven)-Topics, which are syntactically lowest in their hierarchy of topics, below C-Topics and A-Topics.

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