Crosslinguistic variation in the clausal skeleton: multiple complementizer structures, a comparative analysis of English, Spanish and Basque

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Abstract:

In the last decades, much effort has been devoted to investigating the functional structure dominating IP: the so-called left-periphery of the clause. Research conducted on this topic has attempted to characterize the maximal projections in that functional periphery, establish their hierarchical structure, and account for the variation observed crosslinguistically. In this paper, I will extend this line of research by examining multiple complementizer constructions.

While these structures are not frequently discussed in traditional grammars, it is common to find them in everyday speech or written production. Besides, among the languages in the vicinity, instances of it have been attested in English as well as in Romance languages (see a.o. Villa-García 2012, 2015, 2019; Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2013 and Radford 2018). Still, although linguists have thoroughly studied the mentioned phenomenon in Spanish, it has not been so extensively analysed in English. As far as Basque is concerned, it has never been investigated before.

The goal of this paper is fourfold. (i) First, to present Spanish multiple complementizer structures and discuss if all of them are corresponding and, thus, they belong to the same syntactic structure. (ii) Second, to examine if English has counterparts of present-day Spanish multiple complementizer structures. (iii) Third, to study the linguistic environment and function that multiple complementizer constructions shared by English and Spanish have. (iv) Fourth, to discuss, for the first time, how the counterparts of Spanish and English multiple complementizer structures look like in Basque, to exhibit the similarities and differences, and to offer a tentative analysis of their properties.

By discussing all these questions, we will try to offer a better crosslinguistic characterization of the properties displayed by these constructions. Likewise, we will summarize some of the theoretical advances that have refined the functional phrases of the left-periphery, leading to significant changes in the way in which this functional domain is currently conceived.

The main conceptual conclusions derived from this paper regarding multiple complementizer structures in the languages under analysis can be summarized as follows:

(i) The standard description of these structures raises an important theoretical problem since functional projections like complementizer phrases are assumed not to iterate in the same clause. However, it will be shown that the functional elements repeated in each structure display different properties and, consequently, should be defined as heading different functional categories of the left-periphery[1].

(ii) Spanish has, at least, three different structures involving multiple complementizers (namely, *recomplementation*, *jussive/optative*, and *pleonastic constructions*); English has *recomplementation* and, following Villa-García (2015), also the *jussive/optative structure*.

(iii) At first sight, Basque seems to disallow multiple complementizer structures, since there is no instance where a complementizer is repeated twice in the same clause. However, given the crosslinguistic variation found in the realisation of functional elements in recomplementation, there is an alternative analysis: the *–(e)la* complementizer would correspond to a primary complementizer sitting in ForceP and there would be a non-overt non-primary complementizer in [head, TopP]. If this analysis is possible, then Basque would also have multiple complementizer structures, but in a masked way.

[1] Following the tradition in the literature and for ease of exposition, in this work I will employ the term "complementizer" to address all instances of Spanish *que* and English *that* found in the structures under analysis, although, as we will show below, they should be characterized as two functional elements heading different functional projections in the left-periphery.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the tradition of generative grammar, elements like *that, for, to,* in English, or *que* in Spanish have been considered functional particles introducing a subordinate clause (Bresnan 1972). Within a more articulated view of clausal architecture, they were later analysed as *complementizers* heading what has been referred to as a Complementizer Phrase (henceforth, CP), a projection that forms part of the functional structure that dominates the Inflectional Phrase (IP). Regarding their role, complementizers have been analysed as responsible for indicating some semantic features of the clause (for instance, whether it is a declarative, interrogative, exclamative or imperative clause). In subordinating structures, complementizers introduce both complements and adjunct clauses, as well as finite and non-finite clauses (Bresnan 1972).

Based on the classical analysis, according to which there is only a single CP dominating an IP, we would expect to find a single complementizer per clause. However, this prediction is not always met, for there are cases involving finite clauses where we find more than one overt complementizer despite seeming to be an individual clause involved. Consider, for instance, the examples (1-3)[2] (for ease of reference, in all structures complementizers have been numbered and given in bold).

(1)

Digo	**que$_1$**,	como	está	nevando,	**que$_2$**	viene	ahora
Say	that	since	is	snowing	that	come$_{3sg\text{-}Ind}$	now

'I say that s/he's coming now, since it's snowing' (Villa-García 2015: 6)

[2] Regarding main clauses, despite being also CPs, they do not always have an overt complementizer (Chomsky, 1986). Normally this is also the case in Spanish; however, this language exhibits cases with overt complementizers, as the one exemplified in (i). See Etxepare (2010) for an extensive discussion on this type of sentences, which are common in the oral register.

(i)

Oye	**que**	el	Barça	ha	ganado	la	Champions		
Listen	that	the	Barça	has	won	the	Champions	League	(Etxepare 2010: 604)

(2)

Digo	**que$_1$**,	como	está	nevando,	**que$_2$**	venga	ahora
Say	that	since	is	snowing	that	come$_{3sg\text{-}Subj}$	now

'I demand that s/he come now, since it's snowing' (Villa-García 2015: 6)

(3)

Otrosí,	a	lo	que[3]	me	pidieron	por	merçet
Furthermore,	to	cl.$_{3sg\text{-}acc}$	that	cl.$_{1sg\text{-}dat}$	asked	for	favour

que$_1$	los	abogados	**que$_2$**	razonaren	los	pleytos	en
that	the	attorneys	that	reason$_{3pl\text{-}Subj}$	the	lawsuit	in

la	mi	corte,	**que$_3$**	los	mios	alcaldes,	**que$_4$**	los…
the	my	court,	that	the	mine	mayors,	that	the

'Furthermore, to that which they asked me as a favour, that the attorneys apply the lawsuit in my court, that my mayors, that…'[4](García Cornejo 2006: 378).

All these examples present multiple complementizers. As pointed out before, based on the traditional description in the literature, we would expect them to be ungrammatical. However, this is contrary to the facts and, indeed, it is what makes this type of structures particularly interesting for research.

The first mention of this type of structures was made by Roger Higgins at the end of the 80s (Uriagereka 1995). Since then, several researchers (Poletto 2000; Paoli 2006; González i Planas 2014; Uriagereka 1995; Radford 2018, among others) have attested similar syntactic structures in Romance varieties such as Catalan, Galician, Portuguese and some Italian dialects, as well as in present-day English. Based on the properties displayed by these structures, however, Villa-García (2019) concludes that, although possible in English, the phenomenon is more common in Romance languages.

Given that there are many attested cases of structures involving multiple complementizers, several questions emerge at this point. We thus need to determine

[3] This *que* is a relative pronoun so it is not subject of our study.
[4] García Cornejo (2006) does not translate this sentence into present-day Spanish or provide an annotation. Thus, these are just a tentative adaptation and notation.

whether all of them are instances of the same structure or, on the contrary, they display different properties. In addition, we will also study whether multiple complementizer structures show crosslinguistic differences and, if so, how they can be accounted for in parametric terms. Finally, we will discuss the linguistic context where they are licensed.

In the recent past, several authors have analysed this type of constructions. Unfortunately, not all of them study every kind of structure or use the same terminology when referring to a given type. Therefore, to provide a consistent description and terminology, I will adopt the proposal put forth by Villa-García in a series of works on this topic (and particularly, the proposal in Villa-García 2015), which I will explain more in detail below.

Regarding the structure of this paper, to tackle all the aforementioned questions, I will first summarize the properties that multiple complementizer structures display in Spanish and English. In order to have a thorough description and classification of the phenomenon, I will discuss whether in Spanish there are other types of structures apart from those discussed by Villa-García (2012, 2015, 2019) and, further, if the same range of structures is also available in English. This is a question that has not been fully explored, and which we will address here. It is also important to characterize the linguistic function and the environment that licenses those structures common to Spanish and English. Finally, I will explore a topic never addressed before in Basque linguistics: are multiple complementizer structures shared by Spanish and English present also in Basque? Are these structures in Basque similar to the ones in the other languages under analysis? What do they look like? What are their properties? By addressing all these questions, I will try to fill a gap in Basque linguistics, and complete our understanding of the properties displayed by this type of structures crosslinguistically.

2. MULTIPLE COMPLEMENTIZER STRUCTURES IN SPANISH AND ENGLISH

In this section, I will first discuss the formal and syntactic properties displayed by the mentioned structures in Spanish. The description relies largely on a series of works on this topic by Villa-García (2012, 2015, 2019), who has investigated this phenomenon in detail, but it will be completed with the analyses by Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2007, 2009, 2013) and García Cornejo (2006), among others. Regarding English, I will

pay particular attention to the discussion and analysis by Radford (2018) and Haegeman (2012), who have recently made interesting proposals regarding this type of structures.

2.1. Spanish: main differences between homophonous complementizers

One of the main questions that arises when analysing structures involving multiple complementizers like (1-3) is if all of them belong to the same underlying syntactic structure or not. In order to clarify this, we need to examine the elements involved in their formation as well as their properties. In addition to the presence of two (or more) complementizers, a feature common to all these structures is the presence of a left-dislocated constituent between the mentioned functional elements. These basic properties are roughly given in (4).

(4) ***que₁*** left-dislocate (LD) ***que₂***

To characterize the features of these structures, we need to identify the properties of the complementizers as well as the characteristics of the element sandwiched between them. For ease of reference, I will dub these complementizers $Comp_1$ and $Comp_2$ (in the case of the Spanish structure given in (4), *que₁* and *que₂*), following the linear order of their presence in the clause[5].

Thus, two obvious questions arise at this point. (i) First, while we usually refer to *que* as a complementizer, are the two *que*-s in the skeleton in (4) instances of the same complementizer or are they different functional elements? (ii) Second, which is the role and which are the properties of the constituent sandwiched between *que₁* and *que₂* in (4)?

If we follow Paoli (2006: 1059), who argues that "recursion of the same functional projection is not an option available to natural languages", then the conclusion is that not all instance of *que*-s in (4) should correspond to the same functional element. In the following subsection I will show that despite referring to these types of structures as involving multiple complementizers, recent research has shown that the two instances of *que* in (4) involve two different functional elements.

[5] Notice that although example (3) displays more than two instances of the complementizer *que*, in essence, the structure in that sentence is an iteration of *LD* and *que₂*.

2.1.1. Primary and non-primary complementizers in Spanish and their distribution

The multiple complementizer structures under analysis seem to display several instances of the same complementizer. However, Uriagereka (1995), as well as Staum Casasanto and Sag (2008), argues that *que*$_2$ is not a repetition of *que*$_1$ and should, therefore, be distinguished from it. This is why, in order to differentiate both elements, Villa-García (2015) makes a distinction between what he calls *primary* and *non-primary* complementizers. In his view, the first complementizer, *que*$_1$ in (4), is the so-called primary/high *que*, and it appears at the highest CP position in the syntactic structure. The remaining instance of *que*, illustrated as *que*$_2$ in (4), is a non-primary/secondary complementizer, and he classifies it into two different types: (i) recomplementation *que* and (ii) jussive/optative *que*.

There is, however, a third type of secondary *que* that Villa-García (2015) does not mention in his work: pleonastic *que*. As García Cornejo (2006) and Pons (2008) have shown, this complementizer is found in medieval Spanish structures with multiple complementizers. Although it is not taken into consideration by Villa-García (2015), in the analysis presented in this paper it will be. In summary, there are, at least, three multiple complementizer structures in Spanish: i) recomplementation, ii) jussive/optative structures, and iii) pleonastic constructions. Each example given in the Introduction corresponds to one of these structures:

(1) *Recomplementation structure*[6]

Digo	**que**$_1$,	como	está	nevando,	***que***$_2$	viene	ahora
Say	that	since	is	snowing	that	come$_{3sg\text{-}Ind}$	now

'I say that s/he's coming now, since it's snowing' (Villa-García 2015: 6)

[6] From now on:
1- *R: recomplementation*
2- *J/O.S: jussive/optative structure*
3- *P.S: pleonastic structure*

(2) *Jussive/optative structure*

Digo	**que$_1$**,	como	está	nevando,	***que$_2$***	venga	ahora
Say	that	since	is	snowing	that	come$_{3sg\text{-}Subj}$	now

'I demand that s/he come now, since it's snowing' (Villa-García 2015: 6)

(3) *Pleonastic structure*

Otrosí,	a	lo	que	me	pidieron	por	merçet
Furthermore,	to	cl.$_{3sg\text{-}masc\text{-}acc}$	that	cl.$_{1sg\text{-}dat}$	asked	for	favour

que$_1$	los	abogados	***que$_2$***	razonaren	los	su	pleytos
that	the	attorneys	that	reason$_{3pl\text{-}Subj.}$	the	their	lawsuit

en	la	mi	corte,	***que$_3$***	los	mios	alcaldes,	***que$_4$*** los…
in	the	my	court,	that	the	mine	mayors,	that the

'Furthermore, to that which they asked me as a favour, that the attorneys apply the lawsuit in my court, that my mayors, that…' (García Cornejo 2006: 378).

In order to define what the differences among these three multiple complementizer constructions are, let us first compare example (1), which involves recomplementation, with example (2), an instance of the jussive/optative structure. Both have a primary *que* (*que$_1$*) and an instance of a non-primary *que* (*que$_2$*). However, as indicated below, whilst in (1) *que$_2$* can be non-overt, in the jussive/optative structure this leads to ungrammaticality: *que$_2$* must be overt in jussive/optative structures (Villa-García 2015).

(1) *R*

Digo	**que$_1$**,	como	está	nevando,	**(*que$_2$*)**	viene	ahora
Say	that	since	is	snowing	that	come$_{3sg\text{-}Ind}$	now

'I say that s/he's coming now, since it's snowing' (Villa-García 2015: 6)

(2) *J/O.S*

Digo	**que$_1$,**	como	está	nevando,	***(que$_2$)**	venga	ahora
Say	that	since	is	snowing	that	come$_{3sg\text{-}Subj}$	now

'I demand that s/he come now, since it's snowing' (Villa-García 2015: 6)

Another difference between recomplementation and the jussive/optative construction is exposed in (5). The sentence in (5) is similar to (1) in the fact that *que$_2$* can also be non-overt but, in this case, it iterates twice (*que$_{2a}$* and *que$_{2b}$*).

(5) *R*

Dijo	**que$_1$**,	el	dinero,	***que$_{2a}$***	a	Juan,
Said$_{3sg.}$	that	the	money	hat	dat.	John

que$_{2b}$	se	lo	mandaban	por	correo
that	cl.$_{3sg\text{-}dat}$	cl.$_{3sg\text{-}masc\text{-}acc}$	sent	for	mail

'S/he said they will send John the money through the mail' (Villa-García 2012: 222)

As (5) shows, recomplementation *que$_2$* can be iterated, giving rise to a structure with more than two complementizers. Again, recomplementation works differently from jussive/optative structures, as the contrast between (5) and (6) shows. Thus, as Villa-García (2015) points out, the attempt to iterate jussive/optative *que$_2$* leads to ungrammaticality. Consequently, this complementizer appears once per sentence.

(6) *J/O.S*

*A	tu	madre,	***que*$_{2a}$**	a	la	fiesta,	***que*$_{2b}$**
DOM[7]	your	mother	that	to	the	party	that

la	traigan[8]
cl.$_{3sg\text{-}fem\text{-}acc}$	bring$_{3pl\text{-}Subj.}$

'I demand that they bring your mother to the party' (Villa-García 2012: 222)

Notice that the possibility to iterate *que*$_2$, a feature that structures involving recomplementation display, is also present in the case of the pleonastic structures.

(3) *P. S*

Otrosí,	a	lo	que	me	pidieron	por	merçet
Furthermore,	to	cl.$_{3sg\text{-}masc\text{-}acc}$	that	cl.$_{1sg\text{-}dat}$	asked	for	favour

que$_1$	los	abogados	***que*$_{2a}$**	razonaren	los	su	pleytos
that	the	attorneys	that	reason$_{3pl\text{-}Subj.}$	the	their	lawsuit

en	la	mi	corte,	***que*$_{2b}$**	los	mios	alcaldes,	***que*$_{2c}$**	los…
in	the	my	court,	that	the	mine	mayors,	that	the

'Furthermore, to that which they asked me as a? favour, that the attorneys apply the lawsuit in my court, that my mayors, that…' (García Cornejo 2006: 378).

Pleonastic structures like (3) have been defined as "fenómenos de variación morfosintáctica de empleo más o menos habitual en castellano medieval" (Arias, 2008: 120). Thus, despite these structures sharing with recomplementation the fact that *que*$_2$ can be iterated, both constructions need to be distinguished. This is so because, unlike in Spanish recomplementation, the only complementizer that can be left unpronounced in

[7] Differential Object Marking (accusative).
[8] As observed in (6) *que*$_1$ is missing. Such structures will not be studied in this paper since they involve just a single overt complementizer projecting conflated ForceFinitenessP properties. This occurs because, for economy reasons, the CP is not split into distinct layers (Villa-García 2012). However, (6) is useful to realise that *que*-s in FinitenessP cannot iterate.

pleonastic structures is *que₁*, the non-primary instances must be overt (7) (García Cornejo 2006).

(7) *P.S*

E	los	pleytos	menores	**(que₁)**	fasta	en	quantía
And	the	lawsuits	smaller	that	until	in	quantity

de	çiento	marauedís	e	dende	ayuso,	***que₂***	non
of	hundred	maravedis	and	where	below	that	no

anden	por	escriptura	alguna
be$_{3pl\text{-}Subj}$	by	script	any

'In mall lawsuits of hundred maravedis or below that they be not in any script'[9](García Cornejo 2006: 379)

The differences observed between examples (1-3), regarding the obligatoriness/optionality of pronouncing *que₂* and the (im)possibility of iterating it, provide strong evidence that we need to distinguish three different structures involving multiple complementizers.

As it has already been observed, the secondary complementizer *que₂* of each of the three structures illustrated so far has a different set of features. Therefore, while it is clear that they give rise to three types of multiple complementizer constructions, there are still issues regarding the underlying structure that corresponds to each of them. Overall, researchers have a unanimous view for the syntactic skeleton of constructions involving jussive/optative *que₂*, but the structure for pleonastic and recomplementation *que₂* has been a subject of great discrepancy. To define the underlying structure of each construction, in the next section I will introduce the proposal made for recomplementation by Rodríguez-Ramalle (2003), which has further been supported by Villa-García (2015), and I will summarize Demonte and Fernández-Soriano's (2013) proposition for pleonastic *que₂*.

[9]García Cornejo (2006) does not translate this sentence into present-day Spanish or provide an annotation, so as in the previous case, these are just a tentative adaptation and notation.

2.1.1.1. The underlying syntactic structure of multiple complementizer constructions

As mentioned above, there have been several proposals to explain the structure of recomplementation in Spanish. Authors like Fontana (1993) have interpreted recomplementation as a structure involving several CPs. In contrast, others have argued that there is a left-peripheral category (i.e. FP) headed by recomplementation *que*$_2$ and placed between CP and IP (Uriagereka 1995).

In order to capture the properties of multiple complementizer structures, in this paper I will adopt an elaborate syntax for the left-periphery. More precisely, I will present the proposal made by Rodríguez-Ramalle (2003), since it is the one which best accounts for the distinction between jussive/optative *que*$_2$ and recomplementation *que*$_2$ and, further, because following Villa-García (2015, 2019) it can also explain the major properties of recomplementation. With this much background, let us now consider what the syntactic analysis proposed to capture these properties is.

One of the most influential analyses of a complex left-periphery comes from Rizzi (1997). This author proposes that the CP should be divided into two major domains: the highest domain, "ForceP", expresses the illocutionary features of the clause; that is, whether the sentence is a declarative clause, an interrogative clause, etc. In contrast, the lowest domain would express features related to [± finite/tense] and mood (e.g. subjunctive, indicative, imperative, etc.). In other words, the lowest domain expresses those features associated with Finiteness; for this reason, it is known as "FinitenessP/FinP". These two maximal projections dominate TP/IP, with the following hierarchical structure: ForceP>FinP>TenseP (Rizzi 1997, and subsequent works).

In addition to ForceP and FinP, there are other maximal projections that we can find in the left-periphery of a clause: TopicPhrase(s) and FocusP. Rizzi (1997) proposes that these maximal projections are hierarchically organized as follows (the star indicates that this projection can iterate):

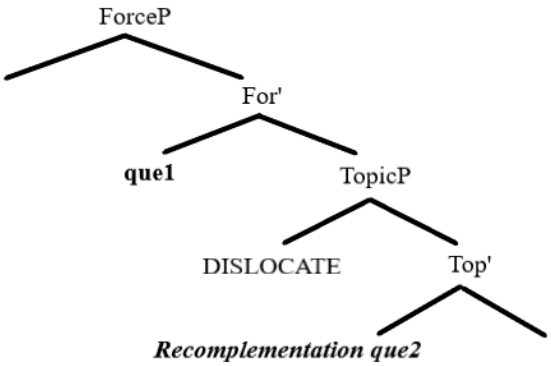
(8) ForceP>TopP*>FocP>TopP*>FinP>TP

The initial structure of the left-periphery in (8) has been later on refined as in (9), with the addition of a ModP (a modifier clause) and IntP (interrogative phrase) in the following way (Rizzi & Bocci, 2017):

(9) ForceP>TopP*>IntP>TopP*>FocP>TopP*>ModP*>TopP*>FinP

Provided with the structure of the left-periphery in (8)/(9), several authors have tried to characterize the syntactic structure of recomplementation by making use of these maximal projections. Thus, many works have proposed that *que*$_1$ is located in ForceP (see, Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2009 and Kempchinsky 2013). There is, however, more discrepancy when it comes to the placement of *que*$_2$. For the analysis of recomplementation *que*$_2$, following Rodríguez-Ramalle (2003) I will assume that it occupies the head of TopP.

(10) The syntactic structure of Spanish recomplementation



The following are some arguments in favour of this hypothesis (Villa-García 2015):

(i) By placing the left-dislocate in [spec, TopP] we can explain the close relationship between the left-dislocate element and the secondary complementizer since it is the left-dislocate element that licenses the existence of recomplementation *que*$_2$.

(ii) The proposal in (10) allows us to account for the existence of multiple instances of *que*$_2$ in recomplementation (since TopP can be iterated, see Rizzi 1997). This is important to account for examples like (5): the dislocated element that precedes

que$_{2a,}$ *el dinero*, is sitting in the specifier of the first TopP and the second dislocated element, *a Juan*, which follows *que*$_{2a}$ and precedes *que*$_{2b}$, is sitting in the specifier of the second TopP. This proposal explains why, as in (11), the left-dislocated element can precede and follow the non-primary recomplementation *que*$_2$ (Villa-García 2015). In (11) there are two left-dislocates and *que*$_{2b}$ is non-overt.

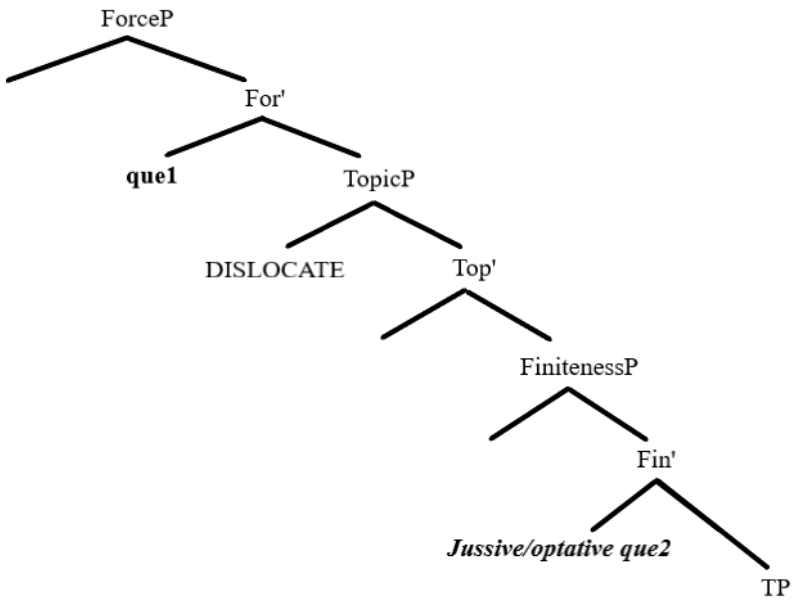
(11) *R*

Me	dijeron	**que$_1$**	entonces$_1$,	***que$_{2a}$***	a	tu	padre$_2$	
cl.$_{1sg\text{-}dat}$	told	that	then	that	dat.	your	father	
Ø$_{QUE2b}$	no	lo	van	a	llamar	ni	en	sueños
(that)	not	cl.$_{3sg\text{-}masc\text{-}acc}$	go	to	call	nor	in	dreams

'They told me that as a result they won't call your dad under any circumstances' (Villa-García 2015: 30)

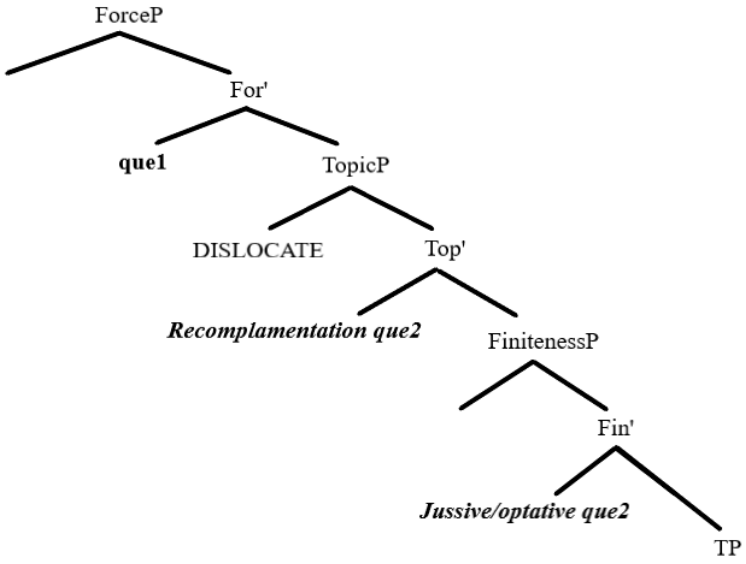
Another advantage of this proposal is that it explains the difference between the jussive/optative structures and recomplementation: in the first case, *que*$_2$ is placed in [head, FinP], while as we have just explained the latter occupies [head, TopP].

(12) The syntactic structure of Spanish jussive/optative construction



The syntactic difference between these two structures is summarized in (13).

(13) The syntactic structure of recomplementation and the jussive/optative construction



We have already given the structure that corresponds to recomplementation and jussive/optative constructions. But which is the structure that corresponds to pleonastic *que₂*? Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2013) claim that this non-primary complementizer, present in the Middle Ages, was placed in FinP, while the left-dislocate would be placed in [spec, TopP]. If this proposal is correct, then, as far as syntax is concerned, pleonastic *que₂* is closer to jussive/optative *que₂* than recomplementation *que₂*. This is a distinct feature that we should add to those already pointed out in Section 2.1.1[10].

We have emphasized that structures involving multiple complementizers have a dislocated element sandwiched between two complementizers. As we have already discussed the properties of the two complementizers, in the next section I will analyse the role of the left-dislocate and its properties.

[10] Notice that the idea that FinP can iterate could be problematic under the analysis in Rizzi (1997) where this functional projection is assumed to be projected only once per clause. However, Rizzi (2014) offers an alternative view and suggests that FinP could iterate if there is a ModP; that is: FinP>ModP>FinP.

2.1.2. The left-dislocate constituent: types and properties

The skeleton in (4) and the previous section have emphasized that multiple complementizer structures in Spanish have a left-dislocate constituent. However, if we compare (14) and (15) we will realize that the presence of the mentioned constituent is not always compulsory[11].

(14) *J/O.S*

Dice	**que$_1$**	***que$_2$***	se	vaya	si	quiere
Says	that	that	cl.$_{3sg}$	go$_{3sg\text{-}Subj}$	if	wants

'S/he orders that s/he go away if s/he wants to' (Villa-García 2015: 91)

(15) *R*

*Pedro	dice	**que$_1$**	***que$_2$***	no	van	a	venir	con	ella
Peter	says	that	that	not	go	to	come	with	her

(Villa-García 2015: 89)

The examples above show that the presence of a left-dislocated constituent is only essential to enable recomplementation (Villa-García 2015). Given that the left-dislocate is crucial only for this structure, our next step will be to examine which elements are appropriate to appear flanked by *que$_1$* and recomplementation *que$_2$*, and which their properties are. Every argument in a clause can be left-dislocated except functional elements of extended verbal projections, auxiliaries, and verbs (López 2009). In Spanish, as well as in other Romance languages, there are two main types of left-dislocates and both can appear sandwiched between *que*-s (Villa-Garcia 2019): the Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD) and Clitic-Left Dislocation (CLLD) (López 2009). For ease of reference, in all the examples below the dislocated elements are in italics:

[11] Nothing is said about the compulsoriness of the LD in pleonastic structures. Therefore, I will leave this out of discussion.

(16) *HTLD*

María,	**ella**	sí	sabe	jugar	al	tenis
Maria	she	indeed	knows	play	at+the	tennis

'Maria, she can play tennis' (López 2009: 4)

(17) *CLLD*

A	*María*	no	**le**	enviaré	ningún	paquete
dat	Maria	neg.	cl.$_{3sg\text{-}dat}$	send$_{1sg\text{-}Fut}$	no	package

'I will not send Mary any package' (López 2009: 3)

Once we have briefly introduced these dislocation structures licensed in Spanish recomplementation, let us now consider in some more detail their properties, and how they differ from each other. In the case of structures involving hanging topics, the hanging topic (henceforth, the HTLD) is always a NP/DP that bears default case (i.e. nominative in Spanish) (López 2009) and there is a significant pause after their realization (Villa-García 2019). As observed in (16/18/19), when HTLDs are present, they require a resumption (signalled in bold): a strong pronoun (16), a clitic (18/19) or an epithet (19) (López 2009). The pronoun and the hanging topic agree in gender and number, but their case can vary (Villa-García 2015).

(18) *HTLD*

María,	no	**le**	enviaré	ningún	paquete
Maria	Neg.	cl.$_{3sg\text{-}dat}$	send$_{1sg\text{-}Fut.}$	no	package

'(To) Maria I won't send (her) a package' (López 2009: 4)

(19) *HTLD*

Juan$_i$,	creo	que	no	**lo**	han	visto
John	believe	that	not	cl.$_{3sg\text{-}masc\text{-}acc}$	have	seen

(al	**pobrecillo$_i$)**
DOM+the	poor

'As for John, I think they haven't seen the poor thing' (Villa-García 2015: 10)

Regarding CLLDs, in (17) we can see that the left-dislocated constituent is introduced by the particle *a*, in this case either a dative case marker or a dative preposition. This gives insight into some properties that distinguishes CLLDs from HTLDs, since the dislocate constituent in (17) can be analysed either as a dislocated PP or as a constituent bearing structural case (Villa-García 2015).

Similarly, it has been mentioned that HTLDs contain a resumptive element in the position that would correspond to the left-dislocated element within IP. However, CLLDs only accept a clitic in that position (Villa-García 2019). The contrast between (19/20) and (16/21) illustrates this fact.

(20) *CLLD*

**A*	*María,*	hace	tiempo	que	no	veo
dat	Maria	does	time	that	neg	see_{1sg}

a	**esa**	**sinvergüenza**
dat	that	shameless

(López 2009: 4)

(21) *CLLD*

**A*	*la*	*monja*	dicen	que	no	le
dat	the	nun	say	that	not	cl.

van	a	dar	nada	**a**	**ella**
go	to	give	nothing	dat	her

(Villa-García 2015: 164)

To put an end to this comparison between sandwiched CLLDs and HTLDs, I would like to bring forward a discussion between the ideas presented by López (2009) and Villa-García (2015). According to Villa-García (2015), while CLLDs can be iterated HTLDs cannot; this matches with the conclusions in López (2009). However, this last author bases his study on left-dislocates out of multiple complementizer structures and, as a result, his description of left-dislocates differs somewhat from that in Villa-García (2015).

For example, López (2009) defends that HTLDs are base-generated in their surface position while CLLDs are placed in their surface position by movement. However, if that was always the case, then we would have problems explaining how CLLDs are licensed in recomplementation. This is so because recomplementation *que*$_2$ is a barrier for movement, which means that crossing it would violate a restriction on movement. Consequently, at least in recomplementation, CLLDs are base-generated in the position flanked by *que*-s (Villa-García 2015). If Villa-García's (2015) analysis is correct, it follows that all the left-dislocates would be base-generated in their surface position. Thus, being directly merged in the surface position seems to be a requirement for those left-dislocated constituents placed between the primary and recomplementation *que*$_2$.

The two left-dislocates discussed so far (CLLDs and HTLDs) have a coreferential clitic or a pronoun in the main clause. However, in Spanish recomplementation we also find other type of elements that cannot be associated with clitics or pronouns; this is the case of some PPs, adverbial clauses, and adjunct adverbials. One such case is illustrated in (22).

(22)

En	*Mallorca*	llevan	viviendo	10	años
In	Majorca	take	living	10	years

'They have been living in Majorca for ten years' (Villa-García 2019: 9)

If we analyse the crosslinguistic evidence in (23), we will realise that Spanish preposed locative PPs could be regarded as CLLDs, since in languages like Catalan they have a corresponding clitic in the main clause (Villa-García 2019).

(23)

En	*aquesta*	*casa,*	*hi*	viu	un	amic	meu
In	this	house	cl.$_{LOC}$	lives	a	friend	mine

'Nobody has talked about the exam yet' (Bonet 1991: 23)

However, when the PP is non-argumental, there is not a crosslinguistic counterpart with a clitic in the main clause as in (23) and still the constituent can appear in recomplementation. Given that according to Villa-García (2015), being base-generated in the surface position is a requirement for left-dislocate constituents in recomplementationt, the proposal made by Uriagereka (1988) of adjuncts being able to be base-generated in their surface position is also present in the mentioned multiple complementizer structure. Consequently, Villa-García (2019) concludes that regardless of all dislocated PPs being treated as instances of CLLDs or not, what really matters in this discussion is that they are licensed in recomplementation.

So far, we have seen the major types of left-dislocates licensed in Spanish recomplementation. But in addition to these, Radford (2018) observes that English licenses other types of dislocated constituents that had gone unnoticed: the so-called *orphaned topics*[12]. Following this author, in this type of dislocation "there is no apparent syntactic or lexical link between the topic and the comment clause" (Radford 2018: 42), which means that the relation between these two elements is licensed purely by pragmatic means. Villa-García (2019) finds equivalent constructions in Spanish, as illustrated in (24):

(24)

María,	yo	no	me	hubiese	casado
María	I	not	cl.$_{1sg\text{-}dat}$	had	married
con	un	inútil.			
with	an	inept			

'Mary, I would have not married a useless man' (Villa-García 2019: 5)

Radford (2018) defends that, just as HTLDs or sandwiched CLLDs, these orphaned topics are also base-generated in their surface position. Therefore, although most works in this topic do not make a specific reference to this type of dislocates concerning multiple complementizer structures, given that they are also constituents base-generated in their surface position, we could in principle consider them potential candidates to appear as

[12] We will come back to Radford's English example in the discussion of (37) below.

left-dislocates in recomplementation. In light of this and following example (24) above, we would expect sentences similar to (25) being possible:

(25) Digo **que$_1$** María ***que$_2$*** yo no me hubiese casado con un inútil[13].

In summary, Section 2.1 has presented the properties displayed by three different multiple complementizer structures and their constituents: recomplementation, jussive/optative and pleonastic constructions. Each of them has a different underlying syntactic structure. While the primary complementizer sits in ForceP, the non-primary complementizer occupies [head, TopP] in recomplementation and [head, FinP] in the other two structures. Regarding the left-dislocated element that surfaces between these two complementizers, in the case of recomplementation, we have found clear instances of CLLDs, HTDLs, adjuncts as well as adverbial clauses. Villa-García (2015, 2019) defends that all of them are base-generated in their surface position, even in the case of CLLDs, which are usually assumed to be derived by movement.

2.1.3. Summary: the range of multiple complementizer structures licensed in Spanish

Table 1

	QUE$_1$		LEFT-DISLOCATE				QUE$_2$		
	OBLIGATORY	PLACE	TYPES	OBLIGATORY	ITERATE	PLACE	OBLIGATORY	ITERATE	PLACE
RECOMPLEMENTATION	QUE$_1$	Head, ForceP	HTLD, CLLD, PP/ adjunct adverbial and clausal adverbials	✓	✓	Spec, TopP	(QUE$_2$)	✓	Head, TopP
JUSSIVE/OPTATIVE STRUCTURE	QUE$_1$	Head, ForceP	Ø	✗	✗	Spec, TopP	QUE$_2$	✗	Head, FinP
PLEONASTIC STRUCTURE	(QUE$_1$)	Head, ForceP	Ø	Ø	✓	Spec, TopP	QUE$_2$	✓	Head, FinP

[13] Thanks to Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria for bringing this tentative example to my attention.

With this much background, we are now in a position to analyse how multiple complementizer structures are manifested in English.

2.2. English: multiple complementizer structures

As mentioned in the Introduction, English presents instances of multiple complementizer structures, consider (26).

(26) I just wanted to say **that$_1$** despite all these short term problems ***that$_2$*** they needed to keep in mind the needs of the poor (Radford 2018: 122).

The English complementizer *that* would be the counterpart of Spanish *que*; just as in Spanish, we need to distinguish between primary and non-primary complementizers. Thus, in (26) *that$_1$* and *that$_2$* would be the counterparts of the primary/high *que$_1$* and non-primary/secondary *que$_2$* discussed in (4) (Villa-García 2015). All Spanish examples analysed so far, except for instances in which the non-primary recomplementation *que$_2$* was silenced, always displayed two homophonous instances of the complementizer (*that*…*that* or *que*…*que*). However, *that* is not the only complementizer licensed in the structures under analysis, as shown by Haegeman (2012), from which we have borrowed the example in (27).

(27) I wondered **if$_1$**, given the same circumstances, ***whether$_2$*** a man such as Bird would have gone on a similar rampage 60 years ago (Haegeman 2012: 85).

As shown in (28), similar cases are also available in Spanish, although a difference between Spanish and English is that while in Spanish, we still have two homophonous instances of *si*, in English we find two different complementizers: *if* and *whether*[14].

(28)

Marta	me	preguntó	**si$_1$**	a	la	fiesta,
Martha	cl.$_{1sg\text{-}dat}$	asked	if	to	the	party

si$_2$	voy	a	ir
if	go	to	go

'Martha asked me whether I'm going to the party' (Villa-García 2019: 24)

Multiple complementizer structures have been analysed in-depth in Romance, but less in English. In the next section, I address this issue and discuss whether the Spanish structures analysed so far have an English counterpart [15].

2.2.1. Recomplementation and jussive/optative constructions in English

To determine whether English has counterparts for recomplementation and jussive/optative constructions, we should have a look, first, at the properties of these constructions in Spanish and, then, analyse if those are met by multiple complementizer structures in English. Let us first recall the properties of the jussive/optative structures, illustrated with example (29):

[14] If we look at similar examples in Basque, this language also seems to allow this type of structures, but it displays two different functional elements: *ea* and *–n* (see Ortiz de Urbina 1999 for the proposal that *ea* heads ForceP and *–(e)n* FinP).

(i)

Galdetu	dute	ea	Mikel	gaur	garaiz	heldu	d	-en
Ask	aux	Q	Mikel	today	on.time	arrived	aux	-comp

'They have asked whether Mikel has arrived on time' (Ortiz de Urbina 1999: 187)

If the parallelism between English and Basque is correct, then we would have evidence that multiple complementizer structures also exist in Basque. See Section 3 for related discussion (thanks to Myriam U.-E. for bringing the Spanish and Basque examples to my attention). Despite the interest of this type of structure, in this paper I will limit myself to structures involving the complementizers *que* and *that*.

[15] Given that the pleonastic *que$_2$* is a multiple complementizer structure which belongs to medieval Spanish (Arias 2008), I will leave out of discussion in the following section.

(29) *J/O.S*

Gritó	**que$_1$**,	como	los	británicos	negocian	mal,	***que$_2$***
Shouted	that	as	the	British	negotiate	badly	that

se	salgan	sin	acuerdo
cl.$_{3pl}$	exit$_{3pl\text{-}Subj.}$	without	agreement

'S/he ordered by shouting that since they British do not negotiate well, that they leave (the EU) without an agreement in place' (Villa-García 2019: 25)

In Spanish jussive/optative structures, *que$_2$* can neither be silenced nor iterated. Similarly, the verb that follows *que$_2$* goes in the subjunctive (*salgan,* in (29)). Following Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2007, 2009), the presence of the subjunctive mood is crucial for jussive/optative structures, and the meaning associated with this type of constructions is the one that corresponds to a command, an order or a wish.

Given the importance of the subjunctive mood in jussive/optative structures, let us consider if we can find this mood in multiple complementizer structures in English. As the use of the subjunctive in modern English is more limited than in Spanish, this might be a problem for the existence of jussive/optative structures in this language. However, Villa-García (2015) presents the following case in (30) and after some discussion, he concludes that jussive/optative structures might be possible in English.

(30) Please ensure **that**$_1$ if your faculty commit to permitting candidates to attend their classes, ***that$_2$*** there *be* sufficient diversity of courses and ***that$_3$*** syllabi permit visitors to attend (Villa-García 2015: 96)[16].

In (30) apart from the primary complementizer *that$_1$*, we find two non-primary complementizers (i.e *that$_2$* and *that$_3$*), each of them the head of a coordinated phrase. The intuitions of the speakers indicate that these non-primary complementizers cannot be dropped. All these features suggest that this could be an instance of a jussive/optative

[16] In (30) I have employed the subindexes 2 and 3 instead of 2a and 2b. This is done on purpose in order to distinguish between the property to iterate (illustrated by means of 2a, 2b, etc.) and a coordinate structure, like in (30).

structure in English. If so, the non-primary complementizers would be located in [head, FinP], as proposed for its Spanish counterpart (Villa-García 2015).

As we have already shown with example (26) that recomplementation is possible in English, I will now focus on its properties. For that we will recall the three distinguishing features of Spanish recomplementation *que*$_2$: (i) it can be iterated; (ii) the left-dislocate can appear after it; and (iii) it is optional. The following sentences in English are compatible with these properties.

(31) I don't think **that$_1$** for the sake of your own well-being, ***that$_{2a}$*** if you are in a bilingual classroom, ***that$_{2b}$*** once you have completed the homework in one language, ***that$_{2c}$*** you should have to do it all over again in the second one (Radford 2018: 126).

(32) I must admit **that$_1$**, during the Paralympics held in Rio$_1$, ***that$_{2a}$*** the courage that some athletes showed$_{i\ 2}$ ***Ø$_{THAT2b}$***, it$_i$ filled me with admiration (Radford 2018: 127).

Example (31) contains three instances of non-primary *that* (the ones sub-indexed as 2a, 2b and 2c) and (32) contains two left-dislocates, one of which is placed after the non-primary *that*$_2$. Moreover, if we let these non-primary complementizers unpronounced the sentences remain grammatical. On this basis, we can conclude that Spanish recomplementation has an English counterpart and, as the structures display very similar properties in both languages, we can extend the syntactic proposal made for Spanish in Section 2.1.1.1 to English (Villa-García 2015).

Still, English recomplementation presents a significant difference from the Spanish one for *that*$_1$ can be silenced. In contrast, an overt *que*$_1$ is always compulsory in Spanish (Villa-García 2019). The opposition between (33) and (34) illustrates this fact.

(33) I'm sure **Ø$_{THAT1}$** behind the scenes ***that$_2$*** he's got the backing (Radford 2018: 131)

(34)

*Juan	me	contó	**Ø$_{QUE1}$**	al	medico,	***que$_2$***	no
John	cl.$_{1sg\text{-}dat}$	told		to+the	doctor	that	not

ha	ido
has	been

'Peter told me that he hasn't been to the doctor' (Villa-García 2019: 29)

In brief, English recomplementation displays similar properties to its Spanish counterpart. The main difference between both languages is that while *que$_1$* must be obligatorily spelled out in Spanish, *that$_1$* can be non-overt in English. Regarding jussive/optative constructions, Villa-García's example in (30) seems to meet the same properties as the jussive/optative construction in Spanish, which suggests that we have a structure that can potentially be an instance of a jussive/optative construction in English.

Once we have studied the properties presented by the complementizers, let us examine the sandwiched constituent.

2.2.2. The left-dislocate constituent: types and properties

It has been said that the left-dislocate is a crucial constituent when it comes to licensing recomplementation in Spanish, and according to Radford (2018), this is also the case in English. Considering this, next we will analyse which elements appear sandwiched in English recomplementation and which their properties are.

The Spanish HTLD constituents have an English counterpart, but with a little difference: in Spanish, the dislocated constituent bares nominative case mark, whereas in English these structures always have accusative case, as in (35).

(35) *Him*$_i$, I don't really think *that guy*$_i$ likes me (Villa-García 2019: 5).

Similarly, PPs/adjunct adverbials and clausal adverbials are elements that are also licensed as left-dislocates in recomplementation in English (as the underlined constituent

in (36) shows). In Section 2.1.2, it has already been mentioned that some authors like Uriagereka (1988) have argued that adjuncts can be base-generated in their surface position instead of movement being involved. Following this idea, Villa-García (2019) believes that in English recomplementation, as in Spanish, PPs/adjunct adverbials and clausal adverbials are also merged in their surface position (Villa-García 2019).

(36) Please do not think **that$_1$** just because you dial 999 ***that$_2$*** police will attend (Villa-García 2019: 3).

Recently, Radford (2018) has also identified another type of English left-dislocate: *orphaned topics* (37).

(37) *Bale*, I thought that was an absolutely super cross (Radford 2018: 42).

In Section 2.1.2, I have already summarized the basic properties of orphaned topics and provided a Spanish example. It has been mentioned that despite linguists not clarifying if orphaned topics are found in recomplementation structures, given that they are base-generated in their surface position, they could be potential candidates to surface sandwiched between *that*-s. In brief, the elements licensed as left-dislocates in multiple complementizer structures in English include: HTLDs, PPs/adjunct adverbials and clausal adverbials.

I have summarized the comparison between multiple complementizer structures shared by English and Spanish in the following table. Given that Villa-García (2015) provides a sentence that could be the English counterpart of the Spanish jussive/optative construction, recall (30), I have also included that structure in the comparison.

2.2.3. Summary: the range of multiple complementizer structures shared by English and Spanish

Table 2

		MOOD OF THE SUBORDINATE VERB	THAT$_1$/QUE$_1$		LEFT-DISLOCATE				THAT$_2$/QUE$_2$		
			OBLIGATORY	PLACE	OBLIGATORY	TYPES	ITERATE	PLACE	OBLIGATORY	ITERATE	PLACE
RECOMPLEMENTATION	SPANISH	INDICATIVE (usually)	QUE$_1$	Head, ForceP	✓	HTLD, CLLD, PP/ adjunct adverbial and clausal adverbials	✓	Spec, TopP	(QUE$_2$)	✓	Head, TopP
	ENGLISH	INDICATIVE	(THAT$_1$)	Head, ForceP	✓	HTLD, PP/ adjunct adverbial and clausal adverbials	✓	Spec, TopP	(THAT$_2$)	✓	Head, TopP
JUSSIVE/ OPTATIVE STRUCTURE	SPANISH	SUBJUNCTIVE	QUE$_1$	Head, ForceP	✗	Ø	✗	Spec, TopP	QUE$_2$	✗	Head, FinP
	ENGLISH	SUBJUNCTIVE	THAT$_1$	Head, ForceP	Ø	Ø	✗	Spec, TopP	THAT$_2$	✗	Head, FinP

2.3. The linguistic context and function of recomplementation

Previously, we have explained the differences exhibited by the distinct types of complementizers found in multiple complementizer constructions. Since the structure that has been studied more in-depth in both languages is recomplementation, here I will discuss its properties more in detail and try to define the pragmatic context licensing this construction and the function it fulfils.

Many experts (Villa-García 2019; McCloskey 2006; Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2009) have observed that recomplementation is especially linked to oral speech, although it can also be found in written texts, as in (38). Since recomplementation is a grammatical structure, the reason why it is more often found in oral than in written texts may simply be that the pragmatic context licensing this structure is more frequent in oral exchanges.

(38) Student essay (California): I found **that$_1$** when there were an equal number of men and women ***that$_2$*** the women tended to talk to the women (McCloskey 2006: 23)

The next step would be to consider the environment that licenses recomplementation:

(i) The clause has to be either embedded or matrix quotative headed by *que*[17] (Villa-García 2015).

(ii) It normally occurs with a subordinate verb that bears indicative mood (Villa-García 2015).

(iii) In the case of Spanish, the matrix verb cannot be factive/volitive[18], consider (39), and it usually tends to be a verb of communication (Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2009; Villa-García 2015).

[17] However, in this paper we will only focus on embedded clauses; for further information in matrix quotative clauses headed by *que* see Etxepare (2010).

[18] A factive verb is a predicate that "presuppose the truth of its complement sentence" (Karttunen 1971: 55). A volitive one expresses an intention or wish (SIL International, n.d); the following predicates are examples of volitive verbs: *pedir* 'request/require', *rogar* 'to request', *suplicar* 'to supplicate', *ordenar* 'to order', etc. Indeed, these verbs always require a jussive/optative construction (González i Planas 2014: 10).

(39) *Factive matrix predicate*

*<u>Lamenta</u>	**que$_1$**	a	tu	padre,	***que$_2$***	no	lo
lamentes	that	DOM	your	father	that	not	cl.$_{3sg\text{-}masc\text{-}acc}$

hayan	invitado
have$_{Subj}$	invited

'S/he was sorry that the dog was killed' (Villa-García 2019: 32).

(iv) Recomplementation only occurs with matrix verbs that take non-referential complements (henceforth Embedded Polar Answers[19]). That is a complement that "denotes a speech act, which introduces a new proposition (or an open question) that is not yet accepted (or pre-established) in the existing discourse" (Villa-García 2015: 36).

These four criteria summarize the grammatical context in which recomplementation occurs in Spanish and, overall, in English. However, there are a few differences between these languages. For instance, despite recomplementation not being compatible with factive verbs in Spanish, such restriction is not present in English (Villa-García 2019):

(40) I <u>realize</u> **that$_1$** this flight, ***that$_2$*** I'm going to miss it if I keep writing this email (Villa-García 2019: 32)

A fifth fact that must be taken into consideration is that Spanish recomplementation is subject to a head-to-head relation. In other words, "the high *que* may be a selection mediator between a superordinate predicate (i.e. the verb) and secondary *que*" (Villa-García 2015: 36). English would be amenable to a similar analysis, although the fact that *that$_1$* does not need to be overtly expressed in English (as in (33)) might mask this fact.

[19] This is a non-referential complement and can be defined as follows: "it denotes an accepted (pre-established or resolved) proposition in the existing discourse/common ground (shared by the speakers), which has no illocutionary force" (Villa-García 2015: 36).

After analysing all these conditions, it has become clear that recomplementation is a complex phenomenon. Regarding the function that recomplementation *que₂/that₂* has, Staum Casasanto and Sag (2008) offer two possible answers: (i) it would announce that the next element is a subject; (ii) it eases the processing of the sentence, especially, when this is long.

Radford (2018) disagrees with the first proposal and defends that the secondary complementizer does not signal a subject, but a criterial specifier. That is, the upcoming element can also be an adverbial adjunct, a dislocated topic, or a focused negative phrase. This is not the only evidence against the proposal by Staum Casasanto and Sag (2008). Thus, Villa-García (2015) adds that in Spanish, for instance, the subject can either appear after the verb or be pro-dropped. Further, clauses containing a null subject (e.g. atmospheric predicate) can also appear in recomplementation structures. All these facts argue against Staum Casasanto and Sag's (2008) proposal.

Regarding the second suggestion, Villa-García (2015) attests that having a short left-dislocate element is possible in Spanish recomplementation. Radford (2018) shows that the same is true for English. Consequently, the fact that recomplementation is possible in cases where the resulting structure is short (41/42) and does not imply any extra processing load, goes against the second suggestion made by Staum Casasanto and Sag (2008).

(41)

Ayer	le	dije	**que₁**	*hoy*	***que₂***	no	vengo
Yesterday	cl.$_{3sg\text{-}dat}$	say$_{1sg\text{-}Past}$	that	today	that	no	come$_{1sg\text{-}Pres}$

'Yesterday I told him that today I'm not coming' (Villa-García 2015: 9)

(42) Now Alan Pardew accepts **that₁** *maybe* ***that₂*** the success they've had is going to come back and haunt them (Radford 2018: 187)

Therefore, based on what we have analysed so far, and the structure assumed for recomplementation in (10) (where the second complementizer heads TopP), we can conclude that the function of recomplementation *que₂/that₂* is to mark a topic in the structure.

To sum up, in Section 2 we have delineated the phenomenon of multiple complementizer structures. Based on Spanish, we have shown that three different structures license multiple complementizers, each of them with well-defined properties, the so-called: i) recomplementation, ii) jussive/optative structures, and iii) pleonastic structures. Besides, these constructions involving multiple complementizers are not exclusive to Romance languages, since, for instance, recomplementation can also be found in English.

Although structures with multiple complementizers have been analysed in Romance languages and English, the phenomenon has never been investigated before in Basque. In the next section, we offer a preliminary analysis of the Basque counterparts of multiple complementizer structures already discussed. Since the one structure shared by English and Spanish that has been analysed more in detail is recomplementation, we will focus on this structure for our analysis.

3. ARE THERE MULTIPLE COMPLEMENTIZER STRUCTURES IN BASQUE?

Despite recomplementation being present both in Spanish and in English, this phenomenon displays some distinct features in each language. More specifically, we have seen that although the primary complementizer must be overt in Spanish, it can be non–overt in English. Therefore, the obligatoriness of expressing certain functional elements overtly is subject to crosslinguistic variation.

Let us now examine how the counterparts of recomplementation structures analysed in English and Spanish are expressed in Basque. The goal of this section is, thus, to explore whether there is evidence in favour of assuming that recomplementation exists in Basque and, if so, which properties it presents.

When analysing recomplementation in Spanish and English, we have encountered four patterns, repeated below. For each type, we provide an example from previous sections and the corresponding Basque translation.

(43) Skeleton 1: **que**$_1$ LD **(*que*$_2$)**

(1) Digo **que**$_1$, como está nevando, **(*que*$_2$)** viene ahora.

(1a) Esaten dut elurra egiten ari denez orain etorriko dela.

(26) I just wanted to say **that**$_1$ despite all these short term problems **(*that*$_2$)** they needed to keep in mind the needs of the poor.

(26a) Soilik esan nahi nuen azken uneko arazo guzti hauek medio behartsuen beharrak ahintzat izan behar dituztela.

(44) Skeleton 3: **Ø$_{\text{THAT1}}$** LD ***that*$_2$**

(33) I'm sure **Ø$_{\text{THAT1}}$** behind the scenes ***that*$_2$** he's got the backing.

(33a) Ziur naiz eszenen atzean babesa duela.

(45) Skeleton 3: **que$_1$/that$_1$** LD ***que*$_{2a}$/*that*$_{2a}$** LD ***que*$_{2b}$/*that*$_{2b}$**[20]

(5) Dijo **que**$_1$, el dinero, ***que*$_{2a}$** a Juan, ***que*$_{2b}$** se lo mandaban por correo.

(5a) Esan zuen dirua Joni postaz bidaliko ziotela.

(31) I don't think **that**$_1$ for the sake of your own well-being, ***that*$_{2a}$** if you are in a bilingual classroom, ***that*$_{2b}$** once you have completed the homework in one language, ***that*$_{2c}$** you should have to do it all over again in the second one.

(31a) Ez dut uste, zeure hobe beharrez, elebiduna den gela batean bazaude behin hizkuntza batean lana burutu duzularik berriz egin behar duzunik bigarren hizkuntzan.

(46) Skeleton 4: **que$_1$/that$_1$** LD ***que*$_{2a}$/*that*$_{2a}$** LD ***Ø*$_{QUE2b/THAT2b}$**

(11) Me dijeron **que**$_1$ entonces, ***que*$_{2a}$** a tu padre ***Ø*$_{QUE2b}$** no lo van a llamar ni en sueños.

(11a) Esan zidaten orduan zeure aitari ez ziotela ametsetan ere deituko.

(32) I must admit **that**$_1$, during the Paralympics held in Rio, ***that*$_{2a}$** the courage that some athletes showed, ***Ø*$_{THAT2b}$** it filled me with admiration.

[20] To be precise, recomplementation *that*$_2$ in (31) iterates once more: *that*$_{2c}$.

(32a) Aitortu behar dut Rion izandako Paralympikoetan zehar zeinbait atletek erakutsitako adoreak miresmenez bete ninduela.

The Basque translations differ greatly from the original Spanish and English sentences. If we take this at its face value, it would mean that Basque does not license recomplementation. But considering the crosslinguistic variation observed in the expression of the functional elements involved in recomplementation, it might be that Basque has recomplementation. How can that be?

Let us explore, for the sake of the discussion, the hypothesis that Basque has the mentioned structure. Under this hypothesis, the fact that we only have one overt complementizer should be interpreted as resulting from one of the complementizers necessarily being non-overt. But which one? To answer this question, we need to identify which type of complementizer the suffix *–(e)la* is. Here there are two possibilities.

Suppose that *–(e)la* corresponds to the primary complementizer. This is consistent with the fact that *–(e)la*'s general function is to introduce a subordinate clause and specify its semantic features (as a declarative)[21]. From this perspective, *–(e)la* should be analysed as the Basque counterpart of the primary *that/que* found in English/Spanish recomplementation[22], and it would head ForceP[23]. If this is correct and Basque has recomplementation, then the reason why there are not two overt complementizers is that the second complementizer, *–(e)la*$_2$, would correspond to [head, TopP] and this is always non-overt in Basque.

Let us now consider the hypothesis that *–(e)la* corresponds to the non-primary complementizer. Then, following Rodriguez-Ramalle's (2003) analysis, *–(e)la* would sit [head, TopP] and the non-overt complementizer would be the head of ForceP. However, we will not pursue this hypothesis for the following two reasons. First, because the head of TopP never seems to be overt in Basque and, more importantly, because in regular

[21] The Basque counterpart of the Spanish *que* and the English *that* is the suffix *–(e)la*, in affirmative contexts, and *–enik* in negative contexts (Laka 1990; Uribe-Etxebarria 1994). Here I will limit myself to the study of *–(e)la*.

[22] One difference between these functional elements would be that while English and Spanish complementizers *that* and *que* are free morphs, Basque complementizers are suffixes attached to a finite verb (Artiagoitia & Elordieta 2016; Ortiz de Urbina 1999).

[23] If ForceP is head initial, as assumed by most of the works in Basque, we would need to explain why it surfaces suffixed to the finite verb. The debate on word order at the head parameter is very complex in the case of Basque, but for the sake of the discussion we could simply assume that, being a suffix, it undergoes a morphological process of cliticization onto the finite verb.

cases involving subordination with no topic involved *–(e)la* must always be present. This suggests that *–(e)la* corresponds to the head of ForceP and not to the head of TopP[24].

To conclude, it is not clear whether Basque has recomplementation or not, but the possibility exists that this language has this construction if we analyse *–(e)la* as a primary complementizer and we assume that the non-primary complementizer sitting in TopP must be non-overt[25]. If this hypothesis is tenable, then based on the three languages under analysis we would have the following crosslinguistic patterns of variation:

(47)

a. Pattern 1: **Comp$_1$** LD (***Comp$_2$***) [Spanish/English]
b. Pattern 2: **Ø$_{Comp1}$** LD ***Comp$_2$*** [En]
c. Pattern 3: **Comp$_1$** LD ***Comp$_{2a}$*** LD ***Comp$_{2b}$*** **…** [Sp/En]
d. Pattern 4: **Comp$_1$** LD ***Comp$_{2a}$*** LD ***Ø$_{Comp2b}$*** [Sp/En]
e. Pattern 5: **Comp$_1$** LD ***Ø$_{Comp2}$*** [Basque]

4. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has offered a general overview of multiple complementizer structures in English and Spanish. It has shown that not all structures are the same regarding their properties and their underlying syntactic structure. This is why it is so important not to generalize about these constructions.

We have seen that in Spanish multiple complementizer constructions have quite an old tradition since there are recorded instances of it in Middle Ages texts: the so-called pleonastic structures. Following the literature on the topic, the pleonastic constructions are no longer available, but we can find other structures involving multiple complementizers: the so-called recomplementation, and jussive/optative structures. These two differ mainly in the obligatoriness of the non-primary complementizer and the mood of the embedded verb. Besides, despite in both cases *que$_1$* heading ForceP, recomplementation *que$_2$* heads TopicP, while jussive/optative *que$_2$* occupies FinP. Thus, although following the tradition in the literature we have referred to them as involving

[24] Thanks to Myriam U.-E. for helpful discussion and suggestions regarding recomplementation in Basque.
[25] Although I will not explore this question here, it would be interesting to study whether the impossibility to express two overt complementizers in Basque has to do with the fact that they are morphemes that need to be attached to a finite verb, and there is only one finite verb per clause.

multiple complementizers, these structures do not involve the iteration of the same functional element, but rather the sequence of two different functional elements which happen to be homophonous.

We have further seen that recomplementation in English displays similar characteristics to its Spanish counterpart, with a few exceptions involving the obligatoriness of the primary complementizer. Regarding the English counterpart of the Spanish jussive/optative constructions, until recently linguists have believed that these structures were not present in this language, but Villa-García (2015) has found an example that seems to fit with that characterization.

While recomplementation is present in English and Spanish, the phenomenon has not been investigated in Basque. Thus, in this paper, I have conducted a first approach to analyse how the Spanish and the English counterparts of recomplementation are expressed in Basque. From a descriptive viewpoint, we never find structures involving the repetition of *–(e)la*. This can either mean that there is no recomplementation in Basque or that Basque licenses recomplementation but with a non-overt secondary complementizer. We leave all these questions regarding Basque open for further research.

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