

Insubordinate *que*-sentences in Portuguese and Spanish

1. Goal: Several languages exhibit sentences formally akin to subordinates in non-subordinate contexts, often called *insubordinate* since Evans (2007). We will contrast insubordinate *que*-clauses in Peninsular Spanish and European Portuguese (henceforth, Spanish (Sp) and Portuguese (Pt)), to set their discursive properties and their respective formal specificities, paying special attention to *que*-sentences related to an interjection.

2. Insubordinate clauses and their values: According to Evans (2007), insubordinate clauses have three main functions that we can see in the majority of the following examples from Portuguese and Spanish: (a) as *directive expressions* to give orders, make requests, warnings, threats (1); (b) as *assertive or expressive expressions* used in modal environments associated with belief, deontic modality, or evidentiality (2, 3, 4); (c) as *expressions of denial or contrastive assertion* that signal discursive contexts (5). Insubordinate *que*-clauses in Spanish and Portuguese are uttered in different, but standardized, interaction conversational situations. They may convey: (i) an order or a request, as in directive clauses like (1); (ii) the emotive attitude of the speaker, as in expressive utterances like (2) (cf. Etxepare, 2014; Trotzke & Villalba, 2021); (iii) a wish as in desiderative sentences like (3); (iv) a report of a previous utterance, as in quotative/reportative sentences (4); or disagreement regarding a previous utterance, as in (5):

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| (1) a. <i>Que ninguém saia!</i>
‘Nobody leaves!’ | [Pt] |
| b. <i>¡Que te marches!</i> (Demonte & Soriano 2014)
‘Leave!’ | [Sp] |
| (2) a. <i>Ai, que me estás a pisar!</i> | [Pt] |
| b. <i>Eh, que me estás pisando!</i> (Etxepare 2014)
‘Hey, you stepped on me!’ | [Sp] |
| (3) a. <i>Que corra tudo bem!</i>
(I hope) that everything goes well! | [Pt] |
| b. <i>(Ojalá) que llueva café.</i>
‘May it rain coffee!’ (Song, Juan Luis Guerra) (Demonte & Soriano 2014) | [Sp] |
| (4) a. <i>Era a Maria. Que tinha ganho a bolsa!</i> | [Pt] |
| ‘It was Mary. (She said) that she won the grant.’ | |
| b. <i>(Oye,) que el Barça ha Ganado la Champions!</i> (Etxepare 2014)
‘(Listen) that the Barça won the Champion League!’ | [Sp] |
| (5) a. [Mary told Peter to tidy up the room he shares with John.]
Peter: <i>Que o arrume ele!</i> (Canceiro 2023) | [Pt] |
| ‘That he tidies it up!’ | |
| b. [Two friends talking about their weight]
A: <i>he engordado</i> / B: <i>que yo no te veo más gorda.</i> cf. (Gras & Sansineña 2015) [Sp]
‘A: I’ve gained weight. / B: I don’t see you fatter.’ | |

From a discourse point of view, both languages apparently behave alike. However, root *que*-clauses have a more restricted occurrence in Portuguese, and pragmatic and syntactic properties distinguish several of these clauses in the two languages. In fact, apart from directive and desiderative sentences (cf. (1a) and (3a)), all the other cases require an overt linguistic expression preceding the *que*-sentence.

Thus, the expressive *que*-clause in (2a), and the quotative sentence in (4a) in Portuguese are not acceptable without the previous linguistic material — in (6) the emotive value and in (7) the reportative meaning of the sentences are lost and the sentences become anomalous.

(6) ??/**Que me estás a pisar!* (That you are stepping me!)

(7) ??/**Que ganhou a bolsa.* (That he/she won the grant.)

In addition, in Portuguese, the presence of an expression corresponding to the Spanish “Oye” (*Listen*) is not enough to create a context adequate to trigger the quotative/reportative value:

(8) **Olha/Ouve, que ganhou a bolsa!* / ‘See/listen, that (he/she) won the grant.’

3. Ellipsis or overt linguistic licensing: We assume that in subordinate *que*-clauses in Portuguese are less subordinate/independent than in Spanish. We propose that in Portuguese, they derive from (i) ellipsis (Evans 2007) or correspond to (ii) finite-*que* clauses licensed by a linguistic anchor. In subordinate clauses obtained through ellipsis, in a broad sense of this concept, can correspond to Evans' (2007) stage II, where there is an omission of the main clause, in (9) the subordinate is a complement argument of the verb, or to stage III, as in (10), in which the adverbial's meaning can be inferred from the context, since there is a restriction on the interpretation of the elided material. Another alternative would be to consider whether the recovered linguistic material is inferred by the situational context/pragmatic domain (Mithun, 2008; Cristofaro, 2016).

(9) *Desejo/espero Que corra tudo bem!*

'I wish/hope that everything goes well!'

(10) A: *Podemos jantar às 8h?*

'Can we have dinner at 8h?'

B: *Se chegares cedo.*

'If you are home early.'

Cases as (2a) and (4a) cannot be associated with any of the stages proposed by Evans (2007), as they need a linguistic anchor to occur. This anchor can be some related linguistic material that allows recovering an omitted verb, (4a), (11), an interjection, (2a), (12), or a perception verb acting as an interjection, (13):

(11) *Era o pai. (Disse) Que está mesmo a chegar. vs. ??Que está mesmo a chegar.* (quotative-*que*)

'It was dad. He said That he's almost arriving.'

(12) *Ui! Que me magoei! vs. *Que me magoei!* (expressive-*que*)

'Ouch! I've hurt myself!'

(13) *Olha, que cais! vs. *Que cais!* (directive-*que*)

'Look out, you will fall!'

Each of the cases in (9) to (13) deserve a specific comprehensive analysis. In this talk, we will mainly focus on expressive-*que*, as in (12)-(13).

4. The syntactic derivation of cases headed by interjections: Alónso-Cortés (1999) assumes that interjections are expressive words that indicate the (major) illocutionary force of an utterance. It is the interjection that gives the expression it heads its expressive/(exclamative) illocutionary force, as shown in (12-13), where and interjection is respectively followed by sentences with an assertive or a directive import. Thus, elaborating on a proposal by Hill (2007), we assume these sentences are projections of an expressive Speech Act, which selects ForceP, with different illocutionary values, where *que* occurs in Force° position.

(14) [_{SActP} *Ai/Ui/Olha* [_{ForceP} [_{assertive/directive} *que* ...]]

5. Preliminary remarks: Root *que*-sentences in Portuguese are much less independent than in Spanish. They establish a strong link with the regular embedding *que* complementizer. As for their discourse value, it is mainly determined by the situational or linguistic context.

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