Responsive attitudes and Spanish reportative QUE

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1. INTRODUCTION

■ Two $CP_{interrogative}$ strategies in Spanish:
① V + $bareCP_{interr}$
② V + QUE-CP_{interr}
This paper investigates these two strategies when embedded under responsive verbs (i.e., under verbs that syntactically embed both $CP_{interrogative}$ and $CP_{declarative}$).[1]

■ Distribution under responsive verbs (Vs):
The two strategies have different distributions (Rivero 1980, Plann 1982, Suñer 1993, a.o.):

(1)
Distribution:
① V + $bareCP_{interr}$ ⇨ grammatical under all responsive Vs
② V + QUE-CP_{interr} ⇨ grammatical under some but not all responsive V (To be revised)

(2) a. Paco repitió / dijo / explicó / contó [quién vino].
Paco repeated / said / explained / told who came
'Paco repeated/said/explained/told who came.'
b. Paco repitió / dijo / *explicó / *contó [**que** quién vino].
Paco repeated / said / explained / told **QUE** who came
'Paco repeated/said/*explained/*told QUE who came.'

■ Interpretation under responsive Vs:
The two strategies lead to two different interpretations (Plann 1982, Suñer 1993):

(3)
① V + bare CP_{interr} ⇨ A(nswer)-oriented: x V-ed the answer to the question
② V + QUE-CP_{interr} ⇨ Q(uestion)-oriented: x V-ed the question

(4) a. Paco repitió / dijo [quién vino].
Paco repeated who came
'Paco repeated/said who came' ⇨ Paco proffered the answer
b. Paco repitió / dijo [**que** quién vino].
Paco repeated / dijo **QUE** who came
'Paco repeated/said QUE who came' ⇨ Paco proffered the question

[1] The two strategies are also found under certain antirogative and rogative Vs. We leave these for another occasion.

■ A similar interpretive pattern in the literature: regular CP vs. 'say'-complementation

- Interpretive contrasts reminiscent of (3) have been attested between regular CPs vs. so-called 'say'-CPs, in which a CP is introduced by a special complementizer (e.g. Turkish *diye*, Jap. *to*) and which involve a sense of –verbal or mental– linguistic production.

(5) a. Ai [kar-ın ne zaman yağ-dığ-ın-a] şaşırdı. (Turkish)
Ai snow-GEN when fall-NOM-3s.POSS-DAT was.surprised
'Ai was surprised by when it had snowed.' ⇨ surprised at the answer
b. Ai [kar ne zaman yağ-dı **diye**] şaşırdı.
Ai snow when fall-PST.3s DIYE was.surprised
'Ai was surprised, thinking "When did it snow?"' ⇨ produced the question

(6) a. Ai-wa [yuki-ga itsu hutta-ka-ni] odoroita. (Japanese)
Ai-TOP snow-NOM when fell-Q-DAT was.surprised
'Ai was surprised by when it had snowed' ⇨ surprised at the answer
b. Ai-wa [yuki-ga itsu hutta-ka-**to**] odoroita.
Ai-TOP snow-NOM when fell-Q-TO was.surprised
'Ai was surprised, thinking "When it had snowed?"' ⇨ produced the question

- Analysis of regular CPs vs. 'say'-CPs in the literature: argument vs. adjunct
Regular CPs function as arguments of the matrix attitude verb whereas 'say'-CPs function as adjuncts (Bondarenko 2020 for Buryat, Major 2021 for Uyghur and Avatime, Goodhue & Shimoyama 2022 for Japanese, Özyıldız & Uegaki 2023 for Turkish and Japanese, a.o.).

- The interpretive A- vs. Q-oriented contrast in (5)-(6) has been derived from this argument/adjunct asymmetry (Özyıldız & Uegaki 2023).

■ Goals of this talk:
- To show that Spanish QUE-IntCPs function as *bona fide* arguments of the attitude verb and, thus, that the pattern in (3) cannot be due to an argument/adjunct asymmetry.
- To develop a novel analysis that derives the distribution (1) & interpretation (3) of QUE-IntCPs

■ To this end, besides adapting insights from 'say'-complementation (Maier 2017, Özyıldız 2017, Bondarenko 2020, Major 2021, Özyıldız & Uegaki 2023, a.o.), two current strands of work in formal semantics will be combined:

- Event-anchored neo-Davidsonean framework for attitude verbs (Kratzer 2006, Moulton 2009, Hacquard 2006, 2010, Demirock, Özyıldız & Ozturk 2020, a.o.)
⇨ semantic contribution of COMP(lementizer) and distribution in (1)

- Uniform treatment of CP_{interr} and CP_{declar} and derivation of A- and Q-oriented readings (Ciardelli & Roelofsen 2015, Uegaki 2015, Theiler, Roelofsen & Aloni 2018, a.o.).
⇨ basis for the two interpretations in (3)

■ Roadmap

§2 Data showing that QUE-IntCPs in Spanish are argumental
§3 Theoretical background
§4 Proposed analysis
§5 A potential extension: Spanish matrix QUE
§6 Conclusion and Outlook

2. DATA SHOWING THAT QUE-INTCPS IN SPANISH ARE ARGUMENTAL

2.1. Pronominalization

■ In Turkish and Japanese, regular (here, nominalized) CPs are pronominalized with the argumental proform 'that'/'it' whereas 'say'-CPs are pronominalized with the adverbial proform 'so' (Özyıldız & Uegaki 2023; see also Bondarenko 2020, cf. *how*-question test in Major 2024 and Driemel & Kouneli 2024):

(7) a. Taro [kim-in gel-dig-in-e] şaşırdı. Jiro da {**??öyle / on-a**} şaşırdı.
Taro who-GEN come-NMZ-3S-DAT was.surprised. Jiro too {so / that.Dat} was.surprised
'Taro was surprised by who came. Jiro was surprised by that too.'

b. Taro [kim gel-ecek **diye**] şaşırdı. Jiro da {**öyle / ??on-a**} şaşırdı.
Taro who come.Fut DIYE was.surprised. Jiro too {so / that.Dat} was.surprised
'Taro was surprised, thinking "Who will come?". Jiro was surprised in that way too.'
(Turkish)

(8) a. Ai-wa [dare-ga kuri-ka-ni] odorita. Ken-mo **{??soo / sore-ni**} odoroita.
Ai-TOP who-NOM come-Q-DAT was.surprised. Ken-too so / it-DAT was.surprised
'Ai was surprised by who will come. Ken was surprised by it too.'

b. Ai-wa [dare-ga kuru-ka-to] odorita. Ken-mo {**soo / ??sore-ni**} odoroita.
Ai-TOP who-NOM come-Q-TO was.surprised. Ken too so / it-DAT was.surprised
'Ai was surprised, thinking "Who will come?". Ken was surprised in that way too.'
(Japanese)

■ In Spanish, both the regular (here, bare) IntCPs and QUE-IntCPs must be pronominalized with the argumental proform *lo* 'it':

(9) a. Juan repitió [quién había venido]. Mira también **{*así / lo**} repitió. (Spanish)
Juan repeated who had come. Mira too { so / it.Acc} repeated
'Juan repeated who came. Mira repeated it too'

b. Juan repitió [**que** quién había venido]. Mira también **{*así / lo**} repitió.
Juan repeated QUE who had come. Mira too { so / it.Acc} repeated
'Juan repeated QUE who came. Mira repeated it too'

2.2. Compatibility with embedding Vs

■ In Turkish and Japanese, 'say'-CPs combined with a wide variety of verbal structures, even with transitive attitude Vs whose theme argument is saturated by a DP, as in (10), and with intransitive non-attitudinal Vs, as in (11):[2]

(10) Ai kar-a [ne zaman yağ-dı **diye**] şaşırdı. (Turkish)
Ai snow-DAT when fall-PST.3s DIYE was.surprised
'Ai was surprised by the snow, thinking "When did it fall?"'

(11) Taro [ses ne ol-abil-ir **diye**] arandı (Turkish)
Taro sound what be-MODAL-AOR.3S DIYE looked around
'Taro looked around, saying/thinking "What sound could it be?".'

■ In Spanish, the distribution of QUE-IntCPs is very restricted, as announced in (1): They combine only with unsaturated transitive attitude Vs, and only with those of them which can take as their direct object a matrix interrogative in direct speech (Plann 1982):

(12) Juan repitió / dijo / susurró / escribió / pensó$_{eventive}$: "¿Quién ha venido?"
Juan repeated / said / whispered / wrote down / thought : "Who came?"

(13) Juan repitió / dijo / susurró / escribió / pensó [∅ / ✓**que** quién había venido]
Juan repeated / said / whispered / wrote down / thought [∅ / QUE who had come]
'Juan repeated / said / whispered / wrote down / thought ∅ / QUE who had come.'

(14) Juan *explicó / *contó / *sabe / *sospecha / *lamentó: "¿Quién ha venido?"
Juan *explained / *told / *knows / *suspects / *regretted: "Who came?"

(15) Juan explicó / contó / sabe / sospecha / lamentó [∅ / ***que** quién había venido]
Juan explained / told / knows / suspects / regretted [∅ / QUE who had come]
'Juan explained / told / knows / suspects / regretted ∅ / QUE who had come.'

(16) Plann's (1982) empirical generalization:
Only attitude Vs that can be followed by a matrix interrogative in direct speech can embed a QUE-intCP.

■ Conclusion of §2:

(17) In Turkish and Japanese, **nominalized CPs** function as **arguments** of the verb while **'say'-CPs** in CPs function as **adjuncts** of the verb (Özyıldız & Uegaki 2023).
In Spanish, both **bare intCPs** and **QUE-intCPs** function as **arguments** of the verb.

[2] When a *diye/to*-CP combines with a transitive attitude verb with no overt element saturating the argument slot, it has been argued that a null proform occupies that argumental position, thus making the structure parallel to (10) (Goodhue & Shimoyama 2022, Özyıldız & Uegaki 2024).

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

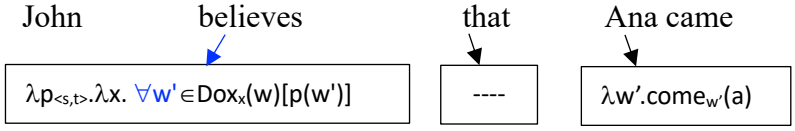
- Two trends of work
  - Event-anchored neo-Davidsonean framework for attitude verbs
  - Uniform treatment of CP_{interr} and CP_{decl} and derivation of A- and Q-oriented readings

3.1. Event-anchored neo-Davidsonean framework for attitude verbs

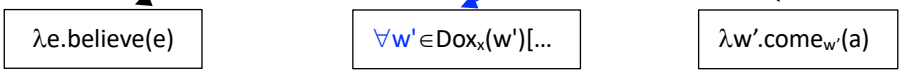
- The locus of modal quantification in e.g. (18):
  - In the traditional approach, the locus of modal quantification is the attitude V: (19).
  - In the event-anchored approach, the attitude V denotes a simple property of events and the locus of modal quantification is somewhere else (Kratzer 2006, Moulton 2010, Portner & Rubinstein 2020, a.o.): (20).

(18) a. John believes that Ana came.
b. $\lambda w.\ \forall w' \in Dox_a(w)\ [come_{w'}(a)]$

(19) Division of labor in the traditional framework:



(20) Division of labor in event-anchored neo-Davidsonean framework:
[[John Ag^0] believes [Th^0 [that Mood^0 Ana came]]]

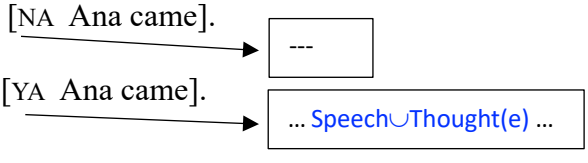


IDEA 1: Modal quantification is contributed by some component on the functional spine of the embedded clause, as in (20): mood, the complementizer, Th^0.

SPOILER 1: We will locate modal quantification in Th^0.

- Complementizers (COMP)
  Some complementizers are trivial/vacuous while others add non-trivial content (Kratzer 2006; Demirock, Özyıldız & Ozturk 2020, simplified here)

(21) Distributional schema of complementizers NA and YA in Laz:
a. Bill said / told me / believes / knows [NA Ana came].
b. Bill said / told me / *believes / *knows [YA Ana came].



IDEA 2: Specialized COMPs impose requirements on the matrix event they combine with.

SPOILER 2: Spanish QUE will be one such specialized COMP.

3.2. Uniform treatment of CP_{interr} and CP_{decl} and derivation of A- and Q-readings

■ Theiler, Roelofsen & Aloni (2018) aim (among other things) at explaining the following grammaticality and interpretation pattern:

(22) a. ✓John repeated [$_{CPdecl}$ that Ana came].
b. ✓John repeated [$_{CPinterr}$ who$_{\{a,b,c\}}$ came]. ⇨ John produced the/an answer

(23) a. * John asked [$_{CPdecl}$ that Ana came].
b. ✓John asked [$_{CPinterr}$ who$_{\{a,b,c\}}$ came]. ⇨ John produced the question

■ Step 1: Uniform treatment of CP_{interr} and CP_{declar} as denoting a set of propositions (<st,t>):

(24) $[\![[_{CPdecl} \text{ that Ana came}]]\!] = \{ \lambda w'.come_{w'}(a) \}$

(25) $[\![[_{CPinterr} \text{ who}_{\{a,b,c\}} \text{ came}]]\!] = \{ \lambda w'.come_{w'}(a), \lambda w'.come_{w'}(b), \lambda w'.come_{w'}(c) \}$

■ Step 2: Two different modal quantificational templates for attitude verbs: (Simplified!)

(26) Conversational backgrounds:
a. $Dox_x(w)$ = {w': w' conforms to what x believes in w}
b. $Rpt_x(w)$ = {w': w' conforms to what x says/repeats in w}

(27) Inquisitive state: [very roughly!]
$Inq_x(w)$ = { $p_{<s,t>}$: p settles one way or another all the issues entertained by x in w }

(28) Sample responsive V:
$[\![repeat]\!] = \lambda T_{<st,t>}. \lambda x_e. \lambda w_s. \exists p \in T [Rpt_x(w) \subseteq p]$

x repeated some p in T...

(29) Sample rogative V:
$[\![ask]\!] = \lambda T_{<st,t>}. \lambda x_e. \lambda w_s. \neg\exists p \in T [Dox_x(w) \subseteq p] \wedge Inq_x(w) \subseteq T$[3]

x is not certain about any p in T...

... but wants to find out the truth answer to T

■ Sample derived truth conditions:

(30) $[\![$ John repeated [$_{CPinterr}$ who$_{\{a,b,c\}}$ came] $]\!]$ ⇨ Answer-oriented reading
= $\lambda w. \exists p \in \{\lambda w'.come_{w'}(a), \lambda w'.come_{w'}(b), \lambda w'.come_{w'}(c)\} [Rpt_x(w) \subseteq p]$

(31) $[\![$ John asked [$_{CPinterr}$ who$_{\{a,b,c\}}$ came] $]\!]$ ⇨ Question-oriented reading
= $\lambda w_s. \neg\exists p \in \{\lambda w'.come_{w'}(a), \lambda w'.come_{w'}(b), \lambda w'.come_{w'}(c)\} [Dox_x(w) \subseteq p]$
$\wedge Inq_x(w) \subseteq \{\lambda w'.come_{w'}(a), \lambda w'.come_{w'}(b), \lambda w'.come_{w'}(c)\}$

IDEA 3: The different modal quantification templates used for responsive vs. rogative Vs derive the A-oriented and Q-oriented readings.

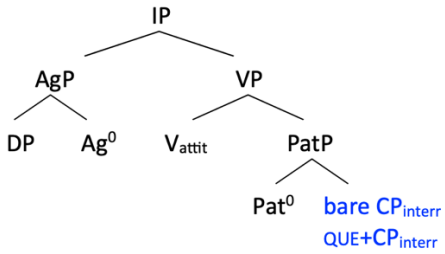
SPOILER 3: Since in our event-anchored framework Vs are simple predicates of events and the locus of modal quantification is Th^0, we will move Theiler et al.'s (2018) quantificational templates to Th^0 and make the choice of template depend on whether the event is non-inquisitive vs. inquisitive.

[3] Theiler et al. (2018) assume that sentence meanings are downward closed: If $p \in [\![\phi]\!]$ and $p \subset q$, then $q \in [\![\phi]\!]$.

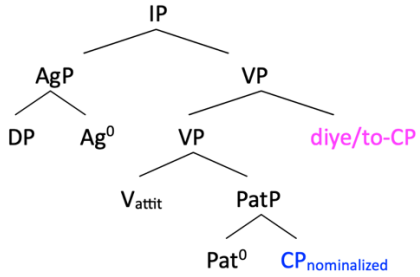
4. Proposed Analysis

■ Syntax

(32) Spanish:



(33) Turkish & Jap (Özyıldız & Uegaki 2023)



■ Semantics

(34) Attitude verbs:
a. $[\![\text{repeat}]\!]$ = $\lambda e.\ \text{repeat}(e)$
b. $[\![\text{ask}]\!]$ = $\lambda e.\ \text{ask}(e)$

(35) Complementizers:
a. $[\![\text{que}_{\text{decl}}]\!]$ = $\lambda Q_{<st,t>}.\ \lambda T_{<<st,t>,<vt>>}.\ \lambda e.\ T(Q)(e)$ (or vacuous)
b. $[\![\text{QUE}]\!]$ = $\lambda Q_{<st,t>}.\ \lambda T_{<<st,t>,<vt>>}.\ \lambda e.\ T(Q)(e) \wedge \text{LINGPROD-CONTENT}(e)=Q$

(36) θ heads:
a. $[\![\text{Ag}^0]\!]$ = $\lambda x_e.\ \lambda e.\ \text{Author}(e)=x$
b. $[\![\text{Pat}^0]\!]$ = $\lambda Q_{<st,t>}.\ \lambda e.\ \text{Theme}(e)=Q$

(37) a. If e is non-inquisitive, then: $\text{Theme}(e)=Q$ iff $\exists p \in Q\ [\ \text{Rpt}_{\text{author}(e)} \subseteq p\ ]$
b. If e is inquisitive, then: $\text{Theme}(e)=Q$ iff $\neg\exists p \in Q[\text{Dox}_{\text{author}(e)} \subseteq p] \wedge \text{Inq}_{\text{author}(e)} \subseteq Q$

(38) Predicate Modification over events:
If α has the syntactic form $[\alpha\ \beta\ \gamma\ ]$, and β and γ are both of type <v,t>,
then $[\![\alpha]\!]^{w,g}$ = $[\ \lambda e_v.\ ([\![\beta]\!]^{w,g}(e) \wedge [\![\gamma]\!]^{w,g}(e))\ ]$

■ One more crucial ingredient: (non)-inquisitivity of events
Let us examine more closely attitude verbs that can take a direct quote as direct object à la Plann (1982). Among those…

- Rogative verbs depict events that are inherently inquisitive: (39)
- **Responsive** verbs:
  - **Type A**: The depicted event is inherently non-inquisitive: (40)
  - **Type B**: The depicted event is unspecified for (non-)inquisitivity: (41)-(42)

(39) a. Juan *preguntó / *se preguntó: "Ana vino."
Juan *asked / *wondered: "Ana came."
b. Juan ✓preguntó / ✓se preguntó: "Quién vino?"
Juan ✓asked / ✓wondered: "Who came?"

(40) a. Juan ✓explicó / ✓me contó / ✓reveló / ✓confesó : "Ana vino."
Juan ✓explained / ✓told me / ✓revealed / ✓confessed : "Ana came."
b. Juan *explicó / *me contó / *reveló / *confesó : "Quién vino?"
Juan *explained / *told me / *revealed / *confessed : "Who came?"

(41) a. Juan ✓repitió / ✓dijo / ✓susurró / ✓contestó : "Ana vino."
Juan ✓repeated / ✓said / ✓whispered / ✓answered : "Ana came."
b. Juan ✓repitió / ✓dijo / ✓susurró / ✓contestó : "Quién vino?"
Juan ✓repeated / ✓said / ✓whispered / ✓answered: "Who came?"

(42) (Me) contestó: "¿Por qué lo quieres saber?" (Plann 1982)
He answered: "Why do you want to know?"

■ Deriving the empirical patterns
In the following, we show how the proposed analysis derives the distribution and interpretation pattern of BareIntCPs and QUE-IntCPs under responsive Vs.

(43)
Distribution:
① V + bareCP_{interr} ⇨ grammatical under all responsive Vs
② V + QUE-CP_{interr} ⇨ grammatical under only under unsaturated transitive responsive Vs that can take a direct interrogative quote as direct object

(44)
① V + bare CP_{interr} ⇨ A(nswer)-oriented: x V-ed the answer to the question
② V + QUE-CP_{interr} ⇨ Q(uestion)-oriented: x V-ed the question
=(3)

■ We will go through four cases:
- Type A 'explain' + bareIntCP
- Type A 'explain' + QUE-IntCP
- Type B 'repeat' + QUE-IntCP
- Type B 'repeat' + bareIntCP

■ Type A + bareIntCP
- The compositional derivation leads to the truth conditions in (45a).
- An explaining event is inherently a non-inquisitive speech production event. Thus, the Theme-equation in (45a) is resolved as in (45b) via the non-inquisitive resolution (37a).
- (45b) leads to no analytical triviality/contradiction. ⇨ grammatical
- (45b) describes Paco's attitude towards an answer. ⇨ A-oriented reading

(45) [[Paco explained who came]] =
a. λe. explain(e) ∧ Author(e)=paco ∧ Theme(e)={a came, b came, c came}
b. λe. explain(e) ∧ Author(e)=paco ∧ ∃p∈{a came, b came, c came}[$Rpt_{author(e)} \subseteq p$]

■ Type A + QUE-IntCP

- The compositional derivation leads to the truth conditions in (46a).
- An explaining event is inherently a non-inquisitive speech production event. Thus, the Theme-equation in (46a) is resolved as in (46b).
- However, (46b) and QUE's requirement that the content of the production be a question lead together to an analytical contradiction.

⇨ ungrammatical (à la Gajewski 2002)

(46) [[Paco explained QUE who came]] =

a. λe. explain(e) ∧ Author(e)=paco ∧ Theme(e)={a came, b came, c came} ∧ LINGPROD-CONTENT(e)={a came, b came, c came}

b. λe. explain(e) ∧ Author(e)=paco ∧ ∃p∈{a came, b came, c came}[$Rpt_{author(e)} \subseteq p$] ∧ LINGPROD-CONTENT(e)={a came, b came, c came}

■ Type B + QUE-IntCP

- The compositional derivation leads to the truth conditions in (47a).
- A repeating event may in principle be inquisitive or non-inquisitive.
- But QUE's requirement that the content of the production be a question specifies that the repeating event at hand is in fact inquisitive. Thus, the Theme-equation in (47a) is resolved as in (47b) via the inquisitive resolution (37b).
- (47b) leads to no analytical triviality/contradiction. ⇨ grammatical
- (47b) describes Paco's inquisitive attitude towards question. ⇨ Q-oriented reading

(47) [[Paco repeated QUE who came]] =

a. λe. repeat(e) ∧ Author(e)=paco ∧ Theme(e)={a came, b came, c came} ∧ LINGPROD-CONTENT(e)={a came, b came, c came}

b. λe. repeat(e) ∧ Author(e)=paco ∧ ¬∃p∈{a came, b came, c came}[$Dox_{author(e)} \subseteq p$] ∧ $Inq_{author(e)} \subseteq$ {a came, b came, c came} ∧ LINGPROD-CONTENT(e)={a came, b came, c came}

■ Type B + QUE-IntCP

- The compositional derivation leads to the truth conditions in (48a).
- A repeating event may in principle be inquisitive or non-inquisitive. There is no further explicit specification in the sentence to decide between the two.
- We propose that, in this case, either a default interpretation mechanism or competition with the QUE-strategy leads to the non-inquisitive resolution via (37a). Thus, the Theme-equation in (48a) is resolved as in (48b).
- (48b) leads to no analytical triviality/contradiction. ⇨ grammatical
- (48b) describes Paco's attitude towards an answer. ⇨ A-oriented reading

(48) [[Paco repeated who came]] =

a. λe. repeat(e) ∧ Author(e)=paco ∧ Theme(e)={a came, b came, c came}

b. λe. repeat(e) ∧ Author(e)=paco ∧ ∃p∈{a came, b came, c came}[$Rpt_{author(e)} \subseteq p$]

■ In sum:

	Distribution	Interpretation
o Type A 'explain' + bareIntCP	grammatical	A-oriented reading
o Type A 'explain' + QUE-IntCP	ungrammatical	N/A
o Type B 'repeat' + QUE-IntCP	grammatical	Q-oriented reading
o Type B 'repeat' + bareIntCP	grammatical	A-oriented reading

… as desired.

5. A POTENTIAL EXTENSION: SPANISH MATRIX QUE

■ Interestingly, an additional *que* QUE can also accompany matrix interrogatives (Etxepare 2010, Demonte & Fernández Soriano 2014, Disselkamp et al. 2018, Biezma 2023):

(49) [Hi Martha. I'm curious about yesterday's meeting…]
a. ✓ Quién vino?
Who came
'Who came?'
b. # **Que** quién vino.
QUE who came
Lit. 'That who came.'

(50) A: Who came?
B: [Silence]
A: **Que** quién vino. REPEATQ
QUE who came
Lit. 'That who came'

(51) A: Who came?
A: **Que** quién vino? ECHOQ
QUE who came

(52) (The party was a success…) **Que** quién vino? (Everybody! Regine, Nadine, Agata,…)
QUE who came ANTICIPATORY Q

■ The intuition behind these examples is that the speaker is referring to a –previous or anticipated, external or internal– linguistic production of the relevant interrogative.

■ This intuition meshes well with the present analysis of QUE:

(53) $[\![\text{QUE}]\!] = \lambda Q_{<st,t>}.\ \lambda T_{<<st,t>,<vt>>}.\ \lambda e.\ T(Q)(e) \wedge \text{LINGPROD-CONTENT}(e)=Q$ (=35b)

(54) $[\![\text{QUE who came}]\!] =$
a. $\lambda e.\ \text{Theme}(e)=\{a \text{ came}, b \text{ came}, c \text{ came}\} \wedge$
$\text{LINGPROD-CONTENT}(e)=\{a \text{ came}, b \text{ came}, c \text{ came}\}$
b. $\lambda e.\ \neg\exists p \in \{a \text{ came}, b \text{ came}, c \text{ came}\}[\text{Dox}_{\text{author}(e)} \subseteq p]$
$\wedge\ \text{Inq}_{\text{author}(e)} \subseteq \{a \text{ came}, b \text{ came}, c \text{ came}\} \wedge$
$\text{LINGPROD-CONTENT}(e)=\{a \text{ came}, b \text{ came}, c \text{ came}\}$

6. Conclusion and Outlook

■ Combining insights from two strands of work –event-anchored framework for attitude verbs and a unified treatment of embedded CPs– and building on insights from Plann (1978) and Özyıldız & Uegaki (2023), we have developed an analysis of Spanish QUE+CP_{interr} whereby QUE semantically contributes an additional LINGPROD-CONTENT constraint:

(55) $[\![\text{QUE}]\!] = \lambda Q_{<st,t>}.\ \lambda T_{<<st,t>,<vt>>}.\ \lambda e.\ T(Q)(e) \wedge \text{LINGPROD-CONTENT}(e)=Q$ (=35b)

■ The proposed analysis derives:
- the correct distribution of QUE+CP_{interr} under different responsive Vs and
- the correct A(nswer)- vs. Q(uestion)-oriented readings of bareCP_{interr} and QUE-CP_{interr} depending of the responsive V,

while at the same time treating QUE-CP_{interr} as a syntactic argument of the V.

■ Open issues left for future research include:

- Why do we not have a parallel embedded QUE+CP_{decl} structure for declaratives? In fact, the matrix QUE+CP_{decl} structure is possible:

(56) A: Ana came.
B: [Silence –no reaction whasoever]
A: **Que** Ana vino. RepeatDecl
QUE Ana came
Lit. 'That Ana came.'

- Crosslinguistic differences on the linguistic production requirement:
Same <u>content</u> for Spanish QUE-intCP: (55)
Same <u>form</u> for Turkish/Jap 'say'-CPS (Özyıldız & Uegaki 2023): (57)

(57) [[Ai was surprised (at pro_5) [DIYE/TO the snow is falling]]] =
λe_2. uttering(e_2) $\wedge$ LINGPROD-FORM(e_2)="The snow is falling" $\wedge$
$\exists e_1$ [being-surprised(e_1) $\wedge$ CONTENT(e_1)=g(5) $\wedge$ $e_1 \sim e_2$]

- Unraveling the linguistic production requirement:
Plann's generalization (16) is only reflected in the analysis in the ling production requirement introduced by QUE. A more in-depth version would involve:
(i) spelling out the semantics of V+quotation, e.g. as involving a speech report on an speech object *u* plus an attitude report (cf. Potts 2007),
(ii) defining QUE as requiring a speech object *u* (in the spirit of Lahiri 1991) and
(iii) determining what exactly the intCP under QUE contributes to (i).

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